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In search of language contact between Jarawa and Aka-Bea: The languages of South Andaman¹

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Abstract

The paper brings forth a preliminary report on the comparative data available on the extinct language Aka-Bea (Man 1923) and the endangered language Jarawa spoken in the south and the central parts of the Andaman Islands. Speakers of Aka-Bea, a South Andaman language of the Great Andamanese family and the speakers of Jarawa, the language of a distinct language family (Abbi 2006, 2009, Blevins 2008) lived adjacent to each other, i.e. in the southern region of the Great Andaman Islands in the past. Both had been hunter-gatherers and never had any contact with each other (Portman 1899, 1990). The Jarawas have been known for living in isolation for thousands of years, coming in contact with the outside world only recently in 1998. It is, then surprising to discover traces of some language-contact in the past between the two communities. Not a large database, but a few examples of lexical similarities between Aka-Bea and Jarawa are

¹ The initial version of this paper was presented in The First Conference on ASJP and Language Prehistory (ALP-I), on 18 September 2010, Max Planck Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, Germany. We thank Alexandra Aikhnevald for helpful comments on an earlier version of the paper.

investigated here. Words for comparison are selected from the Automated Similarity Judgment Programme-list ASJP (Holman et al. 2008, Brown et al. 2007, 2008, Wichmann 2010) as well as from the Loan Word Typology research (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). Although we have data only for 100 items, we further compared the lexical items against the Swadesh list (1955) (see appendix 5). The result achieved exposes for the first time, the possibility of language contact between Aka-Bea and Jarawa in the past. We pose a very relevant question here: can enmities and rivalries induce changes in languages which can be ascribed to contact of a very special kind? We conclude by claiming that prototypical least borrowable lexical items can also be borrowed in a very specific context despite the absence of interactive communication between the two communities.

Keywords: Endangered language, lexical similarities, automated similarity judgment programme, loan word typology, comparative method, body part prefix, Great Andamanese, Toalian stone technology, directionality of borrowing, Angan family, contact-induced language changes.

1. Introduction

Geography

The Andaman Islands are comprised of a cluster of approximately 550 islands, rocks and rocky outcrop running from north to south and located southeast of the Indian sub-continent in the Bay of Bengal. They are separated from the Malay Peninsula by the Andaman Sea, an extension of the Bay of Bengal, and are part of the Union Territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands belonging to India (see fig. 1). Geographically, the Andaman Islands are closer to Myanmar and Indonesia than to mainland India. However, contact between the Andamanese and the populations of the neighboring countries has not been established till date. The capital city of the Andaman Islands is Port Blair, situated in the south of the Islands at a distance of 1255 km from Kolkata and 1190 km from Chennai.

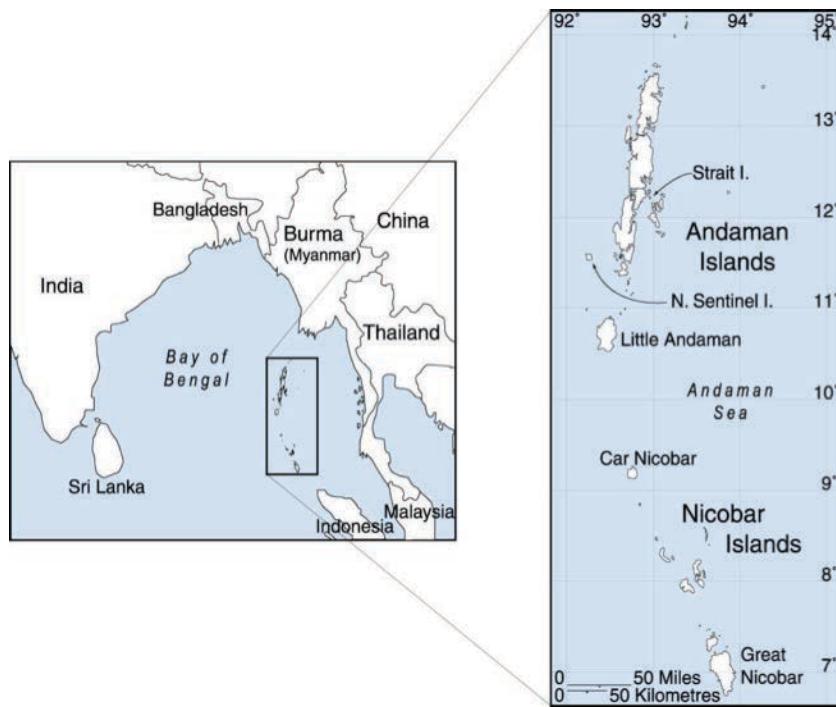


Figure 0.1. Map of Southeast Asia. This map shows the location of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Republic of India (source: www.andaman.org).

Organization

The main aim of this paper is to isolate a piece of evidence of probable contact between Aka-Bea, the Great Andamanese language and Jarawa, a language from the Angan group, the speakers of which had lived adjacent to each other geographically in the South Andaman (see fig. 2). Aka-Bea became extinct by 1930 but Jarawa is still spoken in the South and Middle Andaman.² For Aka-Bea data the seminal works of E. Horace Man (1923) and Portman (1887, 1992) are consulted. As Man has used different notation system than the one currently popular, such as IPA, we have given the equivalence of these symbols with the IPA notations in appendix 1. For Jarawa, we have consulted the field data from Abbi (2006) and Kumar (in

² There are three groups: one is situated in South Andaman (Tiroor) and the other two reside in the central Andaman which is known as the ‘Middle Andaman’.

preparation) as no other reliable record for this language exists. The Rosetta Project data is also consulted but the authenticity of this data cannot be ascertained due to absence of information on source and time. It is to be noted that Jarawas established contact with the outside world only in 1998.

We begin with identifying the language families involved in the discussion in this paper. Thereafter, we shall discuss the genealogical, cultural, anthropological and linguistic differences between the two linguistic communities, followed by brief typological sketches of Aka-Bea and Jarawa. We then describe our methodology to rule out superficial similarities as they are not considered proper evidence of language contact. Only the robust examples of similarities have been taken into consideration to prove the language contact phenomenon in the two sets of languages. Comparative method is used to isolate cognates in Aka-Bea (Great Andamanese) and Jarawa (Angan).

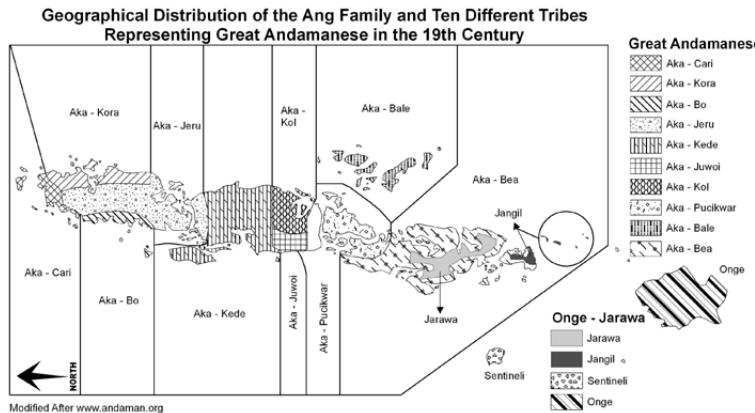


Figure 2. Map 2

2. Genealogical Affiliation

Great Andamanese constitutes the sixth language family of India (Abbi 2006, 2009, Blevins 2007). The other five language families are Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic, and Austronesian (represented by Onge-Jarawa known as the Angan

group: Abbi 2006, 2009).³ Abbi (2006) has shown preference to name this group as ‘Angan’ because Onge and Jarawa, both refer to themselves ‘Ang’ pronounced as *əŋ*. We have adopted her nomenclature for this paper. Although the establishment and identification of these languages to a larger family of Austronesian as proposed by Blevins (2007) has its own merits and demerits, yet it is certain that they (Jarawa and Onge) belong to a distinct language family (Abbi 2006, 2009 and Blevins 2007). There are ten languages in the fold of Great Andamanese family: Aka-Bea, Aka-Bale, the southern variety; Aka-Pucikwar [known as Pujukar in the current spoken language], Aka-Kol and Aka-Kede, Aka-Jowoi, as the central variety; and Aka-Jeru, Aka-Bo, Aka-Kora [known as Khora by the present speakers] and Aka-Cari [known as Sare by the present speakers] a northern variety (fig. 2 and 3).

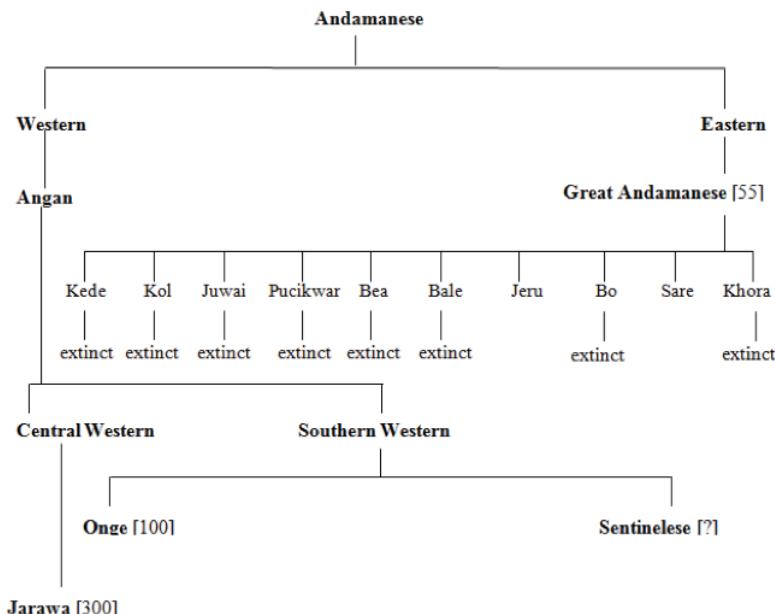


Figure 0.3. The present state of the Andamanese languages (2009) (adapted from Abbi 2003).

³ There are two more language families represented in India, Tai-Kadai by Tai-Ahom language and language isolate Burushaski which has two languages in its fold.

Geographically, Aka-Bea and Jarawa were adjacent to each other occupying the southern most part of the Andaman Islands (fig. 3). It is evident that they were neighbors but it is also a known fact that they were arch rivals (Portman 1887, 1992). The name '*jarawa*' was given to this tribe by the community of Aka-Bea meaning 'the feared ones' or 'stranger'. However, as stated above, Jarawas call themselves '*Ang*' meaning 'we people'. It is ironical that they themselves did not know till 1998 that they were known as '*Jarawa*' by outsiders.

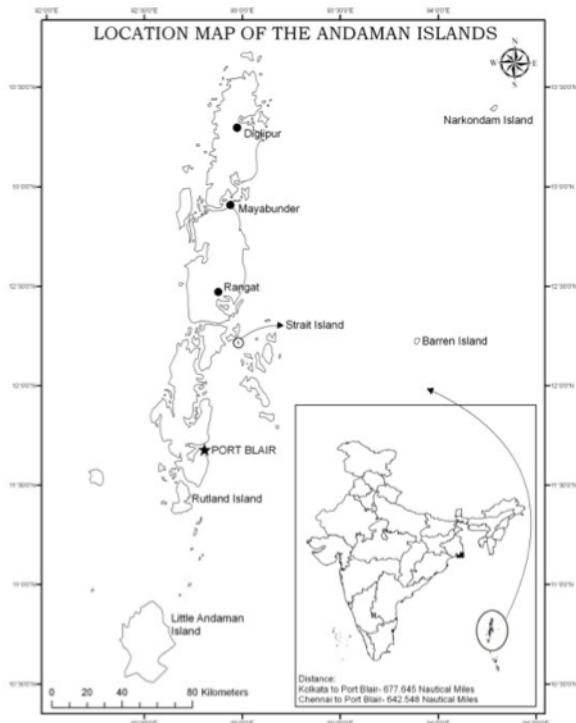


Figure 0.1. Location map of the Andaman Islands.

3. Genetic differences

There have been interesting discoveries by the geneticists about the origins of the two groups of the Andamanese population. Thangaraj et

al. (2003: 86-93) claimed that: “Andamanese have closer affinities to Asian than to African populations and [suggest] that they are the descendants of the early Palaeolithic colonizers of Southeast Asia.” Another geneticist commented in 2004 that: “The aboriginal populations of Andaman Islands seem to have remained in isolation for a much long period than any known ancient population of the world” (Kashyap et al. 2004). Subsequent research by geneticists is consistent with linguistic research. Thangaraj et al. (May 13, 2005) indicated that the two ancient maternal mt DNA lineages, M31 and M32 in the Great Andamanese and the Onge respectively, have evolved in the Andaman Islands independently from other South and Southeast Asian populations.

Our study suggests that two ancient maternal lineages have evolved in the Andaman Islands in genetic isolation independently. The Great Andamanese and the Jarawas constitute a distinct genetic pool that is different from the rest of the Asian and African population. (Thangaraj et al. *Science*, Vol. 308: 996, 2005)

The analysis of complete mitochondrial DNA sequences from two out of three accessible tribes, i.e. Onges and Great Andamanese populations, revealed two deeply branching clades that share their most recent common ancestor in founder haplogroup M, with lineages spread among India, Africa, East Asia, New Guinea, and Australia. These two haplotypes are not found among the Indian populations (fig. 4).

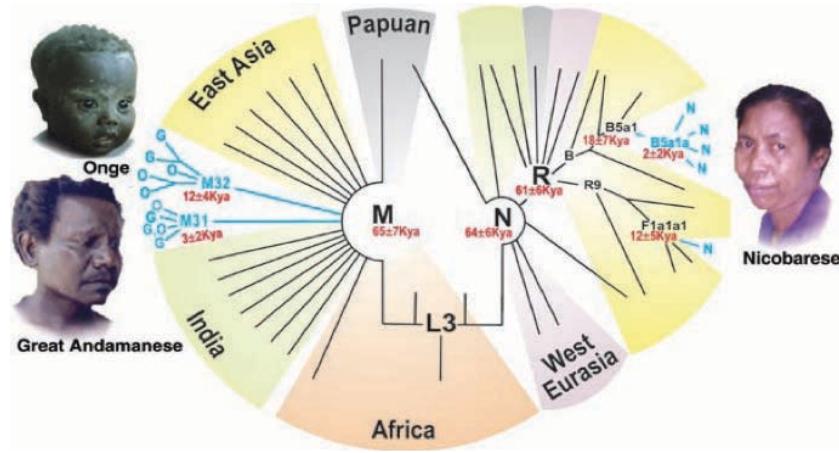


Figure 0.2. Two deeply branching clades differentiating Onge and Great Andamanese (Thangaraj et al. 2005).

Later, the reanalysis of the Andamanese-specific lineage M31 suggested: "...population specific two clear-cut subclades (M31a1 and M31a2). Onge and Jarawa share M31a1 branch while M31a2 clade is present in only Great Andamanese individuals" (Thangaraj et al. 2006: 151). These discoveries reveal the fact that Great Andamanese and the people of the other two tribes Onge and Jarawa (i.e. Angan) belonged to two different genetic pools. The genetic evidence along with linguistic one (Abbi 2006, 2009 and Blevins 2007) suggests that they belong to two distinct language families.⁴ The evidence provided by the geneticists of the evolution of these tribes supports the claim that these populations evolved their languages independent of each other without any contact between the two.

⁴ We are aware of the fact that it is not necessary that populations belonging to two distinct genetic pools speak genealogically distinct languages; however, in the present case this can be hypothesized considering long isolation and independent development of the two groups.

4. Linguistic differences

Typology of the two languages

Typologically, the two sets of languages are somewhat different from each other. This fact that was first brought out in the research conducted on the present-day Jarawa and the present-day Great Andamanese language (Abbi 2003, 2006).⁵ Consulting the dictionary of Aka-Bea by Man (1923) it seems that this judgment need not be changed as Aka-Bea is a prototypical member of the Great Andamanese language family. We will briefly describe the typology of Aka-Bea and Jarawa in the following sections.

Aka-Bea

Aka-Bea is a head-marking polysynthetic and agglutinative language. It has two types of grammatical categories: dependent and non-dependent. Most of the nouns that refer to the typical inalienably possessed items such as all body-part terms, kinship terms, part-to-whole, part-to-component, as well as nouns referring to time, direction, and depth are dependent nouns. A large number of morphemes, affixes, and clitics can constitute a single phonological word. This word generally is a verb phrase. As Aka-Bea is a prototypical “head marking” language where the verb complex includes a large amount of information in a multi-morphemic string that includes subject and object pronominal prefixes or clitics, reflexive and reciprocal prefixes, as well as suffixes expressing tense, aspect and mood. It is a verb final language. However, while the

⁵ The linguistic system of the Present Great Andamanese appears to be close to Koineization (Manoharan, 1989). It is characterized by a mixture of linguistic features of several (perhaps four if not all ten that once existed) varieties. It draws its lexicon from Northern Great Andamanese languages such as Khora, Sare, Bo and Jeru, but shows greater influence of Jeru on its grammar. What we notice in today's Great Andamanese speech is a kind of leveling of different linguistic systems. Perhaps several grammatical inputs have contributed to generate the Present Great Andamanese. As the language is highly endangered with five terminal speakers (they were nine when we started our initial fieldwork in 2001), it is very difficult to say how far the language is mixed and what elements are mixed. The present generation of Great Andamanese speakers is the result of intermarriages among North Andamanese tribes. The Government of India encouraged this practice in order to save the depleting population and settled the entire population on Strait Island, a tiny island in the South which is 53 nautical miles north of Port Blair (fig. 3).

genitive phrase, demonstratives, and numerals precede the head noun, other modifiers follow the modified. Pronominals are marked for number and for the inclusive/exclusive distinction. Possessive constructions are very complex as the language makes a distinction between (1) the animate and the non animate possessors, as well as offers a large variety of possessive markers indicating possessed items of (2) human relations, (3) certain organs or parts of human or (4) animal body and what is incorporeal, (5) viz. soul, spirit, ghost and experience (Man 1923: 158). The lexical items referring to all these distinctive notions are prefixed with terms for one of the seven divisions or parts of the human body.

Jarawa

Jarawa is an agglutinating language with an SOV clausal structure. It has dependent and non-dependent words like Aka-Bea but the complexities lie only with the nouns belonging to human body parts and kinship terms. It has few adpositions which occur as postpositions. Descriptive adjectives follow the noun while numerals and demonstratives precede the noun. Intensifier and manner adverbs follow the adjectives and verbs. Question particle comes in the beginning of a polarity question while the question word (e.g. interrogative pronoun) remains in its situ position. Copula precedes the verb in verbal clauses and nouns and adjectives in verbless clauses. Causatives are formed by prefixation. Possession is expressed by prefixing the pronominals to the possessed noun. Negation is expressed either by putting the negative word at the end of a clause or by suffixation of a morpheme to the verb; the more frequent one is to use negative word at the end of a clause or a phrase. Jarawa has three way distinctions in pronominal system, first, second and third but lacks number distinction in all personal pronouns. Jarawa is a mood prominent language. Verbs are optionally prefixed by pronominal or definiteness/referentiality markers.

The biggest typological difference between the two languages is that Jarawa does not have the prefixing system of Aka-Bea, where each and every lexical item belongs to the binary division of dependency. Nor the lexicon is divided into five “groupings” (Portman 1898: 37-41) each prefixed by a distinct body part prefix. Man (1923) has listed seven body part prefixes attached to various kinds of nominal and other categories.

5. Non linguistic differences

Studies have also shown that the Jarawas and the Onges have distinct physiological and genetic signatures from the Great Andamanese like low blood pressure profile, body temperature, pulse rate and very low frequency to absence of B gene in ABO blood group. The Onges have a high incidence of HbsAg (Kumar 1987, Sarkar and Sahani 2002).

Evidence from archaeology such as study of Andamanese kitchen middens, indicates that the Andamanese used Toalian stone technology. This stone technology which has been found all over the Indonesian archipelago indicates that Negritos were more widespread than has been thought. It has also been established culturally that the Great Andamanese differ in their design and construction of huts, weapons, boats and canoes, ornaments and customs from Jarawa and Onge. The Onge-Jarawa differ from the rest of the tribes of the Andaman Islands by not tattooing (Portman 1899, reprinted 1990, p. 22; Temple 1909, reprinted 1994, p. 13).

In short, Great Andamanese is different from Onge and Jarawa both genetically, anthropologically and culturally.

6. Methodology

To achieve our goal we have compared Jarawa-Aka Bea data against the forty word-list from the ASJP (2008)⁶ databank. Subsequently, this data was compared against the Basic word list of Swadesh (1955) (see appendix 5) as linguists have believed that Basic vocabulary and bound morphemes are hardest to borrow. To confirm the possibility of contact between Jarawa and Aka-Bea, the existing data is further compared against the scale provided by the most nonborrowable word list from the Loan Word Typology research (henceforth LWT: Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009).⁷ We then isolated words which

⁶ ASJP stands for Automated Similarity Judgment Program. The 200-item Swadesh list is reduced to a 40-item list. This has been done as the authors claim “without loss and even with a gain in classificatory reliability.” The present method automates both the judgments of cognacy and the subsequent inference of phylogeny.

⁷ This research is the first of its kind to address the question of what kinds of words get borrowed in a systematic and comparative perspective. It studies lexical borrowing behaviour on the basis of a world-wide sample of 40 languages, both major

appeared to be lexically similar in Aka-Bea and Jarawa. These were taken as suspicious of being borrowed [shared] between the two languages.

There are certain questions that can be raised here. Do these suspicious words indicate any borrowing? If yes, then what is the directionality of borrowing? Was it unilateral or bilateral? To answer these questions we have compared the suspicious words with other languages of the Great Andamanese family for which we have record (Portman 1887, 1992) and the Angan family (Abbi 2006, Blevins 2007, Dasgupta and Sharma 1982). To be more precise, we have adopted a simple procedure: if a word under consideration is found similar to words found in other extinct languages of the Great Andamanese family, we considered them belonging to Aka-Bea; and if the words are found to be indigenous to the Angan family, we considered them belonging to Jarawa. After isolating genetic inherited words in two distinct families, we arrive at the count of five words: three words which can be marked for borrowing with certainty and two words which may have the possibility of borrowing. Having removed the shadowy evidence for contact between the two languages and isolating only the robust ones, we conclude by demonstrating that language contact between Jarawa and Aka-Bea was not a unilateral contact. Both languages borrowed words from each other in a very specific context despite the absence of intense contact.

7. Observations

As there is no data available for Jarawa for pre-1998, we are forced to compare modern data of Jarawa with the archaic data of Aka-Bea. A comparison between the current linguistic data based on our fieldwork (Abbi et al. 2001, and Abbi 2005-2008 and Kumar in preparation)⁸ and the available data from the Rosetta Project leads us to believe that Jarawa has undergone very little sound change. As the Jarawa tribes have lived in isolation for thousands of years without any contact with

languages and minor languages, and both languages with heavy borrowing and languages with little lexical influence from other languages.

⁸ My initial fieldwork in the Andaman Islands in 2001 was assisted by two of my students, namely, Shailendra Mohan and Pramod Kumar. Subsequently I and Pramod Kumar made several trips to the Andaman Islands to collect data.

the outside world, we presume that sound change must have been minimum and slow confining to only internal sound change.⁹ The 40-word list of ASJP containing Jarawa and Aka-Bea parallels is given in appendix 2.

Similar words in Aka-Bea and Jarawa (against the ASJP list)

According to the list provided by the ASJP, we found seven words which appeared similar across the two languages. These are two personal pronouns ‘we’, ‘you’, two body part terms ‘hand’, ‘breast’, and, three words relating to environment ‘tree’, ‘water’ and ‘stone’. These overlap with the Basic vocabulary because ASJP list is based on the Basic vocabulary. These similar words are given in table 1. The orthographic notations adopted by Rosetta are not very clear, however, we have tried to give equivalency by = symbol. This may be considered as an approximation.

Table 1. Similar words in Aka-Bea and Jarawa compared against the ASJP list.

No.	English	Aka-Bea (Man)	Jarawa (Rosetta)	Jarawa (present)
1	we	mòlòichik	Mi = mi	Mi
2	you	ngòlòichik	Ni = ñi	ñi
3	hand	ônica-kōro (da)	om, ome	ipi:l
4	breast	ôt-kûg (da)	akag	Kag
5	tree	âkà-tâng	anao	taN
6	water	îna	iN = iŋ	iŋ
7	Stone	taili	uli	Ulli

We shall discuss these words in the following sections.

Pronouns

Sound-meaning correspondences are only in the initial sounds *m*- for first plural and *y*- for second singular. Genetically and typologically

⁹ The original transcription used by Man and the Rosetta project are maintained in citation. However, for the equivalence value of these symbols readers may refer to appendix 1.

unrelated languages across the world have known to have similar sounding first consonant in first and second person pronouns. Maps of personal pronouns in WALS (Nichols and Peterson 2008, chapters 136, 137) are good indicators of *m-* as the first sound in the first person pronoun being used by languages of Eurasia or by the Tungusic languages of the Altaic family spoken in Siberia. Hence, we rule out the possibility of these two similar appearing words as borrowings or as evidence of genetic relatedness. Also, the second sound of the monosyllabic word is diametrically opposite to each other in the two languages. Hence while Jarawa uses high, front unrounded vowel [i], Aka-Bea uses mid, back rounded vowel [o].

Body part terms

(i) The word for ‘**hand**’ and other extremities of the body in all the Great Andamanese languages including Aka-Bea begin with an inalienable proclitic (Abbi 2010) *ong-*. The Rosetta Project reports of the word *om* as a parallel to Aka-Bea *ong-* which is not shared by the present Jarawa form *ipi:l*. As we shall discuss below, the word in Jarawa for hand is *ipi:l* while for fingers it is *om ~ ome*. Even we consider the word given by Rosetta Project as a borrowing from Aka-Bea, we have no justification to prove that the word was borrowed with a bound morpheme, i.e. *ōng-kōro* and then the main lexeme was dropped having the residual proclitic *ōng-* implanted in the language for the meaning of ‘hand’. Thus we rule out the word *om* ‘hand’ in Jarawa (Rosetta) as a borrowing from Aka-Bea. The present form *ipil* in Jarawa is very distant from the Aka-Bea *ōng-kōro* to establish them as borrowed items.

(ii) The word for ‘**breast**’ in Aka-Bea is *ōt-kūg*, i.e. proclitic + lexeme for ‘breast’. The lexical item in Jarawa is very similar if we leave out the proclitic and the vowel between the consonants. It is *akag* in Rosetta database and in present Jarawa it is *kag*. In Aka-Bea word the inter-consonantal vowel is high, back, rounded [u] while in Jarawa it is low, back unrounded [a]. This lexeme may be considered as a likely candidate for borrowing despite the difference in the nature of the vowel. However, the form for ‘breast’ given by Portman (1887, 1992) is *ig-kam* which raises doubt about the correct meaning of the word *ōt-kūg*. This calls for investigation into other genetically related languages of Jarawa, such as Onge, to identify the indigenous word in the Angan family so as to rule out the inheritance feature.

Others

There are three words in the domain of ‘environment’ that appear similar in two languages.

(i) The word for ‘**water**’ in Aka-Bea is *îma* while in Jarawa it is *iŋ*. Although Great Andamanese languages offer phonemic contrast between velar and dental nasals, we can consider this as a borrowing despite the alternation in dental vs. velar nasal in the two languages. However, we need further investigation in other genetically related language of Jarawa, such as Onge, for which there is some written account, to rule out the inheritance feature and reach any firm and convincing decision.¹⁰

(ii) The word for ‘**tree**’ raises the question of contact between the two sets of languages. In Aka-Bea the word is *âkà-tâng* while in Rosetta database it is reported as a very distant form *anao*. However the present form in Jarawa has a very similar sounding word for ‘tree’, i.e. *tay*. If we leave out the proclitic *âkà-* in Aka-Bea we are left with the root lexeme for ‘tree’ which is similar between Jarawa and Aka-Bea. One cannot rule out the fact that *tay* could be a specific tree and not a generic name for a tree which can induce borrowing.

(iii) The word for ‘**stone**’ also raises a possibility of borrowing. In Jarawa, both the present form and the one reported in the Rosetta database are similar, i.e. *ulli* and *uli* respectively. The word for the same lexeme in Aka-Bea is *tailli* sharing the terminal syllable of the word, i.e. *-li*. If we take for granted that the segment *ta-* in Aka-Bea is some form of a prefix then the root morpheme and its structure is VCV with CV as shared sound segments. Another feature worth mentioning here is that there are varieties of stones in the Andaman Islands raising the possibility of speculation for borrowing this particular word referring to a kind of stone used as a weapon. Given the nature of contact between the two groups, this could justify potential borrowing.

To summarize our observations so far, the words for ‘water’, ‘tree’ and ‘stone’ are similar in the two sets of languages and offer possibilities of borrowings.

¹⁰ One must note that in many languages of the world, the word for ‘water’ contains a nasal, cf. Proto-Arawak **uni*, Carib *tuna*, Tacanan *ena*, and so on (Alexandra Aikhenvald, personal communication).

Similar words in Aka-Bea and Jarawa according to the LWT

There are 100 words which are considered to have low possibility of borrowing across languages in linguistic literature. This had been achieved by comparing data across 40 distinct languages of the world (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009) (see appendix 3). According to the authors of LWT any similarity in the word-list among distinct languages can be read as the indicators of chance phenomenon, or genetic relatedness. As the hypothesis of genetic relatedness between Great Andamanese and Jarawa is already quashed, the only possibility we are left with is the borrowing of a minimal kind or borrowing in a very specific context or a chance similarity in similar appearing words. One cannot rule out a possibility of two languages borrowing very specific items from each other without being in intense contact with each other. This situation can be conceptualized in an exposure or interaction between two communities for short and specific purpose.

The LWT lists two varieties of second person pronouns, singular (62nd in the scale) and plural (58th in the scale) as well as the body part terms ‘breast’ (94th in the scale) and ‘finger’ (88th in the scale). An additional word ‘throw’, which occupies the 60th rank in the hierarchy of the database on non-borrowability (see appendix 3) seems to be similar in the two languages. See table 2 for the similar words.

Table 2. Similar words in Aka-Bera and Jarawa against the LWT list.

No.	Rank in LWT	English	Aka-Bea (Man)	Jarawa (Rosetta)	Jarawa (present)
1	09	we	mòlòichik	Mi = mi	Mi
2	58	you (pl)	ngòlòichik	Ni = ñi	ñi
3	62	you (sg)	ngòlòichik	Ni = ñi	ñi
4	88	finger	ông-kōro (da)	om, ome	ipi:l
5	94	breast	ôt-kûg (da)	akag	kag
6	60	throw	dapi, depi	depi	apine

Personal Pronouns

As there is no distinction in singular and plural forms of second person pronoun in our database, we will consider them as one single entry. Our judgment for this is similar to the one reached for the ASJP list (table 1). The LWT lists these words as ‘most resistant to borrowing.’ The first person pronoun is one of those lexemes which have 9th rank in the ‘unborrowability scale.’ Similarly, the second person singular pronoun has the rank of 62 in the list of 100 as the most unborrowable words/items. However, we cannot consider them as the cases of borrowing as a large number of the world’s unrelated languages seem to share initial nasals in first person pronouns as discussed above.

Body part terms

Among the body part terms words for ‘finger’ and ‘breast’ occupy the rank of 88th and 94th rank respectively on the list of 100 most unborrowable words/items. The arguments for sharing these items are already discussed above. It is to be noted that Man (1923) as well as Rosetta Project give the identical forms for ‘hands’ and ‘fingers’. They do not appear to be borrowings.

Others

A comparison from the list of the LWT gives us one word ‘throw’ which qualifies to be similar in the two sets of languages. The words recorded in Rosetta database and Aka-Bea dictionary by Man (1923) are identical. We will have to confirm its status as a borrowed word after investigating the Onge language to rule out a chance similarity. As we know identical words, more often than not, are similar by chance than are the instances of borrowing or genetic inheritance.

To sum up, following words seem to qualify for borrowings between Aka-Bea and Jarawa. The square brackets give the reference list used for comparison.

- ‘throw’ v [LWT]
- ‘breast’ BP [LWT + ASJP]
- ‘finger’ or ‘hand’ BP [LWT + ASJP]
- ‘water’ N [ASJP]
- ‘tree’ N [ASJP]

- ‘stone’ N [ASJP]

We are motivated to investigate the lexical inventory of Onge to reach any conclusive judgment. In addition, we have to compare the words with those given for other Great Andamanese languages in Portman (1887, 1992) to rule out genetic inheritance in Aka-Bea.

We shall begin by comparing languages of the Angan group. For this we will refer to the published material (Abbi 2006, Portman 1887, 1992 and Dasgupta and Sharma 1982).

8. Comparison between the Angan Languages (Jarawa and Onge)

We shall consider similar appearing lexical forms in the two languages of the Angan family to ascertain cognacy. The form/s drawn from Dasgupta and Sharma (1982) are marked by * in table 3.

Table 3. Lexical forms in Onge and Jarawa.

No	Jarawa (Present)	Onge (Abbi 2006) (Portman 1887, 1992)	Gloss
1	mi	eʃI (A)	we
2	ŋi	jI (A)	you
3	tan̪	dane	tree
4	kag	na:ka:ge:	breast
5	iŋ	iŋe	water
6	ulli	uli *[taiyi:]	stone
7	apine	wötaiqua:u:be	throw

The Jarawa words number 1 and 7 do not show any similarity with Onge in Table 3. Thus, these offer the possibility of being borrowed from Aka-Bea which shares these lexical items with other Great Andamanese languages. The rest of the words are similar in the two languages. The word number 6, viz. ‘stone’ merits some discussion. We will discuss this below.

9. The two families compared: Great Andamanese and Angan

We shall consider the consolidated list of Aka-Bea, Jarawa and Onge in this section. The following results have been arrived at comparing

the Aka-Bea words with the extinct languages of the Great Andamanese family such as Aka-Bojigiaib, Aka-Kede, Aka-Chariar reported in Portman (1887, 1992). We are not listing the words given in these extinct languages here (for details see appendix 4). Data on Onge is drawn from Portman (1887, 1992). As specified above, where no lexical item was given for the word under consideration by Portman, data from Abbi (2006) is being used. For the word ‘stone’ the correspondence and the reconstruction form from Blevins (2007) is used. Table 4 presents the comparative lexical similarity as well as the directionality of borrowing of the lexical forms. If the word is not shared with its sister language then it is marked as ‘unique’.

Table 4. Comparative lexical similarity in South Andamanese languages and directionality of borrowing.

No	English	Aka-Bea (Man)	Jarawa (Rosetta)	Jarawa (present)	Onge (Abbi, Dagupta & Sharma and Portman)	Direction- ality of borrowing	Observations
1	breast [N]	ôt-kûg (da) <i>unique</i>	akag	kag	na:ka:ge:	Jarawa > Aka-Bea	No cognates in other Great Andamanese languages but similarity exists in Angan
2	throw [V]	dapi, depi	depi <i>unique</i>	apine <i>unique</i>	wötaiqua:- u:be	Aka-Bea > Jarawa	No cognates in Angan but cognates available in Great Andamanese languages
3	stone [N]	taiili <i>unique</i>	uli	ulli	taiyi *uli (Blevins)	Jarawa > Aka-Bea	No cognates in other Great Andamanese
4	water [N]	îna	iŋ	iŋ	iŋe	chance similarity	Great Andamanese languages have dental nasal while Angan have velar nasal
5	tree [N]	âkà-tâng	anao	tanje	danje	chance similarity	Unexplained similarity in the two sets of languages
6	we	mòlòichik	mi	mi	eji	Aka-Bea	No cognates

	[PRO]			<i>unique</i>		> Jarawa	in Onge
7	you [PRO]	ngòlichik, ngòl	ŋj	ŋj	ŋj	perhaps Jarawa borrowed from Aka- Bea	No real cognates in Onge. Weak case for comparison
8	finger	ōng-kōro	om, ome 'hand'	om	o'me (Portman) bilaye (Abbi)	Aka-Bea > Jarawa	The Great Andamanese languages share cognates

10. Discussion

In the following sections we will discuss those items which raise doubt of being borrowed.

'Throw'

The word for ‘throw’ has an interesting contact history. The first syllable of the Aka-Bea word is a prefix *da-* ~ *de-* and the root morpheme is *pi*. Etymologically, the word has a very different root in the Angan language as can be seen from the data from Onge. It appears that the present Jarawa borrowed the word without the prefix consonant and added *-ne* suffix. However, the Rosetta data shows that the whole lexeme with the prefix was borrowed, which is more a plausible situation than the former. Since other extinct and living language of the Great Andamanese family show cognacy with this word, we can with fair amount of certainty claim that this is originally an Aka-Bea word and Jarawa borrowed it as a full lexeme along with the proclitic. The word for ‘throw’ in the present Great Andamanese is *e-p^hil*.

'Stone'

The word for stone has cognates in Angan languages and has also been reconstructed in Proto Angan as *uli (Blevins 2007). In addition, the entry under Aka-Bea is unique as it does not share cognate relationship with other extinct or living languages of the Great Andamanese family. Another fact to be noticed is that the initial syllable of *ta-* appears to be an applicative prefix which has been taken as a part of the lexeme by Man (1923). If we disregard this

morpheme *ta-* for the time being, then the only sound change that Aka-Bea underwent was *u>i* after borrowing the word from Jarawa. The present Great Andamanese word for ‘stone’ is *meo*.

The word for stone raises some issues in polysemy. There are various kinds of stones in the Andaman forests with multiple uses. The ones that are erected as epithets to the graves of the ancestors are different from those found near the sea shores. There are others found in the forest which perhaps can be used for throwing at an object be it inanimate or animate. Then there are those which are used for cooking turtles and big games. Some are also used for household use. None of the writers have given any detail account of the word for ‘stone’ in the languages. Thus, we are not without doubt to claim lack of borrowing. It may be a borrowing as this word perhaps refers to a kind of stone which is found only in the Southern Andaman and used as a weapon. Possibility of borrowing the word for ‘stone’ which is either hunting equipment or a weapon is high. Geographical specificity of an item can also raises the possibility of sharing an item and its referent between two language speakers.

Breast

The word has cognates in Angan but has no cognates in the Great Andamanese languages and hence this seems to be a clear-cut borrowing from Jarawa into Aka-Bea. The Present-day Great Andamanese word for ‘breast’ is *er-metei*.

As in the case of ‘stone’ the word for ‘breast’ can have the potentiality of borrowing for its polysemous nature and multifunctionality. In many languages body part terms are used for spatial deixis. In Present-day Great Andamanese the human body and its various divisions provide the most important model for expressing concepts of spatial orientation. The words for ‘back’, ‘face’, ‘shoulder’ and ‘behind’ are used as deictic categories. One cannot rule out the possibility that one of the meanings of the word for ‘breast’ could be ‘front’ or ‘in front of’, which has a high possibility of a borrowable item. Unfortunately neither the ASJP-list nor the LWT-list takes into account the multiplicity of meaning of a word.

'Water'

The lexical similarity for ‘water’ runs across languages of both the families. It could be a case of chance similarity. Though we would like to point out that the word in Aka-Bea has a structure of vcv syllable with a dental nasal occurring inter-vocally but Jarawa has a vc syllable structure with a velar nasal in a coda position. They are not absolute identical words. The Great Andamanese languages offer dental and velar contrast among nasals which cannot be disregarded (see fn. 10).

'Tree'

Although striking similarities in the forms in two distinct language groups point towards borrowing, the word for ‘tree’ can be established as the case of chance similarity. Since the word is reconstructed as **tay* and **day* by Blevins (2007), and has similar lexical items in other extinct languages of the Great Andamanese family, we can only say that this may be a case of accidental similarity. The Present-day Great Andamanese offers *tɔŋ* ‘tree’. Since retroflex and non retroflex sounds stand in contrast in the Present-day Great Andamanese language it can be conjectured that Man (1923) missed out this fine distinction as his dictionary does not list a single word with retroflex sound. Without a large database the nature and reasons for this similarity remain obscure.

'We'

This deserves some discussion. Our field data on Onge gives us the first person plural form *eti*, which is not shared by Jarawa *mi*. Jarawa does not make any distinction between singular and plural in first person pronoun. Blevins (2007) also reconstructs **eti* for the word ‘we’ in Proto Angan. Thus Jarawa word *mi* for ‘we’ seems to be a unique entry and can be considered as a borrowing from Aka-Bea with an oversimplification as a monosyllable word *mi*. Moreover, all the other languages of the Great Andamanese family offer cognates of the form in Aka-Bea, proving that the word belongs originally to the Great Andamanese family.

'You'

The Aka-Bea form given in table 4 is for the second person plural reference. The parallel forms in Jarawa and Onge are for second person singular form and thus a real comparison is difficult to make. Moreover, the second consonant *-l* is very significant in the Great Andamanese languages as it indicates plurality. Obviously, this information is missing in the Onge and Jarawa forms. We can only ascribe this superficial similarity of the initial consonant to chance similarity. We would also like to add the argument given above that the initial consonant similarity in second person pronouns exists across a large number of languages of the world and hence cannot be considered a robust diagnostic feature for genetic relatedness. Chance or borrowings are the only two possibilities. And in this case it seems to be a case of chance similarity.

'Finger'

Our recording of Jarawa offers two distinct words *ipi:l* ‘hand’ and *om* ‘fingers’. However the Rosetta data for Jarawa shows *ome* for ‘hand’ but it is silent on the word for ‘finger’. The Onge data is little problematic as Portman noted two distinct words, one for ‘hand’ *m'ome* and another one for ‘finger’ *o'me*. It is noted that the distinction does not accrue to the basic lexeme but to the possessive prefix, i.e. *m-* vs. absence of a possessive prefix. This implies that these are not two different words but one and the same basically referring to the lexeme for ‘hand’.¹¹ The word for ‘hand’ is reconstructed by Blevins as **-ome* in Proto-Angan. Abbi (2006) notes a very distinct appearing word for ‘finger’ and that is *bilaye*. This implies that we cannot with surety obtain parallels for the word ‘finger’ in the Angan languages. This brings us back to the form *om* in the present Jarawa which can be ascribed to the borrowing from Aka-Bea but only of the proclitic form *ong-*. Another hypothesis is that it borrowed the whole lexeme *ong-koro* but later dropped the root morpheme *koro* retaining the *ong-* and then later changed *ng [ŋ]* to bilabial nasal *m-*. However, we cannot identify the phonological

¹¹ It is conceivable of the difficulties involved in eliciting distinct words for ‘fingers’ and ‘hand’. Many of the speakers in Present-day Great Andamanese also gave the same form for ‘hand’ and ‘finger’.

environment responsible for such a change due to paucity of the database.

11. Conclusion

The words number 1, 2, and 3, i.e. ‘breast’, ‘throw’ and ‘stone’ respectively given in table 4 are clear cases of borrowing. Borrowing has taken place from Jarawa to Aka-Bea as well as from Aka-Bea to Jarawa. Words for ‘breast’ and ‘stone’ have been borrowed in Aka-Bea from Jarawa but the word for ‘throw’ has been borrowed from Aka-Bea into Jarawa. Further, possibilities of first person plural pronoun ‘we’ (word number 6) and the word number 8 for ‘finger’ also appear to be borrowed from Aka-Bea into Jarawa. This implies that the contact between the two languages existed at a very minimal level. Near identical forms for ‘water’ and ‘tree’ are best viewed as accidental. Overall resemblances in personal pronouns are small and not above chance levels. This throws open the question of reliability of the words listed in the LWT list as most borrowing-resistant items.

The authors of the present paper do not believe in the hierarchical scale provided by the LWT not because of the lack of distinction between grammatical and lexical items but because of the fact that it does not take cognizance of similar sounds across languages of the world due to chance similarity. Nasal consonants in personal pronouns are case in point (Nichols and Peterson 1995, Campbell 1997). Campbell (1997: 340) lists several accounts of borrowing of pronouns as well as borrowing of the entire pronominal systems across genetically distinct languages. He mentions that there are also several documented cases of borrowed pronouns involving Southeast Asian languages, Austronesian, and Papuan languages.

We claim that the specific context and unusual circumstances can force the society to borrow items which are considered borrowing-resistant. Aikhenvald (2008: 1-66) offers excellent examples of contact-induced language changes in the speech of “River-dwellers” and “Jungle-dwellers” of the Sepik River Basin in New Guinea proving that despite different means of subsistence, life styles, and patterns of interaction, two communities can show enough evidence of language contact. One has to take into account the nature of the contact-relationship between two communities living adjacent

to each other. Out of several factors leading to contact-induced changes in the two languages in contact, the rivalry relationship between the two communities may induce very different and specific lexical borrowings. It is to be noted that hunters are always at an ear-shot distance from each other and hence are good candidates for hearing and adapting words used in a specific context.

The world of hunters and gatherers is different from ours. The two communities under consideration here are known to be arch rivals. This sociological situation may have motivated a-prototypical or unusual kind of items to be participating in language contact phenomenon. It is not surprising then to observe that words used in the semantic domain of 'hunting' that are easily borrowed. Words such as 'stone', 'throw', 'fingers', 'hand' (seen as instrument in holding a bow and shooting an arrow) are good candidates for borrowing in a typical hunter-gatherer society.

Abbreviations: BP = body parts, N = noun, PRO = pronoun, V = verb.

Appendix 1

Use of Alphabets by E. H. Man (1923) and its equivalence in IPA.

Consonants		Vowels	
(Man)	(IPA)	(Man)	(IPA)
b	= b	a	= ʌ
p	= p	ā	= ɜ:
ch	= c	à	= a
d	= d	â	= a:
g	= g	ä	= a
h	= h	e	= e
j	= j	ê	= e:
k	= k	i	= i
l	= l	î	= i
m	= m	o	= ɔ
n	= n	ō	= ɔ:
ñ	= ñ	ò	= ɒ
ng	= ɳ	ô	= ɒ:
r	= r	u	= u
s	= s	û	= u:
t	= t	ai	= ai
t ^h	= t ^h	àu	= au
w	= w	öi	= ɔi
y	= y		

Appendix 2

Comparative list of words from Jarawa and Aka-Bea against the AJSP list. The list contains all the forty words from the AJSP list. Non availability of data in respective languages is marked by xxx.

S.N.	English	Jarawa (present)	Aka-Bea (extinct)
1.	blood	cen	õng-ti
2.	bone	xxx	ar-tâ
3.	breast	kag	ig-kâm
4.	come	allema	òn
5.	die	peca:me	oko-li

6.	dog	wiwəmə	bibi
7.	drink	iŋcowə	wêlej
8.	ear	ik ^h wa	ig-pûku
9.	eye	cepo/epo/ecepo	ig-dal
10.	fire	t ^h uhə	î-dal
11.	fish	napo	yâd
12.	full	xxx	têpe
13.	hand	ipi:l	ông-kôro
14.	hear	it ^h əhət ^h e-ya	î-dai
15.	horn	oʃidə:w	wôlo-tâ
16.	I	mi	dôlla
17.	knee	ola	ab-lô
18.	leaf	pi(pi)	î-tông / i-ông
19.	liver	xxx	ab-mûg
20.	louse	xxx	xxx
21.	mountain	t ^h inon ¹²	bôroin
22.	name	aʃiba	ôt-ting _[N] âr-taik _[V]
23.	new	xxx	gôi
24.	night	kit ^h ale	gûrug
25.	nose	iŋna:nbo	ig-chôronga
26.	one	waya	ûba-tûl / ûba-dôga
27.	path	le:b / ice:le	tinga
28.	person	xxx	ab-dâlang
29.	see	əyoyəba	ig-bâdi
30.	skin	a:ʃi	(ab-)éj / dôch
31.	star	ciləhe	châto
32.	stone	ulli	taili
33.	sun	yeheyə	bôdo
34.	tongue	əndlal	âká-êtel
35.	tooth	ənahod̪	ig-tûg
36.	tree	taŋ	âka-tâng
37.	two	naya	ikpôr
38.	water	iŋ	ina
39.	we	mi	mòlòichik (mòl) (in construction)
40.	you	ŋi	ngòlòichik (ngòl) (in construction)

¹² There is no word for mountain. The Jarawa word *t^hinon* refers to 'high land/hillock'.

Appendix 3

Comparative list of words in Jarawa and Aka-Bea against the 100-word list provided by the LWT. Non availability of data in respective languages is marked by xxx. Aka-Bea data has been transliterated according to the keys given in Appendix 1. Words are arranged serially according to the stability index. Hence the word considered to be the least stable for borrowability in the list occupies the last position, i.e. 100th.

S.N.	English	Jarawa	Aka-Bea
1.	he/she/it	hi	v:llʌ, v:
2.	we (incl.)	xxx	xxx
3.	we (excl.)	xxx	xxx
4.	up	xxx	xxx
5.	this	li	u:ca, k3:
6.	where?	kaha:y?	tan, tekʌrica:?
7.	why?	onahəle?	micʌlen?
8.	which?	onne	tenca:?
9.	we	mi	mɒlvičik, mɒl
10.	married woman	əŋa:p	xxx
11.	younger sister	aikʰwəʃa	ʌr-dv:atɪŋapail
12.	to rise	xxx	xxx
13.	day after tomorrow	yakeka	ta:r-waiŋʌ
14.	to spin	xxx	xxx
15.	stinking	xxx	xxx
16.	to bring	eŋge/ekane	tɒ:yu, kɔ:rɔt
17.	day before yesterday	cetali	ta:r-dilbʌ
18.	there	luwə	ka:to, i:tʌn
19.	to lie down	tʰulə	b3:lʌgI
20.	to stand	ɖokəkte	ka:pɔrl
21.	here	liyə	i-ta:rmilŋʌ
22.	how?	noycʰe	kɪcɪkʌ, bɪcɪkʌ
23.	to run	ahapela	ka:j
24.	behind	xxx	xxx
25.	bitter	xxx	xxx
26.	nose	ipaŋo	Ig-cc:rcŋʌ
27.	thatch	xxx	xxx
28.	to go out	xxx	xxx
29.	to say	aṭiba	ta:r-clre

30.	to draw water	xxx	xxx
31.	that	luwə	p:llʌ, pl
32.	itch	ewewe	ru:tun̩-aij
33.	to go/return home	unnə	wi:j
34.	what?	onəhə	a:te, ya:te
35.	to grasp	xxx	xxx
36.	I	mi	dɒ:llʌ, dɒ:l
37.	to be hungry	əŋgiyacʰu	ga:rɪŋa
38.	younger brother	aikʰwət̪ə	ar-we:jɪŋʌ
39.	yolk	xxx	xxx
40.	above	xxx	xxx
41.	to come	allema	ɒn, kaic
42.	who?	onne	mi:jʌ
43.	next	xxx	xxx
44.	to listen	xxx	xxx
45.	it	li	ɒllʌ
46.	under	xxx	xxx
47.	to fart	xxx	xxx
48.	fire	tʰuhə	i-dʌl
49.	not	naðem	yɜ:ba, ba, da:ke
50.	to bite	ənigine, ipaka	ca:pI, ka:rʌp
51.	child-in-law	???	xxx
52.	right (side)	toheya	bɪ:dʌ
53.	to have	xxx	xxx
54.	to go	bəh̥e	li:r
55.	to lose	xxx	xxx
56.	to blow	əhubə	u:l, tɒ:puk, pu:wu
57.	to howl	xxx	xxx
58.	you (plural)	ŋji	ŋpl̥icik, ŋpl̥
59.	to grow	tu:ma:lə	wʌlʌgʌ, ab-dv:gʌ
60.	to throw	apine	dapi, depi
61.	to drop	huwaji	xxx
62.	you (singular)	ŋji	ŋpl̥icik, ŋpl̥
63.	to flow	xxx	xxx
64.	yesterday	kitaye	di:le:ʌ
65.	to hollow out	xxx	xxx
66.	to play	xxx	xxx
67.	eyelid	ecepota:ti	xxx
68.	long	talū	la:pʌŋʌ, la:pʌnʌ
69.	to hit/beat	onodəhe	paidlɪ, paiti
70.	wide	xxx	pan, pe:keto

71.	udder	xxx	xxx
72.	to climb	cap ^h e	ŋa:lau, cɔ:gra
73.	married man	əŋa:gi	xxx
74.	to hear	iṭ ^b əhəṭ ^h e	i:dai
75.	loud	xxx	xxx
76.	when?	kiṭa:ye	tain
77.	bright	xxx	xxx
78.	today	olla	kʌ-wai
79.	down	xxx	xxx
80.	nit	xxx	xxx
81.	black	hiṇu	pu:tunʌ
82.	firewood	nam/name	ca:pʌ
83.	to burn (intransitive)	amame	dʌl, jɑ:i, cɔ:i
84.	thick	hut ^h u	ga:rpʌv
85.	louse	xxx	xxx
86.	to chop	icilo	pə:t-kə:p
87.	to float	xxx	xxx
88.	finger	om	pə:ŋ-kɔ:ro
89.	outside	xxx	xxx
90.	fly	ugieit ^h e	ʌd-pa:pyʌ
91.	in	xxx	xxx
92.	at	xxx	xxx
93.	she	hi	p:lla, p:
94.	breast	kag	pə:t-ku:g, ɪg-ka:m
95.	to do/make	ic ^h e	pɪyo, ka:dli
96.	to fall	huwaji	pa:, gɒ:dʌɪ, tɔ:lat
97.	how much?	noyc ^h e	tʒ:n-tu:n, kɪcɪk
98.	raw	xxx	xxx
99.	older sister	-a:mi	a:enʃ:bʌrepail, a:enʃ:kʌrepail
100.	in front of	xxx	xxx

Appendix 4

Lexical comparison between the extinct languages of the Great Andamanese family. Data is drawn for all languages from Portman (1887) which is at variance with the data supplied by Man (1918).

S.N.	English	Aka-Bea	Aka-Kede	Aka Cari	Aka Bojigiaib
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1	breast	ot-ku:k (da) ot-ku:g (da) ig-kam	ot- pada be	ot char.	ote pa-da
2	throw	dapi, depi	jo pil	jok ter choin	ete toii kan
3	stone	taili-da	mio	meau	me-da
4	water	ina-da	ine	ino	ena
5	tree	aka-tang-da	katong	aka-tongel	o-tong-da
6	we	moloichik	mui	mio	mule
7	you	Noloichik, Nol	ngui	ngio	ngule
8	finger	ong-bodo (da)	ong-koro	ong- kudemo	pute

Appendix 5

Comparative list of words from Aka-Bea and Jarawa against the Swadesh-list (1955).

S.N.	English	Aka-Bea (Man 1923)	Jarawa (Present)
1.	all	a:r-du:ru	xxx
2.	and	xxx	ən
3.	animal	tɔ:t-nan	xxx
4.	ashes	ɪg-bu:g, ca:pa-lig-pid	hʷi:yə
5.	at	len, lat, yʌ	ɸ
6.	back	ab-gu:dur	-inon
7.	bad	ab-jz:bʌg	pit̪i
8.	bark (of a tree)	v:t-e:d, v:t-e:j, v:t-aic, v:t-aij	ipo
9.	because	eda:re	xxx
10.	belly	ʌr-mu:ga	-aykt̪ə
11.	big	bɒ:dia, dɒgʌ, ca:nʌg, ta:bʌŋʌ, rɒcəbə	hut̪u
12.	bird	cu:lʌ	naha
13.	to bite	ca:pi, ka:rʌp, kp:p	ənigine, ipaka

14.	black	pu:tuŋʌ	hiŋu
15.	blood	ti:, te:i	ceŋ
16.	to blow (wind)	u:l, wu:l	əhubə
17.	bone	ta:	-ogyag
18.	to breathe	a:ka-ɔ:nʌ	xxx
19.	to burn	jv:i	tʰuhəble
20.	child (young)	ab-li:gʌ	əccəle
21.	cloud	yu:m-li-diyʌ	xxx
22.	cold (weather)	ritip	xxx
23.	to come	vn, kaic	allema
24.	to count	ʌr-la:p	xxx
25.	to cut	ʌb-ŋa:li, ka:ta:i	icilo
26.	day (not night)	bvðə	
27.	to die	əkɔ-li	peca:me
28.	to dig	e:r-kv:p	ipine
29.	dirty	gu:jŋʌ, lʌdʌŋʌ, i-ta:rʌ	pit̪i
30.	dog	bibi	wimə
31.	to drink	we:lej	ipco
32.	dry (substance)	i-kɔ:lʌ	xxx
33.	dull (knife)	ɪg-pi:caŋʌ, mu:gu-tig-pi:ca	xxx
34.	dust	e:r--lv:t-pu:pyʌ	pela
35.	ear	ɪg-pu:ku	-ikʰwa
36.	earth (soil)	gʌrʌ	pela
37.	to eat	mag, meg, mak, a:ka-wet/wed	ita
38.	egg	mɔ:l-ɔ	yana, yanelia
39.	eye	i:g-da'	-ecepō, -cepō, -epō
40.	to fall (drop)	pa:	huwaji
41.	far	el-ʌr-pa:lʌ, lv:yʌbʌ	noda
42.	fat (substance)	pa:tʌ	hut̪u
43.	father	ʌb-maiɔlʌ, ʌr-v:dɪŋʌ, ʌb-ca:bil	ummə, amumə
44.	to fear	ʌr-la:t, ʌr-la:d	ənpət̪ʰa
45.	feather (large)	pi:d	xxx
46.	few	ik-pɔ:r	xxx
47.	to fight	ʌrʌ-ta:ŋ-mɒk	ənija
48.	fire	i-dal	tʰuhə
49.	fish	ya:d	napo
50.	five		mala
51.	to float	ju:mu	xxx

52.	to flow	ce:leehʌ, ya:l	xxx
53.	flower	a:ka-kɔ:l	oha:g
54.	to fly	ʌd-pa:pyʌ	ugi-k-əi[^h e]
55.	fog	pu:lɪʌ	xxx
56.	foot	ʊ:ŋ-pa:g	u:g
57.	four		mala
58.	to freeze	xxx	xxx
59.	fruit	ce:tʌ-ta:lʌ	ellewə
60.	to give	ma:n, a:	iya
61.	good	a:-be:rɪŋʌ	ce:w
62.	grass	yu:kʌlʌ	taha:bə
63.	green	ele-paij	ələŋda
64.	guts	ʌb-jɒdɔ	xxx
65.	hair	pi:d	oðə
66.	hand	ʊŋ-kɔ:rɔ	ipi:l
67.	he	ʊ:lɪʌ	hi
68.	head	ʊt-ce:tʌ	-otʰa:p
69.	to hear	i:-dai	
70.	heart	ʊt-ku:k-ta:-bʌnʌ	xxx
71.	heavy	i:nma, wɔ:mʌ	anponi
72.	here	ka:re, ka:min, ka:rɪn, kʌm	liyə
73.	to hit	paiti	aikʰwa
74.	hold (in hand)	pu:cu	kʰo
75.	how	kɪcɪkʌ-ca:	noycʰe
76.	to hunt (game)	dele	kiyə tahilə
77.	husband	i:k-ya:te	a:gi
78.	I	dʊ:llʌ	mi
79.	ice	xxx	xxx
80.	if	mɒ:dʌ	xxx
81.	in	len	ðə
82.	to kill	tɔlɪgʌ	aikʰwa
83.	know (facts)	ti:dai	-iniyəla
84.	lake	xxx	xxx
85.	to laugh	yene	əniyi:yə
86.	leaf	i:-tɒ:ŋ	pi:pə
87.	left (hand)	kɔ:ri	kuhʷə
88.	leg	ʌr-ca:g	-ipo
89.	to lie (on side)	bɔ:lʌgi	tʰulə
90.	to live	bu:du	xxx
91.	liver	ʌb-mu:g	xxx

92.	long	la:pʌŋʌ, la:pʌnʌ	ta:lu
93.	louse	xxx	xxx
94.	man (male)	a:bu:lʌ	əŋ, a:gi
95.	many	a:rdu:ru, ɒt-u:bʌbʌ	malawə
96.	meat (flesh)	dʌmʌ	u:gə
96.b	moon	ʊ:gʌr	tape
97.	mother	ʌb-e:tɪŋʌ	kaya
98.	mountain	bɔ:rɔɪn, tɔ:t-jɒ:dʌmʌ	tʰinon
99.	mouth	a:ka-bʌŋ	-imun
100.	name	ɒt-tɪŋ	aṭiba
101.	narrow	e:r-çɒpʌuʌ	xxx
102.	near	lʌgʌʌ, lʌgɪbʌ	bʊtʰə
103.	neck	ʊ:t-lɒ:ŋɔtʌ	-intʰug
104.	new	gɒɪ	xxx
105.	night	gu:rug	kɪtʰale
106.	nose	iɡ-çɔ:rɔŋʌ	iŋapo
107.	not	ʊz:bʌ	nadem
108.	old	ʌb-çɔ:rɔgʌ	xxx
109.	one	u:bʌ-tu:l, u:bʌ-dɒ:gʌ	wəya
110.	other	i:gł:, a:ka-tedi-bɒ:lyʌ, a:ka-tɔ:rɔ-bu:ʌ	xxx
111.	person	ʌb-də:lʌg	əŋ
112.	to play	i:-ja:j	xxx
113.	to pull	ti:nʌp, te:, te:nɪ	ipətʰeŋe, ehʷa
114.	to push	ɒ:t-u:dʌutɪ	ədeyag
115.	to rain	yu:m	wəwə-le
116.	red	ce:remʌ	hogidu
117.	right (correct)	u:bʌ-wai	ce:w
118.	right (hand)	ʌb-bi:dʌ	toheya
119.	river	i:-ji:g-ca:n-cau, ji:g	hʷa
120.	road	tiŋʌ	le:b
121.	root	ʌr-çɔ:rɔg, a:r-c:g	icʰe-tanj, tʰucə
122.	rope	be:tmɔ, kɔ:dɔ	pado
123.	rotten (log)	u:b-çɔ:rɔre, ʌr-yɒ:b	xxx
124.	rub	ra:r, cu:lu, lu:rʌɪ	acʰilele
125.	salt	e:repʌɪj	xxx
126.	sand	ta:rʌ	bilowə
127.	to say	ta:r-cire	aṭiba
128.	scratch (ich)	ŋɔ:təwʌ	eweewe
129.	sea (ocean)	ju:ru	ullelə
130.	to see	iɡ-ba:di	əyojəba

131.	seed	v:t-bʌn	xxx
132.	to sew	ja:t	xxx
133.	sharp (knife)	ri:nimʌ	t ^h upe
134.	short	ʌb-jv:dʌmʌ, ʌb-de:debʌ, ʌb-du:gʌb, v:t-tvðʌmʌ, v:t-rv:kɔmʌ	ucəhə
135.	to sing	ra:mit-tv:yu	gəgapa
136.	to sit	a:ka-dv:i, ʌrʌ-cv:mɪ	ən-ətəhə
137.	skin (of person)	dv:c, dvic	-itəyaŋ
138.	sky	mɔ:rɔ	pəŋnag
139.	to sleep	ma:mi	omohə
140.	small	ke:tɪʌ	boyiña
141.	to smell (perceive odor)	ɔ:tɔ:au	ac ^h u
142.	smoke	mɔ:lʌ	pənel
143.	smooth	liŋʌtɪ, pu:lɪ	xxx
144.	snake	jv:bɔ	topo
145.	snow	xxx	xxx
146.	some	ed-i:kpo:r	wan
147.	to spit	ci:n, tu:bʌl	t ^h uwə
148.	to split	ca:pʌ-ca:lʌt, a:ka-tɔ:rʌlɪ	xxx
149.	to squeeze	pe:temɪ, pu:nu	xxx
150.	to stab (or stick)	ʌb-jʌɪp	xxx
151.	to stand	ka:pɪ	đokəkte, tokət ^h e
152.	star	ca:tɔ	ciləpe
153.	stick (of wood)	pu:tu	
154.	stone	tʌlɪ	ulli
155.	straight	mɔ:lɔ	xxx
156.	to suck	ɪg-nɔ:	noño
157.	sun	bv:dɔ	yeheyə
158.	to swell	lapi, a:r-bu:t	xxx
159.	to swim	ʌr-pi:t	waŋa
160.	tail	ʌr-pi:cʌm	xxx
161.	that	v:llʌ, ka:tɔ	luwə
162.	there	ka:tɔ	luwə
163.	they	vʌrɔcik	xxx
164.	thick	gv:rɔdmʌ	huṭ ^h u
165.	thin	ʌb-kinʌb, ʌb-mvɪŋʌ	telo

166.	to think	lu: Λ	o t^h a ən-iyela η ¹³
167.	this	u: $\mathfrak{c}\Lambda$	li
168.	thou / you	ŋ $\mathfrak{v}ll\Lambda$ / ŋ $\mathfrak{v}l\mathfrak{v}icik$	ŋi
169.	there		luw ϑ
170.	to throw	da:p \mathfrak{i}	apine
171.	to tie	ɔ:kɔ:ba:t	aflen
172.	tongue	a:ka-e:tel	adal
173.	tooth (front)	a:ka-tu:g-l Λ r-n Λ ic Λ m Λ	ahod \mathfrak{q}
174.	tree	a:ka-ta:ŋ	tan \mathfrak{q}
175.	to turn	ɪg-ge:Ali	xxx
176.	two	i:k $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}:$ r	naya
177.	to vomit	a:ka-tu:dy Λ , Λ d-we:	əbulə:
178.	to walk	nau	cawaya
179.	warm (weather)	ɒt-u:yu Λ	hulu
180.	to wash	ca:t	andə
181.	water	i:n Λ	in \mathfrak{q}
182.	we	m $\mathfrak{v}l\mathfrak{v}icik$	mi
183.	wet	ɔ:tɔ:i:nʌre, ɔ:tɔ-pu:lure	angt h ə
184.	what	m $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{im}\Lambda$	onəhə
185.	when	tΛin	kitaye
186.	where	tan	kahay
187.	white	ɔ:ləwia Λ	haləŋda
188.	who	mi:j Λ	onne
189.	wide	pan	xxx
190.	wife	i:k-ya:te	əŋa:p
191.	wind (breeze)	u:lŋ Λ	bi:yŋ
192.	wing	ɪg-a:c Λ -ta:	uki
193.	wipe	ra:r, rar	xxx
194.	with (accompanying)	ɪk	nyac h e
195.	woman	a:p Λ il	əŋa:p
196.	woods	pu:tu	nam
197.	worm	wi:lidi Λ	xxx
198.	ye	xxx	xxx
199.	year	ta:lik	xxx
200.	yellow	te:r Λ w Λ	t h orgidu

¹³ The multimorphemic word in Jarawa translates roughly as “I have forgotten, let me think/remember.”

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Überlegungen zu einer ungewöhnlichen Schreibung des ägyptischen „*ȝbnn*“ – Vogels

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Abstract

In this article, a peculiar writing of the Egyptian “*ȝbnn*” – bird is tackled. The “*ȝbnn*” – bird belongs to those species that are unidentified until now. In oBM EA 50727, recto 2, this birdname has received the determinative of “Cow skin”, for which an explanation is searched. Needless to say, that this determinative is normally reserved for mammals. It will be shown however that, as an exception, this determinative can be used for insects, amphibians, reptiles, spiders, locusts and worms, too. Several examples will be collected. In the case under consideration the crucial point will be if this determinative can be used for birds as well. The question can be answered in the affirmative. In the Demotic pBerlin P 8932 vso, 6, the determinative of the “Cow skin” is combined with the “*gs*” – fowl. Therefore, the “*ȝbnn*” – bird represents the second example of this special use.

Keywords: Egyptian bird name, determinative of “Cow skin” in general, determinative of “Cow skin” after amphibians, reptiles, insects, spiders, locusts and worms in special, determinative of “Cow

skin” after bird-names, explanation for the determinative of “Cow skin” after the “*3bnn*” – bird.

In der Reihe der ägyptischen Vogelbezeichnungen ist auch der Name des „*3bnn*“¹ – Vogels zu nennen, der an mehreren Stellen nachgewiesen ist. Die Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Besitzer dieses Namens konnte bisher noch nicht endgültig geklärt werden. Wenn jedoch Hannig² Recht hat, könnte es sich dabei um einen flugunfähigen Vogel gehandelt haben. Das in Edfou I, 343, 5 nach „*3bnn*“ gewählte phönixartige Determinativ eignet sich dagegen nur bedingt zur Vogelbestimmung, da es in erster Linie durch den ähnlichen Klang des Wortes mit „*bnw*“ „Phönix“ inspiriert sein dürfte, der schon von Brose³ angesprochen worden ist.

In den folgenden Zeilen wird ein Aspekt bezüglich dieses Vogelnamens zur Sprache kommen, der bislang zu sehr in den Hintergrund getreten ist. Im konkreten Fall wird es um eine besonders eigenwillige Schreibung dieses Wortes gehen.

In oBM EA 50727, recto 2, ist hinter den Vogelnamen  das Determinativ des „Tierfelles“ gesetzt worden, das noch immer nicht zufriedenstellend erklärt ist. In der jüngsten Bearbeitung durch Brose ist jedenfalls auf einen Kommentar verzichtet worden. Die Feststellung, dass dieses Determinativ in der Hauptsache für

¹ WB I, 8, 6; W. Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka & Papyri, found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895–6, BSA 2 Extra (1989), XLIII; A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Text, Volume II (1947), *256; J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband, SDAIK 3A (1976), 298; L. H. Lesko, A dictionary of Late Egyptian, Volume I (1982), 6; H. S. Smith/W. J. Tait, Saqqara Demotic Papyri I (P. Dem. Saq. I) Texts from Excavations 7 (1983), 206 (Kontext zerstört!); R. Hannig, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.), 4. überarbeitete Auflage (2006), 6; M. Brose, SAK 38 (2009), 65. Der Vogelname „*3bnn*“ ist von J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband, SDAIK 3A (1976), 298, als Diminutiv aufgefasst worden, wobei er sich auf den Bildungstyp mit geminiertem dritten Radikal gestützt hat. Die bei J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband, SDAIK 3A (1976), 298, vorgenommene Herleitung des Vogelnamens von der Wurzel „*3bn*“ „drehen“ muss jedoch als fraglich eingestuft werden.

² R. Hannig, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.), 4. überarbeitete Auflage (2006), 6.

³ M. Brose, SAK 38 (2009), 65.

⁴ R. J. Demarée, Ramesside Ostraca (2002), Pl. 122; M. Brose, SAK 38 (2009), 59.

Säugetiere verwendet worden ist, dürfte fast schon trivial sein. Die Tatsache ist ebenfalls nicht neu, dass diese Regel in Ausnahmefällen auch durchbrochen werden konnte. In diesem Rahmen könnte auf den Gebrauch dieses Determinatives nach Spinnentieren wie der  – Tarantel und dem  – Skorpion verwiesen werden. Das Determinativ ist auch bei Insektenbezeichnungen⁷ wie dem  – Käfer und dem  – Floh verwendet worden. Der Gebrauch des Determinatives hat sich außerdem auf Heuschrecken wie die 

⁵ C. E. Sander-Hansen, Die Texte der Metternichstele, AnalAeg 7 (1956), 43; S. Sauneron, Un traité égyptien d’Ophiologie, Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum N° 47.218.48 et .85, BibGen 11 (1989), 44. Zur Bestimmung von „*ints*“ als Tarantel vgl. J. F. Borghouts, Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, Nisaba 9 (1978), 69 Nr. 93/94 Nr. 143; R. Hannig, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.), (2006), 91.

⁶ J. Cerny, Ostraca Hiératiques, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, N°s 25501 – 25832, Tome Première (1935), 17*/19*/24*; K. Jansen-Winkel, Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil II: Die 22. – 24. Dynastie (2007), 459. Zur Ableitung des Wortes „*whc.t*“ „Skorpion“ von der Wurzel „*whc*“ „stechen“ vgl. E. Edel, Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der „Weltenkammer“ aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1. Philologisch – Historische Klasse, II. Teil, (1963), 162; I. Gamar-Wallert, Fische und Fischkulte im Alten Ägypten, AgAb 21 (1970), 33; J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband, SDAIK 3A (1976), 120. Beachte das Wortspiel zwischen „*whc.t*“ „Skorpion“ und „*whc*“ „ablassen“ bei C. E. Sander-Hansen, Die Texte der Metternichstele, AnalAeg 7 (1956), 45–73.

⁷ Zu einem unklaren Fall des Determinatives des „Tierfelles“ nach einer möglichen Insektenbezeichnung vgl. L. Keimer, ASAE 33 (1933), 195–196.

⁸ W. R. Dawson, JEA 20 (1934), 187; J. Osing, StudAeg 14 (1992), 475; Chr. Leitz, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII, Magical and medical papyri of the New Kingdom (1999), 59 n. 62. Das „*pš3ii.t*“ – Insekt muss bei I. Munro, Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hohenpriesters Pa-nedjem II. (pLondon BM 10793/pCampbell), HAT 3 (1996), 25, als ein dem Toten gefährlich gewordener Schädling abgewehrt werden. Der Name des Kerbtieres ist bei D. Meeks, Les emprunts Égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermediaire. Les aléas du comparatisme, BiOr 54 (1997), 38, „*pšii.t*“ geschrieben worden. Zum „*pš3ii.t*“ – Käfer vgl. auch W. Westendorf, Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin, 1. Band, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 36. Band (1999), 496.

⁹ Ward, CdE 71 (1996), Fasc. 141, 45. Zum „*p(w)ii*“ – Floh vgl. F. Calice, Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung, Eine kritische Diskussion des bisherigen Vergleichsmaterials, Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, I. Heft (1936), 147.

¹⁰ W. Westendorf, Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin, 1. Band, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 36. Band (1999), 508. Zu diesem Tier vgl. auch J. Osing, StudAeg 14 (1992), 476; W. Westendorf, in: M.

– Heuschrecke (?) erstreckt. In gleicher Weise konnte es nach Reptilbezeichnungen wie der  – Schlange, der  – Eidechse, dem  – Krokodil und der  – Schildkröte gesetzt werden. Das Determinativ ist außerdem mit Amphibien wie dem  – Wassermolch, dem  – Frosch und dem  – Frosch (?) verbunden worden.

Minas/J. Zeidler (Hrsg.), Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur, Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag, AegTrev VII (1994), 265; S. Sauneron, Une traité égyptien d'Ophiologie, Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum No 47.218.48 et .85, BibGen 11 (1989), 55; J. Osing, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, The Carlsberg Papyri 2, CNI Publications 17 (1998), 123 j; Chr. Leitz, Tagewählerei, Das Buch *h3.t nh̄ ph.wi d.t* und verwandte Texte, Textband, ÄgAb 55 (1994), 43; Chr. Leitz, Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII (1999), 59 n. 63.

¹¹ Chr. Leitz, Tagewählerei, Das Buch *h3.t nh̄ ph.wi d.t* und verwandte Texte, Textband, ÄgAb 55 (1994), 46. Die oben vorgeschlagene Erklärung des Determinativen des „Tierfelles“ bei der „*nh̄*“ – Schlange mit dessen Verwendung bei Reptilien scheint den Kern der Sache besser als eine mögliche Übemahme von der „*nh̄*“ – Ziege zu treffen.

¹² S. Sauneron, Une traité égyptien d'Ophiologie, Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum N° 47.218.48 et .85, BibGen 11 (1989), 14/17 (?).

¹³ A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472–786, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications Volume LXXXI (1956), VI 193a; I. E. S. Edwards, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series: Oracular amuletic decrees of the Late New Kingdom, Vol. I, Text (1960), 75.

¹⁴ WB IV, 557, Belegschriften; S. Sauneron, Un traité égyptien d'Ophiologie, Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum No 47.218.48 et .85, BibGen 11 (1989), 103. Die „*štw*“ – Schildkröte hat in WB IV, 557, 6, der mit dem Logogramm der Schildkröte geschriebenen „*štw*“ – Pflanze zu ihrem Namen verholfen. In der Zwischenzeit hat sich diese Lesung jedoch als Irrtum herausgestellt. Wie S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), 1ff; Charpentier, Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte Antique (1981), 702, nachgewiesen haben, muss die Schreibung „*mnh*“ „Papyrus“ gelesen werden.

¹⁵ S. Sauneron, Une traité égyptien d'Ophiologie, Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum N° 47.218.48 et .85, BibGen 11 (1989), 114. Zum „*pnn.t*“ – Wassermolch vgl. J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband, SDAIK 3A (1976), 298. Im Gegensatz dazu hat sich Chr. Leitz, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII, Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom (1999), 7 n. 37, skeptisch zur Bedeutung „Wassersalamander (sic!)“ geäußert.

¹⁶ Z. Zaba, The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession), Charles University of Prague, Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology in Prague and in Cairo Publications, Volume I (1974), 109.

¹⁷ H. Ranke, ZAS 60 (1925), S. 80 n. 1. Zur onomatopoetischen Bildung des „*krr.w*“ – Frosches vgl. J. Osing, Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Anmerkungen und Indices, SDAIK 3B (1976), 354.

Wenn dieses Determinativ demnach bei so vielen Nichtsaugetieren stehen kann, lautet die entscheidende Frage, ob dies auch bei Vögeln möglich ist. Im Falle einer positiven Antwort könnte das Rätsel um das Determinativ des „Tierfelles“ beim „*bnn*“ – Vogel rasch gelöst werden. Wie es aussieht, kann die zu Beginn gestellte Frage eindeutig bejaht werden. Im demotischen pBerlin P 8932 vso, 6 ist das Determinativ des „Tierfelles“ hinter das „*gš*¹⁸ – Geflügel getreten. Obwohl bisher nur dieses eine Beispiel bekannt gewesen ist, steht die gewünschte Information damit einwandfrei fest. Das mit dem „Tierfell“ determinierte „*mšr.t*¹⁹ – Tier sollte besser beiseite gelassen werden, da der dortige Kontext aufgrund zahlreicher Zerstörungen keine Aussagen darüber zulässt, ob hier ein weiterer Beleg für den in pSallier IV vso 2, 4 bezeugten „*mšr.t*“ – Vogel vorliegt. Der Gebrauch des Determinativen des „Tierfelles“ bei Vögeln darf jedoch auf Basis zweier sicherer Beispiele als bewiesen gelten.

¹⁸ S. L. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, Quittungen, Demotische Dokumente aus Dime, Band II (2006), 107 (freundlicher Hinweis M. Schentuleit). Zur „*gš*“ – Gans/Ente vgl. auch J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, Text, The Carlsberg Papyri 2, CNI 17 (1998), 128. Das Wort „*gš*“ hat in sekundärer Verwendung Zugvögel bezeichnet, worauf bereits E. Edel, LÄ VI, 1424, s. v. Zugvögel, aufmerksam gemacht hat. Zu den „*g(3)s*“ – Zugvögeln vgl. A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re, Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, Bollingen Series XL 4 (1964), 29; H. Goedicke, The Report of Wenamun, The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies 6 (1975), 120.

¹⁹ A. H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series, Chester Beatty Gift, Volume II, Plates (1935), Pl. 21, 44.

**Are the Kalasha really of Greek origin?
The Legend of Alexander the Great and the Pre-Islamic World of
the Hindu Kush¹**

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Abstract

The paper refutes the claim that the Kalasha may be the descendants of the Greeks of Asia. First, traditions of Alexandrian descent in the Hindu Kush are examined on the basis of written sources and it is shown that such legends are not part of Kalasha traditional knowledge. Secondly, it is argued that the Kalasha were an integral part of the pre-Islamic cultural fabric of the Hindu Kush, and cannot be seen as intruders in the area, as legends of a Greek descent would want them. Finally, through comparative suggestions, it is proposed that possible similarities between the Kalasha and pre-Christian

¹ Paper presented as a key-note address at the *First International Conference on Language Documentation and Tradition, with a Special Interest in the Kalasha of the Hindu Kush Valleys, Himalayas – Thessaloniki, Greece, 7–9 November 2008*. Scarcity of funds caused the scientific committee to decide to select for the forthcoming proceedings only linguistic papers. This is rather unfortunate because the inclusion in the volume of anthropological papers as well would have offered a good opportunity for comparing different views on the question of the Greek ascendancy of the Kalasha.

Europe are to be explained by the common Indo-European heritage rather than by more recent migrations and contacts.

Keywords: Alexander the Great, Dionysus, Greeks, Hindu Kush, Indo-European, Kafirs, Kalasha.

The idea that the impenetrable mountain fastness of the Hindu Kush could conceal some stray descendants of the Greek colonists installed by Alexander the Great in Central Asia, has deeply fascinated British writers from the early times of the colonization of the Indian subcontinent. A Greek ancestry was claimed in those times by the rulers of several princely states of the mountains, by the Pashtun Afridi tribes (Caroe 1958: 44) and, purportedly, by the people of Nuristan (the former Kafirs of the Hindu Kush). In more recent years the same claim has been attributed to the Kalasha of Chitral. It is one of the aims of this contribution to investigate the origins of these narratives through an analysis of the written sources available and of the oral traditions of the people involved, taking into account also ethnographic and linguistic data (for genetic data see fn. 25). Another aim is to consider these narratives in the general frame of our knowledge of the pre-Islamic cultures of the Hindu Kush, in the light of most recent research. Finally, some cultural comparisons will be proposed.

1. The ‘Greek’ Princes

The earliest notice of a claim to Greek ancestry in the mountains known to the ancient Greeks as Paropamisos, was brought to Europe already in the 13th century by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who reported in his famous book that the royal dynasty of Badakhshan descended directly from Alexander's marriage with the daughter of Darius, and for that reason all the kings of that line called themselves Zulkarnein, in memory of their great ancestor (Polo 2005: 37). Polo's report was confirmed over two centuries later by the emperor Babur ([1921] 1990: 22) – the founder of the Moghul imperial dynasty of India – who writes in his *Memories*² that those rulers are said to

² The *Babur Nama* covers the period between 1493–94 and 1529.

descend from Iskander Filkus. A further notice stating that Sultan Badakhshi was of the race of Sikandar Zulkarnain, Filikus Rumi³ comes from Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1895: 107), the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, who was a relative and contemporary of Babur. As for British authors they do not fail to mention this connection from the very beginning: we find it in Burnes (1833, [1842] 2003: 203), in Raverty ([1888] 1976: 156, 162), and in Leitner ([1894] 1985: app. IV).

Yet, the rulers of Badakhshan were not the only ones to claim descent from Alexander. We learn from Elphinstone (1815: 628) that the ruler of Darwaz also claimed Greek ancestry, and from Wood (1872: 155), who travelled to the sources of the river Oxus in 1838, that so did the ruler of Talikhan, a city on the borders of Badakhshan. Burnes (1833) adds to the list the princes of Shignan and Wakhan, and Raverty ([1888]: 162) the prince of Roshan; while Tanner (1891), finally, reports that all the princes of the upper Oxus states made the same claim (cf. Yule 1921: 160). Since these neighbouring rulers of the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush, however, were most probably all connected by ties of marriage or kinship – and even when this was not so, imitation would certainly have played a role – we can quite safely suppose that the origin of their claims is one and the same, i.e. the established tradition of an Alexandrian ancestry of the royal dynasty of Badakhshan.⁴

Claims to a Greek ancestry were not confined, however, to the Badakhshan and Oxus area. Reports about other claims to an Alexandrian origin come also from the southern slopes of the chain, i.e. the Northern Areas of Pakistan, from as far east as Hunza, Nager and Skardu in Baltistan.⁵ In the case of Nager, Schomberg (1935: 106) reports that the Mir was very proud of his descent from Alexander the Great and appreciated comments by his guests about his classic Greek profile; since, however, there is no trace of such ancestry in the oral traditions reported by Frembgen (1992), it could be that the claim was staged in British times by the rulers who took to their side, to exhibit some affinity with the new European lords. In the case of Skardu,

³ Ney Elias, the English translator of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, explains in a footnote (Ib.) that Filikus appears to be the usual Oriental corruption of Philip Alexander's father.

⁴ This dynasty was dethroned and replaced at the end of the 16th century by an Uzbek dynasty whose rulers bore the title of Mir, instead of Shah, like their ousted predecessors.

⁵ And even from the western provinces of China (Burnes 1833).

John Biddulph ([1880] 1986: 146-147), the first official British agent sent to the area (Keay [1979] 1990: 90), does not relate tales of Greek ancestry on the part of the ruling dynasty, but reports that the town itself was said to have been built by Alexander who named it Iskanderia, from which it was converted to its present form (Ib.). If we consider that Skardu is pronounced Iskardu by locals, it seems likely that the connection to Alexander (Iskander) is a construction inspired by the name itself of the city. In fact Vigne (1842 in Afridi 1988: 31) reports that the ruler Ahmad Shah was aware of the tradition, but said there was no reason for it within his knowledge.

As for Hunza, Lorimer (1935, II: 236), in a footnote, reports a folk tradition of descent of three tribes from people left by Alexander the Great, when he was on his way down from China, and Sidky (1999) relates what seems to be a fuller version of that tradition.⁶

A connection to Alexander also appears in the *Tarikh-i-Hunza*, an early 19th century work by Muhammad Riza Beg, where a Shah Rais ruler of Hunza, Nager and Gilgit is associated with Alexander the Great and is said to have been nominated as a governor of Gilgit by him (Holzwarth 2006: 175). Shah Rais – who is here completely estranged from his context – is in fact a historical figure: he was the offspring of a *shah* who ruled Chitral in the first half of the 17th century and claimed to descend from Alexander the Great, just as the *shahs* of Badakhshan did (Ib.). His father Shah Babur was indeed an offspring of that very royal lineage, who was forced into exile at the end of the 16th century when his reign was annexed by the Uzbek kingdom of Bukhara, and became the ruler of “Chetrar and Bashqar” (Raverty [1888] 1976: 162; Holzwarth 1994; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 49). We are led again, here, to the established claim of the royal dynasty of Badakhshan.

A further notice of Alexandrian ancestry – related by Cunningham (1854: 39) as second-hand information – concerns the last ruling dynasty of Chitral, the Kator royal lineage. This notice is rather atypical because the dynasty of the last rulers of Chitral claims a very different ancestry, reaching back to the Timurid rulers of Herat in one version (Murtaza [1962] 1982: 71-72), and to the Persian king of Khorasan in another (Müller-Stellrecht 1980: 211). The tradition

⁶ Of which, he informs us, a published version already existed in the *Tarikhi Ahdi Atiqi Hunza* by Qudratullah Beg (a work published in 1980 cf. Holzwarth 2006: 190).

related by Cunningham, of which he does not mention the source, is probably to be connected, instead, to the Shah Babur mentioned above, who was in all likelihood the first independent Muslim ruler of Chitral and whose rule is documented in the year 1620 A.D. (Holzwarth 1996, 1999: 137–142; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 48–49). Shah Babur's claim to an Alexandrian ancestry was probably transferred in this case to the last rulers of Chitral, who belong in fact to a wholly separate dynasty. Once again, it appears, we are brought back to the same master-tradition.

From the sources listed above it seems therefore that the centre of the diffusion of the tradition in the northern reaches of the Hindu Kush is to be identified with the kingdom of Badakhshan, and in particular with its dethroned royal lineage.

There was however another corner of the Hindu Kush where the claim to a Greek ancestry must have been wholly independent from the Badakhshan tradition. The earliest reference to it is to be found in the *Ayin Akbari*, a work by Abu-Fazl the main historian at the court of the Moghul emperor Akbar (1542–1605 A.D.), the grandson of Babur. The reference was noticed by some of the very early British authors who quote it in their writings, already in the 18th century. We are here at the southern borders of the chain, in the valleys of Swat and Bajaur, which were formerly governed by a dynasty of princes styled Sultani, who derived their lineage from a daughter of Alexander the Great (Rennell 1792: 162); first defeated by Babur in 1519 (Babur [1921] 1990: 368–370; Masson 1842: 217), they were subsequently dispossessed by the Yusufzai Pathans when they migrated there from Kabul (Raverty [1888] 1976: 204). The *Sair-al bilad* – an eyewitness account based on surveys made by one Mogul Beg between 1789 and 1790 for Captain Wilford – relates that in a village at the head of the Babaqara valley in Bajaur, nearby the ruins of the mighty fortress of Sultan Haidar Alì destroyed by Babur, there was still “...a small village called Kanbat, in which a few hundred families of the former race – the Arab – dwell, who are styled Iskandari” (in Raverty [1888] 1976: 117).

Summing up, we may say that we have detected two surely independent centres of the tradition of Alexandrian descent in the Hindu Kush. One, Badakhshan, apparently very prolific, influencing a vast area on both sides of the main northern ridge. The other one seemingly more isolated in the southern ramparts of the chain and

almost extinct, but originally extending from Bajaur to Swat. The Afridi tradition mentioned by Caroe (see above) could be connected to this centre.

What should we make of these traditions? The fact that they are well documented and centuries old may induce in the layman a belief in their historical quality. But for the historian and anthropologist this is hardly possible. In the absence, as is the case, of the support of any “local written record, Indian or Achaemenian, inscriptional or other of Alexander’s passage through the country” (Caroe 1958: 45), an oral tradition just cannot reach back that far.

Jan Vansina – a historian and anthropologist who did pioneering work in the field of oral traditions – reports that he knows of no instance of a continuous series of witnesses going back more than three centuries (Vansina [1961] 1976: 311-312). We have found that among the Kalasha that limit can be exceeded, and in the case of the Kati of Nuristan there is proof of an oral tradition reaching back possibly even more than five centuries (Morgenstierne 1973b: 312). But this is absolutely exceptional, and we are here at the extreme limits of the span of time oral memory can cover. There is no way, therefore, that the traditions we are dealing with could go back to the times of Alexander. If they lasted for over six centuries, as Marco Polo’s report testifies, this can only be explained by the fact that they must be nourished by some written source. For Olaf Caroe these traditions:

almost certainly have their origin in the body of western classical learning translated into Arabic in the days of the Abbasids of Baghdad, and are part of the Yunani or Greek lore which so largely influenced Islamic *literae humaniores*. It was thus that the great deeds of Sikandar Zul-qarnain – Alexander of the Two Horns – became a part of the folk-lore of the Muslim world. (Caroe 1958: 45; cf. Grossato 2008: 276)

If those classics had not been translated – he adds – the memory of Alexander’s great feat would have been completely forgotten in India and Eastern Iran. The circumstance related by Polo that the rulers of Badakhshan all exhibited the title Zul-qarnain, an Arabic epithet used for Alexander in the Quran, brings strong support to Caroe’s observation. We can quite safely conclude therefore that all these traditions, whether connected (as they mostly seem to be) or not, to

the two main centres, were developed after the arrival of Islam in the area, and cannot be the fruit of an uninterrupted transmission from the times of Alexander or of his Greek successors in the area.

2. The Greek ‘Savages’

Let us consider now the sources concerning the former Kafirs⁷ of the Hindu Kush, the speakers of Nuristani (formerly ‘Kafiri’) languages (Fussman 1972; Morgenstierne 1974; Edelman 1983; Strand 2001). Western neighbours of the Kalasha in present-day Afghan Nuristan, they were an independent constellation of tribes that remained unconquered by any State power, and polytheistic, until the end of the 19th century, when they were subdued and forcibly converted to Islam by the Amir of Afghanistan Abdur Rahman Khan⁸ (Kakar 1971; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 182–185). The idea that they may be somehow connected to Alexander’s colonists circulated in Europe already in the 19th century (Yule 1882: 821; Capus 1889: 18) and was reinforced by their fairer complexion as compared to the people of the plains, their customs of producing wine and using chairs and by other peculiar traits of their non-Islamic culture which seemed vaguely reminiscent of ancient Europe.

It was soon shown, however, that the idea was the fruit of a mistake committed by the very first author who provided an extensive account of the Kafirs, the Honourable Monstuart Elphinstone who was sent as the first British envoy to the King of Kabul in 1809. Elphinstone had read Rennell’s work and had in mind the passage quoted above where he related the notice given in Abu Fazl’s *Ayin Akbari* about a certain tribe in Bajaur who claimed descent from Alexander the Great. We have just seen that these are the former inhabitants of the region whose king, in the times of Babur, was Sultan Haidar Ali, and who had subsequently been displaced by the Yusufzai Pathans. However, when Elphinstone heard news of the Kafirs – who lived in the mountains just north of Bajaur – and their supposedly European traits he immediately thought that they may

⁷ Kafirs, Arabic for infidel, is the term they were collectively referred to by their Muslim neighbours before their conversion.

⁸ The Kalasha escaped the crusade because they were left on the British side of the border by the Durand Agreement of 1893 (Alder 1963: 287–299, 330–333).

have been the people referred to in Abu Fazl's work (Elphinstone 1815: 617), and he resolved to send an envoy to their country to shed light on their customs and origins. The passage where this is related opens Elphinstone's chapter on the Kafirs and, though a few pages later their Greek ancestry is bluntly dismissed on linguistic grounds (Ib: 620), it probably left a durable impression on readers. Indeed, Elphinstone's book must have had a remarkable impact in England for it was the first detailed eye-witness account of the then totally unknown Kingdom of Kabul; it apparently generated a widespread belief in a possible Greek origin of the Kafirs that lasted throughout the 19th century (Mohan Lal 1834; Vigne 1840: 236; *The Times* 12.21.1895 in Jones 1966: 56; cf. Yule 1882: 821), in spite of the fact that his mistake was detected and explained by Yule already in 1882 (Ib; Capus 1889: 18), and that there was also no lack of dissenting opinions (Burnes 1833; Biddulph [1880] 1986: 132; Rousselet 1885: 219; *The Times* 02.11.1896 in Jones 1966: 58), including, as we have just seen, that of Elphinstone himself. In one account it is even conjectured that they must be the descendants of Greeks that conquered India long before Alexander, the Nysaens of the Dionysian myth (Holdich 1896).

As for the Kafirs themselves, it seems that they felt an affinity with the Europeans because it is reported that they prided themselves of being brothers of the Firingi⁹ (Wood [1841] 1872: 187); and we know of one instance in which a delegation of Kafirs appeared in a British military camp near Jalalabad in 1839, claiming ties of kinship with the Europeans (and was not well received by the officers in charge who did not see themselves as having possibly something in common with that wild-looking bunch) (Raverty 1859: 345–346). This feeling was probably generated by the common traits of a fairer complexion, of drinking wine,¹⁰ and of not being Muslims; but it is likely that it was also, to some extent, induced by their Islamic neighbours who were the first to find them similar to the Europeans “in their intelligence, habits and appearance as well as in their hilarious tone and familiarity, over their wine” (Burnes 1838: 329).

⁹ Firingi, or Farangi, is a term used in the Muslim world probably since the Crusades to designate Europeans; it derives from Farans, France.

¹⁰ Burnes (1833: 326) was assured by one of his Kafir informants that his tribe looked upon all as brothers, who wore ringlets and drank wine. If the British did not wear ringlets, they did show appreciation for wine.

Wood ([1841] 1872: 186-187) wonders if the Kafirs' claim of brotherhood to Europeans was founded on tradition, or was a mere assumption of their own. The latter was most probably the case.

The oral traditions of the Nuristani in fact make no mention of the Greeks or of Alexander. We do not hear tales of descent from the great Macedonian conqueror, like the ones reported from Badakhshan. We have found only one instance in the literature in which the Kafirs explicitly state that their ancestors have come with Alexander the Great. From the secret British documents collected by Schuyler Jones, we learn that a delegation from Kafiristan applied to Ghulam Haidar – the general who led the crusade of 1891–92 which caused the conversion of the region (then renamed Nuristan) – on May 23rd 1891 seeking protection from an impending raid against them on the part of a large Pathan tribal force. The document relates that the Kafirs stated that their tribe is of European descent, their ancestors having been brought from Europe into Kafiristan by Alexander the Great (Jones 1969: 41). The Amir Abdur Rahman was then trying to lure the Kafirs into submission without the use of military force and he granted the protection required by inducing the Pathan leaders to give up their planned attack. At that time, the Kafirs of the Bashgal valley had already known Colonel Robertson, who had spent a year among them in 1889–90,¹¹ and the Lockhart mission before him (Lockhart & Woodthorpe 1889). Also, they had surely been aware of the presence of the new European power in the area since the times of Elphinstone, and it is very likely that they had got wind of European conjectures about their origin; while Alexander the Great, on the other hand, must have been known to them also through the Islamic folk-lore of the people surrounding them (Müller-Stellrecht 1980: 201–206). We should not be far from the truth, therefore, if we suppose that in this isolated case the Kafirs resorted to the Alexandrian legend because they thought it could have been expedient, in that perilous

¹¹ Robertson's precious book (1896), an eye-witness account of Kafir society before its forced Islamization, has become a standard reference for the area. The only other extended first hand account of that world is in a manuscript collected by Morgenstierne in 1929 and published only recently (Cacopardo & Schmidt 2006).

circumstance, to present themselves as related to the powerful lords of the Indian empire.¹²

Apart from this single instance, whenever the question of origins is raised, the early sources (Burnes 1838: 326, [1842] 2003: 207; Vigne 1840: 236; Biddulph [1880] 1986: 132; Bellew 1891: 143; Robertson ([1896] 1974: 158) invariably report that the Kafirs believed themselves to be of Arab descent and to belong to the Quraish tribe; a no doubt fictitious pedigree that has however a very interesting meaning that we have investigated elsewhere.¹³

It is also quite certain that a connection of the Kafirs to the great Macedonian was not part of the early Asian Islamic tradition. This is proved indeed by the fact that Timur Laing, who made a fleeting incursion in their territory in 1398, could boast to have submitted a people who had never been conquered by any prince in the world, not even by Alexander the Great (Masson 1842: 200)¹⁴.

The idea that the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush could be connected to the Greeks of Asia, never seriously entertained by scholars, was in the end altogether set aside when their languages came under the scrutiny of professional linguists in the early decades of the 20th century. Georg Morgenstierne's work made clear that the Nuristani languages have no connection with Greek, apart from the distant common Indo-European roots. Since then linguists agree that they are an early off-shoot of the Indo-Iranian family, closer to the Indian than to the Iranian branch (Fussman 1972: 12-13; Morgenstierne 1974; Edelman 1983; Strand 1998, 2001).

¹² Another episode in which the Kafirs exhibit good knowledge of the international politics of the time and show their aptness at using pedigrees for political ends is reported by Robertson ([1896] 1974: 160).

¹³ This legendary theme is a well established tradition throughout the Hindu Kush/Karakorum. We ourselves have recorded it many times in Southern Chitral (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 85, 111, 213–215, 244, 246, 268, 271–272). The true meaning of the legend is in fact a statement of ancient Kafir ancestry because the supposed connection is through Abu Jahel, a member of the Quraish tribe who was an arch-enemy of Islam (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 213–214).

¹⁴ That Alexander found people with customs akin to those of the Kafirs already installed in the Hindu Kush when he got there – as Loude (1980: 152) also remarks – is on the other hand documented by Arrian. In fact, the great Macedonian never entered Nuristan or Chitral, but, in his times, all the mountain people had polytheistic religions akin to those of the pre-Islamic Nuristani and the Kalasha (see *infra*).

3. The lost ‘Greeks’

Expelled from scientific writing the idea that the Kafirs were the descendants of Alexander’s soldiers, or colonists, survived in popular literature – and it has recently been applied to the Kalasha of Chitral who, as the last polytheists of the Hindu Kush,¹⁵ tend to be seen as the rightful heirs of the non-Muslim cultures of Nuristan. The Kalasha have by now become a tourist attraction in Pakistan and there is no article in geographical or photographic magazines and no documentary film – of the many that have recently been produced – that fails to report that the Kalasha claim descent from a group of soldiers of Alexander.

In fact, it can safely be stated that the idea does not belong to Kalasha traditional knowledge. Written sources on the Kalasha are much more recent than those concerning the Nuristani, because the attraction exerted by the independent Kafirs of the Hindu Kush was so great that for a time they monopolized the attention of researchers. Biddulph ([1880] 1986: 64), hardly mentions the Kalasha at all in his book, and Robertson, who travelled through their valleys on his way to Kafiristan, only pauses to comment that they are not the true independent Kafirs of the Hindu Kush because they are subject to the Mehtar of Chitral (Robertson [1896] 1974: 4). It is only in the mid 20th century that some knowledge of Kalasha culture was acquired through the works of Morgenstierne (1932, 1947, 1965, 1973a), Schomberg (1938), Siiger (1956, 1963, 1967, 1974), Friedrich (in Jettmar 1975), Snoy (1959, 1960, 1965, 1974), and Graziosi (1961, 2004, 2007)¹⁶. All these scholars inquired about tales of origins but no mention of the Greeks or Alexander the Great ever appears in these early writings.¹⁷ Research was conducted mainly in Rumbur and

¹⁵ Over 5000 speakers of the Kalasha language live today in the three valleys of Birir, Bumburet, and Rumbur in Lower Chitral, in the N.W.F.P. of Pakistan (cf. Decker 1992: 99–101). Of these the majority are polytheistic, but many have converted and the Muslim minority has been steadily increasing. Conversion, in the long run, usually leads also to a shift in language in favour of Khwar, the dominant language of Chitral (Cacopardo A.M. 1991, 1996; Decker Ib: 111–114).

¹⁶ Graziosi’s fieldnotes from 1955 and 1960 have been published in the Italian original in 2004 and 2007 (see bibliography).

¹⁷ Strangely enough, and quite interestingly, in one of his early writings Morgenstierne (1929: 311) mentions a supposed Alexandrian descent for the Chitralis, but not for the Kalasha.

Bumburet. The oral traditions of those valleys spoke of a time when the Kalasha held sway over Chitral proper, and told of their defeat at the hands of the Rais Mehtars. Before those times, there was only a vague memory of a migration from the south-west under the leadership of a legendary ‘king’¹⁸ called Shalak Shah who came from a mysterious land named Tsyam (Siiger 1956: 33–35). It is quite significant that, according to *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* – a historical work published in Urdu in 1962 but based on older materials (Holzwarth 1996: 117; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 45) – the view that the Kalasha may be the descendants of some of the soldiers of Alexander’s generals is due to some European historians (Murtaza [1962] 1982: 47).

Only in the course of the 1970s, when more intensive studies of Kalasha culture were carried out by a new generation of researchers, did such a narrative sporadically start to surface in Rumbur (Loude 1980: 156–162; Parkes 1983: 11–12), to all appearance through the initiative of one single renowned informant who worked with several ethnographers. In these accounts the legendary ancestor Shalak Shah, whom Siiger¹⁹ (1956: 33) depicts as an independent paramount king of the Kalasha, puts himself in the service of Sikander Mukadas, represented as a Muslim king of Yarkhun, in northern Chitral (Loude 1980: 166), who had a golden horn on his head (Ib: 158). The details of the story indicate that it was in all likelihood a borrowing from local Muslim lore rooted in medieval Islamic accounts – the same ones we found at the roots of the Alexandrian ascendancy of the Badakhshan kings – as both Loude (1980: 162) and Parkes (1983: 12) did not fail to notice. For what we could ascertain, the narrative was not part of common knowledge: no mention of an Alexandrian ascendancy was indeed made to the present author by other informants in 1973 and in 1977, at the time of his first visits, neither in Rumbur or in the other valleys.

¹⁸ It is quite certain that the Kalasha never had a state-like political organization as the title of king would imply (Cacopardo A.M. forthcoming).

¹⁹ The Danish scholar Halfdan Siiger was the first ethnographer of the Kalasha. He carried out his fieldwork in 1948 as a member of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia (Siiger 1956: 6). A previous visit paid to the Kalasha valleys by the Deutschen Hindukusch-Expedition of 1935 was very brief (Herrlich 1938). Linguistic work, though, had already been conducted in 1929 by Morgenstierne (1932), who had also collected some ethnographic data (e.g. Morgenstierne 1947).

The narrative at any rate was given little credit by ethnographers, as far as its historical content was concerned; only a couple of non-scholarly works argue in favour of the Greek connection (Guillard 1974: 185–206; Afzal Khan 1975: 68). Apart from the absence of an established oral tradition, for researchers the results of linguistic investigation were indeed enough to dismiss the theory of a Greek ancestry of the Kalasha once and for all (e.g. Snoy 1959: 525²⁰; Jettmar 1975: 473; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 25; cf. Morgenstierne 1929: 311). Since Morgenstierne's studies, it had been indeed shown that Kalashamon (*kaL'aSa mon*)²¹ – the language of the Kalasha – is a purely Indo-Aryan language that has a lot in common with Sanskrit and very little with Greek, apart from the distant Indo-European heritage. In this perspective any similarities between Kalashamon and Greek would be explained as deriving from the ancient vertical connection that passes through Sanskrit, and not from a horizontal one due to more recent contacts or migrations. Recent linguistic studies of Kalashamon have confirmed that view (Bashir 1988, 2003; Masica 1991: 21; Trail & Cooper 1999; Heegård 2006).

In spite of this evidence an attempt to revive the theory of Greek origins was made in the 1990s by Gail H. Trail, from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a private institution which has done important linguistic work in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Her paper, presented at the 2nd Hindu Kush Cultural Conference (held in Chitral in 1990) was subsequently published in the Proceedings.

The theory Gail Trail presents as “quite plausible” is that the Kalasha could be the descendants of native Syrians who would have absorbed Greek culture during the reign of Seleucus I. Alexander's successor would have sent them “to far-away Greek Bactria to hold his territory there” and “to rid himself of possible internal revolt” while at the same time gaining “their lands in Syria to give to his retiring Greeks;” in alternative, or concomitantly, she suggests, “the Greek soldiers may have taken Syrian wives and settled in the far east in Seleucus' land-grant program when they retired” (Trail 1996: 364). One of the main arguments in support of this rather bold historical reconstruction is her identification of the mysterious homeland of

²⁰ Snoy does not relate here any Kalasha oral tradition, but refers generally to the legend of the supposed Greek origins of the Kafirs of Nuristan, that by analogy could have been applied to the Kalasha.

²¹ Capital letters indicate a retroflex articulation.

Tsyam with Sham – which is the name for Syria in Arabic, Urdu, and Persian – on the basis of Morgenstierne's finding that Nuristani languages have the sound *ts* where Sanskrit has *sh*. Though Kalasha is not a Nuristani language it does exhibit in some words this feature, which, for Gail Trail, “gives us a linguistic basis for examining the Kalasha as a people from Syria” (Ib: 360).

G. Trail then proceeds to clear the ground of the two major objections to the theory of the Greek origin of the Kalasha: that their language, as we have just seen, is purely Indic – which was fully confirmed also by the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Trail & Cooper 1999: xi–xii) – and that the names of several of their gods are clearly connected to deities of the Vedic pantheon (Turner 1966: *headwords* 444, 6523, 6540, 8306, 8307, 8782, 10395; Cacopardo A.S. 2010: 342–343). The first and heaviest objection, she circumvents by proposing that the Kalasha must have changed language, adopting “the Northwest Prakrit long ago before they...became isolated groups in the side-valleys of Chitral.” As for the affinities with the Vedic system, she considers them a fruit of the syncretistic tendencies of the Hellenized peoples which caused them to amalgamate “their own beliefs into Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism when they came to India” (Ib.). To support her theory, G. Trail needs of course to suppose that “the Hindu Kush and Dardic areas were included in the former Persian satrapy of Bactria” that was conquered by Alexander and re-conquered by Seleucus; which she does on the basis of a brief passage in one of Jettmar's articles (Jettmar 1977: 419). She then seeks confirmation in Kalasha oral tradition and finds that Shalak Shah – the mythical ‘king’ mentioned above – can be identified with Seleucus through a linguistic analysis of the two names: “the Sanskritized form of Seleucus would reduce the vowels to *a*'s and pronounce the *s* as *sh*, the *-us* dropped later, becoming *Shalak*” (Trail 1996: 365). The argument leads thus to the “astounding” conclusion that “the story has “apparently survived almost 2300 years” in an incredibly clear form” (Ib.). A wealth of “corroborating details” – that we cannot examine here – follow, which concern epigraphical clues, place names, and Kalasha material culture and religion.

As can be seen, the theory is highly conjectural and its basis are weak. In the first place, as argued above, an oral tradition just cannot reach back that far. The linguistic argument, moreover, probably

needs more cautious consideration: it must be kept in mind that Kalasha is not a Nuristani language and that its historical phonology has not developed along the same lines. But even if the argument were viable, Sham may more reasonably refer to Upper Chitral – as Morgenstierne (1932: 47) also believed – for, as we suggested (coincidentally resorting to the same linguistic argument used by G. Trail) in an article on Kalasha origins also published in the Proceedings of the 2nd Hindu Kush Conference,

... the name of this country may be connected with toponymes like Sanglechi Šam (northern Chitral), or Prasun Šim Gul for Chitral proper (Morgenstierne 1932: 47) perhaps related as Tucci also suggests (1977: 63, 80–81), to Šyanaraja, Šyama, Šyamaka, and most likely reflected in the Chinese Shē-mi, Shang-mi which Tucci, along with other scholars, tends to identify with northern Chitral (see also Jettmar 1977: 415–416, 423) (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1996: 308).

This would mean, we further suggested (cf. Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1996: 308), that the tradition of the ‘migration’ from Tsyam simply reflects an ancient expulsion of a particular Kalasha group from some part of Northern Chitral, due to an expansion of the neighbouring Khowar speakers.

Furthermore, the idea of a group of emigrants from Syria who changed their language, is a mere conjecture. If those emigrants changed their language, how do we know that the migration ever took place? A doubtful identification of two place names seems too little, and the ‘corroborating details’ we could not list do not give enough support. Moreover there is really no proof that the Achaemenian satrapy of Bactria extended to the heart of the Hindu Kush. In the passage quoted by G. Trail, Jettmar states that “under Arthaxerxes II all Achaemenid dependencies down to the river Indus were included in a larger Bactrian satrapy” (Jettmar 1977: 419); but this most likely referred to the plains, not to the mountains. In fact, Jettmar himself states in another work that “this area [the Hindu Kush] never formed an integral part of any of the Great Empires of Asia” (Jettmar 1974a: IX). As for Alexander, it seems quite certain that he never advanced into the mountains further north of Bajaur and Swat (Stein [1929] 1996; Caroe 1958: 43–57; cf. Edelberg & Jones 1979: 34), as is corroborated also by Timur Laing’s statement reported above where he recalls that not even the great Macedonian had subdued the Kafirs.

As for the identification of the name Shalak Shah with Seleucus, even if linguistically viable, it is not very meaningful. Names travel far, as we all know by our own personal experience.

What can we infer then from Kalasha oral traditions? After an initial period of fieldwork in Rumbur in 1973 (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1977) and 1977, starting from 1989 the author has carried out with Alberto M. Cacopardo an extensive survey of oral traditions in Southern Chitral (Cacopardo A.M. 1991, 1996; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992, 1996; Cacopardo A.S. 1991, 1996). The project concerned the converted Kalasha communities of the area of Drosh, those of the two valleys of Jinjeret Kuh and Urtsun, as well as other linguistic minorities of the region (see fig. 1).²² More recently, in 2006, an investigation of oral traditions was conducted by the author in Birir and by Alberto Cacopardo in Upper Chitral.

The picture that emerged is interesting and quite complex. In the first place, it is best to make clear that in all these communities no mention was ever made of Alexander the Great or of a Greek origin. In the second place, one thing seems certain: that it is not correct to speak of any single tradition of origins for the Kalasha as a whole. Tsyam, as an original homeland, is mentioned only in Bumburet and Rumbur²³ and its basis is seemingly in the myth of the god Balimain, who is believed to come from Tsyam during the winter solstice festival, and in the chant of a single ritual, performed in spring when the weather is “unreasonably bad” in which the women, making no mention of Shalak Shah, just threaten to go to Tsyam if the rain does not stop (Maggi 2001: 214–216).

The names of Tsyam and of Shalak Shah as a founding ancestor, were not mentioned in any other Kalasha community.

²² The Dameli of Damel valley; the Palula of Ashret and Biyori; the Gawar of Arandù, the Jashi of Badugal and Gawardesh. The data available on the pre-Islamic religions of these groups were quite scant, but nevertheless enough to indicate clearly that they were akin to that of the Kalasha (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001).

²³ Indeed even in Rumbur and Bumburet the tradition was not apparently of general knowledge: in a text taken down by Wazir Ali Shah, Lamson, a respected elder in Siiger's time, referring to the early ancestors of the Kalasha, declares that he had “no knowledge where these people came from and when, and probably they were the real inhabitants (*bhumk'i* = of the same soil) of that valley.” The text, included in the Siiger Archives, was kindly put at my disposal by Jean-Yves Loude.

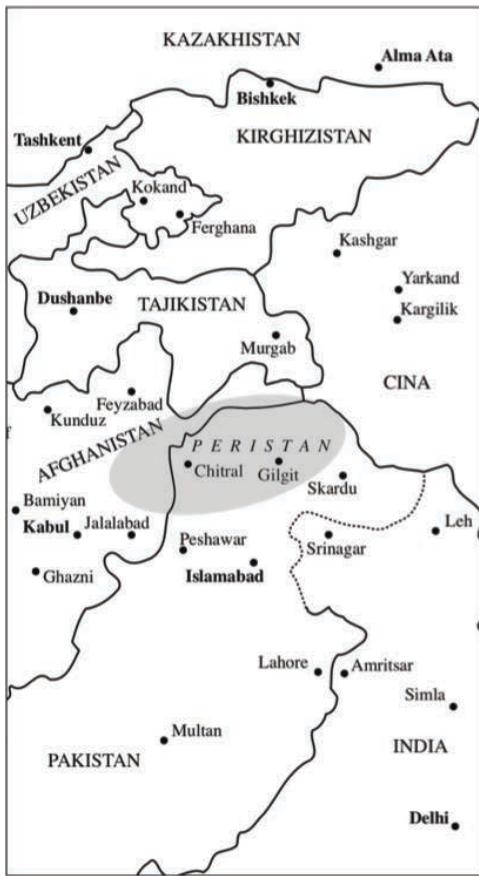


Figure 1. Chitral and the Afghan border areas

We recorded a myriad of different stories, mostly pertaining to single lineages or lineage groups. Even within the same community we have found different traditions of origin: in Birir one of the largest lines of descent claims to have come from the west, from Afghan Nuristan, another one supposedly came from the Shishi Kuh valley that lies east of Drosh, while three or four lineages are styled *bhumk'i*, because they are believed to be aborigines of the valley, and they have preserved no memory of a former residence or migration. The same is true of Bumburet: some of the lineages there are believed to descend from the same apical ancestor as those of Rumbur (the Rachikoshdari and Bumburdari of Krakar, the Rajawaidari of Batrik and possibly the

Budadari of Kandarisar) and may therefore be connected with the epic of Shalak Shah, while the ancestors of others are said to have come from Yasin (the Turikdari of Daras Guru), or from the Chitral area (the Bulasingdari and the Bazikkdari of Bruhn), while some (the Aspainedari and Baramukdari of Anish) are again believed to be *bhumk'i*. Not even in very small communities such as Urtsun and Jinjeret Kuh, did we find a single tradition of origins. In the latter, the main group of descent is said to have its origins in Khurkashande, just south of Chitral, while two small lineages are believed to have come from Bashgal; in the former, the traditions of all lineages tell of a migration from Nuristan, but from different areas of the region. Only in Rumbur have we found a single tradition of origin, because there the whole population is believed to descend from one and the same apical ancestor.

The general impression is that there has been a movement of groups of refugees from the main Chitral valley to the side valleys, in concomitance with the advance of Islam in Chitral, as well as some immigration from Nuristan. The latter may have taken place at the time when the Kati speakers who now inhabit Bashgal migrated there from Western Nuristan, an event related in their own traditions that can be taken as quite historical, probably having taken place no earlier than the 16th century (Cacopardo A.M. forthcoming). That “the Kalash also held some parts of Bashgal” is an idea that we find in *Nai-Tarikh-i-Chitral* (Murtaza [1962] 1982: 44–45) but is not confirmed by Kati oral traditions, that mention instead the Jashi (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 173–225) as the former population of that valley; it could be that the immigrants from Nuristan were actually Jashi who later adopted the Kalasha language. As for the population movements from the Chitral area and the main valley in general, they probably took place some time later and must have been caused in all likelihood by the Muslim conquest of Southern Chitral. Thanks to the work of Wolfgang Holzwarth (1996), which we have tried to complement through the investigation of oral traditions, some new light has been shed on the chronology of the Islamization of Chitral. It is now quite certain that the defeat of the Kalasha by the Rais Muslim rulers took place some time between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 50). The oral traditions we recorded indicate that when the area of Chitral, and then that of Drosh, fell in Muslim hands, some refugees escaped to the side

valleys and settled there. The Muslim conquerors, however, were not the only agents of the downfall of the Kalasha. The oral traditions of the Palula of Ashret and Biyori, of the Dameli, and of the Gawar of Arandu, all agree in stating that their territories were formerly inhabited by a Kalasha population (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001); this confirms a long-standing local tradition – supported by the famous *Luli* song (Morgenstierne 1973a: 57-65) which mentions all the places where the Kalasha spring festival of Joshi was celebrated – according to which the area formerly occupied by the Kalasha extended from Ludkho as far south as Asmar (Fig. 1). However, since none of the lineages of the five right-bank valleys have traditions of a migration from those areas of Southern Chitral, we must assume that those Kalasha communities were either exterminated or assimilated.

As we can see Kalasha oral traditions only tell of migrations from nearby areas reflecting events that cannot go back in time any further than four centuries at the most. Here we must highlight a difference between narratives such as the ones just recalled, that appear to have some historical foundation, and the founding Rumbur tale of the arrival from Tsyam under the lead of Shalak Shah, which seems to belong instead to a timeless mythical past. We have found however in Upper Chitral a possible trace of that legendary ancestor: the construction of an ancient irrigation channel in the area of Mastuj was ascribed by a local informant to a Kalasha ancestor called Salàk. And it is interesting to note here that Morgenstierne's privileged informant Mahmad Isa believed that Kalasha territory formerly extended indeed as far as Mastuj (Morgenstierne 1965: 188). This finding is not enough of course to draw any conclusions, but it seems to give some corroboration to our hypothesis – quoted above (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1996) – that the mythical land of Tsyam may possibly be identified with Upper Chitral. A hypothesis that Parkes (1991: 78, fn.) had also independently formulated.

The data reported above seem to indicate that in the case of the Kalasha, rather than of one great migration from some distant homeland we should think of many small migratory movements following the contraction of the Kalasha area under the pressure of neighbouring peoples and of the ascending Muslim power. It is likely therefore that the Kalasha have long been more or less where they are now, as linguistic data, on the other hand, strongly indicate: already Morgenstierne noted that Kalasha and Khwar are closely related

languages for which common proto-forms can even at times be reconstructed; which means that the speakers of the two languages must have been in close contact for a long span of time and that “probably the two languages belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south” (Morgenstierne 1932: 51; cf. Siiger 1956: 34). Their presence in Chitral could possibly even date, therefore, to the 2nd millennium B.C. (Mallory 1989: 47–48).

To conclude, there is really no grounds on which the idea of a Greek origin of the Kalasha can be based.²⁴

If the Kalasha are not intruders in the Hindu Kush, let us try to see then what is their place in the broader context of the Hindu Kush cultures.

4. The Kalasha and the pre-Islamic world of the Hindu Kush

Almost fifteen years ago, in the middle of the 1990s, a little revolution came about in Hindu Kush studies. It was initiated by the German historian Wolfgang Holzwarth with an essay specifically concerning Chitral history that was also published in 1996 in the Proceedings of the 2nd International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference.

The issue at stake was the pre-Muslim cultural and religious history of the Hindu Kush and the time and circumstances of the advent of Islam. It was generally believed that the conversion of the mountainous country stretching from Afghan Nuristan to the borders of Kashmir – the area that we have elsewhere called Peristan²⁵ (see fig. 2) – was something quite ancient, dating back several centuries at least (Biddulph [1880] 1986: 117; Stein 1928: 25; Lorimer 1929: 508; Schomberg 1938: 263; Jettmar 1975: 202–205, 1996: 90; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 28); apart of course from the case of Nuristan, which notoriously resisted Islam until the end of the 19th century.

²⁴ Genetic data confirm this conclusion. Recent research has found no Greek genetic input in the Kalasha population (Mansoor A., Mazhar K., Khaliq S. et al. 2004; Firasat S., Khaliq S., Mohyuddin A., et al. 2007).

²⁵ We believe this area corresponds really to Marco Polo’s ‘Bolor’. But to avoid getting entangled in the thorny debates concerning this term, we resorted to a name of pure fantasy referring to the belief, still widespread in the region, in the spirits of the mountains (*peri* or *pari*) (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 13–19).

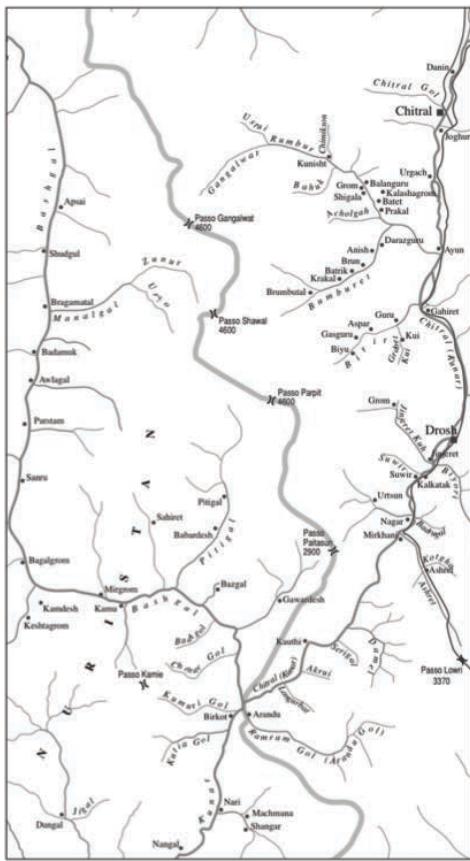


Figure 2. The area we refer to as Peristan.

Biddulph believed, due to the many archaeological remains, that the country had formerly been Buddhist starting from the 2nd century B.C. Buddhism would have been superseded by a wave of Hinduism brought by Shina speakers coming from the South, and Hinduism would have finally given way to Islam between the 13th and the 15th century A.D.; a chronology he proposed on the basis of local reports and of the genealogies of the ruling families (cf. Holzwarth 2006: 184–185). Biddulph's book was very influential and his view remained prevalent for a long time.

The topic of the pre-Islamic cultures of Peristan is indeed so vast that Western scholars usually avoided to broach it, concentrating instead on the particular communities that were the subject of their

researches. Only Jettmar (1975) decided to deal with the issue in full. His latest view is spelled out in an essay also published – like G. Trail's, Holzwarth's, and our own – in the Proceedings of the 2nd H.K. Cultural Conference.

At the end of his long carrier, Jettmar (1996: 84–85) still did not doubt Biddulph's conviction that there had been a time when Buddhism was preponderant in the mountains, though for Chitral, he noted, evidence was rather uncertain. His important discovery of a wealth of Buddhist petroglyphs in the Indus valley (Jettmar 1982) appeared to confirm that view. On the basis of those findings which did not include "normal Hinduistic symbols," however, he questioned the second part of Biddulph's historical reconstruction, arguing that "there was not a general Hinduistic period in the history of Gilgit, but the regime of a particular sect" (Ib: 89). This, he conjectured, may have been that of the Saura, a Hindu religious group devoted to sun-worship, originally centred in Multan, which spread to the mountains where it supposedly found fertile grounds due to an earlier solar cult introduced there by the Hepthalites. Between this "Buddhist period with Hinduistic opposition" (Ib: 89) that ended in his view sometime in the 1200s A.D. and the supposed final victory of Islam after 1500 A.D., there was a gap with "no clear evidence revealing the 'official' religion" (Ib: 90) prevailing in the area. This gap he ventured to fill with the "rather daring hypothesis" that a "new sort of tribal religion," a "medieval reformed paganism," became the basis of "a sort of resistance movement" fed mainly, but not only, by a pastoral ideology brought by Shin immigrants from the south, to which he connects the religion of the Kalasha, though not that of the "Great Kafirs" of Nuristan (Jettmar 1996: 86–93). This revival would have come "in full flower" just at the final dawning of Islam. The many traces of pagan cults that not only the early British scholars, but he himself and his associates had found in Dardistan, as well as the Kalasha religion, would therefore belong to this late backlash of paganism before its final defeat.

The revolution initiated by Holzwarth – on the basis of a wealth of Islamic historical sources coming from the countries surrounding Peristan – not only completely changed the traditional picture based on Biddulph's book, but contradicted also its revised version proposed in Jettmar's latest work. Though Jettmar (1996: 90) partially objected to Holzwarth's conclusions, it is quite clear now that Islam first, and

fleetingly, entered the mountains from the North only in the 1500s (Holzwarth 2006: 173–174), and that it took centuries to become the established religion of the region. Earlier dates proposed by local authors like Ghulam Murtaza for Chitral or Hashmatullah Khan for Gilgit turned out to be the fruit of fabrications (Holzwarth 1996), seemingly fostered by the desire to present impeccable Islamic pedigrees dating back in time as far as possible. The genealogy of the Katur Mehtars of Chitral, for example, had evidently been stretched over a span of time it could not possibly cover (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 51–53). Biddulph and the other early British writers had fallen prey to such avowals, as did also the more recent researchers quoted above.

On the impulse of Holzwarth's work the data collected by Alberto M. Cacopardo and the author in Southern Chitral in the course of the 1990s were examined in the light of a detailed analysis of all sources concerning Peristan available in Western European languages (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001). These include works of many Asian chroniclers which have been translated into English, as well as a wide range of non translated sources made available by Holzwarth's researches.

The picture emerging from this work is that, though the first Islamic inroads started as we have just seen in the 1500s, still three centuries later the peoples of the Hindu Kush chain from Nuristan to Gilgit were still largely unconverted. Though the ruling dynasties had pleaded allegiance to Islam some time earlier – at least in Chitral, if not in Hunza or Gilgit – it was only from the early 19th century that Islam really began to spread to the bulk of the population: through the efforts of the Kashmiri governor Nathu Shah in the area of Gilgit, and through the pressure of Pathan missionaries in the southern belt of our area, i.e. in Indus Kohistan, Swat Kohistan, Dir Kohistan, Southern Chitral, and the Kunar area. It is quite clear also that the pre-Islamic religions of those peoples were not a “medieval reformed paganism,” as Jettmar suggested in his latest writings, but were rather the ancient religions of the area which had never ceased to be practiced. The materials presented (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 25–54) indeed show not only that the Islamization of Peristan is a much more recent event than it had been previously thought, but also that neither Buddhism nor Hinduism ever gained a permanent foothold in the mountains. The presence of Buddhism is indeed attested in Eastern

Peristan by archaeological remains and by the many rock documents of the Indus valley, but it is almost certain that it remained confined to the elites of the statelets which controlled the arduous route (Fussman 1988) connecting India to Central Asia through the Indus valley (cf. Tucci 1963). As for Hinduism it is even more certain that it never really managed to make an inroad in the Hindu Kush and that, as Fussman (1976: 205; 1977: 25) wrote over 30 years ago, the Dardic and Kafiri speaking peoples remained outside the reach of Brahmanism. That the autochthonous religions of Peristan remained for centuries outside of the fold of the great religions of India, is in fact just as surprising as their long-term resistance to Islam.

The religion of the Kalasha and the pre-Islamic religions of Dardistan, therefore, can hardly be considered a late by-product in the religious history of the Indian subcontinent, as Jettmar would want them. All seems to indicate, in contrast, that they should rather be seen, like those of Nuristan, as an independent development from an early Indo-Aryan – or possibly, according to Witzel (2004: 614), even Indo-Iranian – basis, harking back to pre-Vedic times (cf. Parkes 1987: 582). An independent development that in former times was, of course, probably more in touch with events in the plains than it happened to be after it was encircled by Islam: echoes from the civilizations surrounding it probably reached Peristan regularly when Buddhism and Hinduism prevailed in the plains, but for a great part of the region at least, they were in all likelihood only distant echoes.

Nor can Kalasha culture consequently be viewed as an island in the broader context of the Hindu Kush, with no ties with the cultures surrounding it. In contrast, it is rather to be seen as the last living example of a cultural and religious complex that was formerly spread throughout the Hindu Kush/Karakorum chain; reaching as far as the borders of Ladakh in the East²⁶ and extending to the footholds of the mountains in the South, and to the northern slopes of the main ridge in the North. In pre-Islamic times this region was the home of a constellation of archaic cultures featuring polytheistic religious systems that certainly differed in many traits, such as the names of the gods or the morphology of cyclical festivals, but which had also many

²⁶ Indeed there are indications that this ancient culture area possibly extended in the past even further East, to include at least the Pahari people of Himachal and Uttar Pradesh (Cacopardo, A.S. 2010: 350–356). For linguistic data supporting this hypothesis see Zoller 2010: 248–49.

common elements. A list of such traits that Fussman (1983: 195) compiled with reference to the Nuristani, the Pashai, and the Kalasha only, can in fact be applied to the whole of Peristan. These traits include the organization of the agro-pastoral economy, the division of labour between genders, canons of architecture and decoration, the use of wine, the belief in the purifying power of juniper, the existence of shamans. To these, lineage exogamy can be added, as well as the social division between a large majority of free men and a minority of artisan-serfs. Not only, what really appears to bind together this complex constellation of cultures is the fact that they are based on a common pastoral ideology centred around a fundamental pure/impure polarity, which opposes a masculine sphere of goat-herding to which positive values such as social solidarity are connected, to an impure feminine sphere closer to agriculture seen as the realm of more individualistic, family orientated tendencies. This basic unity of the area had indeed been perceived by Jettmar in his early works, when he remarked that the region – which he proposed then to call Greater Kafiristan – “shows a multiplicity of social and religious systems which can be regarded as variants of a single structure” (Jettmar 1965: 117).

All elements indicate that the Kalasha are an integral part of the cultural fabric of the Hindu Kush, and it is only their long-term resistance to Islam that now sets them apart from the other populations of the chain. Just as their language is closely allied to the other languages of the area, so is their culture closely connected to the former pre-Islamic cultures of the region.

The region we called Peristan, in pre-Islamic times formed indeed a basically homogenous culture area to which the Kalasha fully belonged. This shows again that they cannot therefore be seen as descendants of the Greeks of Asia. Neither of Alexander's troops nor of colonists from the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms established by his successors first on the river Oxus and then in Gandhara between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.²⁷

²⁷ Which does not mean, of course, that we can altogether rule out the possibility that some faint cultural influence from those kingdoms – like similar influences from other cultural centres that developed through the centuries in the plains – may have reached the cultural world of Peristan.

5. The pre-Islamic cultures of Peristan: some comparative suggestions

It may be useful at this point to set for a moment aside the issue of Kalasha origins and consider Kalasha religion in itself in a broader comparative perspective to detect affinities and similarities, always keeping in mind that we see it as pretty much representative of the pre-Islamic world of Peristan. The question is where to place this peculiar constellation of cultures in relation to the Asian and to the European world.

Though some scholars highlight Iranian connections (Tucci 1963: 158; Jettmar 1974b; Gnoli 1980: 70–74) – which indeed deserve further investigation – the view already expressed in the 1970s by Fussman (1977: 25; cf. Buddruss 1973: 39), that the pre-Islamic cultures of the Hindu Kush basically belonged to the Indian world, as their languages do, seems still valid. Apart from manifest reminiscences of the gods of the Vedic pantheon in the names of Kalasha and Nuristani divinities, among the traits listed above there are some that specifically appear to connect Peristan to India. In the first place the fundamental exogamic rule governing the formation of lineages, which reminds closely of the Indian *sapinda* system. In the second place, the even more fundamental pure/impure polarity, on which the Indian caste system is based. The hierarchy that according to Louis Dumont ([1966] 1979) this opposition implies, among the Kalasha finds expression mainly in gender relations (Cacopardo, A.M. forthcoming), with the women, expectedly, on the impure and therefore inferior side. But not only in gender relations; for the pure-impure polarity provided the idiom for another form of inequality: at the margin of Kalasha society, and of the other societies of Peristan, there was formerly a class of serfs and artisans who were deemed impure and with whom commensality was not allowed (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 42–44). We may say therefore that if there is no trace among the Kalasha and in the other cultures of Peristan of a hierarchical structure like that of the caste system (*Ib.*) (pace Fussman 1977: 60–64), the idea itself of caste, though at a very embryonic stage, did apparently exist.

However, while much seems to point towards India, there is something distinctly European in the atmosphere of the Kalasha valleys. An impalpable sensation that caused Fosco Maraini – the

author of an impressionistic but highly valuable account of a visit to Bumburet – to remark that everything in the valley reminded him of home and that whatever was strange, had the taste of something ancient, rather than exotic (Maraini [1963] 1997: 142).

Apart from this impressionistic element, some cultural affinities with ancient Europe seem to exist. If the Kalasha pantheon is quite certainly wholly Indo-Aryan, the ritual cycle appears to have more affinities with what we find in Europe than with the festival cycles of India. Though the ritual cycles of pagan Europe have been shattered and subsumed in the Christian calendar, the winter ritual sequence of the Kalasha, in particular, appears to be built on a model that is roughly discernible in the European winter sequence starting with All Saints and ending with Carnival. The temporal succession of the three winter feasts of Chaumos, Lagaur and Salgherek in Birir (Cacopardo, A.S. 2008, 2010), for example, corresponds pretty much to the sequence including Christmas, the Epiphany, Sant'Antonio Abate and Candelora highlighted by Cardini (1995: 191) for Italy. Since ritual cycles are closely connected to economic activities, this is surely in part due to the similar climate and environment, very different from that of the monsoon planes and hills of India. But only in part. There are parallels also in the ritual events, which include the descent of the dead, the arrival of a god and of another benevolent being; while Carnival hosts the rituals of inversion and the orgiastic elements that are characteristic of Chaumos (Wutt 1983; Loude & Lièvre 1984; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989; Snoy 2008; Cacopardo, A.S. 2008, 2010).²⁸ These are of course elements of a ritual complex quite typical of New Year Festivals in many societies (Eliade [1949] 1968: 92–99), but a few elements appear to indicate some more specific affinities. The use of juniper smoke for purification, for example, is documented in the French Alps and in the British Isles (Hutton [1996] 2001: 42, 45; Van Gennep 1988: 3516–3517); animal figures of baked bread like the ones made for Chaumos are made in Russia to favour the reproduction of animals (Propp [1963] 1978: 66–67); the custom of decorating buildings with greenery, as is done in Birir for Lagaur, is a characteristic trait of European December festivals from pagan times

²⁸ These, especially, are quite marginal in India (Dumont [1966] 1979: 342) where they appear only in the Holi festival (McKim Marriott 1968), which is mostly confined to the North.

to the Middle Ages (Lévi Strauss [1952] 1995: 67; cf. Hutton [1996] 2001: 34–35; Van Gennep 1988: 3492); the ritual use of willow is documented again in Russia (Propp [1963] 1978: 112-114); the Epiphany used to be “the feast of beans” (Bakhtin [1965] 1984: 219) like the Kalasha *dahu tat'u*; the mistletoe, an augural plant in Europe, is used in Birir in the closing rite of Chaumos. Is also perhaps of some relevance the circumstance noted by Snoy (2008: 43), that the tonic system of Kalasha music is similar to the European one, because it lacks the numerous intermediate tones typical of Indian music.

These however are only random parallels: a detailed study of European folk traditions would be needed to draw some conclusions.

Balima-In and Dionysos

An interesting comparison – which had attracted the attention also of Adolf Friedrich, one of the first ethnographers of the Kalasha (Buddruss & Snoy 2008: 11) – specifically concerning Greece, that we may try to outline here is that with the cult of the god Dionysos. His counterpart among the Kalasha would be the visiting god of the Rumbur/Bumburet Chaumos, Balimain. The name of this divinity connects it directly to Indra, the ancient tutelary god of the Indo-Aryans, to which many Vedic hymns are dedicated (Stutley & Stutley [1977] 1980: 170). Its most likely etymology, in my opinion, is Balima-In, where Balima (*bal'ima*) would be an epithet meaning 'powerful' borrowed from Kati (Morgenstierne 1951: 180, 184; cf. Jettmar 1975: 358), while In stands for Indra. In fact the Kalasha themselves address Balimain as Indr in songs and invocations. As a solar deity who defeats the obscurity of winter, bringing fertility, his figure seems indeed to coincide with that of the Vedic god; but in some respects, and for the characteristics of his cult, he recalls also Dionysos.

The personality of Balima-In is of course much hazier than that of the Greek god. Only a couple of myths are told about him. But even from this mythological poverty several traits emerge that approach him to Dionysos. In the first place, like Dionysos Balima-In is a visiting god. His visit is brief because he departs at the end of Chaumos, while the god of wine was believed to stay for the winter on earth to leave only in spring (Eliade [1975] 1979: 390); but in both cases we have a god who comes in the dark time of the year, and then

goes. In the second place, Balima-In, like Dionysos, is a hermaphrodite: he is represented as male on the right side and female on the left side, integrating in his person the two opposed poles (Jettmar 1975: 354). The same is said of Dionysos who has a masculine and an effeminate form (Daniélou [1979] 1980: 59) and whose “spirit joins the opposed poles” (Otto [1933] 2006: 148, 129) and whose “nature expresses the paradoxical unity of life and death” (Eliade [1975] 1979: 402). In the third place, both deities are gods of fertility. Dionysos was seen as the god of trees, and especially of those that bear fruits; he was really the god of life eternally renovating itself (Eliade Ib: 393; Otto Ib: 165; Merkelbach [1988] 1991: 18); the prayers with which Balimain is invoked ask for “seed of offspring and seed of wheat” (*putr bi zhe gum bi*). Both gods, furthermore, arrive when the wine vats are opened for the first time. In the Kalasha valleys this is done for the winter solstice festival, while in ancient Greece it was done in February-March for the Anthesteriae which, like Chaumos, is a New Year feast (Spineto 2005). The fact that the festival during which Balimain descends on Earth, is the time when wine is consumed seems a clear enough indication of his connection with the vine and its fruit. Even more explicit, however, is his connection with wheat, because he is believed to have introduced the plant among men (Jettmar 1975: 354). Such a connection is weaker in Dionysos, but it nevertheless exists: the god of wine is also believed “to have been the first to yoke oxen to the plough, which before had been dragged by hand alone” (Frazer [1922] 1987: 387–388). Moreover, the myth of the first arrival of both gods tells of an initial rejection followed by the punishment of the guilty ones. Balimain was ill-treated by the people of Kandarisar village, who set their dogs at him thinking he was a robber, and they were incinerated by a bolt of lightning flashed from his whip (Schomberg 1938: 184; Shah 1974: 78; Jettmar 1975: 353–354). The corresponding myths concerning Dionysos are so well known that we do not need to list them here; we shall only recall the horrendous death of the king Penteus who was torn to pieces by the Menads for having forbidden his cult (Otto [1933] 2006: 82; cf. Eliade [1975] 1979: 388–389). It is interesting also that, according to Eliade (Ib: 400–402) – who follows here a suggestion already made by Jeanmaire ([1951] 1972: 386–388) – at the bottom of the myth of the “passion and resurrection of the child Dionysos-Zagreos” there is an archaic, forgotten, initiation ritual. In

the scene of the Titans with their faces smeared with white chalk for disguise, killing, tearing to pieces, cooking and eating the body of the divine child, he recognizes an initiation scenery. The death of the god and the following resurrection for him is a transposition of the symbolic death and rebirth of the initiate to the Dionysian Mysteries. In the case of the Kalasha, the initiation scenery is quite explicit, as initiations are one of the main events of Chaumos. Accordingly, it would seem, Balimain does not die: the novices are there to go through the symbolic ordeal. He is a visiting god, but not, like Dionysos, a god who dies and resurfaces. Finally we can detect in Balimain something of the horrific side of the cult of Dionysos, impersonated by the Menads who in their fury devoured animals and men, and especially children, ripping them off their mothers' arms: according to the myth, Balimain, on his first descent, took away with him the children gathered for initiation in his holy place and never brought them back; so that now only older boys are sent to his sanctuary to perform the ritual hailing his arrival (Jettmar 1975: 354).

Though the hazy myth of Balimain cannot certainly be compared with the wealth of mythology that developed around the figure of Dionysos, the two gods seem to have a fair number of traits in common. How can they be explained?

A connection with India is among the many peculiarities that set Dionysos quite apart from the other gods of the Olympus (cf. Eliade [1975] 1979: 402). The “conquest” of India and the triumphant return of the god are well known themes. There is however an earlier journey Dionysos took across Asia, which is not always recalled. According to the different – and not always consistent – traditions, Dionysos was actually born in India and had travelled to Greece after a childhood spent in Nysa or on Mount Meros. Euripides is the first author to mention this journey (Grossato 2008: 278). Grossato (Ib: 280–281) suggests that the myth of the Indian origin of Dionysos can be very reasonably explained if we consider that the route followed by the god, on the basis of the available archaeological and ethno-botanical evidence, appears to coincide pretty much with the route along which the vine and viticulture expanded west from Central Asia. At the present state of research it seems that the cultivation of the vine first developed south of the Caucasus where the wild sub-species of the *vitis vinifera Linnei*, the vine at the origin of 99% of the wine produced today, still prospers. This vine, however, is found as far east

as Tajikistan, i.e. just north of the Hindu Kush. The itinerary that was later to become the famed Silk-route, Grossato (Ib.) further suggests, may earlier have been the Wine-route.

If we consider that an autochthonous vine – *vitis nuristanica Vassilcz* – is found in Nuristan (Neubauer 1974; Edelberg & Jones 1979: 35)²⁹ and that the southern slopes of the chain would have been just as well (if not better) fit for the production of grapes (cf. Olmo 2000), it appears that our area may be, if not the very first, at least one of the first wine-producing zones in Eurasia; that Nysa was in the Paropamisos, i.e. the Hindu Kush, is on the other hand part of the myth. The circumstance that the goat is one of the two animals more closely associated with Dionysos could be taken as a further indication in this direction: the Hindu Kush is apparently the home of the breed of wild goat which is considered to be the progenitor of all domestic goats (Snoy 1959: 528). In this context, I believe, the similarities between Balimain and Dionysos could be explained by their connection with wine. Rather than of an influence reaching the Hindu Kush from Greece, no matter when, I believe we should think in this case of the exact opposite, i.e. an Asian influence reaching Greece. The route followed by Dionysos would in this case refer to the itinerary along which viticulture spread west. This does not imply of course that the figure of Dionysos should be seen as a direct development of that of Balimain. It may be, rather, that both divine figures may stem from a remote religious humus common to Greece and the Indian world, that may be also at the roots of Śivaism. Like Balimain, Śiva too is indeed represented at times as male on the right side and female on the left side (Daniélou [1979] 1980: 60). Similarities between Śiva and Dionysos have been highlighted and discussed by some authors (e.g. Kirfel 1953; Daniélou Ib.), but the issue, as noted by Bernard Sergent (1997: 321–322), needs further research. In his view Śiva is a “rigorous” equivalent of Dionysos, to the point that he sees behind the two gods the profile of an ancient Indo-European divinity, a god subversive of social order (Ib: 324), as can indeed be said for some aspects of the cult of Balima-In.³⁰

²⁹ The wild grape populations of Nuristan need further study, for the dioecy (the allocation in distinct individuals of the male and female sexual organs) expected in wild vines has not been verified (Olmo 2000: 36).

³⁰ It may be interesting to note here that, according to the theory of the Soviet authors Gramkrelidze and Ivanov, which anticipates the Indo-European migrations to about

But we are here in the slippery realm of conjectures. What we can state with some certainty is that we do not need to resort to the idea of some comparatively ‘recent’ (so to say) Greek influence to explain the parallelisms that may possibly be traced between some aspects of Kalasha religion and the pre-Christian world of Europe. It is much further back in the past that we must set our gaze, possibly into the common proto-Indo-European background. The Kalasha indeed bring us back to the roots of an event – the Indo-European migrations – which had a much greater impact on the subsequent history of humanity than the – comparatively – rather fleeting triumphs of the great Macedonian. To be faced, in the 3rd millennium of the Christian Era, with what Maraini ([1963] 1997: 159) called “the only true survival of the original religiosity of the Indo-European peoples” is indeed a wonder even greater than would have been the discovery of a stray group of Greeks in the heart of Asia.

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5000 B.C., the Proto-Indo-Europeans may have been the first producers of wine (in McGovern [2003] 2004: 46).

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Piri-Muridi in the Twin Cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Pakistan

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Abstract

Sufism, *piri-muridi*, in Pakistan is an overlooked aspect of Muslim religious experience. This article sheds light on how respondents of the Twin Cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Pakistan, relate to this overlooked aspect, and tries to situate changes to *piri-muridi* in a historical context. As this article finds, being orthodox does not necessarily hinder adherence to *piri-muridi*. Rather, people of all sects, and even non-Muslims, regularly attend ‘*urs*’, keep a relationship with a pir, or visit the shrines on occasions – as ways of exhausting all possibilities to find comfort, seek spirituality, or solve practical problems in their lives. This aspect, then, breaks down the apparent divide between the orthodox and the traditional in the sense that many people pick bits and pieces and make those pieces into their own practiced form of Islam. Yet, *piri-muridi* in the Twin Cities is experiencing a purification process where its opponents try their best to discredit it as ‘un-Islamic’, and its adherents are often critical of certain practices and rituals but still obey it.

Keywords: Pakistan, Islam, Sufism, *piri-muridi*, orthodoxy, Islamabad, Rawalpindi

Exploring *piri-muridi* in the Twin Cities

In the midst of the contemporary debate and focus on Islam, often revivalist or orthodox versions and not least the extremist version(s) of it, there is a tendency to overlook the fact that many people still relate to ancient beliefs and practices commonly associated with Sufism. In Pakistan, these popular Sufi practices are often labeled *piri-muridi* – which refers to the relationship between a saint (*pir*)¹ and the disciple (*murid*). Instead, the focus is almost entirely on ‘High Islam’, the revivalist or orthodox version as propagated by Islamists, as Frembgen (2008: 4) notes:

In the Western media, Islam is almost exclusively identified with its official, scriptural, normative manifestation – orthodox, legalistic Islam. The significance of folk Islam in local contexts as well as other facets, dimensions and sub-regimes of this world religion which exist in parallel, especially the popular face of the Sufi tradition and the closely related veneration of saints, is either underestimated or ignored.

The basis for this article is my PhD research – which combined aspects of Islam, Islamism (*shari'a*), radical Pakistan, and aspects of ‘folk Islam’ or Sufism.² I thus had the unique opportunity to treat ‘the

¹ In accordance with the teachings of Islam, there can be no more prophets; humankind (still) requires spiritual guides and guardians. Thus, for this purpose, God has chosen saints, *walis* (friends of God) in order to watch over the world. In Pakistan, these saints are commonly referred to as *pirs*. Sufism was initially brought to the subcontinent by individual *pirs*, and after the thirteenth century, larger congregations, orders or brotherhoods, *tariqas*, started arriving (Ewing 1983: 254–5; Frembgen 2008: 18). *Shaykh* is also a word used with similar meaning to that of *pir* (Rozehnal 2006: 30), mostly in Arabic-speaking countries. Frembgen (2008) notes that the ideal of all Sufi saints is to be able to trace their lineage back to the Prophet Muhammad. In Pakistan, many *pirs* cannot claim to do so (p. 17).

² PhD dissertation titled “Radical Rhetoric-Moderate Behavior: Perceptions of Islam, *Shari'a*, and the Radical Dimension among Inhabitants of Islamabad and Rawalpindi in the post-9/11 Pakistani Reality.” The dissertation was submitted to the University 11 June 2010 and publicly defended 11 November 2010. The evaluation committee consisted of Dr. Stephen Cohen (Brookings Institute), Prof. Tor H. Aase (University of Bergen), and Prof. Pamela Price (University of Oslo). Data for the study were

popular face of the Sufi tradition' alongside normative (Islamist) manifestations of Islam. In this fusion, I found some surprising responses and conclusions – which questions Sufism as (only) the 'path of love'. I quite often found the path to be quite orthodox and even take on a radical rhetorical outlook. My focus is not on the intellectual aspects of *piri-muridi*, although I do take into account any such reflections from my interviewees. Rather, in this article I will shed light on popular practices associated with *piri-muridi* as I find it important to convey what is happening in the current religious climate in Pakistan – not least owing to the seemingly adverse developments in the recent decades, which has led to a focus on (only) radical and extremist interpretations of religion.

Perhaps because of the lack of focus on 'folk Islam', there has been created an impression that Sufism may serve as an opposing force to the increasingly revivalist, orthodox, and even radical and extremist tendencies found in Pakistan. This impression, which has been created by the media and certain scholarly works alike, stands almost unchallenged, and may not be true for Pakistani urban centers like Islamabad and Rawalpindi (hereafter the Twin Cities). As I have found, and will shed light on in this article, many people in Pakistan do relate to *piri-muridi* in many aspects of their lives and blend it with their knowledge of Islam – making it their practiced form of religion. Yet, urban Islam as I found it in the Twin Cities is experiencing a shift towards an orthodox or revivalist form of Islam, often wrapped in Deobandi or Wahhabi packages, which has more focus on *shari'a* and condemns many of the practices commonly found in *piri-muridi* in Pakistan, whilst adhering to others. This resembles part of Gellner's (1978) 'Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam', in the sense that there is an increasing transfer of loyalty from the traditional 'folk Islam' (Sufism) towards a purist and scripturalist version of Islam.³ It should, however, be emphasized that the transfer of loyalty is not necessarily

gathered through approximately 18 months of sequential fieldwork, wherein I relied on passive and participant observations, formal and informal interviews, and conducted two surveys (N=475 * 2). I also relied on my study/research experiences in Pakistan the last decade. All tables and pictures in this article have been collected and processed by the author.

³ Gellner (1978), also see Hassan (2004: 13–4, 78, 120) for elaborative accounts on Gellner's theory. I will not describe the shift as a 'pendulum swing', as I do not necessarily believe that the pendulum will turn back towards what may be seen as the traditional 'folk Islam' of the past.

absolute but rather selective. This, again, differs itself from the perception of Sufism as mystical, ecstatic, joyous, and perhaps more importantly; anti-*shari'a* version of Islam.

The majority of the people whom I interacted with in the Twin Cities mostly expressed ambivalence towards Sufism, often condemning some of its practices and rituals, while embracing and adhering to others. Recitations of poetry or other in-depth intellectual expressions on the issue were mostly absent. During my fieldwork, I became increasingly convinced that Sufism in Pakistan is just as related to culture as it is to religion – the South Asian spices blended into one big ‘melting pot’ – and the result of that is a specific South Asian approach to ritualistic behavior towards religion, which sometimes surpasses religious and sectarian demarcation lines. Moreover, this culture is so deeply rooted in many people’s lives that it is hard to assess where religion ends and culture begins.

I now turn to a few paragraphs describing how the two main Muslim sects in Pakistan, the Barelvis and the Deobandis, relate to *piri-muridi* in general terms and on an overall level.

The sectarian divide and *piri-muridi*

The Deobandis take their name from the town in which the sect was founded in 1867, Deoband in India. The Deobandi movement’s founders were Muhammad Qasim Nanantvi [1833–1877] and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi [1829–1905]. The Deobandi movement’s aim was to sustain a reformed Sunni Islam separate from the colonial state of India. In 1867, the reformist movement opened up a school in Deoband, India, in order to educate and promote their aim through the curriculum of studies of the Qur'an, the Prophet’s praxis (*Sunnah*, as found in collections of his narrations: *hadiths* collections) and Islamic law and science. Contemporary Deobandis are increasingly influenced by the Saudi Arabian Wahhabi doctrine, and as among the Wahhabis, there exists a general theoretical objection to the worshipping of Sufi *pirs*, although individual Deobandis do follow the tradition of various Sufi orders, and emphasize individual spiritual discipline through spiritual masters.⁴ Concerning this aspect, Ewing (1983: 254) notes

⁴ Abbas (2005: 103, 112); Ahmad (2008: 67); Cohen (2005: 180); Mohammad (2002: 221–2); Rahman (2007: 124); Talbot (2005: 148); Ewing (1983: 254).

that early Deobandis sought to, "...combine the roles of *pir* and '*alim*', espousing a doctrine according to which individual was to look to a single '*alim*' as his definitive guide to religious law." In this context, Rahman (2007: 124) adds that the Deobandis "...did not oppose mysticism altogether, but did argue that adherence to the Islamic law (*Sharia*) was the path to mystical exaltation." I will return to how I found the stance towards *piri-muridi* among Deobandis in the Twin Cities later in the article.

The Barelvi sect takes its name from the place of its origin, Bareilly in India, where it was founded by Ahmad Reza Khan [1856–1921] as an opposition movement against the reformists, such as the Deobandis, towards the end of the 19th century.⁵ In contemporary Pakistan, Barelvis have the greatest number of followers among the Muslim sects.⁶ The Barelvis adhere to a system of Sufi and syncretic folk traditions, and attach great importance to Sufi saints (*pirs*), whom they treat as intercessors before God. For Barelvis, the Prophet Muhammad is treated with the utmost veneration and is attributed an almost divine status, and celebration of the Prophet's birthday, *milad an-nabi*, has become a favored and popular event.⁷ Another feature of Barelvis is their veneration of saints and their ancestors, which most clearly manifests itself through the celebration of late *pirs* through festivals on the days of their deaths; the so-called '*urs*' celebrations which symbolizes the 'mystical nuptial', the marriage of a *pir* with God.⁸ The Barelvis are often called the main rivals of the Deobandis because of their devotion to celebrating saints, the way the sect has maintained plural manifestations of ancient pre-Islamic religions and cultures, and the near divine status that they attribute to the Prophet Muhammad.⁹

The Barelvis, unlike a majority of the Deobandis, supported the calls for an independent Pakistan before partition. In fact, their role in mobilizing for the new state was of tremendous significance in

⁵ Ahmad (2008: 67); Ewing (1983: 254); Kazimi (2009: 78); Mohammad (2002: 222–3); Rahman (2007: 125); Rahman (1984: 41).

⁶ Cohen (2005: 180).

⁷ Ahmad (2008: 67); Ewing (1983: 254); Mohammad (2002: 223); Rahman (2007: 125); Rahman (1984: 41); Zaman (2004: 11).

⁸ Ahmad (2008: 67); Frembgen (2008: 6); Gilmartin (1979: 486); Mohammad (2002: 223).

⁹ Ahmad (2008: 67); Mohammad (2002: 223).

various parts of pre-partition India. Sufi *pirs* and *sajjada nashins* (tenders of shrines)¹⁰ put their weight behind the Pakistan Movements by using their spiritual and, quite often, political influence. They represented a vital role in rallying for the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement, through, for instance, rallies that were held during ‘*urs* at different shrines.¹¹ The Barelvi sphere of influence was traditionally strongest among rural areas of the Punjab and regions of Sindh. In later decades, however, their support base has been extended into the urban areas as well – especially among deprived and poor urban dwellers. Despite popular Western perceptions, the Barelvis, just as the Ahl-e-Hadiths and the Deobandis, view *shari'a* as an important and fundamental prerequisite for Pakistan.¹²

As will become apparent later in this article, these demarcation lines between the Barelvis and Deobandis, when relating to *piri-muridi*, are not absolute in practical terms. This is not only related to an increased orthodoxy among most sects, but also to the fact that people (still) have the tendency to be quite eclectic in how they view and practice religion.

I will now explain the historical origins, evolution, and organizational structure of *piri-muridi* in Pakistan. The purpose of this is to situate certain terms as well as to give an impression of how the institution of *piri-muridi* came into being in the form it takes in contemporary Pakistan.

The Sufi legacy and practical make-up of the *piri-muridi* institution in Pakistan

Sufism is the mystic, spiritual, or esoteric aspect or face of Islam, and in Sufism, religious experience is the essentially significant component. Sufism as such thus complements the *shari'a*, or external

¹⁰ *Sajjada nashin* or *gaddi nashin* are regular terms used for the hereditary *pirs*. The literal meaning of *sajjada nashin* is ‘he who sits on the prayer rug’ (Ewing 1983: 255).

¹¹ Aziz (2001: 43–52); Hassan (1987: 560); Mohammad (2002: 223); Talbot (1999: 30, 69–70); Talbot (2004: 76). See Gilmartin (1979) for detailed accounts on the role of *pirs* in the Pakistan Movement.

¹² Mohammad (2002: 223).

law (exoteric aspect).¹³ From the eleventh century, Sufi saints played a critical and perhaps the most significant role in spreading Islam and converting people to Islam in the subcontinent. Some even maintain that the saints enabled the ‘Orthodox’ Sunni Islam of the Arabian deserts to merge with the indigenous culture(s), making it acceptable for the people of South Asia at the time when Islam started to spread to the subcontinent. Later, Sufi saints were instrumental in preaching and developing popular Islam, ‘folk Islam’, through their missionary activities.¹⁴ Sufi centers, *khanqahs*,¹⁵ became an important institution in the subcontinent. These *khanqahs* provided Muslims as well as non-Muslims with spiritual guidance, social welfare, and education. They were in addition instrumental in various cultural activities for the public. The *khanqahs* had a special appeal to the public, as they represented something very different from the rigid and stratified Hindu structures in society. Instead, they focused on the equality of humankind.¹⁶

Sufism, in practical terms represented (mainly) through *pirs* and shrines (*dargah*), is an integral part of the religious organization of Pakistan.¹⁷ Those that become followers, *murids*, are often related to as Sufis (although they may refrain from using the term themselves) and in addition, there are the *dervishes*, also commonly known as *faqirs*. A *murid* or Sufi does not necessarily bear any visible signs of affinity to his *pir*. *Dervishes* and *faqirs* on the other hand, have a total dedication and commitment to the ideal of poverty in their spiritual journey to God; their lifestyle is for them a means to seek salvation and constitutes a kind of mystic exercise. Their lifestyle also places

¹³ Frembgen (2008: 4); Mohammad (2002: 229); Verkaaik (2004: 69). The term ‘Sufi’ is derived from the word *suf*, wool. This is related to the practice of the early ascetics of Islam who wore frocks of rough white wool, following the example of the Prophet Muhammad (Ahmed 2003: 91; Frembgen 2008: 4; Malik 2006: 30).

¹⁴ Buehler (1997: 299); Frembgen (2008: 35); Gardner (1993: 213); Hassan (1987: 553, 557); Iqbal (2007: 62); Malik (2006: 11, 31); Talbot (1999: 29).

¹⁵ *Dargah* and *mazar* are also used to describe shrines. I will use the terms *khanqah* and *dargah* (interchangeably) in this article. *Mazar* is mostly used to describe the tomb itself in or under the *pir* is buried. Frembgen (2008) refers to *khanqahs* as lodges, which later on developed into *dargah* institutions. These *dargah* institutions would also include facilities like a mosque, communal kitchen (*langar*), hospital, schools – in addition to the shrine(s) of deceased *pirs* (p. 53).

¹⁶ Hassan (1987: 555); Rozehnal (2006: 30).

¹⁷ Cohen (2005: 196); Ewing (1983: 251).

them on the periphery of mainstream society and distinguishes them from moderate Sufis, who are often close to an orthodox Islam.¹⁸ Frembgen (2008: 15), refers to P.M. Currie and explains the difference between a *dervish* and a Sufi by saying that, “A Sufi is one who tends towards the mystic life as it has developed within the framework of Islam, whereas a darvish [sic] or faqir is one who is attached full-time to the religious life either as a dependant of a Sufi establishment or as an independent wandering mendicant.” Some tend to confuse the *pir* and the *dervish*, thus a distinction between these two should also be made, which Frembgen (2008: 19) describes in the following:

The *shaikh*, *pir*, *ishan*, etc. who usually lives permanently at a shrine is a spiritual authority who instructs disciples in mystical teachings, writes mystical treatises and poetry or propagates religious reforms. A dervish, in contrast, who tends towards renunciation, is a wanderer both on an internal spiritual path and in this exterior, earthly world. He expresses the Sufi tradition in his life by seeking proximity to God through ecstatic practices.

The hereditary successors of the *pirs*, the *sajjada nashins*, commonly referred to as (just) *pirs*, play the role of mediators or intercessors between their *murids* and God. This is made possible through the spiritual blessings (*baraka*) bestowed to the *pir* during his lifetime, and after that, transcended to the shrine itself. The shrine and its *sajjada nashins* thus become the (new) sources of blessings. The *murids* must then gain access to the original *pir* through the living (hereditary) *pirs*.¹⁹ This ritual veneration of saints and the replacement of the concept of direct contact with God, as it existed in the mysticism of early Islam and still practiced among many Muslims, developed in the subcontinent some time during the thirteenth and

¹⁸ Frembgen (2008: 2, 11, 14). The literal meaning of *dervish* is (one who goes) from door-to-door, i.e. a beggar or poor. *Faqir* means poor. Some *dervishes* are even venerated as saints after their deaths as people ascribe more magical than charismatic qualities to them. Certain *dervishes* became successors to shamans for nomadic people in Central Asia (Frembgen 2008: 14, 17, 29).

¹⁹ Aziz (2001: 6); Buehler (1997: 300); Ewing (1983: 255-6); Frembgen (2008: 31); Gardner (1993: 213); Gilmartin (1979: 486-7); Hassan (1987: 557); Mohammad (2002: 229); Qureshi (2002: 36); Rozehnal (2006: 30); Talbot (1999: 29); Verkaik (2004: 82).

fifteenth centuries.²⁰ Hassan (1987: 557) offers his explanation of the system of *piri-muridi* as it developed during the passage of time in the following:

With the passage of time the *khanqahs*, as a socioreligious organization, evolved and changed. The spirituality of the mystic and knowledge of mysticism shifted from a *learned* process to an *hereditary* one. The spiritual power of the founder of the *khanqah* came to be transmitted through his descendant who became the center of the devotion of followers of the Sufi saints who, after their death, were usually buried in the *khanqah*. This was an important change and eventually led to the development of the master-disciple, or what is known as the *pir-murid* [sic] paradigm in which *pir* (or master) is the director and *murid* (disciple) a faithful follower obliged to surrender himself/herself completely to the *pir*.

The system of *piri-muridi* is also a system of (hereditary) reciprocity. In this, the development of *piri-muridi* in Pakistan is often seen to have changed from a system where *murids* would spend longer periods with the *pir* to a system of blind devotion to the *pirs*. In this, there is a split from the traditional rigid system. Ewing (1983: 260) explains this aspect of reciprocity of the *piri-muridi* system in the following:

Historically, the importance of the shrines derives directly from the Sufi tradition, because most *pirs* were originally respected as Sufi masters and teachers. As the tradition has developed in South Asia, however, and in somewhat different ways in other parts of the Muslim world as well, there has been a partial split between Sufism as a rigorous spiritual discipline transmitted from spiritual teacher to qualified disciple on the one hand, and “*piri-muridi*” as the term is usually used, rather pejoratively, in Pakistan today, to mean a blind devotion of the lay follower (*murid*) to a *pir*, whom he expects to act as a spiritual mediator for him. Such *pirs* are exemplified by the traditional *sajjada-nashins*.

This shift, the evolution of a hereditary system of saint allegiance and not least what Ewing terms ‘blind devotion of the *murid* to a *pir*’, albeit as ancient as it may be, is something I found many respondents to object to, as I will explain later in the article.

²⁰ Frembgen (2008: 30).

Whereas some look into the deeper meanings and understanding of Sufism from an intellectual perspective, for most people in Pakistan (especially among the general public in Punjab and Sindh), the usual form of worship is the contact, submission, and relationships they have with their respective *pirs*.²¹ The *murids* show their affection for the *pirs* by visiting their *dargahs*, sometimes offering food or other items, and in return, they receive the *pirs'* *baraka* and promises of a better life, a cure, or otherwise that their wishes may be granted. The ability to heal and bestow their *murids* with *baraka* is said to be derived from the *pirs'* proximity to God. In doing this, *pirs* rely on the tradition of curing diseases as believed to be inherited by Prophet Muhammad himself.²²

Dargahs and *sajjada nashins* are often visited when people suffer from a mental or physical illness, when desiring wealth or success, and even in trying to eliminate a threat or a magic spell someone has put onto them. The hereditary *pirs* and the spirit of the deceased *pirs* are thus seen as intercessors before God, negotiating healing, prosperity, and good fortune on behalf of the *murids*.²³ Often,

²¹ Fieldwork notes. Also see Mohammad (2002: 229).

²² Fremgen (2008: 17, 27–8, 31); Mohammad (2002: 229). As Mohammad (2002) notes, some of the ceremonies being conducted at *dargahs* all over Pakistan are reminiscent of popular Hinduism (and Sikhism) (p. 229). This is also true for the relationships that often foster between the *murid* and the *pir* – which in Hinduism is the relationship between the *guru* and the *chelal shesha* (Fremgen 2008: 128; Mohammad 2002: 229). Gardner (1993) notes that in South Asia, *pirs'* efficiencies to grant requests, give blessings, are being assessed on the basis on how ‘hot’ a *pir* is; the ‘hotter’ the *pir*, the more power he is said to have (p. 215). Fremgen (2008) exemplify the extreme influence *pirs* have over *murids* when he notes that some even drink the water that the *pir* has cleaned himself with, swallow his saliva and sputum, and even rub dirt from his feet onto themselves (p. 31).

²³ Pirani (2009: 4, 35). Pirani (2009) specifically stresses that many use faith healers, saints, for curing mental illnesses and that people may even combine the use of these saints together with traditional medicine (p. 4). Pirani finds that some of the attendees she studied expressed that they experienced relief of symptoms of diseases accounted to the healing powers of the shrine and *pir*. It should also be noted that she found that few of the participants at the shrine were offered, or could afford, treatment for their illnesses at private facilities (p. 177, 222, 273). In analyzing the environment of the shrine, Pirani says, “What I witnessed at the Shrine was not necessarily ‘religious activity’ but a social play where the actor attempted to use the context of the Shrine and its religious legitimacy, and the therapeutic milieu to create innovative solutions to their problems. For many of them, this solution extended to their home life and became instrumental in their identity.” (p. 289).

illnesses (of various kinds) are seen as having been ‘spelled onto people,’ wherein the *pirs* are seen as one way of remedying the illness. Regarding this, Pirani (2009: 28), who has conducted research on understandings and explanations of ill health and help-seeking among attendees at a shrine in Sindh, says the following:

Pakistani culture is a mixture of rituals, traditions, and folk beliefs. The belief system underlying causation of illness and healing regimes is complex and multilayered. Explanations of illness include possession by jinn [spirits], ghosts or fairies; evil spirits; black magic spells and healing approaches including exorcism, sorcery, faith and traditional healers including long dead Sufi saints. Often the rationale behind these beliefs is again believed to be rooted in the Qur'an and Hadith.²⁴

In describing how some *murids* experienced their connection to the shrine and how the shrine provided comfort and relief for them, Pirani (2009: 191) notes that:

The attendees described a very affectionate relationship with the dead Saint. They located the spirit of the Saint within the geographical boundaries of the Shrine. This extended the relationship with the Saint to include a relationship with the place (the Shrine). They felt listened to, taken care of, and hopeful for change in their circumstances. Many attendees described how they had found a true guide and powerful protector in the Saint and how their lives had changed completely since they had found the path to the Shrine. When they felt restless, agitated, or low, they just had to go and hold the *jaali* [calligraphic screens or walls surrounding the shrine] to be reminded that they were cared for.

When a *pir* dies, most often a son or another descendant of the family takes over the task of acting as *pir*. He is then given the title of *sajjada nashin*. The *sajjada nashin* then takes on the spiritual responsibilities that rested with the old *pir*, and is in addition seen as caretaker of the shrine and as ‘inheritor’ of their ancestor’s *baraka*. This gives the *sajjada nashins* the authority to wield spiritual power over their

²⁴ In this context, a poll conducted by Gallup Pakistan titled *Views on Evil Eye & Magic*, February 2010, finds that 78% of Pakistanis claim to believe in both ‘evil eye’ and magic. Another poll conducted by Gallup Pakistan dated 16 February 2007 titled *Views of Black Magic and Tawiz Ganda* finds that 52% respondents believed in black magic, *kala jadu*. Similarly, 49% of respondents believe that wearing an amulet (*tawiz*) can be used to heal ill effects of *kala jadu*.

murids – thus, on the other hand, if the *murid* fails to oblige the *sajjada nashin*, this is thought to have adverse consequences.²⁵ This hereditary system has led Sufism to become an ‘institution’ in Pakistan, wherein ‘houses of *pirs*’ have accumulated large fortunes based on the worshippers’ non-taxable donations.²⁶ The *pirs* are involved in many social dealings, ranging from the abovementioned activities, giving blessings at weddings, to giving advice to politicians. *Pirs* are parts of large networks involving the political sphere and elite of Pakistan, thus making them a political force in their own right.²⁷

I now turn to discuss how Sufism has been subject to (instrumental) change by various political leaders in post-independence Pakistan.

²⁵ Ewing (1983: 255, 259); Mohammad (2002: 229); Talbot (1999: 29); Verkaaik (2004: 82). Abbas (2007) in his research finds that *pirs* even exert power over their *murids* by, for instance, suggesting names for children (p. 40), this is also mentioned by Frembgen (2008: 31).

²⁶ Mohammad (2002: 229). Ewing (1983) notes that *sajjada nashins* annually collects contributions from the tribe(s) associated with the particular shrine in a process called *nazar* (p. 255).

²⁷ Mohammad (2002: 229–30).

Figure 1. ‘A hungry dervish’s walk.’²⁸

Figure 2. Traditional Sufi.

‘Redefining the saints’

Ewing (1983: 251–2) finds that *pirs*, through the organizational structure of the shrines, have been seen as an obstacle to (governmental) political and social organization of Pakistan. Until Ayub Khan’s modernist but at the same time military rule, few changes to the shrines’ structure were noted.²⁹ Ayub, and later Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, viewed the *ulama* as a hindrance to modernist development of Pakistan, as the *ulama* desired a literal return to a system based on Islamic law (*shari’ā*). On the other hand, the tradition of the shrines, wherein the *sajjada nashins* were seen as feudal

²⁸ Frembgen (2008: 2, 135) notes that itinerant *dervishes* usually carry a begging bowl (*kashkul*) around their necks, for collecting alms. It is said that when the bowl is carried on the back the *dervish* is not hungry or the bowl is full, and when carried on the stomach, the *dervish* is hungry. Frembgen also notes that the *kashkul* probably dates back to similar practices followed by itinerant Buddhist monks and Hindu ascetics (p. 135).

²⁹ Talbot (1999) notes that Ayub Khan even utilized the ‘Sufi-vote’ when he was able to mobilize support from the congregation of *pirs*, Jami’at ul-Mushaikh, in the 1965 elections (p. 30). Aziz (2001) notes that Ayub Khan is said to have been a *murid* of the *pir* of Dewal Sharif (p. 55).

aristocrats hindering political control, was not compatible with their aims. Both leaders desired to identify and legitimize their rule with Islam, and thus, as an attempt to balance out the orthodoxy represented by the *ulama*, and perhaps as a choice between what they perceived as ‘two evils’, they both co-opted the shrines.³⁰

Ayub brought along some few changes to the way shrines and the *pirs* attached to them were to function. He concentrated his efforts on utilizing the shrines as a vehicle in his modernization process. Instead of suppressing the shrines, as in the examples of Turkey and Saudi Arabia, Ayub co-opted them through a formal institutionalizing process of religious endowments, *awqaf*, with the ‘West Pakistan Waqf Properties Ordinance of 1959.’ This was further increased during Bhutto’s era, and under Zia, was transformed into the Department of *Awqaf*.³¹ In addition to the promotion of Sufism in the amended forms that the government wanted, Ayub Khan also started building infrastructure adjacent to the shrines in order to distract attention away from the traditional power of the *sajjada nashins*. This infrastructure included schools, hospitals and other institutions meant for the common social welfare of the needy. Already at that time, it was apparent that this kind of infrastructure was in opposition to the *sajjada nashins’* powers, as they represented alternative (and traditional) remedies and cures through their ways of giving blessings thought by the public to fix their problems, which often come in the form of amulets (*tawiz*), spiritual guidance, and conversations.³² In this lies an important aspect in the sense that some things commonly

³⁰ Buehler (1997: 311); Ewing (1983: 253).

³¹ Aziz (2001: 55); Buehler (1997: 310); Ewing (1983: 251-2, 258, 262); Rozehnal (2006: 35). Ewing (1983) notes that Ayub Khan initiated the process leading up to the ‘West Pakistan Waqf Properties Ordinance of 1959’ – which gave the central government the power to directly control and manage shrines, mosques, and other properties dedicated for religious purposes (*awqaf*). The 1950 ordinance was superseded by another similar ordinance in 1961, and during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the *Auqaf* Act of 1976 came into being. All ordinances and the Act were promulgated in efforts to lessen the traditional political power of both the *sajjada nashins* as well as the *ulama*. Another goal of these ordinances was to persuade the public that the government was better equipped to maintain the shrines as well as that of trying to convince them of the inability of the *sajjada nashins* to grant blessing over their *murids* (p. 258–9).

³² Buehler (1997: 310-11); Ewing (1983: 261); Frembgen (2008: 32); Hassan (1987: 562). Ewing (1983) notes that the policy of supporting institutions for social welfare continued during Zia’s rule (p. 264).

associated with modernity, such as amenities and state organization, social welfare such as education and medical assistance, are assessed as countering the interest of the traditional institution of *piri-muridi*. Bhutto's emphasis on the shrines can hardly be overestimated; he utilized the shrines to convey and carry out his policies, and thus encouraged government participation in the Sufi rituals, such as the celebration of the anniversary of the death of a *pir* ('urs) at the shrines.³³ Whereas, as Ewing (1983: 263) notes, during Ayub Khan's rule, "...participation in the 'urs' by government officials was generally limited to the literary and social-welfare activities scheduled to occur in conjunction with the 'urs.'" During Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rule it became common practice that higher government official conducted some of the ritual ceremonies, such as the laying down of the cloth covering the tomb (*chadar*) at the beginning of an 'urs'.³⁴ Bhutto often went to rural shrines and interacted with the *pirs* as well as the *murids*, sometimes referring to himself as a *faqir*.³⁵ Talbot (1999: 216) notes that Bhutto himself even came to be seen a martyred *pir* after his death, with thousands of people coming to his tomb every year. In modern day Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto has also been elevated to a similar status, something like a female *pir*, *sheikha*, where people regularly go to her gravesite in Larkana, Sindh, as well as the place where she was killed, Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi, where a makeshift memorial has been raised.

In trying to weaken the aristocratic outlook and the traditional roles as political leaders of the *pirs*, both Ayub and Bhutto emphasized the 'true nature' of the Sufi tradition, wherein political leadership (in theory) is separated from spiritual authority – thus, as Ewing (1983: 253) terms it, they were trying to 'redefine the saints.' This redefining was concentrated on an emphasis on the return to the roots of Sufi teachings, in order to link themselves to religious authority and legitimacy as rulers of the Muslim nation of Pakistan.

³³ Aziz (2001: 56); Buehler (1997: 311); Ewing (1983: 252, 263); Hassan (1987: 562); Talbot (1999: 37). Qadeer (2007) notes that during Bhutto's rule, *qawwali*, the musical genre made up of Sufi poetry, gained the status of national music, often being featured in films. The *qawwali* was embraced by large segments of the society (p. 246). Ahmad (2008) notes that listening to *qawwali* aims at getting the listeners into an ecstatic trance (p. 67).

³⁴ Ewing (1983: 263).

³⁵ Verkaaik (2004: 83).

However, the reforms put in place by Ayub Khan might have worked against the desired aims of weakening their powers, instead strengthening the influence of the *pirs* and the *sajjada nashins* by recognizing their practices and by formal appointment of staff to oversee the *nazar*.³⁶

With General Zia ul-Haq's *coup d'état* in 1977 came a (slight) shift in the government's role in co-opting the shrines. Zia was less concerned with the promotion of shrine activities, such as the yearly '*urs*' celebrations.³⁷ For Zia, the religious authority sanctioned by the shrines was not particularly important, as he instead focused more on legitimizing his rule and formulating new policies with the assistance of the *ulama*. The *ulama*, the Deobandi *ulama* in particular, resisted the idea of *pirs* and shrines and the traditional relationship between the *pir* and the *murid*, and saw no difference between the exoteric and esoteric aspects of religion, thus arguing that there was no ambiguity between *shari'a* and Sufism.³⁸ Zia nevertheless co-opted *pirs* and congregations of *pirs* (*mushaiiks*) as he saw fit in order to bring them into conformity with his Islamization project. Zia's re-orientation thus led to attempts to fuse Sufism with (the *ulama*'s) orthodoxy by claiming that the original Sufis themselves were mostly from *ulama* adhering to *shari'a* whilst at the same time, or perhaps because of this, trying to lessen the role of the hereditary *pirs*.³⁹ Zia did however acknowledge the authority of the *pirs*, and sometimes included them in important conferences, such as the first convention of *mushaiiks* in August 1980,⁴⁰ and even promoted Sufi culture – something the following extract from a brochure published by Pakistan Tourism Development in 1985 suggests:

Muslim shrines and tombs of Sufi Saints represent Muslim culture [and] traditions. ... These Sufi Saints still rule over the hearts of Pakistanis and Muslims of other countries. With the passage of time

³⁶ Talbot (1999: 166).

³⁷ Rozehnal (2006) notes that the '*urs*' is often seen as a marriage with God – in the sense that it is with the death of a *pir* when he, or she, enters into the eternal union with God (p. 36).

³⁸ Aziz (2001: 56–7); Ewing (1983: 253–4, 263–4); Hassan (1987: 563).

³⁹ Ewing (1983: 254, 264); Qadeer (2007: 69). Ewing (1983) notes that in Zia's time, there was a concentrated effort to shift the focus from the *pir* being a holy man in his own right, to that of the *pir* being an *alim*; a (religious) scholar meant to educate and guide the followers in Islamic law (p. 267).

⁴⁰ Buehler (1997: 311).

the number of devotees has increased. The visit to shrines by millions of people every year is an abiding testimony of their absolute and undisputed sway over their followers and of their divine blessings emanating from their hallowed graves.⁴¹

It is nevertheless reasonable to argue that Zia's moves were attempts at replacing the traditional system of *piri-muridi* with the orthodoxy represented through, at that time, Deobandi scholars and scriptural (Islamist) doctrine; which represented the backbone of Zia's Islamization process itself. Zia's Islamization did have an impact on how the institution of *piri-muridi* in Pakistan has changed. One major change was that religious movements, including that of the Sufis, became highly politicized, and in turn started preaching a more conservative version of Islam. During Zia's rule, mosques were increasingly designated and divided among sectarian lines, and subsequently connected to larger networks. This gave the *ulama* greater political and religious influence over them and in turn empowered local *mullahs* to challenge the institution of *piri-muridi*.⁴² The orthodox seeds sown during Zia's rule have thus taken root and continue to influence popular opinion in favor of the orthodox at the cost of the traditional 'folk Islam' in Pakistan.

I now turn to discuss how orthodox Islam is challenging and influencing 'folk Islam' in urban centers, like the Twin Cities, in contemporary Pakistan.

⁴¹ Cited from Buehler (1997: 299). Talbot notes that Zia did try to implement some policies that were seen as negative by the *pirs*. For instance, Zia challenged some of the *sajjada nashins* by implementing a ban on kite and pigeon flying, a practice associated with many Sufi saints, under the validation that they constituted a breach of sanctity and privacy for women. The authorities eventually had to withdraw the implementation of the ban (Talbot 1999: 251; Talbot 2004: 72). In contemporary Pakistan, kite flying is still a controversial theme, which is often banned by provincial governments.

⁴² Abbas (2007: 16, 18).



Figure 3. ‘Urs at Golra Sharif, Islamabad.

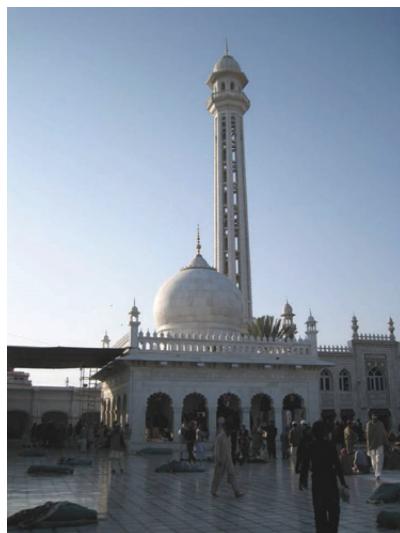


Figure 4. Golra Sharif, Islamabad.

Orthodox Islam challenging traditional ‘folk Islam’ in the urban centers

Contemporary urban Pakistan is witnessing a shift from the traditional system of *piri-muridi*, wherein the followers, the *murids*, would take the *pir*’s, or the *mullah*’s words for that sake, as ‘the (only) truth’. People tend to be hesitant to reveal information regarding their affiliation with Sufism and seem hell-bent on trying to distance themselves from it – instead, rhetorically, portraying themselves as orthodox Muslims, who disregard anything seen as un-Islamic.⁴³ In this context, Malik (2006: 31) notes that, “...a growing middle class of Muslim purists consider dance and music to be latter-day influences from non-Islamic sources, which have to be shunned.” I am not limiting such a shift only to the ‘middle class’, rather, I find the phenomenon to be valid on a broader scale, including that of lower segments in the urban milieu as well. In this lies the fact that more

⁴³ Zaman (2004) argues that this shift from Sufi and shrine-based religiosity towards orthodoxy is attributed to the rise of sectarian organizations, and in turn, the Deobandi *ulama*’s use of the sectarian environment (p. 136).

people are turning to modern technology as well as utilizing traditional religious sources (*Qur'an* and *Sunnah*), which they access through a higher degree of availability to such sources amplified by increased education levels in general. This is something that Hassan (1987: 563), more than two decades ago, shared in his farsighted analysis, in which he argued that education and urbanization challenges the old 'folk Islam', weakening it and instead strengthening orthodox Islam. In his analysis, he argues that:

...the social change which Pakistan has undergone in the past three decades has created socioeconomic circumstances conducive to mass mobilization in support of a *ulema*-led purist Islamic tradition which I have elsewhere called Islamization. Urbanization, increasing literacy, and industrialization have created an urban environment which is sufficiently differentiated to provide the *ulema* and the purist Islamic tradition with an important and strategically located constituency. ...education and urbanization appear to be related to an increase in a universalistic religiosity and a decline in folk or popular Islamic practices.

In contemporary Pakistan, there is an increased emphasis on 'Islamic identity'; this is especially valid for the (educated) urban middle class. In the Twin Cities, this emphasis has led to a turn towards orthodox Islam at the cost of traditional 'folk Islam'. For example, the Wahhabi-oriented al-Huda movement is among the most popular movements for the urban middle class. In this, a new way of locating followers has developed. In previous times, the Tablighi Jama'at was the main organization known for going door-to-door in locating and recruiting supporters. In the last few years, other organizations, including al-Huda, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Jama'at ud-Da'wa, and Deobandi movements have begun to follow the same pattern as the Tablighi Jama'at, locating people in the affluent living areas of Islamabad, in shopping centers, as well as visiting people at mosques or in their homes.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ In this context, in an interview with the author, Amir Rana of Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) argues that the main reason for the middle class' attraction to sectarian identity is their awareness of local and international issues related to the post-9/11 situation. Rana adds that even the Hizb ut-Tahrir is popular among the middle classes in urban areas of Pakistan. Al-Huda does not portray themselves as a sectarian movement but still is related to a puritanical Wahhabi Islam – which more often than not condemns Barelvis in the way they pay homage to *pirs* etc. Al-Huda

Deobandis, as seen earlier in this article, are often referred to as being orthodox and anti-Sufi. Still, many Deobandis have deep connections to Sufism but instead of entering into a ‘blind relationship’ with a *pir*, there seems to be a higher degree of intellectual reflection as well as a more personal and secretive approach in their Sufism. As I found in the study, quite often Deobandis would not reveal their adherence to it in public, nor alone when other people were present, but sometimes told me about their adherence to it in private. It is in this context I cite Roy (2002: 9), who notes that, “...the Deobandi do not oppose literature or poetry, nor even Sufism as such, although they condemn the “cult of the saints”, i.e. addressing prayers to others than Allah.” Indeed, it was among Deobandis that I was met with the most critical voices against saint worshipping, i.e. “cult of the saints”, yet a certain few Deobandis also surprised me with their extensive knowledge of Sufism. Most often, these Deobandis would relate their responses to the intellectual aspect of Sufism, rather than practices and rituals commonly found at shrines (which they would most often object to). Still, I emphasize that these Deobandis were in a minority, as I agree with Rozehnal (2006: 44–5) who describes how the Deobandis in general have changed their attitude towards Sufism from having an intellectual closeness to it, towards rejection of it.

The orthodox movements’ success in gaining supporters is starting to have an adverse effect on the traditional Barelvi organizations. The main reason for this is that the orthodox movements, such as al-Huda and Hizb ut-Tahrir, offer an alternative to the mystical, often secretive and difficult to understand Sufism as preached by the Barelvis.⁴⁵ Furthermore, as Ayesha Siddiqa argues, “There has also been an exhaustion of the old, the traditional institution of *piri-muridi*”. By this Siddiqa meant that they have stopped giving anything back to their followers. Thus, the missionary activities, the *da’wa*, of the orthodox movements seem to have a greater appeal to the (mainly educated) middle classes of urban centers as Islamabad. Concerning this, the director of Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) Amir Rana, says the following:

often preaches about universality of Islam and use words like ‘equality’, *ummah*, the brotherhood of Muslims, etc. in their rhetoric.

⁴⁵ Also see Qadeer (2007: 147, 153).

I think right now the Barelvis are not paying attention – which comparatively with other sects here in Pakistan is [sic] more moderate in their religious ideology. They are losing ground, but they are also themselves responsible for losing this ground as they have very few religious practices in common which educated persons can believe in, e.g. what is going on in the shrine etc. This is also a response to the practices being done by the Barelvis, the *pirs*, and the scholars. Thus, people are inclined to go towards people who are more educated, they are appealing, they [the orthodox movements] can speak English, they are very well mannered; so in reaction they move to these movements.

The shift from the old ‘folk Islam’ may, as indicated earlier, be also probably related to increased access to newer technology such as Islamic TV broadcasts and the Internet. This is especially the case in Islamabad, where many of the residents are former emigrants to western as well as Arab states. In exploring this issue, I was initially very surprised to experience that former immigrants to countries of Europe and the USA – who, in the majority, had emigrated from traditional Barelvi areas such as Kharian, Gujarat, Lala Musa, Mirpur, etc. – were now applying Wahhabi rhetoric.⁴⁶ Going deeper into this, I discovered that there had been a concentrated ‘reinvention’ of religion among many of these ‘re-emigrants’. In their re-discoveries, they had turned to technologies such as the Internet in locating ‘the religion’. In many cases, their point of departure was said to be at a minimum: thus, when they started ‘Googling’ information on Islam, they mostly ended up finding orthodox Islamic websites.

These ‘re-emigrants’ are often very engaged in supporting their local mosques, which often have their own religious seminaries (*madrassas*) attached to them, and donate large sums of money to these private institutions – something serving as one factor for the increase in orthodox, Wahhabi-based mosques in the capital in recent years. In practical and palpable terms, there exist multiple changes among this group. This is especially valid relating to marriage patterns (e.g. less focus on pre-Islamic rituals, instead turning to the ‘pure’ traditions in Islam), lifestyle (e.g. dressing more like Arabs; women’s turn to the *abaya* and *niqab*, and men’s wearing of Arab headscarves (*rumal*); leaving aside western dress codes), and discourse and

⁴⁶ Qadeer (2007) also finds that Pakistani workers in the Gulf and Arab states have brought back Islamic conservatism in their old settings (p. 269).

rhetoric – which seem to be highly influenced by Wahhabism.⁴⁷ This dimension to urban Islam has also been noticed by local academics, such as Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad, who told me in an interview that:

In a sense, this is natural because technology brings homogenization: you may now sit on the Internet and access Islamic web-sites globally. What does one see over there? The Qur'an and its translations, *hadiths* [collections of the Prophet's praxis, the *Sunnah*], *fatwas*, political commentary, etc. Those searching for Islam almost always arrive at a purer, more orthodox, view of the religion. This view is not tempered by culture, tradition, or historical experience. Instead, it is directly taken from the written word which is generally harsher than tradition, particularly that of Sufi Islam. Tradition had ameliorated some of the harshness that is inherent in the religion. In Pakistan, pristine Wahhabism is growing while the Sufi and Barelvi tradition is on the retreat. Slowly but surely one sees the *pirs* and 'folk Islam' become less important with time.

A factor in the increased shift towards orthodoxy at the cost of traditional 'folk Islam' is thus seen as being caused by increased levels in literacy and education in general. The argument is that when people have the opportunity to explore for themselves, they tend to read religious literature, including the authentic text of the Qur'an and the collections of *hadiths*. This is also the case for educational institutions outside the religious sphere, such as universities and colleges. Commenting on this, Hoodbhoy says:

Paradoxically, as literacy levels went up in Pakistan, the degree of orthodoxy also increased. Why? Because when people are able to read they read that which is available. Because religious books are all around and available at highly subsidized rates, people read largely about religious matters. A lot of literature comes from hard-line Islamic organizations, and this preaches a version of Islam that is pretty harsh.

On the other hand, shrines and *pirs* are most likely influenced by a growing orthodoxy in society as well. Not only are they reported to be preaching a more conservative version of Islam. This has in turn led certain shrines to implement a stronger discipline, like for instance an increased emphasis on reading of the Qur'an, as well as the banning of

⁴⁷ Qadeer (2007: 16) has similar findings in his work.

women and discouraging of music in the shrine areas.⁴⁸ Some, such as Abbas (2007: 16, 72), even point to the possibility that some *pirs* have ventured into the *jihad* game by sending the students of their *madrassas* as well as their *murids* to join the *jihad* against allied forces in Afghanistan.⁴⁹

I now turn to look at how the people of the Twin Cities view the institution of *piri-muridi* and how they perceive certain practices and rituals commonly associated with it.

Perceptions of *piri-muridi*

In exploring issues related to *piri-muridi* in the Twin Cities, I had anticipated (and hoped for) many intellectual and/or spiritual reflections on what Sufism constitutes for the respondents. Alas, from the huge majority of people I interviewed, observed, and had conversations with, only fragments of such were found when they were describing their relations to Sufism. For some, it is a system of reciprocity, wherein one pays homage to the saint (*pir*) or descendent of a *pir*, being the good follower or disciple (*murid*) that one is supposed to be. For others, Sufism is something they have not fully thought through but still adhere to as they see that it can have some practical and religious benefits for them later. Indeed, as Pirani (2009: 36) argues, most *murids*, instead of ‘investing in the spiritual training,’ simply surrender to acts of obedience towards the *pir*. It is in this context that Robert Rozehnal (2006: 46), a contemporary scholar on Sufism in Pakistan, says that, “...questioning Pakistanis about their views on Sufism may elicit any number of responses—from reverent, extemporaneous recitations of the poetry of a local saint to harsh

⁴⁸ See also Gardner (1993) for a study of a Sufi-cult in northeast Bangladesh that has turned towards orthodoxy – banning singing and dancing, focusing more on recitation of the Qur'an and formal prayers (*namaz*), as well as limiting women's attendance at the shrine. Gardner attributes some of this change to the fact that many devotees are migrants (UK, Arab states) who have undergone orthodox transformations.

⁴⁹ Abbas (2007) introduces his readers to a 60-year-old respondent, who used to frequent shrines and had a formal relationship with a *pir*, having sworn his allegiance (*bait/bay'a*) to him, and later in his life emigrated to Saudi Arabia – where he became convinced that his previous practice of attending the shrines was *shirk*. The respondent later became involved in *jihad* in Afghanistan (p. 103).

invectives against the moral depravity of the uneducated masses who flock to the shrines.”

Very few people I met during the fieldwork explained *piri-muridi* in an intellectual context or by drawing on Sufi poetry or other spiritual explanations. I did, however, have the pleasure of being acquainted with a man who did offer such explanations: a local neighborhood ‘living pir’ (*zinda pir*) in his late seventies, originally hailing from Indian-administered Kashmir. The following is his explanation on how he entered into the world of *piri-muridi*:

It happened like this [how I became a *pir*]. Let’s see, I sought my master [teacher, *murshid*] in my youth, and then I accepted his discipleship. At that time, I already had two small children. I went to Jalalpur to visit the *murshid*. Will he provide food for us or not (I wondered)? When I went to his shrine, my children had fallen asleep. I said to myself, “If he is a true *pir*, then he will provide us food; otherwise, I will not believe him.” This is my own experience. This *murshid* of whom I became a disciple is now dead, now his son is his successor [*mahant*⁵⁰; the head of the shrine]. First time I visited the shrine, at one o’clock in the night, a number of people were sitting inside there. Then an order came from the inside, “Look for a person who has two children with him. First, food will be given to them and then distributed amongst others.” People were looking for us in the mosque, here and there, but we were in the shrine. People were worried because they could not locate the person who they were told to feed. The *mahant* held a lantern and came inside shrine. I closed my eyes, when I saw him. He asked me to go with him to have some food. We were walking in front of him, and he was behind us with the lantern in his hands. He ordered someone to bring food and said that, “First your children will eat the food, then you will be served, and after that, other people will be served.” I sought forgiveness and said that, “I wanted to test you; you have passed my test.” That is the thing; at that time, truthfulness existed but nowadays it is gone. They [Sufis] were not liars. They worshipped Allah in the real sense.

Although the *pir* had stopped administering *tawiz'*, and otherwise told people he was no longer ‘in the business,’ I regularly met people who said that they had received his help in various matters recently. He himself argued that he had stopped functioning as a *pir* as there were

⁵⁰ Note that the *pir* uses the word *mahant*, which is seldom used in contemporary Pakistan, as it is a Hindu word derived from Sanskrit and used to describe the head of a Hindu or Sikh temple.

too many imposters, acting as *pirs* or *faqirs*, in addition to what he perceived to be an abuse of people's trust and money by most *sajjada nashins*. He also said that he believed he had become more 'scripturalist' (orthodox) during the last couple of decades, as he wanted to distinguish himself from what he called 'un-Muslim' (*ghair Muslim*) practices in contemporary *piri-muridi*. Perhaps because of this, I would regularly run into him in the local Deobandi mosque during prayers.

Before turning to what other respondents had to say about *piri-muridi*, another extract from the same interview with the *pir* follows, in which he explains one of his many strange encounters with Sufis of the past. In this story, the *pir* tells about an encounter he had with a man he believed was an imposter, selling *tawiz'* for money, only to be surprised that the man was not so and allegedly had special skills:

Once I saw a man who was clean-shaven, who smoked, and administered *tawiz'* to people for money. I told myself, "I will see what kind of a man he really is [whether he is an imposter]. I will check him out at night when he doesn't offer prayers." I made a hole in the wall and was surprised to see him. He was scattered in pieces! His legs, head, arms, and other parts of his body were scattered! And the voice '*Allah hu*' [Allah is] came out from each part. I thought he was dead but the next morning I was amazed to see that he was still alive. I approached him and asked what had happened. He told me, "What you thought about me [impostor] was not right. There is a difference between my inner and outer self." Then he asked me not to disclose his secret during his life. Otherwise, I would have to bear damage.

From my previous informal conversations with people in Pakistan about *piri-muridi*, I had anticipated and hoped for more stories like the one in the extract above. Alas, most respondents kept their expressions of *piri-muridi* to practical and ritualistic aspects of it.

'Sufism is an integral part of Islam, but some practices are un-Islamic'

As seen from the table below, most respondents (82.53%)⁵¹ perceive Sufism to be an integral part of Islam but among these, some 20%

⁵¹ When response options 'a' and 'b' are combined.

added that the Sufism practiced in Pakistan has incorporated many Hindu and other pre-Islamic practices. These practices are not necessarily seen as legitimate (*jaiz*) practices *per se*, but rather as innovations (*bid'at*) derived from Hinduism or other pre-Islamic cultures and religions.⁵² For most people with whom I interacted in the Twin Cities, Sufism was neither intellectual nor seen as prescribed norms for how to live one's life. Rather, it was centered on the yearly functions of '*urs*', keeping some sort of relationship with a *pir*, or occasional visits to *pirs* when in need of remedies and blessings. Those that argued that Sufism is the same as it was during early Islam mostly had no additional comments or information. When asked directly about specific issues, certain practices, or rituals, they would often say that they had no knowledge about the particular issue but feared it is inherited from the Hindus. Very often, respondents would ask how they were supposed to be knowledgeable about Sufism when they did not even have basic knowledge of Islam other than the rituals which have been passed on to them by their ancestors.

Table 1. Sufism as an integral part of Islam (Survey II).

Do you consider Sufism (<i>piri-muridi</i>) as a part of Islam?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes, everything about it is Islamic – as it was in the early period of Islam.	297	62.53%
b) Yes, but some practices are derived from Hinduism and other pre-Islamic cultures.	95	20%
c) No, it is not part of Islam.	66	13.89%
d) Don't know/Refused to answer.	17	3.58%
	475	100%

Some respondents did explicitly express that Islam and Sufism in Pakistan consist of other cultural or so-called un-Islamic religiously inherited practices. For many of these, there were often expressions that these 'un-Islamic' practices should be gradually removed from

⁵² Verkaaik (2007) notes that the ruling elite post-independence were instrumental in labeling Sufi practices, 'folk Islam', as impure (*napak*). This was especially valid for the relationship of the *pir* and disciple – *piri-muridi* (p. 90). Many non-Islamic, including Hindu customs and cultures were adopted by the early Sufis of the subcontinent (Aziz 2001: 7; Malik 2006: 30–1). Verkaaik (2005) also finds that some of the traditions relating to Sufism are commonly referred to as *bid'at*, innovations, by reform movements. At the same time, he still finds defense of the values found in the traditions in Sufism among his respondents (p. 48).

the religion through enlightenment: religious (orthodox) education. Very few saw these culturally inherited practices and rituals as beneficial either for Islam nor for the people of Pakistan as such. Some few exceptions were found, however, such as the respondent quoted below, a 45-year-old retired Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) employee. His take on Sufism and Islam in general was quite atypical in the sense that he felt proud of having a religion that had assimilated different pre-Islamic values, rituals, and practices, which he did not see as ‘un-Islamic’, but rather as a proof of there being only one God. This is a short extract from this interview:

Sufism is a huge part of most people’s lives in Pakistan, in fact in all of South Asia. In fact, Sufism probably has a greater role in people’s lives than the real authentic [orthodox] Islam. This is a part of our legacy and culture; partially derived from Hinduism, Buddhism, and other religions.

The respondent furthermore pointed to another issue in the same interview: the place people hold for religion, in the sense that most people adhere to the ‘easy way out’, which for many is a form of Sufism, as opposed to the more intellectual and scriptural orthodox Islam (which the respondent refers to as authentic Islam). This aspect means that certain *murids* let their *pirs* perform their religious responsibilities on their behalf, for which of course, the *pir* is compensated. Although some will point to rituals and practices in *piri-muridi* as being ‘un-Islamic’, and thus argue that they should be removed or stopped, while going to the ‘*urs*’ they very often seem to engage in and enjoy these ‘un-Islamic’ practices. Among the practices objected to I regularly found respondents condemning the tradition of getting into an ecstatic trance, a state of mind in order to achieve closeness to or even unity with God, often related to as *dhammal*.⁵³

⁵³ This *dhammal* is meant to achieve a state of ecstasy referred to as *hal* (conversations and interviews with Hugh van Skyhawk in 2007; Rozehnal 2006: 42). The *hal* is considered a state of ecstasy as a gift of mercy from God. In this state, humans are ‘communicating with the ultimate reality.’ Although the term *dhammal* is used to describe someone dancing, whirling, or other type of bodily movement in order to get into a trance with the objective of reaching unity with God, the actual meaning is the rhythmic sequence of drums, which is considered essential for inducing *hal*. It is also common for Sufis to turn to drugs, such as hashish and opium, and alcohol in order to reach *hal*. (Frembgen 2008: 167, 176, 183–8).

Other things that are objected to are the practices of ritual offerings of salt (and other commodities), burning candles, gravesite rituals, and of course, the practice of some people at Sufi shrines of taking drugs or drinking alcohol. The following extract from an interview with a respondent, a 26-year-old part-time student, also uncovers another aspect to this dimension. The respondent highlights the fact that most entrances to shrines are relatively low in height, hence one has to bend down, to bow before the *pir* (which is common when meeting them in person), which he perceives as being un-Islamic:

Yes, it is [part of Islam] but we have to think and reassess some of the things going on. The *sajjada nashins* should tell the *murids* about the original Sufis, about their life routine, their prayers, and their living style and should ask them to do the same. It should not be like going to the graves once in a year [for the '*urs*'], putting a piece of cloth on the grave [*chadar*] and acting '*dhammals*' together with women and that's it. These things should be avoided because these are un-Islamic. ...a lot of things [are derived from Hinduism], for example, the door of a mosque is usually high but in shrines they are short in height and people have to go through them by bending down. The same is the case of the temples. Then you see people offering salt, burning candles, etc., which also is in Hinduism. I think it is not a part of our religion. Burning fire and after that acting '*dhammadal*' and dancing. ...all these things that they do are not in our religion.

Yet, despite these so-called un-Islamic practices in *piri-muridi*, as practiced at shrines, many people do go there. However, as I will explain in the following, even more people might indeed go to functions at shrines or otherwise visit *pirs*, but as they are embarrassed to reveal their affection for it, they often decline to admit it.

Figure 5. *Murid after dhhammal.*

Figure 6. ‘Sampling the products.’

‘Of course I go there, but it has changed its character’

As seen from the table below, I found the number of respondents saying that they go to Sufi shrines or visit the yearly ‘*urs* of *pirs*’ (31.37%) much less than the number of respondents who said that they perceived Sufism to fully be part of Islam or with some pre-Islamic rituals integrated in it (which totaled 82.53%).⁵⁴ This figure is probably higher in practical terms, as I have found that many people do not even tell their relatives that they visit shrines or otherwise seek help from *pirs*. Thus, I would instead see the figure presented as those ‘admitting to going to shrines or visiting the yearly ‘*urs* of *pirs*’. The main argument for this is that many respondents seem to be embarrassed at disclosing their relationships with the shrines.

⁵⁴ A Gallup Pakistan survey, titled *Views on Visiting the Graves of Famous Saints*, January 2010, finds that 52% of Pakistanis admit to having visited shrines of *pirs*, 47% said they had not. I see the discrepancy between Gallup Pakistan’s findings and my own to be caused by two factors. Firstly, Gallup Pakistan asked whether respondents had visited shrines, whereas I asked if respondents visit shrines. Secondly, and perhaps most important, Gallup Pakistan’s survey includes rural and urban respondents alike; rural respondents are more likely to having visited shrines than their urban counterparts.

Respondents sometimes express that they feel that although it provides comfort to them, *piri-muridi* is argued by ‘most people’ to be something ancient and an institution that only ‘eats out of the poor man’s pockets,’ taking advantage of them – a point that I will return to below.

Table 2. Visiting of shrines and attendance at ‘*urs* of *pirs*’ (Survey I).

Do you ever go to Sufi shrines or visit the yearly ‘<i>urs</i> of <i>pirs</i>?’	Total	Percentage
a) Yes.	149	31.37%
b) No.	308	64.84%
c) Don’t know/Refused to answer.	18	3.79%
	475	100%

For those who admit to going to the shrines, this admission is very often followed up by clarifications in the sense that they only go there to pay their respect to one particular *pir* or simply to offer funeral prayers (*fateha*).⁵⁵ I often found the tendency among respondents to emphasize their disapproval of some of the practices and rituals taking place at the ‘*urs*. This was most evident when respondents described people who consume drugs and alcohol, dance, or engage in other so-called ‘un-Islamic’ activities at the shrines. Respondents would often add that the ‘*urs* had suffered due to cynical people trying to gain material wealth for themselves, for instance by selling artifacts, prayer books, and other ‘glossy items’ such as decoration pieces for homes and cars etc., which are common in the marketplaces (*melas*) set up adjacent to most larger shrines. Another important issue, echoed by most respondents was a negativity towards going to the shrines in order to beg for something for themselves, either from the *sajjada nashins* or through the shrine itself. Instead, most respondents would argue that *they* were only paying their respects to the deceased *pirs* by offering *fateha* prayers. Some, like the following cited respondents, a 35-year-old man working as a shopkeeper and a 27-year-old owner of a Public Call Office (PCO), would express that people have lost the

⁵⁵ A Gallup Pakistan survey, titled *Views on Visiting the Graves of Famous Saints*, January 2010, finds that 64% of Pakistanis admitting to having visited shrines of *pirs* said they went there to show respect, 34% said they visited to get their prayers fulfilled or wishes come true, 11% said that they went there to receive spiritual healing, 4% said they visited shrines to receive free food or gave no response.

'true meaning' of going to the '*urs*'. The main argument was often that in the past people would go there to learn about the old Sufis' ways and then try to follow their examples in their own lives. The respondents say the following:

Shopkeeper: Of course I go there! They [*pirs*] are the beloved people of God. They used to spread Islam. Now look at us, what we are doing today. We go there and abuse their shrines; people go there and become intoxicated; drink, use drugs, and people are beating the drums and dance over there. That is a total abuse of the dignity of the shrines. I don't say that people should refrain going there but they should (go there to) recite the holy Qur'an, offer *fateha* prayers, and beg from God. A special prayer from God in order to make us like these people [the original saints, *pirs*], and make us like the people who followed [*murids*] these saints [in the past]: these things are correct.

PCO owner: They [*pirs*] are on the right path. They sacrifice their lives, families, and properties just to earn Allah's favor. Whatever they begged for, they achieved from Allah. Certainly, we must go their shrines but not beg something from these graves, and not burn candles etc. These practices are prohibited in Islam. I have been visiting Bari Imam [shrine in Islamabad] and many other renowned places. All these evils ['un-Islamic practices'] have been adopted because of some of the people going there.

Also, consider the following from another respondent, a 27-year-old businessman commuting between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, arguing that although on the one hand it is acceptable to visit shrines, on the other it is heresy to maintain gravesites for longer periods of time. He said that he was basing his perceptions on his long stays in Saudi Arabia, where his experience with gravesite practices was obviously different.⁵⁶ On this issue, the respondent says:

I usually go to '*urs*' at different shrines, but I don't have that much interest. We only go to give grace to and worship some special *pirs*. Some of the practices in Sufism are actually Hindu, and I don't like that. For instance, when we bury people, people make a huge fuss about it: burning candles, decorating, setting up stones etc. That is not in accordance with Islam. In Saudi Arabia, people are buried, and

⁵⁶ Abbas (2007) has similar findings in his work. He attributes the 'sinfulness' of going to graves to Wahhabi influence brought home by emigrants to the Middle East (p. 60).

after ten years or so, the graves are cleared, in order to create space for new ones. We should not be making large graves, putting up stones etc. Again, this is the work of the religious leaders; they want to be remembered, so they make it happen. In addition, many people are exploiting the situation, taking drugs and alcohol, saying they want to experience ‘the oneness’ [*tawhid*] of Allah, while in fact they are only bad people [*haramis*]. But we [can also be understood as I, from ham] still go there; it is our habit ['*adat*].

As seen in the extract above, the respondent claims that the main problem with the shrines is that religious leaders themselves encourage the system as a way of being remembered and worshipped after their deaths, thus also sustaining the family heritage and securing income for generations to come. Still, as he himself admits, he goes to the shrines and attends '*urs*', saying that it is related to his (family's) customs and traditions.

Whereas contemporary mainstream Pakistan is highly sectarian, the shrines bring together a myriad of sects, sub-sects, and religions. Not only are the shrines popular places of worship for Sunnis: Shias, Hindus, and even Christians alike visit them regularly, especially for the '*urs*' ceremonies.⁵⁷ What I initially found odd was that many Christians would say they that would regularly visit shrines of *pirs* and go to '*urs*'. While talking with them, most said they go there because they have faith (*iman*) and that the chain (*silsila*) of *pirs* has been part of their upbringing.⁵⁸ In this context, they often downplayed the differences between themselves as Christians and the majority Muslims in society, often arguing that there was very little separating them in practical terms and social transactions in society as a whole. Returning to the practice of going to the shrines, some of the Christians maintained that the major reason for going there is related to an old practice of the pilgrimage to the Shrine of Mariyam, which is specifically known to be a place where childless women go to get

⁵⁷ Fieldwork notes; Mohammad (2002: 229). Qadeer (2007) in his findings also report that sectarian differences matter little at shrines (p. 74, 256). Van der Veer (1992) in his research on Sufism in (Indian) Gujarat, found that Hindus were present and even participated in some rituals at some shrines (p. 555, 562). Frembgen (2008) also notes that Hindus venerate Muslim saints, although as he notes, “The latter [Hindus] see the saint, who is considered to be alive (*zinda*), as an incarnation of god Laksmana, in myths the son of Vishnu and the brother of Rama.” (p. 26, 35).

⁵⁸ *Silsila* in this context is the chain of connection between the *pir* and the *murid*; an order (See for instance Kazimi 2009: 35 for further details on this concept).

blessings in order to become pregnant. In this context, most Christians would mention that even Muslims go to this particular shrine to get blessings.

As seen from the table below, those respondents who said that they did not visit shrines expressed that they did not care or believe in the institution as such. When talking to them in greater detail, however, the common explanation was that they would like to go but seldom found the time to do so. Thus, arguably, more people would visit the shrines if they found the time.

Table 3. Reason given for not visiting shrines/attending '*urs* (Survey I).

If you do not go to Sufi shrines or '<i>urs</i>, why not?	Total	Percentage
Of total respondents		
a) <i>I don't think it is permissible in Islam.</i>	50	10.53%
b) <i>I don't care/believe in such things.</i>	199	41.89%
c) <i>Don't know/Refused to answer.</i>	59	12.42%
	308	64.84%

'They have lost their way'

I found most respondents to adhere to the idea of *pirs* having some kind of power to intercede on their behalf in earthly matters. These earthly matters would range from (blessings for) having children, receiving cures for medical or psychological illnesses, being promoted or getting married, to resolving economic misfortunes. My observation regarding this is that people in the Twin Cities will visit their (hereditary) *pir*, usually after a *qawwali* session, after the '*urs*', or whenever the *pir* is available for the public, and then offer their 'silent wishes'. Then, the *pir* 'intercedes' with God on their behalf. Mostly, this intercession is conducted through advice which is often given to the *murids* in philosophical and/or complex language, or, as is very common, the *pir* prescribes a practical cure. The practical cure is achieved either by blessing an item or (holy) water (*ab-e-zam zam*) brought by the *murid*, advising the *murid* to say special prayers (*du'a*), and/or giving the *murid* an amulet or a pendant (*tawiz*) said to give relief or comfort.



Figure 7. 'Locked-prayers'.



Figure 8. 'Prayers in a tree'.

The *tawiz* usually consist of either a simple (mostly black) thread or a combination of a thread and a small piece of paper with certain verses or extracts of Qur'anic verses written on them. In addition, there is often written a series of three-digit letters – which the *pir* claims have some specific meaning, although this is not revealed to the *murid* – to help them gain their wishes. The *tawiz* will normally be put in a locket or sewn inside a leather cover and worn around the neck or on one of the arms. There also exist other types of *tawiz*. For instance, some are hung in trees (these are usually pieces of cloth that are hung in trees adjacent to the shrine) or put on (the exhaust pipes of) automobiles, and some even are made to be rapidly thrown and dissolved into water or fire, which again is said to rapidly trigger the desired effect. It is sometimes maintained that once the *murid*'s wish has been granted, the *tawiz* will automatically disperse, although I have often witnessed people coming back to the shrines in order to remove their (hanging) *tawiz* after their wishes have been granted.

The wearing of *tawiz* is contested among some. It is often perceived as an act of idolatry or polytheism (*shirk*), although I found most respondents, including Deobandis, to permit the wearing of *tawiz*.

for one's safety: so-called *hifazati tawiz*.⁵⁹ For such an example, see the following extract from an interview with a 36-year-old (Deobandi) respondent currently working as a taxi driver:

It [tawiz] is according to Islam. It is also useful for bad sight. [In addition to the *pirs*] it is also administered by the *ulama* but they do not play with people as some false *pirs* do. My child has one around his neck because he is frightened at night and starts sleepwalking in the house. Angels are also with my daughter, who studies [at Lal Masjid] in Islamabad, she also wears it around her neck. *Tawiz* is legal in Islam.

As pointed out by the respondent, even some among the *ulama* administer *tawiz'*. I only came across a few people who had been administered *tawiz'* from the *ulama*, and based on these few, it seems that the *tawiz'* given by members of the *ulama* are not particularly mystical or difficult to understand, but instead consist of special Qur'anic verses believed to relieve people of discomfort or illness. I also found certain Deobandis who had been advised by religious leaders to wear (silver) rings or pendants with semi-precious stones such as turquoise (*firoza*) or carnelian (*haqiq*) attached to them, as these stones are said to have healing or comforting powers. The wearing of such rings is also very common among Barelvis. Usually the *pir* will receive money or another type of gift (*futuh*) in return for his services. After an interceding session with the *pir*, which usually involves the *murid* bending down before the *pir*, most often the *murid* donates an amount of money to the *pir* – which is given as a gift to the shrine. In this process, the *murid* declares or reassures his allegiance

⁵⁹ Pirani (2009) notes that faith healers prescribe a variety of treatment including amulets, holy water, special prayers (*du'a*), and slaughtering of animals in dealing with health conditions (p. 66). I found it common to believe that *pirs* had to power to intercede, or to call upon people to become *murids* for instance, through dreams. Very little substance came out of the conversations I had with people on the issue, most saying they were too embarrassed to disclose any information at all, albeit they strongly believed that *pirs* regularly visited people in their sleep (fieldwork notes; also see Ewing (1990) for more on *pirs* interceding with people through dreams). Abbas (2007) mentions one example of a young Barelvi whose mother, after he changed his daily religious rituals towards Wahhabi practices, brought him to a *pir* in order for him to see the mistake he had committed. The *pir* gave the man a *tawiz* to be put under his bed in order for him to be 'put on the right track' (p. 41). Frembgen (2008) also provides some accounts on the *pirs'* practice of writing and administering *tawiz* to *murids* (p. 32).

to the *pir* by kissing his hand (or ring on his finger). This process of swearing allegiance to the *pir* is often related to as *bait/bay'a*.

Table 4. Whether visits to shrines will enhance one's life (Survey II).

Do you think that going to <i>pirs</i>, '<i>urs</i>, or other Sufi gatherings will enhance your life?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes, these people have real powers.	356	74.95%
b) No, they are just frauds/imposters.	97	20.42%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	22	4.63%
	475	100%

Some respondents believe that *pirs* have 'lost their way' in the sense that they are taking advantage of the 'common man' without putting anything back into the system (i.e. providing for the people). On this issue, there are ambivalent views: on the one hand people believe *pirs* have the power to intercede before God, and on the other, do not feel that it is appropriate to beg for anything from anyone else than God – although by having the *pirs* intercede on their behalf, they do so in practical terms. This point is also related to the next issue, in which there also lies some ambivalence. Most respondents will say that *pirs* are taking advantage of 'the common man' by defrauding them of what little wealth they do possess. As seen from the table below, this figure is relatively high, almost 70%. In addition, the respondents answering 'Don't know' often said that they suspected that *pirs* were taking advantage of them but had no way to confirm it and did not want to challenge the *pirs* in as they saw a potential future danger in upsetting them.

Table 5. *Pirs* taking advantage of 'the common man' (Survey I).

Do you believe Sufi <i>pirs</i> are taking advantage of 'the common man'?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes.	331	69.68%
b) No.	76	16%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	68	14.32%
	475	100%

The ambivalence with which the *murids* offer their respect, and often money or other items, to the *pir* on the one hand, and at the same time say that they are probably being taken advantage of, seems illogical

on the surface. This system is probably partly linked to old notions of reciprocity. This system of reciprocity between the *pir* and the *murid* – hence the name *piri-muridi* – is a system wherein the *murid* is supposed to keep the chain (*silsila*) of his or her ancestors intact. In this, the *murid* is expected to keep up the tradition of obeying his or her specific (hereditary) *pir*, although the *murid* might have started to question the validity of the institution of *piri-muridi* as such. One respondent, the same 45-year-old retired PIA-employee referred to earlier, after saying that he regularly visits shrines and attends ‘*urs*’, as well as having an active relationship with a *pir*, said the following about the practice of certain *pirs* of taking advantage of people:

Certain people are taking huge advantages of this [*piri-murid*]; selling prayers, *tawiz*’, and other blessings etc. They are professionals, thieves, just taking advantage of the [unfortunate] people; the followers (*murids*). The *pirs* still dominate society; they keep large support bases, which they even mobilize in elections etc.

The respondent also pointed to another important factor; namely that of the *pirs*’ involvement in politics. This aspect will be discussed later in this article.

In addition to the aspect of *pirs* taking advantage of people’s faith by ‘stealing their wealth,’ there also exist reports of physical and mental abuse going on at some shrines.⁶⁰ In the general context of *pirs* taking advantage of people, there is a common perception that the ‘real *pirs*, *faqirs*, *dervishes*, and Sufis,’ representing the true and authentic powers, have gone into hiding, or rather into a state of occultation. The ‘visible *pirs*’ and the shrines they maintain, in the function of being *sajjada nashins*, are thus seen as not possessing the real powers that the ‘hidden *pirs*’ possess. The reason why the ‘real *pirs*’ have gone into hiding is regularly explained as being a consequence of society’s downfall, which has opened the path for bad people, allowing some of the *sajjada nashins*, to turn the old shrines and the institution of the shrines, into ‘money-making’ factories for themselves without giving anything back to the people. See the following excerpt from an interview with a respondent, a 28-year-old shopkeeper, who feels this way:

⁶⁰ See for instance Pirani (2009: 73). Pirani found that a small group of people was being held at a shrine against their will. In those cases, parents or other elders had made the decision to keep them there (p. 272).

All these people, the *pirs*, they are just number twos [*do number pir*; imposters]. In the past, there used to be good *pirs* as well, they are now all gone; they have gone into hiding. Just look at the people in Golra [Sharif] they are only interested in politics and money, and in Pakistan if you are involved in politics, you get the money. They are only giving back a little, you can go and eat at their *langars* [*langar khana*], and stay there for some days, but it is nothing like it used to be. I don't have the exact knowledge [of how it used to be in the past], but people say it was very different before. The *pirs* used to have powers, help people etc. They have lost their way. They are the ones that should help the people, but now the people are the ones providing support for them, and they [*pirs*] enjoy it very much. Look at their big buildings, dazzling cars – it is not right.

The following respondent, a 25-year-old currently unemployed man who volunteered at a local (Deobandi) *madrassa*, also expressed a similar view. He emphasized the important role of *pirs* and individual Sufis in previous times, and argued that this role is now filled by movements such as the Tablighi Jama'at, as the 'true *pirs*' have gone into 'hiding':

After the Prophet and his companions, pious people [*pirs* and Sufis] became the cause of spreading of Islam: people such as Ali Hajweri in Lahore. Now this work is being done by Tablighi Jama'at, especially in Raiwand [Tablighi Jama'at headquarters in Pakistan], where thousands of people are always involved in preaching/missionary work (*da'wa*) and teaching. Groups are being sent to the whole world for preaching. Non-Muslims are rapidly converting to Islam. I think it is the righteous way as they spend their own money, lives and precious time... Nowadays, true *pirs*, in its true sense, are very few. Because of these no-good *pirs* they [the true *pirs*] are now hidden.

The respondent points to an important factor when he mentions the Tablighi Jama'at; as mentioned earlier in this article, orthodox movements, such as Tablighi Jama'at are challenging the traditional 'folk Islam'. Not only are they 'giving something back' to the people through their charity work, they also treat people with respect, for instance by relating to them as brothers (*bhai*) and otherwise addressing and conversing with them in a respectful manner. This behavior is quite opposite to the practice commonly found at shrines, where it is the norm that one bows before the *pir* and treats him like a monarch.

In the context of ‘*pirs* having lost their way,’ Ayesha Siddiqा Agha, herself having filled the role of a *pir*, acting as a female *pir* (*sheikha*) after her father died when she was in her early teens, draws on her own experiences and elaborates on this issue. Siddiqা explains that the practice of certain *pirs* and the institution as a whole to just ‘take’ from the *murids* without giving anything back, might also be related to the higher popularity of the orthodox movements. In the past, this type of reciprocity functioned in the sense that the *pirs* would help their *murids* and give them time and attention. In contemporary Pakistan, attention increasingly comes from the orthodox movements, which also tend to treat their subjects as equals, thus breaking old patterns of higher and lesser status between the religious/spiritual leaders and their *murids*. Siddiqা says the following about the lack of giving anything back to the people (*murids*) and hints at the consequence this might have in the future:

These people [*pirs*] are accessible, but again, putting very little into the system, e.g. there are at least 14-15 members of my family – I don’t do it – who constantly go on *safar* [travels, collection of *nazar*], visits to the *murids*, and the *murids* are spread from Sindh to Baluchistan. They go there, visit them, bless them, get money – so every time they run out of money they go on a *safar*. Any young boy in the family who is pathetic, can’t do anything with his life and has no independent source of income, goes for *safar*. That’s the method of sustenance: that is what I call spiritual predation. The problem with predation is, as the word explains, that it does not give anything, it just takes, it exploits. On the other hand you have, it is not an issue of challenging their philosophy, Akora Khattak [Haqqania Madrassa] and others, but they are at least giving the sense to the people that at some point they can be equal.

It has to be emphasized that although some *sajjada nashins* might deliberately take advantage of their *murids*, people do go there (mostly) on a voluntary basis, in that sense that they are ‘letting themselves be taken advantage of.’ In this, I regularly found attendees at shrines to have traveled long distances, even from abroad, to attend an ‘*urs* or otherwise to meet the *pir*. When asked about whether they thought they were being exploited, many quickly replied that they were not so, and that they gave away money on a voluntary basis because the *pir* had played a role in their ancestors’ prosperity or the curing of disease, or just that they felt that they were being cared for

by the *pir*. Most shrines also offer their *murids* food through their *langar khanas*, medical services, as well as other practical assistance and advice, which I often found to be cherished by the attendees.

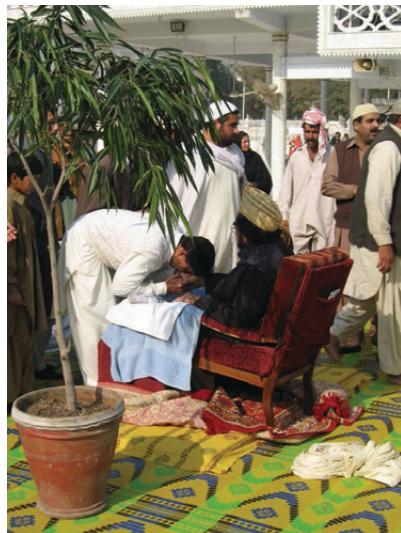


Figure 9. Paying allegiance (and money) to the *pir*.



Figure 10. Dervish in the outskirts of Lahore.

'It is OK to go there to offer *fateha*, but not to ask for something for one's self'

The visiting of graves is considered desirable or commendable in (most schools of thought in) Pakistan's Islam, as it is thought to serve the function of reminding men that death is certain and that men are mortal. It is also a way of seeking forgiveness from God for one's own sins. By Qur'anic tradition, visiting gravesites is said to be for men only. Thus, the practice of the many female *murids* going to shrines is considered *haram* by Deobandis and Wahhabis. In most cases, respondents will say that they go to the shrines primarily to offer prayers for the deceased, the so-called *fateha* prayers, where the *sura-e-fateha* from the Qur'an is recited.⁶¹

⁶¹ There are also those that resist the idea of going inside a graveyard altogether. Abbas (2007) finds an example of this in his work (p. 60).

Table 6. Permissibility in going to the shrines for *fateha* (Survey II).

Is it OK to go to a Sufi shrine for <i>fateha</i> ?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes.	451	94.95%
b) No.	13	2.74%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	11	2.32%
	475	100%

At the shrines, many *murids* offer personal prayers (*du'a*) meant for God alone, although many respondents address their *du'as* to the shrine (or its deceased *pir*). This practice is seen by many respondents as an act of *shirk*, as prayers should only be offered to the one God. At shrines, it is also considered common practice to for instance burn incense (*agar batti*), heat special oils (*charagh*), decorate the graves, lay down rose-petals, and pour rose-scented water over the shrines. These practices are seen by many, especially among Deobandis and Wahhabis, as idolizing the dead and conducting these practices on graves or shrines, with the exception of the holy Ka'aba in Mecca, are often explained to be *shirk*, as it is seen as ways of challenging the concept of worshipping the only (one) God. As this respondent, the same 27-year-old owner of a PCO referred to earlier, argues:

We should go to pray [*fateha*] for those who are buried. We must not, however, beg anything from them because it is forbidden in Islam to bow before anyone other than Allah. If it were so, wives would bow before their husbands. Thus, one should not bow before *pirs* or go to them for one's own needs. Still, you can observe that these things happen if you visit shrines.

Peter van der Veer (1992: 557) finds similar tendencies in his research in a Sufi environment in Indian Gujarat. Concerning the practice of going to the shrines, he refers to Deobandis of the Tablighi Jama'at, who are regularly seen as orthodox and opponents of 'folk Islam', and writes that:

Muslims in Surat and its twin city Rander who call themselves Tablighi do not participate in or observe a saint's day ['urs]. The Tablighi Jamat is sometimes called an anti-Sufi movement, but according to the Tablighis I interviewed this is a misrepresentation. They do not oppose Muslims visiting Sufi shrines (*dargah*), but are against prayers to dead saints to intercede with Allah on behalf of the supplicant. The Tablighis cite the standard reformist argument that to

worship a saint in addition to Allah amounts to polytheism (*shirk*). In their view, a good Muslim should demand nothing from the buried saint or from his living descendant, but they do not object to visits to the shrine to pray for the benefit for the dead. The Tablighis present, then, an inversion of the usual Sufi practice in which the believer prays for his own benefit to the dead saint.

Van der Veer's (1992) findings concerning certain practices of 'folk Islam' being assessed as acts of *shirk*, as seen from the paragraphs above, are very similar to my own findings.

The tradition of asking something for one's own needs is common practice when visiting shrines of *pirs*, although this is not necessarily admitted by respondents, as seen from the table below.

Table 7. Permissibility of going to the shrines for one's own needs (Survey II).

Is it OK to go to a Sufi shrine in order to beg for something for one's self?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes, <i>pirs</i> have been given power by God in order to help people on the earth.	14	2.95%
b) No, one should only beg to God.	451	94.95%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	10	2.11%
	475	100%

Many people offer their prayers (*du'as*) directly to the *pir* or shrine, try to 'gain from the *baraka*' of the shrine, or receive healing at the shrine. Many people will place small padlocks or threads on the bars of the windows or the metal grills located inside the shrine, hang pieces of cloth with their *du'as* wrapped inside on the trees adjacent to the shrine, or otherwise bring something to be kept at the shrine or its surroundings, to be removed when their wishes are fulfilled.⁶² As part of the ritual when entering the shrine, one will experience people bending down over the tomb, touching it, and then fanning their hands to their faces repeatedly to get some of this *baraka*, in order to obtain

⁶² Pirani (2009) notes that some of the respondents in her research tied threads or chains around the doors of the shrine or around trees in the surrounding. She was told that these items served as witnesses to the requests that were made to the saint and served as some kind of protection for the *murids*. She also discovered that the *murids* believed that in their absence, the items would remind the saint of their request – so that it would be granted and that, when it became granted, it would 'fall off' (p. 197–8).

blessings or cures for illnesses. Some even bring items, such as clothing or (holy) water inside the shrine, as if to bless them.⁶³

On certain occasions, I would also witness people carrying large chains around their bodies; they would always reply that, "They were in God's custody." When asking more about this – whether it was a punishment of some sorts, for instance – the usual reply was that it was a commandment of Allah, and not by the order of any *pir*. These people referred themselves as *faqirs*, although they were not the only ones calling themselves that.⁶⁴

Using common rhetoric on the issue of the illegitimacy of 'begging for one's self', a respondent, the same 36-year-old uneducated taxi driver referred to earlier, expressed his view on this in the following:

They [dead *pirs*] have no powers. They are dependent upon us because they are dead and we are alive. We buried them in graves and put lots of soil on top of that. They are our dependents because they are dependent on our *fateha* and [*du'a-e-*] *darud*. When you enter a graveyard, you do not know what is going on inside the grave. When you go there and pay your greetings [*salaam*], they reply but we never know. I have never gone inside a tomb [*mazar*] but I have prayed for them from the outside. Some people who regularly go there and say that they have prayed for me. Their prayers have been successful; I became rich, I had a child. Allah does not like those people who seek help from others. Allah listens to all prayers and replies, but some

⁶³ Pirani (2009) finds some of the same behavior in her research. In addition, she notes that some would bring home the leftover, diluted oil from lanterns standing around the shrine to be used as massage-oil. This oil could also be bought at stores surrounding the shrine – in this lies, she argues, that the devotees could bring a piece of the shrine or with them as a reminder of the shrine and the saint (p. 191–2). I have also noticed oils, and other things found in the shrines being sold at the local *melas* (especially for Golra Sharif and Bari Imam where *melas* make up a huge part of the shrines' surroundings. What I however found, was that the *murids* would take these items to the hereditary *pir* in order to have them blessed and then taken home or sacrificed. In this, I also found *murids* bringing salt from home, which they would place into large bowls of offering inside the shrines – this is more noticeable at certain smaller shrines, and could be limited to Shia practices.

⁶⁴ Pirani (2009) in her research finds that some people wore chains around their bodies but in those cases, it was under the influence of the *pir* (p. 197). Frembgen (2008) also notes that other *faqirs* have expressed that they have worn the chains as a testimony to them being a 'slave of God'. Frembgen also notes that the wearing of such is related to a perception that it is supposedly protective of evil spirits, in addition to that of being a testimony to a specific bond to God or a *pir* (p. 135–6).

people think that their prayers were accepted and rewarded by these *pirs* and thus become loyal to them.

As seen from the extract, the respondent says that he himself has never gone inside a tomb but has gone to shrines to offer *fateha* prayers. What is interesting about the respondent's reply is that although he himself objects to the idea of asking something for one's self, he believes that he has been prosperous because of other people going to the shrines to pray for him.



Figure 11. *Faqirs* in chains.



Figure 12. *Faqir* in chains.

The ambivalence described above is common. Indeed, although some of the practices described in the paragraphs above are considered unacceptable, illegitimate (*najaiz*), and commonly described as 'un-Islamic' by the majority of Deobandis and Wahhabis, I have witnessed for myself that one may find people – either identifying themselves or otherwise revealing their sectarian affiliation as Deobandis or Wahhabis through dressing or other sectarian identification markers – doing so anyway. This is probably linked to the fact that although people may adhere to a particular sect, in practical terms, sectarian thinking or the 'absoluteness' of orthodoxy and 'folk Islam' is not as rigid and absolute as sometimes presented in popular or academic writings. Another important factor is that people

in dire needs, as I have found, will resort to most available solutions in easing their situations.

I now turn to look at how respondents perceive the popularity of Sufism. The questions relating to the popularity of *piri-muridi* were meant to trigger responses regarding the (continued) role of *pirs* in politics and to assess the degree to which respondents had awareness of this.

Historically, the ancient *khanqahs* not only had success with the public. Rather, from an early age, the subcontinent's Muslim rulers recognized the political importance of the *pirs*, which was largely connected to the popular understanding that *pirs* had the power to intercede with God on people's behalf. The *pirs* were thus seen to have enormous influence over their subjects, which again could be used for political purposes. The Muslim rulers thus began following a policy of supporting them, for instance by allotting properties and financing the building of shrines, which helped to ensure political legitimacy for their government's reign. This system of supporting the *pirs* continued during British rule in India, which meant that in return, the *pirs* had their positions as influential people asserted. In contemporary Pakistan, this system of state patronage of the *pirs* still exists and it has even been a common practice that local politicians have used their connections to the shrines as 'references' in running for seats in elections. *Pirs* are still deeply intertwined in the political scene of contemporary Pakistan.⁶⁵ As Ewing (1983: 257) explains:

...once Pakistan was created, they [the ulama] hoped to control the direction of the new country themselves, thus adding an additional element to the political scene, but the landowners and *pirs* continue to be major political forces with which any politician who wants to remain in power must still contend.

Talbot (1999: 37) for instance, notes that when Benazir Bhutto made her first visit to Lahore as Prime Minister on 25 December 1988, she went directly to the shrine of Data Ganj Baksh (p. 37). When Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 2007, the first thing she planned to do

⁶⁵ Aziz (2001: 7, 20); Buehler (1997: 306–7); Ewing (2004: 173, 190); Ewing (1983: 256–8); Frembgen (2008: 33, 59); Gardner (1993: 213); Gilmartin (1979: 494, 516); Hassan (1987: 558–9); Malik (2006: 31); Qadeer (2007: 204); Rozehnal (2006: 34, 45).

was to visit a famous Sufi shrine in Karachi. The ruling government's security set-up for her return did not however permit her doing so.⁶⁶

In Pakistan, *pirs* are identified with the particular geographical areas in which their shrines are located, and often the *pir* believed to have converted a tribe to Islam is the one *pir* that the tribe relates to and grants their allegiance.⁶⁷ Elaborating on traditions of conversion and allegiance in pre-Islamic Pakistan, Ewing (1983: 255) says that:

The original conversion did not usually occur as a mass movement, but rather in the form of a political move, in which the tribal leader went to the *khanqah* (Sufi Center) of the saint and accepted conversion in the name of the saint... Even today [1983] allegiance to these traditional saints is not a matter of individual choice. A man is the follower of a certain saint because this is the saint of his tribe. The tie is political as well as spiritual.⁶⁸

It is obvious, then, that *pirs* may exert power over their murids in many facets of life, including that of politics, as the tie bound between the two has more than one controlling factor. Indeed, the *pir* not only controls the *murid* in this life, he also has influence over the next phase. This influence and power is not least exploitable when the spiritual and the political fuses, as is common in Pakistani politics where many prominent political leaders hail from the spiritual powerhouses.

'It used to be more popular in the past'

During the latter half of 2007, I noticed that many politicians became actively engaged in trying to link themselves to some of the *pirs*: this

⁶⁶ Hassan (1987) adds an interesting and not much discussed aspect of the rulers' additional agenda in supporting the shrines; some *sajjada nashins* were granted large estates and in return they provided the rulers with military recruits for the state to use in case of political upheaval or war in the country. During Mughal rule, such military units were named *lashkar-e-du'a* (army of prayers) and were considered as important as regular army units were. For this system of military recruitment, the *sajjada nashins* were given substantial support in the form of land grants given either as *waqf* to the shrines, or as *jagirs* to individual *pirs* and *sajjada nashins* (p. 558).

⁶⁷ Ewing (1983: 254–5).

⁶⁸ In the Twin Cities, I often found people to choose a *pir* on their own initiative. Ewing (1983) also found the tendency among worshippers to locate *pirs* for themselves in another urban setting: Lahore (p. 255, footnote 4).

was also the case of Benazir Bhutto.⁶⁹ Part of the reason for including the question of whether Sufism was more popular now was thus a desire to see whether there existed any reflections on a potential role for the spiritual powerhouses in the election that was scheduled for autumn 2007, which was eventually held in the spring of 2008.⁷⁰

Table 8. Popularity of Sufism now versus the past (Survey I).

Is Sufism more popular now than before?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes.	129	27.16%
b) No.	281	59.16%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	65	13.68%
	475	100%

When asking about the perception of popularity of going to the shrines, keeping relations with the *pirs*, and going to '*urs* (aspects of *piri-muridi*), respondents tended to say that it was more popular in the past, as seen from the table above. Usually, respondents compared popularity of the institution of *piri-muridi* with the times of independence, in 1947, which of course, few people have direct knowledge of. Thus, respondents would say that they had heard so from their parents etc. There was however one respondent who was old enough to recollect the time of independence: the same living *pir* (*zinda pir*) as quoted earlier. In the following, he recollects the *pirs* as role models for the people, their instrumentality in preaching and converting people to Islam, as well as their role in the Pakistan Movement's push for Pakistan:

When we turn the pages of history, we find these *pirs* as role models for others. By their character, they changed the lives of people and converted them to Islam. In our region, these *pirs* played a vital role in preaching Islam. They spent their entire lives on it. And a majority of people in the subcontinent believed in them, when this movement of

⁶⁹ Accompanied by Dr. Stig Toft Madsen and Prof. Dr. Hugh van Skyhawk (QeU), I was attending a meeting with two hereditary *pirs* at Golra Sharif when we suddenly were told to leave because of the visit of a VVIP (Very Very Important Person) – who the next day was identified as Benazir Bhutto.

⁷⁰ In describing the relationship of *pirs* in politics, Qureshi (2002) notes that there is, "...a triangle of *zamindars*, industrialists, and *pirs* who are also landowners... They provide patronage to their followers and develop the basis of patron-client relationship. The tenants and the rural masses serve as "vote bank" for the landowning elites" (p. 17).

independence started. These *pirs* pushed their *murids* in this movement. In older days, people were ignorant [*jahil*]. There are so many examples. People used to bury their daughters alive.

As seen from the table below, the ones arguing that Sufism had achieved greater popularity in recent times saw this neither in connection with elections nor in the political context in general. Most of the respondents who argued that Sufism had gained popularity argued that the reason behind this was that in contemporary Pakistan, more people than in the past are living under terrible conditions and thus need comfort from the *pirs*.

Table 9. Why is Sufism more popular now than in the past? (Survey I).

If you believe Sufism is more popular now than before, why is it so?	Total	Percentage
Of total respondents		
a) <i>Elections are coming up – Sufi orders play an important role in the electoral process...</i>	10	2.11%
b) <i>People are more scared and need comfort from religious/spiritual persons.</i>	25	5.26%
c) <i>People often go there to get help (e.g. to get cured from diseases etc.).</i>	80	16.84%
d) <i>Don't know/Refused to answer.</i>	14	2.95%
	129	27.16%

'People do not want to destroy their own destinies'

The politician's power comes from the ballot, the General's from the gun, the *pir's* from the grave. The first speaks in the name of the people, the second in the name of the Army, the third in the name of the dead. (Aziz 2001: 62)

For a long time the *pirs* of Pakistan have taken advantage of the powers inherited through their ancestors. As Aziz notes in the quote above, their powers are also manifested through an eternal bond to the dead (original) *pirs*, which they often take advantage of. Often, as Weinbaum (1996: 650) argues, the political influence of the *pirs* is so strong that, "Election to the National Assembly is virtually assured for those considered a living saint by their constituents." Most respondents, however, see no role for the *pirs* in politics. However,

when confronted with different politicians' names and their affiliations with shrines and *tariqas*, respondents tend to recognize the link between politics and *pirs*. Then the respondents would mostly argue that the spiritual institution should not be mixed with politics. Regarding this, it is likely that the influence of *pirs* in politics is much less in urban areas such as the Twin Cities than in rural areas, where the *pirs* have traditionally played a key role in politics.

Table 10. Sufi networks' role in electoral process (Survey I).

Are Sufi networks important for the electoral process of Pakistan?	Total	Percentage
a) Yes.	62	13.05%
b) No.	316	66.53%
c) Don't know/Refused to answer.	97	20.42%
	475	100%

A small number of respondents did however have clear visions of how *pirs* are active in politics; these are mostly respondents who have rural backgrounds and have witnessed for themselves how the *pirs* manipulate local politics and take advantage of their so-called vote-banks. One such respondent, the same 45-year-old former PIA employee referred to earlier, emphasized the spiritual power the *pirs* have over their subjects, extending it into politics. This is what the respondent said about *pirs* and politics:

Well, I think it is called voter banks. They [the *pirs*] are paid to support someone [politician], some *pirs* keep huge voter banks, selling them to the largest bidder. Still, the people love them, whether they do something good or not. The thing is that people do not want to destroy their own destinies (*qudrat*). This is important.

As it is widely believed that *pirs* have the ability and power to control peoples' destinies, *qudrat*, it thus seem reasonable that the same people will do almost anything the *pirs* will tell them, including voting for their favored political party. To this, there is very little consciousness among respondents. As seen from the table below, only slightly more than 5% linked this type of power with the Sufi networks in Pakistan:

Table 11. How Sufi networks have a role in the electoral process (Survey I).

How are Sufi networks important for the electoral process of Pakistan?	Total	Percentage
Of total respondents		
a <i>They (pirs) have power over the people giving advice/blessings, it would be unwise to go against their advice – if they advise you to vote for someone.</i>	25	5.26%
b) <i>They are often in political positions themselves.</i>	30	6.32%
c) <i>Don't know/Refused to answer.</i>	7	1.47%
	62	13.05%

These numbers then, are different than what would be expected. In explaining the fear of challenging the power of the *pirs*, Frembgen (2008: 31) argues that, “The saint’s power is often experienced as ambivalent: As long as his devotees are obedient and venerate him in the proper way, the holy man is benevolent and rewarding, but fear and punishment are certain for those who do not follow his commands.”

Conclusion

The system of *piri-muridi* is still thriving, representing an important aspect of Muslim religious experience in the Twin Cities. In the Twin Cities, there are numerous *pirs* at shrines, as well as independent *dervishes* and *faqirs*, with whom many people have a reciprocal relationship. Although some question the authority and authentic credentials of the institution of *piri-muridi*, many regard Sufism as an integral part of Islam and relate to it in their lives. Firstly, this is related to perceptions that the alternative assistance provided by the *pirs*, through their ability to perform miracles (*karamat*) and extend their blessing (*baraka*) to their subjects, is the solution to many of their problems and that they indeed can be cured of illnesses or otherwise experience fewer problems in their lives. Secondly, respondents describe the notion of keeping up a relationship with a *pir* as a substitute to compensate for their lack of knowledge of Islam: thus, in a sense the *pir* becomes the guarantee of the *murid*’s religious obligations. Thirdly, it is fair to assume that the system of reciprocity between the *pir* and the *murid* is still kept intact, as it is perceived to be in line with the families’ expectations and part of the belief system

as inherited and propagated through the lineages and (they) thus do not want to upset their family's destiny (*qudrat*). Finally, there is the aspect of the cultural and religious fusions that have come to influence Islam in Pakistan, which are sometimes difficult to allocate to one specific sect or school of law, which incorporate some practices, including Sufism, while rejecting others.

At the same time, there is a growing awareness and focus among respondents that some practices associated with Sufism are un-Islamic and should be rooted out. Practices such as *dhammal* and consuming drugs or alcohol at shrines are widely held in contempt. On the other hand, there is a dualism in that while respondents condemn certain practices and rituals as 'un-Islamic', they still actively seek the shrines and the *pirs* and try to reap the possible benefits that the institutions can provide. The issue is further complicated by a notion of privacy, or even embarrassment, in the sense that most respondents perceive their relationships with the shrines as a personal matter, not even telling family members of their devotion to them, and are thus hesitant to reveal information on the subject.

While it is likely that (some) *pirs* and shrines have become more conservative and orthodox themselves, there is an increased *rhetorical* emphasis on 'Islamic identity', or the 'true Islam' – free of pre-Islamic ideas, practices, and values. This, I will argue, leads people into projecting a more orthodox Islam at the cost of traditional 'folk Islam', although many people might still adhere to practices associated with Sufism through the shrines and believe in the miracles (*karamat*) and ability to give blessings (*baraka*) of *pirs* as well as independent *dervishes* and *faqirs*. The orthodox alternative is promoted and filled mainly by Deobandi and Wahhabi organizations, which have started to be more outward in their preaching and missionary activities, thus reaching out to more people. Faith-based organizations of different affiliations, including the Jama'at ud-Dawaa, are also active in the Twin Cities, primarily as providers of welfare, which they often use as a pretext for gathering people to their congregations or otherwise use to promote their line of thinking.

The orthodox movements offer an alternative to the mystical, secretive, and difficult to understand Sufism as propagated by the Barelevi. It is a common perception that the old *pirs*, the institution of *piri-muridi*, has changed in the sense that the system of reciprocity has

turned into a one-way street, where only the *murids* commit themselves and their resources, and the *pirs* have stopped giving anything back while still behaving as ‘feudal lords’. Nonetheless, many devotees express that they do indeed get something back. The orthodox movements, on the other hand, present themselves as equals, playing the ‘international brotherhood of Muslims, card, using words as such brother (*bhai*) and approaching people with utmost respect, which clearly has an emotional effect on the many deprived, as well as the middle and higher classes, of the Twin Cities. The trend towards orthodoxy may also be related to increased access to technology, especially among the many ‘re-emigrants’ of Islamabad, as discussed earlier. Literacy rates and education in general are also factors that can help explain a shift towards orthodoxy, because as people become more literate, they explore religious literature for themselves, turning to the Qur'an and *hadiths* because they are tired of having *mullahs* and *pirs* telling them what their religion consists of.

Finally, the increased levels of orthodoxy may also be seen as a response to western modernization, in which there is a transfer of loyalty from the traditional ‘folk Islam’ towards a purist and scripturalist version of Islam. In relating to this, reaching out towards a more purist (orthodox) form of Islam is also seen as an aspect of indigenous modernization in itself, for instance by seeking out and eliminating practices which are not found in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. According to J. B. Tamney, modernization is associated with religious purification. Tamney argues that modern people differentiate themselves from the traditional ('folk Islam') in the sense that they practice a purer form of religion after having gone through a (purification) process where they deliberately seek out and eliminate elements and practices, the inconsistencies, which cannot be found in scriptures: the original sources (Qur'an and the *Sunnah*). In this sense, Tamney's argument can thus be seen as that of religious purification, as found among Islamists, as one aspect of modernization in itself.⁷¹ This in turn may help explain why *piri-muridi* of the Twin Cities may have become more orthodox – as a way of ‘fitting the traditional with the modern.’

⁷¹ J.B. Tamney's arguments found in Hassan (2004: 14). Hassan finds some support for this theory in his own empirical work (Hassan 2004: 15).

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Überlegungen W. Bangs zu komanisch **kär balik* „Acipenser huso“

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Abstract

The following article deals with W. Bang's attempts to give an etymology of an assumed Qoman **kar ~ kär balik* „sturgeon” to which he traces back a name of the Sea of Azov given in the „Chiliads” by Tzétzis. The author of the present article explains **kar ~ kär balik* as a language taboo and gives an equivalent to this from Yakut (*xatiüs* „sturgeon”).

Lösungen für in der Vergangenheit bereits längst aufgegebene etymologische Probleme finden sich nicht selten bei der Durchsicht älterer Aufzeichnungen, privater Notizen mitunter bereits lange verstorbener Vertreter der jeweiligen Disziplinen oder historischer Sprachmaterialien. Schon allein deshalb lohnt sich für den Etymologen der Blick in solche Unterlagen. Ein Beispiel mag hier eine kurze, belanglos erscheinende Notiz in einem Brief des Turkologen, Iranisten, Anglisten und Ural-Altaisten Johann Wilhelm

(„Willi“) Max Julius Bang[-Kaup] (9.8.1869–8.10.1934)¹ bieten. Dieser hatte – vor allem in seiner Zeit in Leuven/ Louvain – eine ausgedehnte Korrespondenz mit dem Iranisten Friedrich Carl Andreas (14.4.1846–3.10.1930)² gepflegt, welche sich über mehrere Jahrzehnte hinzog.³ Gegenstand der erhaltenen Teile der späteren Korrespondenz (ab 1910) waren Bangs komanische Studien, an denen Andreas, da dieser in der Zeit seines Wirkens in Göttingen (ab 1903) dort als Iranist die „Orientalistik“ (unter der man damals Studium und Lehre des Arabischen, Persischen und Osmanischen verstand) – und somit auch die noch junge Turkologie – vertrat, regen Anteil nahm.

In seinem Brief an Andreas (Brief vom 21.5.1911) schreibt Bang: „Gestern sandte ich Ihnen die Polowzer;⁴ sehen Sie sich bitte die Note zu p. 98 (čaquě) einmal vom Standpunkt des Irānisten genauer an. Ebenso empfehle ich Ihnen die Notiz zu ἀντακαῖος, wobei ich nicht weiter kam, da mir Brehms Tierleben hier fehlt (: ist der Hausen mit „Enden“, „Nägeln“ oder dgl. besetzt??).“

Diese Notiz ist einigermaßen irreführend, da sie sich auf mehrere, unterschiedliche Publikationen Bangs bezieht. Bei den „Polowzern“ handelt es sich um seinen Beitrag „Zu der Moskauer Polowzischen Wörterliste,“ in der sich allerdings kein Hinweis auf den Hausen, Stör oder Sterlet resp. dessen mögliche Benennung im Komanischen findet. „Die Notiz zu ἀντακαῖος“ wiederum findet sich in Anhang II zu seinem Aufsatz „Beiträge zur Kritik des Codex Cumanicus.“⁵ Etwas irritierend ist hier der Umstand, daß Bang – entgegen seiner sonstigen Gewohnheit – Fragen hinsichtlich seiner bereits publizierten Schriften an Andreas richtet; d.h. er scheint nicht wirklich von einer befriedigenden Antwort ausgegangen zu sein und spielte allenfalls mit dem Gedanken mögliche weitergehende Feststellungen in geplanten künftigen Cumanica resp. in Anhängen zu

¹ Zu W. Bang siehe – stellvertretend für die wahre Flut an Literatur zu seinem Leben und Werk – Schaefer (1929), de Vocht (1929), v. Gabain (1934), dies. (1974) u. Kononov (1974).

² Zu F. C. Andreas cf. v. Selle (1931), Littmann (1953), Kanus-Credé (1974), (1985) u. (1986), Röhrborn (2000).

³ Die Reste des Briefwechsels zwischen W. Bang und F. C. Andreas finden sich in den Beständen der Handschriftenabteilung der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen unter der Signatur „Cod. Ms. F. C. Andreas 1: 17“ sowie im Archiv der Katholischen Universität Leuven.

⁴ Bang (1911b).

⁵ Bang (1911a).

selbigen zu bringen. Tatsächlich äußerte sich Andreas nahezu ein Jahr später (!) in einem Brief (vom 12.7.1912) zu dem Problem – allerdings ohne etwas zur Lösung beitragen zu können: „Hier eine kleine Bemerkung zu der Moskauer Polowzischen Wörterliste S. 98 Anm. Das Wort für „Hammer“ ist ursprünglich nicht türkisch, sondern aus dem Iranischen entlehnt, vgl. awestisch čakuš, neopers. čäkuš. Höchst wahrscheinlich ist auch das türkische Wort für „Löffel“ iranisch, vgl. neopers. čämčä, wofür die Perser jetzt ausschliesslich das türkische qāšuq gebrauchen. Das s(u) vor dem m der ersten Silbe in einzelnen türkischen Dialekten könnte auf ein vorauszusetzendes älteres iranisches čomčäk zurückgehen. Über ἀντακαιος habe ich mir vergebens den Kopf zerbrochen. Seiner Lautgestalt nach kann das Wort sehr wohl iranisch sein, aber eine Erklärung will sich mir nicht darbieten.“

In seinem Beitrag resp. dem II. Anhang zu seinem Aufsatz „Beiträge zur Kritik des Codex Cumanicus“ äußerte sich Bang „ueber den Komanischen Namen der Maiotis“ (dies = Azovsches Meer). Hierfür hat er einen Aufsatz von J. Marquart⁶ und die dort von diesem vorgenommene Interpretation einer Stelle aus den Chiliaden des Ioánnis Tzétzis zum Anlaß genommen. Bei dem von Tzétzis gegebenen *Kαρμπαλονκ Μαιωτις*, das türk. resp. kom. sein soll, könnte, so Bang, von dem griech. Autor das kom. *kermē* (= *kärmän*)⁷ zugrundegelegt worden sein.⁸ Demnach müßte Tzétzis *Kαρμπαλονκ* für seine Etymologie in *Kαρμ*+*παλονκ* aufgelöst haben. Bang wendet hier ein, daß dies nach „byzantinischem Schreibgebrauch“ ein türk. **kar* ~ *kär balik*, an dessen Etymologie er sich versucht, wiedergibt⁹ und weist darauf hin, daß bei der Annahme eines Zusammenhangs mit *kärmän* in der ersten Silbe ein palataler Vokal anzusetzen ist. Was dann folgt, sind einige Bemerkungen zu dem aus dem Kom. nicht belegten *kär*: „In den Altaisch-Teleutischen Dialekten bedeutet *kär* ein Ungeheuer-grosses, Riesen-grosses Tier u.s.w. und Radloff's Wörterbuch führt *kär palyq* (II, p. 1083) in der Bedeutung "Wallfisch" auf“¹⁰ und der Deutung desselben als „Fischungeheuer“: „In dem

⁶ Marquart (1910).

⁷ Grønbech (1942), p. 140: *kermen* – „Stadt, "ciuitas"“.

⁸ Bang (1911a), p. 39.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 39 f.

Sagaischen Epos Altyn Pyrgan, *Proben*, II,¹¹ p. 99; Vers 386, 387, 393; p. 103; Vers. 511, 518, 522 ist Kär Palyq eine Art mythologisches (?) Wesen. Die "echte" Sagaische Form *Ker palyq* findet sich *ibid.*, p. 461, Vers 2809, p. 470, Vers 3107; zu ersterer Stelle die Anm. in der Uebersetzung, p. 469: "ein grosses Fischungeheuer." Wenn Herr Radloff das altaische *kär palyq* (*Proben*, I, p. 81 = Uebersetzung, pp. 84–85) durch "Wallfisch" übersetzt (vgl. auch W.B. a.a.O.), so ist dies nur ein Notbehelf, denn der Context beweist, dass es sich auch hier um ein fabelhaftes Fischungetüm handelt."¹²

Um seine Annahme eines Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Hausen und einem „Fischungeheuer“ zu untermauern, gibt Bang dann noch geradezu wahnwitzige Größenangaben für diesen Fisch: „Die um die Maiotis wohnenden Komanen können aber unter *kär balyq* nur den Hausen (acipenser huso), den pontisch-sarmatischen Fisch *par excellence*, verstanden haben, der in seinen grössten Exemplaren eine Länge bis zu 8 Metern erreicht.“¹³ Derartige überzogene Größenangaben finden sich freilich auch in älteren Werken. Selbst in „Brehms Tierleben“ werden unglaubliche Angaben geliefert.¹⁴ Tatsächlich erreicht der Europäische Hausen (*Huso huso*), der größte unter den Acipenseridae, eine maximale Länge von etwas über 5 m – was ja immerhin bemerkenswert genug, aber von Bangs Angaben noch immer erheblich entfernt ist.

Der Lösung des Problems der möglichen Benennung des Störs resp. Hausens im Kom. sehr viel näher als in seinem Beitrag war Bang mit seiner Notiz in dem Brief an Andreas (vom 21.5.1911). Er vermutete hier offenbar eine Bezeichnung für den Fisch, welche sich an dessen äußerer Erscheinung orientiert. Solche Benennungen kamen teils als fischereibedingte Tabuformen,¹⁵ teils als schlichte Bezeichnungen der Fische, Häufiger bei den Angehörigen solcher Gruppen, welche mit der Fischerei wenig zu tun hatten oder erst durch Kulturwandel bedingte Entwicklungen mit diesem in Berührung gekommen sind, vor. Bei turkophonen Gruppen zumeist in der Gestalt

¹¹ Dies = Radloff (1968).

¹² Bang (1911a), p. 40, Anm. 1.

¹³ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁴ Brehm (1893), p. 390: „Acipenser huso ... ein Fisch, der eine Länge von 15 m und ein Gewicht von 1.000-1.600 kg erreichen kann.“

¹⁵ Cf. hierzu unten.

„X balık“, in der auf äußere Merkmale angespielt wird. So etwa im Neu-Uigurischen, dem, da im Siedlungsraum der Uiguren der Fischfang traditionell nicht zu den Erwerbszweigen der Einheimischen zählt, entsprechende Benennungen ebenso fehlen, wie Termini technici der Fischerei. Häufig sind die Bezeichnungen für Fische im Neu-Uig. aus dem Kirgisischen resp. von den kirgischen Bewohnern der Lop-Nor-Region übernommen, welche mit dem Fischfang vertrauter sind als ihre in der Vergangenheit bevorzugt Viehzucht treibenden Nachbarn.¹⁶ Bisweilen jedoch liegen auch einfach nur parallele Benennungen vor. Als Beispiel sei hier – um beim Beispiel zu bleiben – eine der Benennungen des Störs (oder genauer: des Acipenser baerii) aus dem Šorischen angeführt, wo dieser schlicht als *sarıy balık* („gelber Fisch“) bezeichnet wird.¹⁷ Dieselbe Benennung findet sich im auch Neu-Uig., allerdings für einen kleineren, karpfenartigen Fisch.¹⁸

In der Tat hätte sich für Bang ein Blick in „Brehm's Tierleben“ gelohnt, da die hier in Frage kommenden Acipenseridae, wie alle Angehörigen ihrer Familie, tatsächlich Barteln und Kiemenreusendornen etc. aufweisen.¹⁹ Der Europäische Hausen etwa besitzt 17–36 solcher Dornen, d. h., hier könnte ohne weiteres ein „Nagel-Fisch“ angenommen werden. Eine interessante Parallelie dazu findet sich übrigens in C. H. Mercks „Sibirisch-Amerikanischem Tagebuch“, welches sein Vf. als Teilnehmer der Billings-Saryčev-Expedition in den Nordpazifik und die umliegenden Regionen (Kamčatka, Aleuten, Alaska etc.) in den Jahren 1788–1791 niederschrieb. Dort erwähnt Merck in einer Zusammenstellung der Fische des Viljuj-Flusses eine jakutische Benennung des Störs: „Seine

¹⁶ Freundlicher Hinweis von Dr. Ablet Semet (Göttingen).

¹⁷ Radloff IV (1911), col. 322. Bei Radloff findet sich über den Beleg aus dem Šor. hinaus eine ganze Reihe weiterer Beispiele für Benennungen für den Stör resp. Hausen, so *bäkrä* „Stör“ (Čayataisch [Radloff IV, col. 1577]), *bekrä* „Sternstör, Sternhausen“ (Kirgisisch [Radloff IV, col. 1577]), *pilmai* „Stör“ (Sartischer Dialekt des Usbek. [Radloff IV, col. 1344]), *šokur* „id.“ (Kirgisisch [Radloff IV, col. 1024]), *tugu* „id.“ (Tobol-Dialekt [Radloff, III, col. 1432]) etc.

¹⁸ Freundlicher Hinweis von Dr. Ablet Semet (Göttingen).

¹⁹ Über die Schmelzschupper (Ganoidei), zu denen auch die Acipenseridae gezählt werden, lesen wir in Brehm (1893), p. 389: „Ihre Flossen sind oft, aber nicht immer, am Vorderrande mit einer einfachen oder doppelten Reihe von stachelartigen Tafeln oder Schindeln besetzt.“

Fische sind ... Sterlatten (echatyss), ...”²⁰ Hinter diesem verbirgt sich jak. *xatiiš* „Stör”.²¹ Es handelt sich dabei ganz unzweifelhaft um eine fischereibedingte Tabuisierung,²² da dies auf jak. *xatiiř* „uneben, holprig; grannig, stachlig, dornig” zurückgeht.²³ Zu jak. *xatiiš* „Stör” cf. auch dolgan. *katiiš*²⁴ ~ *katiš* „id.”²⁵ Das „überzählige” *e*- das von Merck notiert wurde, dürfte entweder auf einer Verhörung beruhen oder auf einen russischsprachigen Informaten zurückgehen (cf. hierzu auch das bei Merck ebenfalls mit einem „überzähligen“ Anlautvokal gegebene jak. *inuchely* „Aland“²⁶), da hier keiner der jak. Dialekte eine vokalisch anlautende Form zeigt. Zur jak. Benennung cf. auch einige der bei I. Hauenschild gegebenen Bezeichnungen: *xatiiš/ xatiiř balik* „Sibirischer Stör (Acipenser baeri), Sterlet (Acipenser ruthenus), Glattstör (Acipenser nudiventris)” und *xatiiš toyon* „Sibirischer Hausen (Huso dauricus).”²⁷

Die Form der Tabuisierung entspricht einem der im gesamten circumpolaren Eurasien gängigen Muster, d. h., die Bezeichnung eines Fisches oder Jagdtiers wird durch ein eigensprachliches Tabuwort, mit dem eigentlich eine Eigenschaft des Tieres beschrieben wird, ersetzt (so wird das [wilde] Rentier in den Jenissej-Sprachen als „das Langbeinige“ bezeichnet, der Bär in tung. Idiomen als „der Zottelige“, der Wolf als „der Gefräßige“ etc.). Der Tabuisierung liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, daß die Fische und Jagdtiere die Sprache der Menschen verstehen können und die Nennung derselben einen ausbleibenden Erfolg der Jäger und Fischer nach sich zieht.

Welche türk. Form Bang jedoch in seiner Anfrage an Andreas vorgeschwobt haben mag, bleibt sein Geheimnis. Er äußerte dort nur eine Vermutung in Gestalt einer Anfrage. Es könnten hier alle

²⁰ Dahlmann/ Friesen/ Ordubadi (2009), p. 92.

²¹ Hierzu Knüppel (2011), Nr. 7.

²² Es gilt hier das bei K. H. Menges auch zum Jagdtabu bei den Türken Sibiriens Ausgeführte (Menges [1932]).

²³ Cf. Stachowski (1993), p. 141. Der Erklärung bei Stachowski ist gegenüber der Deutung bei Räsänen (1969), col. 219a, wo jak. *xatiš* zu mitteltürk. *kaðiš* „Lederriemen”, Balkar., Kaz. Tel. etc. *kajiiš* „Riemen” gestellt wird, eindeutig der Vorzug zu geben.

²⁴ Dem'janenko (1980), p. 124: 166; Stachowski (1993), p. 141.

²⁵ Bel'tjukova/ Koševerova (1987), p. 81; Stachowski (1993), p. 141.

²⁶ Dahlmann/ Friesen/ Ordubadi (2009), p. 117; cf. hierzu auch Knüppel (2011), Nr. 9; freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. Marek Stachowski (Kraków).

²⁷ Hauenschild (2008), p. 58.

möglichen Wörter in Frage kommen. Zunächst natürlich das auch in Radloffs Wb. erscheinende, aus dem Čayataischen belegte (möglichlicherweise irrtümlich für *kazık* geschriebene [wie auch Radloff dort anmerkte]) *karik* „Nagel, Pflock“.²⁸ Vielleicht aber hat er auch an *kyryğ* „(Čay.) Rand, Ende“²⁹ oder *kyir* „(Kirg., Krim-Tatar.) Ende, Ecke“³⁰ gedacht – was natürlich allesamt nur Vermutungen sind. Es zeigt sich aber wie eingangs bemerkt, daß sich der Blick in Aufzeichnungen, wie die Briefe von Bang und Andreas in vielerlei Hinsicht lohnt und manchmal beiläufig geäußerte Vermutungen näher an der Lösung eines Problems sein können als das, was letztlich seinen Weg in die Publikationen gefunden hat.

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²⁸ Radloff II (1899), col. 188.

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The Indo-European Etymology of Burushaski *--skir* ‘father-in-law’ and *--skus* ‘mother-in-law’

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Abstract

Within the wider framework of the hypothesis of the genetic affiliation of the Burushaski language with Indo-European an etymology is proposed for two kinship terms. Burushaski *--skir* ‘father-in-law’ is derived from Indo-European *suékuros ‘father-in-law’ and Burushaski *--skus* ‘mother-in-law’ from Indo-European *suékrúh_as ‘mother-in-law’. The etymological analysis and the Burushaski evidence strengthens the position of Indo-Europeanists who have derived Indo-European *suéku(H)ros from *sué- ‘one’s own’ + *kuh₁ros ‘powerful’ (: ‘experienced man, man with authority, master, lord’), and the word for ‘mother-in-law’ from that of the ‘father-in-law’.

1. Introduction and previous studies

The Burushaski language, still considered to be a language isolate, is spoken by around 90,000 people (Berger 1990: 567) in the Karakoram area in North-West Pakistan. There are three very closely related

dialects: Hunza and Nager with minimal differences, and the Yasin dialect, which exhibits differential traits, but is still mutually intelligible with the former two.

The earliest, mostly sketchy, material for Burushaski is from the mid to late 19th century (e.g. Cunningham 1854, Hayward 1871, Biddulph 1880, Leitner 1889). The limited dialectal differentiation and the lack of older attestations make the internal historical reconstruction extremely difficult.

The fundamental sources for the description and study of Burushaski are considerable and of very high quality. Most notable and authoritative is Berger's (1998) three-volume work on the Hunza-Nager dialect (grammar, texts and a Burushaski-German dictionary). Still very relevant is Lorimer's earlier ground-breaking three-volume work on Hunza-Nager (1935–1938) and Yasin (1962) Burushaski. Edel'man-Klimov's (1970) analysis, revised and summarised in Edel'man (1997) is valuable in the quality of the grammatical description. Willson's (1999) compact basic Burushaski vocabulary is also very useful. Fundamental for the study of Yasin Burushaski are Berger's (1974), Tiffou-Pesot's (1989), Tiffou-Morin's (1989) and Zarubin's (1927) grammars and vocabularies. A new corpus of Burushaski texts from Hispar, annotated, commented and translated, is provided by Van Skyhawk's (2003) remarkable book. We note Anderson's valuable contributions to a better description and understanding of Burushaski phonology (Anderson 1997), morphology (Anderson 2007) and syntax (Anderson-Eggert 2001).

Very important in establishing aspects of the historical phonology and morphology of Burushaski and its internal reconstruction is Berger's (2008) posthumously published synthesis.

In our work, we have correlated Burushaski with Indo-European, outside of Indic and Iranian, and in our etymological analyses we have uncovered consistent and systematic lexical, phonological and most importantly, extensive and fundamental grammatical correspondences (the latter are outlined in Čašule 2003b: 69–79 and greatly expanded in Čašule 2012b). On the basis of the analysis of over 550 etymologies and the highly significant correspondences in over 80 mostly grammatical but also derivational morphemes (the nominal case endings, the nominal plural endings, verbal prefixes, suffixes and endings, the complete non-finite system, all of the adjectival suffixes, the entire system of demonstratives,

personal pronouns, postpositions, adverbs, etc.) (Čašule 2003b), we conclude that Burushaski displays characteristics of a language which could have had an early relationship or contact in its history with the Southern (Aegean) branch of Indo-European on the one hand and especially with the North-Western Indo-European group on the other (see esp. Čašule (2004), on the possible correlation with Phrygian). The Burushaski phonological system, internal variation and phonological correspondences with Indo-European are outlined and systematised in Čašule (2003b: 24–42), or Čašule (2004: 55–67) (2010). The correspondences (over 70 of them) in the core vocabulary of names of body parts and functions can be found in Čašule (2003a).

In Čašule (2003b), we provide an in-depth analysis of the Burushaski laryngeals and their consistent and direct correspondence with the Indo-European laryngeals. For a recent appraisal and support of this evidence, see Alonso de la Fuente (2006).

We find a close correlation of the Burushaski numeral system with Indo-European in Čašule (2009b). In an extensive analysis and comparison of Burushaski’s shepherd vocabulary with Indo-European (Čašule 2009a), we concluded that almost in its entirety it is autochthonous Indo-European – we identified 32 pastoral terms of Indo-European (non-Indo-Iranian) origin in Burushaski, ten of which find direct correspondences with the substratal (Thracian?) shepherd vocabulary in Albanian, Romanian and Aromanian.

In Čašule (2012b) we show that the entire Burushaski system of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns and adverbs can be correlated closely with Indo-European. This close correlation, together with the extensive grammatical correspondences in the nominal and verbal systems (given as an addendum), advances significantly the hypothesis of the genetic affiliation of Burushaski with Indo-European. The article includes a comprehensive discussion of the Burushaski-Indo-European phonological and lexical correspondences. It proposes that Burushaski is an Indo-European language which at some stage of its development was in contact with an agglutinative system.

The correlations between Burushaski and substratal and archaic Modern Macedonian and Balkan Slavic vocabulary are discussed in Čašule (2012a). Hamp, in the review of this article (p.3) based on our full body of evidence, states his support for our position: “Burushaski is *at bottom* Indo-European [italics Eric Hamp] – more correctly in

relation to Indo-European or Indo-Hittite, maybe (needs more proof) IB[ur]” and further conjectures: “I have wondered if Burushaski is a creolized derivative; now I ask (Čašule 2009a) is it a shepherd creole? (as in ancient Britain).” Compare this proposition with our tentative conclusion that Burushaski might be “a language that has been transformed typologically at some stage of its development through language contact” (Čašule 2010: 70).

Čašule (2010) is a comprehensive analysis of the systematic phonological (and derivational) correspondences involving the mostly core Burushaski vocabulary which contain the reflexes of the Indo-European gutturals (the velars, labiovelars and palatovelars). This monograph provides a synthesis of the mounting evidence that indicates that Burushaski is a North-Western Indo-European language, i.e. concludes that Burushaski shows the greatest number of correlations with the Ancient Balkan languages (Phrygian, Thracian, Ancient Macedonian) and Albanian, on the one hand, and with Balto-Slavic and Germanic on the other.

Most relevant to the present paper is Čašule (2012c), where we look at ~30 Burushaski kinship terms that can be derived directly from Indo-European and are not borrowings from Old Indian, the neighbouring Indo-Aryan or the Iranian languages.

In this etymological note we analyse specifically the Indo-European origin of Burushaski *--skir*¹ ‘father-in-law’ and *--skus* ‘mother-in-law’.

2. Etymological analysis of Burushaski *--skir* ‘father-in-law’ and *--skus* ‘mother-in-law’

We reproduce for easier reference Berger’s (1998 I: 13) table of the phonological system of Hz Ng Burushaski, which is valid for the Yasin dialect as well (Ys Bur does not have the phoneme **ch** – see also Tiffou-Pesot (1989: 7–9):

¹ “The double hyphens indicate the lengthened strong grade of the pronominal possessive prefix, e.g. **móo-skir** ‘her father-in-law.’” (Tikkanen 2001: 479).

a						§	ś	s
e	o	qh	kh	ṭh	th	čh	čh	ph
i	u	q	K	ṭ	t	ç	é	é
		g̡	G	ḍ	d	j	j	z
		n̡		n				M
y. h l r								

Notes: 1. All five vowels can be long. 2. Retroflex consonants are marked with an underdot. 3. w and y are allophones of u and i. 4. č = ts in Lorimer and c in Tiffou-Pesot (1989). 5. g̡ = γ is a voiced fricative velar /γ/. See Čašule (2010) on the extensive variation of g̡ and g. 6. n̡ = [ŋ] or [ng] [nk]. 7. y is a retroflex. 8. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is used only with the pron. prefixes. For the internal variation and alternations in Burushaski, see Čašule (2010: 5–11, 14–19) (2003b: 24–29).

Let us consider first Bur *--skir*, pl. *--skindaro*, Ng pl. *--skirišo* ‘father-in-law, wife’s father or wife’s father’s brother or husband’s father’ (B 381) (L 26, pl. *-askündaro*, Ng pl. *-askirīnc* also ‘any male relation by marriage’), Ys pl. *--skirstaru* and *--skirišu* (BYs 175).

The Nager *x*² pl. *--skirišo* and the *x* pl. ending *-išo* in general can be re-analysed as *-is-yo, with -is- being the Indo-European animate nom. pl. ending -es i.e. Bur **--skiris+yo* < *skires+yo with *-yo correlatable with the Indo-European relational adjectival suffix -io- ‘of, or belonging to’ (Wat 103). The Ys pl. *--skirstaru* also provides evidence for an old -s- from the singular form. The Hz Ng pl. *--skindaro* can be derived from *skir-tar-o by dissimilation.

The Burushaski *h(x)* pl. suffix *-tarō* with the variant form *-čarō* is added mainly to words denoting relations (B I: 48), e.g. **máma** ‘mother’, pl. **mámacarō** (B 277) (< IE *m-h₄em- ?), -mi pl. *-mīcarō* ‘mother, aunt on mother’s side’ (B 286) (< IE *mēh_atēr ‘mother’), -yás ‘sister-in-law’, pl. *-yásčarō* and *-yástaro* (B 474), Bur -úy and -ú pl. *-úyčarō* and *-účarō* ‘father; father’s brother; in pl. forefathers’ (B 460) < IE *h₂éuh₂-, *h₂euh₂iios ‘father’s father, ancestor on father’s side’, -n̡go pl. *-n̡ogčarō* ‘uncle’ (B 306), -n̡eo pl. *-n̡ečarō* ‘father’s sister; mother’s brother’s wife’ (perhaps corresponding to IE

² Burushaski nouns are traditionally grouped in four classes: - h-class ‘human beings’, subdivided in m (masc.) and f (fem.); - x-class ‘non-human animate beings and individually conceived objects’; - y-class ‘amorphous substances and abstract ideas’. A fourth category, labelled z-form is used for counting (see Berger 1998: I, 33–39).

***h_ijenh_ater-** ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ (M-A2 210) ?, **bapó** ‘grandfather, father’ pl. **bapóčaro** (also ‘prince’) (B 37) (from **baba+pater?**). This suffix **-taro** is most likely the IE suffix ***-ter**, considered by Benveniste (1973: 171) the classifier of the lexical class of kinship terms, found in ***méh_atēr** ‘mother’, ***ph_atēr** ‘father’, etc. In Burushaski, through re-analysis it was understood as part of a plural formation (**-tar-o > -taro : -čaro**) or was simply lost in the singular. For an extensive discussion of the Burushaski plural noun forms and the retention in the plural of phonemes and morphemes which have been lost in the singular, see Čašule (2012b).

Both Lorimer and Berger suggest a derivation from ? + **hir** ‘man’ (in L 203, also **hīr**). Note the alternation **u : i** common in front of **r, l** (Berger 2008: 2.10): Ys pl. **hurí** and **huríkia**, Hz Ng **hiríski** : Ys **hiríski** ‘pertaining to men, man’s’ (B 200).

Compare with IE ***suékuros** ‘father-in-law’ : NWels **chwegrwn**, Lat **socer**, OEng **swēor** all ‘father-in-law’, Lith **šešuras** ‘husband’s father’, OChSl **svekrū** ‘husband’s father’ [one of the “kentum” words in Sl], Alb **vjehërr** ‘father-in-law’, Gk **hekurós** ‘wife’s father’, Av **x'asura-** ‘father-in-law’, Skt **śvásura** ‘father-in-law’ (M-A2 215, who cite Szemerényi’s suggestion (not widely accepted) of a deeper etymology from IE ***sué-** ‘own’ + ***koru-** ‘head’ = ‘head of the joint family’) (W-I-S 672-675, also Arm **skesrair** ‘father-in-law’, **skesowr** ‘mother-in-law’).

The alternation in Bur of **i : u** in front of **l, r** (Berger 2008: 2.10), together with the Yasin forms, point to an older form ***skur- < *sékuros < *suékuros**. There would have been an apocope of the first element, after the shift of the accent onto the pronominal possessive prefixes. Compare for example with Bur **dénkus** < ***dénekus** or **daltáško** < ***daltásiko** (see Berger 2008: 11.12).

The etymology of Bur **hir** (L also **hīr**), Hz pl. **hirí**, Ng pl. **hiríkanč**, Ys pl. **hurí** and **huríkia** (***hur** < ***kur-**) ‘man, male’, also **hírkuš** ‘manliness, valour’, parallels some of the Indo-European interpretations. The **-ik-** (< ***i-ko**³?) morpheme in the Ng and Ys

³ We correlate the Bur suffix **-ko**, also **-kus**, e.g. **datú** ‘autumn’, **datú-ko** adj. ‘autumn-’, **datú-kus** ‘autumn season’ (B I: 207); Bur **phúk** ‘a small speck of any substance, a particle’, **phúko** adj. ‘small, tiny’ (B 334) < IE ***pau-kos** ‘little, few; small’ (M-A 200) with the IE suffix **-ko**, secondary suffix, forming adjectives : Ved **síndhu-ka-** ‘from Sindh’, Gk **Libu-kós** ‘Libyan’ (Fortson 121). The Bur suffix **-ko** has also been resegmented as a plural morpheme. A suffix **-ka** has been proposed for

plurals, as well as the fact that **hir** is not used with pronominal prefixes, may indicate an adjectival origin.

The plural form in **-i** would be a remnant of the IE pronominal plural ***-oi**, as in Gk **the-oí** ‘gods’, OChSl **rab-i** ‘slaves’, Lith **výr-ai**, OIr **fir** ‘men’ (< ***uir-** **oi**), TochB **yakwi** ‘horses’ (Fortson 2004: 115). For a full discussion and derivation of all the Burushaski noun plurals from Indo-European, see Čašule (2012b: 8.1).

We are inclined to seek a correlation with IE ***kouh₁ros** ~ ***kuh₁ros** ‘powerful’ : OIr **cōraid** ‘heroes’, Wels **cawr** ‘giant’, Gk **kúrios** ‘having power, like a lord or master with full authority’ (Liddell-Scott 1968: 1013), Av **súra** ‘hero’, OInd **śavīra-** ‘strong’, **śūra-** ‘hero’ (M-A 448). Note the precise formal correlation with Gk **kuriakós** ‘lordly, of the lord’.

Under one interpretation by **Berneker**, cited in Skok (1974 III:370), this Indo-European stem is a candidate for the second component in ***suékuros**, accepted e.g. by Gołab (1992:85, ex. [55] and [56], with the semantics of ‘lord of the opposite moiety’, after Machek 1935: 487), also Schwarz (q. in W-I-S 2008: 673). See also Čašule (1998: 42–43).

Consider in this respect Bur **kurpá** ‘older, experienced man, elder’ (B 248), which in all likelihood retains the original stem **kur-**. The element **-pá** could be the demonstrative adverbial suffix with the meaning of ‘side, direction’ (B 309), as in **hirúmpa** ‘sharp edge of knife’ < **hirúm** ‘sharp’. Perhaps here also Bur **kuriáp**⁴ **-mán-** ‘to hold out, to overpower’ (B 247) (L 237).

Sogdh. ‘ywšh, NPers **xusrū** ‘mother-in-law’ < IE ***suékruH-** ‘mother-in-law’ (W-I-S 672).

⁴ Note other examples of periphrastic verbal constructions with a suffixal element **-ap**: Bur **qhadáp -mán-** ‘fall in a hole’ and **qhuđópo** ‘pitfall, trap’ (B 349). The form **kuriáp** could be a compound word where the second component **-ap** would be < IE ***h2ap-** < IE ***h2ep-** ‘take, reach’ (Wat 4) (thus with sem. of ‘take power = overpower’), which is represented in Bur **hapa** **-t-** ‘take (a child) upon one’s shoulders, or take in one’s arms’ (B 190) (for a different etymological possibility for this word, see Čašule 2003b: 58). In this respect, note **čhilgúapa man-** ‘(water) flow downwards, suddenly drain away’ (B 77) ['take a flow'] (in B the component **-apa-** with ?, also Berger 2008: 138) < **d-čhil-ǵu-** ‘make watery’ (B 384) (**čhil** ‘water’ (B 76), **du-súlgú-** ‘become watery’ (B 384), an original Burushaski stem from IE ***suel-**, ***sul-** ‘to wet, moisten; flow; fluid, liquid’ (Mann 1984–1987: 1334) or **čaráp -t-** ‘to cut down, cut off’ (B 85–86) : **čhar** ‘slice, section’ (B 97).

For IE \hat{k} > Bur **k**, **kh** e.g. —IE * $\hat{k}(o)nid-$ ‘nit, louse egg’ (M-A 357) : Bur **khándas** ‘a tick’ (B 251); —IE * $\hat{ker}ə̃os$ ‘horned’, * $\hat{ker}-$, * $\hat{ker}h_2(s)$ ‘horn’ (IEW 574); Bur **karéelo** ‘ram’ (B 242), **kíro** NH ‘sheep’ (B 245), Ys **káro** ‘Ovis Poli’ (LYs 152), **káru** ‘ibex’ (BYs 157); —IE * $\hat{keu}-_2$ ‘to light, burn’ (IEW 594–7), with a –k- formant as in IE * $\hat{keuk}-$ ‘shine, glow; burn’: Bur **du-úkikin-** ‘become lit’, **d-·kukin-**, **d-·kukun-**, **d-·skukin-**, **d-·skukun-** ‘light up’ (B 254) (from zero-grade); —IE * $\hat{keudh}-$ ‘to hide’, * $\hat{keudh}-$ ‘hide’ and *(s)**keu(h_x)**- ‘cover, wrap’ (M-A 134, 268) : Bur **du-khaṭ-** / **d-·kaṭ-** ‘be stopped, closed; get caught’, **d-·skaṭ-** : **d-·skhaṭ-** ‘stop, prevent, block’ (B 253), related by B to **du-kháči-** ‘enclose’ and **·-kači-** ‘keep s-body enclosed’; —IE * $\hat{ker}-h_xk-$ ‘branch’ (< * $\hat{ker}-$ ‘to grow’ (“focus on growth of plants”) e.g. TochB **kärk-** ‘sprout’, TochA **kärke**, TochB **karāk** ‘branch’ (M-A 249) : Bur **karkós** ‘young sapling; stem of flower, just sprouted’ (B 242). See the detailed exemplification in Čašule (2010: 40–50).

Especially in this example, but also in a very small number of other cases it appears that Bur **h-** may originate from **k-** (Edel’man-Klimov 1970: 25, 29) (Morgenstierne 1945: 74) (Čašule 2009a). It is curious that the Albanian **-h-** reflex < IE $\cdot\hat{k}$ in **vjehërr** ‘father-in-law’ has also been difficult to explain and etymologists have had to resort to a metathesised stem ***ueskuros** (see the discussion and analysis in Huld 1984: 130–131).

Furthermore, the Bur **h-** < **k-** could have been influenced perhaps by e.g. Ys **-yúhar** ‘husband, married man’ (Hz Ng **-úyar**) (B 460) which we derive from IE ***uih_xrós** ‘man, husband’ (M-A2 202) (Čašule 2003b: 32–33). It could even be the case that **hir** is a metathesized form, i.e. from ***ihros** > ***hiros** > ***hiro** > **hir**.

The **h-** in **hir** could be a result of dissimilation **k – k > h – k**, i.e. from an older form ***ku/ir-ik-o**, contained in the plural forms **hiríkané** and **huríkia** or in the derivatives **hirkuş** and Hz Ng **hiríski** : Ys **huríski**.

Consider further such examples: Bur **huk** ‘dog’ (B 203) which is related to Ys **kukúres**, Hz Ng **gukúrus** ‘puppy’ (L 173) Sh Guresi **kukúr** [T 3329] (B 159); Bur Ys **hesk**, Hz Ng **hisk** ‘comb, loom, wrist’ (B 200) < ***kes-ko** and this from IE ***kes-** ‘to comb, scratch, itch’: e.g. Hitt **kiss-** ~ **kisā(i)-** ‘to comb’, **kiske/a** ‘comb’, Luw **kiš** ‘to comb’, Lith **kasá** ‘braid’, OChSl **česati** ‘to scratch, to comb’, etc. (IEW 585–586); possibly also Bur **harkum** ‘ox-like’ < **har** sg. and pl.,

Hz Ng double pl. **haró**, Ys pl. **harió, harió** ‘ox (male), bullock (used for ploughing)’ (L 194) (B 191), which would be from IE *kerə̃uos ‘horned’, *ker-, *kerh₂(s) ‘horn’ (see above and cp. with PSl *korva ‘cow’), especially under the influence of Bur **hárki** ‘cultivating, ploughing and sowing; cultivation’ (B 194), which we derive from IE *h₂érh₃je/o- ‘to plough’ (M-A 434) : Bur **har-** ‘to plough’ (BYs 150) + a -ki formant.

It may turn out in the final analysis that Bur **hirúm** ‘sharp (of a knife); (of a man) swift, nimble, gutsy, sharp’ (L 203: ‘smart, active, sharp’) does not derive from **hir** ‘man’ (B 200), as suggested tentatively by Berger, but rather from IE *kohxṛ- ‘sharp’, e.g. Arm sur ‘sharp’ (M-A 510), i.e. *kohxṛ-^{nko}⁵ > *kohxṛ-unko (diss.) > *hohxṛ-unko *hohur-umo > *hour-um > *hur-um > **hirum**, where once again historically there would have been a k – k > h – k dissimilation at play.

We should consider moreover whether the **h-** might be a consequence of contact with some Indo-Aryan language, where ś > h in intervocalic position, like Kshm **hihuro**, or Panj **sahurā**, Sind **sahuro**, Sinh **suhuru**, all: ‘father-in-law’ (T 12753). There are several important points that rule out such a direct loanword. Firstly, it is not found in such a form in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages like Shina or Khowar. Furthermore, the Burushaski morpheme **-s-** is distinctly segmented and seen as a prefix and is productive in a number of its kinship terms. The presence of **-k-** in the Burushaski term and the direction of change **h < k**, as well as the forms with **k-**, like Bur **kurpá** or **kuriáp** which preserve the original meaning, all argue strongly for an independent development in Burushaski. Most importantly, Burushaski uniquely has the noun **hir** ‘man’ as a separate word, whereas the other cited Indo-Aryan languages continue only the word for ‘father-in-law’ (and from OInd śūra- ‘hero’ (T 12569), e.g. we have Panj **sur**, **surā**, Sinh **suru** adj. and n. with initial **s-**). Furthermore, it would be unusual for a language to borrow its basic words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’. The Burushaski plural morphology also points to an original Indo-European form.

⁵ We derive the Bur adj. suffix **-um**, older **-uṇ** (Cunn **matung**, Berger (284): **matúm** ‘black’), from the IE adj. compound suffix *-enko, *-nko-, OEng, Eng suffix **-ing** < Grmc *-inga-, *-unga- (Wat 36). Bur **-um**, is also a participial ending, as in the Burushaski “static participle”, e.g. **étum** ‘done’, **manúm** ‘become’, a development analogous to the Germanic one (Čašule 2003b: 79).

Berger considers these Burushaski kinship terms autochthonous. He (Berger 1998) gives a very careful account of words that may be of Indo-Aryan (including “Sanskritisms”) or Iranian origin in Burushaski. His methodology in this respect, apart from his own fieldwork and of others, like Lorimer, Morgenstierne etc, is to look up and check very carefully against the index to Turner’s (1966) *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Wherever there is a match, regardless whether the word is found in Shina, Khowar or anywhere in Indo-Aryan, Berger indicates the lemma number in Turner. Interestingly, 45 Indo-Aryan stems indicated by Berger are not found in Shina or Khowar, but appear in Burushaski and could be in some cases an overlap. Cases like these raise a serious methodological question. After all, if Burushaski is an Indo-European language, it cannot be always radically different from Indo-Aryan, and more importantly, the found correspondences need to be systematic at all levels as well.

Burushaski **--skus** ‘mother-in-law (on both sides)’, pl. **--skušiňanč**, Ng pl. **--skušo** (L 27) (B 381), together with **géeskus**⁶, Hz also **géesgus** ‘widow, widower’ (other forms: **guyúus**, **giúus**, Ys **gósgus**) (B 152) derives from Bur **gus**, pl. **gušiňanč**, Ng **gušianč** ‘woman (married); female (of animals)’, **gus huk** ‘a bitch’ (L 174–175) (B 162). It is tempting to seek a (banal?) correlation with Bur –**guš** ‘woman's privy parts, pudendum muliebre’ (L 188) (B 182) [(Tikkanen p.c., suggests the latter could be related to Ys **-khús** ‘anus’ (BYs 159)], and thus ultimately from IE ***kutsós** ‘anus, p. muliebre’, e.g. Gk (Hesychius) **kūsós** ‘anus, p. muliebre’ and from ***kutsnós** > Lat **cunnus** ‘p. muliebre’, NPers **kun** ‘same’ (M-A 507) (Čašule 2003a: 42). The possibility of it being an Indo-Aryan loanword or most likely some kind of blend cannot be ruled out altogether, cp. with Pers, U and Panj **kus** ‘vulva’.

⁶ Berger leaves the first element unexplained. We suggest that **gee-** in the sense of ‘taken away’, derives from the Bur Ys verb **gee-** ‘steal’ , from which we also have Ys **geen**, Hz Ng **giin**, **giúso** ‘thief’ (B 175-176) which we derive from IE ***g(h)eñh₁-** ‘to take, catch, grab’ (Buck 1949: 747) (Illič-Svityč 1976: 225), IE ***gū-**, ***gou-** ‘hand; to grab’ (IEW 403-404) : Lith **gáunu**, **gáuti** ‘get, obtain’, Lett **gūnu**, **gūt** ‘grab, catch, try to get’, Av **gaona** ‘gain, profit’, **gav(a)** ‘hand’, Gk **gūjo** ‘hand’, which we can correlate (with the verbal suffix **-n-**) with Bur **d--gun-** ‘to make people seize, lay hold of’, given by Berger together with **du-ún-**, Ng **do-ón-** ‘to seize, lay hold of, catch, arrest, grasp, hold on to’ (with the loss of **-g-** after the pronominal prefixes) (B 456).

Our preferred interpretation is to derive the Burushaski term from the reconstructed Indo-European stem for ‘mother-in-law’: ***suekrúh_{as}** : Lat **socrus** ‘mother-in-law’, Wels **chwegr** ‘mother-in-law’, OEng **sweger** ‘spouse’s mother’, OChSl **swekry** ‘husband’s mother’, Arm **skesur** ‘husband’s mother’, NPers **xusrū** ‘father-in-law, mother-in-law’ (M-A 386). Since the **kr-** consonant group is not found as a rule in Burushaski, the change could have been: ***suekrúh_{as}** > ***sakrus** > ***skrus** or ***skurs** > **-skus**. In this case, **gus** could have been a secondary form (a derivative). Indicative in this respect is the above mentioned **-gús** ‘p. mulibre’ (B 182) which has a plural form with **-r-**: **-gúrañ**, and where **-s-** could go back to **-rs-**. For **-r-s[s]** > **-s-**, see e.g. Berger’s derivation of **gaş** < ***i-gars** ‘price’ (B 150) or **maltáš** ‘butter’ (B 276) from ***maltar-ş** (the phonological process is explained in Berger 2008:3.26). This could also explain the **-s-** in the plural forms **gušíñanc**, Ng **gušíanç** ‘women’ or in the adjective **guísíki**. For the alternation **-s- : -ş-** see Berger (2008: 3.28–3.29).

For the change **k-, k̄- > g-**, note e.g. Bur **gáarç-** (part. **nukáarç(in)** Hz Ng ‘run, gallop; run away, run off’ and **--skarç-** ‘make gallop, make s.o. flee; make pour down; settle a quarrel’ (B 141), from IE ***kers-** ‘run’ (M-A 491) (see the examples and discussion of this **k- : > g-** alternation/change in Berger 2008: 3.11 and Čašule 2010: 14–15).

Tikkanen (2001) has suggested that the Burushaski form for ‘mother-in-law’ is the basic one. He derives Bur **--skus** < ***gús-gus** ‘woman-woman’ in order to explain the initial **-s-** and proposes that the form for ‘father-in-law’ was modelled according to the form for ‘mother-in-law’, thus **--skir** < **-ús** ‘wife’ + **hir** ‘the man, i.e. the father of the wife’ (Berger 2008: 141 accepts this interpretation). This is a weak etymological and somewhat difficult formal and semantic explanation. Semantically, **--skus** refers not only to ‘mother-in-law on the wife’s side’ but also to ‘mother-in-law on the husband’s side’ just as **--skir** indicates both ‘wife’s father, wife’s father’s brother’ and ‘husband’s father’, as well as ‘any male relation by marriage’ which would preclude the ‘woman-woman’ interpretation. Furthermore it would be an isolated structural and derivational example, and the aphaeresis of the root initial **-u-** would be difficult to explain.

There is a possibility that Bur **ǵéniṣ** ‘queen, Mir’s wife, rani’ also ‘gold’ (B 175) continues the closest generic Indo-European word for ‘woman’ *gʷéh₂a- (gen. *gʷnéh₂as) (M-A 648) (W-I-S 178, give (with ?) also the stem *gʷen-iH-) : OIr **ben** ‘woman’, OEng **cwene** ‘woman, prostitute, wife’, OPruss **genna** ‘wife’, OChSl **žena** ‘wife, woman’, Gk **gunē** ‘woman, wife’, Arm **kin** ‘wife’, Av **gənā** ‘woman, wife’, Skt **gnā-** ‘goddess, divine female’, TochB **śana** ‘woman’, and esp. OEng **cwēn** ‘woman, wife, queen’, Eng **queen**, from the suffixed, IE *gʷén-i- (Wat 34) (M-A2 204-205) (W-I-S 178, cite with ? also OPhrg **knais, knays**). This would mean that in Burushaski the generic word was “elevated” to the meaning of ‘queen’, while an initially perhaps vulgar term was used with a generic meaning (‘cunt’ > ‘woman’), which is not an uncommon semantic shift.

The prefix **s-** found in Bur **--skus** and **--skir** can be derived from IE *sué- (also *se-), reflexive pronoun meaning ‘(one)self’⁷ (Fortson 130) (M-A 455: *séue (acc.) ‘-self’) or *s(u)u-o- ‘one’s own’ (“widespread and old in IE”) e.g. Av **hva-** ~ **hava-** ‘one’s own’, OInd **svá** ‘one’s own’, TochA **ṣñi** ‘one’s own’, Lat **sē** ‘him-/her-/itself’, (poss. adj **suus**), OChSl **sē**-self’, OPruss **sien** ‘self’, Lett **sevi-** ‘-self’, OHG **sih**, Goth **sik** ‘him-/her-/itself’ etc. and *sū- ‘joint family’.

There are a number of Burushaski kinship terms that contain IE *se- or *sē- (< *seue), which reinforces strongly this etymological analysis. We note Bur Ys **salén**, also **selén** (BYs 175) ‘husband’s sisters and daughters’, correlated tentatively by B (378) to **silajín** ‘female relation, related women-folk’ (L 314). Consider also **-síldir** ‘father of a spouse with reference to the father of the other spouse’ (the second component derived by Berger (2008:3.31) with an inorganic **-d-** < **hir**) and **-sílgus** ‘mother of a spouse with reference to the mother of the other spouse’, with **gus** ‘woman’ as the second component (B 379). There is a direct correspondence of these words with developments from IE reflex. *sue-lo-, *sue-lijon or *sue-lihxon-, ‘Schwäger, die Schwestern zu Frauen haben’ as in ON **svilar** ‘husbands of two sisters’, Gk **aélioī** ‘brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’ (IEW 1046) (M-A 85 “word of north-west and centre of IE

⁷ Other examples of IE *sū- > Bur s-: IE *suerh_xK- ‘watch over, be concerned about’ (M-A 636) > Bur **sarké** ‘visible, place from which one can watch’ (B 376), IE *suel-, *sul- ‘to wet, moisten, flow; liquid, fluid, moisture, sap’ (IEW 912-3) > Bur **čhil** ‘water’ (B 77), **d-sil-** ‘make wet, water intensively’ (B 384).

world’). The Burushaski vocalism in these derivations suggests origin both from *se- (in *salén*, *selén*) or *sē- (< *seue (M-A2 417) (in *silajín*, *-síldir* and *-sílgus*). From IE *sue-lijon > *saliyin > *salijin (and by metathesis) > Bur *silajín* is a complete and direct correlation.⁸ A connection with OInd *syálá* ‘wife’s brother’ (T 13871) (< IE *siō(u)ros ‘wife’s brother’) (M-A 84) has to be excluded both on semantic and phonological grounds.

It is very likely that Bur **-ságun** pl. **-ságundaro** and **-ságuyo** ‘nephew, niece, child of brother or sister’ (L 306: “originally applied only to sister’s children”) (B 371-372), (Yasin also ‘grandson’ (BYs 174) also contains the morpheme **sa-**. The second component would then be correlatable with an o-grade of IE *genh₁-, (also *gen-, *gnē, *gnō-, *gonh₁-, *gn̥h₁-) in words for ‘beget; bear; produce; be born’ (IEW 373) (Wat 26), also represented in Burushaski. Compare esp. with IE *genh₁-tōr ‘father, procreator’ (Lat **genitor** ‘procreator’, Gk **genétōr**, OInd **janitár** ‘same’ (M-A 195), or with IE *genh₁-ti- : Celt-Iber **kentis** m. and f. ‘child; son’ (W-I-S 140) or IE *gnh₁-ó- : e.g. Lat **-gnus** in **prīvignus** ‘stepson’ (W-I-S 139). The full correspondence between the Bur **-ságundaro** (pl.) with IE *genh₁-tōr or rather with *sue- + *genh₁-tōr is remarkable. Moreover, note most directly the precise correlation between Gk **gónos** ‘sperm, semen; child, procreation’ and Bur **gunó**, Ys **gonó** ‘seed (not of cereals); sperm, semen’ (in Sh **gunóo**) (B 180), Ng **gono** (L 186), to which Berger relates also **gunón** ‘newly obtained land, in which only grass will be sown’ (B 180). There is also Bur **du-gún-** ‘ripen, to mature’ and **d-squn-**, (Ys **d-sqon-**) ‘cause to mature (of sun, of people); have an idea, give a stimulus, make a suggestion’ (B 179), which Berger also links tentatively with Bur **gunó** above. (See Čašule 2010a: ex. [102].)

Consider further the first element in Bur **sukúin** ‘kinsman, blood-relation (descended from a common ancestor); near relation, such as cousin’ (B 384) [-kuin is the denominal suffix for derivation of names of professions (B I: 19.13)], which we derive from IE *s(u)u-o- ‘one’s own’ or from *stū- ‘joint family’ (M-A 455).

There is also Bur Ys **ses**, Hz Ng **sis** sg. and pl. ‘people, folk; person, man’ (B 380), which we can also derive from IE *sué- (also

⁸ For the change (alternation) **y** > : **j** in Burushaski note e.g. Ys **yótes** : Hz Ng **jótis** (B 228), Ys **jaǵá**, Hz Ng **-yaǵá** (B 470) or Ys **ten-jó** < *ten-yo, **dan-jó** < *dan-yó (Berger 2008: 4.15), etc.

***se-**), in Burushaski from IE ***sué-s**. The same line of semantic derivation as ours has been applied in the analysis of Alb **gjysh** ‘grandfather’, by Liukkonen (1993: 58) who derives it from IE ***sauisia** and relates it to Lith **sāvas** ‘own’. Other scholars have derived the Albanian word together with Skt **sūṣá** ‘progenitor’ or ‘paternal grandmother’ from IE ***seuh_x-** ‘bear, beget’ (Orel 140) (M-A 238: ?? ***suh_xsos-** ‘grandfather’). From this last stem we have in Burushaski **súas**, **súyas**, **dusúas**, **dusúyas** vt. ‘to bring; take, fetch; procure; to buy’, also **d-·-č-**, Ng abs. **d-·-ču-** ‘bringen lassen; to carry a load’ (B 383) (Will 103).

3. Conclusion

A very strong case can be made for the autochthonous Indo-European origin of the Burushaski kinship term **--skir** ‘father-in-law’ from IE ***suékuros** ‘father-in-law’. As a secondary derivative **--skus** ‘mother-in-law’ is based on the same derivational pattern and is most likely from IE ***suekrúh_as** ‘mother-in-law’ (with loss of **-r-** after **k**). An origin from IE ***sue-** ‘one’s own’ + ***kutsós** ‘pudendum muliebre’ > ‘woman’, for the latter term would be much less plausible.

The etymological analysis and the Burushaski evidence strengthens the position of Indo-Europeanists who have derived Indo-European ***suéku(H)ros** from ***sué-** ‘one’s own’ + ***kuh₁ros** ‘powerful’ (: ‘experienced man, man with authority, master, lord’), and the word for ‘mother-in-law’ from that of the ‘father-in-law’.

Even though Parkin (1987b: 163) suggests that the Burushaski terms for ‘father-in-law’ and ‘mother-in-law’ may be “new coinings”, taking into account the Indo-European antiquity of the terms, we consider them rather remnants from an original asymmetric non-prescriptive kinship terminology, characteristic of Indo-European.

The coherence of the analysed Burushaski kinship terms and the preservation of the original Indo-European kinship terminology advance further the position that the Burushaski language is genetically related to Indo-European.

Abbreviations of languages and dialects

Alb – Albanian, **Arm** – Armenian, **Av** – Avestan, **Balt** – Baltic, **Bur** – Burushaski, **Celt** – Celtic, **Celt-Iber** – Ibero-Celtic, **Cymr** – Cymric, **Eng** – English, **Gk** – Greek, **Goth** – Gothic, **Grm** – German, **Grmc** – Germanic, **H** – Hindi, **Hitt** – Hittite, **Hz** – Hunza dialect of Burushaski, **IA** – Indo-Aryan, **IE** – Indo-European, **Ind** – Indian, **Ir** – Irish, **Irn** – Iranian, **Itl** – Italic, **Khw** – Khowar, **Kshm** – Kashmiri, **Lat** – Latin, **Lett** – Lettish, **Lith** – Lithuanian, **Mcd** – Macedonian, **Ng** – Nager dialect of Burushaski, **NH** – Nasiruddin Hunzai, Berger’s Burushaski informant, **NPers** – New Persian, **NWels** – New Welsh, **OChSl** – Old Church Slavonic, **OEng** – Old English, **OHG** – Old High German, **OInd** – Old Indian, **ON** – Old Norse, **Panj** – Panjābī, **Pers** – Persian, **PSI** – Proto-Slavic, **Russ** – Russian, **Sh** – Shina, **Si** – Sinhalese, **Sind** – Sindhi, **Skt** – Sanskrit, **Sl** – Slavic, **Soghd** – Soghdian, **Toch A**, **Toch B** – Tocharian A, Tocharian B, **U** – Urdu, **Wels** – Welsh, **Ys** – Yasin dialect of Burushaski.

Abbreviations of sources cited

B = Berger, H. 1998; **BYs** = Berger, H. 1974; **Cunn** = Cunningham, A. 1854; **DC** = Tiffou, E. and Y.C. Morin. 1989; **E-K** = Edel’mann, D. I. and G. A. Klimov 1970; **IEW** = Pokorny, Julius. 1959; **L** = Lorimer, D. L.R. 1938; **LYs** = Lorimer, D. L.R. 1962; **M-A** = Mallory, J.P. and D.Q. Adams (eds.). 1997; **T** = Turner, R. L. 1966; **T-M** = Tiffou, E. and Y. C. Morin 1989; **T-P** = Tiffou, E. and J. Pesot. 1989; **Wat** = Watkins, C. 2000; **Will** = Willson, S. R. 1999; **W-I-S** = Wodko, D. S., B. Isligner and C. Schneider. 2008.

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Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı.
Eine kommentierte Übersicht über alle Bände der literarischen
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Abstract

This article is a synopsis of all ten volumes of the yearbook of Turkish literature “Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı” which was edited by the “Aziz Nesin Foundation” from 1976–1985. Comprising nearly 10.000 pages it is by far the most detailed source for the events in the development of modern Turkish literature during that period. Each volume contains information about single authors, concerning jubilees of different kinds, literary prizes they won, political influence on their work and last but not least many contributions about their literature, paying attention to novels, short stories, poetry, drama as well as folk literature. As these books were printed in a limited edition and are out of print since long and besides that have no index, it seemed useful to offer a synopsis to readers who are interested in modern Turkish literature in order to give them some of the informations that the author thinks are the most important ones.

Keywords: Turkish literature, modern literature, Aziz Nesin, history of literature, yearbook, Turkish culture, literary events in Turkey, literature prizes, Turkish authors.

Die Aziz Nesin Stiftung gab von 1976 bis 1985 Jahrbücher (Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı) heraus, in denen die verschiedensten Arten von Information über literarische Ereignisse gegeben wurden. In ihnen finden sich Angaben zu literarischen Veranstaltungen, Neuerscheinungen, Diskussionen, Literatur im Film, Beispieldtexte usw. Sie spiegeln außerdem durch die zahlreichen darin abgedruckten Texte aus vielen verschiedenen Zeitschriften und Zeitungen die soziale und politische Welt wieder, in der Literatur zu jener Zeit entstand. Es sind insgesamt rund 10.000 Seiten, die für jeden, der sich für moderne türkische Literatur interessiert, für diese Jahre eine nahezu unerschöpfliche Quelle sind. Dieser Übersichtsartikel verfolgt kein anderes Ziel, als eine Übersicht in Grundzügen zu geben, ist also lediglich ein in aller Kürze kommentiertes Inhaltsverzeichnis. Der Leser bekommt einen Eindruck vom Aufbau der Bände, der durchaus nicht immer identisch ist. Auch wenn es sich um Jahrbücher handelt, die prinzipiell die gleiche Systematik im Aufbau haben sollten, liess sich das nicht in allen Bänden verwirklichen, was u.a. mit dem Wechsel von Autoren zu tun haben, aber auch thematisch dadurch bedingt sein kann, dass verschiedene Aspekte in verschiedenen Jahren eine unterschiedliche Rolle spielen können.

Da fast alle Bände um die 1000 Seiten umfassen, konnte nur angestrebt werden, einige der wichtigsten Geschehen, Namen oder Daten beispielhaft zu erfassen. Das Anstreben einer auch nur annähernden Vollständigkeit hätte das Abfassen eines umfangreichen Buches bedeutet und war zu keiner Zeit beabsichtigt.

Diese Bücher waren zur Zeit ihres Erscheinens bei allen Wissenschaftlern und Studenten der literarisch ausgerichteten Turkologie sehr nachgefragt, zumal der in ihnen enthaltene Informationswert kaum zu übertreffen, die Bände dagegen schnell vergriffen waren. In diesem Zusammenhang ist hinzuzufügen, dass die Bände auch unter den Lesern auf Interesse stossen sollten, die nicht nur an türkischer Literatur interessiert sind, da sie einen guten Eindruck von der Vielfalt kultureller Aktivität im Allgemeinen Zeugnis ablegen. Leider findet sich nirgends ein Hinweis auf die

Auflage der einzelnen Bände, sodass das Interesse an ihnen hauptsächlich durch persönliche Gespräche erfahren werden kann. Was das Erstellen dieses Überblicksartikels auch motivierte, war, dass die Bände trotz ihres Umfangs keinen Index haben, sodass Namen von Autoren in diesem Überblick aufzufinden sein können, sofern sie von gewisser Bedeutung sind. Aber im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung von Namen und Ereignissen mussten Einschränkungen gemacht werden, um der Zeitschrift die Länge des Beitrages zuzumuten. Der Versuch einer Lösung ist zweierlei Art: 1. Das Beschränken auf Nachrichten, die literaturhistorisch allgemein wertvoll sind (was meist eine subjektive Entscheidung ist), und 2. Nachrichten in kleinerer Schrift, wenn die Nachrichten von eingeschränktem Interesse sind (also für weniger Leser). Informationen über die Aziz Nesin-Stiftung kann man heute leicht im Internet finden. Hier sei nur in aller Kürze angemerkt, dass der weltberühmte, furchtlose und respektlose Satiriker diese Stiftung ins Leben rief, um mittellosen Kindern die Chance einer guten Bildung zu geben, indem sie in einem Internat leben konnten, das von dem Erlös der Bücher Aziz Nesins finanziert wurde. (Ich benutze den Sammelbegriff „Literaten“, wenn in ein und dem selben Kontext sowohl von Prosaschriftstellern, Dichtern und Sachbuchautoren die Rede ist.)

Band 1, (1976), 908 Seiten

S. 12–27: Kalender der literarischen Ereignisse des Jahres 1975. Viele verschiedene Angaben, die vom Tode einzelner Autoren bis zu Gedenktagen und Reden reichen, mit genauer Angabe des Datums.

S. 28–45: Entwicklung der Dichtung. Neuerscheinungen von Gedichtbänden und einzelnen Gedichten, einschliesslich von Kommentaren aus Zeitschriften und Beispielen. Erwähnt werden u.a. Arif Damar: Seslerin ayak sesleri; İlhan Berk: Taşbaskısı; Enis Batur: Nil; Hilmi Yavuz: Bedreddin üzerine şiirler) usw. Verfasser des Beitrages: Mehmet H. Doğan.

S. 46–76: Erzählungen und Romane 1975. Neuerscheinungen von Romanen und Erzählungsbänden, wobei die einzelnen Bücher teilweise ausführlich kommentiert werden, mit einer

Zusammenfassung am Ende des Kapitels. Einige Beispiele: Yaşar Kemal: „Yusufçuk Yusuf“; Oktay Akbal: „İnsan bir ormandır“; Fakir Baykurt: „Keklik“; Vedat Türkali: „Bir gün tekbaşına“; Cetin Altan: „Viski“; Aysel Özakin: „Gurbet, yavrum“ usw.; Erzählungsbände: Fethi Savaşçı: „Taş ocağında“; Gültén Dayıoğlu: „Geride kalanlar“ usw. Verfasser des Beitrages: Attila Özkırımlı.

S. 77–86: Kritik, Essay. Hier werden auch Methoden der Kritik diskutiert. Verfasser: Cemal Süreya.

S. 87–101: Volksliteratur 1975. In diesem Beitrag werden vor allem Epen behandelt. Am Beginn wird in Kürze über den Verlauf des Karaoglan Yılı mit seinen verschiedenen Veranstaltungen berichtet. Zur Sprache kommen verschiedene weitere Konferenzen, insbesondere der „Internationale Türkische Folklore-Kongress“ vom 23.–27. Juni. Verfasser: Cahit Öztelli.

S. 102–157: Kinderliteratur. Der Umfang des Kapitels zeigt zunächst den Reichtum der Kinderliteratur in der Türkei, zweitens eine lange Diskussion über Art und Qualität der Kinderliteratur. Es werden einzelne Bücher vorgestellt wie auch ganze Reihen, ebenso ein Seminar zu dem Thema. Verfasser sind: M. Başaran und Hikmet Altinkayak.

S. 158–171: Literatur im Radio. Auf eine einseitige Übersicht mit Sendezeit folgen Interviews über Literatur: eines mit Yaşar Kemal, eines mit Behçet Necatigil, einschliesslich einiger seiner Gedichte; Interview mit Tahsin Yücel, mit Hilmi Yavuz und eines mit Oğuz Atay.

S. 172–187: Literatur im Fernsehen. Der vollständige Text einer Diskussion mit dem Titel „Bücher und Gedanken“ mit den Teilnehmern Haluk Şahin, Diskussionsleiter), Cemal Süreya, Hilmi Yavuz und Mehmet Kaplan.

S. 188–191: Eine theoretische Erörterung über übersetzte Veröffentlichungen und damit verbundene Probleme von Bertan Onaran.

S. 192–287: Festschriften, Preise, Wettbewerbe 1975. Der Umfang dieses Beitrages, der aus vielen Teilen besteht, zeigt, wie stark Auszeichnungen im türkischen Literaturbetrieb ausgeprägt sind. Aus Raumangel können wir nur die wichtigsten Ereignisse berücksichtigen, wobei die Auswahl selbstverständlich subjektiv ist. Der erste Beitrag betrifft den Romanwettbewerb des Milliyet Verlages; es folgen: der Sabahattin Ali Wettbewerb für Kurzgeschichten; der Sait Faik Kurzgeschichten-Preis (vergeben an Adalet Ağaoğlu für den Band „Yüksek gerilim“); den Orhan Kemal Roman-Preis erhielt Erdal Öz für den Roman „Yaralısın“; der von der Tageszeitung Cumhuriyet jährlich vergebene Yunus Nadi-Preis wurde Attila İlhan für den Roman „Sırtlan Payı“ verliehen; Kurzgeschichten-Wettbewerb des Antalya-Festivals. Von 170 eingereichten Geschichten erhielt Dursun Akçam den ersten Preis für „Haley“. Ein weiterer Bericht über den Sait Faik-Preis mit einem Interview der Gewinnerin Adalet Ağaoğlu. Bericht über den Sabahattin Ali Kurzgeschichten-Preis, zu dem 108 Beiträge eingereicht waren, und den Duran Yılmaz für „Kışlak“ gewann. Es folgen Berichte über und Interviews mit Attila İlhan, Vedat Türkali, Erdal Öz und Dursun Akçam. Es folgen Berichte über verschiedene Preise der Türk Dil Kurumu, u.a. über den Übersetzerpreis, den Tomris und Turgut Uyar bekamen.

S. 289–360 trägt den Titel „Diskussionen über Literatur 1975“. Bekir Yıldız hielt am 5. April eine Rede zum Jahrestag des Todes von Sabahattin Ali, in der er sich negativ über Sait Faik äusserte, was politisch begründet war. Dann wird ein Artikel aus der Zeitschrift „Türkiye Defteri“ abgedruckt, in dem gefordert wird, Bekir Yıldız solle seinen 1971 erhaltenen Sait Faik Kurzgeschichten-Preis zurückgeben. Diese Forderung löst eine lange Diskussion aus, an der sich mit Artikeln u.a. Rauf Mutluay, Vedat Günyol, Ferit Edgü, Can Yücel, Mehmet H. Doğan und mehrfach Bekir Yıldız selbst beteiligen.

S. 340–360: Diskussion über die „Dorfliteratur (köy edebiyatı)“; Pakize Kutlu stellt die Frage, ob die Dorfliteratur in der modernen Zeit nach Ansicht der Schriftsteller noch einen Sinn macht (anlamı olmak). Sevgi Soysal wendet sich gegen den Begriff „Dorfliteratur“, da es für die Literatur keine Bedeutung haben sollte, wo ein Roman

angesiedelt ist. Adalet Ağaoğlu plädiert dafür, die Veränderungen in Dorfgesellschaft, wie die Migration, zu berücksichtigen (und bereitet damit den Leser auf ihren Roman „Fikrimin ince gülü“ vor); Es äussern sich weiterhin Talip Apaydin, Necati Cumalı, nach dessen Ansicht die Dorfliteratur kein eigenes Genre darstellt und dabei auf zahlreiche Romane in anderen Sprachen verweist, die auf dem Lande spielen, aber nie als besonderes Genre angesehen wurden; weitere Teilnehmer sind Dursun Akçam, Selim İleri, Attila İlhan, Fakir Baykurt und Demirtaş Ceyhun.

S. 362–424: Bericht über den Besuch ausländischer Schriftsteller und Literaturwissenschaftler in der Türkei. U.a. interviewt Kemal Özer den – damals – sowjetischen Dichter Konstantin Simonov; es folgen mehrere Beiträge über ihn und sein Werk. Es folgt ein Bericht über den Besuch des aserbaidschanischen Schriftstellers Esul Anar in der Türkei, sodann ein Artikel von Türkaya Ataöv über Anars Rolle in der aserbaidschanischen Literatur. Danach gibt es drei Beiträge über die „tschechoslowakische“ Turkologin Xènia Celnarova, anschliessend ein Interview und zwei Artikel über Cengiz Aytmatov (dessen gesammelte Werke ja auch in das Türkische übertragen worden sind).

S. 425–482: Auf diesen Seiten werden u.a. folgenden Schriftstellern die Fragen gestellt, welche Arbeiten sie 1975 abgeschlossen oder begonnen haben und was sie für 1976 planen. Es antworten Oktay Akbal, der für 1967 die Veröffentlichung zweier Essay-Bände ankündigt; Dursun Akçam, Mahmut Alptekin; Çetin Altan, der die Abfassung eines Romans mit dem Titel „Küçük bahçe“ ankündigt und die Veröffentlichung seines Romans „Viski“ erwähnt; Talip Apaydin; Oktay Arayıcı, M. Sunullah Arisoy; Hayati Asilyazıcı; Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı; Fakir Baykurt, der berichtet, dass er den Roman „Keklik“ für den Druck fertig gemacht hat und erwähnt, dass er zwei Projekte verwirklichen will, die er lange geplant hat, eines über Ismail H. Tonguç, den Begründer der Dorfinstitute; Faik Baysal; Nihat Behram; Ataol Behramoğlu; Kemal Bekir; Cengiz Bektaş, der 1976 seine Ezyklopädie der Terminologie der Architektur beenden will; İlhan Berk, der den baldigen Abschluss seines Gedichtbandes „Atlas“ ankündigt; Kemal Bilbaşar; Necati Cumalı, der über ein dreibändiges Projekt über Rumeli ankündigt, von denen der zweite Band „Viran

Dağlar“ heissen wird; Fethi Naci, der den Band „Yüz soruda Türk roman“ fertig stellen wird, und viele Literaten mehr.

S. 483–565: Allgemeine literarische Ereignisse 1975. Den ersten Teil nehmen wörtlich zitierte Reden ein, die auf einer Versammlung der „Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft“ unter dem Titel: „Rechte und Freiheiten des Schriftstellers“ gehalten wurden. Dem schliessen sich zum selben Thema erschienene Druckbeiträge aus verschiedenen Zeitschriften an. Es folgt der Bericht über eine Tagung mit dem Titel „Die Entwicklung der modernen türkischen Dichtung“, deren Vorsitzender Ali Gevgilili war. Hierin finden sich Stellungnahmen zu einzelnen Dichtern wie auch zur Stellung der türkischen Dichtung in der Weltliteratur. Themen sind u.a. die neue Form, die auch durch die neue Sprache (Sprachreform) bedingt wurde, wie auch Fortsetzungen alter Traditionen in der modernen Dichtung. Wenige Seiten werden von zwei Berichten über einen Folklore-Kongress eingenommen.

S. 566–609: Dieses Kapitel besteht aus zwei Beiträgen: 1. „Das Ereignis „Mavi Sürgün““, wobei es sich um den Bericht über das gleichnamige Buch von Halikarnas Balıkçısı handelt, in dem er sich gegen die Hinrichtungen der Fahnenflüchtlinge im ersten Weltkrieg wendete. Er hatte drastisch Hinrichtungen und Misshandlungen beschrieben und das Buch mit Illustrationen versehen, was ihm die Verbannung nach Bursa einbrachte. Das zweite Kapitel betreht aus einem längeren Artikel von Behçet Necatigil über die sozialistische Schriftstellerin Suat Derviş, die in den ersten drei Auflagen des „Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü“ unerwähnt geblieben war.

S. 610–645: „Türkische Literatur und türkische Schriftsteller im Ausland“. Unter diesem Titel diskutiert Çetin Altan zunächst die Lage der türkischen Literatur im Ausland, danach werden Werke von Aziz Nesin vorgestellt, die in Übersetzung erschienen sind, auf Deutsch „Zwischen Bosporus und Anatolien“ (1975), eine russische, bulgarische und griechische Übersetzung. Aziz Nesin nimmt selbst dazu Stellung. Anschliessend kommt auch übersetzte Dichtung zur Sprache.

S. 646–721: Literaten, die wir im Jahre 1975 verloren haben. Das Kapitel wird von einem Kalender der in diesem Jahr verstorbenen

Schriftsteller, Dichter und Sprachwissenschaftler eingeleitet. Erwähnt seien hier nur einige von ihnen: 5. Januar, der Dichter (Ozan) Arif Nihad Asya, dem später auch ein ausführlicher Nachruf mit Aufzählung seiner Werke gewidmet ist; 6. Januar, der Sprachwissenschaftler Ahmet Caferoğlu, ebenfalls mit Nachruf; 15. Mai, der „Journalist Ümit Deniz (gazeteci)“, was etwas mekwürdig klingt, wenn man bedenkt, dass er der bedeutendste Vertreter des frühen türkischen Kriminalromans war, was nur in einem kurzen Satz erwähnt wird: Er schrieb Kriminalromane. Einige Seiten weiter findet sich ein kurzer Nachruf von etwa einer halben Seite, was einen deutlichen Schluss auf das Ansehen des Kriminalromans zulässt; 15. August, der Sprachwissenschaftler Ali Ulvu Elöve, der durch die Übersetzung der türkischen Grammatik von Jean Deny bekannt wurde; und viele andere mehr.

S. 722–822: Zahlreiche Literaten, die einen runden Geburtstag feierten. Unter ihnen seien nur genannt: 75 Jahre: Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı; 70 Jahre: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek; 60 Jahre: Melih Cevdet Anday; Azra Erhat; Mehmet Kaplan; Aziz Nesin; Haldun Taner; 50 Jahre: Ahmet Arif; Nezihe Meriç usw.. Ihnen allen und den hier nicht genannten werden Porträts und teilweise Interviews gewidmet. Von jedem gibt es auch ein grossformatiges Foto.

S. 823–895: Feierlichkeiten und Versammlungen zum Andenken an unsere Literaten. Es werden zwölf Veranstaltungen genannt, auf denen folgender Schriftsteller und Dichter gedacht wurde: Nazım Hikmet zum 12. Todestag; Sabahattin Ali; Orhan Kemal zum 5. Todestag; Kemal Tahir zum 2. Todestag; des osmanischen Dichters Nedim; Tevfik Fikret zum 60. Todestag; Sabahattin Eyupoğlu zum 2. Todestag; Mahmut Yesari zum 30. Todestag; Fikret Adil zum 2. Todestag; Celal Silay zum ersten Todestag; Orhan Veli zum 25. Todestag; Faruk Nafiz zum 2. Todestag. Für zwei weitere Autoren, die allerdings zu der Zeit noch lebten, wurden Jubileumsveranstaltungen durchgeführt: für Necip Fazıl zum 50. Jahrestag der Schriftstellerkarriere und für Aziz Nesin noch einmal zum 60. Geburtstag. Allen Genannten werden Beiträge gewidmet, einschliesslich von Beispielen der Dichtkunst bei Dichtern.

S. 896–902: eine Liste einzelner Werke, die im Jahre 1975 erschienen.

S. 903–908: Inhaltsverzeichnis mit verkürzten Überschriften der einzelnen Kapitel und einer Liste der Namen der Autoren, die genannt werden.

Zum Abschluss dankt Aziz Nesin dem Redaktör und der Druckerei Yaylacık. Der Preis wird mit 60 Lira angegeben, unter dem Hinweis, dass der nächste Band 80 Lira kosten wird.

Band 2 (1977), 959 Seiten

S. 5–34: Literatur-Kalender für 1976. Dieser Kalender zeichnet sich durch viele datierte und beschriebene Ereignisse aus, bei denen Literatur mit dem Gesetz in Konflikt kam. Es beginnt mit dem 25. Dezember, wobei offenbar das Vorjahr gemeint ist, da das nächste Datum Anfang Februar 1976 liegt. Auf der zweiten Generalversammlung der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft hält der Präsident Yaşar Kemal die Eröffnungsrede, in der er die Aufhebung der Paragraphen 142, 143 und 163 des Strafgesetzbuches fordert, die die Redefreiheit einschränken. Es wurde beschlossen, dass der Vorsitzende des Kongresses an den Staatspräsidenten einen Brief schreiben und die Aufhebung der Paragraphen 141 und 142 fordern solle. Am 2. April sollte ein Stück von Aziz Nesin im Städtischen Theater Istanbuls für die Zuschauer kostenlos aufgeführt werden. Es wurde von der Polizei unterbunden, weil keine Genehmigung vorgelegen habe. 25. April fand eine Gedenkveranstaltung zum 28. Todestag Sabahattin Alis statt. Mehrere Mitglieder der TÖB-DER (Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği, Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung und Solidarität aller Lehrer) hielten Reden über seine Werke. Am 1. Mai wurde zum ersten mal eine Feier von DISK veranstaltet, an der auch viele „fortschrittliche (ilerici) Schriftsteller und Künstler teilnahmen. Am 8. August gab es im „Devrimci Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu“ eine Wiederaufführung des Stücks „Gefängnissaal 72“ von Orhan Kemal. Auf derselben Bühne war es zehn Jahre zuvor zum ersten mal aufgeführt worden. Am 25. Oktober veranstaltete dieses Theater in Istanbul in der „Kleinen Bühne von Beyoğlu“ eine Tagung mit dem Thema „Satire gegen Faschismus“. Diese wenigen Beispiele mögen ausreichen, zu zeigen, dass 1976 die Literatur in der Türkei stark politisiert war. Es folgt eine Auflistung von Reden und

Sitzungen mit literarischen Themen, danach eine Liste der öffentlichen Lesungen und Signierungen von Schriftstellern, unter Angabe von Zeit und Ort.

S. 35–52: Dichtung 1976. Eine kurze theoretische Einführung befasst sich mit der Frage, wie moderne Dichtung gestaltet sein sollte, insbesondere mit dem engagierten Gedicht. Es folgt eine Übersicht über Gedichte in Zeitschriften. Es heißt, dass die Zeitschriften Soyut, Türk Dili und Varlık jeweils als ein Forum für einen bestimmten Dichter fungieren. Auch Birikim stellt in jeder Nummer Gedichte eines oder mehrerer Dichter vor. Die Mitte des Jahres eingestellte Zeitschrift Militan brachte Gedichte von u.a. Erdal Alova, A. Erhan, K. Kaya; die Zeitschrift Özgür İnsan stellte Gedichte von Attila İlhan, Hasan Hüseyin, Gültén Akin, Ali Püsküllüoğlu usw. Genannt werden weiterhin die Zeitschriften Oluşum, Dönemeç, die im März jenes Jahres eingeführte Zeitschrift Sanat ve İnsan. Necati Cumalı, Ülkü Tamer, Ahmet Oktay, Oktay Rifat, Behçet Necatigil werden im Zusammenhang mit Veröffentlichungen in Varlık und der Tageszeitung Cumhuriyet genannt. Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca habe die meisten Gedichte veröffentlicht. Einige der schönsten Gedichte werden zitiert: „Martılar ki...“ von Can Suyu und „Yort Savul“ von Ece Ayhan (beide in Birikim). Es folgt eine Übersicht über neu erschienene Gedichtbände, so von Melih Cevdet Anday: „Teknenin ölümü“; Behçet Necatigil: „Kareler Aklar“ und „Sevgilerde“, in welchem Band Hürriyet Yayıncılık eine Sammlung früherer Gedichte von Necatigil zusammenstellt; Kemal Özer: „Sen de katılmalısın yaşamı savunmaya“. İlhan Berk: den im Jahre zuvor angekündigten Band „Atlas“; Edip Cansever; Bülent Ecevit: Şiirler, was später u.a. auch in deutscher Übersetzung erschien. Bei Dergah Yay. erschien der Band „Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar`ın bütün şiirleri“. Es folgen ca. 20 weitere Namen von Dichtern, mit Titel des Bandes und Verlagshaus. Es folgen eine Liste der vergebenen Preise und Gedenktage. Verfasser des Beitrags: Mehmet H. Doğan.

S. 52–79: Erzählung und Roman 1976. Allen genannten Büchern ist eine etwa halbseitige Inhaltsangabe gewidmet. Das Kapitel beginnt mit einer Nachlese vom Jahr zuvor, die nach Fertigstellung des Beitrages erschienen. Tomris Uyars „Diz boyu papatyalar“ wird sehr positiv aufgenommen; Şükran Kurdakuls „Onların çocukları“ erfährt

auch eine positive Besprechung; Nevzat Üstün: „Boğaların Ölümü“; Ümit Kaftancıoğlu: „Çarpana“. Romane 1976 (ausschnittsweise): „Yılanı öldürseler“ von Yaşar Kemal, ebenso wie: „Al gözüm seyrele Salih“; Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Fikrimin ince gülü“ wird als „wichtiger Beitrag zur sozio-ökonomischen Entwicklung der Türkei eingeschätzt“. Pınar Kür: „Yarın...yarın“; Aziz Nesin: „Surname“, ebenso: „Böyle gitmiş böyle gitmez“; Demir Özlü: „Bir uzun sonbahar“; Ferit Edgü: „Kimse“; Rıfat Ilgaz: „Sarı yazma“; Samim Kocagöz: „Tartışma“. Es folgt das Kapitel „Erzählungsbände 1976“, in dem u.a. vorgestellt werden: Necati Cumalı: „Makedonya 1900“; Başaran: „Elif diye bir Türkü“; Tarık Dursun K.: „Bahriyeli Çocuk“; Nazlı Eray: „Ah bayım ah“. Dieser erste Erzählungsband der Autorin, dem noch viele weitere folgen sollten, wird sehr positiv aufgenommen. Ihre Themen, die Sprache sie darzustellen, der Stil werden als Erneuerung der türkischen Erzählung angesehen und das Buch wird als einer der besten Erzählungsbände bezeichnet; Sevgi Soysal: „Barış adlı çocuk“. Verfasser des Beitrages: Attila Özkırımlı.

S. 80–89: Volksliteratur 1976. Von achtzehn genannten Veranstaltungen seien nur die wichtigsten genannt: am 7. Februar wurde in Ankara ein Symposium zum Gedenken des dritten Todesstages Aşık Veysels veranstaltet; am 22. März wurde in Istanbul ein Abend der Volksdichter veranstaltet, der grosse Beachtung fand; vom 5.–9. Mai fand in Eskişehir die Yunus Emre-Woche statt; vom 17.–18. Mai fanden in Adana die Karaca Oğlan und Dadaloğlu-Tage statt, mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Sprecher; die Nasreddin Hoca-Tage gab es vom 5.–10. Juli in Akşehir, wo Ruhi Su ein Konzert gab; vom 16.–18. August wurden Gedenktage zu Ehren des grossen Denkers (düşünür) Hacı Bektaş Veli veranstaltet, auf denen Cahit Öztelli forderte, an den Universitäten Kurse zur Bektaşi-Literatur einzurichten. Es folgt eine Aufzählung von Publikationen zur Volksliteratur, sowie der Abdruck von zwei Zeitungsartikeln zu den Veranstaltungen. Der Beitrag stammt von Cahit Öztelli.

S. 90–131: Kinderliteratur 1976. Die Einleitung trägt die Überschrift: „Ein Jahr, das eine Wende in unserer Kinderbuchliteratur brachte“ und weist auf die Diskussionen über diese Literatur hin. Ein kurzes Kapitel setzt sich mit der schlechten Qualität der Schulbücher auseinander, die unter der rechten Politik leidet. Es folgt ein Überblick über ein

Symposium über Kinderbücher, in Istanbul, von TÖB-DER (ohne Datum). Dann werden die wichtigsten 14 Kinderbücher des Jahres vorgestellt; es folgt der Hinweis auf den von der Türk Dil Kurumu gestifteten Kinderbuchpreis. Die letzten Seiten des Kapitels bildet der Abdruck mehrerer Artikel aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften über Kinderbücher. Dieser Beitrag stammt von Erdal Öz.

S. 132–140: Übersetzte Literatur. Das Kapitel beschäftigt sich ausschliesslich mit Übersetzungen englischer und amerikanischer Autoren, wie z. B. D. H. Lawrence, Virginia Wolf, Doris Lessing, William Golding, Saul Bellow und umreisst in wenigen Sätzen den Inhalt der übersetzten Werke.

S. 141–150: Ereignisse und Tendenzen in der übersetzten Literatur 1976. Das kurze Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Fragen, was übersetzt wurde und was unübersetzt blieb und ob sich daraus eine bestimmte Politik ablesen lässt.

S. 151–262: Auszeichnungen, Preise und Wettbewerbe 1976. Die Einführung dieses Kapitels beschäftigt sich in mehreren Unterkapiteln mit theoretischen Fragen der Bewertung eines literarischen Werkes. Darauf folgt eine Auflistung der verliehenen Preise, wobei stets erwähnt wird, wer in der Komission gesessen hat. Den Beginn macht der Romanwettbewerb des Milliyet Verlages, bei dem die ersten drei Preise nicht vergeben wurden; der Madaralı Roman Preis, der zum dritten mal vergeben wurde, und zwar an Talip Apaydin für „Tütün yorgunu“; den Yeditepe Preis für Dichtung erhielt Melih Cevdet Anday für den Band „Teknenin ölümü“; Den Sait Faik Erzählungspreis erhielt Selim Ileri für „Dostlukların son günü“; den ersten Preis des Peyami Safa Roman-Wettbewerbs erhielt İbrahim Zeki Burdurlu für den Roman „Akdenizin insan çiçekleri“; im August gab es auf dem diesjährigen Hacı Bektaş Veli Gedenkfest einen Essay-Wettbewerb. Das folgende Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Preisen der Türk Dil Kurumu. Es werden alle Werke aufgezählt, die sich unter den Sparten 1. Dichtung, 2.Roman; 3.Erzählung; 4.Theater; 5.Übersetzung; 6.Essay-Kritik-Reisebericht beworben hatten. Die jeweiligen Sieger waren: Dursun Akçam für „Kanlı derenin kurtları“; Nedim Gürsel mit „Uzun sürmüş bir yaz“; Kemal Özer für „Sen de katılmalısın yaşamı savunmaya“; Güngör Dilmen für „Midas’ın

kördügümü“; Said Maden für „Elsaya şirler“; Salah Birsel für das Essay „Şiir ve cinayet“. Es folgen zahlreiche Abdrucke von Artikeln aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, die zu den vergebenen bzw. nicht vergebenen Preisen Stellung beziehen.

S. 263–289: Von 1976 in ein neues Jahr. In diesem Kapitel geben zahlreiche Herausgeber und Redakteure Antworten auf Fragen zu ihrer jetzigen und zukünftigen Publikationstätigkeit, zu Programmgestaltung und -politik.

S. 290–299: Ein allgemeiner Überblick über die Zeitschriften im Jahre 1976. Es werden u.a. die Fragen nach der Kurzlebigkeit türkischer Literaturzeitschriften gestellt, wie nach deren Leserzahl und intellektuellem Hintergrund.

S. 300–398: Es gibt vier Aufsätze unter der Überschrift „Forschung“: 1. Nijat Özün: Türkische Literatur auf der Leinwand; 2. Ragıp Gelincik: Das Sprachenproblem; Cevdet Kudret wertet unter dem Titel „Donkişot`tan Hamzame`ye“ Literatur für das Gymnasium aus; İlhan Başgöz beschreibt die Türkische Sprache und Kultur in den USA. Er befasst sich dabei mit der Turkologie und deren Kursen, mit turkologischen Veröffentlichungen und übersetzter Literatur.

S. 399–508: Literarische Ereignisse des Jahres. Unter dieser Überschrift sind mehrere Artikel von sehr unterschiedlicher Länge und Thematik zu finden. Ein langer Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem „Kitap toplatma olayı“. Dieses Ereignis hatte seinen Ursprung in der Verordnung des Generaldirektorats für das Mittelschulwesen des Erziehungsministeriums, Bücher, die Sitte, Tradition und Anstand gefährdeten – darunter auch Literatur wie Satiren – aus den Bibliotheken zu entfernen (Dezember 1975). Ecevit forderte darauf im Januar 1976 die Aufhebung dieser Verordnung, was zu einer lebhaften Diskussion führte. Zahlreiche Texte aus diversen Zeitschriften sind in der Folge abgedruckt, ebenso wie die offizielle Antwort des Ministeriums auf Ecevits Forderung.

Ein weiterer Beitrag ist betitelt: „Geschichte des Museums der Divan Literatur und was von der Divan-Dichtung bis heute geblieben ist“. Es wird berichtet, dass am 27. Dezember im Stadtteil Galata im Kulekapı Mevlevihanesi das Museum für Diwanliteratur eröffnet

wurde, wo es sich heute noch befindet. Es folgt der Abdruck mehrerer Zeitungsberichte über dieses Ereignis.

Das nächste Unterkapitel heisst „Literatur im Fernsehen“. Es handelt sich um einen kurzen Artikel aus Sabah von Zeki Önal, was damit begründet wird, dass unter der Macht der nationalistischen Front (cephe) in Radio und Fernsehen der Literatur keine Gelegenheit gegeben wurde.

„Dil konusu ve TDK“ ist der Titel des nächsten, längeren Beitrages. Er beschäftigt sich hauptsächlich mit den Ergebnissen des 15. Türk Dil Kurultayı, zu dem mehrere Schriftsteller ihre Meinung äussern: Hasan Hüseyin, Yaşar Kemal, Yaşar Nabi, Aziz Nesin, Erdal Öz und Sevgi Soysal.

Es folgen Nachrichten über Aktivitäten der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft, darunter über die Unterzeichnung eines Abkommens mit dem Sowjetischen Schriftstellerverband. Es gibt viele Kurznachrichten, wie die Nennung einer Strasse in Istanbul nach Orhan Kemal, dass das Wohnhaus von Halikarnas Balıkçısı in ein Museum verwandelt wurde, eine Versammlung von Schriftstellern aus Asien und Afrika in Bagdat usw.

S. 509–573: Was taten sie 1976, was bereiten sie vor für 1977? Diese Fragen werden – wie im ersten Band – von zahlreichen Schriftstellern beantwortet, von denen hier nur einige erwähnt werden können. Erwähnt werden vor allem Werke, die in der Literaturgeschichte besondere Bedeutung gewannen. Adalet Ağaoğlu sagt, dass sie den 1976 abgeschlossen, ein Jahr zuvor zu schreiben begonnen, aber lange vorher recherchiert habe; „Ich schreibe jeden Tag“, sagt Oktay Akbal und betont, dass er viele unabgeschlossene Texte liegen habe, aber hoffe, dass „Kirli Ayna“, „Yaşasın edebiyat“ und „Zaman sensin“ Ende des Jahres oder 1977 erscheinen werden; Fakir Baykurt bedauert, dass er den geplanten Band über den Begründer der Dorfinstitute Tonguç noch nicht begonnen habe, allerdings habe er ein Buch mit dem Titel „Kara Ahmet Destanı“ abgeschlossen, das er als den letzten Band einer Trilogie sieht, deren erster Band „Yılanların öcü“ (Rache der Schlangen) ist; Edip Cansever hat 1976 einen Gedichtband abgeschlossen (Sevda ile sevgi), der 1977 erscheinen soll; Ahmet Cemal berichtet als Übersetzer, dass er Werke von Anna Seghers, Stephan Zweig und Elias Canetti abgeschlossen habe; Füruzan kündigt an, 1977 eine Arbeit zu veröffentlichen, die auf

Aufzeichnungen beruht, die sie während eines Aufenthaltes in Berlin machte (wahrscheinlich: Yeni konuklar); Tarik Dursun K. kündigt einen Erzählungsband mit dem Titel „Benim adım Kerim“ an, sowie einen Roman, der noch keinen Titel hat; Nezihe Meriç kündigt den zweiten Band ihres Kinderbuches „Alagün Çocukları“ an; die grosse Mehrzahl der Befragten berichtet von nicht abgeschlossenen oder nur geplanten Arbeiten.

S. 574–746: Gedenkschriften, Feierlichkeiten und Versammlungen zu Jahrestagen unserer Schriftsteller. Die genannten Daten der Liste umfassen 27 Namen. Mit dem Abdruck zweier Zeitschriftenartikel wird des 26. Todestages Orhan Velis gedacht; mehrere Artikel sind dem 14. Todestag von Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar gewidmet; Hasan Ali Yücel's 15. Todestag wird gewürdigt; ebenso Aşık Veysels 3. Todestag; Ziya Gökalps 100. Geburtstag; Kemal Tahirs 3. Todestag; Şinasis 150. Todestag; Tevfik Fikrets 61. Todestag; Mithat Cemal Kuntays 20. Todestag, u.a. mit einem besonderen Artikel über sein bedeutendstes Werk Üç İstanbul; Sabahattin Alis 70. (theoretischer) Geburtstag, dem die meisten Artikel gewidmet sind; Reşat Nuri Güntekins 20. Todestag; aber auch dem zu der Zeit noch lebenden Aziz Nesin wird zum 60. Geburtstag gratuliert. Den meisten -auch den hier nicht genannten – Literaten sind längere Artikel gewidmet.

S. 747–776: Ausländische Schriftsteller als Gäste in der Türkei. Berichte über und Interviews mit 17 Schriftstellern aus verschiedenen Ländern, wie z.B. der Schweiz, Kasachstan, Griechenland.

S. 777–841: Zahlreichen Schriftstellern wird zu einem runden Geburtstag gratuliert, teilweise durch Berichte über sie oder Interviews oder beides. Darunter sind: Mustafa Nihat Özön zum 80.; Semih Ayverdi zum 70.; zum 60. İlhan Berk, Samim Kocagöz, Behçet Necatigil; zum 50.: Talip Apaydın, Mehmet Başaran, Can Yücel, Hakkı Özkan. All diesen und weiteren Schriftstellern und Schriftstellerinnen sind Essays gewidmet, meist Interviews, von allen existieren Fotos. Es soll hier betont werden, dass eine vollständige Aufzählung der Namen den Rahmen unserer Möglichkeit bei weitem sprengen würde. Das scheint zunächst den nicht Genannten gegenüber unfair zu sein, aber wir müssen Prioritäten setzen. Als einziges Beispiel, das für zahlreiche andere steht, wollen wir Mükerrem Kamil

Su (1906–1984) nennen, die zwar 23 Romane publizierte, die aber nicht im Bewusstsein der Leser geblieben sind, da es sich um Bücher handelte, die zwar hauptsächlich das Schicksal von Frauen thematisierten, aber, weil sie meist Liebe und Romantik zum Gegenstand hatten, heute als blosse Liebesromane angesehen würden, ohne nennenswerten literarischen Anspruch.

S. 842–892: Schriftsteller, die wir im vergangenen Jahr verloren haben. Zu den bekannteren Namen, die im Jahr 1976 verstarben, gehören Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (geb. 1897), der vor allem mit seinen Biographien berühmt wurde: z.B. „Tek adam“ über Atatürk, „İkinci adam“ über İnönü, und „Makedonya'ya Enver Paşa“. Ebenso Mustafa Baydar (geb. 1920) verfasste Biographien über Atatürk und Ahmet Mithat, sowie Essays über die türkische Literatur. Auch eine der gössten türkischen Schriftstellerinnen verstarb in diesem Jahr, Sevgi Soysal (geb. 1936). Nach einer erfolglosen Krebsbehandlung in London starb sie in Istanbul. Besonderen Ruhm erntete sie für ihre Erzählbände „Tante Rosa“, „Barış adlı çocuk“ und den Romanen „Yürümek“ und „Yenişehir'de bir öğle vakti“. Allen Verstorbenen sind Nachrufe gewidmet, bei denen es sich um Nachdrucke aus verschiedenen Zeitschriften handelt. Sevgi Soysal wurde auch mit einer besonderen Versammlung zu ihrem Gedenken geehrt.

S. 893–924: Türkische Literatur und Literaten im Ausland. Die meisten der zahlreichen Kurznachrichten erwähnen türkische Literatur, die in andere Sprachen übersetzt wurde. Ein paar Zeilen mehr werden Füruzan gewidmet, die sich mit dem Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienst in Berlin aufhielt und im Künstlerhaus in Bethanien in Kreuzberg einen Literaturabend veranstaltete. Erdal Öz berichtet in einem Beitrag, einem Nachdruck aus der Tageszeitung Cumhuriyet, über eine literarische Reise in die Sowjetunion. Es folgt eine mehrseitige Darstellung der Situation der türkischen Literatur in den USA von Ahmet Seyrek. Es wird ein Radiobeitrag über türkische Literatur von Fethi Savaşçı, der zu jener Zeit seit elf Jahren als Fabrikarbeiter in München gearbeitet hatte, im Süddeutschen Rundfunk erwähnt.

S. 925–934: Einheimische literarische Veröffentlichungen im Jahre 1976. Darunter sind Adalet Ağaoğlus „Fikrimin ince gülü“, İlhan

Berks „Atlas“. Gedichte, Necati Cumalış „Makedonya“, Ferit Edgüs „Kimse“, Nedim Gürsels „Uzun sürmüş bir yaz“ und viele andere mehr.

S. 935–939: Ausländische Werke, die ins Türkische übersetzt wurden.

S. 940-951: Der Band schliesst ab mit Zeitungsberichten über die Aziz Nesin-Stiftung.

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Im Vorwort geht Aziz Nesin auf die finanzielle Situation der Stiftung ein.

S. 11–35: Literaturkalender des Jahres 1977. Es seien nur einige wenige Termine genannt: Das literarische Jahr beginnt mit mehreren Veranstaltungen zu Ehren Nazım Hikmets. Sie finden statt im Rahmen der Nazım Hikmet-Woche, die zu seinem 75. Geburtstag am 21. Januar von der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft mit einer Pressekonferenz eingeleitet wird. Am 23. wird sein Theaterstück „Ferhat und Şirin“ vom Üsküdarer Stadttheater aufgeführt, einen Tag später findet eine öffentliche Diskussionsrunde „Nazım Hikmet und das Rechtswesen“ statt. Wie aus dem Eintrag unter dem 24. Februar hervorgeht, wird auch weiterhin die Volksliteratur nicht vernachlässigt. Ein internationaler Wettbewerb für Karikatur und Spassgeschichten zu Hoca Nasreddin wird eingeleitet. Dass am 11. März ein Stadtteil in Izmir nach Reşat Nuri Güntekins Roman Çalikuşu benannt wird, zeigt die Vielseitigkeit der Nachrichten, die hier Platz finden. Am 8. April fordert der Präsident der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft Aziz Nesin zum wiederholten Male die Abschaffung der Paragrafen 141, 142 und 163, die er als faschistisch bezeichnet. Am 15. Juli wird die Vereinigung türkischer Künstler in Europa mit Zentrum in München gegründet. Auf weitere Beispiele soll hier verzichtet werden, weil sie meistens in späteren Kapiteln wieder genannt werden, in die sie thematisch gehören.

S. 27–32: Reden, Ansprachen und öffentliche Sitzungen unserer Literaten 1977. Von den zahlreichen Veranstaltungen sollen nur

erwähnt werden: Am 23. März hielt Şükran Kurdakul einen allgemeinen Vortrag über die „Gegenwärtige türkische Literatur“ und schrieb anschliessend Widmungen für das Publikum in seine Bücher. Azra Erhat hielt am 30. März einen Vortrag mit dem Titel „Wie ich mich mit Halikarnas Balıkçısı in den Ruinen traf“. Am 14. April hielt Selim İleri einen Vortrag im österreichischen Kulturinstitut über „Die Grossstadt in der türkischen Literatur“. Diese, sowie die folgenden Veranstaltungen könnten ebenso gut im ersten Kapitel Platz gefunden haben.

S. 33–35: Unsere Schriftsteller signieren öffentlich für ihre Leser im Jahre 1977. Unter den vielen Namen finden sich auch Füruzan, Bekir Yıldız, Ferit Edgü, Peride Celal, Haldun Taner, Tomris Uyar, Adalet Ağaoğlu, Necati Cumalı, Erdal Öz, Aziz Nesin, Hilmi Yavuz und viele andere mehr.

S. 36–50: Dichtung 1977. Das Kapitel wird von Mehmet H. Doğan mit einem allgemeinem Überblick eingeleitet, in dem er feststellt, dass sich die Dichtung besonders in diesem Jahr gewandelt hat, sie habe sich nach einer längeren Phase der Diskussion um die Richtung mehr der Sozialkritik angenommen als vorher. Er nennt 1977 deshalb ein Jahr des Sammelns und der Ernte. Darauf folgt eine kurze Darstellung der theoretischen Schriften über Dichtung in diesem Jahr. Dann folgt die Aufzählung einzelner Gedichtbände, die 1977 erschienen sind, mit einer kurzen Kritik. Einige Beispiele: Sabahattin Kudret Aksal: „Çizgi“ (Cem Yayınevi), Gültén Akin: „Ağıtlar ve Türküler“ (Cem Y.), Oktay Rifat: „Çobanlı şiirler“ (Koza Yayınları), Edip Cansever: „Sevda ile Sevgi“ (Koza Y.), Attila İlhan: „Böyle bir sevmek“ (Bilgi Y.), Şükran Kurdakul: „Acılar dönemi“ (Cem Y.), Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca: „Horoz“ (Cem.Y.). Darauf folgen Erwähnungen von Dichtung in Zeitschriften und teilweise Abdrucke. „Soyut“ und „Birikim“ werden als diejenigen Zeitschriften bezeichnet mit den meisten Gedichten.

S. 51–77: Erzählung und Roman 1977. Attila Özkırımlı beginnt sein Kapitel mit einem allgemeinen Überblick über die Neuerscheinungen des Jahres und sagt, dass es aus zwei Gründen kein ertragreiches Jahr für die Literatur war; erstens lag es am Zustand des Landes (ülke koşulları) und zweitens daran, dass über den Charakter des Romans zu

viel diskutiert wurde. Er widmet dann einige Seiten Romanen und Erzählungsbänden des Vorjahres, die im Band davor nicht genannt wurden (was meist an deren Veröffentlichung nach Redaktionsschluss liegt). Hier sollen nur der erste von drei Romanen des Garip-Dichters Oktay Rifat „Bir kadının pencerelerinden“ und Selim İleris „Her gece Bodrum“ genannt werden. Aysel Özakins Erzählungsband „Sessiz bir dayanışma“ erschien auch in diesem Jahr. Es folgt die Aufzählung von Romanen, die 1977 erschienen. U.a. wird Pınar Kürs zweiter Roman „Küçük oyuncu“ genannt, in dem verschiedene Figuren aus Theaterstücken zu Romanfiguren werden. Ferit Edgüs berühmter Roman „O“ wird mit dem vorausgegangenen Roman „Kimse“ verglichen und trotz der verschiedenen Handlungsorte als dessen Fortsetzung bezeichnet. Von Fakir Baykurt wird das „Kara Ahmet Destanı“ erwähnt, der dritte Band der Trilogie, die mit „Yılanların öcü“ eingeleitet wird. Im folgenden Kapitel werden Erzählungsbände vorgestellt. Bekir Yıldız legt sein elftes Buch, Demir Bebek, vor, den „jährlichen“ Band mit Erzählungen wie Attila Özkirimli schreibt. Mit „Eski Sevgili“ veröffentlicht Leyla Erbil ihr vierter Buch und damit ihr drittes mit Erzählungen. Necati Tosuner veröffentlicht sein viertes Buch: „Sisli“, dessen Erzählungen um drei Themen kreisen: Istanbul, den 12. März und seine Folgen, Deutschland. Muzaffer İzgü legt einen weiteren Band Satiren vor: „Donumdaki para“.

S. 78–89: Murat Belge veröffentlicht hier einen Beitrag über Literaturkritik und einen über Essays. Im ersten Beitrag vertritt er die Meinung, dass in der Türkei sich die Kritik ändert, indem sie sich von politischen Auseinandersetzungen weg zur Berücksichtigung einer ästhetischen Theorie bewegt. Im zweiten Beitrag betrachtet er das Essay nicht als eine Literaturgattung, sondern bezeichnet es als eine Art Diskurs (söylem biçimi).

S. 90–96: Veranstaltungen zur Volkskultur 1977. Cahit Öztelli leitet das Kapitel mit einem Vorwort ein, an dessen Beginn er feststellt, dass es ein neues Erwachen im Lande gebe, nämlich das neue Bewusstsein, dass man die alte Volkskultur vor dem Aussterben retten müsse. Dieses neue Bewusstsein spiegelt sich in den anschliessend aufgelisteten und kurz kommentierten Ereignissen wieder, von denen hier nur einige genannt seien: Im März gibt es die Yunus Emre-Woche, unter der aşıklar aus Kars Saz-Konzerte gaben und Türküs

sangen. Ähnliche Veranstaltungen fanden auch in anderen Städten statt. Die Folklore-Vereinigung Ankaras lud den letzten Geschichtenerzähler (*hikayeci*) aus Erzurum ein, der Beispiele seiner Kunst zum besten gab. Auf dem Festival für Volkskultur in Konya gab es zahlreiche Veranstaltungen, die von musikalischen Aufführungen bis zu Seminaren reichten. So gab es vom 10.-12. Juni Seminare zu Yunus Emre, Nasreddin Hoca und Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey. Dazu gab es Ausstellungen von Büchern zu den Themen und von Archivmaterial. In Silifke gab es vom 14. bis 15. Juni Veranstaltungen zur Kultur der Yörük. Vom 16. bis 18. August wurden zum zehnten Male Feierlichkeiten zu Ehren des Hacı Bektaş veranstaltet; ein Seminar zu Seyit Battal Gazi gab es Mitte August in Eskişehir; Im Oktober fand in Istanbul der Zweite Goldene Saz-Wettbewerb statt. Soweit nur einige Beispiele. Es folgt eine einseitige Liste von Publikationen zu Volksliteratur und Volkskultur, die 1977 erschienen.

S. 97–127: Jugendliteratur (*Çocuk edebiyatı*) 1977. Verfasser dieses Beitrages ist Erdal Öz (gest. 2006), ehemaliger Herausgeber der Kinderbuchserie des Cem-Verlages. Er betont im Vorwort, dass die politischen Wirren dieses Jahres auch eine lebhafte Diskussion über Kinderbücher/Jugendliteratur zur Folge hatten. Er beschreibt dann die von unterschiedlichen Autoren diskutierten Fragen: Wie sollte Kinderliteratur beschaffen sein?; Ist Kinderliteratur eine besondere Literaturgattung? Er zitiert hier einen der ertragreichsten Kinderbuchautoren Talip Apaydın, nach dessen Meinung Kinderbücher einen Dialog zwischen Erwachsenen und Kindern darstellen sollten, der sich nach den Bedürfnissen der Kinder richtet; die nächste Frage: Sind Comic strips schädlich für Kinder?; Erreichen die veröffentlichten Kinderbücher ihre Leser? Anschliessend werden einige Kinderzeitschriften diskutiert, anschliessend einige in jenem Jahr erschienene Kinderbücher und – wenn notwendig – die Reihen, in denen sie erschienen sind. So zählt er 12 Bücher der Kinderbuchreihe *Arkadaş Kitaplar* auf, deren Herausgeber er selber war. Am Ende des Kapitels wird eine Ausstellung türkischer Kinderbücher in München (23 Oktober -31. Dezember erwähnt).

S. 128–253: Preise und Wettbewerbe 1977. Dieser Beitrag von Kemal Özer wird von einem Überblick über die in der Türkei existierenden Literaturpreise eingeleitet. Darunter sind der Roman-Wettbewerb des

Milliyet-Verlages, der zum dritten Mal stattfand und der für den Roman „Kopo“ an Mustafa Yeşilova vergeben wurde. Diese Aufstellungen befinden sich am Ende der Einleitung. Den Yeditepe Gedicht-Preis gewann Gülten Akın. Ömer Polat erhielt für seinen Roman „Dilan“ den Madaralı Roman-Preis, der nach dem ehemaligen Lehrer Fikret Madaralı und dessen Frau benannt wurde, die den Dorfinstituten nahe standen. Der Sait Faik-Erzählprix wurde an Necati Cumalı für seinen Band „Makedonya 1900“ vergeben. Hassan İzzettin Dinamo erhielt für seinen Roman „Bariş“ den Orhan Kemal Roman Preis. Anschliessend werden die Preise der Türk Dil Kurumu aufgeführt. Den umfangreichen Rest dieses Beitrages machen Stellungnamen zu den Preisträgern und Interviews mit ihnen aus, die aus verschiedenen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften abgedruckt sind. Die meisten Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit dem Roman Dilan von Ömer Polat, der sich vor allem mit dem harten Leben im Osten Anatoliens beschäftigt. Nach einer Reihe von Beiträgen, die sich mit Fragen und Problemen der Verleihung von Literaturpreisen beschäftigen, werden unter den hier vorgetragenen Gesichtspunkten mehrere der vergebenen Preise und ihre Empfänger diskutiert.

S. 254–374: Ein Blick in die Zeitschriften 1977. Alpay Kabacalı listet nach einer theoretischen Einführung in die Zeitschriften, die über Literatur schreiben oder Beispiele drucken. Dazu gehören auch Zeitschriften, die sich im allgemeinen der Kunst oder den Geisteswissenschaften widmen. Dann listet er die 23 wichtigsten auf, einschliesslich Jahreszahl, Nummer und Seiten. Darauf nennt er die literarischen Schwerpunkte der Zeitschriften, wie z.B. Essay, Kritik usw. Die Seiten ab 264 sind folgenden Themen gewidmet: 1. Die Nazım Hikmet-Woche, 2. Diskussionen der Sprachgesellschaft (Dil Kurumu), 3. Die Rückkehr von Zekeriya Sertel in die Heimat, 4. Tagung der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft (TYS) und dessen Ergebnisse, 5. Die Buchmesse der TYS in Izmir, das Symposium der Kunstwoche in Istanbul. Die Beiträge zu Nazım Hikmet sind, erwartungsgemäss, zahlreich. Sie werden mit Publikationsorgan und Datum aufgeführt. Auffallend sind auch die ausländischen Stimmen, wie z.B. die von Aragon, Simone Signoret, Yves Montand und auch des PariserTurkologie-Professors Louis Bazin. Ab S.288 werden Aktivitäten der TDK diskutiert, wobei sich auch ein Brief von Aziz Nesin befindet, der auf die Reaktionen auf die Aktivitäten der TDK

von verschiedenen politischen Gruppen eingeht. Eine der meist diskutierten Fragen ist die Frage der Mitgliedschaft. Die folgenden Seiten behandeln einen Brief der FIEJ (Fédération internationale des éditeurs de journaux et publications) an den damaligen türkischen Staatspräsidenten Korutürk, in dem er aufgefordert wird, den angesehenen Journalisten Zekeriya Sertel wieder in seine Heimat zu lassen. Sertel hatte 25 Jahre zuvor nach Drohungen und Angriffen gegen ihn die Türkei verlassen und war anschliessend hauptsächlich in Paris tätig. Auf Seite 316 wird ein Kapitel über die „Dritte Generalversammlung der türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft berichtet, und die Eröffnungsrede des Präsidenten der TYS, Aziz Nesin, abgedruckt. Auf diesen Überblick folgen mehrere Zeitungsberichte über die Buchmesse der TYS, an der sich 26 Verlage beteiligten.

S. 375–432: Türkische Literatur und türkische Schriftsteller im Ausland. Kosta Daponte schreibt zunächst über den Unterricht in türkischer Literatur, den Gütin Dino an der Universität Paris gibt. Sein Programm reicht dabei von Yunus Emre bis Nazım Hikmet. Darauf folgen mehrere kurze Texte über Nazım Hikmet, bei denen nicht klar ist, woher sie stammen. Dann folgt ein Beitrag von Asım Bezirci über eine einwöchige Nazım Hikmet-Feier der „Vereinigung der Akademiker und Künstler der Türkei in Deutschland“. Er beginnt mit der Behauptung, dass die Schaffenskraft der bourgeois Literatur abnimmt und damit der Weg für Hikmet frei sei. Die Eröffnung fand am 11.10. statt in den Räumen des Kunstbüros (? Sanat Dairesi) von Berlin-Kreuzberg. Im Laufe der Veranstaltungen wurden H.'s Gedichte auf Türkisch und Deutsch rezitiert, sowie vertonte Gedichte gesungen. Auch die vertonte Version des Epos von Şeyh Bedreddin wurde aufgeführt. Danach gibt es einen Artikel über Mehmet Semih, der in Bulgarien den Goldenen Igel für die beste Satire gewann. Es folgen Reden von Aziz Nesin und Yaşar Kemal, die auf der internationalen Schriftstellertagung vom 7.–10. Juni in Sofia stattfand. Sodann finden wir einen Bericht über das „Internationale Fest der Dichtung“, das am 14. Juni begann und wie gewöhnlich in Rotterdam stattfand. Es wird hervorgehoben, dass besondere Aufmerksamkeit Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca geschenkt wurde, der einer von 24 Dichtern aus 20 Ländern war, die aus allen Kontinenten kamen. Es folgt ein Interview mit Dağlarca. Vom 7.–8. Juli fand im damals

jugoslawischen Ohri eine Veranstaltung statt mit dem Thema „Satirische Türküs in der türkischen Volksliteratur“. Zunächst werden Aufbau und Themen von Türküs im Allgemeinen beschrieben, sodann werden Beispiele von satirischen Türküs gegeben und kurz analysiert. Anschliessend wird in einem Artikel von Diana Canetti der in Berlin lebende Aras Ören vorgestellt. Die Autorin sagt, dass Ören mit seinem Werk den in der Fremde lebenden Türken ein Denkmal gesetzt habe, wie es besonders deutlich aus der Trilogie hervorgeht, deren erster Band „Was will Niyazi in der Nauny-Strasse“ heisst und sehr bekannt wurde. Tatsächlich lebten zu der Zeit im Bereich der Naunystrasse über 84 000 Türken. Es folgen verschiedene kurze Nachrichten aus verschiedenen Ländern, von denen viele türkische Schriftsteller betreffen, deren Werke in verschiedene Sprachen übersetzt wurden. So werden genannt: (Hier nur einige Beispiele) Haldun Taner mit Übersetzungen ins Tschechische, Norwegische und Ungarische, Çetin Altan mit Übersetzungen ins Schwedische, Aziz Nesin in zahlreiche Sprachen, Yaşar Kemal ebenso, Mahmut Makals „Bizim Köy“ wurde ins Japanische übersetzt.

S. 433–442: Schriftsteller, die 1977 als Gäste in die Türkei kamen. Drei Schriftsteller werden genannt, über die geschrieben wird und die interviewt werden: Ephraim Kishon, Peter Neznakomov und N. T. Federenko.

S. 443–533: Geburtstage unserer Schriftsteller. Zunächst werden die runden Geburtstage von 33 Schriftstellern aufgeführt, von denen wir hier wieder nur einige Beispiele nennen wollen: 80 Jahre: Vedat Nedim Tör (meist Theaterstücke), 70 Jahre: Cevdet Kudret, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, 60 Jahre: Hikmet Dizdaroglu, Fahri Erdinç, Cahit Külebi, Cemil Meriç; 50 Jahre: Çetin Altan, Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı, Asım Bezirci, Fethi Naci, Hasan Hüseyin, Şükran Kurdakul, Mustafa Şerif Onaran, Nijad Özön, Turgut Uyar. Allen genannten Autoren sind Biographien gewidmet, von jedem gibt es ein Porträtfoto, in manchen Fällen auch Interviews mit den Geehrten.

S. 534–637: Nachrufe und Gedenkfeierlichkeiten für unsere Schriftsteller. Das Kapitel wird von einer Liste von Jahrestagen des Geburtstags bzw. Todestages zahlreicher Schriftsteller eingeleitet, deren gedacht wurde. Wir geben eine Auswahl: 2. Todestag von Arif

Nihat Asya, 40. Todestag von Mehmet Akif Ersoy, 20. Todestag von Ziya Osman Saba (hauptsächlich Dichter), 70. Geburtstag von Sabahattin Ali, 40. Todestag von Abdülhak Hamid, 265. Todestag von Nabi (!), 25. Todestag von M. Şevket Esençal, 20. Todestag von Nurullah Ataç, 5. Todestag von Suat Derviş (im Ausland zu Unrecht vergessene Schriftstellerin), 20. Todestag von Hüseyin Şahit Yalçın, 27. Todestag von Orhan Veli. Allen erwähnten Schriftstellern und Dichtern werden Artikel als Nachdrucke aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften gewidmet. Bei Sabahattin Ali wird insbesondere seine Rolle bei der Erneuerung der türkischen Literatur gewürdigt, sowie die Aufmerksamkeit, die er dem Dorfleben schenkte. Bei dem nicht besonders runden Todestag des osmanischen Dichters Nabi wird sein Vorbild hervorgehoben, indem er auch spätere Generationen mit seiner Dichtkunst beeinflusste. Es wird erwähnt, dass es ein geflügeltes Wort über Menschen mit gebildeter Ausdrucksweise besagte, er spreche wie Nabi.

S. 638–680: Türkische Literaten, die 1977 verstarben. Es handelt sich um Mustafa Niyazi Ispartlı, Güner Sümer, Naşit Hakkı Uluğ, Semih Tuğrul, Süreyya Yusuf, Esat Mahmut Karakurt, Ahmet Angın (Übersetzer, besonders von Werken des Griechen Kazantsakis, und Journalist), Kerim Sadi, Fikret Ürgüp, Seha Maray. Auch all ihnen sind Artikel gewidmet.

S. 681–688: Im Jahre 1977 veröffentlichte türkische Literatur. Es sind 140 Titel aufgeführt, zu viele, um auch nur die wichtigsten Beispiele zu nennen; genannt seien nur: Oktay Akbal: İlkyaz devrimi; Fakir Baykurt: Kara Ahmet Destanı; Edip Cansever: Sevda ile Sevgi; Ferit Edgü: O; Leyla Erbil: Eski Sevgili; Pınar Kür: Küçük oyuncu, u.v.a.m.

S. 689–693: Ins Türkische übersetzte Werke, die 1977 erschienen. Unter diesen Werken sind drei von Maxim Gorki, ebenso drei von Ephraim Kishon; zwei von Anna Seghers. Besonders ist mir ein Kriminalroman von Maj Sjöwall und Per Wahlöö aufgefallen, womit die Vielseitigkeit der Übersetzertätigkeit belegt sein sollte. Schön ist, dass jeweils auch der Übersetzer genannt wird.

Das Buch wird von einigen Kritiken zum Band von 1977 abgeschlossen.

Band 4 (1979), 974 Seiten

In der Einleitung zu diesem Band schreibt Aziz Nesin, dass er stolz sei, trotz der Verluste, die die vorher erschienenen Bände verursacht haben, ein neues Jahrbuch der türkischen Literatur vorlegen zu können. Er nennt die Verluste auch im einzelnen. Er zitiert den Dichter Ataol Behramoğlu, der meint, dass es eigentlich Aufgabe des Kulturministeriums sei, solche Bände herauszubringen. Tatsächlich geht das Geld ja der Stiftung verloren (Leider sind keine Angaben zu den Auflagen der Bände zu finden).

S. 13–35: Literaturkalender des Jahres 1978. Es fällt auf, dass in diesem Kapitel hauptsächlich Nachrichten mitgeteilt werden, die persönliche Schicksale von Schriftstellern betreffen, wie an einigen Beispielen gezeigt werden soll. Literarische Ereignisse finden meist in späteren Kapiteln Platz. Die ersten Eintragungen sind noch Nachrichten aus dem Dezember 1977, so z.B. dass Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca für seinen Gedichtband „Horoz“ einen Literaturpreis der Sedat Simavi-Stiftung bekam, Peride Celal einen Preis für ihren Roman „24 saat“. Am 13. Dezember verstarb Oğuz Atay nach längerer Krankheit im Alter von 43 Jahren. Der erste Eintrag für 1978 gilt einer Jugendbuchausstellung in München Anfang Januar, die in Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Dozenten Meral Alpay der Universität Istanbul und dem Leiter des Türkisch-Deutschen Kulturzentrums Robert Anhegger zu Stande kam. Dem am 17. März an Herzversagen verstorbenen Dichter Ceyhun Atuf Kansu wird ein kurzer Nachruf gewidmet. Am 3. April wurden in Istanbul am Gedenktag für Sabahattin Ali einige seiner Erzählungen als Theaterstücke aufgeführt. Am 22. April erhielt Aziz Nesin den Madaralı Roman-Preis für seinen Roman „Yaşar ne yaşar ne yaşamaz“. Zum 5. Todestag von Kemal Tahir wird am 22. April eine Gedächtnisfeier abgehalten. Am 5. Juni wird der Leichnam des Schriftstellers und Journalisten Adnan Tahir am Strand von Erdek aufgefunden. Es wird ihm eine kurze Biographie gewidmet. Es wird ein längeres Zitat der Rede gedruckt, die der 2. Präsident der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft am 5. Juli hielt, in

der er sich lebhaft gegen den Paragraphen 142 aussprach. Am 11. Juli wird der Schriftsteller und Übersetzer Bedrettin Cömert in seinem Auto auf dem Weg zur Arbeit erschossen. Es folgt eine Darstellung des Verbrechens. Am 16. August verstarb der Besitzer des Verlagshauses Remzi, Remzi Beng. Am 20 August begann die 2. Buchmesse der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft, an der 28 Verlage und 102 Schriftsteller und Dichter teilnahmen.

S. 36–40: Reden und Versammlungen im Jahre 1978. Noch im Dezember 1977 gab es ein Symposium zur Übersetzungsliteratur, das im österreichischen Generalkonsulat in Istanbul abgehalten wurde. Am 6. Februar 78 fand eine öffentliche Versammlung der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft zum Thema „Rechte des Schriftstellers“ statt, an dem Wissenschaftler und Literaten teilnahmen. Am 2. Mai diskutierten in Ankara Teilnehmer eines Symposiums „Probleme der zeitgenössischen Kultur“. Dies war eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung des Deutschen Kultur Instituts und der Tageszeitung Milliyet. In der Zentrale des Vereins der Schriftsteller in Ankara wurde am 7. Oktober eine Veranstaltung zum 20. Todestag Yahya Kemals abgehalten. Am 20. Oktober hielt M. Rauf İnan einen Vortrag mit dem Titel „Die Zeit Atatürks und die Schriftreform“ auf einer von der TDK veranstalteten Tagung. Es folgt ein Bericht über Reden und Versammlungen, die die Literatur zum Gegenstand hatten und die von der „Vereinigung der Kunstliebhaber in Ankara“ ausgerichtet wurden. Darauf folgt ein ähnlicher Bericht über Reden und Versammlungen zur Literatur, veranstaltet von der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft. In beiden Auflistungen finden sich zahlreiche bekannte Namen.

S. 41–47: Signier-Veranstaltungen 1978. Zahlreiche Schriftsteller haben in diesem Jahr auf speziellen Veranstaltungen Bücher signiert. Es sind zu viele, um auch nur Beispiele zu nennen. Es reicht, zu sagen, dass sich fast alle bekannten Namen darunter finden. Das Signieren fand auf verschiedenen Veranstaltungen statt: 1. auf der Buchmesse in Ankara vom 15.-30. Januar, 2. Auf einer Veranstaltung der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft in der Kunsthalle am Taksim in Istanbul vom 10.-24. Juni, auf der Buchmesse von Izmir vom 20. August bis 20. September und vielen kleineren Veranstaltungen.

S. 48–67: Gedichte 1978. Mehmet H. Doğan gibt einen Überblick über die Dichtung in dem Jahre und kritisiert die schlechte Qualität der meisten Gedichte. Im Anschluss listet er verschiedene Artikel aus Zeitschriften auf, die sich mit Dichtung beschäftigen, teilweise auch Dichtung drucken; dazu gehören: Cumhuriyet, Sanat Dergisi, Varlık, Sanat Emeği. Die jeden zweiten Monat erscheinende Zeitschrift „Sanat ve Toplum“ widmet einen Teil ihres Juli-Heftes dem von Faschisten ermordeten Dichter Bedrettin Cömert. Varlık Dergisi bringt eine Sondernummer zum 50. Jahr der Gründung der Dichtergruppe „Yedi Meşale“ heraus, deren Gedichte vom Surrealismus beeinflusst waren und 1928 zum Teil in einem Sammelband erschienen. In einem weiteren Unterkapitel werden drei Preise für Dichtung aufgeführt: 1. Den Yeditepe-Dichtungspreis erhielt Hilmi Yavuz für seinen Gedichtband „Doğu Şiirleri“, 2. den erstmalig verliehenen Lions Literaturpreis gewann Mehmet Kemal für den Band „Söz gibi“, 3. der diesjährige Preis für Dichtung der TDK wurde nicht vergeben. Danach wird die Feier zum 60. Geburtstag A. Kadirs erwähnt, sowie das Werk des am 17. März des Jahres verstorbenen Ceyhun Atuf Kansu gewürdigt. Abschliessend werden mehrere Gedichte, vor allem jüngerer Dichter, abgedruckt, so von: Fethi Naci (Şey gibi), Gülten Akın (Sevi dizeleri), Metin Altıok (Ne zaman geldim sana) usw.

S. 68–78: Erzählungen und Romane 1978. Attila Özkırımlı begründet die geringe Anzahl erschienener Bücher dieses Jahres mit der Inflation und dem Mangel an Papier in der Türkei. Er erwähnt und kommentiert u.a. diese Werke: Attila İlhan: „Yaraya tuz basmak“, Aysel Özakin: „Alnında mavi kuşlar“ (ihr zweiter Roman), Çetin Altan: „Küçük bahçe, Aziz Nesin“ „Tek Yol“ (die Geschichte eines Fälschers, den er während eines Gefängnisaufenthaltes kennenlernte); Erzählungen: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Sessizliğin ilk sesi“ (von Özkırımlı als der beste Erzählband des Jahres bezeichnet), Fakir Baykurt: „Kalekale“, Aziz Nesin: „Büyükрев“, Yaşar Kemal: „Kuşlar da gitti“ (könnte auch als Kurzroman bezeichnet werden), Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı: „Haçça büyüdü Hatiş oldu“, Tezer Özlü Kral: „Eski bahçe“.

S. 79–104: Volksliteratur und Kulturveranstaltungen 1978. Zunächst widmet İrfan Ünver Nasrattinoğlu einige Zeilen dem am 24. Februar 1978 verstorbenen Cahit Özelli, der dieses Kapitel in den

vorhergehenden Bänden verfasst hatte. Die Anzahl von Veranstaltungen zur Volksliteratur ist erstaunlich gross, sodass wir nur einige Beispiele herausgreifen, vor allem einige, die das internationale Interesse erkennen lassen, wie z.B. das Konzert von Türküs am 10. Januar in Grenoble, der Auftritt Zülfî Livanelis in Stockholm am 23. Januar. Vom 6.–9. Februar fand an der Universität Istanbul ein „Nationaler Turkologiekongress“ statt, dessen Beiträge zum Teil die Volksliteratur betrafen: Nevzat Gözaydins Beitrag über türkische Personen- und Ortsnamen im Schahname, Muhan Balis Vortrag „Roman und Volksliteratur“, Fikret Türkmens Vortrag über Dede Korkut und Köroğlu. Die italienische Turkologin Anna Masala hielt am 24. Februar im Italienischen Kulturzentrum in Istanbul einen Vortrag „Türkische Geschichte und Literatur“. Ruhi Su begann eine Konzertreihe am 26. März. Vom 6.–10. Mai fand in Eskişehir eine Gedenkveranstaltung für Yunus Emre statt. Am 16. und 17. Oktober gab es im Türkisch-Amerikanischen Verein in Ankara ein Seminar zu Folklore und Volksliteratur. Vom 14.–19. Dezember wurde eine Gedenkfeier für Mevlana veranstaltet (II. Mevlana Semineri). Es folgt eine fast dreiseitige Auflistung von Neuerscheinungen über Volksliteratur.

S. 105–261: Preise und Wettbewerbe 1978. Dieses lange Kapitel besteht aus drei Teilen: 1. Einer allgemeinen Bewertung von Literaturpreisen im Allgemeinen und einigen insbesondere; 2. Protokolle der Beschlüsse, die zu den Preisen führten. Hierbei ist das Wort „Protokoll“ (tutanak) meist nicht wörtlich zu nehmen, da es sich in den meisten Fällen wieder um Stellungnahmen handelt. Die meisten Preise, die in diesem Jahr vergeben wurden, werden diskutiert, wobei auch die Zusammensetzung der Kommission genannt wird. Den Yeditepe Dichtungspreis bekam Hilmi Yavuz, der aus zehn der Kommission vorgeschlagenen Büchern ausgesucht wurde. Der Sait Faik Erzählungspreis wurde zwischen „Gözleri bağlı adam“ von Adnan Özyalçier und „Annaların hakkı“ von Selçuk Baran geteilt. Den Peyami Safa Romanpreis gewann Tahir Kutsi Makal für den Roman „Kamyon“. Vasif Öngören wurde für sein Theaterstück „Zengin mutfağı“ von der Vereinigung der Kunstliebhaber Ankara (Ankara'da Sanat Severler Derneği) als bester Dramatiker ausgezeichnet. Von der TDK wurden Preise in vier Literaturgattungen vergeben: Dichtung, Roman, Erzählungen, Theater, darüber hinaus für

Übersetzungen, Essays, Reiseberichte, Märchen und Jugendliteratur, Kritik. Der Grossteil des Kapitels besteht aus Reaktionen auf die Verleihung der genannten Preise. Diese bestehen zumeist aus Interviews, die aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften abgedruckt sind und in denen die Preisträger meist biographische Fragen beantworten, aber auch, im Falle von Aziz Nesin, Meinungen zum Sinn von Auszeichnungen im Allgemeinen. Er sieht diese Preise als Ansporn für den Nachwuchs an. Selçuk Baran erinnert daran, dass Sait Faik dem „kleinen Mann auf der Strasse“ zu dessen notwendiger Beachtung verholfen hat. Mit Sait Faik beschäftigen sich mehrere Beiträge, darunter auch ein Interview mit Adnan Özyalçiner, der den Sait Faik-Preis gewann. Diese Beiträge sind oft politisch, so wenn hier die Frage gestellt wird, ob Sait Faik ein Sozialkritiker sei oder nicht, eine Frage, die zu der Zeit diskutiert wurde. Der Autor verneint dies und bezeichnet Sait Faik als einen Realisten, der sich mit verschiedenen Gegenwartsproblemen auseinandergesetzt habe. Es gibt weitere Interviews z.B. mit Hilmi Yavuz, Mustafa Yeşilova (veröffentlichte nur zwei Romane), Fakir Baykurt, Muzaffer İzgü, Necati Tosuner, der den Romanpreis der TDK gewonnen hatte usw. Es folgt ein weiteres Kapitel ebenso mit dem Titel Preise und Wettbewerbe 1978, in denen hauptsächlich theoretische Ausführungen zu Literaturpreisen allgemein und zu einigen speziellen zu finden sind; darunter sind Beiträge von Haldun Taner, Demir Özlü, Demirtaş Ceyhun usw. Es findet sich auch die Satzung zur Vergabe der Preise der Sedat Semavi Stiftung.

S. 262–270: Ein Blick in die Zeitschriften 1978. Untertitel: Das Zeitschriftenwesen und die Zeitschriften, Autor ist Alpay Kabaklı. In einer kurzen Einleitung begründet der Autor den Rückgang der Zeitschriften mit der Papierknappheit des Jahres zuvor und den damit gestiegenen Papierpreisen. Er zählt dann 16 Zeitschriften auf, geordnet nach den Erscheinungsterminen. Danach geht er inhaltlich auf die Zeitschriften ein und nennt ihre Schwerpunkte.

S. 271–289: Übersetzungsprobleme 1978. Das erste Unterkapitel von Konur Ertop „Unsere Übersetzungsliteratur und unsere Kultur“ ist ein zweiseitiger Abriss der Geschichte der Übersetzung ins Türkische. Er beginnt mit den in Ostturkestan gefundenen buddhistischen und manichäischen Texten, erwähnt arabische und persische Texte, die in

osmanischer Zeit übersetzt wurden und reicht bis zur Gründung des Übersetzungsbüros Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts und den europäischen Klassikern, die übersetzt wurden. Der Autor sagt ausdrücklich, dass Übersetzungen eine Bereicherung der eigenen Kultur seien. Darauf folgt ein Bericht über ein Symposium über „Übersetzungsliteratur und ihre Probleme“, das vom 6.-8. Dezember vom Österreichischen Kulturinstitut veranstaltet wurde Artikel aus der Cumhuriyet vom 10. Dezember. Es folgen mehrere Artikel über Übersetzung und Übersetzungswissenschaft und Übersetzer aus verschiedenen Zeitschriften.

S. 290–329: Diskussionen im Jahre 1978. Der gesamte Beitrag dreht sich um den Ausschluss aus der „Nazım Hikmet Vereinigung“ von Zekeriya Sertel durch die Türkische Schriftstellergewerkschaft. Sertel wurde vorgeworfen in einem Fortsetzungsartikel Hikmet politisch zu weit rechts dargestellt zu haben. Aziz Nesin reagierte darauf, aus Protest gegen die Einschränkung der schriftstellerischen Freiheit, mit seinem Rücktritt vom Posten des Vorsitzenden der Gewerkschaft, machte seine Entscheidung bald darauf auf Drängen der meisten Mitglieder wieder rückgängig, um nicht den Zerfall der Gewerkschaft zu gefährden. Die Stellungnahmen zu diesem Vorfall sind zahlreich.

S. 330–337: Kritik und Essay im Jahre 1978. Unter dem Untertitel „Essay und Kritik in den Zeitschriften“ werden einige kommentierte Beispiele angeführt.

S. 338–385: Jugendliteratur 1978. Am Beginn des Artikels weist der Verfasser, Erdal Öz, darauf hin, das nächstes Jahr, also 1979, von der UNESCO als das Jahr des Kindes ausgerufen worden sei, und dass die Türkei viele Vorbereitungen dafür getroffen habe. Leider zeige sich das nicht in der Anzahl der erschienenen Kinderbücher, Kinder brauchen nicht nur Schulbücher, sondern Literatur, die ihre Phantasie anregten und die Vorstellungswelt des Kindes bereicherten. Die materielle Qualität der Bücher habe abgenommen, die Illustrationen seien schlecht gedruckt, die Preise der Bücher aber gestiegen, was auf den Mangel an Material zurückzuführen sei. Erstaunlicherweise seien mehr Kinderbücher als vorher verkauft worden, was der Autor als Herausgeber der Kinderbuchreihe „Arkadaş kitaplar“ sicher gut beurteilen kann. Bilgi und May Verlage hatten angefangen

Kinderbücher zu veröffentlichen. Öz erwähnt dann, dass in der von ihm herausgegebenen Reihe zwanzig neue Bücher erschienen seien, von denen zwölf von türkischen Autoren stammten, die er aufzählt. Darunter sind bekannte Autoren zu finden wie z.B. İşıl Özgentürk, İlhan Başgöz, Dağlarca, Talip Apaydın usw. Dann werden Kinderzeitschriften erwähnt, danach Illustratoren vorgestellt. Es folgt ein Abdruck eines Artikels aus *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi* „Ist die Jugendliteratur eine besondere Gattung und warum es so schwer ist, für Kinder zu schreiben“ von Aziz Nesin. Es folgt ein langer Artikel von Erdal Öz über den Wert der Jugendliteratur für die demokratische Erziehung, und danach mehrere Äusserungen verschiedener Autoren zu dieser Literatur, so von Fakir Baykurt, Yaşar Kemal und Tarık Dursun.

S. 386–451: Turkologische Arbeit in der Sowjetunion. Es gibt sechs Unterkapitel: 1. Turkologie in den vergangenen 60 Jahren in der Sowjetunion (allgemeiner Überblicksartikel), 2. Die Erforschung der türkischen Kultur in der UdSSR, 3. Probleme des Mittelalters in der Turkologie der UdSSR, 4. Probleme der modernen türkischen Literatur in der Forschung sowjetischer Literaturhistoriker, 5. die Lehre der modernen türkischen Literatur in der UdSSR, 6. die Entwicklung der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft in der UdSSR.

S. 452–473: Literarische Gäste, die 1978 die Türkei besuchten. Es fällt auf, dass der Besuch von Schriftstellern aus sozialistischen Ländern besonders häufig ist, insbesondere aus Bulgarien und verschiedenen Republiken der UdSSR. Aber auch Ephraim Kishon, der als Satiriker sich besonderer Sympathie erfreute, zumal die Satire durch Aziz Nesin grosses Ansehen genoss, besuchte Istanbul. Darüber hinaus wird ein griechischer Gast genannt: Yanis Manikas, ebenso mehrere arabische Schriftsteller und als die bekannteste Vertreterin der Roman-Gattung die britische Margaret Drabble.

S. 474–533: Türkische Schriftsteller und Literatur im Ausland . In diesem Jahr war die türkische Literatur im Ausland sehr aktiv. Diese Aktivitäten erstrecken sich von Besuchen türkischer Schriftsteller einzeln oder auf Kongressen, Teilnahme von Verlagen an Messen (auch Frankfurt), Lesungen, Übersetzungen türkischer Literatur usw. Wir können hier nur eine bruchstückhafte Auswahl geben. Erzählungen

von Nazlı Eray erscheinen in der amerikanischen Literaturzeitschrift „St. Andrews Review“. Nedim Gürsel, der seit diesem Jahr sieben Jahre an der Sorbonne türkische Literatur unterrichtet und der Literaturwissenschaftler Prof. René Etiemble geben gemeinsam im französischen Fernsehen ein Interview zur türkischen Literatur. Werke von Aziz Nesin und Çetin Öner sind ins Deutsche übersetzt worden (s. auch weiter unten). Necati Cumalı und der griechische Schriftsteller Samarkis treffen sich in Athen und beschwören die türkisch-griechische Freundschaft. Erzählungen Nazlı Erays werden ins Japanische übersetzt, ein Theaterstück von Necati Cumalı ins Persische. Azra Erhat spricht im französischen Radio. Es wird auch eine Nachricht erwähnt, die nicht mit dem Ausland zu tun hat: Bülent Ecevits Gedichte erscheinen in der in Istanbul erscheinenden armenischen Zeitschrift auf Armenisch. Der seit ca. 30 Jahren an der Universität „Türkische Volksliteratur“ lehrende Pertev Naili Boratav erhält eine Festschrift. Im Bericht über die Teilnahme an der Frankfurter Buchmesse werden besonders die Werke hervorgehoben, die in Stuttgart neu gegründeten Ararat Velag erschienen: Vasif Öngören „Der Kern des Märchens“ (Masalın aslı), Orhan Kemals „Murtaza“, Adalet Ağaoğlus „Die zarte Rose meiner Sehnsucht“. Weitere Bücher anderer Verlage werden genannt.

S. 534–589: Ereignisse, die Literatur und Schriftsteller 1978 betrafen. Den Anfang macht ein Beitrag aus „Sanat dergisi“ zum „Kunstereignis“ (aus der Sanat Dergisi, 20. Februar), einer Veranstaltung unter Führung des Staatspräsidenten Korutürk zum 50. Bestehen der Republik. Alle geladenen Gäste werden aufgelistet und unter ihren Rubriken genannt, wovon eige sind: Dirigenten, Solisten, Orkester (nach Musikgenre eingeteilt), Kunstmaler, Karikaturisten, Fotografen, Schriftsteller (ebenfalls nach Genre eingeteilt), usw. Es gibt zwei Berichte über die Gründung der „Stiftung der Türkischen Literatur“ durch den Journalisten und Literaturhistoriker Ahmet Kabaklı. Am 9. Juni begannen Festlichkeiten zum fünften Jahrestag der Gründung der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft. Vom 8.–11. Juli fand der sechszehnte Sprachkongress in Ankara statt. Am 6. und 7. Februar (warum der Bruch in der Chronologie?) veranstaltete die Türkische Schriftstellergewerkschaft ein Symposium zu den „Rechten der Schriftsteller“, auf dem auch Copyright und so praktische Fragen wie die Knappheit des Papiers angesprochen wurden. Vom 16.–20.

August gab es zum 15. Male Gedenkfeierlichkeiten für Hacı Bektaş. An der zweiten Buchausstellung der T.S.G. Vom 18.–24. August in Izmir nahmen 28 Verlage teil. Am 21. Oktober wurde eine Spendenaktion für ein Denkmal zu Ehren von Halikarnas Balıkçısı eingeleitet.

S. 590–722: Gedenkschriften, Feiern und Versammlungen zu Ehren unserer Literaten. Zunächst werden in einer Liste die Personen aufgeführt, deren Geburtstag oder deren Todestag gedacht wird. Dann schliessen sich wieder Artikel über diese Literaten, Kurzbiographien oder Interviews an. Jeder Künstler ist in einem Porträtfoto abgelichtet. Unter den geehrten Personen sind folgende: 5. Todestag von Sabahattin Eyupoğlu (Essayist, Herausgeber und insbesondere Übersetzer); 50 Jahre „Yedi Meşale“; 58. Todestag von Ömer Seyfettin; 155. Geburtstag von Ahmet Vefik Paşa (osmanischer Polyhistor und Übersetzer vieler Werke aus dem Französischen); 30. Todestag von Sabahattin Ali; 5. Todestag von Kemal Tahir (ihm sind hier auch zwei theoretische Abhandlungen über den Roman gewidmet); 80. Geburtstag von Ali Nihat Tarlan (gest. 1978); 24. Todestag von Sait Faik; 45. Todestag von Ahmet Haşim; 15. Todestag von Nazım Hikmet; 13. Todestag von Refik Halid Karay; 63. Todestag von Tevfik Fikret; 5. Todestag von Halikarnas Balıkçısı; 70. Geburtstag von Pertev N. Boratav; 20. Todestag von Yahya Kemal; 50. Geburtstag von Necati Zekeriya (hauptsächlich Dichter, Kinderbuchautor, Herausgeber).

S. 723–875: Schriftsteller, die 1978 einen runden Geburtstag hatten. Einige der Namen auf der Liste: 70 Jahre: Orhan Saik Gökyay (Dichter und Literaturhistoriker); Yaşar Nabi Nayır (Dichter als Mitglied von Yedi Meşale, Romancier, Dramatiker usw.); Sıtkı Yıldızlı (Dichter); Nahit Ulvi Akgün (Dichter); Faik Baysal; Tarık Buğra; Hikmet Dizdarölu; 50 Jahre: Edip Cansever; Muzaffer Buyrukçu; Selahattin Hilav (Literaturhistoriker, Übersetzer); Ali Yüce. Auch in diesem Kapitel wird jedem der erwähnten eine Kurzbiographie gewidmet, die meist aus Zeitungen oder Zeitschriften stammen; im Falle von Dichtern werden auch Gedichte, teils mehrere, teils nur einige Verse abgedruckt. Der Umfang der Beiträge schwankt nach Popularität und Produktivität des Geehrten.

S. 876–965: 1978 verstorbenen Literaten. Es werden zwölf Namen genannt. Etwa die Hälfte der Autoren sind mit nur ein oder zwei bescheidenen Büchern hervorgetreten. Die namhafteren Literaten sind: Oğuz Atay, dem mehrere, auch längere Beiträge gewidmet sind; Cahit Özelli. Auch ihm als hervorragenden Kenner der Volksliteratur sind mehrere Beiträge gewidmet, darunter von Hikmet Dizdaroglu und Fakir Baykurt. Ceyhun Atuf Kansu; Agah Sirri Levent (mit mehreren Nachrufen); Ali Nihat Tarlan.

S. 966–970: 1978 veröffentlichte türkische Bücher. Trotz Papiermangel erschienen in diesem Jahr mehrere Bücher von bleibender Bedeutung, wie z.B. A. Ağaoglus „Sessizliğin ilk sesi“; Çetin Altans „Küçük bahçe“; Fakir Baykurt: „Kalekale“; Yılmay Güney (mehrere Drehbücher); Aziz Nesin: Büyük grev, Tek yol; Necati Tosuner: Sancı...sancı, Sisli usw.

S. 971–974: Aus anderen Sprachen übersetzte und 1978 erschienene Literatur. Der Krimifreund wird sich darüber freuen, dass in jenem Jahr vier Bücher des schwedischen Autorenpaares Maj Sjöwal und Per Wahlöö erschienen sind, in der Übersetzung von Aydin Arıt.

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S. 13–27: Literaturkalender 1979. Viele der in dieser Liste genannten Ereignisse – insbesondere Geburtstage und Todestage – finden sich an späterer Stelle in besonderen Kapiteln wieder. Hier sollen nur einige Beispiele anderer Art genannt werden: Am 2. Januar wählte die älteste Vereinigung amerikanischer Dichter „The American Poetry Society“ Talat Halman zum Ehrenmitglied. Am 23. Januar führte das Österreichische Generalkonsulat in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Deutschen Kulturinstitut ein Symposium zur Übersetzungswissenschaft durch. Am 15 März veranstaltete das Deutsche Kulturinstitut in Ankara in Zusammenarbeit mit „Türkiye Yazarları Dergisi“ (Zeitschrift Türkischer Schriftsteller) ein Symposium mit dem Titel „Tendenzen des Humanismus in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur“. Am 26. März wurde in Istanbul die „Erste Internationale Istanbuler Kinderbuchmesse“ eröffnet (die Dauer wird nicht genannt). In dessen Rahmen gab es ein Symposium über

„Kinder und Bücher“, an dem zehn Pädagogen und Schriftsteller teilnahmen. Zum 31. Todestag von Sabahattin Ali wurde seiner mit einem Fernsehprogramm gedacht. Am 10. April wurde vom Kultur-Direktorat in Sivas beschlossen, das Geburtshaus des Volksdichters Aşık Veysel zu einem Museum und damit der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. Am 20. April brach der Generalsekretär der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft zu einer Reise in die Sowjetunion auf, um mit Schriftstellern, Volksdichtern und Philologen Gespräche zu führen. Am 16. August wurde zum 115. Geburtstag von Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar an dessen Grab auf der Prinzeninsel Heybeliada eine Gedächtnisfeier veranstaltet. Am 27. September wurde von der Türkischen Sprachgesellschaft beschlossen, den „Feiertag der Sprache“ jedes Jahr am 26. September zu feiern, dem Tag, an dem Atatürk 1932 zum ersten mal die Türkische Sprachversammlung im Dolmabahçe-Palast stattfinden liess.

S. 28–32: Reden, Ansprachen und Sitzungen 1979. Am 19. März begann eine dreitägige Konferenz mit dem Thema „Schreiben und Kommunikation“ am Deutsch-Türkischen Kulturinstitut. Einer der Teilnehmer war Christian Enzensberger. Vom 7.–23. April führte die Türkische Sprachgesellschaft ihre Serie „Gespräche am Wochenende“ durch. Die meisten Sprecher sprachen zu dem Thema „Mensch, Natur und Anatolien im Werk von Ceyhun Atuf Kansu“. Weitere Themen waren: „Die Anwendung der juristischen Sprache“ und „Kinderliteratur und Kinderbücher“. In der Vereinigung der Kunstliebhaber Ankaras gab es auch mehrere Vorträge mit literarischem Thema, so stand z.B. am 6. April wieder der Papiermangel auf der Tagesordnung: Anil Çeçen: „Das Druckwesen und das Papierproblem“.

S. 33–37: Schriftsteller signieren ihre Bücher für ihre Leser. Unter Angabe von Datum und Ort sind fast alle Schriftsteller vertreten, die einen gewissen Namen haben.

S. 38–65: Dichtung im Jahre 1979. Dieser Beitrag von Mehmet H. Doğan ist erstaunlich unsystematisch, sodass wir uns auf die Überschriften der Unterkapitel konzentrieren wollen, um das Interesse auf den Aufbau zu lenken. Der Autor bedauert die Durchschnittlichkeit der neuen türkischen Dichtung. Er bringt seine

Meinung zum Ausdruck mit dem geflügelten Wort: "Bei uns kommen auf drei Personen fünf Dichter". Zwischen Oktober 1978 und Oktober 1979 seien etwa fünfzig Gedichtbände erschienen. Nach der Einleitung bringt er eine Liste von theoretischen Artikeln über türkische Dichtung mit anschliessenden Ausschnitten aus diesen Stellungnahmen. Es folgt eine Liste von 17 Gedichtbänden, darunter auch bedeutende Namen wie Özdemir Asaf, İlhan Berk, Ferit Edgü, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu und Ali Püsküllüoğlu. Während sich diese Liste auf den Zeitraum Oktober 1978 bis Oktober 1979 bezieht, folgt eine Liste weiterer Gedichtbände von 1979. Warum diese Trennung gemacht wird, wird nicht klar. In der zweiten Liste befinden sich Bände von u.a. Enis Batur, Ataol Behramoğlu, Cengiz Bektaş, Bedrettin Cömert (wie im Band zuvor berichtet im Juli 1978 ermordet), Ahmet Oktay, Vedat Türkali. Zu jedem Buch gibt es kurze Kommentare. Es folgt eine Liste von Preisen für Dichtung. Den Dichtungspreis 1979 von der TDK erhielt İlhan Berk für sein Werk „Kül“. Es folgen Todesanzeigen und Gedenktage. Vom 19.–21. Januar wurde Nazım Hikmet geehrt. U.a. wurden Abschnitte aus seinem grossen Epos „Memleketimden insan manzaraları“ vorgetragen. Das Kapitel schliesst mit drei Seiten über „Gedichte in Zeitschriften“ ab.

S. 66–94: Erzählung und Roman 1979. Im Vorwort zu diesem Kapitel schreibt Attila Özkırımlı, der auch in den vorhergehenden Bänden dieses Kapitel übernommen hatte, dass er diesmal nicht eine möglichst vollständige Übersicht geben, sondern sich auf die Bücher beschränken will, die er als literarisch besonders wertvoll ansieht. Als ersten Erzählungsband erwähnt er „Bir gemide“ von Ferit Edgü. In diesem Band werden Schicksale einzelner Menschen geschildert, deren individuelle Erlebnisse philosophische Erklärungen finden sollen, was Özkırımlı zufoge nicht immer gelingt. Als sozialkritisch wird dagegen Talip Apaydins „Yolun kıyısındaki adam“ bezeichnet. Necati Cumalıls „Yakubun koyunları“ und „Revisionist“ enthalten Erzählungen über einzelne Schicksale von Menschen in verschiedenen Ländern, wie Jugoslawien, Bulgarien, Russland, Iran, USA, Italien, Italien usw. ohne erkennbaren ideologischen Hintergrund. In Tomris Uyars fünftem Erzählungsband beschäftigt sie sich in der ihr eigenen Weise mit der Psychologie des Individuums, indem sie dessen Entwicklung durch das soziale Umfeld behandelt. Der Roman 1979 (Unterkapitel). Der erste genannte Roman stammt von Demir Özlü:

„Bir küçük burjuvanın gençlik yılları“. Es ist ein Entwicklungsroman, der die Entwicklung eines jungen Mannes aus der Mittelschicht unter dem Einfluss des Militäputsches am 12. Mai 1960 nachvollzieht. „Asılacak kadın“ von Pınar Kür ist der Roman eines Verbrechens, wie weitere Bücher der Autorin, ohne dass ihre Bücher als reine Kriminalromane angesehen werden können. Vielmehr handelt es sich um eine tragische Familiengeschichte. Selim İleri beschäftigt sich in seinem Roman „Ölüm ilişkileri“ wie Demir Özlü mit der Bourgeoisie, wobei er sich in der ihm eigenen pessimistischen Lebenshaltung mit verschiedenen Ideologien auseinandersetzt. Der Roman dieses Jahres, der die meiste Popularität gewinnen sollte, ist Adalet Ağaoğlus „Bir düğün gecesi“, zweiter Band einer Trilogie, in dem man auch Figuren des vorausgehenden Bandes „Ölmeye yatmak“ wieder begegnet. Auch der Aufbau ist ähnlich. Die eigentliche Handlung, die sich in einer Hochzeitsnacht abspielt, ist mit vielen Geschichten auf verschiedenen zeitlichen Ebenen verwoben. In diesem Roman geht es um die Folgen des Militäputsches vom 12. März 1971.

S. 95–113: Volksliteratur und Folklore-Veranstaltungen 1979. Der Verfasser dieses Artikels, İrfan Ünver Nasrattinoğlu, leitet den Beitrag mit dem Zitat eines Vortrages ein, den die italienische Turkologin Anna Masala zwei Jahre zuvor gehalten hatte. „Es gibt in der ganzen Welt keine Nation, die eine solch reiche Volksliteratur besitzt wie es die türkische Volksliteratur ist“ (S. 95). Der Autor fährt danach als Beispiel die Figur des Nasreddin Hoca an, die vom Balkan bis China bekannt sei. Erstens hören die Uiguren sicher gar nicht gern, dass sie als Beispiel für China angeführt werden, zweitens ist diese Feststellung für sich so keineswegs aufrecht zu halten. Der Beitrag geht auf diese Art weiter, und man ist sehr erstaunt, wie das in einem Band, für den der erklärte Sozialist und Internationalist Aziz Nesin dies durchgehen lassen konnte. An einzelnen Veranstaltungen nennen wir folgende Auswahl: 2. Internationaler Turkologie Kongress mit Beiträgen über u.a. Dede Korkut, Kaygusuz Abdal, Sarı Saltuktürkische Märchen usw.; 3. Internationaler Turkologie Kongress, ausgerichtet an der Fakultät für Literatur der Universität Istanbul. Vom 6.-10- Mai fanden Festlichkeiten und Konferenzen zu Ehren von Yunus Emre in Eskişehir statt. Vom 22-24 Juni fand eine ähnliche Veranstaltung zu Nasreddin Hoca statt. Vom 16.–19. gab es das Hacıbektaş Festival, am 30. März fand eine Gedenkveranstaltung

zum ersten Todestages des Volkskundlers Cahit Özelli, der bisher dieses Kapitel im Jahrbuch bearbeitet hatte, statt.

S. 114–231: Übersetzungsliteratur 1979. Erstes Symposium zur Übersetzungswissenschaft, ausgerichtet von der Deutschen Abteilung des Fremdspracheninstituts der Universität Istanbul, der Kulturabteilung des Österreichischen Generalkonsulats und dem Türkisch-Deutschen Kulturinstitut (undatiert). In diesem Kapitel finden sich die Reden, die gehalten wurden und Zeitungsberichte über die Tagung. Im Folgenden werden nur einige Beispiele genannt. Fast alle Beiträge befassen sich mit theoretischen Fragen des Übersetzens, manche bringen praktische Beispiele, wie z.B. Akşit Göktürks Vortrag über Probleme des literarischen Übersetzens mit dem schönen Gedicht von Ahmet Haşim „Merdiven“ und dessen vorbildhafter Übersetzung von Annemarie Schimmel. Talat Sait Halman spricht über das „Kreative Übersetzen“, Der Beitrag von Dieter Lattmann über „Das Schreiben als Mittel des gegenseitigen Verstehens“ wurde von der später berühmt gewordenen Tezer Kiral ins Türkische übertragen. Yüksel Pazarkayas Vortrag ist ein historischer Abriss des Übersetzens türkischer Literatur in das Deutsche, wobei er sich auf die wichtigsten und neuere Übersetzungen beschränkt. Es werden viele Bücher genannt, die einst dem Studenten den Einstieg in die türkische Literatur erleichtert haben, wie z.B. Wilfried Brands „Die Pforte des Glücks“ und dessen Übersetzungen von Yaşar Kemal, bis hin zu den Büchern des 1977 in Stuttgart gegründeten Ararat Verlages, der auch Vasif Öngör, Orhan Kemal, Fakir Baykurt und Adalet Ağaoğlu im Programm hatte.

S. 232–411: Widmungen, Preise und Wettbewerbe. Kemal Özer erwähnt in seinem Vorwort, dass ein neuer Literatur-Preis gegründet wurde, und zwar der „Ali Rıza Ertan Şiir Ödülü“ für junge Nachwuchsdichter. Es folgen wieder zahlreiche Beiträge, die sich mit der Bedeutung von Auszeichnungen im Literaturbetrieb beschäftigen. Vedat Günyol teilt den Standpunkt mit den meisten Autoren, dass ein Preis – abgesehen vom damit verbundenen materiellen Geschenk – immer eine Anerkennung für erfolgreiches Schaffen sei und damit motivierend wirke. Auch tröste jeder Preis darüber hinweg, dass man nicht den Nobel-Preis gewonnen habe. Ähnlich drückt es Ferit Edgü in der Überschrift seines Beitrages aus: „Ein Preis ist nicht das Ziel,

sondern ein Mittel“. Adnan Binyazar setzt sich mit dem Hintergrund und der Verteilung verschiedener Preise auseinander. Er zitiert auch die Satzung der Preise des Akademie Verlages, nach dessen erstem Paragraph der Preis jungen Schriftstellern vergeben werden sollen, die sich mit Problemen der Gesellschaft auseinandersetzen und dabei in einem eigenen, wegweisenden Stil schreiben. Zahlreiche spätere Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit bestimmten vergebenen Preisen, so mit dem Madaralı Roman Preis, der in diesem Jahr an Aysel Özakin ging, für Ihren Roman „Alnında mavi kuşlar“. Dazu gibt es auch ein Interview mit der Autorin. Selim İleri berichtet über den Roman Preis des Milliyet Verlages, der in diesem Jahr geteilt wurde. Der erste Preis ging an die Bücher „İssizliğin Ortasında“ von Mehmet Eroğlu und an Orhan Pamuks ersten Roman „Karanlık ve ışık“, der später unter dem Titel „Cevdet bey ve oğulları“ und nach Pamuks späteren Erfolgen, selbst berühmt wurde. Es folgen Interviews der beiden Autoren, sowie Artikel, die sich mit dem Teilen von Preisen beschäftigen. Weitere Beiträge über andere Preise setzen den Artikel fort, darunter eine Aufstellung der Gewinner der Preise der Türkischen Sprachgesellschaft, mit kurzen Kommentaren. Den Abschluss bilden längere Stellungnahmen zu den Preisen von verschiedenen Autoren.

S. 412–463: Jugendliteratur 1979. Autor ist wieder Erdal Öz. Nach einem kurzen Hinweis auf die Ausrufung des „Jahres des Kindes“ durch die UNO geht er auf zwei Seiten allgemein auf die Situation der Kinder und Jugendlichen in der Türkei ein. Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die Situation des Kinderbuchs in der Türkei, stellt er zwei neue Reihen von Kinderbüchern vor, die im Rahmen der von ihm herausgegebenen „Arkadaş Kitapları“ erscheinen. Anschliessend finden sich gemischte Nachrichten zur Kinderbuchliteratur, die von erteilten Preisen über Leseproben bis zu theoretischen Abhandlungen über dieses Genre reichen.

S. 464–568: „Versammlung der Schriftstellervereinigungen der Balkanländer“ in Istanbul. Thema: Gemeinsame Themen in den Literaturen der Balkanstaaten. Eingeleitet wird der lange Beitrag von Zeitungsmeldungen über diese Versammlung. Darauf folgen zunächst die Eröffnungsreden, danach thematisch geordnete Reden von Teilnehmern aus verschiedenen Ländern. Der Beitrag endet mit dem

Beschluss, dass eine solche Versammlung in Zukunft regelmässig in verschiedenen Ländern stattfinden solle.

S. 569–576: Zeitschriften. Nach dem Verfasser Arslan Kaynadağ (Dichter, Literaturhistoriker) kommen in der Türkei ca. 700 Zeitschriften heraus. In seinem Beitrag stellt er davon 38 geisteswissenschaftliche vor, von denen sich nur vier ganz oder vorwiegend der Literatur widmen: *Diriliş*, *Edebiyat*, *Edebiyat Cephesi* und *Eleştiri*. Auch die anderen genannten Zeitschriften behandeln neben anderen philologischen Themen literarische Fragen.

S. 577–599: Unsere Sprache 1979. Der Pädagoge und Linguist führt zunächst in aller Kürze in die Problematik des Gegenstandes ein, den „nicht endenden Streit (bitmeyen kavga), nämlich die Sprachreform, die seit etwa dem Ende des Osmanischen Reiches die gesellschaftliche Diskussion mehr beherrscht hat, als jede andere ideologische Auseinandersetzung. Da diese Diskussion zu seiner Zeit bereits Jahrzehnte alt ist, beschränkt er sich auf einige besonders prägnante Beispiele der Sprachpurifizierung. Er schildert auch die Behandlung dieser Frage auf dem „II. Turkologie Kongress“, der vom 5.–9. September 1979 in Istanbul stattfand. Es folgt eine Übersicht über neue Werke, die der Sprachreform gewidmet sind, darunter terminologische Wörterbücher.

S. 600–618: Literatur im türkischen Radio. Auf den Seiten dieses Beitrages werden Radiobeiträge besprochen, die sich nicht nur mit Literatur, sondern allgemein Kultur auseinandersetzen.

S. 619–646: Schriftsteller, die als Gäste 1979 die Türkei besuchten. Dieses kurze Kapitel enthält eine Aufzählung von Schriftstellern und Philologen, die in diesem Jahr die Türkei besuchten. So setzt sich Işıl Özgentürk anlässlich der griechischen Volkskundlerin Georgia Tatsuli für die Ausweitung der griechisch-türkischen Freundschaft ein.

S. 647–694: Ereignisse bezüglich Literatur und Literaten 1979. Das Kapitel wird mit mehreren Zeitungsberichten über die „Sonntäglichen Kunstabende“ in Izmir eingeleitet, die am 15. Oktober 78 begonnen hatten. Jeder Abend war einem speziellen Schriftsteller oder Dichter gewidmet, von denen Texte auf der Bühne vorgetragen wurden. In

diesem Rahmen wurde auch der Roman „Murtaza“ von Orhan Kemal aufgeführt. Zu den ersten Künstlern gehörten ausserdem Halikarnas Balıkçısı, Aziz Nesin, Orhan Veli usw. Es schliessen sich mehrere Berichte über die Errichtung eines Denkmals für Halikarnas Balıkçısı an. Vom 21.–23. Februar fand am Türkisch-Deutschen Kulturinstitut eine Tagung statt, die das Thema „Deutschland als Gegenstand unserer Literatur“ statt. Teilnehmende Schriftsteller waren u.a. Bekir Yıldız, Leyla Erbil, Mehmet Başaran, Cengiz Bektaş, Fakir Baykurt usw. Neben künstlerischen Fragen wurden auch Fragen des Alltags diskutiert, wie z.B. die Erziehung türkischer Kinder in Deutschland. Unter den abschliessenden Beiträgen findet sich einer zur Teilnahme türkischer Schriftsteller an der Frankfurter Buchmesse.

S. 695–808: Nachrufe und Gedenkfeiern für unsere Schriftsteller. 27 Literaten werden in diesem umfangreichen Kapitel geehrt. Nur wenige Beispiele zeigen, dass sie aus allen Kulturepochen des Osmanischen Reiches und der Türkei stammen: Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, Mevlana, Oğuz Atay, Kemal Tahir, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Sabahattin Eyüpoglu, Hacı Bektaş Veli, Orhan Veli, Pir Sultan Abdal usw. Jedem gedachten Literaten wird mindestens ein Nachruf, den meisten mehrere gewidmet. Hacı Bektaş Veli wird als bedeutender Philosoph bezeichnet, und mehrere seiner Verse werden zitiert.

S. 809–897: Autoren, die 1979 runde Geburtstage feierten. Von den 23 geehrten Personen seien die wichtigsten genannt: 70 Jahre: Ahmet Muhip Dranas, Hasan Izettin Dinamo; 60 Jahre: Salah Birsel, Vedat Türkali; 50 Jahre: Adalet Ağaoğlu, Fakir Baykurt, Necati Zekeriya. Alle werden mit Kurzbiographien und einem Foto geehrt.

S. 898–955: Schriftsteller und andere der Literatur verbundene Personen, die 1979 starben. Zwei Namen, die geblieben sind, sind Ömer Faruk Toprak (Dichter) gest. 20. August, Nevzat Üstün (Dichter) gest. 8. November.

S. 956–963: 1979 erschienene türkische Literatur. Einige bekannte Bücher sind: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Bir düğün gecesi“ (s.o.); İlhan Berk: „Kül“; Salah Birsel: „Kurutulmuş felsefe bahçesi“; Necati Cumalı: „Revisionist“; Ferit Edgü: „Bir gemide“; Azra Erhat: „Karya`dan Pamfilya`ya mavi yolculuk“; Muzaffer İzgü: „Dayak birincisi“; Ayla

Kutlu: „Kaçış“; Pınar Kür: „Asılacak kadın“; Aysel Özakın: “Alnında mavi kuşlar” u.v.a.m. Insgesamt kann dieses Jahr als sehr schöpferisch bezeichnet werden.

S. 964–968: Aus anderen Sprachen übersetzte Literatur. Es werden 79 Titel genannt.

Der Band schliesst mit Kritiken zum Jahrbuch 1978, die verschiedenen Zeitschriften entnommen wurden, ab.

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Auf den Seiten 11–18 gibt Aziz Nesin einen allgemeinen Überblick über das vergangene Jahr.

S. 19–47: Literaturkalender 1980. Wie in diesem Kapitel der vorhergehenden Bände sind hauptsächlich Ereignisse chronologisch angeordnet, die später in den speziellen Kapiteln ausführlicher behandelt werden. Erwähnenswert sind jedoch die Einsammlung der Zeitschrift „Milli Kültür“, die auf Anordnung des Kulturmisteriums aufgrund eines unliebsamen Artikels über den „İstiklal Marşı (der Freiheitsmarsch)“ beschlagnahmt wurde, und zweitens die Feier zum 6. Jahrestag der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft. Sie fand in dem neuen Kulturgebäude in Tarlabası statt, an der um 200 Literaten zusammenkamen und Çetin Altan die Eröffnungsrede hielt.

S. 48–61: Reden und Sitzungen im Jahre 1980. Am 19. Februar begann eine Serie von Symposien, die sich mit anderen Künsten und Kulturereignissen beschäftigen sollen und von der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft durchgeführt werden. Den Beginn an diesem Tage machte ein Symposium mit dem Titel „Beziehungen zwischen Literatur und Film“, zu dem Aziz Nesin die Eröffnungsansprache hielt. Im Mittelpunkt der Diskussion stand die Schwierigkeit der Wiedergabe der typischen Sprache eines literarischen Werkes. Es wurde auch darauf hingewiesen, dass beide Genres voneinander profitieren würden. Am 27. März richtete die TYS zusammen mit den Istanbuler Stadtteiltheatern ein Symposium

mit dem Titel „Beziehungen zwischen Arbeiterklasse und Literatur“ aus.

S. 60–61: Daten, an denen Schriftsteller öffentlich ihre Werke signierten.

S. 62–109: Ereignisse, die 1980 mit Literatur in Verbindung standen. Als Nachtrag findet sich der Wortlaut des Beschlusses einer Pressekonferenz der TYS, die von deren Präsident Aziz Nesin verfasst ist. Darin greift er in harten Worten wegen der Unterdrückung der Ausdrucksfreiheit die Regierung an und nennt sie faschistisch. Am ersten Jahrestag der Ermordung des Journalisten Abdi İpekçi, dem 30. Januar 1980, hält Bülent Ecevit vor der Istanbuler Gesellschaft der Journalisten einen Vortrag, in dem er bedauert, dass der Terror in der türkischen Literatur nicht thematisiert wird. In einem Abdruck aus „Edebiyat Cephesi“ wird wiederum der Papiermangel beklagt, der sich auf die Bücherproduktion auswirkt.

S. 110–137: Dichtung 1980. Das Kapitel von Mehmet H. Doğan wird mit einer Beschreibung der schwierigen Situation des Landes eingeleitet. Die Übernahme der Macht durch das Militär bedeutete zwar nahezu ein Ende des Terrors der politisch unterschiedlich ausgerichteten Gruppen, aber der Erlass des Militärs vom 12. September, in dem ausdrücklich der Kemalismus als einzige akzeptierte Ideologie gefordert wurde und die damit verbundenen Verbote von Gewerkschaften und Vereinen setzten die Schriftsteller unter Druck. Dazu kam der weiterhin bestehende Papiermangel. Vielleicht gerade aus diesem Grunde ist das Jahr für die Dichtung besonders fruchtbar. Der Autor zählt zunächst etwa zwei Dutzend Artikel über Dichtung auf, einschließlich der Quellenangabe. Darauf folgt eine Liste von 48 Gedichtbänden, u.a. von İlhan Berk, Necati Cumalı, Arif Damar, Cahit Külebi, Behçet Necatigil, Fethi Savaşçı und vielen anderen mehr. Zu allen Bänden gibt es Kommentare von etwa zehn Zeilen. Das Kapitel schliesst mit einer bibliographischen Auflistung von Nachrufen auf die kurz zuvor verstorbenen Dichter Behçet Necatigil und Ahmet Muhip Dranas.

S. 138–149: Volksliteratur und kulturelle Festlichkeiten. Von den zahlreichen Veranstaltungen zu Ehren einzelner Volksdichter- und

sänger, Seminare und Gedenkveranstaltungen sollen hier nur genannt werden: Nasrattinoğlu gibt zunächst eine Liste der Konferenzen, die von der „Vereinigung der Folklore-Forschung (Folklor Araştırmaları Kurumu)“ abgehalten wurden. In ihnen wurde nicht nur türkische, sondern auch ausländische Folklore behandelt. Darüber hinaus wird über Gedenkveranstaltungen für Aşık Veysel und Yunus Emre und viele andere mehr berichtet.

S. 150–183: Jugendliteratur 1980. Verfasser ist wieder Erdal Öz. Im Vorwort verweist er darauf, dass in diesem Krisenjahr weniger Sekundärliteratur erschien, als in den Jahren zuvor. Erstaunlicher Weise ist dieses Jahr eines der fruchtbarsten was die Primärliteratur betrifft. In fast keinem Jahr zuvor sei soviel Jugendliteratur erschienen. Die Erklärung mag dieselbe sein wie bei der Dichtung. Es war gefährlich, Literatur für Erwachsene zu schreiben, da die meisten Autoren als politisch links stehend bekannt waren. Öz erwähnt Zerstörungen von Buchhandlungen, Brandschatzungen und Morde an Buchhändlern. Umso erstaunlicher ist der Abdruck mehrerer Artikel aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, in denen die Frage der Ideologie in der Kinder- und Jugendbuchliteratur diskutiert wird. Es werden keine Titel erschienener Bücher genannt. In einem Nachwort wird erwähnt, dass Öz als Herausgeber der Jugendbuchreihe „Arkadaş Kitapları“ nicht mehr fungiere.

S. 184–217: Die türkische Sprache 1980. Dieser Artikel von Emin Özdemir behandelt ausschliesslich Fragen, die mit der Sprachreform zusammenhängen. Das Einführungskapitel trägt bezeichnender Weise den Titel: „Der endlose Streit“. Es ist eine gute Basis für das zweite Kapitel, das sich mit der Liste der verbotenen Wörter beschäftigt, die von der Nationalen Erziehungsdirektion an Schulen und Lehrer geschickt worden war und die auch von der Generaldirektion des Türkischen Rundfunks am 14.2.1980 verpflichtend für die öffentlichen Sender gemacht wurde. Die weiteren Kapitel beschäftigen sich mit dieser Liste und weiteren Fragen des Zustandes der 1932 offiziell eingeleiteten Sprachreform.

S. 218–232: Literatur im Radio. Dieser Artikel enthält neben kürzeren Beiträgen zu gesendeter Literatur auch einen Teil der Liste der verbotenen Wörter und eine Diskussion dazu.

S. 233–248: Roman und Erzählung. Dieses Kapitel, das in den vorhergehenden Bänden eines der umfangreichsten ist, fällt in diesem Band überraschend kurz aus. Konur Ertop geht in der Einleitung auf die sozialen und politischen Schwierigkeiten dieses Jahres ein, auf den Terror und die allgegenwärtige Bedrohung von Intellektuellen. Im Gegensatz zu Gedichten und Kinderbüchern scheint 1980 tatsächlich ein unproduktives Jahr für Roman und Erzählung gewesen zu sein. Wieder spielen Papiermangel und steigende Buchpreise eine Rolle. Dann zählt er die erschienenen Bücher auf: „Unter diesen schwierigen Verhältnissen gelang es, folgende Romane erscheinen zu lassen“: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Yaz sonu“ (erschien noch vor dem Putsch), Selim İleri: „Cehennem kralıçesi“; Ayla Kutlu: „Islak güneş“; Tezer Özlü Kıral: „Çocukluğun soğuk geceleri“ und einige andere mehr. An Erzählungsbänden werden nur neun Stück genannt, darunter: Demir Özlü: „Aşk ve poster“; Selim İleri: „Bir denizin eteklerinde“; Bilge Karasu: „Göçmüş kediler bahçesi“. Anschliessend schreibt er darüber, wie folgende Aspekte in der Literatur behandelt werden: Zeit, Umgebung (Stadt und Land), wirtschaftliches Leben, Volk und Intellektuelle, Politik, Ausdruck und Darstellungsart in den Erzählungen. Insgesamt kommt er zu dem Schluss, dass die meiste der in diesem Jahr veröffentlichten Literatur weiter in die Geschichte zurückgeht und sich andererseits auf persönliche Schicksale, also die Innenwelt von Menschen konzentriert.

S. 249–445: Preise, Widmungen und Wettbewerbe 1980. In diesem Kapitel lassen sich zunächst zahlreiche Schriftsteller, Journalisten und Literaturwissenschaftler über den Sinn von Literaturpreisen im Allgemeinen und über manche besondere Preise aus. Unter ihnen sind Hilmi Yavuz, Erol Toy, Tomris Uyar, Leyla Erbil, Fethi Naci, İlhan Berk, Oktay Akbal, Adalet Ağaoğlu und viele andere mehr. Mehrere Beiträge behandeln den Preis der Sedat Simavi Vakfı für den Roman „Bir düğün gecesi“ letztgenannter Schriftstellerin. Sie bekam für dieses Buch auch den Orhan Kemal Romanpreis. Tomris Uyar bekam den Sait Faik Erzählprix für den Band „Yürekte bukağı“. Murathan Mungan bekam den Literaturpreis des Akademi Kitabevi für seinen ersten Gedichtband „Osmanlıya dair hikayat“. Diesen und anderen geehrten Literaten sind Artikel gewidmet und teilweise Interviews.

S. 446–555: Türkische Schriftsteller und Literatur im Ausland. Dieses lange Kapitel besteht hauptsächlich aus vielen kurzen Berichten über Besuche türkischer Schriftsteller im Ausland. Die weitaus meisten Kontakte bestehen erklärlicherweise zu Deutschland, aber auch zu Griechenland. Auch werden einige Werke genannt, die in andere Sprachen übersetzt wurden. Es gibt mehrere Artikel über das Symposium über türkische Literatur, das vom 12–15. Dezember in Berlin stattfand, ohne grosse Aufmerksamkeit in den Medien zu finden, obwohl namhafte Schriftsteller und Wissenschaftler teilnahmen, wie z.B. Aziz Nesin, Cetin Altan, Ferit Edgü, Aysel Özakin, Tomris Uyar, İlhan Berk, Vasif Öngören, Aras Ören, Prof. Dr. Petra Kappert, Dr. Gisela Kraft usw.

S. 556–721: Runde Geburtstage unserer Schriftsteller. 75 Jahre Necip Fazıl Kısakürek; 70 Jahre: Kemal Bilbaşar; 60 Jahre: Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Mehmed Kemal; 50 Jahre: Dursun Akçam; Bilge Karasu, Mahmut Makal, Fethi Savaşçı und andere mehr. Ihnen allen sind Biographien gewidmet, jeweils mit einem Foto versehen. Von den Dichtern unter ihnen sind auch meist Gedichte als Beispiele beigegeben.

S. 722–764: Literarische Gäste, die 1980 die Türkei besuchten. Es werden elf Literaten genannt, von denen die beiden Deutschen Peter Rühmkorf und Michael Krüger die bekanntesten sein dürften.

S. 765–770: Anlässe zu Glückwünschen für einige Schriftsteller. Folgende Literaten werden aus verschiedenen Gründen beglückwünscht: Hasan İzzettin Dinamo (50 Jahre schriftstellerische Tätigkeit), İlhami Bekir (74. Geburtstag), Sunullah Arısoy (55. Geburtstag), Fethi Savaşçı (30 Jahre schriftstellerische Tätigkeit), Enver Gökçe (Dichter, im Gefängnis einsitzend).

S. 771–941: Gedenktexte, Feiern und Versammlungen zur Erinnerung an unsere Schriftsteller. In dem umfangreichen Kapitel wird 32 Schriftstellern und Dichtern gedacht. Nur einige Namen sollen zeigen, dass sie aus allen Zeiten des Osmanischen Reiches und der Türkischen Republik stammen: Yahya Kemal, Nazım Hikmet, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, Baki (1526–1600), Aşık Veysel, Kemal Tahir, Nedim (1681–1730), Orhan Veli, Sevgi Soysal usw. Allen sind ein oder

mehrere Nachrufe gewidmet. Von Dichtern finden sich auch Beispiele ihrer Gedichte. Es fällt auf, dass es sich in fast keinem Fall um runde Geburts- oder Todestage handelt.

S. 942–1191: Zum Tode von Schriftstellern und anderen Menschen, die der Literatur nahe standen im Jahre 1980. Im ganzen Kapitel befinden sich – zumeist mehrere – Nachrufe auf 23 Personen. Es seien hier nur die bedeutendsten mit ihrem Todesdatum genannt: Behçet Necatigil (14. Dezember 1979), Mustafa Nihat Özön (2. Januar), Zekeriya Sertel (11. März), Ümit Kaftancıoğlu (11. April), Ahmet Muhip Diranas (21. Juni), Tahir Nejat Gencan (3. Juli), Emin Karakuş (Dramatiker; 22. August), Suut Kemal Yetkin (Essayist; 18. April). Unter den Geehrten befinden sich ebenfalls Literaturhistoriker und Folklorespezialisten.

S. 1192–1199: Einheimische Werke, die 1980 veröffentlicht wurden. Auch in diesem Kapitel finden wir wieder zahlreiche Werke, die theoretischen Charakter haben. Als Beispiel sei nur das Buch von Enis Batur genannt „Şiir ve ideoloji“ Derinlik Yay. Von den rein literarischen werken seien nur einige derjenigen genannt, die bis heute eine Leserschaft haben: Oktay Akbal: „Geçmişin kuşları“; Gülsen Akın: „Kırmızı karanfil“; Cetin Altan: „Al işte İstanbul“; İnci Aral: „Ağda zamanı“; İlhan Berk: „İstanbul kitabı“; Nezihe Meriç: „Dumanaltı“; İşil Özgentürk: „Yokuşu tırmanır hayat“ Oktay Rıfat: „Bir cigara içimi“; Erol Toy: „İğrip“.

S. 1200–1203: Aus anderen Sprachen übersetzte Bücher 1980. Unter den 82 aufgelisteten Büchern befinden sich sowohl Werke von Friedrich Dürrenmatt, Stephen King, Knut Hamsun wie Norman Mailer.

Das Buch schliesst mit einigen Kritiken vorhergehender Bände der Nesin-Stiftung, die verschiedenen Zeitschriften entnommen wurden, ab.

Band 7; 2 Bände (1982), zusammen 1458 Seiten

S. 13–26: Allgemeine Einführung von Aziz Nesin mit anschliessender Beschreibung der Stiftung, ihrer Mitglieder und der Satzung.

S. 27–72: Literaturkalender 1981. Zu diesem Literaturkalender trifft die Bemerkung, dass die meisten Ereignisse noch einmal in speziellen Kapiteln beschrieben werden nicht zu. Es geht hier um die Zeit des Ausnahmezustands, und mindestens die Hälfte der Berichte handelt von Verboten, Misshandlungen und Tötungsdelikten durch die Obrigkeit. Es seien einige Beispiele genannt, die ein Bild der damaligen Situation der Menschen geben, die mit dem gedruckten Wort zu tun hatten. Von dem Dichter Yaşar Miraç werden drei Bücher zugleich verboten, da sie „das Ansehen der Streitkräfte des türkischen Staates herabsetzen“ (Entscheidung der zuständigen Kommission der Militärregierung). Am 1. April wird die Neuauflage des Kurzgeschichtenbandes „Uzun sürmüş bir yaz“, der 1976 den Kurzgeschichtenpreis der TDK erhalten hatte und ins Französische übersetzt wurde, verboten. Im August werden drei Soldaten angeklagt, den Herausgeber İlhan Erdost im Gefängnis von Mamak umgebracht zu haben. Das Verfahren wird eingestellt. Ein belustigendes Ereignis ist dagegen die Ablehnung Aziz Nesins der Auszeichnung als „Journalist des Jahres“. In seiner Ablehnung schreibt er, dass er 40 Jahre lang erfolgreicher Journalist gewesen ist, ohne je ausgezeichnet zu werden und nun gar nicht versteht, warum er auf einmal diesen Preis bekommt. Er hätte ebenso gut als Fussballer oder Sänger des Jahres ausgezeichnet werden können. Noch eine positive Nachricht jenes Jahres: Schon am 1. Januar hatte das Kulturministerium verkündet, dass im Jahre 1979 in der Türkei 5071 Bücher veröffentlicht worden seien, davon 4323 von türkischen Autoren, 748 übersetzte Werke. Bei der Aufschlüsselung der Genres werden in der Rubrik „Literatur“ 918 Bücher als „Literatur“ bezeichnet.

S. 73–137: Ereignisse im Zusammenhang mit Literatur 1981. Vom 21.–24. April fand in den Räumen des österreichischen Generalkonsulats in Istanbul in Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Kulturabteilung des Konsulats und der Abteilung für Deutsche Philologie der Fakultät für Literatur der Universität Istanbul ein Symposium über „Sprache und Epik“ statt. Die einzelnen Vorträge

sind in diesem Kapitel abgedruckt. Besonders erwähnenswert ist der Vortrag von Yaşar Kemal „Über mündliche und schriftliche Literatur“. Von S. 106 ab findet sich ein Bericht über das Thema „Die Frau in unserer Literatur“, ausgerichtet von YAZKO (Yazarlar Kooperatif).

S. 138–398: Literarische Diskussionen im Jahr 1981. Dieses lange Kapitel besteht aus zwei Unterkapiteln mit zahlreichen Beiträgen. Im ersten Unterkapitel wird die Frage nach Identität und Qualität des türkischen Romanes gestellt. Fethi Naci leitet die Diskussion mit der provokativen Frage ein: „Gibt es in der Türkei (das Genre) Roman?“. Der Artikel war im Oktober 1980 in *Sanat Dergisi* erschienen und ihm folgten zahlreiche Antworten im folgenden Jahr, die sich mit den verschiedensten Aspekten des Romans im Allgemeinen und dem türkischen Roman befassen. Nur einige Beispiele: Fahrı Iz antwortet mit einem Essay „Einige Gedanken zum türkischen Roman in diesem Jahrhundert“; Berna Moran beschäftigt sich mit dem „Problem der Westernisierung (batılılaşma) und einige Eigenschaften des türkischen Romans“; In einem weiteren Beitrag begründet Fethi Naci, warum er „Aşk-ı memnu“ für den ersten türkischen Roman hält. Selim İleri beschäftigt sich mit der Frage der Romankritik. An dieser Diskussion über das Verhältnis des türkischen zum westlichen (alafranga) Roman beteiligen sich weiterhin mit Beiträgen: Attila İlhan, Fakir Baykurt, Tarık Dursun K., Füruzan, Erol Toy, Adalet Ağaoğlu, Pınar Kür und viele andere mehr. Das zweite Unterkapitel dreht sich ausschliesslich um den Vorwurf, der Adalet Ağaoğlu im Vorjahr gemacht worden war, nämlich ihren berühmten Roman „Bir düğün gecesi“ teilweise an Aldous Huxleys „point counter point“ angelehnt zu haben, wenn nicht gar ein Plagiat geschaffen zu haben. Zahlreiche Autoren, auch die Verfasserin selbst, beziehen dazu Stellung, vor allem zu der Frage, inwieweit ein literarisches Werk von einem anderen beeinflusst sein darf.

S. 399–475: Dichtung im Jahre 1981. Kerim Öztekin listet in seiner Einleitung zu diesem Kapitel 54 Gedichtbände auf. Dann stellt er seine Methode vor, d.h. Wie er in dem Artikel vorgehen wird. Es folgen einige Texte, die über Dichtung in Zeitschriften veröffentlicht wurden. Er betrachtet diese Beiträge unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten, wie z.B. „Die Erziehung zum Verstehen eines

Gedichts“, „Das Leben und Dichtung“, „Die Kraft des Gedichtes“, „Für wen ist Dichtung?“ usw. Auf ein kurzes Kapitel über die Methode der Dichtung 1981 (sic!) folgt ein allgemeiner Überblick über die Dichtung des Jahres. Danach kommentiert er einzelne der vorher aufgelisteten Gedichtbände.

S. 476–492: Roman und Erzählung 1981. Dieses in den vorhergehenden Bänden sehr umfangreiche Kapitel fällt auffallend kurz aus. Obwohl der Verfasser in der Einleitung sagt, dass es ein sehr ertragreiches Jahr gewesen sei, gibt er keine Auflistung der erschienenen Bücher, sondern begnügt sich damit, die Titel zu nennen, die er entweder für besonders wichtig hält oder, die er gelesen hat. Der Beitrag ist unsystematisch und fortlaufend geschrieben, während weder Autoren, noch Buchtitel gekennzeichnet werden. Wir wählen einige aus: Kemal Bilbaşar erzählt in dem Roman „Zühere ninem“ aus seiner jüngeren Familiengeschichte, in der es um Menschen geht, die Thessaloniki verlassen mussten und sich in Anatolien ansiedelten; Allila İlhan“ „Dersaadette sabah ezanları“ erzählt von der gleichen Zeit über das Leben in Istanbul. Tarık Buğras „Yağmur beklerken“ spielt in einer anatolischen Kreisstadt. In einem Satz werden genannt: Erhan Bener: „Oyuncusu“, Selim İleri: Yaşarken ve ölürkən“, Aysel Özakin: „Genç kız ve ölümü“, die alle im Kreise von Intellektuellen spielen und deren gesellschaftliche und politische Ereignisse des Alltags schildern. Das Kapitel geht ohne Überschrift in den Abschnitt „Erzählungen“ über. Als herausragendes Buch bezeichnet der Verfasser den Band von Pınar Kür: „Bir deli ağaç“, der von Schicksalen verschiedener Menschen im Istanbul der jüngeren Vergangenheit erzählt und ein sehr erfolgreiches Buch wurde. In Necati Cumalis Band „Aylı bıçak“ geht es wieder um die Menschen aus der Gegend von Urla, deren Beziehungen zwischen Mann und Frau, auch in sexueller Hinsicht, im Mittelpunkt stehen.

S. 493–498: Was das Jahr 1981 brachte. Unter dieser Überschrift geht es um Essays und Kritik. Von der „jüngeren“ Generation werden besonders die Namen Enis Batur, Bedrettin Cömert, Özgür Savaşçı, Mazhar Candan, und von der reiferen Generation Tekin Sönmez, Ahmet Oktay und Önay Sözer genannt.

S. 499–533: Zeitschriften im Jahre 1981. Dieser Beitrag besteht aus einer Vielzahl von längeren und kürzeren Artikeln über kulturelle Zeitschriften. In der Einleitung gibt Efdal Sevinçli zunächst eine historische Übersicht über türkische Kulturzeitschriften. Er betont, dass sich nach dem Putsch vom 12. September die Landschaft der Zeitschriften geändert habe, ohne aber sonderlich präzis zu werden. Er führt dann vier neuere Zeitschriften auf, von denen nur eine sich ausschliesslich der Literatur widmet. „Milliyet Sanat Dergisi“ war eine der Beilagen der Tageszeitung Milliyet. Die zweite Zeitschrift ist „Yazko Edebiyat Dergisi“, das einmal im Monat erscheinende Publikationsorgan von Yazko, was eine Abkürzung für „Yazarlar ve Çevirmenler Yayın Üretim Kooperatif“ ist. Sie war die freieste und stabilste Kulturzeitschrift, da sie von den Holdings, denen die Zeitungen gehörten und gehören, unabhängig war. Als dritte erschien die „Gösteri Sanat-Edebiyat Dergisi“, die sich der internationalen Kulturszene widmete. Viertens wird „Sanat Olayı Dergisi“ vorgestellt, die auch ein Produkt der Milliyet-Gruppe war.

S. 534–556: Volksliteratur und kulturelle Festveranstaltungen. Der Beitrag beginnt mit der Erwähnung, dass aus Anlass des 100. Geburtstags von Atatürk in der dem Kulturministerium angehörende Institution mit dem Namen „MİFAD“, welches die Abkürzung für „Präsidium der Forschungsabteilung für nationale Folklore“ ist, der II. Internationale Folklore-Kongress stattgefunden hat. Ein Datum wird nicht genannt. Dann werden mehrere Festveranstaltungen zum 8. Todestag von Aşık Veysel erwähnt, sowie das Yunus Emre Festival in Eskişehir, das vom 6.–8. Mai stattfand. Danach werden alle Vorträge des II. Internationalen Folklorekongresses aufgelistet, der von der MİFAD aufgelistet, von denen der interessanteste der von Sadık K. Tural gewesen sein dürfte: „Die Märchen von Ömer Seyfettin und seine Erzählungen, die auf Märchen basieren“.

S. 557–567: Jugendliteratur 1981. Dieses Kapitel hebt sich stark von den gleichnamigen Kapiteln in den vorhergehenden Bänden ab. Verfasser ist wieder Erdal Öz. Er beginnt den Beitrag mit den Worten: „Sieben Jahre lang habe ich das Kapitel Jugendliteratur in diesem Jahrbuch geschrieben... Diesmal fällt es mir schwer, einen auswertenden Artikel zu verfassen. Denn ich weiss, dass ich nicht wirklich das schreiben kann, was mir durch den Kopf geht und am

Herzen liegt... (S. 557).“ Er sagt, dass er den folgenden Beitrag nur Aziz Nesin zuliebe geschrieben habe. Allerdings besteht der Beitrag im Grossen und Ganzen aus den Einwirkungen, den der Militärputsch auf die Bücherpublikation hatte. Öz, der selbst im Gefängnis sass und gefoltert wurde, ist traumatisiert. Er erwähnt keine einzelnen Titel, sondern nur, dass z.B. die Anzahl der veröffentlichten Kinder- und Jugendbücher vom Can Verlag um die 30 Titel liege, die des Oda Verlages um die 40. Ebenso haben der Yazko Verlag und einige andere kleinere Verlage mit der Veröffentlichung von Jugendbüchern begonnen. Es folgen in diesem Kapitel noch zwei weitere kurze Beiträge von anderen Autoren.

S. 568–652: Die türkische Sprache 1981. Emin Özdemir leitet seinen Artikel mit der Bemerkung ein, dass sich im Jahr 1981 der Streit um die Sprachreform besonders zugespielt habe. Die Türkische Sprachgesellschaft wurde besonders wegen ihrer sprachpurifizierenden Aktivitäten von vielen Seiten angegriffen. Der Verfasser zählt auch verschiedene konservative Zeitungen auf, die sich der Kritik anschlossen. Die TDK hatte sich schon auf einer Tagung vom 17.-18. Januar gegen die Vorwürfe verteidigt, auf der der Präsident Cahit Külebi darauf hinwies, dass die TDK die von Atatürk gegebenen Vorgaben verwirkliche. Viele Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenbeiträge folgen, die sich mit der Sprachreform befassen, teilweise besonders einzelne Neologismen kritisieren, aber auch die Arbeit der TDK verteidigen, wie ein Beitrag Aziz Nesins.

S. 653–675: Literatur in Radio und Fernsehen 1981. Der Beitrag enthält u.a. eine statistische Austellung von türkischen Radio- und Fernsehsendern und deren Programmanteil, der sich auf Kunst und Literatur bezieht. Er schliesst mit einer Aufstellung bestimmter Sendungen ab.

S. 676–807. Preise, Festschriften und Wettbewerbe. Kemal Özer gibt zunächst einen kurzen historischen Überblick über die Literaturpreise in der Türkei. Darauf folgen zahlreiche Diskussionsbeiträge über diese Preise und über andere Ehrungen in der Welt der Literatur. Das lange Kapitel trägt die Überschrift „Diskussion und Bewertungen“. Der erste Beitrag stammt von Haldun Taner und trägt den Titel: „Über das Gedenken...“ Es ist ein philosophischer Beitrag über das Ziel eines

Autors. Der kritische Beitrag von Mehmet Kemal trägt den Titel: „Die Unmenge der Auszeichnungen“. Es folgen viele weitere Beiträge wie z.B. von Oktay Akbal, Tahsin Yücel, Hilmi Yavuz, die zum grössten Teil der Tageszeitung Cumhuriyet entnommen sind. In einem langen Unterkapitel „Reaktionen vom vergangenen Jahr“ sind Artikel abgedruckt, die die Meinung verschiedener Literaten zu bestimmten vergebenen Auszeichnungen ausdrücken, so äussert sich Oktay Rıfat zum Sedat Simavi Preis, den er 1980 für „Bir cigara içimi“ erhalten hatte. Azra Erhat, Asım Bezirci, Hilmi Yavuz und andere kommentieren den Hasan Ali Ediz Übersetzer-Preis. Es folgen Besprechungen der Yazko Preise, den Abdi İpekçi Preisen, den Sait Faik Preis, um nur die bekanntesten zu nennen. Dieses Kapitel wirft ein aufschlussreiches Licht auf die Meinung der Autoren zu diesen Preisen generell und speziellen Zuteilungen in Einzelfällen.

S. 808–832: Die Turkologie in Ungarn. Ein historischer Abriss des Faches in Ungarn, in dem die bekannten Namen fallen wie L. Fekete, T. Halasi-Kun, J. Németh usw. Den Abschluss bildet eine Liste der wichtigsten Veröffentlichungen dieser Wissenschaftler. Autorin ist Zsuzsa Kakuk. In dem folgenden Unterkapitel werden zunächst Werke der theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit der türkischen Literatur genannt, danach werden mehrere übersetzte Werke erwähnt, von denen die Gedichte Nazım Hikmets die Mehrheit stellen.

Band 7/2 (Sn. 833-1458)

S. 833–900: Türkische Schriftsteller und Literatur im Ausland. In diesem Kapitel werden einzelne Titel türkischer Bücher genannt, die in Übersetzung im Ausland erschienen sind, wie auch türkische Schriftsteller, die im Ausland leben. So wird z.B erwähnt, dass Nedim Gürsels Buch „Un long été à Istanbul (Uzun sürmüş bir yaz)“ bereits nach zwei Monaten vergriffen war. Die meisten der meist kurzen Zeitungsnachrichten beziehen sich auf Veröffentlichungen in Deutschland, was zu jener Zeit wegen der erheblichen Anzahl türkischer „Gastarbeiter“ in der Türkei eine besondere Rolle spielte. So bezieht sich eine Nachricht aus Cumhuriyet auf einen Sonderband der bedeutenden deutschen Literaturzeitschrift „Akzente“, der von der Hamburger Turkologin Petra Kappert (gest. 2004) herausgegeben war

und der Erzählungen, Romanausschnitte und Gedichte enthielt. Ein weiterer Beitrag behandelt türkische Schriftsteller, die in Deutschland leben und arbeiten, insbesondere Vasif Öngören, Yüksel Pazarkaya, Aras Ören, Güney Dal und Fethi Savaşçı. Nedim Gürsel ist mit einem Beitrag über türkische Literatur in Frankreich vertreten. Zum ersten mal wird Akif Pirinççi erwähnt, der seinen ersten Titel auf deutsch geschrieben hat (Günaydin, 17. Oktober). Weitere Bemerkungen über Veröffentlichungen reichen von der Tschechoslowakei über Bulgarien bis Kanada.

S. 901–964: Ausländische Literaten, die 1981 unsere Gäste waren. Insgesamt werden neun Personen genannt, die Schriftsteller und Wissenschaftler sind. Zu letzteren zählen insbesondere der französische Turkologe Prof. Louis Bazin und die deutsche Turkologin Prof. Petra Kappert. Es gibt mehrere Artikel über sie, sowie Texte von Vorträgen, die sie gehalten haben.

S. 965–1060: Türkische Schriftsteller, die 1981 runde Geburtstage hatten. Eine Auswahl der bekanntesten genannten Schriftsteller: 80 Jahre: Halide Nusret Zorlutuna; 70 Jahre: Kenan Akyüz (Literaturhistoriker), Rıfat Ilgaz, Fahir İz; 60 Jahre: Yusuf Atılgan, Necati Cumalı; 50 Jahre: Mehmet H. Doğan (Essayist, Übersetzer), Leyla Erbil, Yılmaz Güney, Tarık Dursun K. und andere. Wie in dem gleichen Kapiteln in den vorhergehenden Bänden sind allen Geehrten Biographien und andere Artikel gewidmet, teilweise mit Abdruck von Auszügen ihrer Werke und einer Portrait-Fotografie.

S. 1061–1069: Glückwunschschreiben für unsere Schriftsteller 1981. Auf diesen Seiten findet man Texte, die ausschliesslich Macit Gökberk (Philosoph) und Halide Nusret Zorlutuna gewidmet sind.

S. 1070–1283: Nachrufe und Gedenkfeiern für unsere Schriftsteller 1981. In diesem langen Kapitel wird 38 Schriftstellern, Dichtern und Literaturwissenschaftlern gedacht. Die Anlässe werden erst in den Artikeln erwähnt. Hier nur eine kurze Auswahl der Namen, um die Vielfalt der Literaten zu verdeutlichen: Abdi İpekçi (ermordeter Journalist, Chefredakteur der Tageszeitung „Milliyet“), Ahmet Hamdi Tanrıyar, Orhan Veli Kanık, Behçet Necatigil, Hasan Ali Yücel,

Sabahattin Ali, Yahya Kemal, Peyami Safa, Fuat Köprülü, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Sait Faik, Sevgi Soysal.

S. 1284–1439: Schriftsteller und Menschen, die sich mit Literatur beschäftigten, die 1981 verstorben sind. Unter ihnen sind Yaşar Nabi Nayır (15. März 1981), Cengiz Tuncer (Schriftsteller und Journalist (8. Juli 1981), Enver Gökçe (Dichter) (20. Oktober 1981). Sie und weitere Verstorbene erhalten je mehrere Nachrufe.

S. 1440–1447: 1981 erschienene türkische Literatur. Darunter sind folgende berühmt gewordene Werke: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Yaz sonu“, Oktay Akbal: „Hey vapurlar, trenler...“, Çetin Altan: „Gölgelerin gölgesi“, Kemal Bilbaşar: „Zühere ninem“, Peride Celal: „Bir hanımfendinin ölümü“, Necati Cumalı: „Aylı bıçak“, Nazlı Eray: „Pasifik günleri“, Füruzan: „Ev sahipleri“, Selim İleri: „Yaşarken ve ölüren“, Muzaffer İzgü: „Her eve bir karakol“ Tezel Özlü Kiral: „Çocukluğunun soğuk geceleri“, Demir Özlü: „Aşk ve poster“ und einige mehr.

S. 1448–1451: 1981 erschienene ins Türkische übersetzte Werke. Dieses Kapitel beinhaltet zahlreiche übersetzte Werke der schönen Literatur von Frederico Fellini über Norman Mailer bis Gabriel García Marquez und Johannes Mario Simmel.

S. 1452–1458: Kritiken und Besprechungen des Nesin Literaturjahrbuchs 1981. Schluss des Doppelbandes.

Band 8 (1983) 696 S.

Neues, grösseres Format, zweispaltig gedruckt.

S. 11–16: Einleitung von Aziz Nesin. Enthält u.a. einen kurzen Überblick über die türkische Literatur 1982, Dichtung, Preisveränderung, über die brach liegende TYS, die Turkologie in der Welt.

S. 17–31: Literaturkalender 1982. In diesem Jahr finden sich kaum Ereignisse im Kalender, die in späteren Kapiteln näher behandelt

werden. Hier geht es vor allem um die juristische Auseinandersetzung zwischen Verfassern und der Ausnahmeregierung. Wenige Beispiele: Am 1. März werden Druck und Verkauf von Erol Toys neuem Buch „Aydınımız, insanımız, devletimiz“ verboten. Am 20. Juni wird die Einfuhr von im Ausland gedruckten türkischen zehn Büchern, drei Zeitschriften und zwei Zeitungen verboten. Die Druckerzeugnisse haben entweder einen linkslastigen oder religiösen Inhalt. Am 30. Juli wird Pınar Kürs Roman „Yarın yarın“ in mehreren Provinzen (vilayets) verboten. Am 2. August werden Import und Verbreitung von zwanzig im Ausland gedruckten Büchern und drei Zeitschriften verboten. Am 15. Juli wird der Dichter Arif Damar wegen mehrerer in seinem Verlag gefundener Bücher wegen kommunistischer Propaganda angeklagt. Freigesprochen wird am 27. Oktober Adalet Ağaoğlu, die wegen ihres Romans „Fikrimin ince gülü“ angeklagt war, der in Kreisen türkischer Gastarbeiter in Deutschland spielt. Es gibt weitere Beispiele. Ein Unterkapitel behandelt „Reden und Sitzungen 1982“. YAZKO veranstaltete vier Symposien, darunter eines über Umweltprobleme, eines über „Frauen und Arbeit“. Es folgt eine datierte Liste von Signaturveranstaltungen.

S. 32–98. Ereignisse, die im Jahre 1982 Literatur betrafen. In diesem Kapitel werden Ereignisse erwähnt, die in den vorhergehenden Bänden in speziellen Kapiteln behandelt werden, z.B. Preisverleihungen. Zunächst wird von einem Symposium berichtet, das von YAZKO veranstaltet wurde, mit dem Titel „Der Intellektuell und seine Verantwortung“, vom 15.–17. März in der Journalisten-Vereinigung von Istanbul. Unter den Rednern sind Mehmet Barlas und Murat Belge. Danach gibt es wieder mehrere kurze Berichte über Veröffentlichungen, die verboten wurde. Mehrere Artikel – meist aus der Cumhuriyet – beschäftigen sich mit der Verleihung des angesehenen französischen Literaturpreises „Pris Mondial Cino Del Duca“ an Yaşar Kemal, der auch ein Interview dazu gibt. Tezer Özlü Kıral erhält den Literaturpreis der Stadt Marburg/Deutschland. Den Abschluss des Kapitels bildet ein Bericht über ein Seminar, das am Deutschen Kulturinstitut abgehalten wurde mit dem Thema „Kulturelle Probleme, die die Migration mit sich brachte“.

S. 99–116: Dichtung 1982. In seiner langen Einleitung diskutiert Mehmet H. Doğan die Frage, was ein gutes Gedicht ausmacht. Dabei

lässt er auch einige Kollegen zur Sprache kommen. Anschliessend findet sich eine Liste von theoretischen Texten über Gedichte, die meist in Literaturzeitschriften erschienen sind. Es folgt dann eine teilweise kommentierte Auflistung von 1982 erschienenen Gedichtbänden. Aus deren Vielzahl seien nur genannt: Sabahattin Kudret Aksal: „Zamanlar“, Metin Altıok „Küçük tragedyalar“, İlhan Berk: „Günaydin yeryüzü“, Turgut Uyar: „Kayayı delen incir“; darunter sind wie immer mehrere Sammelwerke, wie z.B. Gültén Akın: „Seyran, Bütün şiirleri“, Orhan Veli Kanık: „Bütün şiirleri“ und andere mehr.

S. 117–121: Essay und Kritik 1982. Der kurze Beitrag von Vedat Günyol (bedeutender Essayist und Kritiker) gibt eine kommentierte Übersicht über die in jenem Jahr erschienenen Essaybände. Er beginnt mit Memet Fuats „Çağını görebilme“, aus welchem er zitiert: „Vielleicht hat es in der ganzen Weltgeschichte niemals eine Epoche gegeben, in der solch mächtige, wirkungsvolle Lügen geäussert wurden... es war bisher nicht bekannt, dass die Lüge eine so mächtige Waffe ist“. Dieser Satz hätte heute noch mehr Berechtigung als damals. Unter den von ihm genannten Autoren sind auch Tahsin Yücel, Oktay Akbal und Selim İleri. Leider fehlen in dem Kapitel die bibliographischen Angaben.

S. 122–140: Literaturzeitschriften in der Türkei 1982. Im Gegensatz zur Überschrift werden auch allgemeine Kulturzeitschriften aufgeführt, die teilweise Beiträge zur Literatur haben. Mehmet Yaşar Bilen geht in seinem Beitrag so vor, dass er zunächst die Bedeutung von Zeitschriften in Ländern, die sich in der Entwicklung befinden, diskutiert, danach Bekanntheit und Funktion der Zeitschriften und drittens die Ergebnisse auf die Zeitschriften in der Türkei bezieht. Er untergliedert in der folgenden Aufstellung die Zeitschriften nach verschiedenen Kriterien, z.B. ob sie von grossen Verlagshäusern herausgegeben werden, von Stiftungen, von unabhängigen Kooperativen usw. Er erwähnt und kommentiert mit jeweils etwa 15 Zeilen „Milliyet Sanat“, „Gösteri“, „Sanat Olayı“, „Türk Dili“, „Türk Edebiyatı“, „Varlık“, „Yazko Edebiyat“, „Yazko Çeviri“ und viele weitere mehr, die ein eindringliches Bild von der reichlichen Landschaft der türkischen Kulturzeitschriften verleihen.

S. 141–178: Diskussionen um Literatur 1982. Dieses Kapitel besteht nur aus zwei Unterkapiteln. Im ersten werden die Grundlagen diskutiert, die der Auswahl und Bewertung einer Preisverleihung zugrunde liegen. Im ersten Beitrag thematisiert Aziz Nesin auch die Frage des Preises, ob es sich z.B. um ein Diplom, eine Plakette oder Geld handeln sollte. Er schildert auch, dass er anfangs zögerte, überhaupt an Literaturwettbewerben teilzunehmen, da er in der Bewertung eine Einteilung in Klassen sah. Wie bekannt änderte er später seine Meinung, behielt sich aber vor, Auszeichnungen anzunehmen oder zurückzuweisen. Die folgenden Beiträge bestehen aus einer schriftlichen Auseinandersetzung über Auszeichnungen zwischen Aziz Nesin und Oktay Akbal. Das zweite Unterkapitel besteht aus einem Interview, dass Ahmet Say über Literatur und Wirklichkeit mit Enis Batur durchführte, worauf ein Interview mit umgekehrten Interviewer und Interviewtem folgt.

S. 179–208: Volksliteratur und kulturelle Festlichkeiten. Nasrettinoğlu befasst sich zunächst mit dem Begriff „folklor“, den er in zwei Grundbegriffe teilt: erstens traditionelle Kulturaktivitäten, wie Volkstänze, Lieder und natürlich Literatur und auf der anderen Seite die Wissenschaft, die sich damit beschäftigt (halkbilim). In einer chronologischen Liste werden dann die Konferenzen der Gesellschaft für Folkloreorschung aufgeführt. Es folgen verschiedene Veranstaltungen mit lebenden Volksdichtern (aşık) und Gedenkveranstaltungen zu Ehren von verstorbenen. Auch zum Gedenken an Aşık Veysel und Yunus Emre gibt es wieder Veranstaltungen. An der Atatürk Universität fand vom 7.–9. Mai die „VI. Festveranstaltung für Volksdichter“ statt, an der Dichter aus verschiedenen Teilen der Türkei teilnahmen. Mehrere Seiten handeln von Seminaren zu Köroğlu und Nasreddin Hoca. Es folgt ein Bericht über den IV. Internationalen Turkologie Kongress, der vom 20.–25. September in Istanbul stattfand. Ein besonders interessanter Vortrag wurde von Fikret Türkmen gehalten: „Türkisch vortragende (mit Instrument begleiteter Gesang) armenische Volksdichter“. Es folgt eine kommentierte Liste von 25 Veröffentlichungen zur türkischen Folklore.

S. 193–208: Roman und Erzählung 1982. Es werden in beiden Unterkapiteln keine Listen von Neuerscheinungen geboten.

Stattdessen beschränkt sich Konur Ertop auf ausführliche Kommentierungen einiger weniger herausragender Werke. So beschäftigt sich ein langer Artikel mit Orhan Pamuks erstem Roman „Cevdet bey ve oğulları“. Unter den wenigen Büchern sind weiterhin Muzaffer İzgüs „Halo dayı ve iki öküz“ und „Dört mevsim sonbahar“, der erste Roman Ahmet Altans, dem Sohn Çetin Altans. Umfangreiche Beiträge widmet der Autor den Erzählbänden „Hadi gidelim“ von Adalet Ağaoğlu, „Geyikler, annem ve Almanya“ von Nursel Duruel, die in diesem Band Probleme von Mädchen und Frauen in der Türkei behandelt. In aller Kürze werden genannt: Füruzans „Gecenin öteki yüzü“, Bilge Karasus „Kismet büfesi“, Nazlı Erays „Kız öpme kuyruğu“, Orhan Durus „Yoksullar geliyor“.

S. 209–239: Jugendliteratur 1982. Dieses Kapitel stammt wieder von Erdal Öz. Er leitet es mit der Bemerkung ein: „Das Jahr 1982 war vom Gesichtspunkt der Jugendliteratur, meiner Meinung nach, das langweiligste und ergebnisloseste der letzten zehn Jahre... Für Verlage, die seit Jahren aktiv waren, war das Jahr 1982 das Jahr des Schliessens, beziehungsweise des Schweigens“. Er berichtet, dass die Verlagshäuser Remzi, Koza, Karacan, Milliyet, Altın Kitaplar die Herausgabe von Jugendbüchern vorübergehend eingestellt hätten und die Verlage Gözlem, Oda, Yalçın, May und Göze in Zukunft keine Jugendbücher mehr im Programm haben werden. Nach der Erörterung weiterer Verlage finden wir den Grund für das Verhalten in folgenden Angaben: mehrere Jugendbücher wurden verboten, mehere wurden „teilweise“ verboten indem sie z.B. einer Altersbegrenzung unterlagen, mehrere Herausgeber von Jugendbüchern wurden vor Gericht gestellt, zu Geldstrafen oder sogar Gefängnis verurteilt. Es folgen zu diesem Thema Zeitungsberichte verschiedener Autoren. Das Kapitel endet mit einem langen Beitrag von Meral Alpay über die Geschichte der Jugendbuchliteratur. Fraglich ist hierbei, ob es notwendig ist, literaturhistorisch bis in die früheste Zeit zurückzugehen und ebenfalls die Darstellung von „Dede Korkut“, „Köroğlu“, Nasreddin Hoca, die Meddah-Vorstellungen oder Karagöz als Jugendliteratur zu bezeichnen, was sie mit Sicherheit nicht waren, bzw. sind.

S. 240–266: Die türkische Sprache 1982. Emin Özdemir überschreibt seinen Beitrag mit dem Titel: „Ein angespanntes Jahr“. Auch auf

diesem Gebiet zeigt sich der starke Eingriff der Politik, allerdings muss man sagen, dass die Sprachreform seit Atatürk ohnehin eine offizielle politische Angelegenheit war. Konservative Zeitungen wie „Tercüman“ oder „Son havadis“ machen die Ergebnisse der TDK in Satiren lächerlich. Nachdem es nicht zur Gründung der „Türk Dil Akademisi“, die die TDK in konservativem Sinne ersetzen sollte, gekommen ist, wird nun die „Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu“ geplant, die die Sprachreform in die rechten Wege leiten soll. Auf der XVIII. Sprachtagung (Kurultay) der TDK vom 12.–14. Juli verteidigt ihr Präsident die bisherigen Ergebnisse u.a. mit der Zitierung von Zeitungsausschnitten aus der späten osmanischen Zeit, welche für den Durchschnittsbürger völlig unverständlich waren. Das Kapitel endet mit einer Reihe von Kommentaren zu diesem Thema von verschiedenen Autoren.

S. 267–281: Literatur im Programm des TRT. Während 48 Wochen des Jahres wurde jeden Donnerstag Abend eine Serie über Erzählungen ausgestrahlt, in der fast alle Erzähler, die von einiger Bedeutung sind, zur Sprache kamen, indem sie über ihre Erzählungen reden konnten. Radio Istanbul sendete eine Serie mit dem Titel „Deniz sesi“, die immerhin aus 39 teilen bestand und in der Schriftsteller zur Sprache kamen, deren Werk insbesondere mit der See zu tun hatten, vor allem Halikarnas Balıkçı, Sait Faik, Tarik Dursun K. Und weitere. In der letzten Sendung fasste der Kritiker Konur Ertop die Bedeutung des Meeres für die türkische Literatur zusammen. Radio Ankara setzte 1982 eine langjährige Sendung über die Geschichte des türkischen Romanes fort. Im Fernsehen gab es zwei Verfilmungen der frühesten türkischen Romane: „Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat“ von Şemseddin Sami und „İntibah“ von Namık Kemal.

S. 282–484: Auszeichnungen und Wettbewerbe 1982. Im Vorwort von Kemal Özer heisst es, dass sich dieses Jahr dadurch auszeichne, dass viele Preise nicht vergeben wurden, so wie z.B. die Sait Faik, Sabahattin Ali, Yaşar Nabi, Simavi Vakfı Preise. Im übrigen setzt sich die Tendenz des vorjährigen Bandes fort, nämlich dass der Sinn von Literaturpreisen im allgemeinen und von manchen bestimmten diskutiert werden. Die Beiträge dazu sind zahlreich und lang. U.a. nehmen daran teil: Fethi Naci, Konur Ertop, Yasemin Okan, Doğan Hızlan und viele andere. Manche der Beiträge beziehen sich auf

Preise, die schon in den Jahren davor vergeben worden waren. So findet sich ein Interview mit Feyza Hepçiligirler, die 1981 für ihren ersten Erzählungsband den Akademi Kitabevi Öykü Preis erhalten hatte. Der Dichter Hasan Hüseyin, der zum ersten mal 1963 für den Band „Kavel“ ausgezeichnet wurde und später noch zwei mal, wird zu seinen Auszeichnungen interviewt. Auch Preise für Kino und Theater werden besprochen. Ohne dass zu erkennen ist, dass sie einem neuen Kapitel angehören, schliessen sich mehrere Beiträge an: Ein langer Beitrag der Germanistikprofessorin Gürsel Aytaç über die Erzähltechnik des gegenwärtigen türkischen Romans, ein ebenfalls langer Artikel mit ganz anderem Gegenstand: „Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Türkeitürkischen und dem Karaimischen in Polen“ von Alexander Dubinski. Karl H. Menges ist mit einem umfangreichen Artikel über „Die türkische Literatur ausserhalb der Türkei“ vertreten, wobei es sich um die Literaturen anderer Türkvölker handelt.

S. 485–489: Literarische Gäste, die 1982 die Türkei besuchten. Es gibt einige kürzere Artikel und Interviews mit den Gästen: Ksenia Celnarova aus Bratislava, Anna Massala aus Rom, Bernt Brendemoen aus Oslo und einigen anderen weniger bekannten.

S. 490–513: Türkische Literatur und Schriftsteller im Ausland. Das Kapitel handelt hauptsächlich von im Ausland übersetzten türkischen Werken. So wird erwähnt, dass Bülent Ecevits Gedichte ins Schwedische, Dänische und Deutsche übersetzt wurden. Ein etwas längerer Artikel handelt von türkischer Literatur in Jugoslawien. Ein längerer Artikel trägt die Überschrift: „Die Auswanderung nach Deutschland ist in unserer Literatur nicht in ihrer ganzen Tragweite erzählt worden“. Der Beitrag handelt hauptsächlich von dem im Jahre 1977 in Stuttgart gegründeten Ararat Verlag und den in ihm erschienenen Büchern. Ausserhalb dieses Beitrages wird die Übersetzung von Erdal Öz’ Roman „Yaralısın“ erwähnt. Es gibt weitere kurze Mitteilungen über Übersetzungen in anderen Ländern.

S. 514–595: Geburtstage unserer Schriftsteller. Wie in den vorhergehenden Kapiteln gibt es zunächst eine Liste der Jubilare, danach werden sie mit mehreren Biographien und Interviews gewürdigt. Die bekanntesten von ihnen sind: 75 Jahre: Pertev Naili Boratav, Cevdet Kudret; 70 Jahre Vedat Günyol; 60 Jahre: Nezihe

Araz, Vüs`at O. Bener, Yaşar Kemal; 50 Jahre: Tevfik Akdağ, Mustafa Necati Sepetçioğlu, Özker Yaşın (der berühmteste türkisch-cypriotische Dichter).

S. 596–605: Festversammlungen und Artikel zum Gedenken und zur Gratulation von Schriftstellern 1982. Der kurze Beitrag besteht aus Gratulationen zum 40. Jahr der schöpferischen Tätigkeit des Dichters Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan und zum 55. Jahr des Schaffens von Rıfat Ilgaz.

S. 606–671: Nachrufe und Gedenkveranstaltungen 1982 für verstorbene Schriftsteller. Unter den erwähnten Namen ist die Mehrzahl bis heute berühmt. Der Grund ist, dass ihre Aktualität Anlass für das gedenken war. Unter ihnen sind: Suat Derviş, die am 23.7.1973 starb, Behçet Necatigil, Mehmet Akif Ersoy (46. Todestag), Aşık Veysel (9. Todestag), Sabahattin Ali (34. Ttg.), Sait Faik (28. Ttg.), Tevfik Fikret (67. Ttg.), Halikarnas Balıkçısı (10. Ttg.), Yahya Kemal (24. Ttg.), Sevgi Soysal (1936–1976). Allen erwähnten Schriftstellern werden ein oder zwei Nachrufe gewidmet.

S. 672: 1982 verstorbene Literaten. Von den 20 erwähnten Personen sind insbesondere zwei zu nennen: der bedeutende Literaturhistoriker Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı (25. August), und die Schriftstellerin Azra Erhat (6. September). Es folgen keine Nachrufe oder Abbildungen.

S. 674–681: 1982 erschienene türkische Literatur. Einige Beispiele noch heute gelesener Literatur seien genannt: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Hadi gidelim“, Ahmet Altan: „Dört mevsim sonbahar“, Melih Cevdet Anday: „Gizli emir“, Özdemir Asaf: „Bir kapı önünde“, İlhan Berk: Günaydın yeryüzü“, Orhan Duru: Yoksullar geliyor“, Füruzan: „Gecenin öteki yüzü“, Feyza Hepçilingirler: „Sabah yolcuları“, Selim İleri: Eski defterde solmuş çiçekler“, Bekir Yıldız: „Kara vagon“.

S. 682–689: Ins Türkische übersetzte Werke. Es findet sich die übliche Mischung: von Arthur Rimbaud über Georg Büchner bis Graham Green.

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S. 11–22: Aziz Nesin gibt einen kurzen Überblick über den Band und stellt drei Preise vor, die aus Anlass des Erscheinens des 10. Bandes gegründet werden sollen: 1. für Literaturforschung, 2. für Satire, 3. für Jugendliteratur. Anschliessend werden die Bedingungen beschrieben.

S. 23–44: Der Literaturkalender 1983. Wie im vorhergehenden Band werden wenige literarische Ereignisse aufgeführt, statt dessen besteht das Kapitel in der Hauptsache aus Schilderungen politischer Verfolgung durch die Politik, wobei Termine, Gerichte, Paragraphen akribisch genannt werden. Nur zwei Beispiele: Am 27 Januar werden der Chefredakteur der Tageszeitung „Cumhuriyet“ und der Schriftsteller Oktay Akbal wegen eines Artikels zu je drei Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Am 17. März wird der Prozess gegen Aziz Nesin eröffnet, bei dem es um das 1956 erschienene Buch „Az gittik, uz gittik“ geht. Der Vorwurf ist Propaganda für den Kommunismus. Der Staatsanwalt fordert zehn Jahre Gefängnis. Monate später erfolgt der Freispruch. Es werden zahlreiche weitere Prozesse genannt (freie Wahlen wird es erst am 29. Nov. jenes Jahres geben). Vom 27.–30. September findet der V. Nationale Turkologie-Kongress an der Universität Istanbul statt. Andere erwähnte Kulturereignisse sind z.B. Aufführungen von Theaterstücken.

S. 45–62: Reden, Symposien und andere literarische Geschehnisse. Auf einer Konferenz am Deutschen Kulturinstitut hielt Bekir Yıldız einen langen Vortrag mit dem Titel „Die böse Migration (Yaman göç)“ am 23. April, die in ihrem vollen Wortlaut abgedruckt ist. In der Liste der Veranstaltungen des Österreichischen Kulturbüros fand vom 12.–20. Dezember ein „Franz Kafka Symposium“ statt. Es folgen eine Liste der Veranstaltungen der „Kunstvereinigung“ und eine der „Schriftstellervereinigung“. Das Kapitel schliesst mit einer Liste von Signaturveranstaltungen mit Namen der Schriftsteller, Orte und Daten ab.

S. 63–110: Ereignisse, die mit Literatur zu tun haben. Am 12. September wurde vom Militärgericht Istanbul der Notstandsregierung ein Prozess gegen 17 leitende Mitglieder der Türkischen Schriftstellergewerkschaft eingeleitet. Der Vorwurf lautete in allen

Fällen „kommunistische Propaganda“. Es wurden Haftstrafen zwischen 8 und 15 Jahren beantragt. Nach mehreren Monaten wurden unterschiedlich lange, aber wesentlich kürzere Urteile gefällt. Zu diesem Prozess nehmen zahlreiche Schriftsteller Stellung, allen voran Aziz Nesin. Es folgen mehrere Berichte über die 2. Istanbuler Buchmesse, die 62000 Besucher anzog, von denen – laut Statistik – 70% Bücher kauften, 72% unter 30 Jahre alt waren und 80% eine Gymnasial- oder Hochschulausbildung hatten. Die numerischen Angaben gehen noch viel weiter.

S. 111–136: Dichtung 1983. Mehmet Doğan, der, mit einer Ausnahme, regelmässig diesen Beitrag liefert, fragt in der Einleitung nach möglichen Veränderungen, die die Dichtung in den vergangenen Jahren erfahren hat. Er stellt fest, dass nach den „İkinci yeni“, die die Sprache selbst zum Hauptgegenstand der Dichtung gemacht hatten, in Gedichten mehr und mehr Sozialkritik ausgedrückt wurde. Anhand von zahlreichen Beispielen zeigt er, dass diese in den letzten Jahren abgenommen hat und statt dessen die Dichtung immer gefühlsbetonter wurde. Es folgt darauf eine Liste mit Artikeln über Dichtung mit bibliographischen Angaben. Dann folgt eine Liste von 50 in dem Jahr erschienenen Gedichtbänden, die teilweise kommentiert werden. Die Liste der Preise ist kurz, da viele nicht vergeben wurden. Wir nennen hier nur den Behçet Necatigil Gedichtpreis, den Turgut Uyar (Mann von Tomris Uyar) für den Band „Kayayı delen incir“ und den Yeditepe Gedichtpreis, den İlhan Berk für den Band „Deniz eskisi“ erhielt.

S. 137–142: Roman und Erzählung 1983. Konur Ertop erwähnt in einem einleitenden Satz, dass 1983 15 Romane und 35 Erzählungsbände erschienen seien, bevor er beginnt, einige von ihnen zu kommentieren. Aus Anlass von Memduh Şevket Esendals 100. Geburtstag erschien der erste Band seiner gesammelten Werke (Bütün esreleri) „Vassaf bey“, der überarbeitet wurde. Vedat Türkali befasst sich mit dem Verhalten der Menschen in Bodrum vor dem Militärputsch vom 12. September in „Mavi Karanlık“. Orhan Pamuks erstes Buch „Cevdet Bey ve oğulları“ wird erwähnt und der Inhalt umrissen. Dann folgt ein Paragraph über Latife Tekins ersten und berühmt gewordenen Roman „Sevgili arsız ölüm“. Das erste der zwanzig erwähnten Erzählbände ist Pınar Kürs „Akışı osmayan sular“.

Es folgt das in viele Sprachen übersetzte Buch von Nedim Gürsel „*Kadınlar kitabı*“. Zuletzt nennen wir noch den mit dem Erzählprix des „Akademi Kitabevi“ ausgezeichnete Buch von İnci Aral: „*Kıran resimleri*“. Es folgen weder eine Liste der Titel noch ein Resümee.

S. 143–148: Essay und Kritik. Vedat Günyol gibt einen längeren Überblick über die Geschichte von Publikationen, in denen sich Essay und Kritik vermischt auf Literatur beziehen. Um nur einige Titel aus dem Jahre 1983 zu nennen: Doğan Hızlan: „*Yazılı İlişkiler*“, das verschiedene Schriftsteller und ihre Werke kommentiert; Attila Özkırımlı geht in seinem Werk weiter zurück, indem er in dem Band „*Edebiyat incelemeleri*“ die allgemeine Entwicklung türkischer Literatur bis in die osmanische Zeit verfolgt; Cevdet Kudret betrachtet in dem Werk „*Benim oğlum bına okur*“ die Literatur im Rahmen des türkischen Erziehungssystems; A. Mümtaz İdil betrachtet auf historischem Hintergrund in dem Werk „*Gerçeklik ve roman*“ das Verhältnis zwischen Sprache und den Anforderungen an den Roman.

S. 149–163: Kunst- und Literaturzeitschriften in der Türkei 1983. Mehmet Yaçar Bilen holt historisch weit aus mit der Überschrift: „Warum erscheinen Zeitschriften?“ Dahinter verbirgt sich ein historischer Abriss über die Entwicklung von Kulturzeitschriften im Osmanischen Reich unter dem Einfluss westlicher Vorbilder. Darauf folgt eine kommentierte Auflistung von 23 Zeitschriften, von denen die wichtigsten „*Varlık*“, „*Türk dili*“, „*Yazko edebiyat*“, „*Türk edebiyatı*“ und „*Bilim ve sanat*“ gewesen sein dürften.

S. 164–212: Literarische Diskussionen. Es geht in den Beiträgen unter dieser Überschrift sowohl um Literatur wie um Musik, da sich alle Beiträge mit der Frage befassen, ob die Folklore ein Feind der Kunst sei. Demirtaş Ceyhun zitiert in diesem Zusammenhang Ziya Gökalp, der die These vertrat, dass die byzantinisch-griechischen Fremdeinflüsse sich negativ auf die reine türkische Tradition auswirkten, während Pertev Naili Boratav den Standpunkt vertritt, dass alle Fremdeinflüsse von Anbeginn – die chinesischen, buddhistischen, iranischen usw. – die türkische Kultur bereichert haben. Ca. 20 Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit dieser Frage.

S. 213–238: Volksliteratur und kulturelle Festveranstaltungen 1983. Wie im vorhergehenden Band beginnt Nasrettinoğlu mit der Erklärung des Begriffs „Folklore“, um dann auf die Wertschätzung der Folklore in anderen Ländern zu verweisen und gleichzeitig einige internationale Veranstaltungen zu nennen. Als erstes ist ein „Folklore Festival der Donauländer“ in Ungarn an der Reihe, dann eines in der damaligen Sowjetrepublik Aserbaidschan, um dann zu weiteren Ländern zu kommen. Die ersten genannten grösseren türkischen Folklore-Ereignisse sind 15 Vorträge, die 1983 im Rahmen der „Gesellschaft für Folklore-Forschung (Folklor Araştırmaları Kurumu)“ abgehalten wurden. Hier kam nicht nur Volksliteratur zur Sprache, sondern auch Musik. Dann wird „Das I. Internationale Seminar für Volksliteratur“ erwähnt, das vom 7.–9. Mai in Eskişehir stattfand und auf dem 50 Vorträge gehalten wurden. In Ankara fand vom 4.–5. Juni „Der I. Wettkampf der Volksbarden (ozanlar)“ in Ankara statt. Weitere kurze Meldungen gelten kleineren, speziellen Veranstaltungen.

S. 239–282: Die türkische Sprache 1983. Emin Özdemirs erstes Kapitel trägt den Titel „Von der Tanzimat bis jetzt“. Es ist ein kurzer Abriss der Diskussion um die Reform der türkischen Sprache, insbesondere der Abschaffung der arabischen Lehnwörter und ar. und pers. grammatischen Konstruktionen. Er meint, dass diese Diskussion nun den Höhepunkt erreicht habe, da insbesondere die Auseinandersetzung um die Neologismen auf einer politisch-ideologischen Basis geführt werde. Das war allerdings auch schon vorher der Fall. Aber jetzt haben immer mehr Politik und Justiz mitzureden. Nach einigen sprachphilosophischen Überlegungen macht er allen Beteiligten den Vorwurf, dass man nicht einmal die Grundvoraussetzungen für eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit der Sprache geschaffen habe, wie z.B. ein Dialektwörterbuch (wobei das hier gebrauchte Wort „şive“ sich wahrscheinlich auf die zentralasiatischen Türksprachen bezieht), eine vergleichende Grammatik, ein Synonymwörterbuch usw. Danach werden zunächst wörtlich Wissenschaftler und Schriftsteller zitiert, deren Äusserungen die Kulmination der Vorgänge deutlich macht, bei denen es im Prinzip um die Unabhängigkeit der Sprachplaner bzw. Abhängigkeit von politischen Entscheidungen geht.

S. 283–303: Literaturprogramme im TRT. Nachdem Muzaffer Bakioğlu im Vorwort seines Beitrages die Wichtigkeit von Radio und Fernsehen für die Verbreitung der Literatur unterstrichen hat, gibt er Beispiele von Programmen. Davon sind einige Beispiele: Die jeden Sonntag ausgestrahlte Sendung auf TRT 2 Beispiele der türkischen Literatur. In dieser Sendung wurde aus den Werken von 51 Schriftstellern gelesen, und es wurden Angeben über ihre Biographie gemacht. Es gab auch zwei Sendungen auf TRT 2, die sich mit internationaler Literatur befassten: „Beispiele aus Erzählungen der Welt“ und „Gedichte der Welt mit Beispielen“. Eine wichtige Rolle spielte auch das „Radio-Theater“, das aus etwa 50 Hörspielen türkischer und internationaler Autoren bestand. Dies gab es auch für Kinder. Es folgt eine Liste zahlreicher Sendungen, die sich mit bestimmten Autoren befassten.

S. 304–392: Auszeichnungen und Wettbewerbe 1983. In seiner Einleitung betont Kemal Özer, dass 1983 eine Reihe von Literaturpreisen nicht vergeben wurde, da einige Preise ganz abgeschafft wurden, es bei anderen zu keiner Entscheidung kam. Im Übrigen setzt der Beitrag die Vorgehensweise der beiden vorhergehenden Bände fort, indem der Sinn von Preisen generell und die Vergabe von bestimmten Preisen in zahlreichen langen und kurzen Beiträgen diskutiert wird. Es finden sich auch Interviews und Ansprachen, so wie das Interview mit İnci Aral, die den Nevzat Üstün Erzählungs-Preis für ihren Band „*Kıran resimleri*“ erhielt. Ein weiteres Interview gibt es mit Ahmet Altan, der den Roman-Preis des Akademi Kitabevi erhielt.

S. 393–427: Türkische Literatur und Schriftsteller im Ausland. Es geht wiederum in der Hauptsache um türkische Autoren, die sich zu verschiedenen Zwecken im Ausland aufgehalten haben und um in andere Sprachen übersetzte Literatur. Einige der Erwähnungen: Yaşar Kemal nahm an einem kulturellen Kongress an der Sorbonne teil, an dem auch Präsident Mitterand anwesend war. Die zweimonatige französische Zeitschrift „*Poésie sans frontière*“ räumt den türkischen Dichtern M. Cevdet Anday und Özdemir İnce viele Seiten ein. Die deutsche Krupp-Stiftung finanziert einen Katalog der aus dem Türkischen ins Deutsche übersetzten Literatur. Der an der Duisburger Hochschule arbeitende Bibliothekar Tayfun Demir hat die

Zusammenstellung übernommen, der inzwischen verstorbene Übersetzer Carl Koss assistierte ihm (das Buch ist 1995 erschienen, führt an die 500 Titel auf; gibt es inzwischen in erweiterter Form). In Stockholm gab es vom 9.–30. November türkische Literaturabende, an denen auch Demir Özlü teilnahm. Yüksel Pazarkaya hat einen langen Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Literatur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland beigesteuert.

S. 428–446: Literaten, die 1983 unsere Gäste in der Türkei waren. Von den international bekannten Schriftstellern sind Hans Magnus Enzensberger und Roger Garaudy zu nennen. Mit beiden gibt es Interviews. Garaudy wird gefragt, warum er zum Islam übergetreten sei.

S. 447–519: Runde Geburtstage unserer Schriftsteller. In der Liste kommen u.a. vor: 75 Jahre: Nadir Nadi; 70 Jahre: Şevket Rado; 60 Jahre: Oktay Akbal, Mehmet Aydin (Dichter, Literaturhistoriker), Muzaffer Uyguner,; 50 Jahre: Gülsen Akin, Orhan Duru, Muzaffer İzgü, Mahmut Makal, Bekir Yıldız, Tahsin Yücel. Wieder werden allen Genannten Biographien und andere Artikel und ein Porträtfoto gewidmet.

S. 520–630: Nachtrag: 1982 verstorbene Literaten und der Literatur nahe stehende Personen. Die bekanntesten von ihnen sind: Hikmet Dizdaroglu (22. Dezember 1981); Melih Vassaf (Dramatiker, 29. Januar 1982), Samet Ağaoğlu (6. August 1983), Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı (25. August), Azra Erhat (6. August), Osman Canberk (Dichter, Übersetzer, 14. Oktober). 1983 verstorben: Kemal Bilbaşar (21. Januar), Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (25. Mai). Allen Genannten sind mehrere Nachrufe, teilweise mit Textproben gewidmet.

S. 631–728: Nachrufe und Gedenkveranstaltungen verstorbener Schriftsteller 1983. Es handelt sich um 29 Literaten, darunter z.B. Nazım Hikmet, dem ein langer Artikel gewidmet ist (ohne Nennung des Anlasses), Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar (39. Todestag), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (110. Geburtstag), Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (39. Todestag)...

S. 729–735: 1983 erschienene türkische Werke. Neben Schöner Literatur sind zahlreiche Fachbücher erschienen. Ein Ausschnitt der

Bücher, die noch gelesen werden: Oktay Akbal: „Lunapark“, İnci Aral: „Kıran resimleri“, Tahsin Yücel: „Ben ve öteki“; es sind mehrere Sammelwerke erschienen, so von Necati Cumali: „Bütün şiirler 1“, Memduh Şevket Esendal: „Bütün eserler 1,2,3,4“ und weitere.

S. 736–741: 1983 erschienene übersetzte Literatur. Die Übersetzungen betreffen alle Literaturgattungen und viele Sprachen. Unter der Belletristik finden sich u.a. Heinrich Böll, Boileau-Narcejac, Truman Capote, Anton Tschechov, Nikos Kazantzakis, Thomas Mann, Ezra Pound u.v.a.m. Der Band schliesst mit Korrekturen zu einem früheren Kapitel ab.

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S. 11–22: Vorwort von Aziz Nesin. Innerhalb des kurzen Überblicks über den Band betont Nesin, auf welch positive Resonanz das in jedem Band vorhandene Kapitel über die runden Geburtstage der Autoren gestossen ist. Es garantire die Würdigung lebender Schriftsteller und ihres Werkes. Es folgt ein Überblick über die von der Nesin-Stiftung vergebenen Literaturpreise und deren Satzungen: Der Preis für die beste Satire, für Jugendliteratur, für Literaturforschung.

S. 23–49: Literaturkalender 1984. Wie in den vorhergehenden Bänden finden sich die meisten Informationen in den folgenden speziellen Kapiteln. Auch dieses Jahr wurde wieder vom juristischen Eingreifen in den Literaturbetrieb beherrscht. Nur wenige Beispiele: Am 6. März wurde der Dichter Arif Damar auf Grund eines Gedichtes über Vietnam wegen kommunistischer Propaganda vor Gericht gestellt, aber freigesprochen. Am 24. August wurde die politische und kulturelle Wochenzeitschrift „Nokta“ verboten und am 1. September wieder erlaubt. Am 4. Oktober wurden Nedim Gürsel und der Herausgeber des Cem Verlages wegen des „obszönen (müstehcen)“ Buches „Kadınlar kitabı“ vor Gericht gestellt, aber freigesprochen. Zwei positive Ereignisse: Vom 27.–31. März gab es in Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Ümit Yaşar Kunsthalle und dem Sanat Verlag eine Ausstellung zu Ehren Aziz Nesins mit den Werken, Handschriften, Photographien, Preisen usw. berühmter türkischer

Schriftsteller. Vom 30. März bis zum 8. April fand die „II. Ankaraer Buchmesse“ statt, in Verbindung mit einer Drucktechnologischen Austellung. Vom 4.–6. April veranstaltete die Ege Universität eine Tagung mit dem Thema „Frauen in der Literatur“. Es folgt ein kurzer Überblick über literarische Veranstaltungen wie Reden und Symposien. Darunter ist ein etwas längerer Bericht über ein Symposium „Alte deutsche Literatur“, veranstaltet in Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Fakultät für Wissenschaft und Literatur der Marmara Universität, dem Österreichischen Kulturbüro und dem Türkisch-deutschen Kulturinstitut. Ein Verzeichnis der Signatur-Tage, mit Namen und sortiert nach den Verlagen, schliesst das Kapitel ab.

S. 50–121: Literaturereignisse und Ereignisse, die die Literatur betreffen. Die zehn Unterkapitel betreffen: den Prozess, der seit 1983 gegen die Türkische Schriftstellergewerkschaft geführt wird, mit zahlreichen Beiträgen auch namhafter Literaten; das Einsammeln und Verbrennen von Büchern. Auch zu diesem Beitrag gibt es zahlreiche Stellungnahmen. Die nächsten Artikel handeln davon, dass Yaşar Kemal in Paris von Präsident Mitterand den Verdienstorden „Légion d'honneur“ für seine Verdienste um die Weltliteratur verliehen wurde. Es folgt eine Erörterung der „Rabia Hatun-Gedichte“ des Dichters İ. H. Danişmend. Weitere Überschriften: Dr. Yalçın Küçük Hakkı, Türkische Buchwoche in Berlin, Buchmesse religiöser Literatur, das Buch von Füsun Şahin, Müstehcen (A. Mithat Efendi, staatliches Urheberrecht).

S. 122–151: Dichtung 1984. Mehmet H. Doğan schreibt in der Einleitung seines Beitrages, dass die Dichtung das fruchtbarste Genre des Jahres gewesen sei. Obwohl mehrere Literatur-/Kulturzeitschriften eingestellt worden seien, seien neue entstanden und brächten umso mehr Dichtung. Bevor er auf einzelne Zeitschriften und Bücher eingeht, beschreibt er die Diskussion um die „70er Generation“, jener Dichter-Generation, deren Dichtung vom Putsch am 12. September geprägt war, in einem langen Kapitel, in dem er auf die Meinung zahlreicher Künstler eingeht. Darauf folgt eine Auflistung von Zeitschriften, die u.a. Gedichte drucken. „Üç Çiçek“ hat eine Sondernummer, die Gedichte von 14 Dichtern enthält. Dann werden 29 publizierte Gedichte mit Verfasser und Erscheinungsort genannt. Die nächste Liste umfasst Interviews mit Dichtern mit

bibliographischen Angaben. Es folgt eine zum grössten Teil kommentierte Auflistung von 59 Gedichtbänden, darunter Anday Melih Cevdet: „Tanıdık dünya“; Asaf Özdemir: „Benden sonra mutluluk“; Cengiz Bektaş : „Akdeniz. Ustalarım“, Neuauflage in einem Band; İlhan Berk: „Delta ve Çocuk“; Şükran Kurdakul: „Ökselerin yöresinde“; Murathan Mungan: „Kum saatı“; Aziz Nesin: „Sondan başa“. Ein Abschnitt über die für Dichtung vergebenen Preise schliesst das Kapitel ab.

S. 152–164: Essay, Memoiren, Reiseberichte. Es ist kein Titel zu entdecken, der unter letztgenannte Rubrik fällt. An Essaybänden kann man folgende nennen: Berna Moran: „Türk romanına eleştirel bir bakış“ (eher Kritik), Yalçın Küçük: „Aydın üzerine tezler“, Muzaffer İlhan Erdost: „Bilim ile yazın arasında“. Demirtaş Ceyhun hat ein Buch mit Erinnerungen über „Çağımızın Nasrettin Hocası: Aziz Nesin“. Im Folgenden wird auf diese, und die hier nicht genannten Bücher, in längeren Kommentaren eingegangen. Das erwähnte Buch von Moran ist nur der erste Band mehrerer geplanter und enthält Kapitel über: Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar, Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Peyami Safa und Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar.

S. 165–176: Kunst- und Literaturzeitschriften in der Türkei 1984. In diesem Kapitel werden von Mehmet Yaşar Bilen 34 türkische Kulturzeitschriften vorgestellt. Nach Thematik eingeteilt, beschäftigt sich der grösste Teil mit Literatur. „Varlık“ enthält auch einen Artikel über „25 Jahre afrikanische Literatur“ und diskutiert wiederum die „70er Generation“. Besonders „Yazko Çeviri“ beschäftigt sich mit ausländischer Literatur, z.B. ist der Sonderband Januar/Februar Franz Kafka gewidmet. Es werden auch Zeitschriften genannt, die sich mit bildender Kunst und Architektur beschäftigen.

S. 177–199: Volksliteratur und kulturelle Festveranstaltungen 1984. In der kurzen Einleitung heisst es, dass immer mehr Jugendliche Mitglieder in „Folklore-Vereinen“ werden. Die im Artikel aufgeführten Veranstaltungen beschäftigen sich mit den gewohnten Namen der Volksliteratur. Z.B. gab es vom 6.–9. Mai die „Yunus Emre Kultur und Kunstwoche“ in Eskişehir. Es folgt ein Seminar zu „Aşık Seyran“, das Karacaoğlan Kultur- und Kunstfestival, am 24.

Mai in Karaman das „Türkische Sprachfest und Gedenkfeierlichkeiten für Yunus Emre“. Auf dem „Internationalen Kongress für türkische Folklore und Volksliteratur“ vom 26.–28. Oktober in Konya werden 41 Vorträge gehalten. Weitere Veranstaltungen werden genannt. Es folgt eine Liste von 40 Büchern, die sich mit dem Thema beschäftigen. Den Abschluss bilden zwei Berichte über den „VI. Nationalen Turkologie Kongress“, der vom 24.–29. September in Istanbul stattfand.

S. 200–226: Der Umfang der Turkologie von einst bis jetzt. Nach einem Überblick über die Erforschung der frühen türkischen Werke, die unter islamischem Einfluss entstanden, gibt der Turkologe Fuat Bozkurt einen Einblick in den Stand der Turkologie in verschiedenen europäischen Ländern und Nordamerika. In dem kurzen Kapitel über Schweden wird selbstverständlich von Strahlenberg genannt, ebenso Collinder und Lars Johanson. In dem Kapitel über Dänemark werden die Verdienste Vilhelm Thomsens und Kaare Grönbechs gewürdigt. Das längste Kapitel handelt von Deutschland, das als „Heimat der Turkologie“ bezeichnet wird. Namentliche Erwähnungen reichen hier von Bang bis Spuler, womit die Einbettung der Turkologie in die Islamwissenschaft verdeutlicht wird, während eine selbständige Turkologie kaum zur Sprache kommt.

S. 227–271: Die türkische Sprache 1984. Emin Özdemir schreibt einen ausführlichen Beitrag zur Diskussion über die Sprachreform. Um sein Argument zu stärken, dass es Unsinn sei, die Reform rückgängig zu machen, bringt er mehrere Dutzend Beispiele von Neologismen, die der Staatspräsident in einer Rede verwendete. Er berichtet, dass es Stimmen gab, z.B. in der Tageszeitung „Tercüman“, die forderten, die Wörterbücher, die die TDK geschaffen hatte, zu vernichten. Er zitiert zahlreiche Stimmen, die zur Reform Stellung nahmen und diskutiert in diesem Rahmen Neologismen sowie auch Morpheme, die zu ihrer Bildung benutzt, von vielen aber kritisiert wurden. Im nächsten Beitrag stellt A. Hamit Sunel die Frage, wie das „Özتürkçe“ aussehen solle. Ein kurzer Bericht aus der Cumhuriyet berichtet über die „Konferenz der Türkischen Sprachwissenschaft, an der u.a. Karl Zimmer, Rik Boeschoten und Bernt Brendemoen teilnahmen.“

S. 272–313: Literaturprogramme im TRT. Der Beitrag ist eingeteilt in Kapitel mit Unterkapitel. Unter der Überschrift des ersten Kapitels „Literaturprogramme im Radio“ finden sich die Unterkapitel: „Eine Auswahl aus unserer Literatur“, in der Themen unterschiedlicher Art zur Sprache kommen; es folgen: „Beispiele aus Erzählungen der Weltliteratur“; die Serie „Aus der (türkischen) Literaturgeschichte“; „Die Welt des Theaters“; „Hörspiele“ und weitere Unterkapitel. Das zweite Kapitel enthält Serien, wie z.B.: „Türkische Dramen von der Tanzimat bis heute“, „Themen türkischer Dichtung“; ein weiteres Unterkapitel enthält Sendungen, die dem Gedenken bestimmter Schriftsteller und Dichter gewidmet sind, wie z.B. Halide Edip Adıvar, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar, Sait Faik, Mehmet Akif u.v.a.m.

S. 314–373: Auszeichnungen und Wettbewerbe 1984. Kemal Özer beginnt seine Einleitung mit der Bemerkung, dass 1984 24 Literaturpreise vergeben worden seien. Acht davon waren neu gestiftete Preise. Der Grund für die verhältnismässig niedrige Zahl liege daran, dass einige Preise nicht vergeben wurden, andere ohnehin nicht jedes Jahr vergeben werden. Es folgt ein Überblick aus „Gösteri“ von Selma Tükel über „Theater-Auszeichnungen vom Anfang bis heute“. Ein weiterer Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Bedeutung von Auszeichnungen für junge bzw. neue Autoren. Auf eine Liste von Preisen folgen die Informationen, wer welche Auszeichnung erhalten hat. Den Sabahattin Ali Erzählungspreis erhielt z.B. Ahmet Önel für den Band „Matinede mükrimin“, der Yeditepe Gedichtpreis wurde Necati Cumali zugesprochen für den Band „Tufandan önce“. In dem Anschliessenden Interview wird Cumali auch zur Rolle der Sexualität befragt, die ja auch in seinen Erzählungen häufig behandelt wird. Mit dem Madaralı Roman Preis wurde auch Orhan Pamuks zweiter Roman „Sessiz ev“ ausgezeichnet. Zu den Preisträgern gehört auch Pınar Kür, die den Sait Faik Erzählungspreis erhielt für den Band „Akışı olmayan sular“. Diese und alle weiteren Preisträger werden mit Artikeln gewürdigt, bzw. zu den Werken interviewt.

S. 374–379: Roman und Erzählung 1984. Das sonst so ausführliche Kapitel fällt dieses Jahr sehr kurz aus, da Konur Ertop aus privaten Gründen es nicht schreiben konnte. In einem kurzen Vorwort erklärt

Aziz Nesin, dass die zu besprechenden Bände im folgenden Band Erwähnung finden werden (welcher dann nicht mehr erschien). Er nennt nur einige Verfasser und Buchtitel, die erschienen sind, unter ihnen: Selim İleri: „Yalancı şafak“, Latife Tekin: „Berci Kristin'in çöp masalları“, Tezer Özlü: „Yaşamın ucuna yolculuk“ und andere; an Erzählungsbänden: Muzaffer Buyrukçu: „Günlerden bir gün“, Nazlı Eray: „Hazır dünya“, Ayşe Kulin: „Güneşe dön yüzünü“ und andere. Er schliesst seinen kurzen Überblick mit den Worten ab: „Ich bitte um Entschuldigung“. Es folgen dann doch noch einige Seiten zu Yaşar Kemals „İnce Memet 3“, mit Bemerkungen über dessen dörflichen anatolischen Hintergrund; Füsün Erbulak: „60 günlük bir şey“, Attila İlhan: „Haco Hanım vay“; Mehmet Eroğlu: „İssizliğin ortasında“.

S. 380–421: Türkische Literatur und Schriftsteller im Ausland. Dieser Beitrag besteht zum grössten Teil aus Zeitungsartikeln, die von türkischer Literatur berichten, die in andere Sprachen übersetzt wurde. Es werden Bücher, einzelne Erzählungen und Anthologien erwähnt, die in vielen europäischen Staaten, den USA und Japan erschienen. Erwähnt wird auch das in den USA erschienene Werk Ahmet Ö. Evins „Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel“. Am 5. und 6. April gab es in Athen eine Ausstellung zu Aziz Nesin, auf der der Autor eine Rede hielt, in der er sich an die Griechen wandte, die Istanbul verlassen und sich in Griechenland niedergelassen hatten. Er betont dabei, wie sehr sie ihrer alten Heimat fehlten. Vom in London erscheinenden „The Good Book Guide“ wurde „İnce Memet“ zum Buch des Jahres ernannt. Yüksel Pazarkaya trägt einen langen Artikel über die türkische Literatur in Deutschland 1984 bei, mit einem umfangreichen Unterkapitel über auf Deutsch schreibende türkische Autoren.

S. 422–432: Ausländische Literaten, die 1984 die Türkei besuchten. Es werden acht Schriftsteller, bzw. Wissenschaftler, darunter die Turkologen Wolfgang Riemann und Gisela Kraft mit Beiträgen vorgestellt.

S. 433–626: Runde Geburtstage unserer Schriftsteller. Wir erwähnen aus der langen Liste wieder nur beispielhaft einige von denen, die eine besondere Rolle in der Literatur spielten: 80 Jahre: Haşim Nezihi Okyay (Dichter und Literaturwissenschaftler); 75 Jahre: Hasan İzettin

Dinamo, Burhan Arpad, Nermin Menemencioğlu; 70 Jahre: Oktay Rifat, Melih Cevdet Anday, Peride Celal, Aziz Nesin; 60 Jahre: Arif Damar, Bülent Ecevit, Atilla İlhan, İlhan Selşuk; 50 Jahre: Mahmut Makal, Adnan Binyazar, Füruzan, Erdal Öz, Demir Özlü, Ali Püsküllüoğlu. Ihnen allen, sowie den hier nicht genannten werden – teilweise lange – biographische Artikel gewidmet, einige werden interviewt, von einigen Texte zitiert. Alle werden fotografisch abgebildet.

S. 627–705: 1984 verstorbene türkische Literaten. Die Bedeutendsten: Sevim Burak (5. Januar), Reşat Enis (11. Januar), Hasan Hüseyin (28. Februar), Vasif Öngören (14. Mai), Halide Nusret Zorlutuna (10. Juni), Yılmaz Güney (9. September), Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan (5. Oktober). Ihnen allen und den hier nicht genannten werden Nachrufe gewidmet.

S. 706–741: Veranstaltungen zu Ehren lebender türkischer Schriftsteller. Es handelt sich um Artikel – meist aus Zeitungen – aus verschiedenen Anlässen zu Ehren von Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, Haldun Taner, Bekir Sıtkı Erdoğan, Aziz Nesin, Oktay Arayıçı, Tahir Kutsi Makal.

S. 742–901: Denkschriften, Versammlungen und Feiern zum Andenken an verstorbene türkische Dichter. Bei den meisten der 37 erwähnten Literaten handelt es sich um Denkschriften in Erinnerung an einen runden Geburtstag oder Todestag; in wenigen Fällen sind sie nicht rund, aber stehen in Verbindung mit einem besonderen Anlass. Nur wenige Beispiele: Mehrere Denkschriften erinnern an den 60. Todestag von Ziya Gökalp, ebenso an den 100. Geburtstag von Yahya Kemal, an Ömer Seyfettins 100. Geburtstag, an Sait Faiks 30. Todestag, an Orhan Kemals 70. Geburtstag (starb 1970), an Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu 10. Todestag, an Halide Edips 20. Todestag usw. Allen von ihnen werden mehrere Artikel gewidmet von unterschiedlicher Länge.

S. 902–910: 1984 erschienene türkische Literatur. Einige der bekanntesten: Adalet Ağaoğlu: „Üç beş kişi“, İnci Aral: „Kıran resimleri“, Özdemir Asaf: „Benden sonra mutluluk“, Arif Damar: „Ay ayakta değildi“, Nazlı Eray: „Hazır dünya“, Füruzan: „Gecenin öteki

yüzü“, Yaşar Kemal: „Kuşlar da gitti“, Aziz Nesin: „Benim delilerim“, „Merhaba“, „Poliste“, Latife Tekin: „Berci Kristin çöp masalları“, Tezer Özlü: „Yaşamın ucuna yolculuk“, Orhan Pamuk: „Sessiz ev“, Necati Tosuner: „Necati Tosuner sokağı“.

S. 911–921: In das Türkische übersetzte Literatur 1984. Die gewohnte Mischung aus aus vielen Sprachen übersetzter Bücher, Schöne wie Fachliteratur. Einige Namen: Louis Althusser, Isaac Asimov, Walter Benjamin, Elias Canetti, Knut Hamsun, Pablo Neruda u.v.a.m. Erfreulicher Weise ist auch in allen Fällen der Übersetzer angegeben. Es schliessen sich mehrere Kommentare aus Zeitschriften zum Nesin Vakfı Jahrbuch an.

S. 922–938: Turkologie und türkische Literatur in der Volksrepublik China. Zunächst werden die Institute aufgezählt und kurz beschrieben, an denen man sich mit Türkischem beschäftigt. Danach beschäftigt sich der Autor mit verschiedenen türkischen Ethnien, die in China leben und den Institutionen, an denen über sie geforscht wird. Es werden auch die muslimischen Huy mit einbezogen, von denen es heisst, sie seien eingewanderte Türken, Araber und Perser. Dieser Beitrag schliesst den Band ab.

BOOK REVIEWS

Steiner, Karin and Heidrun Brückner (eds.). 2010. *Indisches Theater – Text, Theorie, Praxis.* (Drama und Theater in Südasiens 8). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. ISBN 978-3-447-06186-5.

In this publication, Heidrun Brückner and Karin Steiner in Würzburg have collected a number of articles, and while most of the contributions are papers which have been presented in the panel *Drama und Theater in Indien* of the 29th German Congress of Oriental Studies (Deutscher Orientalistentag) 2004 in Halle, articles by Brückner, Leclère and Roland Steiner have also been included in this volume. The articles by Leclère and Tieken are written in English and the others are in German. The book has appeared as number eight in the series *Drama und Theater in Südasiens* edited by Prof. Brückner, and presents a broad spectrum of contemporary research on the texts and performance of the traditional Indian theatre.

In the first article Angelika Malinar (Zürich) deals with the *sāttvikāḥ*, a group of eight psychophysical reactions of the human body like paralysis (*stambha*) or sweating (*sveda*), which have to be in a skilled actor's repertoire and which are collected together with the constant (*sthāyī*) and alternating (*vyabhicāri*) ones to make up a total of 49 *bhāvāḥ* in the sixth chapter of Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*. Malinar rejects the general interpretation of these acting elements as spontaneous expressions of emotion which are generally deprived from conscious control, which goes back to H.H. Wilson.¹ She first

¹ In the introduction of the *Select Specimen* (the full reference of the original publication is: *Select Speciment of the Theatre of the Hindus*. Vol. 1. Calcutta: Asiatic

raises the nature of the *bhāvāḥ* as they – being mostly inadequately translated as “emotions” or “moods” – are able to assume either the role of *vibhāva* (dramatic situation) or *anubhāva* (acting device). A *sāttvikābhāva* like lacrimation (*aśrupralaya*) for example, is able to express the emotions of a specific dramatic situation, but is also capable of represent smoke. Consequently, it is not justifiable to explain these elements of acting as evoked by the actor through the total internalization of his role, depending on the need, they are also used in dramatic situations which would have a different emotional content. The *sattva* which determines the group of psychophysical reactions is said in the text to be the product of concentration (*samādhi*) of the imagination (*manas*), and Malinar – also taking into consideration the preserved relevant passages of Abhinavagupta’s *Bhāratī* – comes to the conclusion that in the *Nātyaśāstra* the term *sattva* refers to the sensitive apparatus of the body which is to be manipulated by the actor through individual imagination in a highly skilled manner.

Basil Leclère (Lyon) deals with medieval Sanskrit plays from Gujarat and Rajasthan in the period between the 11th and 13th century, such as those by Rāmācandra and Yaśaścandra, and using a very rich compilation of textual evidence for them actually having been staged, the author rejects the virulent notion that after the climax of the Sanskrit theater in the first century AD those plays remained pieces merely for reading or recitation. From the prologues and stage directions in the texts, but also from relevant chronicles like the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and the *Prandhakoṣa*, as well as from inscriptions, the author at first puts together passages which express the nature of the plays as being visually performed (1). In the texts there is evidence for stage performance (2), such as instructions for hand gestures and postures (2.1), and there are also references to costumes, makeup and props (2.2). But a large part of this rich contribution takes up the issue of the places of performance (3). The author claims that also in this area of South Asia, not only the premieres of plays did take place in temples (3.1), and presents three theses: “plays were not performed inside any architectural structure but in an open area like a courtyard or a field adjacent to the temple”

Press 1827): “The Sātwika Bhāvas are the involuntary expressions of emotion, natural to a living being” (p. 46).

(p. 42), “that a temporary pavilion was built for once and only once performance, and removed afterwards” (p. 44), and “that a permanent wooden or stone building (or even constructed from these two materials) was built within the temple precincts for staging plays”. In a lengthy passage, the author then follows the question of the meaning of the terms *nṛtyamaṇḍapa* and *raṅgamaṇḍapa* as they appear to designate certain halls in the architectural vocabulary of Jaina temples in the prevailing Māru-Gurjara style, and compares his results with the preserved theatre temples in Kerala. It follows a chapter of collected evidence for the staging of plays in palaces (3.2), in streets and other places of open access (3.3). Finally, he considers the occasion for performing plays (4), and from the fact that these performances were “rituals or festivals in honour of Hindu gods or Jain holy men” (p. 54) Leclère concludes: “thus, it did not matter that Sanskrit was no longer understood by most of the human audience” (p. 59).²

In the third article Hermann Tieken (Leiden) examines the *bhanītāḥ*, *being songs ending with the mentioning of their supposed author, and he observes that their apparently somewhat random insertion into plays* mostly elicits a jarr effect. The author puts the *Gorakṣavijaya* from the Mithila tradition of the 14th century into the center of the inquiry, being attributed to Vidyāpati solely on the grounds of the extant *bhanītāḥ*. He compares collections of songs of similar nature, the *Padāvalī* of the same author, Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* as well as the Old Tamil Caṅkam *Kalittokai*. Tieken refers to previous contributions in which he showed that the *Kalittokai* consists of *lāsyāḥ* – minor dance scenes as defined by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* – and comes to the conclusion that the *bhanītāḥ* in the *Gorakṣavijaya*, as vernacular songs, differ from them as much as from the *catuspādāḥ*, as found for example in Kalidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Because the *bhanītāḥ* could not be reconciled even with the *dhruvāḥ* as songs which are generally not part of the text, Tieken concludes that the *Gorakṣavijaya* with its *bhanītāḥ* should be considered an innovation at peak of the song genre, which had subsequently affected the Newari tradition, and the development could be summarized as: “drama had become musical” (p. 74).

² The lacking reference for “Dundas 2002” is: Paul Dundas: *The Jains*. 2nd edition. London, New York: Routledge 2002 (Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices).

For the next contribution Roland Steiner (Marburg and Halle) has collected the philological notes from the team in Marburg which has translated *Bhavadajjuka/īya*, a short comedy (*prahasana*) from the 6th or 7th century which is transmitted in South India and which is next to the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman the oldest representative of this genre.³ The translation appeared together with its original text in 2006 as affordable paperback, and this philologically high quality publication with its appeal to a broader audience may well be compared to the volumes of the Clay Sanskrit Library.⁴ The rich and detailed notes are very useful for a comprehensive examination of the text, which could be improved compared to the previous editions, and the publisher kindly makes the article together with additional corrigenda available as an offprint its homepage.⁵ A great deal could be learned from paragraph 53, with its mentioning of *guliā/gulikā* as an antidote for snake bite, which is quite interesting for the history of Indian medicine, and the translators in Marburg come to the conclusion that this refers to the so-called “snake stones”.

In the next article Katrin Binder (Würzburg) discusses the theoretical foundations of her research on the recent *Yaksagāna* dance theatre tradition in Karnataka⁶, in which field research and textual research complement each other. After a brief introduction and a survey of the state of research and translations, Binder deals first with the philological approach and the subject here is the so-called *prasaṅga* (episode). The early examples of these songs, which are in verse, can be traced back to medieval Kanarese adaptions of the epics. However, Binder explains that it is not possible to penetrate the *Yaksagāna* completely on the basis of textual research, because, for example the performances contain elements which are orally

³ Towards the ascription of this text to Śāṇḍilya cf. Roland Steiner: *Untersuchungen zur Harṣadevas Nāgānanda und zum indischen Schauspiel*. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag 1997 (Indica et Tibetica 31), p. 255 sq.

⁴ Ulrike Roesler, Jayandra und Luitgard Soni, Roland Steiner, Martin Straube: *Die Heiligen-Hetäre. Bhagavadajjukam. Eine indische Yoga-Komödie*. München: P. Kirchheim 2006.

⁵ <http://www.kirchheimverlag.de/belletristik/die%20heiligen-hetaere.htm> (accessed 05.12.2011).

⁶ Dr. Binder (formerly Fischer) has written already her Magister thesis on that issue, which has been published: *Yaksagāna: eine Einführung in eine südindische Theatertradition. Mit Übersetzung und Text von „Abhimanyu Kālaga“*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2004 (Drama und Theater in Südasiien 3).

transmitted and certain parts are to be improvised. Thus she argues for a method of complementary text-based field research, “Textarbeit alleine misst dem geschriebenen Text zuviel Bedeutung bei, Feldforschung allein zu wenig [textual work alone attaches too much importance to the text, field research alone too little]” (p. 125).

The following articles deal all with the so called “Trivandrum plays”, a corpus of 13 Sanskrit plays from Kerala which have been named after the place of their first publication. They have been attributed by their discoverer Ganapati Śāstrī to Bhāsa, as that name is mentioned by Kālidāsa as one of his predecessors in the prologue of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which would of course give them a fairly advanced age.⁷ Those plays and their performances in the still existing *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* (“acting together”) tradition of theatre in Kerala⁸ have been the subject of research projects at the University of Würzburg funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). First, in the period from 1994 to 2000, there was a comprehensive collecting of manuscripts alongside video documentation of performances⁹, and after that in another project spanning 2003-2008 a multimedia database has been created from the collected materials.¹⁰ The employment of XML markup techniques for the creation of electronic texts of the plays has already been explained by Mathias Ahlborn (Würzburg) extensively in his dissertation on the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*¹¹, and in this volume he sketches the technical background of the creation of that database of the Trivandrum plays. From 2010 onwards, textual criticism, aesthetics and the performance of the plays are the subject of another DFG-funded research project in Würzburg.

Anna Aurelia Esposito (Würzburg) in her contribution deals with some details of writing in the collected Malayalam manuscripts,

⁷ On that problematic issue cf. Tieken: *The so-called Trivandrum plays attribute to Bhāsa*. In: WZKS 37 (1993), p. 5-44, and Steiner, op.cit, p. 265 sq.

⁸ Cf. Farley R. Richmond: *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*. In: Richmond/Swann/Zarrilli (eds.): *Indian theatre – tradition of performance*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1990, p. 87–117.

⁹ Brückner: *Manuscripts and performance traditions of the so-called “Trivandrum-Plays” ascribed to Bhāsa – a report on work in progress*. In: BEI 17–18 (1999–2000), p. 501–550.

¹⁰ <http://www.indologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/bhasa/rahmen.html>.

¹¹ Dissertation. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg 2007.

with which she dealt extensively in her dissertation.¹² Detailed discussions of the writing of the Trivandrum plays are generally interesting for people who deal with Malayalam script for any reason, but Esposito points to the fact that not at last the discussions of the features of the Prakrit of those plays must be grounded on that textual level. She explains that apparently much of what has been highlighted as being rather peculiar by Printz in his *Bhāsa's Prākrit* from 1921 must be withdrawn on palaeographical grounds, which underlines again how crucial constant manuscriptological backreference is for philology.¹³

In the next article Karin Juliana Steiner deals with the *Pañcarātra*, which draws its theme like most of the other Trivandrum plays from the *Mahābhārata*, and which is mainly based on the *Virāṭaparvan*. The main issue under examination is the ritual which stands in the background of the story, and Steiner mainly argues against what has been brought forward by Tieken on that issue.¹⁴ It is undisputed that although some significant vocabulary of Śrauta ritual did not appear in the text, it could be concluded from certain details that a ritual following the paradigm of the Soma ritual takes place here. Steiner disputes Tieken's assertion that it is a Rājasūya which is portrayed, but rather a *Vaiṣṇavayajña*, like it suggested to Duryodhana in the *Mahābhārata* as a replacement for the Rājasūya he is forbidden to execute (3.241.32). To support her notion she examines the abovementioned cattle raid and the arrow episode of the play, and finally the role of the period of five nights during the ritual (p. 163 sq.), which has given the play its name. Steiner comes to the conclusion that this doesn't refer to the *kṣattrasya dhṛti* ritual which is connected with the Rājasūya as suggested by Tieken, but refers to that Viṣṇuite school. The ritual allusions found in the play are all strict implementations of the epic, and Steiner argues that the thesis that the *Pañcarātra* together with others builds a special genre of plays

¹² *Cārudatta – ein indisches Schauspiel. Kritische Edition und Übersetzung mit einer Studie des Prakrits der 'Trivandrum-Dramen'*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004 (Drama und Theater in Südasien 4).

¹³ The lacking reference for "Murthy 1996" is most probably: R.S. Murthy: *Introduction to manuscriptology*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House 1996.

¹⁴ *Three men in a row – studies in the Trivandrum plays II*. In: WZKS 41 (1997), p. 17–52.

associated with the Śrauta ritual – as Tieken has claimed – cannot be maintained.

The concluding contribution of this volume is a German translation accompanying a new Sanskrit text¹⁵ of the one-act *Karṇabhāra*, being the shortest of the five one-acts of the Trivandrum plays, all of which are inspired by the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁶ The piece issues the bad destiny of the army commander of the Kauravas, who finally got his armor wheedled away next to his miracle ear rings on the way to his last battle, and issuing “Karṇa’s burden” the author artistically refers to widely separated parts of the epic. This really is a precious addition to the other chapters in the volume.

Indisches Theater is in my opinion a rewarding lecture, and a great number of rich and profound papers on the different aspects of recent research towards traditional Indian theatre have been collected here. Seeing how much of the current research is related to the name Würzburg it again shows again the importance of the impulses that come from third-party funded research projects like those which could be organised there. The book certainly could be used also as a broad introduction into this interesting topic, which is able to evoke an own engagement with matters already very close to the debates now taking place. The book, which could fortunately be made available as an affordable paperback, aims as said in the introduction at a wider interdisciplinary audience, which is no doubt generally a crucial approach for the welfare of German Indology. However, more of the articles could have been in English, so that a wider international audience could also be reached.

Daniel Stender

¹⁵ It's a improved version of the Sanskrit text which has been published before in the *Indologica Taurinensis* 28 (2004), p. 127–141.

¹⁶ In 2010 also appeared Esposito's *Dūtavākyā – die Worte des Boten. Ein Einakter aus dem „Trivandrum-Dramen“*. *Kritische Edition mit Anmerkungen und kommentierter Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2010 (Drama und Theater in Südasien).

Rebhan, Helga and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München). 2010. Die Wunder der Schöpfung – Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem islamischen Kulturkreis; The Wonders of Creation: Manuscripts of the Bavarian State Library from the Islamic world. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 239 pp. Illustrated. ISBN 978-3-447-6197-1.

The Bavarian State Library has prepared a lavishly illustrated exhibition catalogue for their exhibition *Die Wunder der Schöpfung* in December 2010. The exhibition formed a part of events titled “Changing Views” commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the exhibition *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst* that had displayed more than 3500 objects of Islamic origin. The famous 1910 exhibition focused on scholarly approaches to Islamic art turning away from exotism. The library exhibited 262 Oriental manuscripts and a particular interest was shown on the paleographic aspects of the texts. The anniversary exhibition in December 2010, displayed some of the same manuscripts that formed a part of the earlier exhibition (numbers 1-43 in the catalogue) but, in addition, it presented thirty-seven manuscripts acquired since 1910. According to the organizers, the intention of the exhibition is to combine the study of book art and literature with provenience and other historical information (Vorwort, page 12).

The catalogue presents the exhibited manuscripts by providing sparse codicological information as a list below the entry title: place of origin, date, material, number of folia, size, language, illumination, binding, provenience and the library signum. Further information is given in the descriptive texts introducing the manuscripts. The introductions are written on one page in two columns, one column in German and the other in English. The page facing the introduction displays a sample page of the manuscript or the binding. Some of the manuscripts are represented by more than one illustration. The introductory texts provide some information on the subject matter, author and period of manuscript and give some details on its provenance. In addition, the illuminations are described in more detail and in some cases also the binding receives further attention. The descriptive texts function well in contextualizing the contents or the illuminations by placing them in the literary history of the texts and in the developments of the book art. The amount of specialist

terminology is not overwhelming and a useful glossary is provided as an appendix.

There are a few points of comment, though. Even though most of the descriptions in the texts correspond well to the pictures provided, there are some discrepancies. For example, on page 136, the text describing item 45 *Ilkhanite Koran* informs that the manuscript “illustrates the preference for the gold-blue color combination” with blue headings and blue vowel marks. Unfortunately the picture chosen to illustrate the manuscript does not display this combination of colors. Similarly, on page 30, the text describes the ornamental opening double page, but the picture only shows one page. The descriptive texts themselves are lucid, the German text being the original and the English one the translation. The translations are generally accurate but some errors have crept in. On page 211, Hunayn ibn Ishāq is in the German text characterized as “Polyglott” but instead of using the English equivalent “polyglot” the translator has chosen to translate “language scholar.” Hunayn was a medical scholar and polyglot translator but not a language scholar. On page 133, the last paragraph in the English translation has not been properly edited and remains somewhat garbled.

The texts provide some information on the developments and various schools of book art and illuminations. The descriptive texts are kept short and thus do not allow any detailed discussions. However, they do provide the reader with some basic facts on the various schools and periods. Among the art history comments there is one that strikes an odd note. On pages 71–73, the a 18th century copy of al-Qazwīnī’s ‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt (item 17) is presented showing illustrations in a naivistic style and bold colors. Unfortunately, the catalogue text does not express appreciation of the style on its own right but, instead, condemns it as an example of “a remarkable artistic decline in Arab painting.”

It can be concluded that the catalogue *Die Wunder der Schöpfung* is here produced as a coffee table book with a large number of well executed color illustrations. It functions well independent of the exhibition and allows especially a lay reader a short introduction to the Islamic book art with examples from not only the more familiar Middle East and Iran but also from China and Java.

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