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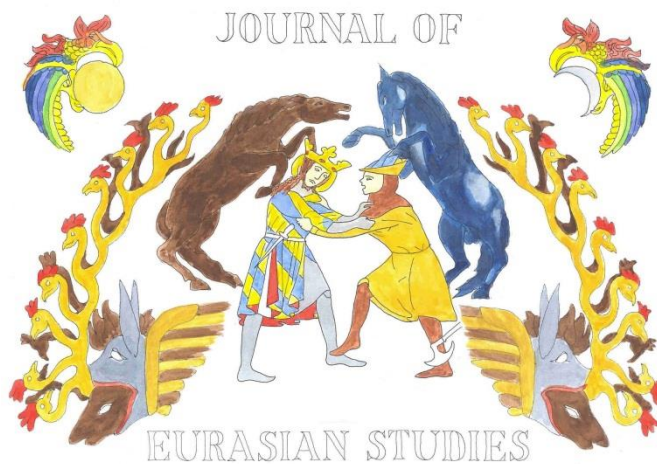
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1. An analytical article should have at least 5,000 words including notes,
2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
5. Wikipedia is not a scientifically authoritative source; referencing it must be avoided, unless Wikipedia or its usage/influence is the topic of the paper,
6. The article can be written in any language. In case it is written in a language other than English, an English summary of at least A4 length is required,
7. A brief (max. 10 sentences long) professional CV in English.

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DEAR READER,

JOURNEY TO THE WEST

The Silk Road is probably the most famous historical network of commercial roads and it is quite natural that on 22 June 2014, UNESCO designated the Chang'an-Tianshan corridor of the Silk Road as a World Heritage Site. Nowadays we can witness a renewed interest in the history of the Silk Road. Countless exhibitions and conferences are held, academic papers are written about it. Now I would like to draw the attention on two phenomena concerning the Silk Road.

The latest exhibition in the Amsterdam Hermitage Museum is titled '*Expedition Silk Road — Journey to the West. Treasures from the Hermitage.*' It is held between 1 March – 5 September 2014. This time again the State Hermitage Museum provided its satellite museum in Amsterdam with a lavish collection. Having built on the work of Russian archaeologists for more than a century, the Museum in St. Petersburg owns a unique collection of basically everything that is connected to the Silk Road's Central Asian section. The cultural richness of this collection is exhibited in Amsterdam with a unique focus: '*Journey to the West*' — a journey not to the European West but to the West of China, to Central Asia and India. The title — and hence the inspiration for the focus — was borrowed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century classical Chinese novel written by Wu Cheng'en, recounting the pilgrimage of the Buddhist monk Xuanzang to India that lasted from 629 to 645. The artifacts displayed provide indeed a grandiose 'journey to the West' to all visitors who are privileged to visit this exhibition. My personal favorite was the painted clay and wood figurine of the monkey 'Sun Wukong' (Monkey in Western Garb) unearthed at Khara Koto during the expedition of Pyotr Kozlov (1907-1909) and dated 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century.

Silk was indeed traded along the Silk Road, but it was by far not the most common traded good. And the commercial aspect of the Silk Road cannot shun its more profound aspect and impact: that of the interchange of cultural, religious, and other spiritual ideas, skills, and crafts. In essence we can even conclude that the Silk Road is the ultimate symbol of globalization put in a right context. This was also the motivating factor for the renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma when he initiated in 1998 the *Silk Road Project, Inc.* in order to promote collaboration among artists and institutions, multicultural artistic exchange, and to study the ebb and flow of ideas among different cultures along the Silk Road. Of the many artists and artistic productions resulting of this initiative is a team of musicians who collaborate under the name '*Ghazal*' and produce a unique and wonderful combination of Persian and Indian improvisative music. The main musicians include Kayhan Kalhor (Iran) playing the kamancheh, Shujaat Husain Khan (India) playing sitar, and Sandeep Das (India) playing the tabla.

Their four CDs up until now under the Ghazal brand include *Ghazal: Lost Songs of the Silk Road*, 1997; *Ghazal 2: As Night Falls on the Silk Road*, 1998; *Ghazal 3: Moon Rise over the Silk Road*, 2000; and *Ghazal: The Rain*, 2003.

We are living in a very fortunate era when we can enjoy such exhibitions like the 'Journey to the West' presenting the enormous cultural richness of the peoples who lived and exchanged high cultures along the Silk Road and also listening to great musicians like Kayhan Kalhor and Shujaat Husain Khan who embody in our time the very essence of the cultural interplay of the Silk Road.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, June 30, 2014

# *HISTORY*



ARDEN-WONG, Lyndon

## Tang Governance and Administration in the Turkic Period

The period between 630-682 is seen as a period of Tang governance on the Mongolian Plateau. The Chinese architectural influence during this period has been well known to scholars of Turkic memorial complex archaeology. Historical documents (both Chinese and runic) attest to the employment of Chinese artisans and architects to construct the memorial complexes of the 2nd Eastern Türk Khaganate (683-742),<sup>1</sup> which are well-known in the archaeological record.<sup>2</sup> It is also reckoned that no settlements have been discovered dating from the Turkic period which makes the Uighur architectural developments that followed seem even bolder. However, archaeologically and architecturally, this period is rather unclear. With new archaeological data available, it is worth exploring this phenomenon more closely. This paper will contextualise the historical backdrop, then begin an expository study of the architectural evidence from this period. It is argued that this period indeed does have an architectural legacy and that it set models of elite architecture of the steppe, which were particularly relevant to the 2nd Eastern Türk and the Eastern Uighur Khaganate (744-840).

With the defeat and resettlement of the Eastern Türks in 630 and subordination of the Xueyantuo 薛延陀 in 647, the Tang instituted the *jimi fuzhou* 羁縻府州 administrative system (lit. "horse bridle prefecture" or "loose reign") on the steppe region dividing it into six area commands and seven prefectures.<sup>3</sup> The then-current political leaders were invested as area commanders and prefects. The Uighur leader Tumidu was invested as the commander-in-chief of the Hanhai 瀚海 area command (a far more important role than his steppe contemporaries). Sixty relay stations were established between the Yanran 燕然 Protectorate in the north of the Ordos, Inner Mongolia and the Uighur governed Hanhai Area

<sup>1</sup> For the runic sources see Tekin, T. (1997) Sebeok, T.A. (ed.) *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 69, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, Kül Tegin Inscription: N13, p. 272 and Bilge Khagan Inscription: N14, p. 281. For the Chinese sources (in reference to the construction of the Kül Tegin memorial complex see Jiu Tang Shu (=JTS) 194a.5177 and Xin Tang Shu (=XTS) 215b.6054.

<sup>2</sup> Of course this only applies to Turkic memorial complexes of the elite. See Vořtov, V.E. (1996) *Drevnetiūrkskii Panteon i Model' Mirozdaniia, Kul'tovo-pominal'nykh pamiātnikakh Mongolii VII-VIII vv.* [Ancient Turkic Pantheon and Model of the Universe, Cult memorial monuments in Mongolia VII-VIII cents.], Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi Muzei Vostoka, Šmahelová, L. (2009) "Kül Tegin Monument and Heritage of Lumír Jisl - The Expedition of 1958" in Bemmann, J., Parzinger, H., Pohl, E. and D. Tseveendorzh (eds.) *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia, Papers from the first international conference on "Archaeological Research in Mongolia" held in Ulaanbaatar, August 19th-23rd, 2007*, Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, pp. 325-41 and Stark, S. (forthcoming) "Aspects of Elite Representation among the Early Türks (before ca. 630 A.D.)".

<sup>3</sup> XTS 43b.1109, JTS 195.5196, For Tang implementation of the Han *jimi* policy see Skaff, J.K. (2012) *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 61-2 and Lin Gan 林幹 (2007) *突厥与回纥史 Tujue yu Huihe shi* (A History of Turks and Uygurs), Hohhot: Inner Mongolian People's Press, pp. 115-9. For modern locations of these regions see idem. pp. 118-9.

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Command in Central Mongolia.<sup>4</sup> This would have been the official route of administration and communication between the Tang and Uighurs.<sup>5</sup> As well as the role of the governor, each protectorate contained a whole hierarchy of subordinate officials.<sup>6</sup> Symbolic gifts of investiture were bestowed on the governor, such as silken garments, belt adornments, fish tallies and standards.<sup>7</sup> These items assisted in raising the governors' status within the steppe and Chinese society and the granting of Chinese titles was seen as a legitimisation of the tribal ruler in both Chinese and steppe socio-political contexts. The *jimi* system was outwardly a system to protect and control the frontiers of China by using "barbarians to control barbarians" whilst also holding the purpose of "pacifying and Sinicising the submitted non-Chinese".<sup>8</sup>

As well as the imprint the Tang left on the steppe, we should also strongly consider the resettlement and return of steppe peoples to and from northern (modern) China and the effect/influence it may have had. J.K. Skaff asserts:

While it often has been noted that pastoral nomads had a tendency to migrate from eastern to western Eurasia, the circulation of Turko-Mongols discontinuously between the Mongolian Plateau and Northern China has not receive [sic] sufficient recognition. Mobility over long distances during crises was enabled by a pastoral lifestyle and driven by desperation. The ruling stratum of medieval Mongolian society - generally alternating between Türks and Uighurs- had intimate experience with the Tang court from the late seventh to eight centuries. Many tribal commoners in Mongolia also must have had some familiarity with the sedentary society of North China's borderlands. Episodic tribal circulation appears to have knit and reknit the web of Eurasian cultural connections.<sup>9</sup>

The impact of this settlement and resettlement of Turko-Mongols should be considered when discussing architectural developments on the Mongolian steppe. Interaction with Chinese settlements was not limited to only steppe traders and envoys, but a vast strata of society. Even more relevant is that

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<sup>4</sup> Jiu Tang Shu 192.5196, XTS 217a.6112 and Skaff 2012, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> See Chavannes, E. (1903) *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, pp. 90-1, Pan Yihong (1997) *Son of Heaven and Heavenly Qaghan, Sui-Tang China and its Neighbours*, Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, p. 201 and Skaff (2012), p. 61-2.

<sup>6</sup> Chavannes 1903, p. 91, JTS 195.5196.

<sup>7</sup> Skaff, (2012), pp. 163-6.

<sup>8</sup> Pan Yihong (1997), pp. 198-9.

<sup>9</sup> Skaff 2012 p. 297.

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the founder of the Eastern Uighur Khaganate was derived from peoples who sought refuge with the Tang during the reign of Bilge Khagan.<sup>10</sup>

But what physical evidence is there of the *jimi* system on the steppe? Until recently it could have been said that all perishable items of investiture had decayed and that the impact on the built environment was minimal to non-existent.<sup>11</sup> Recent archaeological developments are beginning to shed new light on this problem.

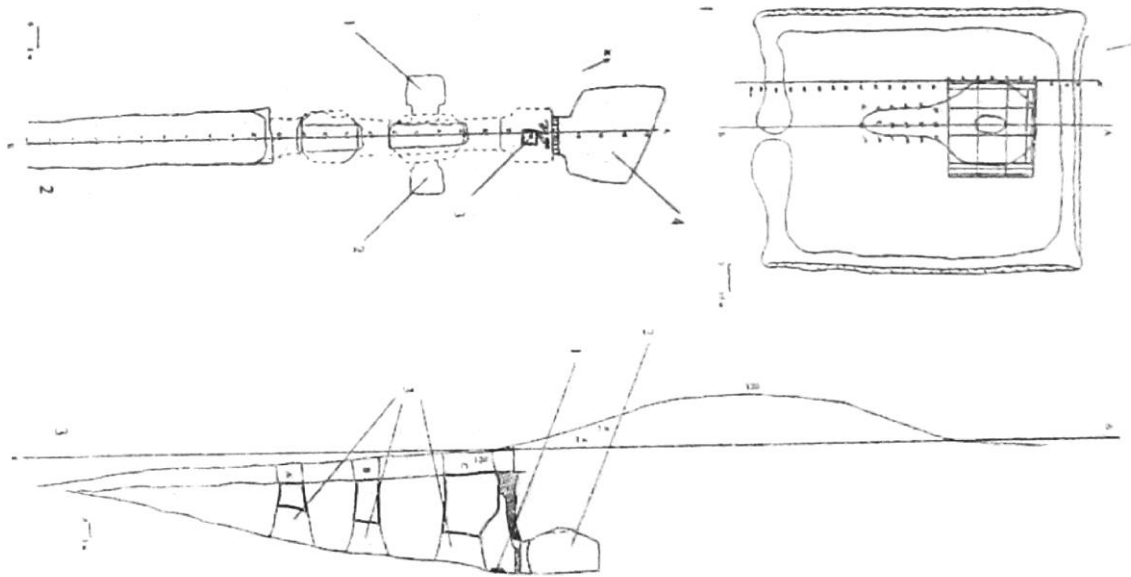


Fig. 1) Site plans of the Shoroon Dov tomb complex. After Danilov et. al. (2010), p. 257, fig. 1.

<sup>10</sup> In 727 the Uighurs that were settled in Ganzhou and Liangzhou became discontent with the Tang frontier general Wang Junchuo, who acted oppressively towards them. Wang discovered their complaint (dispatched in secret) to the central Chinese government and counter claimed they were intending to rebel. This resulted in the exile of three Tiele tribes but also the conciliatory measure of the appointing of an Uighur as area commander of the Hanhai Protectorate located in present day Inner Mongolia. Hushu, a relative of an exiled Uighur chief ambushed the Wang Junchuo after his expedition against the Tibetans and killed him. Hushu then fled north of the Gobi. The future founder of the Eastern Uighur Khaganate was Hushu's son. Zizhi Tongdian (=ZZTJ) 213. 6779-80, XTS 133.4547 & 217A.6114, and JTS 103.3192.

<sup>11</sup> Excavations of Ordu Baliq have unearthed fragments of jade books with Chinese script, which evidences communication forms (possibly related to investiture) of the Tang period. Arden-Wong, L.A. (forthcoming a) "Preliminary Thoughts on the Marble Inscriptions from Karabalgasun".

But new direct evidence has come from the excavation of tombs from the period. In 2009 a Russian-Mongolian team excavated a monument situated in Tov Aimag, 28km to the south-south-east from Zaamar soum, 2.5km from the Tuul River and to the northeast of the Khitan fortress Hermen Denzh, which is situated on the river. The tomb contained an outer enclosure elongated north-south (c. 91 x 110m) which had a gate in its south.<sup>12</sup> Within the enclosure was a raised trapezoidal shaped mound with dromos from the south.<sup>13</sup> Excavations revealed that it was a tomb constructed as per the standard shaft-tunnel tomb type.<sup>14</sup> Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic *mingqi* 明器 (funerary figurines) of Tang type were found as well as a double wooden coffin wrapped in elaborately decorated silk textiles.<sup>15</sup> A Chinese styled funerary tablet *muzhiming* 墓誌彙 (75 x 75cm) was also recovered. Study of its contents revealed that the tomb occupant was Pugu Yitu 仆固乙突 (d. 678), who was hereditary leader of the Pugu 仆固 polity who served the Tang in the aforementioned *jimi* administration.<sup>16</sup> The role of the Pugu polity in this period is certainly clarified in the *muzhiming*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Danilov, S.V., Buraev, A.I., Saganov, B.V., Ochir, A., Érdénébold, L. and Kh. Batbold (2010) "Kurgan Shoroon Dov i Ego Mesto V Obshcheĭ Sisteme Arkheologicheskikh Pamiätnikov Tiürkskoĭ Épokhi Tšentral'noĭ Azii" [The Kurgan Shooron Dov and Its Place in the General System of Archaeological Monuments of the Türk Period in Central Asia] in *Ancient Cultures of Mongolia and Baikal Siberia*, Ulan-Ude: Buryat State University Publishing Department, pp. 254-7.

<sup>13</sup> The Tang-styled shaft-tunnel tombs of the Mongolian Plateau that have been studied thus far clearly indicate that southern entrance orientation was preferred. This suggests that the well-attested Turkic preference for eastern orientation was not considered essential during this period of Tang administration by the Turkic peoples.

<sup>14</sup> This consisted of an above-surface mound, a long subterranean dromos (*mudao* 墓道) that led to a sealed door (*fengmen* 封門), light wells, side niches and a domed burial chamber as the terminus of the subterranean tomb. For discussion on the shaft-tunnel tomb type see Guo Qinghua (2004) "Tomb Architecture of Dynastic China: Old and New Questions", *Architectural History*, Vol. 47, pp. 1-24, pp. 11-3. Note that variants of the shaft-tunnel tomb are found throughout Tang China and its peripheries. The basic characteristics noted above are generally consistent with these and also with the shaft-tunnel type tomb in the early medieval period, which was well instituted before the Tang era.

<sup>15</sup> Danilov et. al. (2010), p. 256.

<sup>16</sup> Luo Xin (2011) "Monguguo chu de Tangdai Pugu Yitu muzhi" 蒙古国出土的唐代僕固乙突墓誌 [The Epitaph of Pugu Yitu of the Tang Dynasty Excavated in Mongolia], *Zhongyuan yu wai qingzhu Zhang Guangda jiaoshou bashi song shou yantao hui lunwen ji* 中原與域外慶祝張廣達教授八十壽研討會論文集 [Central Plains and International Studies Symposium in honour of Zhang Guangda's 80th birthday], Tabei: National Chengchi University Department of History.

<sup>17</sup> It is well known that the Pugu had political-conjugal ties with the Uighurs later in the Eastern Uighur era. Kamalov, A. (2005) "Sino-Uighurica: Revisiting the Uighur runic inscriptions and the T'ang sources" in ed. By Birtlan, A. and A. Rakos (eds.) *Bolor-un Gerel. Crystal-splendour. Essays presented in honour of Professor Kara Gyorgy's 70th birthday*. Vol. 1, Budapest: Eotvos Lorand University, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 389-91.

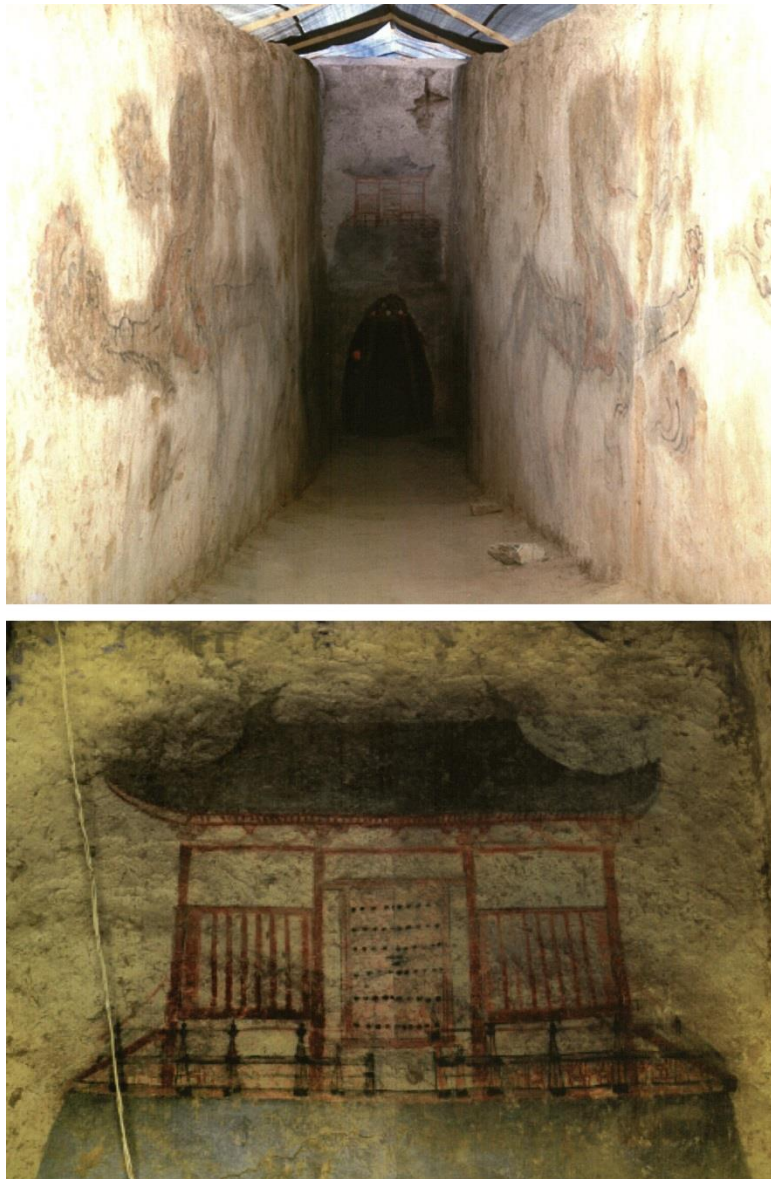


Fig. 2) The dromos of Shoroon Bumbagar. After Ochir and Ėrdėnėbold (2012), pp. 22-3 & 68-9.

Another tomb, Shoroon Bumbagar, was studied by a joint Khazkh-Mongol team in 2011 at Bayanuur soum, Bulgan Province. The tomb measures 42m in length, 1.8m wide and 7.5m deep and is of the same architectural formula as the Shoroon Dov tomb.<sup>18</sup> Much of the funerary materials were similar, including

<sup>18</sup> I am aware that Mongolian colleagues are currently in the process of publishing a full excavation report of this site, however at the time of writing I only have access to an exhibition booklet has been published, kindly shared to me by Sören Stark. The booklet accompanied the splendid exhibition held at the Fine Arts Museum of Mongolia entitled "The Art Gallery of the Nomads" (2012). Measurements given here are those described in the exhibition information panels and booklet. Ochir, A. and L. Ėrdėnėbold (2012) *Nuüdelchdiin urlaġiın galerei* [The Art Gallery of the Nomads] Ulaanbaatar: Bėmbi-San, pp. 5-9.

*mingqi*, wooden coffin and silks, although highly unique "Byzantine" styled coins were among the unique artefacts.<sup>19</sup> No funerary tablet was found, however the preservation of its architectural elements is simply astounding, such as a complete wooden door and mural paintings. Two focal murals are of Tang gate pavilions/towers *loumen* 樓門.<sup>20</sup>

Both of these tombs bear material evidence of those in the upper strata of the *jimi* system on the steppe. The appropriation of Chinese funerary practice, such as the use of funerary tablets, tomb guardian and *mingqi* statues is clear. It is most probable that the elite adopted these Chinese funerary monuments as part of the socio-political privilege enjoyed by *jimi* governors (and possibly their families, close supporters etc.). This, much like other items of investiture, delineated them from other members of their community. It is also clear that Chinese engineers, and builders and artisans were present to construct and decorate the tombs. This not only speaks of the wealth and privileges of the *jimi* elite under the Tang, but also of the desire for imported foreign items (and architecture) to express power and social differentiation.

It is very possible that the introduction of stone sculptures of ambassadors and attendants at Turkic memorial complexes, as employed in Tang Chinese imperial funerary *shendao* 神道 ('spirit path'), may have arisen as part of the introduction of Tang styled funerary practice during the *jimi* period. This seems logical as the use of stone sculptures for *shendao* was restricted to Tang royalty and those permitted the privilege by the emperor.<sup>21</sup> Thus the Eastern Turkic appropriation of it displayed the ruling clan's (Ashina clan) rank above that of the governor. It is also worth noting that Uighur *durvuljin* (lit. 'square sites' elite Uighur funerary/ritual complexes, some of which contain subterranean brick chambered domed tombs), are different in form and function to the Tang style tunnel-shaft chamber and

<sup>19</sup> Stark (forthcoming).

<sup>20</sup> The first of the two murals faces the viewer once he/she enters the dromos (see fig. 2). The mural is above the first entrance arch and another similar painting is located above another arch further into the tomb. They depict a pavilion/*loumen* 樓門 on a very tall platform in front-elevation perspective. The *loumen* are topped by a hipped roof capped with *chiwei* 鸱尾 on its central ridge. Faint traces of a *renzi gong* 人字拱 frieze are located at the top section of the wall. The building is supported by four columns containing three bays, they being two side and a wide central-entrance bay. Simple *dougong* bracket sets are placed above the columns. Large *pozi lingchuan* 破子櫺窗 'grille-like' windows are located on the side bays and encompass their entire width. The central bay contains a timber double-door. Around the periphery of the platform is a balustrade which is decorated with L shaped lattice pattern. See Guo Qinghua (2002) *A Visual Dictionary of Chinese Architecture*, Mulgrave: Images Publishing, p. 82 Dictionary for the *goupian zao* 鉤片造 balustrade pattern. See Ochir. et. al. (2012). The second pavilion painting shows much of the same characteristics but more clearly shows ramped galleries that connect to the platform below. The pavilions' tall platforms and physical placement above entrance arches incorporate the structural architecture of the murals with the physical architecture of the tomb. This interplay of real and perceived architecture allows us to interpret the murals as gate towers *loumen* that were placed above a monumental entrance to a palace/city. Depictions of *loumen* above architectural tomb passages are attested in contemporaneous Tang tombs, for example in the tomb of Li Quan Princess Zhongle 礼泉長樂公主 (d. 643).

<sup>21</sup> Eckfeld, T. (2005) *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 619-907, The politics of paradise*, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 19ff. For Tang influence in the Turkic period (and particularly insightful notes on the Shiveet Ulaan site) see Hayashi Toshio (2011a) "The Origin of Turkic Stone Statues", *International Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11 No. 1, pp. 189-91 and Hayashi Toshio (2011b) "Mongolia, Central Asia and Northern China in the 6th - 8th Centuries" in Ölmez, M., Aydın, E., Zieme, P. and M.S. Kaçalin (eds.) *From Ötügen to Istanbul, 1290 Years of Turkish (720 - 2010) 3rd - 5th December, Istanbul (papers)*, Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, pp. 363- 70.

tunnel tombs attributed to the period of Tang governance on the steppe.<sup>22</sup> It could be equally argued that these *jimi* tombs may have provided a model for the chamber styled tomb with long dromos and outer enclosure for the Uighur burials.

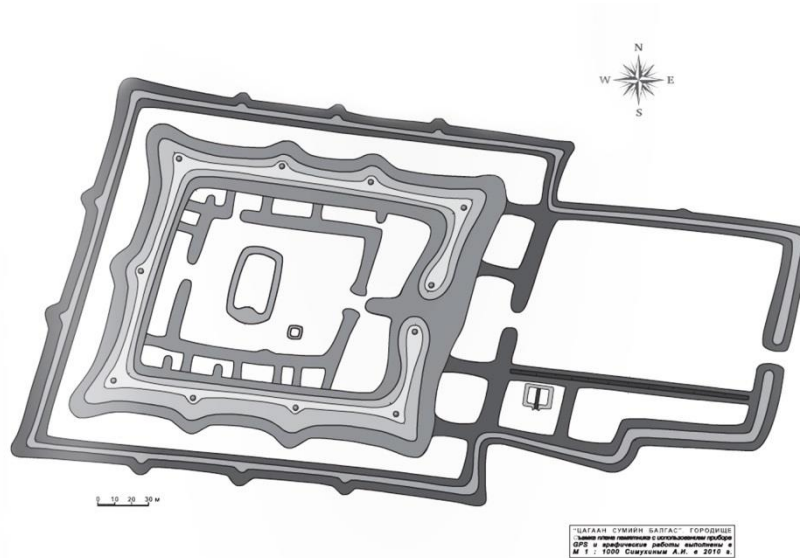


Fig. 3) Plan of Tsagaan Sumiin Balgas. After Danilov et. al. (2013), p. 79, fig. 4.

At present, the location of settlements of the Türks on the Mongolian Plateau are largely unknown,<sup>23</sup> however evidence is coming to light which may change that view. J. Kolbas has dated Tsagaan Sumiin Balgas/Khukh Ordnung, a so-called palace (located in the upper Tsagaan Suumin River, Khotont, sum, Arkhangai Aimag) to the mid 7th century (*jimi* period) and labelled it as Uighur. Its orientation, rectilinear arrangement, fortifications, courtyard system and frontal annex bear a striking resemblance to the so-called palace temple complex at Ordu Baliq.<sup>24</sup> J. Kolbas' dating of the site to the mid 7th century (595-665) relied on the radio carbon date of one sample of wood taken from the northern wall of the site (presumably a part of the *hangtu* timber frame).<sup>25</sup> Although she narrows the dating of the site to 650 by

<sup>22</sup> For a summary of the Uighur *durvuljin* excavations and detailed description see Ochir A., Odbataar T., Ankhbayar B. and Erdenebold L. (2010) "Ancient Uighur Mausolea Discovered in Mongolia", *The Silk Road*, Vol. 8, pp. 16-26.

<sup>23</sup> Danilov, S.V. (2004) *Goroda v Kochevykh Obshchestvakh Tsentral'noi Azii* [Cities in the Nomadic Societies of Central Asia], Ulan-Ude: Publishing House of the Buriyat Scientific Center, p. 56 and Tsëvéëndorzh, D., Baiār, D., Tsërendagva, Iā., Ts. Ochirkhuiāg (2008) *Arkheologiiā Mongolii* [The Archaeology of Mongolia], Ulaanbaatar: Studia Archaeologica Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Mongolae, p. 173.

<sup>24</sup> See Kolbas, J. (2005) "Khukh Ordnung, A Uighur Palace Complex of the Seventh Century" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 15 No. 3, pp. 303-27. In my opinion this analogy also includes the Por-Bajin fortress complex in Tuva. See Arzhantseva, L., Zav'yalov V. and O. Inevatkina (2009) "Por-Bajin – A Uigher Monument from Tuva's Ancient History", *Por-Bajin Online*, <http://www.por-bajin.ru/projects/krepost-por-bazhyn/nauchnye-doklady-i-publikacii/> (accessed 15/01/12).

<sup>25</sup> Kolbas (2005), pp. 307-8.

applying contextual historical analysis, I would argue that there is no need to tamper with the limited scientific evidence that has been provided, as assuming its Uighur origin unnecessarily shifts the data away from other possible outcomes. Other scholars have shown scepticism about the dating of the site,<sup>26</sup> however it should be noted that the evidence for dating most other Uighur sites has relied on data sets which have yet to be confirmed.<sup>27</sup> It is gradually being shown that many of the sites have been 'reused' in later times after their initial abandonment.<sup>28</sup> According to Mongolian scientists, the builders of the Uighur *durvuljin* used recycled bricks which were possibly taken from Ordu Baliq.<sup>29</sup>

Other Turkic period building evidence has recently been brought to light by the Russian-Mongolian project excavating Khermen Denzh, a site which is well known in Mongolian archaeological circles as being Khitan. Their studies have shown that the site displays a predominantly Khitan construction and habitation phase and some evidence for a later Mongolian occupation. However in its lower layers, there is some evidence that indicates Tang era occupation. N. Kradin argues that the site may have been an early Uighur settlement (Togo Baliq) which predated the Eastern Uighur Khaganate.<sup>30</sup> My Russian colleagues and I have compiled a preliminary typological study of 'Uighur' roof tiles in which we have confirmed that a roof tile from Khermen Denzh does belong to the pre-Eastern Uighur period. In fact it belongs to the same type that was unearthed from the Unget memorial complex which according to some scholars dates to the Xueyantuo period.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Waugh, D. (2010) "Nomads and Settlement: New Perspectives in the Archaeology of Mongolia", *The Silk Road* 8, p. 103.

<sup>27</sup> Ceramic typologies have been labelled as preliminary. Khudiākov, Iū.S. and D. Tšëvéëndorzh (1982) "Keramika Ordu-Balyka" [Ceramics of Ordu Balik] in *Arkheologiiā Severnoi Azii* [The Archaeology of Northern Asia] Novosibirsk: Nauka, p. 93 and Wright, J. and K. Makino (2007) *A Rough Guide to the Ceramics of North and Central Mongolia and the Gobi Desert, Part 2 - Early Historical Periods*, Cambridge: Harvard (unpublished).

<sup>28</sup> D. Waugh cautions against the simplified term 'reuse' and calls for greater focus to be put on the "vertical history" of walled sites in Mongolia, Waugh (2010), p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Ochir et. al. (2010), p. 24. It is worth noting that roof tiles were specifically produced for the *durvuljin* sites, which indicates that those who commissioned their construction had access to skilled labour, materials, kilns and resources with which to make both tiles and bricks. For tile and brick production see Guo Qinghua (2005) *Chinese Architecture and Planning, Ideas, Methods, Techniques*, Stuttgart: Axel Menges, pp. 108-9. Perhaps the recycling of bricks was more convenient and cost effective. Note also that the bricks from Ordu Baliq were made to Tang imperial measurement standards. See Arden-Wong, L.A. (forthcoming b) "A Preliminary Discussion Concerning the Sogdian Influence on Eastern Uighur Architecture".

<sup>30</sup> See the Kül Tegin and Bilge Khagan Inscriptions in Tekin (1997), pp. 270 & 276, Kradin, N.N. Ivliev, A.L., Ochir, A., Vasiūtīn, S.A., L. Ērdēnēbold (2011) "Reszul'taty issledovanniiā gorodishcha Khērmēndēzh v 2010 g." [The data of research of the settlement Khermendenzh in 2010] in Kharinskii, A.V., Teten'kin, A.V., Lun'kov, A.V., V.N. Avramenko (eds.) *Drevnie Kul'tury Mongolii i Baikalskoj Sibiri* [Ancient Cultures of Mongolia and Baikalian Siberia], Irkutsk: Irkutsk State Technical University, pp. 430-40. In addition Khermen Denzh was oriented north-south, with its entrance in the south. The north-south architectural orientation was common practice in the Khitan period (and standard practice for Chinese architecture) and as seen above, it was also practiced by the elite Turkic peoples in the period of Tang administration.

<sup>31</sup> Arden-Wong, L.A., Arzhantseva, I.A. and O.N. Inevatkina (forthcoming) "Reflecting on the Roof Tops of the Eastern Uighur Khaganate: A preliminary study of Eastern Uighur roof tiles". The Unget complex was dated by Voĩtov to the 640s and belonged to Yin'an Khagan of the Xueyantuo Khaganate. Note that Voĩtov also considers that there may have been a later construction phase of the site. See Voĩtov, V.E. (1987) "Kamennye izvaiāniiā iz



The utilisation of Chinese material objects for the purpose of expressing social stratification and power differentiation is clear. As shown above, this was very much present in Türk period architecture and the Uighurs continued it. In referring to the construction of nomadic settlements in the Mongol period M. Biran asserts "Nomadic cities were also symbols of the authority and prestige of the ruler or dynasty that built them. In the eastern steppe, prestige was often acquired by using Chinese urban models".<sup>32</sup> The appropriation of that architecture and its function by the Uighurs is yet to be clarified, however a case can certainly be made for its use as an expression of power. The Türks appropriated Tang forms for elite memorial monuments and the Uighurs also adopted Tang Chinese architecture for elite structures within the settlement and funerary complexes. The desire for Tang architecture was not limited to the Türks and Uighurs - the legacy of the Tang could also be found later.<sup>33</sup> It is certainly the case that local appropriation occurred and that the Türks and Uighurs determined, to a large extent, what they would appropriate and how. To imply that these steppe polities were "Sinicised" would be to overstate the socio-political dynamics of the region. The symbols of power that were exchanged (through diplomacy or otherwise) through interaction with the Tang were clearly recognisable and assisted social differentiation on the steppe.<sup>34</sup>

This survey of evidence from the 7th (and early 8th) century certainly points to the serious need to rethink the architectural developments on the early medieval steppe, which was previously limited to Turkic memorial complexes. It is apparent that the Chinese architectural method was already in use on the Mongolian Plateau in the early medieval period, prior to the establishment of the Eastern Uighur Khaganate. We can say with certainty that monumental tombs were built with Tang architectural method (but appropriated to local customs) in the period of Tang administration. It would appear from this evidence that the somewhat "sudden appearance" of Eastern Uighur urbanism may have been a steady process in which the Uighurs continued and further developed upon considerable architectural developments (which possibly also included urbanism/fortification) in the region.<sup>35</sup> The Uighur construction at Ordu Baliq was a peak in this development.

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Ungetu" [The Stone Statues of Unget] in Piotrovskii, B.B. (ed.) *T'Sentral'naiā Aziā: novye pamiatniki pis'mennosti i iskusstva* [Central Asia: New Monuments of Writing and Art ], Moscow: Nauka, pp. 92-109.

<sup>32</sup> Biran, M. (2013) "Rulers and City Life in Mongol Central Asia" in " in Durand-Guédy, D. (ed.) *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, Leiden: Brill, p. 258.

<sup>33</sup> N.S. Steinhardt observes: "Scholars seeking to interpret sedentary ways among seminomadic empire builders have tended to turn to huge empires for the nonnative manifestations in the centuries that directly precede the rise of new powers. [In relation to the Xi Xia and Liao] For the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Tang is not only a plausible model but an attractive one because of the number of easily observable cases of Tang culture consciously admired, borrowed, transmitted, or sought beyond its borders under the rubric "international Tang." Not just Korea and Japan, but empires from the Uyghurs in northwestern Asia to the Bohai in the northeast, Vietnam in the south are known to have plucked from Tang culture certain aspects of their empires- from government institutions to capital city plans and, in less public affairs, from Buddhist sects to court painting beginning in the seventh and eighth centuries and continuing for the duration of these empires". Steinhardt, N.S. (1997) *Liao Architecture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 363-4.

<sup>34</sup> On Tang - Turko-Mongol power and cultural relationships through items of investiture see Skaff (2012) pp. 162-6.

<sup>35</sup> As previously mentioned, the Orkhon Inscriptions recorded the Eastern Türk seige of the Uighur-occupied settlement Togo Baliq in 717. Tonyukuk's (advisor to the 2nd Eastern Türk khagans) proud statement that he "made the fortifications and watchtowers great" is also relevant.<sup>35</sup> Tekin (1997), p. 289.

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# *LINGUISTICS*

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## KISAMOV, Norm

### The Hunnic Oracle

The small corpus of authentically Hunnic lexemes came down to us in two unequal sections connected to the European arena and China. The western vocabulary reported by Priscus and Jordanes number only 3 words which, for the last 150 years have remained a subject with no conclusive outcome; the Caspian Huns' vocabulary numbers 5 clearly Türkic words. The Chinese sources in part stem from the Han era and in part from the post-Han period after 2nd cent. AD. E.G. Pulleyblank inventoried 278 Hunnic words.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the proper names, almost all simple Hunnic words have old Türkic prototypes identified by reconstruction over all Türkic languages (**Table 1**), the common Türkic words like *Tangry* (Heaven, sky) - the Pra-Türkic *Tangry*, *rong* - Pra-Türkic headquarters, *orun* - place, throne, *kyngrak* - sword, a large knife; many archaic Türkic words did not reach the modern Türkic languages.<sup>2</sup> An only survived complete Hunnic phrase, an oracle uttered in 329 AD, has attracted attention for more than a century; it remains a point of contention in some quarters, and is recognized as clearly Türkic in other quarters. The problem of the Hunnic phrase is a part of a larger contention, the equivalency of the Chinese rendition 匈奴 with the historical Huns. The form 匈奴 was codified during the Qin Empire (221-206 BC), and replaced numerous previous depictions. It was Romanized in the 19th century as *Hsiung-nu* (Wade-Giles) etc., and then, from the 1950's as *Xiongnu* (Pinyin).

With some periodic arguments, the Hun-Türkic problem was solved by identification of Chinese history events connected with *Hsiung-nu/Xiongnu* with the native alphabetic forms for *Huns* in Indian and Sogdian sources. The last alphabetic identification was established by W.B. Henning in 1948.<sup>3</sup> By now, the consensus on equivalency of the *Hsiung-nu/Xiongnu* with the Huns, and on equivalency of the Hunnic and Türkic languages is generally agreed, but numerous specific aspects are still waiting for permanent conclusion.

The only surviving Hunnic phrase had been extensively studied from the phonological aspect, providing solid preparatory work on minor topics of detail, leaving much to be addressed. The mighty and useful tool of phonology studies but a single property of a very complex phenomenon of language, and falls far short from its description.

The Hunnic oracle is documented in the *Jin-shu (History of Jin Dynasty)*,<sup>4</sup> the exploration of the oracle phrase involved prominent Orientalists and one Turkish Turkologist. A significant handicap for the scholars was that their native languages were not Türkic, and their work was purely scholastic, accenting logical deduction and missing an innate feeling of the language. That probably was a reason for a florid exploratory path, quite imaginative detours, and eccentric methodology. The first explorers aimed their

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<sup>1</sup> Pulleyblank E. G., 1963

<sup>2</sup> Dybo A.V., 2013

<sup>3</sup> Henning W.B., 1948

<sup>4</sup> Fang Xuanling, 648

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scope to the main task at hand, that is to identify the linguistic origin of the phrase; the work of the later explorers was essentially limited to grammatical refinement to precisely grammaticize what was said, and a search for alternatives. However, the oracles are known for their legendary imprecision, and it is reasonable to expect apparent and camouflaged meanings with depth and flavor.

Given that the Hunnic phrase came with the situational narrative, with the translation of the phrase and its lexicon, and with phonetic rendering, the whole puzzle should nicely fit between a dinner and a bedtime. Just translate the full phrase into major languages in and around China, cursorily compare the results, weed out the obvious incompatibles, and refine the remains. Not a big deal compared with the heroics of deciphering the Rosetta stone and Mayan texts, it is rather a dainty job. Of the three stems, the first two (*sü*, army, *tut-*, capture) were recognized at the first attempt to read the divination (1902, K. Shiratori), the third (*til-*, depart, set out) was recognized 20 years later (1922, G.J. Ramstedt), and the following 90 years were spent on attempts to reconcile the identified Türkic backbone with B. Karlgren's phonetic reconstructions published in 1923 and taken too literally, or to refute the Türkic identification by playing on scholarly discrepancies. After the full lexicon of the oracle was identified as Türkic by 1922, the chances for any other languages dropped to nil.

With acutely pinpointed semantics, a chance phonetic and semantic coincidence of a whole phrase with any other unrelated language is statistically impossible. Apparently, K. Shiratori and G.J. Ramstedt's pre-Karlgren phonetizations were more beneficial for reading the Türkic phrase, they must have been closer to the V. Taskin's reading (1990). The publication of V. Taskin, a prolific translator of Late Antique Chinese annals, whose first language was Chinese, re-established the phonetic value of the phrase, and permitted the reading of the phrase in Common Türkic with no emendations (*Süčy tiligan*, *Pugu qüitudan* or *Süči tiligan*, *Pugu'yu tutan*). V. Taskin's reading cleared problems that ensnared generations of Karlgren-bound phonologists. The weakness of the phonological reconstructions first proposed by B. Karlgren is obvious, and it regularly misguided those who mistook the attempted reconstructions as facts.

B. Karlgren's reconstruction of the Middle Chinese phonetization by comparative method was frequently revised, giving phonologists a fresh formulation of the problem at each turn. It was further developed into the Middle and Old Chinese, and it was complemented by direct sources of rhyme dictionaries, known terminology, and toponyms. The events connected with the oracle took place at the tumultuous time of transition from the Old to the Middle Chinese, when the old rhymes did not rhyme any more, and the old non-rhymes were somehow rhyming. That uncouth situation was alleviated with the publication of S. Starostin's work (1989) that detailed phonetic changes for every 300-years' time slice. In retrospect it is clear that for a particular candidate language, with the known phrase and its lexicon, with the roots identified in 1902, a reverse engineering of the archaic Chinese phonetics would be a much easier and productive task. The task would be to trace how would the archaic Chinese, at the 4th cent. AD, would phoneticise a Türkic phrase like the *Süči tiligan*, *Pugu'yu tutan*. Such an exercise would help to elucidate the implied changes in the Türkic and Chinese phonetics. Once the Türkic phonetics had been clarified, either K. Shiratori's or G.J. Ramstedt's reading and translation could have served as a good starting point.

A synopsis of the readings across the 20th century is shown in the **Table 2**; each column lists Name, Base language, Phonetic reconstruction, Transliteration, Translation:

**Table 1. Readings**

Shiratori, 1902	Ramstedt, 1922	Karlgren, 1923	Bazin, 1948	Von Gabain, 1949	Pulleyblank, 1963	Shervashidze, 1986	Taskin, 1990	Tekin, 1992	Vovin, 2000
Türkic	Türkic	Türkic	Türkic	Türkic	Enisean	Türkic	Türkic	Türkic	Enisean
Siu-k'i t'i-li-kang Puh-koh k'ü-t'u-tang		Siôg tieg t'iei liad kâng B'uok kuk g'tu tuk tâng	siôg tieg t'iei liad kâng b'uok kuk g'tu tuk tâng	Säriq tilitgan Buyuy kötüzkan	<i>sûx-kêh</i> <i>Öe(t) s-let/le(t) s-kan</i> <i>buk-kok/(g)ðok</i> <i>gôh-thok/Öok-taî</i>		Sü chi ti li gang, Pugu chu tu dang	Presumably, Karlgren's	Presumably, Karlgren's
-	Sükâ tal'iğan Bügüg tutan!	-	Süg tâgti idqan Boquyı tutqan!	-	None	Sükâ tol'iqtin Buyuy qodigo(d)tin	Süchi tiligan, Pugu'chu tudan	Sükâ taliqan/tiliqan Böquqyi tuqtañ !	suke thij?- re(ts)-kang bok-kok ko- thok-tang  suke t-i-r-ek- tiligan ang bok-kok k-o- t-o-kt-ang
If you set out (to war), you'd capture Liu Yao	Pull out to the war [and] capture Bügü!	Army lead out army commander take	Send an army to attack [and] capture the commander!	You'd put forth the army, you'd take the deer	None	You came to the army Deposed buyuy	Army-man would go Pugu'd be captured	Go out to the army (on campaign) (and) capture the Bokuk !	Armies have gone out, Bok-kok (they) will catch

Chinese annals provide consistent and numerous attestations for the affiliations of the Hunnic language, which in today's nomenclature would be called a Türkic language. K. Shiratori's 1902 work was in accord with the annalistic attestations, it had established a foothold for the Türkic-based reading, and was further confirmed by G.J. Ramstedt. However, politically that was contrary to the apprehensions of the still agglomerating nation-states across Eurasia. It was repeatedly questioned in various aspects, mostly on purely phonological grounds accenting formal adherence to the B. Karlgren's phonetic reconstructions. Remarkably, none of the challengers could suggest any viable alternative. L. Ligeti (1960) suggested Ket or Enisei Ostyak;<sup>5</sup> E.G. Pulleyblank at one time (1963) along with harsh critique of the previous results, suggested Kangar, Kuchean, or Eniseian alternatives.

The Kuchean and Eniseian motions, both referring to miniscule populations with zero demographic and military powers, are obvious non-starters, and with the nomadic Kangars the difference between the ethnic Kangars and ethnic Huns is not clear. Neither L. Ligeti nor E.G. Pulleyblank proposal<sup>6</sup> had anything to add to the prior reconstructions. E.G. Pulleyblank encountered strong criticism, including that of L. Potapov (1969)<sup>7</sup>, and later repudiated his own hypotheses. His follower A. Vovin (2000)<sup>8</sup> did make a suggestion that approximated B. Karlgren's reconstructions, with one out of 3 stems not present (army), and two others composed of unattested asterisked roots (\*-ek, go out, and \*-kt, catch) and 18th cent. grammar projected almost 2 millennia backwards. Since the historic Eniseans were widely dispersed forest foot hunters, they did not need or have the military terminology of the Hunnic oracle. According to A. Vovin, he received positive accolades for his work, and the "previous Turkic interpretations of the aforementioned sentence do not match the Chinese translation (read: phonetization

<sup>5</sup> Ligeti L., 1960, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Pulleyblank E. G., 1963

<sup>7</sup> Potapov L.P., 1969, p. 7 on

<sup>8</sup> Vovin A., 2000



- Ed.) as precisely as using Yeniseian grammar". This work is invariably mentioned in popular reference sources, e.g. Wikipedia.<sup>9</sup> Thus, according to A. Vovin, today we have two sentences in two different linguistic families that are semantically identical (except for the missing "army" in the Enisean alternative) and similar phonetically, a miracle of the modern linguistic technology handling the Türkic poetry of the 4th AD. Paraphrasing Sinatra, "if you made it in linguistics you can make it anywhere", and in tune with G. Doerfer's observation that with loose linguistic methodology, the phrase can be restored in any language, from Akkadian to Eskimo.<sup>10</sup>

From a psychological point, the Enisean development is most curious. The Eniseians are no more, they do not have a people that claims to be descended from them. In that respect, they share their status with numerous other peoples that are no more: Goths, Kurlandians, Avars, Enisei Kirgizes, Polabians, Prussians, Burgundians, Gasconians, etc. And because nobody claims them as their ancestors, they are out of the limelight. That the Eniseans surfaced from utter obscurity is a most curious event. An extremely small group of Paleosiberian hunters suddenly became candidates for having a sequence of the largest empires of antiquity, whose possessions, military aptitude, and language extended from Manchuria to the Rhine, who collected tribute from Rome and China, who for almost 150 years successfully fought the Arab Caliphate, whose trident tamga covers most of the Eurasia. This phenomenon stands in stark contrast with the other forgotten peoples. In view of the fertile Hunnic and Türkic historical background, it appears that the mentality underlying the adventurous phonological schemes has nothing to do with the Eniseans, that they were used to associate Huns with anybody but the Türkic nations. In other words, it appears to be grounded in primitive implicit nationalistic and imperial notions rather than scientific causes. Such drives tend to fabricate their own facts and furnish their own science.

A century was spent to find suitable Hunnic grammatical forms, way more than it took to declare some much more obscure languages with uncertain phonetics without positively translated words or phrases as being Indo-European. The kernel of the conundrum, the credulity of phonetic reconstructions for the Hunnic phrase were not assessed at all, albeit it is common knowledge that no approximation and no reconstruction can ever perfectly render another language. Without testing other alternatives, any exploration is only partial, any results are inconclusive. Even today, with the codified romanization, the romanized transcriptions of the Chinese renditions of the well-known terms remain disputable subjects of the scientific works. Even today, the codified romanizations of Wade-Giles and Pinyin are phonetically different, and since 1902 various romanization systems underwent numerous revisions.

The absence of codified phonetization in 4th cent. China, the uncertainty of the Chinese vernacular in the Later Zhao state, and the uncertainty of the Jie dialect should have created a much wider range of possibilities than those accepted by phonologists. The major semantic differences between voiced *th*, unvoiced *th*, alveolar *s* and hissing *s* may appear to a Chinese ear as *f*, *t*, *z*, or *s*, and even *sh* and *ch*, depicted with a range of different renditions, and these examples are just the sibilant parts of speech. The difference romanization can make is exemplified by V.Taskin's phonetization (*Süçy tiligan, Pugu küitudan*) vs. E.G. Pulleyblank's phonetization (*sûx-kêh* *Əe(t) s-let/le(t) s-kan buk-kok/(g)ðok gôh-thok/Əok-*

<sup>9</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xiongnu#Yeniseian\\_theories](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xiongnu#Yeniseian_theories)

<sup>10</sup> Doerfer Gerhard, 1963, p. 96

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*tañ*) vs. B. Karlgren's phonetization (*siu-k'i t'i-li-kang puh-koh k'ü-t'u-tang*). A switch to the modern pinyin would only further exacerbate the problem. Without an axe to grind, which reading does the violence and which one is righteous is a moot point. Since there is no calibration standard, and because pinyin is only used for modern pronunciations, the preferable system of romanization for ancient Chinese is open for debate.

All post-Karlgren Türkic-based reconstructions used post-7th cent. Türkic morphology. The applicability of the later morphology is evidently based on a presumption that the 4th cent. morphology was identical with the post-7th cent. morphology. However, the validity of such presumption can't be verified. During the tumultuous 4th cent., and before the Türkic inscriptions of the 7th cent. came to light and provided first evidence of the Türkic morphology, different Türkic languages could have been impacted by migrations, assimilations, and amalgamations of which we may never learn. A presumption that an affix can be mechanically projected backward without any semantic or phonetic change is not based on factual data. This uncertainty is another factor that should be considered in interpretation efforts. A dative of the 6th or 13th centuries could have been accusative of the 4th cent. A modern present tense could include future or future conditional tense. The presumptuous assumption in interpretation of the morphological elements is equally applicable to the Türkic and Enisean paradigms, with the Enisean case projecting backwards over an incredible one and a half millennia. In contrast, English in the course of 3-4 centuries changed its morphology drastically. A daring projection of the 18th cent. English morphology into 4th cent. speech would be utterly unsound.

Another unannounced problem is polysemy. The Chinese, Türkic, and English languages have homonyms with different meanings with the same or similar phonetics. G. Clauson's dictionary lists up to 15 meanings, and Chinese reportedly has characters with excess of 100 meanings. Even for a native ear, the puns are not always readily apparent, and may remain so without an erudite explanation. In the case of the Türkic *til-*, in addition to *go out*, it means *desire, wish, intend*, and such. Thus, the phrase, literally understood, also reads semantically "If the army would intend,...", "When the army would aspire,...", "If army would ever wish,...", "As soon as the army would ever desire,...", "Army only needs to fancy,...", and such variations. The *til-* also forms verbal notions of *tell, order, achieve (desired), occur, beg, ask, seek*, and others. The *til-* might have been *tel-* to begin with, the phonetic difference is nominal.

Mechanically applying the recorded Chinese translation, while ignoring semantic play of the words, may achieve a secondary objective, that is to find a suitable grammatical expression, but would completely miss the boat on the reasons why, of many couplets, this one survived for 300 years before entering Chinese annals to reach us. The melody, drumbeat, ringing, and rhyme of the couplet may have been less popular than its funny puns that ignited laughter and made it legendary among the Hunnic people. Numerous expressions have survived through the millennia due to their ageless wisdom, but the beauty and nuance of a pun are rarely translatable.

These aspects are not addressed within narrow phonological interests. It shouldn't have taken another century to get from agreeing on the real and unreal phonetics to the 1600 years-old poetic prophecy.

The historical canvas of the oracle is described in every work that addressed the linguistic side of the prophecy. The synopsis of the story is: According to the annalistic account, the King Shi Le came from a Hun family of Hoh. In 328 sparked a war between the Emperor of the Former Zhao state Liu Yao and his

general Shi Le. After defeating Shi Le's army at Gao-Hou, Liu Yao came to Luoyang, and besieged a town Tszinyon (pinyin: Jingyong) near the Gao-Hou. Shi Le wanted to come to Luoyang's aid, but high officials were advising him not to do that. Then Shi Le turned for advice to Fotu Den (aka Buttocho 佛圖澄, pinyin: Fu Tucheng; Wade-Giles: Fu T'u-ch'eng, ca. 235-348), who said in the Jie language, referring to the sound of bells at the pagoda (alternative translation - "then the priest swung a gong, pointing to its jingle"):

Romanized transcription	Pinyin Romanization	Cyrillization
Süçy tiligan Pugu qüitudan.	Xiù zhī tì lì gāng Pú gǔ qú tū dāng	Сючжи тилиган Пугу цзюйтудан

According to the explanations, *süçy* means "army", *tiligan* is "send", "move"; *pugu* is "Hu's title Liu Yao had", and *qüitudan* is "seize", "catch". And a translation of the whole phrase is also given: "Move the troops, will catch Liu Yao".<sup>11</sup>

Altogether, the phrase and explanations can be rendered in Anglicized transcription and literal translation:

Annalistic depiction	秀支，軍也。替戾岡，出也。僕谷，劉曜胡位也。劬秃當，捉也							
Hunnic /Chinese	Hunnic	Chinese	Hunnic	Chinese	Hunnic	Chinese	Hunnic	Chinese
Unicode	秀支	軍也	替戾岡	出也	僕谷	劉曜胡位也	劬秃當	捉也
Romanized Mandarin	Xiù zhī	Jūn yě	tì lì gāng	chū yě	Pú gǔ	Púgǔ Liúyào hú wèi yě	qú tū dāng	zhuō yě
Anglicized transcription	Sü chi	Jūn yě	tì lì gāng	hū yě	Pú gǔ	Púgǔ Liúyào hú wèi yě	qú tū dāng	juō yě
Literal translation	Army	Army have	send	out have	Pugu	Púgǔ Liúyào Hu rank have	seize	catch have
Corresponding Türkic roots	sü	–	til-	–	rank	rank	tut-	–

In V.S. Taskin's transcription, the phrase is concise and readily recognizable even in modern Türkic. The phrase may sound obsolete, in some Türkic languages some expressions are not in common use any more, but the Türkic grammar is still intact. Like the phrase of the type: "The *zex* would have *xyzed* the door wide" can be conceptually understood even without familiarity with who *Zex* is and what is the "xyz" action, to the Türkic speaker the whole phrase sounds undoubtedly natural "If you do this, you' d get that". Some relexification in some Türkic languages may present several cognition problems, but across the 42+ documented languages of the Türkic group most of the phrase would sound ordinary, even if somewhat distorted.

<sup>11</sup> Taskin V.S., 1990, *Materials on the history of nomadic peoples in China. 3rd - 5th cc. AD. Issue 2. Jie*, p. 820, translation of Fang Xuanling, *Jin-shu*, Peking, Bo-na, 1958, Ch. 95, pp. 12-b-13-a

In modern Turkish, the phrase is practically the same:

English transliteration	Modern Turkish	Translation fr. Turkish
Süçy tiligan	Süçy tiligan	Army-man would go
Pugu'qüi tudan	Pugu'yu tutan	(He) would capture Pugu

Of all possible phonetizations of the archaic phrase, the likelihood that accidentally the modern Chinese phonetics would coincide with that phrase expressed in the modern Türkic, i.e. the most likely candidate for the Hunnic phrase, is approaching absolute zero. The very fact of such an auspicious correspondence should have become a cause célèbre and raised doubts about the sweeping applicability and accuracy of the B. Karlgren-based reconstructed forms. In accordance with the Türkic syntax, the modifying affix of the verb in predicate inflects the noun, which dictates that the morpheme 劬 *qú* be combined with the noun 僕谷 *Pú gǔ*, modifying the parsing of the Chinese rendition to 僕谷劬 *Pú gǔ qú*. A need for this correction has already been established by G.J. Ramstedt (1922), B. Karlgren (1923), and L. Bazin (1948). The parsing error occurred during the initial parsing by the Chinese editors of the original non-parsed text.

Normalized Chinese text and various phonetic transcriptions						Note
Chinese	秀支	替戾剛	僕谷	秃	劬當	The original text is a continuous string, parsed by later paleography and conventionalized by later reprints. The reading of the text is strongly dependent on it's proper parsing. Numerous revisions and amended readings of the annals were caused by the revisions of the parsing. That was well understood by Sinologists, in the expression 僕谷 秃劬當 the parsing was changed to 僕谷秃 劬當: Karlgren <i>puh-koh k'ü t'u-tang</i> to <i>puh-koh-k'ü t'u-tang</i> , Bazin <i>b'uok-kuk g'tu-tuk-tâng</i> to <i>b'uok-kuk-g'tu tuk-tâng</i> . The corresponding change in Taskin is <i>Pugu qüitudan</i> to <i>Pugu-qüi tudan</i> , which allowed to isolate the form of the word <i>tut-</i> "capture", and analyze the compound <i>puh-koh-k'ü/b'uok-kuk-g'tu/Pugu-qüi</i> .
Chinese translation	army	set out	Liu Yao rank	–	capture	
Pinyin	<i>Xiù zhī</i>	<i>Tì lì gāng</i>	<i>Púgǔ</i>	<i>qú</i>	<i>Tū dāng</i>	
Pinyin Phonetization	<i>Sü chi</i>	<i>Ti li gang</i>	<i>Pugu</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>Tu dang</i>	
Karlgren (1923)	<i>siu-k'i</i>	<i>t'i-li-kang</i>	<i>puh-koh-k'ü</i>	–	<i>t'u-tang</i>	
Bazin (1948)	<i>siôg tieg</i>	<i>t'iei liäd kâng</i>	<i>b'uok kuk-g'tu</i>	–	<i>tuk tâng</i>	
Taskin (1990)	<i>Сючжу</i>	<i>тилуган</i>	<i>Пугу</i>	<i>үзюй</i>	<i>тудан</i>	
Taskin (Romanized)	<i>Süçy</i>	<i>tiligan</i>	<i>Pugu</i>	<i>qüi</i>	<i>tudan</i>	

In accordance with the Türkic SOV syntax, each of the two sentences of the phrase ends with a verb. The function of the particle 劬 *qú* in the sentence is discussed below. The modifier 支 *zhī* (*chi*) in the compound 秀支 *Sü chi* is an accurate rendition of the Türkic standard nominal agent affix represented in the Turkish language with the affix *-çil/-cıl/cu* (*-chyl/-ji*). The function of the particle 支 *zhī* (*chi*) in the sentence is discussed below. Of the suggested grammatical alternatives, the accuracy of the V.S. Taskin phonetic rendition favors an acceptance of the agent affix function for this modifier. The original selection of the Chinese characters to phonetise the Hunnic phrase chose syllables now read the ending as *η* (*n<sub>g</sub>*). The Chinese transcription may or may not have truly reflected the Hunnic usage of the final *-n/η*. Among the modern Türkic languages, the tendency is denasalization of the velar *η* with the palatal *n*, but the attested pre-13th cent. Türkic and modern western Türkic languages widely use nasal *η* both

phonetically and semantically, e.g. *-dīn* vs. *-dīŋ*. With these qualifications, the phonetic reading of the Hunnic phrase in Türkic and English rendition is:

<b>Chinese</b>	秀支	替戾剛	僕谷劬	禿當
<b>Romanized Mandarin</b>	Xiù zhī	Tì lì gāng	Púgǔ qú	Tū dāng
<b>English Phonetization</b>	Sü chi	Ti li gang	Pugu chu	Tu dang
<b>Chinese to English</b>	Army	go out	Pugu'd	be captured
<b>Türkic</b>	Süči (Süchi)	Tiligan	Pugu'yu	tutan
<b>Türkic to English</b>	(If) army-man	(would) go	Pugu would (be)	capture(ed)
<b>Comment</b>	-či (= <i>chi/ji</i> ) - std. nominal agent affix	-gan - past participle, 3p., perfect tense verbal affix	-'yu - future conditional verbal transitive affix	"capture" in 2nd or 3rd p. sing. future tense ablative ending, passive voice

From the comparisons, it is clear that G.J. Ramstedt and L. Bazin were closest in their reconstructions, they correctly parsed the phrase, but both failed to use the standard Türkic future conditional transitive affix *'yu* (*'gyu* in the Hunnic Ogur dialect). A. von Gabain (1950) should be given credit for coming closer to the conditional form, because semantically *you will be snatched (2nd p. sing)* is just another form of (*he, Pugu, + fut. cond.*)'d *be captured (3rd p. pass. sing.)* ~ *Pugu'yu tutan* without a need to adhere to the Kalgren's phonetics, since the *tut-* "capture" had already been established. The modern Turkish verb *tutan (3rd p. of tut-)* "seize, capture" is documented in the 1,700 years old Hunnic language as *tudan*. Since the word *tutan* in Chinese records is a hapax, the form *tudan* vs. *tutan* can't be verified. The poetic rhyme *tiligan - tudan* definitely made the oracle memorable and remembered.

Any linguist and non-linguist alike would observe the amazing continuity of the vocabulary and grammatical affixes between the Hunnic and Türkic languages:

*Sü* = army

*-či* = agent affix to form profession or occupation

*tilek-* = to wish<sup>12</sup>. The stem *til-* in the sentence is discussed below.

*-gan* = past participle, 3rd p. sing., perf. tense verbal affix

*Pugu* = Türkic title/rank, with few interpretations. The word *Pugu* in the sentence is discussed below.

*-'yu /-'gyu* = future conditional verbal transitive affix

*tutan-* = "capture" in 3rd p. present tense;

*-dan /-tan* = locative directional verbal affix "from, out of"<sup>13</sup>

Each grammatical form and each word in the oracle is known from the new and old Türkic dictionaries, and from the common speech. The cited Turkish examples are for illustration only, other Türkic languages have retained basic lexicon and phonetics without changes. In casual use, the modern Turkish replaced the noun *sü* "army" with synonymous *kara* for "land army", but retained a derivative of the *sü*, a *sübaşı* "commander of the army", lit. "army head; the vowel harmony may change *sü* to *su*

<sup>12</sup> OTD, 1969, p. 560

<sup>13</sup> OTD, 1969, p. 664

in some applications. Turkish also replaced the casual use of the verb *tiligan* (*tiligar*) “capture” with synonymous *çık-*, and the continuous tense form *tiligan* today is pronounced *dilegen* (*dileyen*, *dileken*); these are the substantial dialectal modifications to the 1,700-year old phrase. In modern Turkish, the phrase *Süçi tiligan, Pugu’yu tutan* sounds archaic, colloquial, but unquestionably Türkic, in modern Turkish the oracle phrase would sound *Süçi dilegen, Pugu’yu tutan*.

The function of the particle 支 *zhī* (*chi*) and its allophones is a denominal agent affix to produce agent noun: *footballer - futbolcu, army-man (trooper) - karaci, belt-maker – bölci (belci), coach-maker, coach-driver – koçci (koçcu)*, etc. In the context of the oracle message, *süci* is “army-man” and “army commander”, directly referring to Shi Le in 3rd. p. sing. and to his position of the army commander. All researchers, starting with K. Shiratori and ending with A. Vovin, tried to make sense out of 秀支 Pin. *Xiù zhī*, Wade-Giles *Hsiu chih*. For the Türkic speakers that combination is no puzzle, it is apparent that it stands for *Süçi*, phonetic *süchi*, meaning army-man, army-trooper, army commander. Polysemy exists in any language, and needs to be considered in any analysis. In the context of the message, the “army going” and “army commander going” are synonymous, the Chinese annals constantly use similar terms as interchangeable. In today’s English lingo they are also synonymous and interchangeable, e.g. “Patton advanced” means “Patton’s tank army advanced” and “Patton ordered his tank army to advance”. In a polysemous situation that precludes precision, attempt for absolutely precise reconstruction is futile. We can be positive about the root word, that 秀 *Xiù* (*Sü*) means 軍 “army”. K. Shiratori identified *siu-k’i* as Old Turkic *sön-güş* “fight” (OTD form *sünüş*), a derivative of the *sü* “army, troops” (like *a war* vs. *to war*), J. Ramstedt suggested dative case “to army”, an object, not a subject of the verb, like (*send*) *to the army*; L. Bazin suggested accusative case (an object). These readings may be phonologically and morphologically acceptable, but semantically and syntactically they conflict with the active form “(If) Army set out,...”, where the “army” is a subject, and with the normal flow of Türkic phrase, they appear artificial and conflict with the clear reading *Xiù zhī/Sü chi* that does not involve strained phonetic reconstructions. Von Gabain (1950) suggested unattested *\*särig* “army”, as a form of attested *çärig* “troops, army”, an artificial Kalgren-driven phonological construct with a phantom *ç-* > *s-* alteration for the sake of superficial phonological conformance. In the following discourse, the term *Süçi* for *army-man* is used as the only suitable English equivalent.

The word spelled *tiligan* might as well be *tilegan*, *teligan* or *telegan*, the phonetic difference is nominal, but the stems *tal-*, *täl-* (*täl-*), *tel-*, *til-*, and *tıl-* produce numerous semantic meanings. The literal meanings of the stems homophonous with *tiligan* are:

*tel-/del-/teş-* (*tesh-*) “pierce, punch, break through” => (If) *army-man (would) have broken through, then...*

*til-/dil-* “slice” => (If) *army-man (would) have sliced through, then...*

*tıl-, tiliq-* “tell”, “talk” => (If) *army-man (would) have told (i.e. ordered), then...*

*tile-/dile-* “seek, desire, ask” (modern Turkish *dilek* “wish (n.)”) => (If) *army-man (would) have sought, then...;* => (If) *army-man (would) have desired, then...;* => (If) *army-man (would) have asked (i.e. ordered), then...*

*til- ičyn-* “let out, release, emit, excrete, unleash, turn loose” => (If) *army-man (would) have unleashed, then...*

*\*tal-/taş-/daş-* (*tash/dash*) “dash” => (If) *army-man have dashed, then...*

*\*taliq-/taşıq-* “go out” => (If) *army-man (would) go out (on a campaign), then...*

Two more suitable meanings of the root *tal-* could be explored, they are only known from their derivatives, *talbın-/talpın-* “to thresh, shake”, and *talım* “rapacious, brash, brave”. They can be restored as

verbal roots carrying semantics of the derivatives. However, these unattested verbal roots mirror the same semantic message and would not add anything new of substance to the above list.

All homophones of *tili-* are phonetically and semantically sufficiently close to the substance of the Chinese translation, but none of them exactly matches the part *Army+affix move out*. G.J. Ramstedt's interpretation of the second word as the imperative form of \**tal'iq-* "go out", an older form of OT *tašiq-* "to go out", is important, albeit perhaps illusory discovery. The word \**taliq-* is theoretically possible (e.g. pair *tel-/teş-* "pierce"), but it has not been attested, and may lead one astray as do the other speculative asterisked hypotheses. The same is the case with unattested \**tal-* vs. attested but unsuitable *taş-/daş-*. The paired *til- ičyın-* "let out, unleash" would be an ideal direct fit if not for the inlaut *č* (*ch*).<sup>14</sup> As in the case with G.J. Ramstedt's \**tal'iq-*, it could be explained away using some imagination, but then it would remain unattested. The main problem with an unattested root is that agglutinative language is using every root to create a large nest of derivatives, and chances that all of them would uniformly disappear in all languages are bordering on improbability. Except for *til- ičyın-*, the other homonyms convey the meaning of *move out* only in a figurative sense, although in each case they are fully applicable to the military movements of the army or of the army-man. With these qualifications, the most credible verdict appears to be that all 7 (8 counting the form *tiliq-*) candidate words are equally possible, but which one was in fact used in 329 AD can't be corroborated. As such, the phonetic reconstructions can't be held as evidence. Of the 7/8 nearly equal choices, the preferred choice appears to be the indirect *Süči* (*Süchi*) *tiligan* = (*Had*) *army-man ordered (into action, move out, etc.)*, ..., or its allophone *Süči* (*Süchi*) *tiligan* = (*Had*) *army-man told (ordered into action, move out, etc.)*, as most accurately matching the annalistic text phonetically, grammatically, and semantically. This choice is also predicated on the pun of the dependent clause discussed below. The choice for *tiligan* is either direct but an unattested root, or an attested but indirect equivalent. Since it is not known whether the Chinese translation was of a literal word or translation of indirect semantics of the notion "move out", a preference for unattested lit. root is not warranted.

The verbal affix *-gan* (*-gän/-kän*) is past participle, 3rd p. sing., simple and perf. past tense, modifies the verbal stem to form notions like *He/she did/had done (had eaten, had moved out)*. The suffix *-gan* conveys a notion of "time" and "motion", indicating the time of the action, the time component being equally important to that of the action,<sup>15</sup> in modern Turkish *tiligan* has a form *diliyen* "wished". In English and Türkic languages, the past participle and accusative are regularly used in conditional sense with reference to the future time (*I buy the house, and it would be remodeled; Had she seen the house, she would buy it*). In the oracle, the past participle forms the conditional sense with dependent clause (*If*) *army had moved, then...; (If)* *commander had wished, then...* Of the attending linguists, only the first one, K. Shiratori, explicitly perceived the conditional form of the expression, although indirectly it is present in the Chinese translation and in all following readings. The grammatical structure of the oracle can't be understood without perceiving its conditional message.

The reading of the entire oracle contains only the above ambiguity. With the presence of all other lexical, grammatical, and morphological elements accurately matching that phrase in the modern Türkic

<sup>14</sup> OTD, 1969, p. 675

<sup>15</sup> Akar Ali, 2003

languages, this ambiguity does not present a problem for conclusive identification of the Hunnic-language prophecy with the Türkic linguistic family. Moreover, the idiosyncrasies contained in the phrase suggest a more precise affiliation of the Hunnic language with the Ogur branch of Türkic.

A brief synopsis of the events in the Hunnic world may help to further narrow affiliation. According to a common Türkic tradition, the ruling elite was a marital union of a dynastic paternal and dynastic maternal tribes. The paternal dynastic tribe was Luanti, the maternal dynastic tribe of old was Qiang (Huyan 呼衍, Kiyān), later (before 200 BC) supplanted by Sui/Hui (pin. 須 Xu). The male head of the maternal dynastic tribe was an equivalent of today's Prime Minister and Chief Judge, a head of the state executive branch not eligible for succession to the throne. However, in 58 BC the Hun empire split four ways, and the ineligible Huhanye, a head of the maternal dynastic tribe Sui/Hui became a Shanyu of the Southern Huns. Since then, the former maternal dynastic tribe became a paternal dynastic tribe of the Southern Huns, and Jie were a branch of the Southern Huns. Following identification of the Sui/Hui with Uigurs, and the Uigurs belong to the Karluk linguistic branch of the Ogur trunk, there is a good probability that the Jie Huns belonged to the Karluk linguistic branch. The modern Yigur and Uzbek languages would be their closest linguistic relatives.

All researchers uniformly accepted the Türkic title/rank 僕谷 *Pugu* with few variations: *Bügü/Bögü* "wise" (Ramstedt), *Buyuy* "deer" (Von Gabain), *Buyuy* (Shervashidze), *Bokuk* (Tekin). The early Türkic titlature used names of the sire animals as title-names, they came to us as *Buga/Boga* "Sire Bull", *Buyra*

"Sire Camel"; T. Tekin supported the OT title *Bokuk* with a citation بوقوق خان *Boquq Xan* in Juwainī and *Buyuy Xan* in Chavannes-Pelliot<sup>16</sup>. The *Bügü/Bögü* "wise" was also widely used in the early Türkic titlature. The *Buyu* "deer" as a title has not been attested. In their Enisean explorations, neither E.G. Pulleyblank nor A. Vovin offered an Enisean term or explication for *Pugu*.

For the Türkic readings, the part 劬 *qú/k'ül/g'tu/kü/chu* of the annalistic expression 劬秃當 *qú tū dāng* meaning "seize" was interpreted as an accusative suffix -g belonging to the previous word, i.e. *bögü-kü* and similar variations. There are no corroborating annalistic translations of the title *Pugu*, the readings *Bügüg* and *Bokuk* are equally plausible. The alternate is the conditional form of the dependent clause *Buguqüi* or *Bügüqüi*, which in the modern Turkish is conveyed with an affix *yi/iyi/ü*, an equivalent of the English *would* and *'d*. This appears to be a preferred choice: the *Puguqüi* = *Bugu'd* (*be captured*), ..., or its close homophone *Bügüqüi* = *Bügü'd* (*be captured*), most accurately matching the annalistic text phonetically, grammatically, and semantically. This choice is consistent with a passive voice of the dependent clause. This choice is also predicated on the pun of the dependent clause.

A homophonic *pug/buk* is also "poop, excrement, shit, stool"<sup>17</sup>. *Pugu* is not only a title/rank of Liu Yao, *pug/buk* is also a noun *poop* and a verb *to poop*. As a noun, *Pugu's* title semantically rings as *poop*. The pagoda bells urged *Go, get that Poop (Shit, if it sounds better)!*, stated in a proper grammatical form *Poop'd be captured*.

<sup>16</sup> Chavannes E., Pelliot P., 1913, p. 413

<sup>17</sup> OTD, 1969, p. 112



As a verb, the dependent clause has another figurative homophonic form *Pug quitudan* “scared his poop”. The predicate form *quitudan* = *qui-* + *-tu* + *-dan* < *qui-* synonym of *qorq-* “to fear, to freak”<sup>18</sup> + *-tu* (*-ti*; *-tï*, *-tü*, *-di*, *-dï*, *-du*, *-dï*) 3rd p. objective past. finite form with a notion “(He) has done (the action)” + *-dan* (*-tan*) locative directional verbal affix “from, out of”. The subject of the predicate clause in the sentence may be stated or inferred.

A third alternative *quitudan* is “scare out of” = *quiut-* + *-dan* < *quiut-* is “to scare, to spook + *-dan* (*-tan*) locative directional verbal affix “from, out of””. Mahmud Kashgari cites an example *Ol atig quiutti* “He scared a horse”.<sup>19</sup> The English idiom “scared his ass”, or closer “scared the shit out of him” is a calque of the expression *qüitudan*. This expression originates from a Türkic proverb “*scare your own poop*” which means *Do not try to scare me, first try to scare you own poop*. With the first part of the verb heard as *tilek-* “to wish” with the affix *-gan*, the verb *tilek-* becomes *tiligan* “having wished”, past participle 3rd p. sing., perf. tense,<sup>20</sup> semantically it means “On (Upon) your wish,”. The part *Süčy tiligan* rings as “Army commander having wished”. The whole phrase rings: *Süčy tiligan, Pug qüitudan* = (*Should only the*) *Army commander having wished, Pugu would shit himself* (lit. *will have scared his poop*). Taken separately, neither the word *Pugu* nor the word *quitudan* would resonate with a foreign student, only combined in a single expression *Pugu quitudan* they would form an idiom familiar to a native speaker.

These reverberating homophonic messages of the poem were missed by the ancient Chinese and modern phonologists alike. Having heard them, they would add two-three more words to the attested Hunnic vocabulary.

The word 秃當 *tutan* is 3rd person present tense of *tut-* “capture”, with the future conditional clause formed by the affix *yi/iyi/yu* with the Ogur prosthetic consonant, *-gyi*, it forms the future passive voice of “capture”, *will be captured*. J. Benzing<sup>21</sup> and G. Clauson<sup>22</sup> commented on the verb *tut-* with opposing etymologies that did not challenge the reading. The affix *-dan* /*-tan* is a locative directional verbal affix “from, out of”. In English, such directional indications are conveyed by postpositions *away, out, up, down*, etc. In this direct interpretation of the oracle, a very approximate English equivalent would thus be *will be captured down, will be caught up, will be seized away*, etc.

The jolly tenor of the whole phrase is in its flamboyant homophonic punning. The oracle relays a wonderfully multifaceted form carrying three messages loaded with barbed subtexts:

First and foremost, it translates the sacred toll of the bells into the human language, reflecting the bells' rhythm and rhyme. Melodically, the verse follows a five-syllable metrical pattern, or pentameter, typical for the Türkic ancient poetry.<sup>23</sup> The prophecy is singing.

<sup>18</sup> OTD, 1969, p. 464

<sup>19</sup> Mahmud Kashgari, 1070, vol. 2, p. 326

<sup>20</sup> Kashgari Mahmud, 1070, vol. 1, p.412

<sup>21</sup> Benzing Johannes, 1959, pp. 685-695

<sup>22</sup> Clauson Gerard, 1962, p. 107, note 2

<sup>23</sup> Khatipov Gosman, 1975, pp. 108-135

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Secondly, the oracle says that the sacred bells are urging on:

*Army commander would go,*

*(He) would capture Pugu.*

Thirdly, the oracle says that the bells are reassuring:

*Army commander having wished (desired),*

*Pugu would shit himself (out of scare).*

A permutation of all 5 credible meanings of the verb *tiligan*, plus the 3 meanings of the word *Pugu*, plus the meanings of word and particle *qui*, illustrate the awesome bouquet of the meanings an audience would hear. It can be visualized how afterward, the Shi Le courtiers were debating the prophecy, with each one coming up with his own version of what he had heard from the fleeting magical event, and trying to argue that his version was the true one. Remarkably, all versions convey the same message, that is, just go and do it, whether it is a move to slice, a move to break through, an order to move, a rush-dash, or just wish to act. The predicted outcome also ends up with the same climax, that is, Pugu would shit his pants, or Pugu would be captured. The final decision was fateful, in case of a mishap all advisors would have lost everything including their heads, and to swing a crowd of conservative advisors to completely reverse their position needed nothing less than a tangible miracle. The toll of the sacred bells, at a right place and at a right time, with a magical prophecy that translated the message of the toll to the Hunnic language, was exactly that miracle. It made Shi Le a Celestial ruler of the Celestial Empire. The miraculous event was duly documented in the diaries of the "Later Zhao" (the euphemism in Chinese dynastic nomenclature), and finally, some 300 years after the events, it was immortalized in the history book compiled in 648 under Fang Xuanling of the Tang Empire. Then, starting with K. Shiratori, the bells were reverberating for the whole of the 20th century, and they still are ringing their jolly song.

Unlike a litany of peculiar names, titles, toponyms, nouns, and a few verbs associated with the Hunnic language, the Fotu Den's oracle provides a unique insight into the Hunnic language. A phrase, unlike isolated words, carries a load of linguistic traits that define a language better than a collection of detached lexemes. The Fotu Den's oracle demonstrates agglutinative and SOV typology, morphological structure and pinpointed affix morphemes, syntax, lexicon, semantics, polysemy, homophony, metrical pattern, and the phonology that far exceed the narrow scope examined by the 20th cent. phonologists. The verdict on the Türkic affiliation of the Hunnic language reliably rests on the firm foundation of a complex of the linguistic traits, it can be contested, but can't be disputed. The substantial body of the documented linguistic evidence unequivocally testifies to the Türkic affiliation of the Hunnic language. That body of linguistic evidence is corroborated by a mass of interdisciplinary evidence from such diverse sources as archeology, literature, history, biology, and lately genetics.

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# *ETHNOGRAPHY*

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SARBASSOVA, Guldana Aktaevna

## Culture Concerned with the Horse as a “Prism” of the Kazakhs’ National Heritage

**Abstract:** Horse domestication totally changed men’s lives. No other beast from the diverse animal world has played such an important role in the history of civilization as the horse. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life - and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. Studying horses promotes the national consciousness of the Kazakhs, the formation of their cultural image and determines their course for the future. Research into the six-thousand-year history of the Kazakh horse, complete with its historical-ethnographic and cultural implications, makes it possible to throw light on the material and spiritual achievements of the Kazakh nation which would not otherwise be clear. The material and spiritual world of the Kazakhs, their traditions, rituals, customs and world outlook will be discussed here, because all these aspects of traditional culture become clear when considered through the prism of the "horse". The horse provides a special key to understanding the culture of the Kazakhs – a culture of nomads.

**Keywords:** horse, culture, kumyz, horse color, Kazakh heritage.

The horse played a key role in the life of nomads. Ever since its domestication nomads have eaten horse meat and drunk mare’s milk – kumyz. Archeological and scientific research have proved that nomads were drinking mare’s milk as early as 7000 years ago, as Kazakhs do even nowadays. So we can say that kumyz has a history going back to the V or VI millennium BC. The English scholar Alan K. Outram from the University of Exeter found traces of mare’s milk on clay vessels belonging to the Botai culture. Dr. Outram said, in an interview, that it was not clear from the research if the breeding of the tamed Botai horses had by then already led to the emergence of a genetically distinct new species. Yet their physical attributes were strikingly different, he added, and this made the animal more useful to people as meat, a source of milk, a beast of burden and for travel. Botai pottery yielded a third strand of evidence. Embedded in the clay pots were residues of carcass fat and fatty acids that “very likely” came from mare’s milk. This “confirms that at least some of the mares of Botai were domesticated,” he concluded. Earlier excavations at Botai sites, conducted by Victor Zaibert of Kokshetau University in Kazakhstan, also unearthed piles of horse bones and settlement remains of a people who hunted and herded wild horses for their meat [1]. The recent “Third International Symposium on Bio-molecular Archaeology: Trail of Mare’s Milk Leads to First Tamed Horses” reported on research undertaken by Natalie Stear of the University of Bristol. From residues left on 5,500-year-old Botai potsherds, Stear also identified the hydrogen isotope deuterium, indicating mare’s milk. Since it is impossible to milk a wild

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mare, these data together with new evidence of harness including bits are a clear indication of early horse domestication and riding at Botai [2, p. 368]. Wietske Prummel, an archeologist from Groningen University is convinced that the taming of horses was different from the domestication of cattle and sheep. Those animals have a gene-pool of closely related animals. "May be because they were, unlike horses, herd animals" suggests Prummel. The oldest proof for the existence of the taming of horses dates back to about 6,000-7,000 years ago. The excavation of a "horse farm" in Kazakhstan, which dated back to about 3500 BC, showed that horses were probably used for milking, too. Bowls were found with residues of lactic-acid, Stear stated, in the *De Volkskrant* [3, p. 13].

In answer to the question why nomads used mare's milk and ate its meat, it could be argued that mare's milk provides energy and satisfies hunger and horse meat contains various vitamins that keep us healthy, especially in winter when there are no fruit and vegetables available. Nowadays, Kazakhs usually eat horse meat during winter. Horse meat helps people to survive the severe weather conditions of Kazakhstan. It warms the blood and also helps to satisfy hunger in the winter. The American scholar Pita Kelekna, a member of the New York Academy of Sciences and American Anthropological Association noted that "to withstand long steppe winters, notably the brutal cold of Botai, the human population required high consumption of fat to insure sufficient caloric intake. It is therefore interesting to note that by comparison to ruminants, horse meat is low in saturated and high in polyunsaturated fats and is also high in amino acids, minerals, and vitamins. It is significant that steppe folk beliefs commonly attribute unusual medicinal and nutritional properties to horse products" [4, p. 39]. Victor Zaibert also noted in his book *Botai Culture*: "...the food was meat, milk, vegetables, and fish, we have artifacts to prove it. However, the balance of the food was not the same, it depended on seasons... the differences of climate in the continent and weather conditions caused inequality in a year cycle of consumption of meat, the main share of annual meat consumption is in cold periods, it is less in warm periods" [5, p. 241]. In his authoritative book, *The Horse, the Wheel and Languages*, David W. Anthony, an archeologist at Hartwick College in Oneonta, N.Y., wrote in 2007 that horses are supremely well adapted to the cold grasslands where they evolved. People who live in cold grasslands with domesticated cattle and sheep would soon have seen the advantage in keeping horses for meat, just because the horses did not need fodder or water. A shift to colder climate conditions or even a particularly cold series of winters could have made cattle herders think seriously about domesticating horses. Just such a shift to colder winters occurred between about 4200 and 3800 BCE [6, p. 193-201].

Even today Kazakhs still eat horse meat and drink mare's milk - kumyz. As for the question why some other Turkic counties do not eat horse meat and drink mare's milk, F. Sumer attributes this to the influence of Islam. He said that after the adoption of Islam Mawarannahr (Transoxiana) played an important role in the Islamic world. We should note that in Mawarannahr people did not eat horse meat or drink mare's milk. The Oghuz (Turkmens) probably also gave up this tradition. In any case, he added, there is no evidence that they ever ate horse meat or drank mare's milk [7, p. 15]. Unfortunately, this conclusion is not reliable and there is no link with the adoption of Islam, as the Holy Book of Islam, the Qur'an, does not prescribe that Muslims should not eat horse meat [8]. This has to be checked with real facts. As Sumer added "there is no evidence that they ever used to eat horse meat or drink mare's milk". It could be the case that they never ate horse meat.

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The Turkish scholar, Sumer, referring to Radloff's note, wrote about how Kazakhs love and respect mare's milk or kumyz. He also noted that kumyz is a satisfying drink which quenches thirst. He added how foreigners also enjoyed this drink, as Rahip W. Rubruck (ambassador to the French King (1253-1254)) once said that "he prefers kumyz as the best wine in the world" [7, p.3-4].

Kumyz is indeed a respectable drink that Kazakhs like. It is prohibited to pour kumyz on the ground and people should not step over it, as for Kazakhs it is a holy drink. In the old Kazakh tradition if a bride was not a virgin she would be placed on a horse back to front and sent home or if people liked the girl they would bathe her in white mare's milk. In this way, the girl could wash away her sins and could then marry her bridegroom. There is a Kazakh saying «*aieldin kunesi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi*» which means that "the sins of a girl not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare's milk [9, p. 29]. In olden times white mare's milk was drunk only by family members, if white mare's milk was offered to a special guest it meant that the guest deserved respect [9, p. 55].

Kazakhs have many traditional holidays linked with kumyz. One of them is "Kymyzmuryndyk". This holiday is celebrated in the spring when people have overcome the severe winter of Kazakhstan and when there is a lot of mare's milk in the spring and summer to follow. They all drink mare's milk together and in this way the victory over the hard winter is celebrated. Kazakh nomads began to celebrate this holiday many years ago when they moved to their summer pastures. Toktabay noted that "Kymyzmuryndyk" is a national celebration of an importance equal to that of other national celebrations, such as Navruz and Kurban Ait [9, p. 165].

There is a special tradition for pouring somebody a drink of kumyz, offering (holding out) a drink of kumyz and for how kumyz should be drunk. Usually, in accordance with Kazakh tradition, kumyz is poured by careful young women or men dressed in neat national costume; in their left hand there should be a cup, known as a "*tostagan*" and in their right hand a ladle, known as a "*ozhau*" for stirring the kumyz without making any sound. After pouring the kumyz into the cup, the ladle should be placed on the corner of a dish called a "*tabaq*": then the cup, full of kumyz, is held in the right hand and offered to the guest. Offering kumyz with the left hand would be a sign of disrespect and ill breeding.

When man first milked a mare and intended to make some qurt (dried cheese in a round shape) and cheese just as it is made from cow's milk, he proved unable to do it: so there is a legend among Kazakhs that Kambar-Ata, the spiritual guide of the horse (according to the Kazakh every cow or horse has a spiritual guide), taught people how to make kumyz. That is why Kazakhs call Kambar-Ata the spiritual guide and protector of the horse, but he is also seen as a real man who taught the Kazakh how to make kumyz. In addition, Kambar-Ata is also a master of the earth, miracle-worker and a holy man who grants the birth of sons etc. So, worship of Kambar-Ata among the Kazakhs is of great importance and is linked to the worship of the horse in the life of nomads. Even nowadays, compared to shepherds, herders in charge of horses are regarded as more important. In olden times horse herders took part in all social affairs and would dine in the households of the rich. Horse herders would be given a place of honor in a yurt or in a room. Kazakh call this place "*tör*", that is a recess opposite the entrance to a room. Rich people, the so-called "*bailar*", would even give horse herders their daughters and accepted them as bridegrooms when they protected and saved their horses from danger and violent attack [9, p. 171].



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### The Importance of Horse Color

The color of horses also played an important role in the life of nomads. Usually, Kazakhs divide horse colors into three types: bay, black and piebald. Kazakh scholars group horse colors in three types. H.Arginbaev's classification of horse colors, for instance, involved: bay (including white, grey, roan, blue roan, flecked (spotted), dull, yellow, sorrel, sorrel-bay, liver-chestnut, blue, grey, chestnut, bright-red, red, yellow-red), black (including dark-bay, black, black-blue, black-grey, brown, bay, and other shades of brown) and skewbald (including white with yellow, grey or blue markings etc.) [10, p. 52-53].

White was the color expressing holiness and purity. As mentioned above, when people have sinned they could wash away their sins, if they bathed in the milk of a white mare, but not in the milk of a black mare (or mare of any other color). In this way they could wash away the sins they had committed: not only girls who were not virgins but any man, who had committed a sin, could also bathe in a white mare's milk and wash away his sins. Toktabay noted that, due to the fact that a white horse is holy and valuable for Kazakhs, they used not to ask for money for a white horse when it was stolen. One of the advantages of a white horse is that it can be seen very well in the dark at night. That is why in olden times young men used white horses when they went to see their brides in the night [10, p. 53]. White mare's milk is also used as a medicine, but this is really a custom of today's Kazakhs' ancestors: when someone was suffering from an illness or grief he would bathe in white mare's milk and believed that he would recover and get well soon. In the famous Turkic epic, dedicated to a hero named Alpamys, it is written that when Alpamys Batyr won a battle and returned home he made sure that his parents took a bath in white mare's milk as they had suffered while he was on the battlefield. So there is a Kazakh saying "*sheshendi boz biyenin sutine shomyldyratyn zhaiyin bar*" meaning you should bathe your parents in white mare's milk, showing you need to take care of your parents, respect and love them [9, p. 228].

In earlier times when soldiers prepared for battle before going to war there was a tradition of sacrificing a white horse and wishing soldiers good luck so that they might win the battle. When the founder and Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, Genghiz Khan (originally known as Temujin), went to fight the Chinese on his way to the battlefield he stopped on a hill and, together with his heroic soldiers and leaders of the hordes, sacrificed a white horse and prayed to Gök Tengri (one of the names for the chief deity in the religion of the early Turkic (Xiongnu, Hunnic, Bulgar) and Mongol (Xianbei) peoples. Worship of Tengri is sometimes referred to as Tengrism: the all-important figures in Tengrism are the Sky-Father and Mother-Earth. It involved shamanism, animism, totemism and ancestor worship [11]) [12, p. 189-200]. In the battle of Anyrakai field in 1726, the rulers of three zhuzes or hordes; (Kazakhs are divided into three hordes: the Great Horde, Middle Horde and Small Horde) came together to consult each other and elected Abilhaiyr Khan as their chief warlord and ruler. To celebrate this a white horse was sacrificed as a symbol of future victories [12, p. 201-202]. Whenever there was a war, battle, or litigation between zhuzes (hordes), tribes or khans and it was decided to end a war, battle or litigation between "brothers", a white horse would then be sacrificed. Those involved would then swear, by putting their forefingers into the blood of a white horse, that they would never again become enemies. The Kazakh scholar, A.Toktabay, cites examples of such customs from written sources referring to a study made by L.Badabamov. Toktabay wrote that after the battle between Abilayhan and the ruler of

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the Dzungars, they followed this custom. This custom continued till the end of the 20th century [9, p. 229-230].

From history, we know that the color of horses also played an important role in the naming of directions when soldiers mounted their horses. According to A.Cinar, who referred to Sertkaya's notes: "The East is blue, the South is red, the West is white, and the North is black. Kul Tigin the General of the Second Turkic Khaganate would also change the color of his horse according to the direction in which he was setting off to battle. When he rode to the East his horse was light-colored or grey, when he went to the South the color of his horse was light-colored or brown, when he went to the West his horse was white, and when he went to the North he took a dark horse" and then he added: "The King of the Hunnic Empire, Mete Khan, also arranged the mounted formations in his army on the basis of horse color. Mete Khan, while encircling the Chinese army, used light-grey horses in the East, light-colored horses in the South, white horses in the West and dark-colored horses in the North: this was part of his battle tactics" [13, p. 17].

The main equivalence between the world view of space-structure and space modeling is that by every such means the world view is generated through the symbols of space. We can find evidence of this in inscriptions that give us information about the ancient Turkic culture. In old monuments written in the Uighur language the following colors correspond to animals: *east* – blue, green (the symbol of the dragon), *west* – white (the symbol of the tiger), *south* – red (the symbol of the magpie) and *north* – black (the symbol of the snake) are specified for instance. Nomads also designated parts of the earth by color: *red* – the color of the South, *black* – the color of the North, *blue* – the color of the East, *white* – the color of the West and *yellow* – the color of the zenith (the highest point of the sky) [14, p. 9]. Academician A.N. Kononov noted that the color geo-symbolism of the Turkic peoples apparently only died out recently, replaced by a linear-spatial orientation, as has often happened elsewhere. Even when such customs were only used long ago, they can still remain clearly evident in particular practical activities of individuals [15, p. 160].

Thus, the color of horses can be seen to have played a major role in the life of the Kazakhs – great nomads of the steppes - in both their daily life and their beliefs.

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# *PHILOSOPHY*

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## MIRABILE, Paul

### Friedrich Nietzsche and Wisdom of the East

*"Oh über diese Flamme meiner Habsucht! Oh, dass ich in hundert Wesen wiedergeboren würde!"*

*Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft: 249<sup>1</sup>*

#### Lebensphilosophie and Wisdom

Movement...Transformation...Images clustered to form Figures. A continual undoing of knots, of sealed systems, of circles traced and retraced, ever larger, ever smaller, retracing and expanding. An Experience that excludes nothing because the subject of the Experience is included...spontaneously; that is, *suae spontis esse*: to be one's own master, at one's own accord, a state of total *receptiveness*,<sup>2</sup> total abandon to one's circumstances.

To be *exposed* willingly...readily...cheerfully; fully exposed to the Experience of Life, the wayfarer is both subject and object of wisdom, overtly exposed to and disposed towards his circumstances, adapting wholly to them in view of being transformed by them. An active-passive *modus operandi* by which the wayfarer acts in order to overcome himself within his given circumstances. Neither mutilating them to justify his existence, nor inventing them to palliate his existence. Absorbed by them. And in turn, he absorbing them. Exposed thus means the opening of one's Self to Reality in view of the Accomplishing of the Self.

To act *hinc et nunc*, no longer a spectator imprisoning circumstances within positivistic schemas, systems or categories: The Act liberates. It refrains one's petty self from projecting, and opens the way towards an intense exchange between the flow of Reality and the Self; allows penetration to effect transformations. The Self thus remains in a continual state of Becoming, fully exposed to the world of newer horizons to attain and overcome because the Self ( *Selbst*) vies in ceaseless struggle with the ego(*Ich*) for domination: "*Immer horcht das Selbst und sucht: es vergleicht, bezwingt, erobert, zerstört. Es herrscht und ist auch des Ich's Beherrscher.*" Nietzsche's acknowledging of the Self implies Being as the culprit to be overcome by the constantly becoming ego. Yet, Nietzsche never resolved the moment in which this ego would overcome the Self, and the consequences of that moment. Perhaps it was more the

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1 "Oh, this flame of my covetousness! Oh, that I were reincarnated in a hundred individuals! "He who does not know this sigh by experience, does not know the passion of the seeker of knowledge either."

2 The French *disponibilité* is much more to our point here!

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agonic joust between Self and the ego, between Being and Becoming that held his interest and nourished his thoughts more than an effacement of Being or its presumed denial...

Friedrich Nietzsche's 'style of life' supposes a method of ethics,<sup>3</sup> of accomplished Acts in the Art of Becoming, a method of *Heiterkeit* 'the gaiety of the spirit, for Becoming is an Art. The Art of knowing how to wayfare, how to fashion a method of Self-Accomplishment, subject to hazards, to the unforeseen, to painful joys and joyful pains, a simultaneous construction and destruction whose ultimate Reality is Becoming what you are! This method should not be considered as a mere intellectual or philosophical enterprise; it is a method ontologically and existentially tread, by which thinking becomes a daily activity whose direct bearing on life obliges the explorer not only to seek out the truth of life, but to submit to it! To submit to the truth of life is to assume fully the method by which this truth penetrated and transmuted the wayfarer...

F. Nietzsche's joyous science, his Way to and of wisdom, claims no insight into ratiocination, nor does it guarantee the reader a ready-made system of philosophical or aesthetic self-indulgence. His method to "...live dangerously! Build your homes on the slopes of Vesuvius, set your sails for uncharted seas"<sup>4</sup> posits a Way of solitude, meditation and Self-examination whose faring, although toilsome, demands a light-hearted free spirit who strives after a vision however cryptic, however intuitive! A *Gaya Scienza* indeed whose daily practice incites one to overcome false happiness, illusion and deception by accepting what is real under his present circumstances. It styles one's Self to the course of life's events, not like some floundering fish caught up in the swells caused by broken dams or sluices, but by letting oneself flow freely along the course. Freely that is, if fully conscious of both *his* course and the one to which he has abandoned himself. The wayfarer thus bears the course both within and without...at the same time, a burden that must be borne if the truth is not to be a dialectal or metaphysical retreat into the realms of abstract constructions deprived of daily, practical activity.

Nietzsche's method of faring towards the meaning of life relied on a practical, experimental perception of Reality: intuition and Self-implication guided his course. A course along which all contingencies were embraced and encompassed. For it is a Way that assumes, even overtly welcomes storms and swells as well as placid stillness.

Indian thought owes its perennial wisdom to the acceptance, comprehension and explanation of Reality's responsibility, one deciphered and read not as an illusion or idea which belongs to a world of noumena,<sup>5</sup> but as the temporal, worldly Movement of constant tensions of opposing energies whose ceaseless flow prompts mutations: Krishna-Vâmana, Krishna-Varâha, Krishna-Kûrma, or Shiva-Rudra, Natarâja, Pashupati...Gautama Buddha, Avalokiteshvara, Maitreya, Guanyin. Figures ensnared in the flow of construction and destruction, of Becoming, whose primal motor and ultimate Reality is the divine Godhead...

3 "-Seinem Charakter 'Stil geben' -eine grosse und seltene Kunst ". *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*: 190. Dünndruck-Ausgabe dtv/ de Gruyter, Deutscher Taschenbuck Verlag, 1988.

4 "...gefährlich leben! Baut eure Städte an den Vesuv! Schickt eure Schiffe in unerforschte Meere! *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* (283).

5 The meditative exercises of *tathatâ* obliges one to perceive things 'as they are', phenomena at the surface of being; for all that is deep rises to the surface when summoned...

A myriad of Figures issued from an endless Movement of Indian wisdom. The Self overcoming...becoming...accomplishing. The all too-human Self, in Nietzsche's case, which he aspires to set free from its gaol of conventional moral and conservative social constraint. And like the Indian or Oriental sages, F. Nietzsche, by way of such figures as Zarathustra, sought not to *prove*, logically or scientifically, the Way to Self, but *demonstrated* it to us his readers: He marked out the Way with his own steps, fully showing himself as the explorer explored, because exploring...

Nietzsche's demonstration of Self-overcoming, what we see as an intimate affinity with Oriental wisdom or science,<sup>6</sup> does not lie in book learning. To compare Nietzsche's thinking, existence and writing with Eastern wisdom entails observing analogous, converging moments in the written expression of the material to which we shall refer. By expression we mean not only a 'style' but the means by which this 'style' emerged in its written form. Nietzsche, although somewhat sceptic, even derogatory about Indian ascetics, nevertheless, adhered to certain principals of Oriental existence. He was undoubtedly conscious of this; however, his adherence was eclectic because his Way was his own...

Now diverging now converging in their respective manners, Nietzsche's *Joyous Science* and Eastern wisdom guide the toiler on his Way towards the mastery of Self, of becoming what one is: "*Und dies Geheimnis redete das Leben selber zu mir: 'Siehe', sprach es, 'ich bin das, was sich immer selber überwinden muss' "*".<sup>7</sup>

Nietzsche's method, his sagacity, his *raison d'être*: Becoming. Continually, constantly until the Accomplishment of Being has been effected. Zarathustra? A Figure composed of three concepts: the Overman, the Will to Power, the Eternal Recurrence. Concepts churned into Images then fashioned into a Figure out of the flow of Experience, of Reality as it is suffered and enjoyed...

An existence which yields to the flow of Reality, consciously and intelligently, eschews, even scorns systems and prescribed grids, however effective, penetrating or enlightening, because their thought criteria fail to apprehend the Self as the very principal of Being and Existence. Eastern wisdom and Nietzsche's lie in the apprehension of Becoming as an inherent or organic quality of Being, by which all is transitory, fleeing, circulating until the Self's Accomplishment. A wisdom perceived and slowly illuminated within the majestic landscapes of Nature. Abandoning academism, Nietzsche sought Self-Accomplishment in Nature's 'azure solitude' "*der azurnen Einsamkeit*" where the mountains and the river-crossed forests of the Alps shaped his Being. Where, instead of forming specialists or professionals of philosophy, he learned to meditate and act on existing and being in a world that stimulated his senses, learned to acquire the *savoir-faire* of applying his senses to that world as a means of attaining his Self, of envisaging Being as so many Acts of Existence...of Becoming...Acts, indeed, that had been shaping the

6 We should bear in mind, nonetheless, that Hindu and Buddhist, although they do indeed seek to overcome or transcend phenomenal illusion (māya) -Nietzsche's appearance comprised of lies, falsehoods or fiction of Being-, through techniques such as *atta-jaya* 'self-conquest', *atta-samatha* 'action', *âtmashâva* 'nurturing of the spirit', all of which comprise the Indian 'science of Self' (âtmavidyâ), these planes to be attained, albeit ontologically pursued (and not psychologically!), suppose a metaphysical and theological science of Self, rejected by F. Nietzsche. His 'Self-conquest' implies the mastering of the Self and not the effacement of it (âtma) as a method of unwinding the webs of illusion or falsehood. The meaning of the word *science* in India covers philosophy, metaphysics and therapeutics. A sum commensurate to Nietzsche's *Gaya Scienza*. It is a science that does not sever theology from metaphysics, metaphysics from philosophy, philosophy from therapeutics, be it physical or mental...

7 Also *Sprach Zarathustra*, Von der Selbstüberwindung, ed. Philipp Reclam Jun., Stuttgart, 1987.

sages of the East for over four thousand years. Acts, whose initial steps begin with the union of the body and the Self...

### Body-Wise

Wisdom derives its basic puissance by the mastering of the body. F. Nietzsche despised the haters of the body! In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* he voices his belief in the sound body: "*Hört mir lieber, meine Brüder, auf die Stimme des gesunden Leibes: eine redlichere und reinere Stimme ist diess.*" And when he evokes the seeker whose conscious and knowledge have been awakened, he adds: "*Aber der Erwachte, der Wissende sagt: Leib bin ich ganz und gar, und Nichts ausserdem; und Seele ist nur ein Wort für ein Etwas am Leibe.*"

The sound, healthy body requires disciplined eating habits! Only a strict change in diet delivered F. Nietzsche's body from slow degeneration, decay and *décadence*! From a strained nervous system, blood clotting and a knotted, gas-bloated stomach. Food indeed became food for thought! In *Ecce Homo*, Nietzsche relates the inseparability between eating and sound climatic conditions. Much too long to reproduce on these pages, his reflections demonstrate that bad German eating habits hampered their thinking and forged a type of 'German spirit'. Habits he himself, alas had always been exposed to: soup before meals 'alla tedesca', over-boiled meat, fat-fried vegetables, beer and other strong alcoholic beverages. F. Nietzsche resolved to change this destructive diet in order to think healthily and thus clearly. Instead of alcohol he drank water, especially from the fountains at Nice, Torino and Sils. He began to experiment on the correct amounts of food to feed his stomach. No eating between meals and no coffee, for coffee makes one groggy. Tea is best in the morning, but neither too much nor too strong. (*Ecce Homo: Why am I so Clever* 1, 2, 3).

These radical changes of habit Nietzsche carried out very seriously. He may have been one of the first European thinkers to have equated the food that one feeds into the body to the thoughts that one couches on paper!

The Eastern sages have been practicing this equation for centuries. Vegetarianism is the principal criterion of wisdom: nothing lifeless must be fed into the man's living body. It will only generate lifeless thoughts. Fruits, fresh vegetables, certain cereals, all consumed in small amounts, and especially diced up finely for easy digestion. Easy digestion suggests quicker assimilation of the nourishment required to think. Water is the universal solvent, especially from waterfalls or brooks, for it this living water that will stream the brain's thoughts along in a babbling, spritely manner...

As to climate, Nietzsche's wanderings fashioned his thoughts into a theory of a corporal adaptation to climate: a healthy climate will regenerate the body, energize it: "*Der klimatische Einfluss auf den Stoffwechsel, seine Hemmung, seine Beschleunigung, geht so weit, dass ein Fehlgriff in Ort und Klima jemanden nicht nur seiner Aufgabe entfremden, sondern ihm dieselbe überhaupt vorenthalten kann: er bekommt sie nie zu Gesicht. Der animalische vigor ist nie gross genug bei ihm geworden, dass jene ins Geistigste überströmende Freiheit erreicht wird, wo jemand erkennt: das kann ich allein ...*"<sup>8</sup> And again he condemns German climate, and correlatively the German spirit because of its sunless skies, humidity and mugginess, which causes a

<sup>8</sup> *Ecce Homo*, Warum ich so klug bin, 2.



befogged spirit and a heaviness of heart that discourages heroic acts! F. Nietzsche came to understand that the refined spirit lived in climes such as Provence, Florence, Jerusalem and Athens where 'genius is conditioned by dry air and clear skies'- : "*das Genie ist bedingt durch trockne Luft, durch reinen Himmel,-*"<sup>9</sup> Here the pace of metabolism quickens and thus races to and through the brain large amounts of energy. The Alpine climate, too, enhances and enriches thinking: the cold, crisp, dry air is perfectly suited to long walks which generate bodily, and thus mental energy. Mountain air, because the body is constantly exposed to its cleanliness and freshness, stimulates thinking. Similarly, with the sea air at Nice or Genova...This, in short, is F. Nietzsche's belief in *Physiologie*, his "der Trunkenheit der Genesung 'a drunkenness of health', a medicinal or thereupeatical practice of dietary detoxication and of corporal exercises. It was because Nietzsche was ill that he developed these physiological practices; it was his bodily sufferings that alerted him to the necessity of curing himself...his Self. And indeed this cure gave birth to the *Gay Science* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*!

The sages of China, be they Buddhists, Taoists or Confucians practiced and still practice either yoga, meditation (prayers) or Tai Chi as a means of precise and correct thinking, be it whilst painting landscapes, calligraphy or writing words of wisdom. A practice linked, of course, to the great Inspirer: Creation...Indians, too, have practiced yoga for centuries as well as other forms of bodily nourishment such as the Kerala Art of wrestling training, or the dances of Orissa and Tamil Nadu. Respiratory exercises all accompany these corporal Arts. Yoga, which signifies 'union', is that symbiose with the Creator Shiva, the greatest of all yoghies! It is this 'yoke' that the Yoghi seeks in his daily communion with Him. Communion which inspired the pages of the four *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*...

There can be no wisdom without any full corporal participation. It is not only a question of daily hygiene; these Arts permit the body to develop in order for the mind to expand ever outwards and inwards. They cleanse it of unhealthy forces, whilst strengthening it against exposure to unkindly elements.

The wayfarer must love his body, not defile or degenerate it! To take one's body into one's own hands, to be one's own doctor in the practice of preventive medicine, situates the seeker immdiately on the firm Way towards Self-Accomplishment. Body and Spirit are one reconciled force; the Body generates energy that the sages transformed into philosophy, poetry, metaphysics, theology, in short into wisdom. F. Nietzsche, although later in life, practiced similar physiological methods of rendering his thoughts lighter, crisper, bouncier...more gay..." *Ich nahm mich selbst in die Hand, ich machte mich selbst wieder gesund: die Bedingung dazu – jeder Physiologe wird das zugeben – ist, dass man im Grunde gesund ist.*"

Professor Nietzsche quit the university and gradually made his Way into the mountains. There his body began to live vigorously in accordance with Nature's robust rhythms. There he discovered that the body and mind are not to be separated...There he discovered 'Grand Health'...

The *Gay Science* is a hymn to the healthy body and to the body that serves wisdom and Zarathustra is the incarnation of that new-born Grand Health...'Ein Philosoph, der den Gang durch viele Gesundheitien gemacht hat und immer wieder macht, ist auch durch ebensoviele Philosophien hindurchgegangen:...' <sup>10</sup>

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9 Idem.

10 Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, Vorrede, 3.

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### Mountains and Water

Mountains and waterways are not signs of Oriental wisdom; they are topographical and semantic Ways for the seekers of wisdom. Beauty accompanies the wayfarer on his ontological and existential Self-Accomplishing; natural beauty whose awesomeness gradually pierces and transcends those layers of opinion, biased conviction, prejudice and judgement. Exposed to such immensity, wildness and raw beauty, self-indulgence and pride no longer have any spite to vent; cynicism and arrogance no face to slap! In these solitary, robust climes one breathes naturally to the rhythms of Nature's course; one exercises his lungs and eyesight and gradually understands himself to be an organic part of an environment that is naturally his! To coalesce our human nature with Nature demands a sense of Unity that can only be achieved by piecing the fragments of Becoming together until the Whole is formed: and that reunited Whole is Being...

The Dao teaches us to shun habitude and indulgence. It teaches us the joys of breathing in rhythm with Nature, in eating with the turn of the seasons, in walking within the beauty of the Creation. For the disciplined Daoist there is absolutely no distinction between beauty and truth! The Dao combats innate ugliness and dogma, and along its Way, leads the wanderer into the higher spheres of Self-consciousness both mental and topographical. This ascent towards the summits of Self must be undertaken with cheer gait and gay stride. On the Dao, joy ambles abreast because it is joy that chases egoism and laziness. Joy emanates from neither emotion nor sentiment; it is a force that engenders creativity because continually nourished through contacts with the Reality of the world, whether this Reality be joyful or painful...The Dao does not cultivate extremities; extremities are formed through laziness of body and mind. The Dao stimulates and cultivates the creative force, dormant in man, a vital, joyful force which lightens the step, and thus the heart; awakens it to whatever nefarious affect may sollicit it, from without or within.

To climb a mountain in India or in China is an essential spiritual experience. Pristine because touched by the Divine, or by those who have been touched by the Divine, the height of a mountain *elevates* the ascending explorer towards the Centre, veritable pivotal point from which he gazes in awe at the infinite vastness of an ever stretching horizon. The snowy, woodsy heights of the immutable axes of Tai Shan or Mount Kunlun are the abode of the higher men of the Dao called the Eight Immortals; they who have transcended the cycle of life and death. There they sit, awaiting the ascent of other fearless climbers, guiding their way over fantastic obstacles, through the darkness of ignorance. Upon the peaks of Kailash God-Siva dances his dance of life and death, manifesting that image which the pilgrims who circumambulate His mountain seek to emulate. And on that same peak, in collective calmness, the Enlightened Buddha and the first emancipated Jain saints prayed and pray in enshrined peace...<sup>11</sup>

The clean, fresh air of mountain life stimulated F. Nietzsche's thinking: alpine strolls instead of seminars, contemplation and meditation in lieu of debate or controversy. Ever since a student, he had always deemed Nature and her mighty landscapes an essential component of knowledge because essential to the examining Self. In the silent grandeur of Sils-Maria (Ober-Engadin) and Lake Orta's mountainous landscapes, he experimented his Elevation and Centre. A topographical immersion that

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11 We may further add that according to legend it was upon Kailash that the founder of the ancient Bon religion of Tibet (Shamanism) settled after leaving the Heavens.

sharpened his wits and will, his spirit and self-penetration. Like the sages of the Orient, the man of renunciation soars beyond even the best of scholastics:

"Der Entsagende, -Was thut der Entsagende? Er strebt nach einer höheren Welt, er will weither und ferner und höher fliegen, als alle Menschen der Bejahung, -er wirft Vieles weg, was seinen Flug beschweren würde, und Manches darunter, was ihm nicht unwerth, nicht unliebsam ist: er opfert es seiner Begierde zur Höhne-."12

The sage Zarathustra dwells in the mountains and harks to their teachings high above the noisy crowd: "Als Zarathustra dreissig Jahre alt war, verliess er seine Heimat und den See seiner Heimat und ging in das Gebirge."13

However, weary of solitude, sensing that the weight of his wisdom could not be borne on his shoulders alone, he began his going-down, his *undergehen*:

"Dazu muss ich in die Tiefe steigen: wie du des Abends tust, wenn du hinter das Meer gehst und noch der Underwelt Licht bringst, du überreiches Gestirn!

Ich muss, gleich dir, *untergehen*, wie die Menschen es nennen, zu denen ich hinab will."14

Alas, his long meditated images, translated first into picture words then into an iconic narration, reached deaf ears. Zarathustra remained profoundly alone: "Zu lange wohl lebte ich im Gebirge, zu viel horchte ich auf Bäche und Bäume: nun rede ich ihnen gleich den Ziegenhirten."15

And he compares the mountains to his soul: "Unbewegt ist meine Seele und hell wie das Gebirge am Vormittag."16

The language of Zarathustra gives rise to maxims and sayings drawn from the existence of his mountain dwelling. Simplicity and joy: "Wer auf den höchsten Bergen steigt, der lacht über alle Trauer-Spiele und Trauer-Ernste."17

Zarathustra stumbles across a young man yearning to rise high into mountain heights. He had climbed higher and higher, but as he rose, his loneliness became frosty:

"Bin ich oben, so finde ich mich immer allein. Niemand redet mit mir, der Frost der Einsamkeit macht mich zittern. Was will ich doch in der Höche?

Meine Verachtung und meine Sehnsucht wachsen miteinander; je höher ich steige, um so mehr verachte ich den, der steigt. Was will er doch in der Höhne?

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12 *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, (27) loc. cit.

13 *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, Vorrede, loc. cit.

14 Idem, Vorrede.

15 Idem.

16 Idem.

17 Idem (Von Lesen und Schreiben).

Wie schäme ich mich meines Steigens und Stolperns! Wie spotte ich meines heftigen Schnaubens! Wie hasse ich den Fliegenden! Wie müde bin ich in der Höhe?"<sup>18</sup>

Indeed the ascent offers little commiseration to the climber, the heroism of his heart being the sole guide. This is no path for the weak-willed.

At long last, aching for spiritual nourishment, Zarathustra returns to the cave of his mountain retreat: "Hierauf ging Zarathustra wieder zurück in das Gebirge und in die Einsamkeit seiner Höhle und entzog sich den Menschen."<sup>19</sup>

Zarathustra now fully realizes *his* profound truth: his own nature is one with Nature's! A unique Force because reconciled and harmonized. It is upon this truth, terrible though it be, that he declares: "Und mit Bergen soll der Erkennende *bauen* lernen! Wenig ist es, dass der Geist Berge versetzt- wusstet ihr das schon?"<sup>20</sup>

The enlightened man, the wiseman, elevated by the steepness of the mountain, builds his abode upon lofty spurs, far above spiritless rationalists. He builds 'with the mountains', neither ignoring nor sullyng them because their immutable, majestic nobleness becomes one with his: "Ich bin ein Wanderer und ein Bergsteiger, sagte er zu seinem Herzen, ich liebe die Ebenen nicht und es scheint, ich kann nicht lange sitsitzen."<sup>21</sup>

And there on the summit of Self, Zarathustra inscribes his destiny to Humanity: "Ich erkenne mein Los, sagte er endlich mit Trauer. Wohlan! Ich bin bereit. Eben begann meine letzte Einsamkeit.

Ach, diese schwarze traurige See unter mir! Ach, diese schwangere nächtliche Verdrossenheit! Ach, Schicksal und See! Zu euch muss ich nun *hinab* steigen!

Vor meinem höchsten Berge stehe ich und vor meiner längsten Wanderung: darum muss ich erst tiefer hinab, als ich jemals stieg."<sup>22</sup>

and:

-tiefer hinab in den Schmerz, als ich jemals stieg, bis hinein in seine schwärzeste Flut! So will es mein Schicksal; Wohlan! Ich bin bereit."<sup>23</sup>

Dominating the topmost peak, man dominates his Destiny.<sup>24</sup> The *fatum*, carved into rock, reminds us of those carefully cut or painted messages bestowed upon the Heavens by Daoist pilgrims on the peaks

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18 Idem (Von Baum am Berge).

19 Idem (Das Kind mit dem Spiegel).

20 Idem (Von den berühmten Weisen).

21 Idem (Der Wanderer).

22 Idem.

23 Idem.

of Tai Shan or Kunlun, or those *sutras* engraved by Buddhist toilers into cliffs or boulders. These semantic markers represent the testimonial Acts of the climber's Self-Accomplishing. Zarathustra, too, once at the top, reveals his extraordinary truism: the summit and the abyss are one! "Gipfel und Abgrund -das ist jetzt in *eins* beschlossen!"<sup>25</sup> He evokes the heights of the mountains and the depths of the seas: "Woher kommen die höchsten Berge? So fragt ich einst. Da lernte ich, dass sie aus dem Meere kommen.

Dies Zeugnis ist in ihr Gestein geschrieben und in die Wände ihrer Gipfel. Aus dem Tiefsten muss das Höchste zu seiner Höhe kommen."<sup>26</sup>

The summit and the abyss are indeed one because ontologically inseparable. There exists no real contradiction between what is high and what is low, similarly, between the beautiful and the ugly, since all Beings are in constant Movement and this constant Movement provokes transformations of Beings. One day we are this and the next we are that! No Being can really be seized ontically because of this unceasing cause of transmutations which, however, does not signify that Being does not exist; it does, but Being *is* because of the ever coming and going of our existences: Being, unlike existence, lies outside all Movement simply because Being is the motor of Movement! Furthermore, Movement that causes the Acts of Being abolishes the myth of eliminating contradictions for the sake of 'logical, sound reasoning' in thinking processes, and at the same token, refutes relativism since those thinking processes, borne by that Movement, can only be gauged by what Nietzsche called his *Perspektivismus*; that is, his points of view which open our visions to the vast vistas that surround us...

It is with this ever-flowing Movement of life that we must now examine the water element in our Nietzschean and Oriental ontic and existential landscape.

Water evokes best the Dao: an ever-flowing current that man cannot obstruct by a network of sluices or dams. In the *Virtue of the Dao* by Laozi, the Chinese sage attributes a genuine reconciled force to water: weakness and effacement/ strength and affirmation. Daoist wisdom harbours both passive and active forces, feminine forms enveloped and enveloping masculine ones. Valleys and mountains create a relief which stretches before us: the world of topographical Reality which puts into relief an ontic one. A world in which rivers, brooks and seas prefigure complex mental notions, coalesce with the deepest mental world of the Self, embolden us to visualize and concretize that which remains abstract, withdrawn and remote within us. The Images and Figures of Laozi's 81 poems of wisdom lay rooted in the Reality of the Way of which water, in all its cartographic forms, murmurs to us:

"To the Way flows the world  
As streams and valleys to rivers and seas."<sup>27</sup>

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24 The Shah Naqshband, founder of the Suffi brotherhood Naqshabandi, said that before the *mürîd* (disciple) rejoices at the sight of the view atop the lofty peak he must first climb the mountain!

25 Idem.

26 Idem.

27 Daodejing: The Classic of the Virtue of the Dao, poem 32.

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"The great Way inundates,"<sup>28</sup>

"A great country is a lowland where all rivers flow  
The lieu of all things  
The feminine of the Universe."<sup>29</sup>

"The majestic man is like water  
Availing to all things water has to match  
It lays deep, held in contempt by everyone  
It is very close to the Way."<sup>30</sup>

Water is not the Way; however, it accompanies the Way in the same way that the Way accompanies the wayfarer...

The ancient sages of India expressed the creation of the universe in images of the Primal Ocean as we read them in the *Rg Veda*:

"When you gods took your places there in the water with your hands joined together, a thick cloud of mist (particles of water) arose from you like the dust from dancers.

When you gods like magicians (sages) caused the worlds to swell (with milk), you drew forth the sun that was hidden in the ocean."<sup>31</sup>

Vishnu sleeps upon Ananta, the snake that floats upon the Primal Ocean. Vishnu represents the passive forces which evolve the world: He engenders Brahmā from His lotus-navel. Brahmā of the 'world of waters'<sup>32</sup>. The lotus, an island of colourful beauty and grace, floating suavely upon the Waters of Existence. Image of divinity, the throne of Buddha: His Nature (Bodhi) which remains pure. The Golden Lotus whose soft, ever-budding petals are borne upon the flow of femininity: fertility renewed...recurrent. The eternal recurrence: an access to life and the return to it. The purifying waters of the Gangā, Siva's wavy locks which He lets flow down from atop Kailash. Soma, the liquid divinity from whose font all must quench their thirst:

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28 Idem, poem 34.

29 Idem, poem 61.

30 Idem, poem 8. All the himistiches and verses are vertical in the original. Translations done by the author.

31 *Rg Veda*, translation Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, Penguin Books, 1994. Creation 6,7. We have added the translator's notes in parentheses.

32 *Kausītaki Upanishad*, 1, 7.

"Relentlessly they (the streams of Soma) flow down into the filter of a thousand streams; let them have offspring in the third realm of the world. Four hidden springs pouring forth butter carry down from the sky the ambrosia that is the oblation."<sup>33</sup>

Vedic and Buddhist wisdom demand the wayfarer to cross the waters in order to 'arrive': "Make your thoughts harmonious; stretch them on the loom; make them a ship whose oars will carry us across; make the weapons ready and set them in place; drive the sacrifice forward, my friends."<sup>34</sup>

"Empty this boat; emptied, this will move easier for you. Cutting off attachment and enmity, thereby you will reach Nirvana.

Cut off the five, avoid the five, and develop the five in the future world. A monk who gets beyond the five attachments, is called One who has Crossed the Flood."<sup>35</sup>

Indeed, in the *Dhammapada* the current designates the path of enlightenment. It must be followed because it represents our 'natural current': "Than the sole overlordship of the Earth, or going to the heavens, or supreme domination over the world, the fruits of moving along the 'Current' is superior."<sup>36</sup>

"One who has a yearning arisen for that is indiscribable, who is clear in his mind, whose mind is not bound down to the pleasures, is spoken of as 'Going Up the Current'.<sup>37</sup>

However swift it may flow, we follow the Current to 'arrive' on the 'other bank' of Self.<sup>38</sup> But like any strenuous voyage we must halt and take respite, thus preparing, slowly and steadily, the 'going-up' which should be accomplished in stages:

"Through being up on one's feet, through non-default, through self-control, and through discipline, an intelligent person must create an Island, which a flood will not submerge."<sup>39</sup>

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33 *Rg Veda* (Soma). Loc. cit.

34 Idem (the Sacrificial Priests).

35 *Dhammapada* (Monks), Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, The Theosophical Society, Madras 1984.

36 Idem (The World).

37 Idem, (The Pleasing).

38 And Nietzsche's '*dem andem Ufer*': "Ich liebe die grossen Verachtenden, weil sie die grossen Verechrenden wind und Pfeile der Sehnsucht nach dem andem Ufer". (*Also Sprach Zarathustra*: Vorrede 4).

39 Idem (Non-Default).

In Vedic theology, Unity or the Divine, was wrought from the 'inconscient Ocean'. We, too, from this unconsciousness are born and borne into life! If we seek Self-Accomplishment, we must not be submerged by the flow, but keep steadily afloat, halting here and there to take deep breaths, and finally, after much meandering and island-hopping, will 'arrive'...<sup>40</sup>

F. Nietzsche also set sail for uncharted seas! Did he not write to his doctor, Otto Eiser, that his way made him 'sea-sick', which he psychosomatically compared to a 'semi-paralysis'? Nietzsche abandons *terra ferma* and sails towards newer and higher horizons:

*"Dorthin- will ich: und ich traue  
Mir fortan und meinem Griff.  
Offen liegt das Meer, ins Blau  
Treibt mein Genueser Schiff."<sup>41</sup>*

...an iconic narrative which makes us *see* his ontological mission: "Im Horizont des Unendlichen-Wir haben das Land verlassen und sind zu Schiff gegangen! Wir haben die Brücke hinter uns, -mehr noch, wir haben das Land hinter uns abgebrochen! Nun, Schifflein! 'sieh' dich vor! Neben dir liegt er Ocean, es ist wahr, er brüllt nicht immer, und mitunter liegt er da, wie Seide und Gold und Träumerei der Güte. Aber es kommen Stunden, wo du erkennen wirst, dass er unendlich ist und dass es nicht Furchtbareres giebt, als Unendlichkeit."<sup>42</sup>

His method or Way of Self-Accomplishment, Nietzsche himself elucidates in section 381 of the *Gay Science*, again having recourse to very concrete images:

"Denn ich halte es mit tiefen Problemem, wie mit einem kalten Bade-schnell hinein, schnell hinaus. Dass man damit nicht in die Tiefe, nicht tief genug hinunter komme, ist der Aberglaube der Wasserscheuen, der Feinde des kalten Wassers; sie reden ohne Erfahrung. Oh! Die grosse Kälte macht geschwind!"<sup>43</sup>

We should, however, read *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* in order to gauge the vital importance of water in Nietzsche's philosophy of life, keeping in mind that although it be tropological, like all wisdom, it reveals his method of seeking envisaged truth. For example, Zarathustra atop the summit beholds a watery body and proclaims: "Es schläft jetzt alles noch, sprach er: auch das Meer schäft. Schlaftrunken

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40 We use 'arrive' here in its etymological meaning: from the Old French 'à(r)rive' 'to the shore'!

41 *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* (Nach neuen Meeren).

42 Idem.

43 Less topological but as therapeutical as Nietzsche's 'cold baths' (kalden Wassers) are the Himalayan Buddhist monks' purges, either under cascades or in icy torrents.



und fremd blickt sein Auge<sup>44</sup> nach mir."<sup>45</sup>

Nietzsche informs us that Zarathustra left his home "and the lake of his home" "*und den See seiner Heimat*". Perhaps Zarathustra, brimming with knowledge and the need to transmit it, experienced the sensation to 'empty' his Self before replenishing it: "*Siehe! Dieser Becher will wieder leer werden, und Zarathustra will wieder Mensch werden.*"<sup>46</sup>

We discover similar images in *Daodejing*: "The Way is like an empty bowl that no use fills".<sup>47</sup>

The tropological use of waterways in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* demonstrates the forces of passivity and activity that Nietzsche conjured up in his construing of the Overman:

"Wahrlich, ein schmutziger Strom ist der Mensch. Man muss schon ein Meer sein, um einen schmutzigen Strom aufnehmen zu können, ohne unrein zu werden.

Seht, ich lehre euch den Übermenschen: der ist dies Meer, in ihm kann eure grosse Verachtung untergehn."<sup>48</sup>

The broadness and profundity of the sea absorbs any defilement by the Act of Transformation. Similarly, the Overman absorbs all natures in the Act of Becoming, no matter how abject or narrow, the analogical point being the broadness and profundity of their natures.

Water conducts the wayfarer along his Way. And like the stages or phases of the *Dhammapada*, the combination of *terra ferma* (islands) and current provide brief havens for the Way-weary. F. Nietzsche, too, realized that the lengthy current required periodic stop-overs: "Einst sagte man Gott, wenn auf ferne Meere blickte; nun aber lehrte ich euch sagen: Übermensch."<sup>49</sup>

Upon the Blissful Islands man overcomes his Self. Gazing out over the endless seas, a sense of power, of human achievement surges: Zarathustra becomes what he is: an Overman. And as a teacher of Self-overcoming did he not, in the section 'of Passing By', rebuke a fool who ranted on about the shame of city-life, crying out in disgust: "Warum gingst du nicht in den Wald? Oder pflügest die Erde? Ist das Meer nicht voll von grünen Eilanden?"<sup>50</sup>

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44 'Auge': its eye! In Oriental poetry, be it sacred or profane (but is there really any difference between the sacred and the profane in medieval oriental poetry?), the lake symbolizes the 'eye of a mountain'!

45 Der Wanderer.

46 Vorrede I.

47 Poem 4

48 Also Sprach Zarathustra, Vorrede 3.

49 Idem (Auf den glückseligen Inseln).

50 Idem (Vom Vorübergehen).

Zarathustra peers out over the primal principal: the Ocean of Existence. And yet, the Way-worn sage felt a keen desire to forsake those stage-islands and 'cross the sea': "die nahmen manchen mit sich, der von den glückseligen Inseln über das Meer wollte." To climb the mountain. When he had learnt from both Mountains and Waterways, learnt the secret of their bi-fold Force, reconciled and puissant, their indivisibility, he then exclaimed:

"Woher kommen die höchsten Berge? So fragte ich einst. Da lernte ich, dass sie aus dem Meere kommen."<sup>51</sup>

It is within this Mountain-Water symbiose that the wayfarer becomes world-wise; the truth springing forth like 'leaping fountains' that 'speak louder' with which Zarathustra likens to his own soul: "*Nacht is es: nun reden lauter alle springenden Brunnen. Und auch meine Seele ist ein springender Brunnen.*"<sup>52</sup> Gay and exhilarating is this wisdom; this life 'a fountain of delight' "*ein Leben ist ein Born der Lust*" Zarathustra has heard and understood the voice from mighty ridges and swirling waters: "*Wahrlich, ein neues Gutes und Böses ist sie! Wahrlich, ein neues tiefes Rauschen und eines neuen Quelles Stimmer.*"<sup>53</sup>

Nietzsche-Zarathustra exhorts in the Act of Being; an Act of immersion within a landscape whose over-awing relief fashioned the Overman through and by the Will to Power. An Act exhorted in these topographic analogies:

"Meine ungeduldige Liebe fließt über in Strömen, abwärts, nach Aufgang und Niedergang. Aus schweigsamem Gebirge und Gewittern des Schmerzes rauscht Seele in die Täler."<sup>54</sup>

Nature and Zarathustra's nature converge and fuse in one joyful Instant: "Wohl ist ein See in mir, ein einsiedlerischer, selbstgenugsamer; aber mein Strom der Liebe reisst ihn mit sich hinab-zum Meere!"<sup>55</sup>

An accomplished convergence of lake, stream and sea are all incarnated in Zarathustra. Diverse waterways drain into the sea...This is the Overman. A rugged Way indeed, but is not all birth laborious, all creation fragile? To the higher man Zarathustra gives counsel:

"Wollt ihr hoch hinaus, so braucht die eignen Beine! Lasst euch nicht empor *tragen*, setzt euch nicht auf fremde Rücken und Köpfe!"<sup>56</sup>

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51 Idem (Der Wanderer).

52 Idem (Das Nachtlied).

53 Idem (Von er schenkenden Tugend).

54 Idem (Das Kind mit dem Spiegel).

55 Idem.

Upon his mountain refuge, surrounded by his animal companions,<sup>57</sup> Zarathustra, at the height of gaiety and laughter, feasts the Dawn of day: "*glühend und stark*"...

Wisdom is won after long contemplation and meditation, projecting one's nature into that Nature to which we aspire, and in which we accomplish our Selves. The sage contemplates the daily transformations of Nature *with* his own, receiving and penetrating...yielding and conquering...simultaneously. He listens to the laughing Waters, to the rumbling echoes of the Mountains. He listens to his own voice trailing far below and above; again and again, blending within the myriad folds of the landscape. Chinese landscape painters (山水 *shān shuǐ*) of Daoist confession immersed themselves in the majestic beauty of what they momentarily seized and arrested so to envisage and paint it before presenting it to the world. Masculine and feminine forces vying not for domination but for reconciled harmony bestirred these presented landscapes. Amidst towering mountains, abundant in cascades, lakes and brooks man appears so petite. And yet tiny though he may appear, man is not crushed or overwhelmed by Nature. Constant contemplation and immersion urge him, by empathy or communion, to become what first engulfs and girds him, then kindles him to re-create or re-actualize, on paper or silk, the blackened Chaos<sup>58</sup> out of which he himself had been primevally shaped.<sup>59</sup>

The Chinese poet-painter Wang Wei (701-761), of Buddhist faith, forged a poetry out of the Mountains and Rivers that he had crossed and forded, upon which he had meditated. The pastel-blue mountain skies and the rosy light of Dawns heartened him to paint these picture-words:

### In the Mountains

"From the bushy little valley white rocks rise  
Scattered in the cold air some red leaves.

Upon the mountain Way no rain did fall  
But the blue of the sky floods my weeds."<sup>60</sup>

And this wonderful iconic narration in which Wei's picture-words induce and disclose to us the errant life that paved his Way to poetic accomplishment, and thus Self-Accomplishment:

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56 Idem (Vom höheren Menschen).

57 The Buddha, before His departure, summoned His animals to bid Him farewell: the rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cockerel, dog and pig in that order.

58 The Chinese conceive of Chaos as black, and for this reason black ink is used in calligraphy and painting. We should also think of the chaotic Inconscient Ocean of Vedic origin, out of which we must surge in order to wend our Way...

59 We have especially in mind Zhang Daqian's landscape paintings of his native province of the Sichuan.

60 Yu Shou Zhen: *Tang Shi Shou San Bei* (300 Tang Poems), Beijing 1982. Our translation. Because of our uninspired computer programme we unfortunately cannot reproduce the original Chinese. The poetic 'weeds' signifies 'clothes'...

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### Autumal Dusk in the Mountain

Upon the empty mountain after fresh rainfall  
The freshness of eveningtide bespeaks the advent of autumn.

The clear moon shines amongst the pines  
The clear font flows upon the pebbles.

The murmuring bamboo rings the return of the washerman  
The lotus dance after a fisherman's boat.

Springtime fragrances now have faded  
But the noble ones shall always retain their scent."<sup>61</sup>

These poems **communicate** a method of the poet-seeker, arduous but cheery; **reveal** a communion between Nature and man's nature; **trace** his Way. F. Nietzsche's Experience within Nature, expressed either poetically or aphoristically, communicates a similar method, reveals a similar communal empathy, traces a similar Way because both their means and goals ran parallel...

### Method and Way

The form in which thoughts are framed attests to how thoughts are experienced. Nietzsche's aphoristic, hymnic or rhymed prose-writing represents existential and ontic forms of thinking: an Act of life, now concise, now dithyrambic, now subtle, now bombastic, which required silences, rests, halts...'blank spaces'. Blank spaces that do not separate paragraphs, rubrics or chapters, but act as 'binding-spaces' to and for the Other with whom F. Nietzsche conversed. His dialogue-Other, now silent now loquacious, as he strolled and hiked along Alpine paths. Aphorism-blank space...aphorism-blank space: a robust, airy dialogue between Nietzsche and the Other, then us...his readers...

After each aphorism, pithy maxim or poem the blank space invites us to penetrate this ambulatory discussion; to penetrate and participate actively, beckoning us to accompany Nietzsche on his chilly, mountain Way towards Self-Accomplishment. This accompaniment or shared existence does not imply indulgence or sentimental sympathy. Nor calculated compromise. The Way to Accomplishment abhors all short-cuts. Methodically, the Movement of walking sets thoughts astir, prompts the binary rhythm of Empty-Full...Full-Empty. A respiratory exercise during which time disparate images are set to score by the Movement of gait and stride.

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61 Idem.

The aphoristic form conveys the Movement of Existence which assumes that very form. A method of shared creation et mutual participation. We dialogue along with Nietzsche by 'filling in' the blank spaces, the 'emptiness' that drifts between the fullness of his aphorisms, by acting out our thoughts and imagination in cadence to the binary rhythm he has composed.

By 'acting out' we mean that our instinct grasps the *nature* of the dialogue, our intelligence measures the range and profundity of the binary composition and the ontological position it has posited. Our voice, which conjoins Nietzsche's, weaves a polyphonic thread -a *pedetentim*- which coheres all the movements into an ever-questioning, visible wisdom.

If we were only to browse through the *Dhammapada* we would entirely overlook the binary rhythm of the composition.<sup>62</sup> Every aphorism or *sûtra* exacts a silence or a halt to which our instinct and intelligence are cohered. To skip through an aphoristic work of any inspiration would break the thread of the thinking that has weaved the whole fabric. Similarly, to 'speed read' would blur and efface the blank-spaces, heap up the *sûtras* or the aphorisms into a mass of noise or imageless words.

*Sûtra* means 'thought' in Sanskrit. A string of thoughts; a way of syntagmatically threading thought to thought whilst the listener or reader participates paradigmatically in the threading; his existence the woof of the poet-seer's warp. Laozi weaves the 1,189 hemistiches or versicles of his 81 poems on the same binary loom, achieving thus the Act of Communion between the wayfarer and the Way. The Act of 'repleting' what has been 'emptied' for us. From verse to verse and poem to poem the wayfarer sheds new light into the shades of willed discontinuity, and in doing so replenishes both his spirit and the spirit of the Way; becomes one with it...

To glean the spirit and sagacity of these writings, be they Nietzsche's or the Eastern sages', the wayfarer must fare with the poet-sage, must retrace and continue his steps, not in sheepish obedience, but in warrior intrepidity. For only a combative spirit will plunge into the emptiness and there link each thought to another, one by one, until the Way has been completely wended, the circle completely traced: again and again, each aphorism a singular, monadic presence circumscribed by the whole circle of thought. A permanent thought forming part of the total mainstream of the circular motion, moved by the wayfarer's breath, breathing new life into every blank space. Round and round: a constant circular interlacing rotation which demands of us that no aphorism, hymn, maxim or dithyramb be singled out or struck off the circle. The first responds to the second in the same way that the last responds to the first. The *Birth of Tragedy* responds to the *Untimely Meditations* as *Ecce Homo* responds to the *Gay Science* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, which in turn responds to the *Birth of Tragedy*. Vedic hymns, Buddhist *sûtras*, Daoism, the Eternal Recurrence, all circumscribed within the ever-expanding and ever-contracting interlacing orbit of Existence. A method of Existence, of 'forming' one's Existence. A Way towards wisdom...

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<sup>62</sup> We are comparing forms of thinking, writing and existing, not the contents of the forms.

### Images and Figures

Hegel believed that religions are image-built and philosophies notional-built. What about Daoism and Buddhism? What cannot be image-built in Chinese thought when Chinese *iconograms*<sup>63</sup> themselves iconically affect the vision of him who attempts to disclose or reveal his vision linguistically? The iconogram 'presents' the image of a thought. The *iconogram* for the word 'Dao' comprises a 'striding foot' to the left (the key: *bushpu*) of the head or principal *iconogram* 'dao' (or tao) 道. This iconic coalescence illumines the notion of an 'origin' that 'moves ahead' or 'walks forward'.

Indeed, the wayfarer thinks in reflected, interlaced images and expresses them in iconic narrative. Daoism believes that all images have been wrought from thoughts, these being Existence itself.<sup>64</sup> The figure of a dragon symbolizes the 'eternal becoming'; that Form which coils upon itself, coiling and uncoiling like billowy clouds scudding across the sky. The eternal Becoming in turn symbolizes the Great Migration which is the spirit of the Universe. The ancient seers knew all too well that the human mind (besides exceptions) could not seize and translate wisdom linguistically without iconic support, without figures. And contrary to what many may think, these images and figures were not mythological, created out of the poet's overstrung imagination: they were issued out of direct communion with the Divine, be He Creator or the Heavens. An iconic communion well-transfigured in the *Chinese Book of Transformations*, the *Yi Jing*.

The *Yi Jing* has been recognized as one of the earliest treasures of Eastern wisdom. But to penetrate this wisdom the seeker must learn to decipher the images that build the Figures of its wisdom.<sup>65</sup> The eight basic trigrams trace a series of figures consisting of three lines, full and/or broken. Each line embodies the image of a house in which there dwells eight fundamental images that prefigure, by way of the order of the Cosmos, future Events as inscribed in this cosmological order. The divination depends upon the pattern of the full and broken lines.<sup>66</sup> The eight fundamental images are: the Sky and the Earth. Thunder and Water. Mountains and Wind. Fire and Lakes. Each image possesses an attribute, and symbolically refers to a member of the family. For example, the name of the Mountain-image is 'immortality' (良 gěng) which signifies 'rest', and represents the youngest of a family (the third son). A Figure comprises a substance or a property, an image or topography, a family-name or genealogy. The Way to wisdom begins with the first eight trigrams and slowly reaches complex combinations of expanding constellations of Figures, emboldened by the seminal and multiplying images that shape them. This Way demands both cosmogonic and worldly sagacity. It demands of the seeker full

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63 We use the term *iconograms* in place of ideograms or characters.

64 To translate primeval images into schismatic canon or narrow dialectics would thoroughly obstruct or confound communication. A banalization that would deprive them of the purity of that Form which reflects the truth of their revelation. Images expressed symbolically or tropologically permit the wayfarer to apprehend instinctively the meaning of these image-symbioses, then ruminate them as they are repeatedly read or heard. One must learn to think again in pictures as Ananda Coomaraswamy repeatedly stated!

65 These figures have not evolved out of ancient Chinese pictograms. See Richard Wilhelm and Etienne Perrot, *Yi Jing*, Librairie de Médecis, 1973.

66 The figures are formed by tossing or throwing down plant stems (*achillea millefolium*) or bronze coins, materials especially used for *Yi Jing* divination rites.

existential participation. If not, *Yi Jing* would at best satisfy intellectual curiosity, at worst, provoke hostility in those who confound and abuse tawdry thaumaturgy, witchcraft and wisdom... *Yin Jing*, when sincerely exercised, contains extraordinary knowledge of the Cosmos and Man's place on earth because the properly interpreted images and figures unveil not noumena but phenomena in whose continual transformations, when in contact with those who perceive and accompany them, forge a wisdom which responds to the vital needs of Him who seeks knowledge. Not the 'thing-in-itself' but the thing as it is unveiled or revealed to us. A Reality, thus, of images and figures read out of transforming phenomena. F. Nietzsche's existence, on which his *oeuvre* has been built, stands testimony to the Reality of this *Perspektivismus*...

Zarathustra is a symbiose of Oriental wisdom and F. Nietzsche's method or 'style of life'. Zarathustra's Way to wisdom posits phenomena as a reality to be read tropologically. A thinking pattern which *incarnates* abstract notions, *enlivens* them for the purpose of overcoming the obstacles of life, *illumines* the Way of Self-Accomplishment, practically. Zarathustra descends his mountain after ten years of solitude and contemplation. He spoke thus to the people:

"*Ich lehre euch den Übermenschen: Der Mensch ist etwas, das überwunden werden soll, was habt ihr getan, ihn zu überwinden?*"<sup>67</sup>

Throughout Hindu, Buddhist and Daoist history the Figures of higher or sublime men pepper the pages of their writings. Brahmanic priests,<sup>68</sup> hermits, monks, pilgrims...the Eight Immortals.<sup>69</sup> It must be said, however, that the majority of these Figures of wisdom, according to Eastern lore, are divinely or religiously inspired and bound: Zarathustra openly purports neither Creator nor divine Creation. Yet, Zarathustra and the Eastern higher men followed similar Paths towards Self-Accomplishment; namely, asceticism, solitude in the mountains or forests, stern self-examination, and especially self-experimentation. They all shared the will of Self-overcoming by way of weighing the limits of man's physical and mental capacity or aptitude. This being said, the higher men of the Orient explore the arcane realms of Being guided by God, a Divinity or a Guide. Zarathustra's explorations and penetrations reject any theological pilot.

Zarathustra stands testimony to a transfiguration of the Will to Power. One that had been gradually developing or taking form in Nietzsche's own life and writings since his *Untimely Meditations: The Figure of an hypothesis, nonetheless, drawn after a myriad of Self-Accomplishing Acts:* "

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67 Vorrede 3.

68 We believe Ramakrishna to be one of the higher men in the History of Ontology, having experienced three religions (Hinduism, Islam and Christianity). His Self-Accomplishment, inaccessible to the majority of men, remains a model of an onto-theological existence.

69 The Daoist aspires to immortality, and long life is a sign of immortality. As Zhuangzi notes; one must love life and live a long life. The perfection of one's life, synonymous of Self, means abiding by one's 'natural' propensity, and by Nature's 'natural' beauty. The higher men of Daoist faith pretended to concoct pills and elixirs to attain the state of immortality.

"Und dies Geheimnis redets das Leben selber zu mir: 'Siehe', sprach es, 'ich bin das, *was sich immer selber überwinden muss*'.

'Nur, wo Leben ist, das ist auch Wille: aber nicht Wille zum Leben, sondern- so lehre ich's dich- Wille zur Macht!'

Vieles ist dem Lebenden höher geschätzt als Leben selber: doch aus dem Schätzen selber heraus redet- der Wille sur Macht!"<sup>70</sup>

Abundant over-flowing life transmits the Overman's essential message to mankind.

Abundant life means full of power for and of life. An unleashed power, yet mastered, bridled, sublimated. And once at that zenith of elevation, this Will is nourished and cultivated by the further need to overcome. The Will to Power, unlike a theological striving towards Godhood, or an ultimate metaphysical fusion with Being, hypothesizes endless circular states of elevation, infinite fusions with the Other; a sort of timeless circumambulating summit-striving 'within' one's Self and 'without' (the Voyage). Virtually accessible, but unrealistic, the Will to Power alternatively provides and drains the strength required for ceaseless overcoming. Plateau by plateau, summit by summit the wayfarer rises into regions where the thinning air forces him to lengthy halts. Where the 'end' of his toiling appears like a mirage: so close yet so far. And yet, Nietzsche's Will to Power elucidates a finality to attain for the higher men, although it may seem to us that this ever-turning wheel, of which we are now the hub now the spoke, spins without respite, and at times without reason! Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence is no theory of the Absurd. The Will to Power measures its potentiality by the quantity of strength stored and exerted by the wayfarer. An effort unburdened by a 'goal',<sup>71</sup> the toiler circumambulates *pedetentim* in unrelentless Self-Accomplishing, in ceaseless Becoming until he becomes what he is; he unites in coalition with his Being, and thus ceases to wend, to strive, to toil...

Zarathustra incarnates the Eternal Recurrence. A Figure of a concentric, ever-rotating wheel whose form, and to a certain extent, function, can be compared with the Buddhist Wheel of Life, the *Cakra*. Zarathustra declares:

"'Siehe', sprache ich weiter, 'diesen Augenblick! Von diesem Torwege Augenblick läuft eine lange ewige Gasse *rückwärts*: hinter uns liegt eine Ewigkeit.

Muss nicht, was lauffen *kann* von allen Dingen, schon einmal diese Gasse gelaufen sien? Muss nicht, was geschehn *kann* von allen Dingen, schon einmal geschehn, getan, vorübergelaufen sien?

Und wenn alles schon dagewesen ist: was hältst du Zwerg von diesem Augenblick? Muss auch dieser Torweg nicht schon-dagewesen sein?

<sup>70</sup> Also Sprach Zarathustra (Von der Selbstüberwindung).

<sup>71</sup> We distinguish between 'finality' and 'goal'. The sages of the East strove for both eternity and immortality, a lasting image of mortal MAN remains in the minds of mankind as ONE slipped into the realms of the Creator's kingdom or Heavens for ever...



Und sind nicht solchermassen fest alle Dinge verknötet, dass dieser Augenblick *alle* kommenden Dinge nach sich sieht? Also- -sich selber noch?

Denn, was laufen *kann* von allen Dingen: auch in dieser langen Gasse *hinaus-muss* es einmal noch laufen!-

Und diese langsame Spinne, die im Mondschein kriecht, und dieser Mondschein selber, und ich und du im Torweg, zusammen flüsternd, von ewigen Dingen flüsternd-müssen wir nicht alle schon dagewesen sein?

-und wiederkommen und in jener anderen Gasse laufen, hinaus, vor uns, in dieser langen schaurigen Gasse- müssen wir nicht ewig wiederkommen?-"72

This moment. This 'glance (blink) of the eye'<sup>73</sup> equates to every moment in History, eternally linked because eternally present: the Momentary Now of which the Past and Future are an inseparable part.<sup>74</sup>

As such, Time is infinite, without beginning or end, progress or evolution. Time, like truth, runs no straight line. The dwarf says to Zarathustra: "Alle Wahrheit is krumm, die Zeit selber ist ein Kreis."<sup>75</sup>

To which Zarathustra adds by drawing the figure of a wheel: 'Alles geht, alles kommt zurück; ewig rollt das Rad des Seins. Alles stirbt, alles blüht wieder auf, ewig läuft das Jahr des Seins.'

And still further down: "In jedem Nu beginnt das Sein; um jedes Hier rollt sich die Kugel Dort. Die Mitte ist überall. Krumm ist der Pfad der Ewigkeit."<sup>76</sup>

Man's existence revolves and is conditioned by these ever-spinning revolutions. Oriental thought and Nietzsche's do not posit or affirm an eschatological concept of existence. The notion of an 'edge of time' does not figure in either Nietzsche's or Eastern wisdom.

The Buddhist *cakra* represents *dharma* -the law-, which at the Dawn of Buddhism symbolized the Buddha Himself. According to *dharma*, Time and the possibilities of existences are endless. Becoming is thus virtually limitless. An individual is susceptible of becoming someone or something else within the

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72 Also *Sprach Zarathustra* (Vom Gesicht und Rätsel).

73 In Buddhist metaphysics, *nimeṣa* 'glance' and *nimiṣa* 'twinkling of an eye' (one of the names of God) respond with semantic and functional precision to Nietzsche's *Augenblick!*

74 Or the **Instant Moment** (*khaṇa* in Hindu metaphysics) when differentiating between time (period) and Time (eternity). Indeed, the Eternal Present is that 'glance of the eye', and in that glance the Past and Future converge, simultaneously. "'Du gelfällst mir, Glück! Husch! Augenblick!'" so wolltet ihr *alles* zurück!'" (*Also Sprach Zarathustra*) And further down: "'Noch einmal,' des Sinn ist 'In alle Ewigkeit!' singt, ihr höheren Menschen, Zarathustra Rundgesang!'" Idem (Das trunkne Lied 10 and 12). One will observe in many Buddhist temples in India or China the 'three Buddhas' seated on their respective thrones: to the left the Buddha of the Past, to the right He of the Future and in the centre the Buddha of the Present. This spatial representation of Time discloses the presence of **the** Buddha: He seated before us in the centre of the main hall, round whom all Movement and time converge and pivot: the *Instant Moment*, not a period of time but Eternity...

75 Idem (Vom Gesicht und Rätsel).

76 Idem (Der Genesende 2).

cycle of spins of the Wheel until his acts (karma), adjudged good, deliver him from the bonds of mortality, lift him outside the eternal spin where he then joins the moon-infused Buddha of the golden nimbus in *Nibbana*...

The Buddhist Wheel of Life depicts a world of phenomena. It regulates Buddhist society. For this reason *cakras* are painted on the outer walls of temples and not inside the halls where the Buddha sits peacefully, freed from the Wheel of Rebirths. For the inner temple is a lieu of peace...

In Sanskrit *samsarâ* signifies the infinite cycle or circle of rebirths, girated by the laws of cause and effect, all phenomena being transitory. Nietzsche's image of the Eternal Recurrence concurs nicely to the contours of the Indian *samsarâ*:

"Aber der Knoten von Ursachen kehrt wieder, in den ich verschlungen binder wird mich wieder mich wieder schaffen! -Ich selber gehöre zu den Ursachen der ewigen Wiederkunft.

Ich komme ewig wieder, mit dieser Sonne, mit dieser Erde, mit diesem Adler, mit dieser Schlange-*nicht* zu einem neuen Leben oder besseren Leben oder ähnlichen Leben:

-ich komme ewig wieder zu diesem gleichen und selbigen Leben, im Grössten und auch im Kleinsten, dass ich wieder aller Dinge ewige Wiederkunft lehre-".<sup>77</sup>

Be that as it may, we should observe an important functional divergence: Nietzsche's image of a circle, although it does conceive of infinite Time, also envisions, notwithstanding, a fixed number of possibilites, or states of events. This would suppose that in any given moment an Act or an Event could occur exactly as it had previously occurred, again and again in unceasing occurrence. Nietzsche asks us to bear this eternal occurrence of the Same with cheer and joy; it is his *amor fati*:

"-ihr Ewigen, liebt sie ewig und allezeit: und auch zum Weh sprecht ihr: vergeh, aber komm zurück! Denn alle Lust will-Ewigkeit!"

And further down: "Lust will *aller* Dinge Ewigkeit, *will tiefe, tiefe Ewigkeit!*"<sup>78</sup>

No Buddhist, however intoxicated with joy, would exhalt over the idea of a never-ending rotation without a slight glimmer of *Nibbanal* escape! Buddhism grants the toiler this deliverance, however remote *Nibbana* may appear. But as we mentioned above, Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence understood neither Creator nor divine Creation; an ontological Figure that appears to absorb theological and

<sup>77</sup> Also Sprach Zarathustra (Der Genesende 3).

<sup>78</sup> Idem (Das trunkne Lied: 10).

metaphysical concepts of Man, his world and even God.<sup>79</sup> The Eternal Recurrence illustrates one of Nietzsche's most profound thoughts, albeit it be philosophically or logically untenable. But transfigurations of mental concepts, whose complex abstraction, if not emboldened iconically or envisaged, would either be misunderstood or misrepresented.<sup>80</sup> Unlike philosophy, wisdom makes one think in images. A medium of attaining and transmitting truth, whatever cultural figure it projects. In both Oriental and Nietzsche's Ways to wisdom, images and figures supercede the unwavering logic and precarious syllogistics of philosophical systems whose obsessional quests for efficiency (and not necessarily truth!) demand more and more compromises, exclusions, indulgence...especially self-indulgence, that which the Eastern sages ignore and which Nietzsche loathed...

### Poetry and Wisdom

Poetry creates an iconic narration whose visions infer a wisdom. For this reason all sacred writings are *Denkgesang* 'chanted thoughts', which chant a vision of the world, a *Weltanschauung*: hymns sung or chanted to the forms of life snatched from Chaos (Creation). Wisdom teeming with tropes and figures because the poet-sage, spontaneously and with natural liberty, attempted to depict that very moment of Creation taking form, seized from images that were communicated to him; images slowly transpiring into Being, the Being gradually Becoming again and again until it reunites with Being...at its designated hour...

In the sacred writings of the Orient, poetic prowess and wisdom are synonymous. The *Rg. Veda* comprises 1,028 hymns of a complicated puzzle of paradoxes, riddles, enigma and parables, versed in colourful tropes and figures to ease the toilsome task of rational comprehension, of memorization; to sweep away any illusion of facile interpretation. It paints the picture of the original principal, albeit no ink could ever engrave this image, and like a puzzle, the seeker must put the pieces in their proper place; namely, reconstruct its Primal Unity...

Alliteration, assonance and ritualistic formulaic expression are the sage-poets' hoary method of mnemotechnics. Daoist, Buddhist and Hindu poetry pose questions of an ontological and existential nature, whose responses, far from being 'buried' under a heap of bewitching images or confused incantations, appear on the surface as insolvable. Wisdom does not preach; it poses problems to be weighed. By medium of a droned rhythm, acting as a mnemotechnic device, word-pictures gradually form in the chanter's mind. Not heaps of images, helter-skelter, but bold and bright ones, analogically preparing the Way for communion with the Divine. Wisdom begins with a shared image, conjured and transmitted by intelligence and instinct, poetically borne.

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<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, when Zarathustra announces the death of God this does not deny His existence. Daoist Time comprehends the world through Creation alone. Beings are thus reversible, and as such, without remorse, decompose and die. All things grow and decline and finish only to begin anew. It is a Time and World of ceaseless transformations, or in the mouth of Nietzsche, Becomings...

<sup>80</sup> For this reason Buddhist followers began to represent the Buddha iconically, initially prohibited, lest His image be tarnished by those credulous of the Buddha's divinity, and whose unclean thoughts might have produced sullied representations of Him.

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Wisdom has always been chanted and written in poetic form because existence cannot be apprehended by dialectics or paradigmatic argumentation alone. The contingencies of existence make no allowance for deterministic programming. To measure the rhythms of wisdom requires intuition, exposure, perspicacity and broad-mindedness: it especially requires Faith! Without Faith there cannot be communal rhythm, and without rhythm there can be neither wisdom nor poetry! F. Nietzsche makes mention of this Rhythm in the *Gay Science*:

"Es sollte vermöge des Rhythmus den Göttern ein menschliches Anliegen tiefer eingepägt werden, nachdem man bemerkt hatte, dass der Mensch einen Vers besser im Gedächtniss behält, als eine ungebundene Rede; ebenfalls meinte man durch das rhythmische Tiktak über grössere Fernen hin sich hörbar zu machen; das rhythmisirte Gebet schien den Göttern näher an's Ohr zu kommen."<sup>81</sup>

Words appear simple. But not their meaning. There may not be a 'reasonable' sense behind an image, but there certainly is a 'reason' for it. Parables oblige the listener or the reader to think and reason analogically because the sage-poets understood that direct communication with the Divine was reserved for those who had wended most of the Way. Again, wisdom demands of us to reason in images and to think analogically.

Language being an incrustated metaphor, to rationalize it would drain its essentiality; namely, render not the invisible, theologically impossible, but tear the *veil of invisibility* that obstructs our vision of the world because the world appears all too intimate to us, all too familiar! This tearing of the *veil of invisibility* constitutes one of the greatest wisdoms man could ever possess; it draws the curtains on our own worldly blindness...

F. Nietzsche in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, for example, illustrates the abstract of the notional with the use of common, everyday idioms; ordinary down-to-earth images: the 'sage or genius' a Camel, the 'free-spirit' a Lion, the 'spirit of vengeance' a Tarantula. 'Low, mean, base' is framed by the figure of a Dwarf. The 'revaluation of all values' drawn as a Hammer. 'Im Fluss', Becoming, "...mit festen Füßen stand..." is Destiny...<sup>82</sup>

In the *Daodejing* (poem 29) the 'world' is a *sacred vase*. 'Universal illumination' finds form in a *moon reflected in limpid waters*. 'Wandering freedom' is illustrated in *illuminated white clouds*. In other Chinese poetry the 'mortal world' is likened to *red dust*.

In the *Rg. Veda* the 'chariot driven forward' signifies *sacrifice*, a 'bird' *the sun*, 'butter' *the flow of life*, an 'abyss' *might*, 'the manes of a horse' *the rays of the sun*, a 'cow' *inspiration or wealth*, both material and spiritual.

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81 Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, 84.

82 Also Sprach Zarathustra (Von der Seligkeit wider Willen).

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In the *Dhammapada* a 'castle' depicts *old age*, 'a royal chariot' *the world*, the 'moon as a path of stars', *intelligence*.<sup>83</sup>

Scores of metaphors and similes which transform abstract thought into tangible images and figures meant to captivate, to move, to draw out so as to draw in. The style in which the *Gay Science*, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, the *Twilight of the Gods* or *Ecce Homo* were written, be it essay, poem, aphorism, maxim or epigram, defies any attempt to rationalize or systematize the pattern of thought-images. Bouncy and airy, mocking here, biting there, Nietzsche's method stems from a prolonged contact with his ever-exploring Self, striving to become what he is! The poetic verve of his works stands testimony to this dramatic communion. If Zarathustra puzzles us with witty riddles and irksome enigmas that is because the author did not deprive himself the pain and joy of painting these images for us to grasp and penetrate, so that we too could benefit and learn from them.<sup>84</sup> Now we are not insinuating that Nietzsche purposely wished to bewitch or enchant his readers with wily figures and crafty images. But he, digging deep to conjure up the images exploding out of artistic creation worthy of this vision, might have been bewitched by them! The poet-seers of the *Rg Veda* crowded strange, mysterious zoological and botonic figures into verse and hymn in order to 'translate' into a communicable language the divine knowledge that they had seen and comprehended. That surging moment which gives form to the formless should not be read as some poetic exercise! It is the human mind attempting to fathom the inky depths of the Other's Dawning, intellectually...

The rhythms that the poet-seer seizes in this vital moment of Dawning unconditionally demand the seizing and surfacing of our own life rhythms, however subterranean their rhythmic veins may run deep within us. These rhythms, when surfaced and cultivated, bear us closer to wisdom. Bear us closer to Poetry, however *unheimlich* or exalting! The ancient and modern poet-seers cultivated these image-filled rhythms. In the vast solitude of Shangdong, Sichuan and in the Alpine mountains, Dao wisdom and Zarathustra were wrought. Each verse, aphorism or hymn in harmony with the frosty forest air and

83 *Dhammapada*, XI, v. 5, XIII, v. 5, XV, v. 12.

84 In his book *My People and My Country*, (Beijing 2000), Lin Yu Tang mentioned in passing that Zhuangzi (-350-275) was the Nietzsche of the East. An interesting comment in itself because certain scholars and writers have readily compared Zhuangzi with Kant (Fung Yu Lan and Henri Michaux). Lin Yu Tang's comparison appears justified when we juxtapose their respective Ways of Self-Accomplishment of which overcoming effects a criterion to existence. Nietzsche's "Pain, too, is a joy...Have you ever said Yes to a single joy?...then you said Yes, too, to *all* woe. All things are entangled, ensnared, enamored." (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, book 4, 19 translation Walter Kaufmann) is commensurate to Zhuangzi's peace of soul whose quintessence reposes upon the indifferenciation between life and death, good and evil, happiness and unhappiness. For both thinkers, if oppositions are fundamentally necessary, their constant mutation and transformations interrupt or dissolve any fixed, intransient dichotomy. Especially commensurate is their style of writing: neither exposes his thinking discursively, but by way of illustration, be it allegorical, metaphorical or, in the case of Zhuangzi, mystico-religious. Masters of their languages, their poetic prose, richness of vocabulary, wit and irony make their books veritable works of art, fascinating to read but thorny to interpret, whose mainstream rhythm divulges a nomadic thought, intimate to their philosophy of life. Both thinkers, too, condemn the conscious limiting or narrowing of a word's meaning, simplified to strict, pragmatic needs, whose imprisonment reflects the prejudice, tyranny and ignorance of those who refuse to 'breathe life' into words. Who stigmatize their infinite polysemic forces. Zhuangzi's enunciation/silence binary rhythm of thinking (the Daoist's full/empty rhythm) and writing appears analogous to Nietzsche's enunciation/blank space rhythmic style of thinking and writing. Finally, both were robust walkers whose slow, ambulatory stride incited and fashioned latent thoughts into images and figures. See our study: *The Nomadic Thought: Friedrich Nietzsche and Zhuang Zi -Divergences and Convergences-* in *Nietzsche-Studien* N° 33 pp. 237-277 Berlin.

winds, the babbling of icy brooks. Oftentimes, we scent the fragrance of strong brew rising from these ruddy rhythms. We catch a peek at the gaiety of winebibbing. Indeed, intoxication has always been the royal road towards that point of Dawning, the seizing of it and the birth-pangs of its transmission. The Daoist poets made no metaphor of this: those denizens of Chinese mountains drank strong wine and made merry under the waxen moon as they composed their verses. Wine invigorates, fortifies, inspires, opening the spirit to ecstasy and perception, ridding it of worldly cleavages so that it may reunite with Chaos, returning thus to its primal source: Nature.

Li Bo (701-762), Chinese poet of the Tang Dynasty, affords us his best verses under the spirituous effects of wine. Here are a few verses from

### Solitary Libation under the Moonlight

"Amongst the flowers, a bowl of wine  
I drank all alone, friendless.  
Raising my cup I invite the moonlight  
Here, my shadow before me; we are three  
The moon, alas, knows not how to drink."<sup>85</sup>

In the poem *Wine Offering*, the wandering poet compares the waters of a river that disappear into the sea with the brevity of human existence. And such being the case, a man should not haggle over the price of a bowl of wine:

"Bring on the wine, the bowl should not stand idle!  
Truely I sing a song for you.  
I beg you, lend an ear, listen to me!  
Bells, drums, divine dishes mean nothing to me!  
I only long for a long drunkenness, never again to be sober."<sup>86</sup>

In our last example, Li Bo engraves the epitaph of a talented distiller of wine:

"The old Li, in the realms of shadows,  
Still distills his wine.  
But there, Li Bo is not!  
To whom shall he sell his wine?"<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Yu Shou Zhen: *Tang Shi San Bai* (300 Tang Poems), verses 1-5. Our translation.

<sup>86</sup> Idem, verses 12-16.

Li Bo is not, of course, the sole Chinese poet who drew poetic inspiration from the bountiful Grape. Daoist poetry, akin to Shamanist incantations, chanted or sung, derives much of its inspiration from winebibbing (from dreams and musings, too!).<sup>88</sup>

A powerful ontic-artistic source indeed, the poets of the Dao, atop their mountain recluses, joyfully and drunkenly offered their verses as sacrifices to their ancestors and the Creation whence they were wrought, with perhaps just a nuance of melancholy<sup>89</sup> that always accompanies the wayfarer, solitary or in company, after having glimpsed the images of hieratic realms, and knowing well that their slightest glimpse demands a poetic verve that would entail consuming double the dose of spirits which was required to reach that point of Dawning<sup>90</sup>.

As to F. Nietzsche, in spite of his Dionysus dithyrambs and his drunken songs and dances in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, medically speaking, his delicate stomach would have never borne those quantities of brew needed to inspire such inebriating elevation! Be that as it may, Nietzsche's Dionysus represents both that instinctive and lucid creative force which the sage must learn to control and fuse. Zarathustra attained this unique force: did F. Nietzsche?..

### Wisdom or Folly?

Wisdom teaches us detachment and perspicacity. Teaches us *nobleness* without holding others in contempt; *power* without overpowering others; *joy* but not at the expense of others. The ancient and modern sages of the Orient taught and still teach us these fundamental values. F. Nietzsche, too. Henri Bergson, speaking of the wise, once said: "*Ils ne demandent rien et pourtant ils obtiennent. Ils n'ont pas besoin d'exhorter, ils n'ont qu'à exister, leur existence est un appel.*"<sup>91</sup>

Their existence a call? In Nietzsche's case perhaps a cry of desperation! His early insanity and death upstaged and cruelly cleaved his painstaking pursuit of the wisdom of wisdoms: *bono mortis!* Overcoming malady and isolation, detached as he was from wordly will-o'-the-wisps, the tragedy of Nietzsche's life (if it were at all a tragedy!) does not lie in his insanity, medically explained, but rather in the image of his Other, projected in the Figure of Zarathustra, round and glowing like the Dawning sun.

87 Idem. The poem *Epitaph to a Distiller* counts four verses.

88 The Persian sage-poets, too, indulged in the Grape Cup when communing with the Creator! Omar Khayyam is one fine example of inebriating communion; let us listen to some vintage quatrains: "Ah, with the Grape my fading Life provide,/ And wash my Body whence the Life has died,/ And in a Windingsheet of Vine-leaf wrapt,/ So bury me by some sweet Garden-side." (LXVII) And "And much as Wine has play'd the Infidel,/ And robb'd me of my Robe of Honour-well,/ I often wonder what the Vintners buy/ One half so precious as the Goods they sell." (LXXI) In *Omar Khayyam*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, Walter Dunne Publisher, 1903.

89 In Nietzsche's 'Melancholy Song' in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* the languid, solemn tone of joyful, solitary silence, and the creamy waxen light of the moon rings eerily of Bo's nocturnal musings.

90 A Daoist legend certifies that Li Bo, under the influence of spirits, drowned in a river when trying to clutch his reflexion in the moonlit waters...

91 In *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, Paris 1939.

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A Figure similar to himself, yet pathetically bound to his Self, desperately yearning to exist...in the eyes of his peers. This being said, to the 'real image' of Zarathustra he remained completely attached, completely bound as if the penetration of the Other had necessitated the effacement of the Self. Nietzsche knew that rigorous, daily practice of Self-overcoming constrains the individual to a life of self-exile or forced solitude, and would eventually consume his energy like the wax of the lit candle, he who in fact craved human companionship. Ontological and existential experimenting, consciously and conscientiously practised, ruthlessly pursued, paves dangerous Ways for the wayfarer: possible abandonment and schizophrenia. Does this then imply that Self-overcoming or Accomplishment is reserved for the mad, romantic type, or for the proud, doughty warrior who rebels against society? Or be he the chosen one born and bred within a inherited caste or class?

It is true that Nietzsche's wisdom, like Oriental wisdom, favours individuals. Favours individuals of a given community or nation, free spirits shaped by a culture of confirmed exploits and glorified heroism out of which their force and form have evolved and continue to evolve towards Self-Accomplishment. Nietzsche harbours no pity for the masses, abhors concentrated masses which lack all existential relief because manufactured by the press and opinion, socially bound to survival, instead of life; to oral impulses instead of reflected gestures; to egoism instead of egotism; to local, self-identity instead of a universal one: the striving Self towards becoming what one IS.

Now the crowding and concentrated masses may deem Nietzsche's (or Oriental) wisdom as valueless, impracticable, useless, condemned to a marginal use at best, at worst an exercise in onanism! To this accusation Maurice Maeterlinck responded wisely: "*C'est grâce à quelques hommes qui paraissent inutiles qu'il y aura toujours un certain nombre d'hommes incontestablement utiles.*"<sup>92</sup>

It goes without saying that the indefatigable pursuit of wisdom entails strength of character, obliges constant Self-examination as a means of exploring the many possibilities of Being. Requires a daily commerce with Reality, and an aloof indifferenciation to It. Instills the desire to steer one's thoughts away from a manufactured cleavage of Events, and orientate it towards a comprehensive embodiment of Man's Being and Existence on Earth. To be Way-wise suggests neither uselessness nor vanity.

Neither does it promise opulence or happiness; security neither. In refusing to calculate or minimize, wisdom will scorn and condemn fanaticism, dogmatism, compromise (diplomatic or political), economic delirium. For it demands of the wayfarer a full existence both within and without his historical moment, placing him thus squarely at the crossroads of Being and Becoming, amongst oscillating and turbulent Movements that he has chosen to wend...

Fulfilling the tasks to come, Nietzsche's *"in unsichtbarer Thätigkeit"*, the striving Overmen appear to the majority of mankind as baseless parasites who refuse to cast their ballot or scream revolutionary songs; they are labelled insane, monomaniacs who plot in dark corners; cynical, contemptuous outcasts, dangerous to society. But it is precisely because the sage of the ancient and modern world has always been classed, categorized, labelled or indexed by those who despise unclassed, uncategorized,

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92 In *La Sagesse et la Destinée*.



unlabelled and unindexed individuals<sup>93</sup> that he finds himself both within and without History. And thus essential to History! Because the sage has defiantly ignored all systems of thought and all ideals of the world, his wisdom continued, continues and will continue to be *absolutely* imperative to Humanity...

Absolutely imperative because wisdom, unlike philosophy, takes firm root in what Being *is* and not what it *knows*; Being as it is and not simply the thinking-Being. It may indeed be useless to think about Being, or to know about Being, but Being must be! And no matter how useless Being may appear, it continues to be, nevertheless, because Being and Becoming are ensared, thus inseparably bound...

Wisdom does not transcend Being; it is an organic part of it, a deployment of it. And for this very ontological reason, however vain, old-fashioned or useless wisdom seems to some, it remains the unique *essential* teaching to *all* Humanity. The immutable substance of man's subjective make-up, and thus, by transcendental derivation, his existence on earth. "*Werde was du bist*" forms part of one of those transcendentals. It tragically, cheerfully, even wistfully confronts the eternal Oneness of Being with the ever-Becoming multiplicity as that agonic Way towards the myriad possibilities of existing. Rugged Ways trodden by Hindus, Buddhists, Daoists, the *sophoi* of Greece, the Muslim Soufis, Jewish prophets and Christian mystics since the Dawning of the great religious cultures and their philosophical apparata behind which loomed the higher men who founded and forwarded them.

Nietzsche's writings teach us this wisdom, too...

*"-Wir gehören nicht zu Denen, die erst zwischen  
Büchern, auf den Anstoss von Büchern zu  
Gedanken kommen-unsre Gewohnheit ist, im  
Freien zu denken, gehend, springend, steigend,  
tanzend, am liebsten auf einsamen Bergen oder  
dicht am Meere, da wo selbst die Wege nachdenklich  
werden. Unsre ersten Werthfragen, in Bezug  
auf Buch, Mensch und Musik, lauten: kann er gehen?  
Mehr noch, kann er tanzen?"*

*Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft (366).<sup>94</sup>*



<sup>93</sup> In other words the majority of our so-called political thinkers deeply ensconced in their think-tanks, the 'intellectuels engagés' or 'impegnati', hysterically covering every event in the world, and the mediocre lackey working on the political or streamline-media payroll...

<sup>94</sup> "We do not belong to those who only get their thoughts from books, or at the prompting of books, it is our custom to think in the open air, walking, leaping, climbing, or dancing on lonesome mountains by preference, or close to the sea, where even the paths become thoughtful. Our first question concerning the value of a book, a man, or a piece of music is: Can it walk? or still better: Can it dance?"

# *TRAVELOGUE*

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TAPON, Francis

## Debunking Kosovo's Demographic Myths

Adapted from *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*

### I GOT HERE FIRST

Eastern Europeans are obsessed with the idea of who-got-here-first. In fact, most humans care about this idea too. This belief is so widespread that we apply it to our everyday lives. For example, imagine walking into a café or movie theater and telling someone to move seats because you want to sit where he's sitting. Or telling a camper to move so you can camp in his spot. It's culturally unacceptable to make such requests because there's an unspoken law that whoever got to a territory first has slightly more rights than whoever comes later.

We get this from animals. Lions spray a territory to tell other lions, "This is my land and I got here first, so don't mess with me." Humans and nations piss around their land and tell their neighbors, "Hey dude, anything that stinks like me is mine."

The problem is that, unlike most animals, humans like to transfer these privileges to their children. Thus, we inherit rights, land, property, whereas the offspring of most animals have to start from scratch.

Eastern Europeans (and many other humans) like to pursue this inheritance logic to the extreme. They not only draw connections with their grandparents, but also with faceless ancestors, even though the genetic and cultural connection is weak or nonexistent. By drawing a continuous line, you can walk into a café and tell someone, "Get off my seat. My great-great grandfather used to sit there."

*We seem to crave privilege, merited not by our works, but by our birth. — Carl Sagan, astronomer*

As an Albanian named Elton Çausi told me, "Albanians, like most people in the Balkans, are obsessed with who was here first. Greeks, Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs, and Croatians all care about this issue. Albanians want Greeks to compensate us for land that they took that was once ours. But they say that we have land that was once theirs!"

Kosovars bring up ancient history even when you don't expect it. For example, I asked Fatmir Bajrami, the Cameraman Supervisor for a Kosovar TV station, what he thought of Serbs. Instead of talking about modern-day Serbs, he said, "Well, they're descendents of slaves. They came out of Russia and are still trying to live on this land."

He made it sound like Serbs are recent Balkan immigrants, yet Serbs have been in the Balkans for 1,500 years. At what point are you a native and no longer an immigrant? And why should that matter anyway?

Unfortunately, it matters in the Balkans, especially in Kosovo. Kosovars debate ancient history as if it happened yesterday. Few Eastern Europeans are as obsessed about old history as Kosovars. Therefore,

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to understand Kosovo we have to study its history deeply, especially its demographic history, not because it truly matters, but because Kosovars think it does.

Serb origins are clearer than Albanian origins. In 2006, *The Journal of Human Genetics* studied the DNA of 20 Slavic populations and placed “the earliest known homeland of Slavs in the middle Dnieper basin [in Ukraine].”<sup>1</sup> Slavs showed up in Balkans around 650 AD. It’s not clear where Albanians came from, although it’s probable that Albanians were roaming around the Balkans before Serbs. It’s ironic that Europeans make such a big deal about their differences. Of all the continents, none is as genetically homogeneous as Europe.<sup>2</sup>

### IS KOSOVO SERBIA?

The Serbian nationalist mantra is “Kosovo is Serbia!” If Latinos living in Florida declared their state’s independence, then we’d probably have Americans shouting, “Florida is America!”

Is Kosovo Serbia? All sane Serbs admit that for at least the last 25 years, Kosovo has been over 80 percent Albanian. Thus, the Serb claim over Kosovo is based on political and demographic history, not on recent ethnographic statistics.

The boldest Serbs will claim that (until recently) Kosovo has “always” been dominated by Serbs. Let’s turn back the clock and see how true that assertion is. Serbs often say that Kosovo is the “cradle of their civilization.” This is a myth. The earliest Serbian state was born and developed north and northwest of Kosovo (in present-day southern Serbia and Montenegro) around the eleventh century. By the time Serbia moved its power center to Kosovo, it had been out of its cradle for over 300 years. This grown-up Serbia ruled its medieval kingdom from Kosovo for 250 glorious years. During that time, they left their mark by building numerous monasteries and churches. Therefore, while Kosovo is not the cradle of Serbia’s civilization, it is (in the words of Serbian academic Predrag Simić) “an area that sublimes the collective identity of the Serbian people just as Jerusalem does, for instance, for the Jewish nation.”<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of Serb feelings, the cold reality is that Serbs dominated Kosovo for only the last third of their first 800 years in the Balkans. Before the Serbs, Bulgarians also held Kosovo for about 250 years.<sup>4</sup> However, Bulgarians don’t use their historical ties to Kosovo to make modern-day territorial claims. So why do Serbs insist that “Kosovo is Serbia”? To answer that, we need to run through the next six centuries.

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1 Krzysztof Rębała et al., “Y-STR variation among Slavs: evidence for the Slavic home- land in the middle Dnieper basin,” *Journal of Human Genetics*, Volume 52, Number 5 (Springer Japan: ISSN 1434-5161 (Print) 1435-232X (Online)) May, 2007.

2 Oscar Lao et al, “Correlation between Genetic and Geographic Structure in Europe,” *Current Biology*, Volume 18, Issue 16, 1241-1248, August 26, 2008. <http://cell.com/current-biology/retrieve/pii/S0960982208009561>

3 Predrag Simic, *The Kosovo and Metohija Problem and Regional Security in the Balkans* (Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, 1995) p. 1.

4 Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (HarperPerennial edition, New York, 1999) p. 41.

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### THE BATTLE OF KOSOVO IN 1389

Believe it or not, Serbs put a lot of significance into a battle that happened over 600 years ago. The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 involved tens of thousands of Serbs and Turks. For Serbs, the Battle of Kosovo symbolizes three things. First, the honor of dying for your beliefs: "I'd rather be a Serb Christian martyr than become a Turkish Muslim." That patriotic theme echoes in today's Serbian nationalist rhetoric. Second, the battle also symbolizes what happens when Serbs are not united: they lose. The third symbol is that the battle marks Serbia's fall from glory.

What's surprising is that the last two symbols are somewhat mythological. The first myth is that the Turks decisively won the Battle of Kosovo. The battle was a tie: both armies lost their leaders and suffered heavy casualties. The difference is that the Serbian army was effectively depleted, whereas the Turks could eventually mount another army that ultimately did the Serbs in.

The second myth is that the Battle of Kosovo marks Serbia's fall from glory. If you had to pick the year when Serbia's empire ended, you might pick 1355 (Tsar Dušan's death, which led to the empire's fragmentation) or 1459 (when Serbia completely surrendered to the Turks). You wouldn't pick 1389, especially since the Battle of Kosovo was a tie. It was folklore that made the Battle of Kosovo a bigger deal than it was in reality.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the Turks effectively conquered Kosovo soon after 1389 and would control it until 1912.

So let's look at the Kosovo scoreboard during the 1,000-year period from 912 to 1912. Bulgaria and Serbia each controlled Kosovo for about 250 years, while the Turkish Empire had it for about 500 years. Therefore, what's more correct: "Kosovo is Serbia" or "Kosovo is Turkey"?

Sure, the Turks were occupiers, but how long does you have to occupy a land before it's considered "yours"? Americans have been "occupying" lots of Native American land for only about 200 years. Is it not ours? Should we say "Dalmatia is Croatia" or "Dalmatia is Italy"? How about "Vojvodina is Serbia" versus "Vojvodina is Hungary"?

### UNRAVELING KOSOVO'S DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Albanians have myths too. Some believe that Kosovo has been an autonomous entity since ancient times. Not exactly. Kosovo was a province within the Turkish Empire, but certainly not an autonomous one. In 1868, it became a *vilayet* (political district), but not an autonomous one.

Moreover, some believe that Albanians have "always" been the majority in Kosovo. However, Noel Malcolm, British author of *Kosovo: A Short History*, argues that this is "simply not credible." If it were true, then most of Kosovo's town names would be Albanian, but they're not—they're mostly Slavic.<sup>6</sup> Sorry, Albanian dreamers, Serbs were the majority in Kosovo throughout the Middle Ages.

What happened after the Turks moved in is less clear. During the five centuries of Turkish rule, many Serbs in Kosovo did not want to (or could not) live under the Turkish Empire, so they migrated north.

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5 Krzysztof Piątkowski, "On the Kosovo Myth," *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in Central Europe* (Jasiellonian University, Cracow) Editor Czelau Robotyck, pp. 85-95.

6 Noel Malcolm, p. 57.

When these migrations happened and how great they were is disputed. Nevertheless, what is clear is that vast numbers of Serbs settled around Belgrade, Vojvodina, and Hungary during the Turkish period. By the time the Turks fled the Balkans in 1912, Serbia's cultural core was no longer in Kosovo, it was centered around Belgrade.

I asked most Serbians I met, "What percentage of Kosovars were Serbian a century ago?" Most Serbs, even those who had no chauvinism, guessed between 60 to 90 percent.

That's a myth. For example, between 1877 and 1880, an English geographer, a French geographer, and a English-German geographer each independently drew ethnographic maps of Kosovo. They all agreed that Kosovo was mostly made up of Albanians and that Serbs only dominated the northern tip (which they still do today).<sup>7</sup> In the 1890s, Austrians concluded that the majority of Kosovars were Muslims.<sup>8</sup> In 1906, British journalist H. Brailsford estimated Kosovo was one-third Serb and two-thirds Albanian. German scholar Gustav Weigand found that Serb presence in Kosovo towns ranged from 10 to 40 percent (with Albanians making up the balance). In fact, Serbia's own 1912 census estimated that only 25 percent of Kosovo was Serb Orthodox.

These facts are hard for Serbs to accept today because they've been taught that Serbs have always dominated Kosovo and that Albanians just showed up yesterday. The propaganda claims Serbs were the majority in Kosovo until 1945, when, in the post-WWII confusion, Albanians sneaked into Kosovo and reproduced like rabbits on Viagra.

### SERB RECOLONIZATION OF KOSOVO

Like Serbs today, Serbs in 1913 couldn't accept reality. Having been disconnected from Kosovo for 500 years, they imagined that it hadn't changed much demographically, but their own surveys disproved that. Therefore, they attacked Pristina in 1913 and, according to their revised survey, claimed that no Albanians lived there. Still, in 1915, a Russian journalist remarked that half of the town was

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<sup>7</sup> All three maps are viewable online under the "Balkans" article in Wikipedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkans>. In case the maps are no longer available, here is a description. In 1877, Edward Stanford, an Englishman, produced a map that shows Albanians dominating everything south of Pristina (with a smattering of Turks). Like an inverted pyramid, Serbs fan out just north Pristina towards the towns of Mitrovica and Leskovac. In 1877, a French geographer was also doing an ethnic map of the Balkans. In Kosovo, you'll see that four ethnicities lived there: Albanians, Turks, Serbs, and Bulgarians. Western Kosovo has more Albanians and Turks than Slavs; however, Serbs are clearly a minority also in Eastern Kosovo (where Bulgarians and Turks made up the majority). Like a big "C", Albanians concentrate around Pristina. A corridor of Albanians stretch from Pristina all the way to Niš. It's also interesting to note that Greeks dominated population in what is now southern Albania and that Albanians were still a major presence in Northwestern Macedonia like it is today. Ernst Georg Ravenstein, an English-German geographer, drew an ethnographical map of "Turkey in Europe" in 1880. It clearly shows how Albanians are the majority in Kosovo. It also shows how Albanians took over most of southern Albania, and it split its modern-day southern tip with Greeks.

<sup>8</sup> If you omit the non-Kosovo areas from their census and count 10,000 Gypsies as Muslims, then 72 percent of Kosovars are Muslims in the 1890s. Source: *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžaks Pleolje und des Vilajets Kosovo* (Vienna, 1899), pp. 80-1.

Albanian. A year after that, a Bulgarian census found 11,486 Albanians in Pristina (over two-thirds of the city).<sup>9</sup>

Since denying reality didn't work, Serbians tried to colonize Kosovo. In 1914, the Serbian government offered at least 11 hectares (27 acres) plus many other benefits to each Serb family that would move to Kosovo. After WWI, more colonists participated thanks to additional incentives, such as free land, free one-way transportation to the land (including your livestock and building materials), agricultural subsidies, and interest-free loans.<sup>10</sup> About 70,000 colonists moved to Kosovo, accounting for 10 percent of the population. A Serb official celebrated the "success" because he reported that Serb demographics rose from 24 percent in 1919 to 38 percent a decade later.<sup>11</sup> Even if we believe this Serb official's figures, they're far less than the 60 to 90 percent figure that many Serbs believe.

Foreign surveyors and Yugoslavia itself documented that Albanians were the majority in Kosovo throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In 1921, Yugoslavia's first census said that two-thirds of Kosovo was Albanian.<sup>12</sup> A few years later, an Italian surveyor estimated 700,000 Albanians were in Yugoslavia and a Romanian geographer in 1931 said there were 800,000.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, assuming that at least half of these Yugoslav Albanians were in Kosovo (where else would they be?), then that indicates that most of Kosovo was Albanian in the 1920s. Yugoslavia's 1931 census said 60 percent of Kosovars were Albanian (and a third were Slav). In conclusion, all surveys, including Serbian-Yugoslav ones, estimate that in the first half of the twentieth century, Serbs were less than a third of Kosovars; most of the rest were Albanians.

This is the opposite of what many Serbs believe today. In the Serb fantasy, Serbs were Kosovo's majority from the Middle Ages until the 1940s. The fable claims that Croats, Germans, and Albanians combined to liquidate the Serbs, thereby bringing them down as a percentage of the population. It also claims that for some mysterious reason Tito discouraged Serbs from returning to Kosovo and encouraged Albanians to leave totalitarian Albania and fill in the Kosovo vacuum. Tens of thousands of Serbs certainly left Kosovo during the 1940s, mostly because of the war. Still, if such a population reversal happened in the 1940s, then Yugoslavia's 1948 and 1953 censuses certainly didn't reflect that. They both indicated that Kosovo was about 27 percent Serb/Montenegrin and 68 percent Albanian, which is similar to the figures we saw for the previous 50 years.<sup>14</sup>

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9 Serbian census noted in L. Rushiti, *Rrethanat politiko-shoqerore në Kosovë 1912-1918* (Pristina, 1981), p. 71. Russian report in S. Kolea, "Les Massacres serbes," *AOBDIA*, 2nd ser., no. 6 (Nov 25, 1918), p. 49

10 M. Larnaude, "Un village de colonisation en Serbie du sud," *Annales de géographie*, vol 39 (1930), pp. 320-4.

11 Djordje Krstić, *Kolonizacija u Južnoj Srbiji* (Sarajevo, 1928), p. 81.

12 M. Vučković and G. Nikolić, *Stanovništvo Kosova u razdoblju od 1918 do 1991* (Munich, 1996), p. 79

13 A. Baldacci, *Studi Speciali Albanesi*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1932-7), p. 273. N. Popp, "Minori- tatea Româno-Albaneză din Jugoslavia," *Buletinul Societății Regale Române de Geografie*, vol. 50 (1931), p. 365

14 The rest was 1.3% Muslim and 3.6% Montenegrin. Source: *The 1918-1988, Statistical Summary of Yugoslavia* published in 1991 by government in Belgrade, p. 207. In 1981, Kosovo was 13.3% Serbian, 77.5% Albanian, 3.7% Muslim, 0.2% Montenegrin. J. Reuter, *Die Albaner in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1982), pp. 54-70.

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The demographics finally began to tip toward Albanians in the 1970s. They grew from being 67% of the Kosovars to 77%, according to the 1981 Yugoslav census (Serbs shrank to 13.2%).<sup>15</sup> By the 1991 census, the estimated ratio was 82% Albanian and 11% Serb.<sup>16</sup> Today, Kosovo is about 90% Albanian.

So let's summarize the last 1,000 years of Kosovo's demographics. In the Middle Ages, Kosovo was mainly Serb. At some point during the Turkish period, Serbs became a minority. It's not clear when that happened. My best guess is that it happened in the 1800s because that's when different censuses start to contradict each other on who held the majority. What's clear is that by 1900, Serbs were definitely the minority in Kosovo, making up between 25 to 33 percent of the population. Moreover, they remained at roughly that level until the 1970s, when they began their decline to roughly 10 percent.<sup>17</sup>

Now the obvious question is why?

### DO ALBANIANS HAVE 11.5 CHILDREN?

On the one hand, the reason Kosovo's demographics changed is simple: many Serbs left Kosovo and Albanians were having more babies than the Serbs who stayed behind. On the other hand, both of these facts have a not-so-simple story behind them.

For instance, the Albanian reproductive rate was (and still is) relatively high, but not as outrageously high as many Balkanians claim. In 1953, for every 1,000 people there were 38.5 live births in Kosovo. That compares to 35 in Macedonia and Bosnia, 28 in Montenegro, and about 23 in the remaining republics. By 1988, the rates had fallen nearly in half everywhere, except Kosovo, which only saw a 25 percent decline.<sup>18</sup>

Why?

First, infant mortality rates were highest in Kosovo and Macedonia. While other republics lowered their infant mortality rates around 90 percent, Kosovo (and Macedonia) only lowered them by about 62 percent, partly because Kosovars had the fewest doctors per capita in Yugoslavia. In 1953, Macedonians had twice as many doctors per capita than Kosovo; the other republics had four to five times more. By 1988, nearly all the republics (including Macedonia) had at least twice as many doctors per inhabitant

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15 "Albanians had made up nearly two-thirds of the province's population for the past 100 years, but jumped to 78 percent in 1981 and 90 percent in 1991." John R. Lampe, p. 332

16 M. Vučković and G. Nikolić, *Stanovništvo Kosova u razdoblju od 1918 do 1991* (Munich, 1996), p. 108. Albanians boycotted the 1991 census, but considering Albanians were about 90% of Kosovo in 1999, it's realistic to assume that they were over 80% in 1991.

17 According to Yugoslavia's official government statistics, in 1961 two-thirds of Kosovo inhabitants were Albanians and 23.5% were Serbians. By 1981, it was 77.5% Albanian, 13.3% Serbian. By 1991, it was 80/20 and by 2001 it was 90/10. *Jugoslavija, 1918-1988, Statistički godišnjak*. Belgrade, Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1989, pp. 160-66. Also, "The National Composition of Yugoslavia's Population, 1991," *Yugoslav Survey* 1. 1992, pp. 3-24.

18 The numbers changed to 29 in Kosovo, 18.5 in Macedonia, about 15.5 in Montenegro and Bosnia, and roughly 13 in the remaining republics.

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than Kosovo had.<sup>19</sup> In Yugoslavia's planned economy, Kosovars blamed Belgrade for not allocating more doctors to their region.

Moreover, Kosovo's economy was Yugoslavia's least developed and most rural. Thus, like most rural and undeveloped places, people have more babies than average. Today, Kosovo is still largely rural and poorly developed compared to its neighbors, which partly explains why its birthrate remains higher than average.

Balkanians become comically irrational when talking about Albanian reproductive feats. Consider Aleksandar Svetozarević, a proud young Serbian from Niš. On his Facebook page, he has photos of himself waving the Serbian flag in a soccer stadium, Moscow's Red Square, and Zagreb's main square. His father was a military officer. While I hosted him in Slovenia, I asked him to rate Tito and Milošević on a one to 10 scale. His answers were the opposite of what most Serbians said. He gave Tito a three and Milošević a nine, even though "Milošević was a spy for the US."

When I asked him if he knew Kosovo's fertility rate (the average number of children a woman has), without hesitation and with supreme confidence, he said, "11.5." This was in line with the eight-to-20 estimate that most Balkanians repeatedly claimed. At first I thought they were joking, but they usually weren't. This figure is totally wrong about Albania, but does it apply to Kosovo?

When I asked Aleksandar to prove the 11.5 figure, he spent 20 minutes surfing Serbian websites without any success, but he kept insisting that it was true. When I showed him UN and CIA data indicating that Niger was the only country in the world that had fertility in the rate over seven, he maintained that the average Albanian woman in Kosovo had 11.5 children. The fact that the world's average is less than 2.5 also didn't persuade him.

When I asked him what was the largest Albanian family he had ever found in his trips to Kosovo, he said, "I once met a family with eight children!" I said, "So you're saying that the average family has 11.5 children, yet the largest you've ever seen was not even close to that average." He shrugged.

When I showed American estimates that Kosovo had moderate fertility rates, he said that you "can't trust American statistics because they have an interest in the region."

When I showed him UN estimates that were similar, he said, "But how can they know that? The Albanians boycotted the 1991 census and all the censuses after that. So there are no official numbers. No one can know."

I said, "Yet you seem to have no trouble believing the 11.5 figure that you found once and can't seem to find again. Think: Europeans don't reproduce anywhere close to that rate—not even Africans do."

He said, "Albanians are not Europeans, they're Muslims."

Of course. Anyway, I finally figured out where he might have gotten his 11.5 number. It's a low estimate for the number of births per 1,000 Kosovars. That statistic is often called the *birthrate*. It's easy to see how someone can confuse *birthrate* with *fertility rate* (which measures the average number of children

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19 The source of the socio-economic indicators from 1953 to 1988 is Dijana Pleština, *Regional Development in Communist Yugoslavia: Success, Failure, and Consequences* (Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1992) p. 1980-81.

a woman produces). What's ironic is that Kosovo's 2011 birthrate is probably much higher than 11.5—the Population Reference Bureau estimates that it's 21.

To put a birthrate of 21 into perspective, in 2011 Niger had the world's highest birthrate (50), Monaco had the lowest (7), and the 2011 world average was 17.5. Kosovo's birthrate was roughly equal to India and twice that of Serbia (9.2) and Albania (12.2). Kosovo's birthrate today is almost half of what it was in 1953 (as we saw above, it was 38.5 in Kosovo and 23 in Serbia proper).

After pointing all this out and debating for one hour, Aleksandar finally conceded that "maybe" the average Albanian doesn't have 11.5 children, but he still assured me that "they definitely have a lot of babies."

### HOW MANY KIDS DO ALBANIANS REALLY HAVE?

The allegedly "sky-high" Albanian reproduction rate is one of the best examples of widespread Balkan hyperbole. Still, there is a bit of truth to it: Albanians pump out babies faster than anyone in Europe. According to the US State Department, the average female Kosovar has 2.9 children. The Population Reference Bureau says 2.5 is a more accurate estimate. Either way, it's Europe's highest fertility and roughly twice Serbia's depopulating 1.39 rate.<sup>20</sup>

Whereas most Eastern European countries are depopulating, Albania and Kosovo (along with Greece and Macedonia) are still growing. In fact, Kosovo's net population growth rate is 1.4 percent, which is the highest in Europe and is similar to India's rate. Therefore, while Kosovo's growth rates are slightly above average on the global scale, because they're around twice as high as its depopulating neighbors, it seems like they're having 11.5 children.

Aleksandar later admitted, "Serbs in Kosovo have a lot more children than Serbs in Central Serbia and Vojvodina." This has also been true throughout the last century. In fact, in the 1950s, Serb Kosovars had a higher population growth rate than Albanians (2.7% vs. 2.1%) partly because Serb infant mortality was lower than the Albanian one. By 1981, the average Serb Kosovar had 3.4 children versus roughly 4.7 children that Albanian Kosovars had. There was also a big disparity between rural Albanians (6.7 children) and urban Albanians (2.7).<sup>21</sup> Finally, the Serb abortion rate was higher than the Albanian rate. In 1989, 68 percent of Serb pregnancies were aborted.<sup>22</sup> In 2011, it's 23 percent (which is the same as

20 [http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=214&region\\_type=2](http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=214&region_type=2) As of 2011, Kosovo still hasn't taken an official census. Current unofficial estimates for its fertility rate range from 2.5 to 2.9. Doubling Serbia's 1.39 rate gives us 2.78, which is in the middle of the estimates. Also consider birthrate estimates: Niger 51, Kosovo 21, Albania 15, Serbia 12. This also implies Kosovars produce almost twice as many babies as the depopulating Serbians.

21 M. Roux, *Les Albanais en Yougoslavie: minorité nationale, territoire et développement* (Paris, 1992), pp. 151-3.

22 Lidija Andolšek, ed. by Paul Sachdev, "Yugoslavia," *International Handbook on Abortion* (Greenwood Press, New York, 1988), pp. 495-504. Rada Drezgic, "The politics of abortion and contraception," *Sociologija*, 46(2), 2004, pp. 97-104. "Health Statistical Yearbook of Republic of Serbia 2008," Institute of Public Health of Serbia, 2009, <http://www.batut.org.rs/uploads/pub2008.pdf>. Good summary: <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/policy/abortion/ab-serbia.html>

America's rate). Meanwhile, Bosnia and Kosovo, countries with heavy Muslim populations, have abortion rates of less than five percent.<sup>23</sup>

Kosovo's baby boom has made it Europe's youngest country—the average Kosovar is 26 years old. Only 23% of Kosovars are retired; in Croatia, 57% are. Their youth is evident in the streets; about 27% of Kosovars are under 15 years old.

In conclusion, one reason why the Albanian population surged in Kosovo after 1970 was that they pumped out more babies than Serbs. Unfortunately, the Balkan tendency to hyperbole facts has made this issue a much bigger deal than it really is. Today, Kosovo's fertility rate continues to decline. Now let's move onto the second reason for why Kosovo went from 66% Albanian throughout most of the last century to 80% in 1991.

### WHY SERBS LEFT KOSOVO

In the preface of *The Migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija*, the Serbian authors reasonably estimate that between 1961 and 1987, about 100,000 Serbs left Kosovo. There are two reasons why they left. First, some Albanians were harassing them. Albanians often deny this and they may point to a survey done in the 1980s that showed that less than 0.1 percent of Serbs blamed Albanians for wanting to go out of Kosovo.<sup>24</sup> These results are laughable and reek of a pro-Albanian bias.

On the other hand, it's hard to find an objective poll on this issue. In the 1980s, the Serbian Academy of Sciences interviewed 500 Serb households to learn why they had left Kosovo. About 41 percent said that "indirect pressure" from Albanians was a reason, while 21 percent cited direct pressure (e.g., verbal abuse, material damage, and personal injury).<sup>25</sup>

The truth probably lies somewhere between these two biased surveys. One indication that implies that ethnic tension existed is that two-thirds of Serb *émigrés* came from mixed areas in Kosovo; heterogeneous regions are more prone to ethnic tensions than homogeneous regions.<sup>26</sup> Still, most of the harassment were misdemeanors and petty crimes; official government statistics showed that rape and murder in Kosovo were below the Yugoslav average.<sup>27</sup>

The other reason for the Serb exodus was that Kosovo was stuck in the Stone Age. Throughout the last century, Kosovo was Yugoslavia's retarded child. All the other Yugoslav regions would donate

23 <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/policy/abortion/mapyugoabrate.html> Map of abortions percentages in ex-Yugoslavia.

24 H. Islami, "Demografski problemi Kosova I njihovo tumačenje," in S. Gaber and T. Kuzmanić, eds., *Zbornik Kosovo — Srbija — Jugoslavia* (Ljubljana, 1989), pp. 39-66.

25 R. Petrović and M. Blagojević, *The Migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija: Results of the Survey Conducted in 1985-1986* (Belgrade, 1992), pp. 110 and 179. The Serbian Academy of Sciences is the same outfit that produced the 1986 Memorandum, which is filled with misleading statements, which calls into question their 500-person survey.

26 To learn more about post-WWII migrations read Ruža Petrović, *Migracije u Jugoslaviji i etnički aspekt* (Migration in Yugoslavia and the ethnic aspect). Belgrade, Istraživački izdavački centar, 1987. Also, Silva Meznarić, *Osvajanje prostora — prekrivanje vremena, migracije umjesto razvoja* (Conquering space and obscuring time: Migration in place of development). Zagreb: Sociološko društvo Hrvatske, 1991.

27 John R. Lampe, p. 332.

money and resources to help Kosovo catch up. On a per capita basis, Kosovo received up to four times more aid than Bosnia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.<sup>28</sup> Despite that assistance, Kosovo was always light-years behind.

For example, Slovenia has maintained a similar-sized population as Kosovo, but in 1988, Slovenia accounted for 18 times more of Yugoslavia's output.<sup>29</sup> Kosovo's 1990 unemployment rate was four times higher than Croatia's and six times higher than Slovenia's.<sup>30</sup> In 1952, Slovenia's per capita GDP was three times higher than Kosovo, but today it's 14 times higher.<sup>31</sup> In 1953, only 2.4 percent of Slovenians were illiterate versus a staggering 62.5 percent of Kosovars. By 1988, 18 percent of Kosovars were still illiterate.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps by 2015, Kosovo's literacy rate will finally approach Slovenia's 1953 rate.

As TV spread in the 1970s, Kosovars realized just how backwards they were. Those who could go north, did. Making the cultural transition from Kosovo to Belgrade, Zagreb, and Novi Sad was easier for a Serb than for an Albanian. Thus, Serbs were more likely to leave Kosovo.

To blame Albanian harassment as the main or only cause for the Serb exodus ignores the fact that Bosnia also saw a net outflow during the same period. Those migrating Bosnians also went to Yugoslavia's most prosperous regions. Kosovo had the highest percentage decrease in people because it had the weakest economy. In fact, from 1971 to 1981, 45,000 Albanians left Kosovo too. Everyone was leaving Kosovo because its economy stunk.

Some Serbs still insist that during the Tito era, Albanians committed "genocide" against the Serbs. So what's more likely and logical: (a) that Tito, whose all-seeing eye uncovered and crushed all types of nationalism and protests, somehow ignored Albanians kicking Serb ass and that Serbs didn't complain to Tito about it, and if they did, Tito ignored them, even though Serbs were a far more important political base than the Albanians; or (b) that Serbs left on their own because Kosovo's economy was horrendous.

Another way to think about it: if Kosovo's economy had been similar to Vojvodina's economy, would all those Kosovars have left? If Kosovo was better than the rest of Yugoslavia, then Serbians (and even Slovenians) would have migrated *to* Kosovo.

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28 Neven Borak, Table 71, p. 258. Kosovo got 84 billion dinars, while Bosnia (45.5 billion), Montenegro (17 billion), and Macedonia (21 billion) got much less. On a per capita basis, that translates into these respective amounts: 42, 11, 28, and 10.

29 Neven Borak, Table 67, p. 256. In 1988, Slovenia was producing 20% of Yugoslavia's output compared to Bosnia-Herzegovina 12%, Croatia 25%, Montenegro 2%, Kosovo 1.1%, Serbia 23%, Vojvodina 9.5% (Greater Serbia was about 33%).

30 Neven Borak, p. 212. Unemployment 1952 Yugoslavia 0.4%, 1990 7.8%. In 1990, Kosovo 12.6%, Serbia 8.3%, Croatia 4.6%, Slovenia 2.2%

31 Neven Borak, p. 212. GDP per capita in thousands of dinars based on the worth of the dinar in 1972, 1952 Kosovo 1.6, Serbia 3.4, Croatia 4.1, Slovenia 6.1. And then in 1990, Kosovo 3.35, Serbia 16.1, Croatia 19.4, Slovenia 30.8.

32 Dijana Pleština, *Regional Development in Communist Yugoslavia: Success, Failure, and Consequences*. Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1992, p. 1980-81

Francis Tapon's mother is from Chile and his father is from France. They met in San Francisco thanks to a slow elevator. His brother, Philippe Tapon, is the author of two novels. His family spoke Spanish at home, unless an English swear word was necessary.

Francis was born in San Francisco, California where he attended the French American International School for 12 years. Native French teachers convinced him that France is the coolest country in the universe. He is fluent in English, French, and Spanish. He struggles with Italian, Portuguese, Slovenian, and Russian. If you point a gun to his head, he'll start speaking other languages too.

He earned a Religion Degree with honors from Amherst College. He also has an MBA from Harvard Business School. After Harvard, he co-founded a robotic vision company in Silicon Valley. Then he decided to change his life forever.

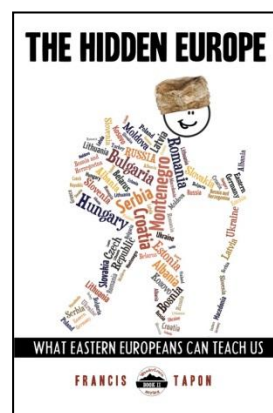
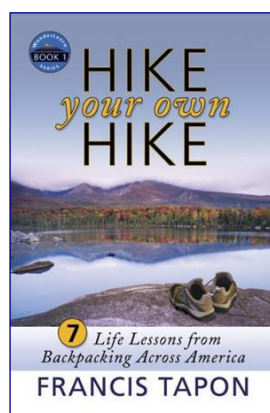
In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip on the Continental Divide Trail—a seven-month journey spanning 9,000 km. In 2008-2011, he visited over 40 European countries, but focused on revisiting all the Eastern European ones. In 2009, he climbed up Mont Blanc and walked across Spain twice (once by traversing the Pyrenees from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and then by hiking El Camino Santiago). He's backpacked over 20,000 kilometers (12,500 miles) and traveled to over 80 countries.

He is the author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*. This book can be also ordered at: <http://francistapon.com/shop>. He is donating half of his book royalty to America's three major scenic trails.

*The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us* is his second book of his WanderLearn Series, was published as ebook on December 12, 2011, and as hardcover on March 4, 2012.

Currently he is visiting (according to his plan) every country in Africa and is going to write a book about that in 2016. His goal is to wander to all 193 countries of the world, see what we can learn from them, and share it with everyone.

Francis' website is <http://FrancisTapon.com>



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Mr. Arden-Wong is associated with the Department of Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, Australia. His areas of interest include Architectural History, Early Medieval And Medieval Settlement (Archaeology), Tang Dynasty, Inner Asian History, Early Medieval China History, Inner Asian Art and Archaeology.

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Mr. Farkas was born in 1967 in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg. He holds a M.Sc. degree from Technical University of Budapest, Hungary and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan, France and an MBA degree from Henley Management College, UK. Since 1992 he is living in the Netherlands. He cofounded the Foundation Mikes International in 2001 in The Hague, the Netherlands.

KISAMOV, Norm

Born and educated in Moldova, Mr. Kisamov spent a 40-year career as an industrial automation engineer. He emigrated from Russia to the USA in 1978, when the USA patronized immigration of educated people from Russia. For the last 15 years, he was the webmaster of the site <http://turkicworld.org>, which serves as a non-commercial, educational publishing outlet for the Turkologists who could not propagate their studies in Russia and whose works were unknown to the Western world. He has translated a number of Turkological books to English, most of them were posted at that site, a few were published in Russia, in post-Soviet countries, and one was supposed to be published in Germany. Mr. Kisamov was assisting the writers as a volunteer. In his 15 years of working with various aspects of Turkology, he has amassed a significant collection of Turkisms cited by various authors, who were pointing out Turkisms in English and/or Germanic languages. Tracing and verifying etymologies of the cited lexemes, he encountered numerous other cognates, which led him to assemble a draft of the article that is published abridged in this issue, and unabridged as Supplement. By that time, the volume of the lexicon far exceeded accepted criteria formulated to discern random borrowings from genetic kinship. Mr. Kisamov is not a linguist, nor does he pretend to be a scholar. However, with some kind help from the sites contributors, he was able to systemize and organize his collection, and prepare etymological comments. His interest in Turkic history arose quite accidentally, but it quickly riveted him, he was growing into it for the last 25 years, and still, after a quarter century of reading and translating, he has only scratched the surface. Previously, he has authored a couple of articles on Turkological subjects related to the Scythian history.

MIRABILE, Paul

After having travelled and worked for many years in Africa and in Europe, Mr. Mirabile enrolled at the University of Vincennes-Saint-Denis, Paris VIII where he obtained his doctoral thesis in 1986 in mediaeval History, literature and linguistics: *La Genèse de la Chanson de Roland: la Théorie de l'Entonnoir* under the direction of Bernard Cerquiglini. Since then he has taught languages and literature, philology and History either at universities or secondary schools in Turkey, South India, China, Ireland and Russia whilst doing research on the Mediaeval Eurasian Koine. He has contributed articles and essays on mediaeval History, religions and philosophy in *Stratégique* (F.E.D.N), *Contrastes*, *Liber Mirabilis*, *Nietzsche-Studien*, *Journal of Armenian Studies*, *Journal of Dravidic Studies*, *Armenian International Reporter*, *La Chine au Présent*, *Al Amanecer* (Istanbul: Judio-Spanish journal), *Chasse-Marée* and in university reviews in China and Russia. He is currently teaching in Istanbul.

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Studied Social Sciences at A. Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University (Kazakhstan, 2006), and at Middle East Technical University (Turkey, 2008); then earned a Ph.D. degree at the Kazakh Academy of Science, Institute of Linguistics named after A. Baitursunoglu (Kazakhstan, 2011). She is currently working as a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

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- ✚ Author of *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, which is his second book of his WanderLearn Series; it was published as ebook on December 12, 2011, and as hardcover on March 4, 2012.
- ✚ Author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*.
- ✚ Has visited all 25 Eastern European countries at least twice and has traveled there nonstop for 3 years.
- ✚ Has traveled to over 80 countries, walked across America 4 times, backpacked over 12,500 miles in the mountains, and was a finalist in the California Outdoors Hall of Fame.
- ✚ He's been covered in *The New York Times Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Backpacker Magazine*, TGO (The Great Outdoors) Magazine in the UK, *New Mexico Magazine*, and others. He's been interviewed on radio stations and podcasts.
- ✚ [Amazon.com](http://Amazon.com) & Lincoln Mercury selected him as the best example of someone who is fulfilling the dream of traveling the world, and produced a video profile on him.

- ✚ His dad is French, his mom is Chilean, and he was born in San Francisco. Speaks several languages. He has never owned a TV, chair, table, couch, bed, or rocket ship.
- ✚ Has a BA in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School.