

SCRIPTA MINORA
REGIAE SOCIETATIS HUMANIORUM LITTERARUM LUNDENSIS
Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
1979—1980:4

Gunnar Jarring

MATTERS OF ETHNOLOGICAL INTEREST
IN SWEDISH MISSIONARY REPORTS
FROM SOUTHERN SINKIANG



CWK GLEERUP

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Our information on the ethnology and the popular beliefs of the Turkic peoples living in the southern parts of Sinkiang is rather scanty in contrast to the comparatively rich material which is available from the northern parts. I am here referring to the records made by Katanov,¹ Pantusov,² Le Coq,³ Oldenburg,⁴ Malov⁵ and Tenishev.⁶ Where the south is concerned we have to rely on the records made by me⁷ and some short records by Malov.⁷ From these parts of Sinkiang, i.e. from Kashgar, Yengi Hissar and Yarkend we have however some information on the popular beliefs of the present-day Uighurs which never has been made available to turcological research.

¹ *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Turkistan. Aus dem Nachlass von N. Th. Katanov herausgegeben von Karl Heinrich Menges ... mit einem Vorwort zum Neudruck von Karl Heinrich Menges und einer Bibliographie der Schriften Menges' von Georg Hazai. (1—2). Berlin 1933, 1943. (Neudruck Leipzig 1976); O svadebnyh obyčajach tatar Vostočnago Turkestana (Izvestija obščestva archeologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom universitete. T.12. Kazan' 1897); Primety i poverija tjurkov Kitajskago Turkestana, kasajuščijasja javlenij prirody. (Sbornik statej učениkov V. R. Rozena ... Sanktpeterburg 1897); further bibliographical references in S. N. Ivanov, Nikolaj Fedorovič Katanov. (Očerk žizni i dejatel'nosti). Izd. 2—e. Moskva 1973.*

² *Pantusov, N. N., Materialy k izučeniju narečija tarančej Ilijskago okruga. Vyp. 1—9. Kazan 1897—1907. (1:extract from Učenyje zapiski Kazanskago universiteta 1897; 2 from Izvestija obšč. arch. ist. i etnogr. pri Kazanskom universitete 1898; 3—9 separate editions); Obrazy tarančinskoj narodnoj literatury, sobrannye i perevedennye N. N. Pantusovym. (Izvestija obšč. arch., ist. i etnogr. pri Kazanskom universitete. T.25. 1909); Tarančinskie bakši. Peri ujnatkak. (Sposoby igry i lečeniya bakšej). Taškent 1907 (Izvestija russkago geografičeskago obščestva. Turkestanskij otdel. T.6.).*

³ *Le Coq, A.v., Volkskundliches aus Ost-Turkistan ... Berlin 1916; Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan ... Leipzig 1928.*

⁴ *Ol'denburg, S., Kratkija zametki o perichon'ach i duachon'ach v Kučare. (Sbornik muzeja antropologii i etnografii ... T.5. Petrograd 1918).*

⁵ *Malov, S. E., Šamanstvo u sartov Vostočnago Turkestana. (Sbornik muzeja antropologii i etnografii ... T.5. Petrograd 1918); further bibliographical material cf. Chronologičeskij perečen' trudov S. E. Malova i literatury o nem (Tjurkologičeskij sbornik 1975. Moskva 1978); Tenishev, E. R., O central'noaziatskom šamanizme. (Sbornik statej pamjati akademika N. I. Konrada. Moskva 1974).*

⁶ *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki ... 1—4. Lund 1946—51; Weather-lore from Eastern Turkistan (Ethnos 1936: 2); A Note on Shamanism in Eastern Turkestan. (Ethnos 1961: 1—2).*

⁷ *Malov, S. E., Ujgurskie narečija Sin'czjana. Moskva 1961; Materialy po ujgurskim narečijam Sin-dzjana. (Sergeju Fedoroviču Ol'denburgu. K 50-letiju naučno-obščestvennoj dejatel'nosti 1882—1932. Sbornik statej. Leningrad 1934, pp. 307—322). Shamanistic texts from Aq-su and Khotan.*

I am thinking of the reports of members of the Swedish Missionary Society who were active in these three places during the years 1894—1936. These reports have been published in Swedish in various missionary publications, which are difficult to find and procure. I have found it important to collect these scattered reports and systematize them. They are mainly translations from the Swedish, not always literal, as I had to exclude certain statements, which are not relevant to my purpose. I have also excluded moralizing passages which have no bearing upon the ethnological facts otherwise presented, but only reflect the missionary zeal of the authors. References are made to the existing ethnological literature pertaining to the Turk peoples of Sinkiang, if available. But these references do not always indicate ethnological parallels. They above all call the reader's attention to comparative material.

Ague (malaria)

Seven knots are tied on seven silk threads and during the procedure of tying the knots seven prayers are read backwards. This implies that the ague to a trip to a cemetery. There he makes a fireplace with the help of string around the patient's neck.

HM 1907: 379

After having made a pot out of a piece of clay, the patient invites the ague to a trip to a cemetery. There he makes a fireplace with the help of a knife. The pot is placed over the fireplace and a few sticks are put under the pot. The ague is invited to light the fire and remain there while the patient goes away to fetch flour and water. When leaving he uses another way than the one he used when coming and he does not look back. He never returns to the cemetery. He is happy that he has been able to cheat the ague.

HM 1907: 379

Ague is cured by buying two copies of a booklet written by a person who is versed in exorcism. One copy is thrown into a river and the second one is tied on a string around the neck of the sick person.⁸

RM 1913: 35

Chest-diseases

The cure-all of chest-diseases of all kinds is camel's lung.

POS 1917: 247

Cough and hoarseness

Cough is cured by a decoction of sheep's tail. Hoarseness is easily cured by gargling one's throat with the bile of sheep.

POS 1917: 247

⁸ cf. Sykes & Sykes, p. 318.

Deafness

There is a rich assortment of remedies against deafness. The most reliable ones are the bile of sheep or oxen, mixed with vinegar and the juice of pears. This mixture should be dropped into the ear and will help if everything else fails.

POS 1917: 246—247

Delicate constitution

Delicate constitution and general weakness is cured by the pulverized teeth of a tiger, as the tiger is strong and its teeth are its most powerful weapon.*

RM 1913: 35

Dog-bite

A remedy against dog-bite is a tincture of human hair and vinegar. Another method is to recite a chapter of the Quran and thereafter blow on a bowl of water which has to be drunk by the person bitten.

POS 1917: 247

Eye-diseases

A remedy against blindness in the left eye and against weak eyes in general is the bile of a hedgehog. Another remedy with almost as good effect is a mixture of the bile of a goat and the tongue of a goat. This mixture is anointed on the eyes.

POS 1917: 246

Headaches

The suffering person sends for six ells of cotton cloth and twentyone loaves. A *duakhon*¹⁰ is sent for. He brings with him fortyone small wooden pegs, wrapped in cotton threads and furthermore the head of a yellow dog. The dog's head is placed on the throat of the suffering person and the *duakhon* reads prayers that remove the headache and thereafter he blows the headache into the dog's head, which then is buried at a crossroad. The cloth and the loaves remain with the *duakhon*.¹¹

HM 1907: 379

Hysteria

Hysteria in women is cured by a decoction of the tail of a black sheep. But when preparing it only rain-water may be used.

POS 1917: 247

* cf. Katanov-Menges II: 37.

¹⁰ *duakhon* J 89 *dua:χon* ~ *duaχon* A.P. "prayer-reader", soothsayer, magician; cf. Malov, *Šamanstvo*; Skrine, p. 186 sq.; Ol'denburg, op. cit.

¹¹ for headaches, cf. Katanov-Menges II: 35; Malov, *Ujgurskie narečija*, pp. 11—13.

Melancholy

Melancholy is cured if the affected person eats the meat of a monkey together with sugar.

POS 1917: 247

Mucus

A remedy against mucus is the meat of a monkey to be eaten together with sugar by the afflicted person. It is in addition considered to have a tonic effect.

POS 1917: 247

Nose-bleeding

Nose-bleeding is stopped by applying droppings of oxen.

POS 1917: 247

Rheumatism

Rheumatism is cured in the following way. The patient lies down on his back and a big loaf on which a number of lighted candles have been fixed is placed on his chest. At the sufferer's feet is placed a cock with its legs tied together. The magician (who performs the healing-ceremony) is provided with a knife. The most important properties of this knife is that it is very blunt and pointless and that it is loosely attached to its handle which means that it rattles immensely when shaken. In the beginning the magician runs around the sufferer, reciting some incomprehensible formulas and shaking the knife energetically. Then he begins stabbing at his patient from top to toe with the blunt point of the knife. Thereafter the cock gets a rather rough stroke of the same knife. It is now understood that the (evil) spirit of the diseased has entered the cock.¹²

RM 1913: 35

Sickness (cf. ague)

If a child falls ill, they procure from seven different houses seven differently coloured strips of cloth or threads to which they tie a small coin with a hole in the middle. Then they are all hung from the branch of a tree.

AM 1920: 42

Snake- and scorpion-bites

The best remedy for snake- and scorpion-bites is the meat of a kid.

POS 1917: 247

¹² cf. Sykes & Sykes, p. 318—lighted candles on a loaf placed on the patient's stomach in order to cure abdominal complaints.

Labour of childbirth

The pregnant woman lets a dog eat seven times from the edge of her coat. This will help her to an easy delivery.

HM 1907: 379

The remedy against a difficult delivery is the following. Someone from the family will steal a hen, a kid or a lamb, kill it on the roof of the house and let its blood run down through the skylight (*tongluk*).¹³ The blood will be collected in a vessel, and then buried in the four corners of the room. The meat of the victim will be boiled, its bones may not be broken, the meat should be eaten and the bones buried in the soil.

HM 1907: 380

In order to have an easy delivery the following steps are taken. Somebody steals a pigeon, a prayer formula is read over it and it is then buried alive in the room where the woman is in childbed. Or, they steal a hen and kill it over the skylight of that room and then let it down through the skylight. It is forbidden to bring it into the room by any other way. Then a (professional) prayer-reader will read prayers for a good fee. Thereafter the hen will be buried in that room. With these rites performed the woman in childbed will have an easy delivery. But she has to take care not to cross any river, channel or other watercourse for the next seven days, otherwise the prayers and the rites are in vain. Should the woman in childbed in spite of all this fall ill, a sheep or some other quadruped has to be stolen and killed over the skylight of the room where she is. The blood should run down into that room through the skylight, whereafter the sheep is let down through it. The meat of the sheep is then eaten by the members of the family, the bones are buried in the room, and the prayer-reader reads his prayers. The sacrificial animal must be stolen if the whole rite is to lead to results. If the theft of the sheep is revealed a compensation will be paid to the owner in order to preserve neighbourly relations. This compensation however must not be paid until 40 days after the theft have passed.

AM 1920: 42

If a woman in childbed does not get out of bed within three days the following drastic remedy is resorted to. Someone is instructed to steal a hen, a sheep or a goat. This animal is then brought up on the roof of the house where the woman is lying and slaughtered over the skylight so that its blood runs down over the woman who is lying below it. Thereafter a meal is prepared. The heart of the animal is given to the woman. After the meal all the remains of the animal are gathered and buried under the bed of the woman. During the whole ceremony a prayer-reader (*duakhon*) recites verses from the Quran.

POS 1917: 230

¹³ J 311 *tongluk* ~ *tonnuk* a hole in the roof for the admission of light, skylight.

The intestines of a tiger wound around the waist of a woman in childbed have a very powerful effect.¹⁴

RM 1913: 35

Death

When somebody has died his relatives for some time have to have a pot over the fire in order to let the deceased's spirit notice the smell and recover his strength from it. The spirit has a special need of the smell of (boiling) meat and fat. Furthermore the Quran has to be read both in the deceased's house and at his tomb.

AM 1920: 42

It is believed that the souls of dead people remain in the corpses the first night after the burial. Then they are visited by two fearful black angels.¹⁵ The dead man is seated and the angels ask him who his master is, which his religion is and who the man is who has been sent to him. The true believer replies that Allah is his master, that Islam is his religion and that Muhammed is the man who has been sent to him. Thereafter he is dressed in the garments of paradise, a delightful scent of paradise is showered upon him and the tomb becomes so spacious that he cannot see its walls. The infidel is not able to reply to the questions of the angels. They then beat his head with iron clubs which makes him raise cries of pain which are heard by everyone from East to West except by men and spirits.¹⁶ And the tomb becomes so narrow that his ribs are crushed.

Many people believe that the spirits of the dead remain in or near the tomb until the day of judgement. Therefore they visit the tombs of their deceased relatives and worship there. They also believe that the soul, especially during the first days of its separation from the body, to a certain extent is in need of nourishment. It is nourished by the smell of meat and fat being cooked. That is why the pot often is over the fire in the house of the deceased during the first time after his death. Neighbours and friends are also invited on certain fixed days to partake of food for the sake of the deceased person.¹⁷

AH 1934: 33—34

The evil eye

Protection against the evil eye is achieved by the *duakhon* writing a verse

¹⁴ cf. Sykes & Sykes, p. 315; Grenard, p. 256.

¹⁵ The two angels, *Munkar* and *Nakir* who are said to visit the dead in their graves and to interrogate them as to their belief in the Prophet and his religion. They are described as two black angels with blue eyes (Hughes p. 420).

¹⁶ The meaning of "except by men and spirits" is enigmatic. In the Swedish text the passage reads "som höras från öster till väster av alla utom av människor och andar".

¹⁷ cf. Katanov-Menges I: 15 sq.; Sykes & Sykes, pp. 316—317, Jarring, Gustaf Raquette and Qasim Akhun's Letters . . . Lund 1975, pp. 20—22.

from the Quran which is sewn into the owner's cap.

HM 1907: 380

People who have the evil eye are always feared, as they are able to produce all kinds of evil things. A horse, or any other domestic animal may die after it has been exposed to the evil eye. With people all kinds of illnesses can be the result of the evil eye. As people afflicted with the evil eye have the capacity of "eating" other people, it is very important when taking a wife to ascertain that she is not afflicted with the evil eye.

POS 1917: 225

The blood of rats, dried in the sun, is an effective protection against the evil eye. For the same purpose the marrow of a goat can be used—its effect is said to be instantaneous.

POS 1917: 246

The evil eye is more dangerous to small children than the evil spirits (*djin*). If someone smiles at a small child or admires it, its mother immediately is in deadly fear of the fatal influence of the evil eye. Bakhta was exposed to greater dangers than other children because she was considered to be beautiful. Her eyes were dark as night and her face was as round as a full moon when it is at its most brilliant. Such children are always in great danger of the evil eye.¹⁸

AM 1933: 10

Addressing children

One should avoid saying nice things about children. They should not be addressed with friendly words but with words like "thief", etc. A way of counteracting the evil influence of children being addressed or spoken to in a wrong way is to take a handful of soil from the threshold of the house, or rubbish from five (sic!) different cardinal points and a piece of cotton-wool from visiting people's clothes and then to burn all these things. The smoke from these burning things is collected in an old cap, which thereafter is thrown among those present. Charms are read during the ceremony.

POS 1917: 226

Amulets

Amulets are used by practically all people, both old and young and children. But also domestic animals are protected by amulets. The contents of these amulets is different and so is their effect. The one who makes an amulet out of the teeth of a wolf and hangs it around his neck will be greatly honoured among the people and his words will carry great weight. To carry an amulet made of a hare's heart means that the bearer is invulnerable to bullets and arrows. If an amulet made of the claws of a wolf is tied on children, they will always be protected against evil spirits. Bones

¹⁸ cf. Sykes & Sykes, p. 319.

of a wolf, used as an amulet, will protect the bearer against all enemies. The tail of a wolf will have the same effect.

PSO 1917: 226

As a protection against evil spirits and the evil eye, Bakhta from the first day of her life had to carry a small triangular leather-bag on a string around her neck. It was an amulet, which in Turki is called *tumár*.¹⁹ In the bag there was a piece of paper, filled with quotations from the Quran and different charms in Arabic. These were thought to be a protection both against the harmful designs of the evil spirits and against the dangers of the evil eye. As long as Bakhta lay in her cradle there was also an amulet fastened to the piece of wood which served as the handle of the cradle. When she began walking, she was dressed up in a small frock onto which some strange figures were sewn. Their purpose was that the evil eye should look at these figures and thus forget to harm the little child. As long as Bakhta remained a small child she was very seldom washed. Otherwise Moslem people wash themselves at least once every day and often several times. From time to time they also wash their clothes because cleanliness is a religious duty. But it was not through negligence or lack of thoughtful care that her mother let Bakhta remain dirty. On the contrary it was attention and love that was behind her behaving like this. If Bakhta was dirty and went around in dirty clothes her beauty was not so pronounced and thus she was much better protected against the evil eye.

AB 1933: 10—11

alwasta

Protection against ghosts²⁰ is achieved by the *duakhon* writing a verse from the Quran which is sewn into the owner's cap.²¹

HM 1907: 380

Avak

*Avak*²² is the term for children possessed by evil spirits. This happens quite often and may originate in the child's lying outside the house when a whirlwind passes by in which *djin*²³ have concealed themselves. It becomes evident as the child—although it in general has a good appetite—from day to day gets thinner and thinner until finally only the bones are left. But the child can recover if the following method is applied. Its eyebrows are

¹⁹ *tumár* < A.P. *tu:ma:r* Steingass 337 an amulet-case (of gold or silver) which they suspend round the necks of children; for a picture v. Le Coq, *Volkskundliches*, p. 4 and 6.

²⁰ Högberg has *alwas* which is a dialect form of *albasti*, cf. J 20 *albasti* ~ *alwastε* ghost, gnome; cf. further Grenard, p. 254 and Malov, *Ujgurskie narečija*, p. 54.

²¹ cf. Katanov-Menges II: 77 (E 1).

²² *avak* < *arbaq* cf. J 26 *arbay* ~ *ærbay* charm, magic formula.

²³ *djin* < A. cf. J 96 *djin* demon, devil, evil spirit; cf. Jarring, *Materials IV*, pp. 166—167; Malov, *Šamanstvo*, p. 5.

painted black and its face is painted red. Thereafter the child's mother goes to the bazaar where she begs for a little flour from eleven different flour-dealers and for a little meat from eleven different butchers. All this is put in a bowl which she also has begged for from a potter. She also begs for a spoon whereupon she goes back to her house and prepares a dish from the ingredients which she has collected by her begging. This dish is eaten by mother and child jointly. After the meal a doll is prepared, which plays the part of the child. It is then placed, together with a bowl containing some of the dish prepared, either in a cemetery, or at a place where seven roads meet.

POS 1917: 230

dev

Protection against demons²⁴ is achieved by the *duakhon* writing a verse from the Quran which is sewn into the owner's cap.

HM 1907: 380

Djin

Protection against the evil spirits (*djin*) is achieved by the *duakhon* writing a verse from the Quran which is sewn into the owner's cap.

HM 1907: 380

If a child is growing thin and is languishing away it means that it is possessed by an evil spirit (*djin*). In order to counteract this evil influence they make three dolls out of rags. These are placed at three different roads. Each doll has a bowl with some food in front of it. This food is intended for the evil spirit (who then stays away from the sick child).

AM 1920: 42

The fear of evil spirits (*djin*) is common. They are supposed to be present everywhere and in most cases they will harm people. The evil spirits may appear in all kinds of shapes as, e.g., people, dogs etc. Often people will be possessed by evil spirits. The symptoms of such possession are not always clear, but the exorcists know quite well how to establish them.²⁵

POS 1917: 226—227

*pir ojnarmaq*²⁶

It is performed in the following way. Musicians playing all kinds of instru-

²⁴ *dev* < P. *di:v*, cf. J 86 demon, ghost, giant, 87 *divε* do. and 88 *dö~döj~döv* do; Malov, *Šamanstvo*, p. 5.

²⁵ cf. Sykes & Sykes, p. 319; Le Coq, *Volkskundliches*, p. 3.

²⁶ cf. my A Note on Shamanism in Eastern Turkestan with bibliographical references; Högberg states that *pirâjnotmak* means "to dance in front of a *pir*, a saint" and *pärr äjnotmak* "to perform a spirit-dance". In reality there is no difference. For *pir* v. J 230 *pir~pij~pej* a shamanistic seance; *pir ojna-*, *pir ojnata-* to perform (to cause to perform) the shamanistic seance.

ments strike up wild music. The afflicted person is forced to dance around a rope which is fastened to the ceiling and to the floor. During his dance there is alternately music, singing, rattling, incantations and prayers. The dance gets wilder and wilder and is performed at an incredible speed until the patient collapses on the floor. If the patient is too sick to be able to dance he has to beat the time with his feet or hands.

HM 1907: 380

In order to drive out the evil spirit people gather in the sick man's house, where the conjurers begin their mystic rites with drumming and noise. At the same time a rope is fastened to the ceiling. On the rope are fastened small bunches of twigs and other things in which the evil spirit is thought to take refuge. This rope must be held by the sick man, who swings around it keeping pace with the increased beat of the drums. If the patient does not possess enough strength to do so he will be tied to the rope and conducted around it. Thereafter they pretend to stab at him all over his body with a knife. After this has been performed they burn the rope with the affixed bunches of twigs, in which the evil spirit is supposed to have taken refuge. As a final touch to the seance a special drink is prepared which is sprinkled all over the room, whereafter a bunch of sticks is kindled and swung in front of the patient's face.²⁷

POS 1917: 227

Soothsaying

If one takes a stroll in a town on a market-day one will find both men and women sitting, either at the town-gate or along certain streets, with a small piece of cloth spread out in front of them. On the cloth there are different objects to be found, but as a rule there are a lot of small varicoloured pebbles, or a book and four dice. If someone wants to know his future he throws a copper coin to the soothsayer who will then open the book and read out his future. The patron of all soothsayers is the prophet Daniel.

HE 1907: 52—53

Soothsaying is performed by both men and women. The clients ask about their fate in life, whether a husband or a wife is faithful, when a husband will return from a long journey, whether a journey will bring success etc. etc. The most common procedure in soothsaying is to throw a few stones on a cloth from which the answer to the questions will be interpreted, or the answers are taken from some special book. The patron of the soothsayers is the prophet Daniel.²⁸

POS 1917: 228—229

²⁷ cf. Katanov-Menges I: 83 sq., Sykes & Sykes, pp. 314—315; Jarring, Materials IV, pp. 163—165; Grenard, pp. 254—256.

²⁸ cf. Katanov-Menges I: 83; Katanov, Gadanija u žitelej Vostočnago Turkestana, go-varjaščich na tatarskom jazyke. (Zapiski Vostočnago otdelenija ruskago archeologičeskago obščestva T. 8. S. Peterburg 1893); Grenard, p. 256.

Sacrifice of human beings

When a river or a canal breaks its levee and floods the country around it, people sometimes—especially when the inundation is severe—believe it necessary to sacrifice some person with a name of the type “stay” (cf. Name-giving) in order to have the levee repaired and made safe for the future. Last summer the arm of a river near Kashgar broke its levee. The people of the neighbourhood were called out to repair the damage, pales were driven down in the ground and fagots were packed together in the place where the water had broken through. Two young men with the names “Stay”²⁹ and “Remain”³⁰ were placed there with the order to press down the fagots, which other people carried there. Suddenly they were pressed down under the fagots and all the earth which had been unloaded on the fagots (and they lost their lives). These two young men were poor and without relatives so no claims were made.

AM 1920: 42

Sacrifice in case of illness

In case of a serious life-threatening illness the best horse belonging to the family is killed. Before that prayers are read over it by a Moslem spiritual leader. Then some of its meat is swung over the sick person. It is then boiled and eaten by the members of the family and other people who are invited to take part and/or by people who happen to arrive. Then prayers are read by those present.

Similar sacrificial rites are performed at the Moslem shrines. Usually they are combined with pilgrimages to these shrines and festivities connected with them.

POS 1917: 192

Rain-making

If there is a severe drought a rain-maker³¹ is called in. Before he begins his task he has, in some solitary place or at a shrine, been reciting no less than 70,000 long prayers during 41 days. The magic performance of rain-making has to be witnessed by the eldest of the people. The magic is performed in the following way. The rain-maker brings a stone which has been found in the intestines of some animal and puts it into a vessel filled with the blood of some quadruped which has recently been slaughtered. This blood is stirred with the help of a whisk made of willow-twigs. Meanwhile the rain-

²⁹ probably his name was *Tursun* “may he stay”.

³⁰ probably *Tokhtasun* “may he remain!” cf. further the section on “Name-giving”, p. 15.

³¹ rain-maker *jadači* and rain-making *jadačiliq* cf. J 145 and my paper *Weather-lore from Eastern Turkistan*, and *Materials*, IV, pp. 168—170. Furthermore Malov, *Šamanskij kamen “jada” u tjurkov Zapadnogo Kitaja . . .* (Sovetskaja etnografija. 1947: 1, pp. 151—160); Grenard, p. 257.

maker recites incantations. The time for the arrival of rain can be indicated, but usually the rain-maker reserves for himself two days of grace. If rain does not appear during this period he asks for a respite of eight days, during which time he prays day and night. If rain does not appear even then it means that the enemies of the rain-maker are working against him. They are able to prevent the rain through counteracting incantations. The rain-makers make people pay well for their services. But if they fail completely it happens that they receive a well deserved punishment by the people who feel deceived. The same may happen if they procure too much rain.

There are also wind-makers but they are not as important as rain-makers.

POS 1917: 229—230

If there is no rain people go to the rain-makers, bringing them generous offerings, sometimes several *yambo*,³² in order to have them procure rain. If the rain thus procured becomes too heavy it happens that people drag the rain-maker to the Chinese court. The mandarins then sentence him to a couple of hundreds whiplashes and put him in the stocks³³ for a couple of weeks. Some years ago two rain-makers of Kashgar were thus punished by the *Shen-guan*.³⁴

HE 1907: 51—52

Dreams and dream-interpreters

People who have had a dream are always eager to have it interpreted. They then turn to dream-interpreters who have their special books of dream-interpretation. One of these has Yusuf, the son of the prophet Yaqub, as its author from which the following dream-interpretations have been taken. "If in a dream you see a prophet you will have no fear of Hell. If you see an angel, you will share God's mercy. If you see a saint you will be great and honoured among the people. If you see a darvish or pious people you will during that year be delivered of all pain and torment. If you see the sun you will be considered a prophet on the day of the last judgment. If you see the stars all your wishes will be fulfilled. If you see yourself ill you will be sound and strong. If you see a dead person you will have a long life. If you cry in your dream you will have much happiness."³⁵

POS 1917: 228

³² *yambo* J 147 *jambu* < Chinese, a lump of silver, somewhat in the shape of a shoe and stamped on the top with a Chinese stamp.

³³ i.e. in the cangue; a picture in Skrine, facing p. 124.

³⁴ *Shen-guan* cf. Rakhimov, p. 197 *šəngən, načal'nik uezda*, chief of district.

³⁵ cf. Katanov-Menges II: 101—163 with very comprehensive material on dream-interpretation.

Lucky and unlucky days of the week

To die on a Friday is considered to be very fortunate. To die on a Wednesday is considered to be dangerous, as the gates of Hell stand open on Wednesdays. If somebody falls ill on a Saturday he will try to remain on his feet as it is considered very dangerous to be confined to one's bed on a Saturday. To comb one's hair on a Saturday or Sunday involves great risk. If a woman combs her hair on a Wednesday her husband will die before long.

AM 1920: 42

Each month has unlucky days when no new work should be undertaken. There are especially three days in each month when one has to be very careful. The most critical day is the first day of the month. But there are also lucky days which one should take into consideration.

POS 1917: 226

Name-giving

If a first-born child dies the following children are often given names, meaning "stay";³⁶ e.g. "may he (she) stay". Sometimes such names may bring bad luck to its bearer, especially if he is destitute and solitary."

AM 1920: 42

Already when they decide on names for their children the people have their good fortune in mind. They give them names which represent exactly what they wish to happen to them in their lives. If they wish that their child become rich they give it a name meaning wealth: Gold, Diamond or something like that; if several children in the family have died, the newborn child will often get a name that means "stay", "remain" or "wait". Thus they believe that the child will stay alive and not die. Sometimes the child will be named Stone, Iron or Axe, in order to get so strong that Death will have no power over it. And it happens that a child will be called Lion, Tiger, Garlic, Broom or something of the same tenor to cause Death to fear it or to feel loathing for it and let it remain alive. In this case the parents of the child wished her good luck. She therefore was called Bakhta Khan. Bakhta means "good luck" and Khan "Miss" or "Mrs". The title *khan* is always added to the name of girls while the boys receive the title *akhond*.³⁸

AB 1933: 8—9

Moslem shrines

The shrines (*mazar*) play an important role in the life of the common people. Through the influence of the saints miracles are performed there.

³⁶ e.g. *Tursun* or *Tokhtasun*, optative forms of *tur-* and *toxta-*.

³⁷ cf. the section Sacrifice of human beings, p. 13.

³⁸ cf. Katanov-Menges I: 71 sq.; Sykes & Sykes, p. 315.

And in all their worries people turn to the saints. They make an appeal to them as they are the intercessors who tell Allah about all their distress. A great number of people go every year to the Hazrat-i-Afaq shrine, close to Kashgar. Many of them undertake the pilgrimage for pleasure, but there are also many who go there in order to seek help in their distress. Among these there are women who have not been blessed with a child. At the shrine they have a saint who can help them. They beseech the saint through bitter lamentations. There are several places to which these unhappy women can go in order to get help for their sterility and in some places they can even immediately know if their prayers have been heard. The proof thereof is that they are able to raise certain heavy stones which are to be found at the shrine. It is also possible for the women to express their wishes as to a boy or a girl. If they want a boy they put a bow in a certain place at the shrine. The most important thing to do is however to stay at the shrine a long time, if possible up to 40 days and to use the time for reading the Quran and performing prayers. The highest wish of a Moslem is to be buried at a shrine. But this is mainly the privilege of rich people who have to pay large amounts for such a favour.

POS 1917: 227—228

Sick people go to the shrines in order to be delivered from their diseases by crawling under a trunk or root of a tree. Childless wives go there and cry for hours in the hope that they will be able to give birth to children. If this does not bring the desired result a sheep or a horse is slaughtered at the shrine and after its meat has been prepared for food it is distributed among the poor people.

PM 1915: 377

At the shrines there usually are very big trees which must not be injured but left to live until they die by decay. It is said, that once when a branch of such a tree was broken off during a storm a cry of pain was heard from the tree and blood began dripping from the place where the branch had been broken off.⁹⁹

PM 1915: 378

The happenings of the last day

On the last day Satan will appear mounted on the *marr-dadjal*¹⁰ "the ass of Satan". Every hair on the body of that ass is the string of a musical instru-

⁹⁹ for information on shrines v. Sykes & Sykes, pp. 92 sq., 310, 314, 320, Jarring, *The Ordam-Padishah-System of Eastern Turkistan Shrines* (Hyllningsskrift tillägnad Sven Hedin). 1935; Jarring, *Materials*, IV, pp. 174—177; Jarring, Gustaf Raquette and Qasim Akhun's Letters, pp. 18—19; Skrine, p. 179 sq.

¹⁰ *marr-dadjal*; *dadʒa:l* < A, is a personage endowed with miraculous powers who will arrive before the end of time and, for a limited period of either 40 days or 40 years, will let impurity and tyranny rule the world which, thereafter is destined to witness universal conversion to Islam (The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 2, p. 76); popularly *dadʒa:l* is

ment. By the music which is produced by these hairs all the peoples of the earth will be enticed to follow Satan. They will be fed by the droppings of the ass. On their heads will grow large horns which will prevent them from entering their houses again through their gates and doors. But the true believers know how to protect themselves. All nails that have been cut off are buried under the threshold of the house. There they have grown into thorny hedges which will prevent the people in the house from running out and joining the music of Satan.⁴¹

HE 1907: 48

Manaka-Khaneka

Among the religious phenomena there are also the gatherings of the darvishes. The place where they gather is called Manaka⁴² and their leader is called *khalifa*⁴³ or *ishan*.⁴⁴ Here (i.e. in Kashgaria) I have noted only the *sopi*-⁴⁵ and *nakhshibandi*-darvishes.⁴⁶ Most darvishes of Eastern Turkestan belong to the *sopi*-order. This word and term has a twofold meaning, viz. a wise man or a man dressed in a woollen garment.

The gatherings of the darvishes. We enter the *Khaneka*,⁴⁷ a mud hut without windows or ceiling.⁴⁸ Here men of all ages gather. The *ishan* has a venerable position. His disciples (*murid*)⁴⁹ present him with their offerings of food or money. After they have assembled they sing religious hymns, accompanied by stringed instruments, like the *dutar*,⁵⁰ *sutar*⁵¹ and *kalon*.⁵²

translated "Antichrist". According to Donaldson, *The Wild Rue* . . . London 1938, p. 189, n. 2, in the common speech of the people, al-Dajjal is the name of the ass that is to be ridden by Antichrist. The stiff, vibrant hairs of the body of this ass will give forth music so that people will rush out to see it. *Marr?* Is it A. *mārr*, Steingass 1139 a passer, walker, goer, a passer by?

⁴¹ The same beliefs as in Persia, cf. Donaldson op. cit. p. 185.

⁴² *manaka*, in the Swedish text *manäkä*? The last syllable *-ka* ~ *-kä* is probably Persian *ga:h* "place".

⁴³ *khalifa* probably here means a vicar of the Shaikh who is the leader of the whole order (cf. Brown, J. P., *The Darvishes* . . . London 1978 (reprint), p. 114).

⁴⁴ *ishan* as a title is used also outside the Darvish orders, cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4: 61—62 (1973).

⁴⁵ i.e. Sufi-order; cf. J 275 *sofi* ~ *sopi* ~ *sopi* Sufi.

⁴⁶ i.e. Naqshbandi, cf. Brown, op. cit. passim.

⁴⁷ *khaneka* < Persian *χa:naga:h*, cf. Steingass 443 *khānagāh* a monastery for Sofis or Darvishes.

⁴⁸ i.e. with a flat roof.

⁴⁹ *murid* < A. *muri:d* disciples, or pupils in the Darvish system, cf. Brown, op. cit. passim.

⁵⁰ *dutar* J 89 *duta:r* ~ *duta:* ~ *du:ta:r* P. a two-stringed lute; picture in Grenard, p. 137.

⁵¹ *sutar* correct form *sitar* < P. *sita:r* a three-stringed guitar; picture Grenard, p. 136.

⁵² *kalun* < *qalun* cf. Shaw, p. 146 *qalun* a kind of open horizontal harpsichord, consisting of many strings of different lengths which can be tightened by turning their pegs or by means of moveable bridges. It is played partly with the fingers (like a harp) and partly with a little metal instrument like a tooth-pick. Cf. Steingass 949 *qānūn* A.P. a species of dulcimer, harp, or psaltery . . .; a picture of a *qalun* in Grenard, p. 140.

Thereafter follows the wild music of the *dap*⁵³ (a kind of drum) and the clarinet (*surnai*).⁵⁴ When the music has stopped there follows a dance of an indescribably wild nature. They jump and run like veritable madmen. Many of them fall unconscious to the ground because of the exertion. In a circle around the dancers the other people sit rhythmically rocking their bodies and inhaling and exhaling with a noisy, snorting sound. This sound represents the words *ya-hu*.⁵⁵ When the dance has stopped food is offered whereafter they all lie down and sleep. Before sunrise they perform the morning prayers and then return to their homes. The most famous *Khaneka* in Kashgar is superintended by *Egerchi ishan*. As his name indicates he was originally a saddler who left his trade and got together some disciples. He soon attained great reputation through self-denial—he always went around barefooted and bareheaded—and by generously distributing right and left all that he received. It is told that he once received a thoroughbred mount as an offering from one of his disciples. Some Russians (of Kashgar) offered him a price for the horse which was very low when compared to the current market price. Egerchi ishan told them, “Money! what shall I do with money? Kill the horse and put its meat in the pot so the poor people can get something to eat.” His order was obeyed and the reputation of the *ishan* increased considerably. Now the Moslems, especially the Kirghiz bring him offerings of camels, horses and cattle. He now feeds a considerable number of poor people from these offerings.
HE 1907: 49—51, HK 1925: 37—38

Khaneka

Khaneka is the name of the gatherings of the Islamic sects and also the name of the locality where they gather. There are such places both for men and women. Here follows the description of the *Khaneka* of the women.

Females are excluded from the services in the mosques and there are no recitals of prayer which are attended by both men and women. Therefore the women gather separately in their *Khaneka* under the leadership of a woman, who is called *ayem*⁵⁶ or *bua*.⁵⁷ She reigns over her “spiritual

⁵³ *dap* J 79 *daf* ~ *dap* A.P. tambourin, tabouret, timbrel.

⁵⁴ J 281 *surnaj* ~ *sunaj* ~ *sū'naj* P. clarinet.

⁵⁵ *ya-hu* A. *yā hū* (O Him) He who is. An authentic acknowledgement of His (God's) eternal existence (Brown, op. cit., p. 275).

⁵⁶ *ayem* cf. WB I: 199 *aja* (Dsch.) Schwester des Vaters; WB I: 223 *ajim* (Dsch.) Frau, Gattin.

⁵⁷ *bua* can be either J 45 *baba* ~ *bawa* ~ *bowa* ~ *buva* grandfather, old man, old dotard; nickname for the headman of the hashish-addicts; WB IV: 1799 *bua* ein alter Mann; Shaw 47 *būba* ~ *būa* an old man, or it could be a shortened form of *bubi* ~ *buvi* ~ *bibi* lady, grandmother, Shaw 53 *bibī* a lady, a woman (married); cf. further Doerfer II: 379 sq. *bibi*.

children" with full powers. If a woman has "given her her hand", as the term is styled, she has become her *naurid*⁵⁸ "disciple", and must thus remain until her death when the *ayem* honours her by performing the last rite, i.e. by washing and shrouding her dead body.

During my stay in Kashgar I visited the most distinguished Khaneka, and now I wanted to attend a gathering of the same kind also in Yengi Hessar. It had already begun when I arrived. The number of women attending could be estimated at roughly eighty. The women ejaculated puffing and grunting sounds while rocking themselves to and fro with their heads in such a violent way that one could believe that they were going to break their necks. After a while the first act was ended. The *ayem* now distributed small, white stones to those present. While slipping these stones through their fingers or stroking their faces with them they repeated the formula *la ilaha ill' Allah*⁵⁹ over and over again.

In Kashgar this ceremony was performed with the help of a large rosary with beads the size of a walnut. This rosary was passed between the women who were sitting in a circle.

One of the younger leading ladies now began to read passages from the so called "Book of Wisdom" and thereafter a confession of sins in verse in which all those present joined her. The crying and howling on this occasion became almost deafening. Then the *ayem* recited verses of the Quran in Arabic.

Now the women had somewhat calmed down and swaying their bodies in time with the recital they repeated the quranic verses over again to their best ability. In spite of the crying their devotion did not appear to be very great. Some of the women joined the movements as though half asleep and in a mechanical way. Others were chatting and giggling. Now five clay vessels, filled with "blessed water" were brought out there. By "blessed water" is meant that a mullah has recited prayers over it and then blown on it. All present had a drink of this water. After this ceremony there was a collection of money. Most of those present threw a few copper coins in front of the *ayem*.

Then the puffing and grunting started again. The eldest woman withdrew and a middle-aged heavy-limbed woman rose and with her seven or eight other women. And now began a jumping, stamping, dancing, puffing, blowing and grunting which was just incredible. In their eyes there was a fanatic glow, the dance and the jerking of their heads and their bodies became wilder and wilder, their grunting became more frantic. Those who were sitting were swinging their bodies more and more violently. The small room was filled with dust and the air became suffocating. After a while their forces were spent and spasmodically crying the dancers fell to the

⁵⁸ *naurid* dialect form < A. *muri:d* scholar, discipline.

⁵⁹ There is no God but Allah!

ground and lay there unconscious. Then they came to life again. Now they served a sacrificial meal, consisting of millet-gruel with turnips and a few pieces of meat.

POS 1917: 451—454

The origin of the Kirghiz

The following tale is told of the origin of the Kirghiz. "When the holy Mary was going to be the mother of the prophet Jesus she made her way into a waste desert in order to avoid the scorn and persecution of the people. There she was alone and without help when her difficult hour arrived. Then God, the Almighty, turned forty stones of the desert into virgins who became the servants of the Holy Mary and attended her as though she were a queen. When she no longer needed their service they were supposed to turn to stones of the desert again. But they prayed to the Almighty One that they might remain human beings. Their prayers were answered in as much as they could remain human beings but without immortal souls. When they died they would become as soulless as the stones of the desert. The Kirghiz have their origin from these forty virgins. That is why they to this day are called Kirghiz, which comes from *qirq qiz*, which means "forty girls".

AH 1934: 14—15

Water

If water has been flowing over three stones or if it has formed seven whirls or ripples it is considered clean according to Moslem law and can be used for all purposes.

AH 1934: 9

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