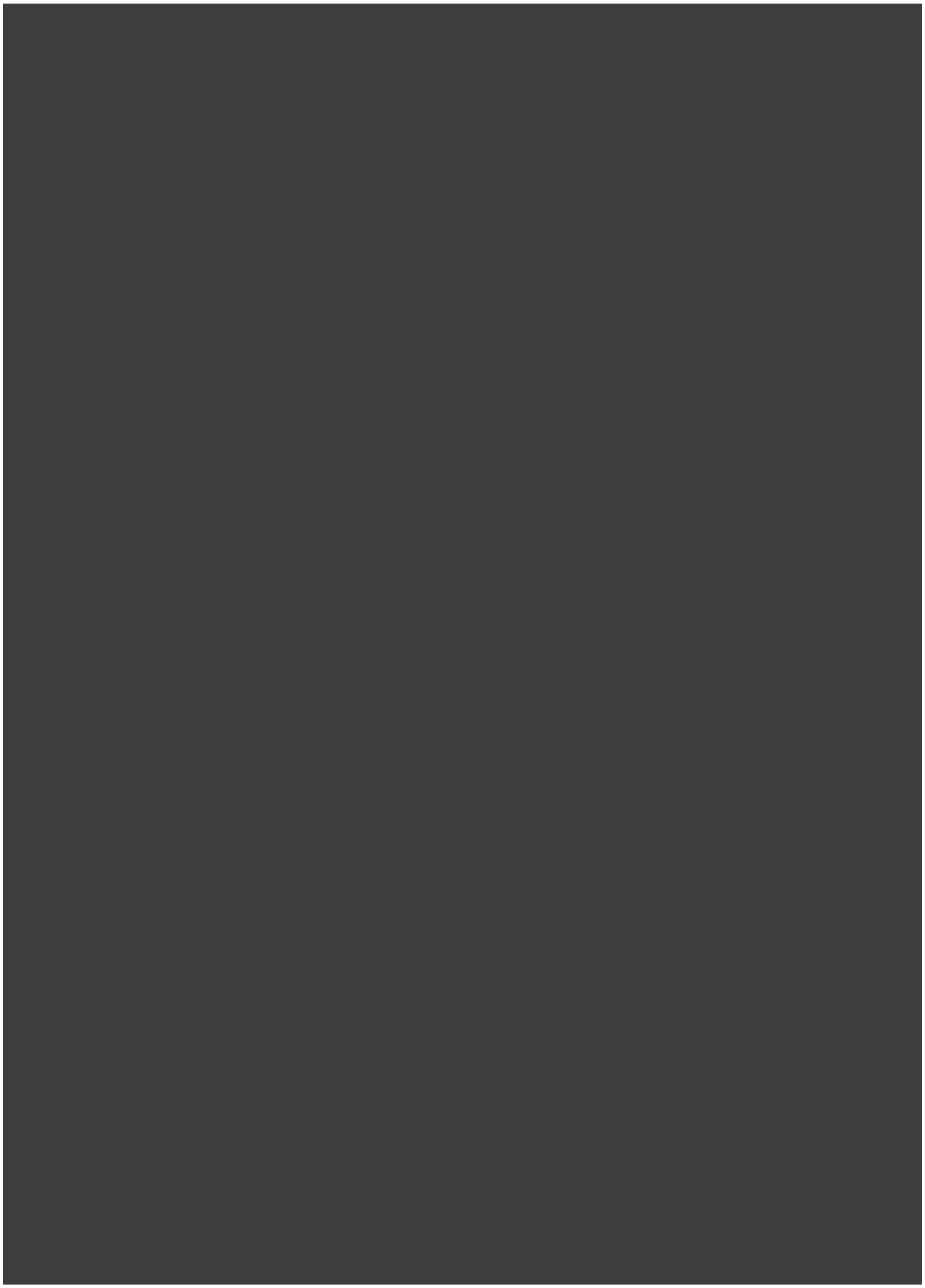




Steamer to Yarkand.
10-30



The Lost Society

失落的协会

The Lost Society

Ye Wuji

Translated from Chinese
by Frances Gao (高欣译)

失落的协会

叶无忌



2675



Onze woon- en eetkamer te Yarkand.

23-3-30

“Eating Polu (پولۇ) makes you end up with oily lips while using Usma¹ gives you thick eyebrows”²

Nasreddin's Masterpiece³, written by Anonymous

“抓饭 (پولۇ) 吃完嘴巴油，乌斯玛¹ 褪了眉毛浓”²

——《纳斯尔丁的杰作》，佚名³

1 乌斯玛草，十字花科植物，维吾尔人用其叶汁涂抹双眉，可以促进眉毛生长。

A type of plant, In Uyghurs culture, it is believed by smearing its leaf juice onto the eyebrows can promote the growth of eyebrows.

2 笔者改写的谚语，原意指任何事物都会留下它发生或存在的痕迹。

A proverb rewritten by the author, the expression implies that anything will leave traces of its occurrence or existence.

3 此书并不真实存在，是笔者受 17 世纪英国性爱手册《亚里士多德的杰作》启发虚构的一本书。

This book does not exist. It is an imaginary book inspired by Aristotle's Masterpiece, the popular English sex manual that was first published in the 17th century.

4 天山南北汉语中对于洋葱的称谓，从突厥语音译借词，也是地区不同语言互相借用的例子之一。

It is a transliteration of the Turkic word "onion" to Han Chinese in Xinjiang, also one of the examples of mutual borrowing among languages in different regions.

跨越大陆的食物以及历史

安纳托利亚谚语有云：“它的种类和地上的城市一样多。”网络上流传有一千多种与它相似或相关的变体遍布欧亚大陆的大街小巷。在某些地区，因为此菜营养均衡味道鲜美，且可以同时供应大量食客，故而成为大型集会，例如红白喜事中的主要食物。它有很多名字，但基本都大同小异。据说这些名字都是源自梵文的“Pulāka”，意为“直立”，据猜测可能指的是米饭粒粒分明的样子。它也有另外一个名字叫做“Palov-osh”，这是将此菜的七种食材连在一起后组成的优美名字——P-piyoz（皮牙子⁴）、A-ayz（胡萝卜）、L-lahm（肉）、O-oliyo（油）、V-vet（盐）、O-ob（水）、Sh-sholi（大米）。为了便于称呼，人们也把它简称为“Polu”。它通过亚洲腹地到达了安达卢西亚，变成了人们所熟知的西班牙海鲜饭（Paella，据说词源一致）。与通过形容造型或描述内容命名的方式不同，中文里它的正式名字是手抓饭，懂行的人一般称它为抓饭。何时出现在汉语中无从考证，但应该是汉语使用者通过观察进食动作来命名的。笔者需要声明的是，广义的抓饭几乎无法被定义。例如，有文献显示在一些泛抓饭主义者眼中，只要稍微注意在番茄炒蛋盖饭的装盘方式上，机智地摆上几片皮牙子，这就可以被看作是番茄炒蛋抓饭。正是因为抓饭有着如此世界主义的可能性和宽容性，为了不让读者产生混乱的联想，需要明确的是，本文所详细提及的“抓饭”一词主要基于中亚的地理范围内。中亚在地理上位于亚欧大陆的中心，却是世上多方势力膨胀的末端，这里记叙了众多族群碎片化的个人历史。面对这样使人头昏的情况，孤立考察这片土地的某一地方或某国家并不明智，我们可能需要一种全局性的视角来模糊国家、民族和语言的边界，统一又具体地理解历史和现实的联系。秉着以上初衷，本文将致力于追寻、考察和介绍一个现在已几乎无人提及的中亚秘密会社——“中亚抓饭协会”（以下简称协会）。这里要说明的是，研究协会的困难很大。首先在于研究者需要掌握多种亚欧语言才能在文献和实地走访中提取有效的信息；第二，作为一个地下组织，在消失于人们的视野之前，很多材料就基本被销毁了；第三，从口述历史的角度，目前现有知情者的口述多半只能提供一些关于协会的流言而不是确凿的经验。但如名人金句所言：“闻证言者即证人”⁵，让我们一起进入中亚抓饭协会的野史中去吧。

The history of a cross-continental food

As an Anatolian proverb says, “It has as many types as there are cities on the ground.” Online rumours go as far as claiming it to have over 1,000 variants all over the streets of Eurasia. Some areas serve this nutritious and delicious food as the main course during mass gatherings, such as weddings or funerals, because it's so convenient to cook and supply in large quantities. It goes by many names, but in essence, all the names are said to be derived from the Sanskrit word “Pulāka”, meaning “upright”, as a description for the well-defined shape of rice grains. It is also called “Palov-osh”, which is a neat acronym of the seven ingredients used to make the dish: P-piyoz (onion)⁴, A-ayz (carrot), L-lahm (meat), O-oliyo (oil), V-vet (salt), O-ob (water), Sh-sholi (rice). People often call it Polu because it is a lot easier to remember. It reached al-Andalus through the central region of Asia and became the Spanish paella that we know today. Paella is said to share the same etymology with Palov-osh. Instead of naming the dish by describing the shape or composition of the ingredients, the official Chinese name describes how it is eaten; “shou zhua fan” (or zhua fan for short used by the locals), literally translates to “rice eaten with hands”. There is no way to verify when this term first appeared in Chinese, and it is equally hard to define what can be called Polu. For those who have deep faith in pan-palovosh-ism, one can turn the scrambled eggs with tomatoes over rice into a Polu simply by adding a few pieces of onion and then rearranging the presentation. As Palov-osh is such a universal and inclusive dish, so to avoid any misunderstandings, readers shall bear in mind that the Polu that gets extensive coverage in this article is mainly based on the context of Central Asia, a region in the centre of the Eurasian continent that has consequently become a cultural melting pot. Such a geographical location enables this region to get glimpses of the individual history of many ethnic groups. Therefore, to solely examine one particular country or region as an example of the whole Central Asia would be unwise. We need a more holistic perspective beyond the confinement of borders, nationalities, and languages to interpret the current reality with a historical connotation.







巴依⁶的事业和协会的起源

后面我要介绍的事情有一些就是别人描述给我的。有关早期抓饭协会是如何建立起来的问题仍有很多模糊不清的地方，但捕风捉影之中笔者可以肯定的一点是：它的起源与扎吉德运动有着极其紧密的联系。需要了解的是，我采访的知情者阿不力孜⁷所描述的“扎吉德”最早是于19世纪，是由俄国富有的鞑靼商人兴起的重视现代世俗知识的教育运动，后来于清末新政期间在河中地区以及天山南北的穆斯林聚居区发散影响。扎吉德运动为当地穆斯林带来了启蒙性质的教育方式，并在受众地区迅速扩大。“扎吉德”(jadid/джадид)一词源自阿拉伯语“جديد”(新的)，同阿拉伯语“قديم”(旧的)相对立。传统穆斯林教育没有教学大纲和教学计划，学生要不停地朗诵《古兰经》六、七个小时且无任何体育活动。学校只灌输宗教知识，并不传授法律、自然科学等世俗知识，而这样的情况在欧亚大陆的穆斯林地区广泛存在。以曾经兴盛抓饭协会的天山以北某地为例，在19世纪的大部分时间里，伊斯兰经文教育几乎是当地穆斯林唯一的教育方式。相比之下，扎吉德教育则比经文教育更能适应新的时代。随着伊犁条约的签订，条约规定了俄国商人的特权。于是天山以北靠近中俄边境的地区与喀山鞑靼人的商业往来迅速扩大。由于两地穆斯林在语言、宗教和习俗上的联系（他们都是既擅农耕又十分懂经商），交流逐渐频繁，结果就是塔城和伊宁地区开始出现了一批巴依。

据知情者阿不力孜的讲述，大概是二十世纪的头几年，他的太爷爷阿不都外力⁸出生于伊犁河畔的一个有着蓝色窗檐和葡萄架的漂亮大屋里，花园里有铺着漂亮羊毛地毯的凉亭和果实累累的桑葚树。这是当地的一个巴依贵族家庭，据祖辈传说，其祖上是地方上阿克撒卡尔⁹一样的人物。阿不都外力在家排行老么，其父及长兄曾前往与家族有贸易联系的喀山留学。留学期间深受扎吉德主义者加斯普林斯基的感召，学成后经麦加和伊斯坦布尔归乡并致力于教育改革和创办进步报刊，依靠家族的资本开办新式学校。照喀山学校的课程设置，制订了教学内容并设计了每年选派五到十名学生赴海外留学的计划。学校配备有桌椅、黑板、地图和地球仪等教学设备，小学班开设识字、算术、道德、自然、体育和音乐等课程，初中班设有文学、几何、化学、动植物学、史地、天文、阿拉伯语、诗歌和宗教常识等课程。起初该校只招收各族男生，后来也招收了一批女生，成为天山南北第一所男女混合学校。一九一四年学校开学前，远在喀山的鞑靼刊物还介绍了这所学校。文章这样写到：“伊宁人民在知识的海洋里正掀起一场充满希望的运动。”¹⁰一九一八年三月八日，学校的员工、学生和民众近千人集结游行，鞑靼女孩艾斯曼·艾哈塔米亚在游行队伍中发表了激情洋溢的演说，号召女性要团结起来抵抗封建保守势力的压迫，勇敢地争取在政治、经济、婚姻、社会权利方面同男性享有同等权利。无需赘言，这样的家庭和社会环境都对阿不都外力开明进步思想的形成和日后成为抓饭协会会员产生了极其重要的影响。这里必须要补充的是，一九一八年还有一些事情发生了。在莫斯科，列宁同志的卫士瓦西里对他饥肠辘辘的妻子说道：“面包会有的，牛奶会有的，一切都会有的。”¹¹同年，在浩罕，昙花一现的中亚自治政府解散了。

5 引用犹太作家埃利·维瑟尔语，原句为：“Whoever listens to a witness, becomes a witness.”

To quote the Jewish writer Elie Wiesel, the original sentence is “Whoever listens to a witness becomes a witness.”

6 意指工商业资本家阶层。

It refers to those who belonged to the industrial and commercial capitalist class.

7 虚构人物，来源于叶无忌的影像作品《中亚日记 - 我的好友》。

A fictional character, inspired by Ye Wujì's video work *Central Asia's Diary - My Friend*.

8 本文虚构人物。

A fictional character in this article.

9 阿克撒卡尔(维吾尔语: ئاقساقال, 拉丁维文: aqsaaqal), 字面意思是“白胡子”, 指男性长辈、社区内的贤者。这些人在中亚和高加索国家整个部落内起司法权威的作用。在新疆, 阿克撒卡尔曾作为重要的地区协调人存在, 曾经在清末英俄情报战中作为地区代理人。



Aqsaqal (Uyghur: ئاقساقال, Latin Uyghur: aqsaqal), literally meaning "white beard" and metaphorically refers to the male elders and sages in the community. Acting as advisors or judges, these people play the role of judicial authority in countries and tribes of Central Asian and Caucasus countries. In Xinjiang, Aqsaqal once existed as an important regional coordinator and served as a regional agent in the Anglo-Russian Intelligence Wars in the late Qing Dynasty.

10 赵志研《塔塔尔族知识分子：点燃新疆新式教育运动的火把》。

Tatar Intellectuals: Lighting the Torch of Xinjiang's New Educational Movement, written by Zhao Zhiyan.

This article will devote itself to pursuing, investigating, and introducing a secret society in Central Asia called the "Central Asia Palovosh Society" (hereinafter referred to as the Society). What needs to be pointed out is that the Society has been studying an extremely difficult matter. Firstly, the researchers need to master multiple Asian and European languages to be able to collect effective information from historical documents and field visits. Secondly, as an underground organization, many of its research materials were destroyed upon its disappearance. Thirdly, from the perspective of oral history, most of the current insiders' accounts can only provide rumours about the Society rather than conclusive experience. But as the famous saying goes, "Whoever listens to a witness becomes a witness."⁵ So, let us dive into the unofficial history of the Central Asia Palovosh Society.

The cause of Bay⁶ and the origin of the Society

Parts of this article are based on authentic hearsay I collected from other people. Although there are still many unconnected dots about how the Society was established in the first place, the author is sure that its origin is closely related to the Jadid Movement. According to my interview with Abliz,⁷ Jadid is a modernist educational reform initiated by wealthy Russian Tatar merchants in the 19th century. Later on, during the New Policies of the Late Qing Dynasty, the movement spread its influence to the Muslim settlements located in Transoxiana and along both sides of the Tian Shan mountain ranges. The Jadid movement introduced enlightening education methods to local Muslims and rapidly expanded its popularity among the Muslim settlements in those areas. The word "Jadid" (jadid/джадид) is derived from the Arabic word "جدید" (new), as opposed to "قديم" (old). Traditional Muslim education does not have a syllabus or teaching plan. Students are asked to recite the *Quran* for six or seven hours without any physical activity. They only have religious courses without any secular subjects such as law or natural sciences at school. Such practice is widespread within the Muslim regions of Eurasia. Let's take a place on the northern side of the Tian Shan Mountains where the Society once flourished as an example. For most of the 19th century, Islamic religious texts were almost the only source of education for local Muslims. In contrast, the alternative method, Jadid style education, was more suitable for the new era. In 1881, the Russian Empire and the Qing Dynasty signed the Treaty of Ili, which stipulated the privileges of Russian merchants. As a result, commercial contacts between the Kazan Tatars and the residents settled in the northern side of the Tian Shan Mountains near the Sino-Russian border expanded rapidly. Thanks to the language, religion, and customs (they were both good at farming and doing business) shared by the Muslims on both sides of the regions, the exchanges became more and more frequent. Consequently, many Bays started to emerge among the Tacheng and Yining regions.

Abliz told me that around the first few years of the 20th century, his grandfather Abduweli⁸ was born into an aristocratic family in a beautiful big house with blue window eaves and grape trellises on the bank of the Ili River. The house had a garden that was crowded with fruit-bearing mulberry trees and featured a pavilion with a beautiful wool carpet. It is said that their ancestors were as prominent as Aqsaqal.⁹

Abdul was the youngest in his family. His father and his eldest brother had gone to study in Kazan, a place that had trade ties with the family. During their studies, they were inspired by a Jadid-ist named Ismail Gaspirali. After finishing their studies, they returned to their hometown via Mecca and Istanbul and devoted themselves to educational reform and founding progressive newspapers.



在新式教育运动进行得如火如荼之时，俄属中亚发生了大规模的流散和血腥事件。一九一七年，十月革命一声炮响，一群扎吉德主义者在浩罕宣布建立了从里海到阿尔泰山范围内第一个世俗化民主自治政府，并宣布将在一九一八年举行议会选举。选举将基于“普遍的、直选的、平等的、匿名的投票”¹²，并保证非穆斯林席位至少占议会总席位的三分之一。但同年，塔什干苏维埃¹³在选举前摧毁了自治政府且将这类中亚地区的武装运动统称为“巴斯玛奇”并对其进行彻底的清扫。自治政府的传奇领袖穆斯塔法向西辗转，最后远走第三帝国。据说他授命一只精锐部队，和众多有钱有势的追随者于逃亡过程中在边境转入地下工作。据笔者的推断是在这时，协会的组织初步形成了。就像在扎吉德运动中一样，在协会的工作中，巴依们也扮演着非常重要的角色。他们一般身兼多种身份，并不是只在意金钱的财主。跨境商贸使他们便于穿梭在地区之间，且有着四通八达的政商信息网络。在那个边界制度尚未坚不可摧的年代，他们是中亚文化流动性的代表，也是“边界模糊”的实践者和受益者。据阿不力孜家中的老者回忆，他们所知的抓饭协会就是俄国那边的一个大巴依秘密带入的，此人在很长的一段时间内和他们家族并称伊宁四大巴依¹⁴。后来还出任过地方行政公署副行政长官，直到一九三六年被地方军阀杀害。笔者通过时间对比推测，该大巴依应该是十月革命后一两年到达伊宁的，前后与中亚自治政府解散的时间相吻合。



11 此对话出自苏联电影《列宁在1918》（Ленин в 1918 году）。
This is a quote from the Soviet film "Lenin in 1918" (Ленин в 1918 году).

12 Dauletbayeva, Altynzer (2017). "Turkestan Autonomy and legends about Mustafa Shokay". e-history.kz.
Ministry of Information and Communications of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

13 意指1917年俄国革命时在塔什干成立的群众政治组织。
It was a mass political organization founded in Tashkent during the Russian Revolution in 1917.

14 此说法摘自伊宁吐达洪巴依故居介绍文字。
This way of reference is taken from the introduction text of the former residence of Bay Tudahun in Yining.





They opened a school out of their family's wealth and practised their new method of education. They formulated their teaching program about the curriculum of the Kazan School and designed a plan to send five to ten students to study abroad every year. The school was equipped with teaching equipment such as desks and chairs, blackboards, maps, and globes. Its elementary classes offered courses in literacy, arithmetic, morals, nature, sports, and music, while junior high students studied literature, geometry, chemistry, flora and fauna, history, geography, astronomy, Arabic, poetry, and religion. At first, the school only took boys of all ethnic groups, but later it also encouraged girls to attend and became the first co-ed school alongside the Tian Shan Mountain regions. Before the school opened in 1914, the Tatar publication in Kazan wrote an introduction piece that reads: "The people of Yining are setting off a hopeful movement in the ocean of knowledge."¹⁰ On March 8, 1918, nearly a thousand people from the school's employees, students, and the community gathered for a parade. A Tatar girl named Eisman Ahtamia addressed the crowd with a passionate speech, calling on women to be united in resisting the oppression of feudal conservative forces and being brave in striving for equal rights with men in terms of politics, economics, marriage, and social rights. Needless to say, such a family and social environment left a great impact on shaping Abduweli's liberal and progressive views and set the stage for his future membership in the Society. What's worth noticing is that 1918 is an eventful year. In Moscow, Vasili, the guard of Vladimir Lenin, said to his starving wife: "There will be bread, there will be milk, everything will be there."¹¹ In the same year, in Kokand, the short-lived Turkestan Autonomy, a Central Asian Autonomous Government, was dissolved.

While the new education movement was in full swing, large-scale diaspora and bloody incidents occurred in Central Asia within the Russian Empire. In 1917, the October Revolution broke out. A group of Jadids in Kokand proclaimed the creation of the first secular democratic autonomous government within its territory that stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Altai Mountains. In 1918, the Turkestan Autonomy decided to form a parliament through a "general, direct, equal and anonymous ballot."¹² It stipulated that at least one-third of the mandates belonged to the members of other faiths than Islam. However, in the same year, the Tashkent Soviet¹³ suppressed the autonomous government before its election and launched a complete crack-down against all armed movements carried out by the so-called "Basmachi". The legendary leader of the Turkestan Autonomy, Mustafa Shokay, fled westward and finally ended up in Nazi Germany. Rumour has it that he directed an elite squad and many of his rich and powerful followers to turn to operate underground at the border area. It is believed that this was when the Society was formed. Just like in the Jadid Movement, the Bays played very important roles in the work of the Society. They generally had multiple identities and were rich people who cared about more than just money. Cross-border commerce made it easy for them to travel among regions and have well-connected political and business information networks. During that age, when the border was not well defined, they remarkably maintained Central Asia's cultural mobility and became practitioners and beneficiaries of the "blurring borders". As the elders in Abliz's family recalled, the Society they knew was brought in secretly by a prominent Bay from the Russian side. That person, together with their families, had been called the Great Four Bays of Yining¹⁴ for quite a long time. Later, he also served as the vice chief executive of Yining and was killed by a local warlord in 1936. Judging by the time frame, it is speculated that this prominent Bay figure arrived in Yining within one or two years since the breaking out of the October Revolution, coinciding with the dissolution of the Turkestan Autonomy.

隐秘而伟大

说到纳斯尔丁，其实他就是在长城内外被熟知为“阿凡提”的人。“阿凡提”本是“智者”或“先生”的意思，由于才智过人，因此在西起北非，东到吐鲁番的传说中往往以导师的尊号来称呼他。纳斯尔丁自由地行走在广阔的欧亚大陆上，象征着“匡扶正义，保护百姓”的理想。所以，抓饭协会崇尚纳斯尔丁，在笔者理解中就像是汉地帮会拜关公一样，有着强烈的文化凝聚力。笔者所了解到抓饭协会的具体存在主要来源于阿不力孜家族中遗留的一本名叫《纳斯尔丁的杰作》的小册子残本，这本书目前也已不存在，只有笔者当时记录的一些信息。阿不力孜说他几乎记不清那是在二〇一八年还是二〇一九年发生的事了，但哪怕已经过去这么多年，他仍然记得是妈妈瘪着脸在夜深人静时将几本书一页一页撕扯开，点火烧掉了。



Secret and great

In China and Central Asia, Nasreddin is commonly known as “Afanti” (Effendi), meaning “wise man” or “sir”. In all the legends, from North Africa to Turpan, he is often recognized as a mentor due to his extraordinary intelligence. Nasreddin walked freely on the vast Eurasian continent, symbolizing the idea of “supporting justice and protecting the people”. Therefore, the Society advocates Nasreddin, just like China proper worships the great General Guan Yu in the Han dynasty as a figure of strong cultural cohesion. The existence of the Society is mainly based on a fragmented pamphlet titled *The Masterpiece of*

Nasreddin that was handed down in Abliz’s family. This book no longer exists, so all we get are the reading notes from the author. Abliz said that he could hardly remember whether it happened in 2018 or 2019, but even after so many years, he still remembered that it was his mother who tore apart those books page by page and burned them in the dead of night.

Let’s zoom back to the early 20th century when Abduweli joined the Society under the recommendation of his elder brother and later became one of the backbone members of the Society’s regional branch. Under the leadership of Abduweli, the local Society not only inherited the advantages of the Turkestan Autonomy but also featured more transcending, radical, and universal values. The Society’s

existence seems rather surreal for that era and still does even so after decades. The Society was worried that the local tradition of free migration was disappearing. During the years of turmoil, they took the initiative in secretly supporting and protecting the free movement of residents and helped those in need as much as they could without revealing themselves. The old man Ablimit recalled that some of his father’s domestic teachings came from the program of the Society, for example: “No human race is superior; no religious faith is inferior. All collective judgments are wrong. Only Fools make them.”¹⁶ and “We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”¹⁶ The old man also said that the most undemocratic item in the program of the Society might be that “One must hold on to the beliefs of the Society, and recognize Polu as one of the best, or the best food in the world.”



回到 20 世纪初，阿不都外力在哥哥的引导下进入了抓饭协会，并在之后成为地区协会的骨干。在阿不都外力的领导下，本地协会不仅继承了中亚自治政府的优点，且朝着更加超越的、激进的、普世的价值迈进了。协会不仅在那个年代呈现出超现实特征，几十年后看起来也是一个不可实现且不可想象的存在。协会担忧这个地区自由迁徙的传统正在消失殆尽，时值动乱，所以他们愿意致力于秘密支持和保护居民的自由移动，在不暴露自己的情况下力所能及地帮助需要帮助的人。据老人阿不力米提回忆父亲对他的家庭教导有一些就来自于抓饭协会的纲领内容。例如：“没有哪些种族更优越；没有哪些宗教较次等；所有的集体判断都是错的，只有蠢货才会做出集体判断。”¹⁵ 又例如：“不管世上何时何地有人受苦受辱，一定要选边站。保持中立只会助长压迫者，而不是受害者。”¹⁶ 老人还说可能抓饭协会纲领中最不民主的一条，就是你必须信仰抓饭所代表的精神，并承认抓饭是世界上最好吃或者最好吃的食物之一。

据说当时协会将很多成员以抓饭师傅的身份安插进各个通衢大邑的酒店旅馆甚至领事馆中，比如伊犁宾馆和苏联驻伊犁办事处。一方面，抓饭协会倡导的非暴力的、普遍的、去族群化的互助确实吸引了一些进步人士；另一方面，协会这样的宗旨和价值观也意味着它处境的危险。根据《纳斯尔丁的杰作》残本内容，为躲避其他政治势力可能的暴力和压迫，会员之间的沟通有一套极有意思的模式。有些内容容易让人感到哑然失笑却又引人入胜。需要说明的是，虽然抓饭协会与匪徒本质并无相似之处，但一些资料显示苏联在调查中亚情况时，貌似将抓饭协会和很多山贼匪徒混为一谈。原因可能是二者都有自己独特的沟通系统，即所谓的“黑话”。隐蔽沟通的方式保护了组织秘密不被暴露，也是身份认同的工具。语言学家 W. 勒斯洛 (Wolf Leslau) 的研究归纳黑话一般有三种形式¹⁷，其中一种就是将人们的日常所用词语赋予新的意义。协会的语言有许多属于此类，抓饭协会的一些地区负责人被称为“掌勺”，情况紧急是“没米了”，消息走漏是“锅破了”。瑞典基督教传教士在笔记《欧亚腹地不死的福音》中有提及经熟人介绍接触过一个温和的地下组织，它记录了所谓成员拜见和盘问的方式：有时盘问对经文的理解，有时使用内部创造的谚语，但并不经常说全，仅一两个字便能互相知晓意义。他还描绘了各式各样的盘查方式，例如放置茶杯，摸胡子，整理衣服，互相观察动作。他写道：“他们的总部常常被称为‘阿什汗纳’‘ناشخانا’（厨房）。当然这不是一个一般意义的武装组织，事实上，它并不暴力，成员多半温和且开明进步。会员对暗语熟悉的程度显示了他们的能力，并成为验证来人身份的沟通方式。”中亚地区谚语文学的传统成为了其秘密语言中的有趣部分，在“点菜”时，通过隐蔽和扑朔迷离的会话方式，揭示协会所代表的价值观。下面是许多诸如此类的对话之一：

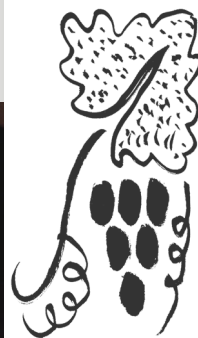


15 引用犹太作家埃利·维瑟尔语，原句为：“No human race is superior; no religious faith is inferior. All collective judgments are wrong. Only Fools make them.” To quote the Jewish writer Elie Wiesel, the original text is: “No human race is superior; no religious faith is inferior. All collective judgments are wrong. Only Fools make them.”

16 同上，原句为：“We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.” Ibid., the original quote is: “We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”

17 此观点引用自王笛的著作《袍哥》。This view is quoted from the book titled *Violence and Order on the Chengdu Plain: The Story of a Secret Brotherhood in Rural China*, written by Wang Di.

Based on solid rumours, at that time, many members of the Society worked under the cover of Polu chefs at hotels or even consulates in various metropolises, such as the Ili Hotel and the Soviet Union Office in Ili. On the one hand, the non-violent, universal, de-ethnic mutual assistance advocated by the Society indeed attracted some progressive people; on the other hand, the purpose and values of the Society also put it in danger. According to The Masterpiece of Nasreddin, to avoid possible violence and oppression by other political forces, there was a hilarious yet fascinating type of slang used among the members. It should be noted that although the Society was not bandits whatsoever, some information suggested that when the Soviet Union investigated the situation in Central Asia, it seemed to confuse the Society with many bandits. The reason might be that both had their unique communication system called "argots". Covert communication protected the secrets of the Society from being exposed and was also a tool of identity. The linguist Wolf Leslau's research concluded that there are generally three ways of creating "argot".¹⁷ One of them is to give new meaning to the daily words. Many of the Society's argots fall into this category. "The Chef" was used to refer to the regional leadership of the Society, "out of rice" meant emergency, "a broken pot" conveyed the meaning of a leaked message. In his note *The Gospel of Immortality in the Eurasian Hinterland*, a Swedish Christian missionary mentioned that he was once introduced to a moderate underground organization and recorded the so-called coded greetings practised among members. They sometimes asked about the others' understanding of religious texts, but instead of saying the whole thing, they often just spoke one or two words, and the other could already get the idea. He also described various coded body languages, such as placing teacups, touching beards, tidying up clothes, and observing each other's movements. He wrote: "Their headquarters is often called 'aşhana' (ناشخانا) (kitchen). It is not an armed organization in the general sense. It is not violent, and its members are mostly mild, enlightened, and progressive. The degree of familiarity the member had with the coded languages showed their abilities and became a means of communication to verify the identity of the visitor." Central Asia's tradition of being rich in proverbs became an interesting part of its secret language. When "ordering" food, the values represented by the Society are revealed through the covert and seemingly far-fetched conversations. Here is an example of many of those conversations:



问：河里找不到石头
 答：抓饭里找不到肉¹⁸
 问：霜后的棉花不结桃
 答：抓饭吃多了没滋味
 问：皮牙子的皮层多
 答：做抓饭的朋友多
 问：给穷人送去抓饭
 答：他反问肉多不多¹⁹
 问：性命轻于糊糊
 答：名誉赛过抓饭
 问：点的面肺子²⁰
 答：别想来抓饭²¹
 问：封斋的是我
 答：别人吃抓饭²²
 问：散兰大脑袋小
 答：抓饭米多肉少²³
 问：有了肉没有米
 答：有了油没有水²⁴
 问：吝啬鬼抓饭捂着吃
 答：大人物抓饭分着吃
 问：黑鸡下白蛋
 答：锅黑抓饭香²⁵
 问：吃完抓饭擦靴子
 答：肥水不流外人田
 问：没有不贪的苏丹²⁶
 答：没有不香的抓饭

Q: There are no stones in the river
 A: There is no meat in the Polu.¹⁸
 Q: Frosted cotton does not bear peaches
 A: Too much Polu makes it tasteless
 Q: An onion has many layers
 A: A Polu chef has many friends
 Q: Give Polu to the poor
 A: And the poor asked how much meat inside¹⁹
 Q: Life is less important than the porridge
 A: Fame is more valuable than the Polu
 Q: Ordered Mianfeizi²⁰
 A: Don't think of getting Polu²¹
 Q: I am the one who fasted
 A: While others are eating Polu²²
 Q: Turban is big while the head is small
 A: Polu has more rice and less meat²³
 Q: We have meat but no rice
 A: We have oil but no water²⁴
 Q: Misers never share their Polu
 A: A great man always shares his Polu
 Q: Black chicken can lay white eggs
 A: Black pot can cook delicious Polu²⁵
 Q: Wipe your boots after eating Polu
 A: Keep the goodies within the family
 Q: There is no sultan²⁶ who is not greedy
 A: There is no Polu that is not tasty

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此类盘问有时可以没完没了，涉及地理知识，传说、信仰、文化和行为习惯等各个方面。因此，成员必须熟悉组织的秘密语言，否则就没有信任可言。除了各式隐语，还有手势和动作可以辨识和沟通，这充分说明了协会拥有沟通联络以及开展活动的的能力。传教士还描述了这样一个场景，如果一个成员来到当地协会地点，进入茶馆后，上玫瑰茶，茶上来后不忙着喝，把茶杯转一转，一脚盘着，一脚踩地，就那样坐着，表示等人。如行为恰当，就会有人来问，从何处来？于是可报出姓名，然后就会有一系列问答，回答必须用词准确恰当。“阿什汗纳”接待的来客可能有各种需要，一些仅仅是游历四方，一些为差事奔波，一些有困难求援等等。会员来到某个地方，如果有协会，就可以得到当地会员的帮助，或获得钱财食物，或得到暂时的保护。

Such questions and answers could go on and on and touch upon topics related to geography, legends, beliefs, culture, customs, and so on. Therefore, members must be familiar with the secret language of the Society to win the trust of other members. In addition to various lingo, gestures and movements were also used as sign languages to identify members or convey covert meanings, which proved that the Society could establish communications and conduct activities. The missionary also described when a member came to a local branch of the Society, he entered the tea house and ordered a cup of rose tea. After the tea was served, he would not drink it but first turned the cup around, sat up with a leg crossed and the other foot on the ground. This would be a gesture that he was waiting for someone. If the behavior properly fitted another person's expectation, someone would approach and ask where he came from. Then the name could be reported and followed up by a series of questions and answers where the answers must be accurate and appropriate. Visitors received by "ashana" might have various needs. Some were just traveling around, some were running for errands, some were in difficulties and needed help and so on. When members came to a certain place, if there was a branch of the Society, they could get help from the local members in the forms of money, food, or temporary protection.

18 笔者改写的谚语，原意指一个人已经很不成熟。

The proverb is rewritten by the author, originally it is used to metaphorically refer to immature people.

19 同上，原意指人要感恩。Ibid., it implies that people should be grateful.

20 面肺子是以羊的内脏作为原料烹饪出的食物，最早起源于伊犁。Mianfeizi is a dish mostly made of the internal organs of sheep, which originated in Ili.

21 同上，原意指不要贪心不属于自己的东西。Ibid., it implies that people shall not be greedy for things that do not belong to them.

22 同上，原意指自己受苦但大家都在享受。Ibid., it implies that one person is suffering but everyone enjoying lives

23 同上，原意指名不副实。Ibid., it implies that someone has an undeserved reputation

24 同上，原意指非常凑巧。Ibid., it implies the situation is very unfortunate.

25 同上，原意指不要以貌取人。Ibid., it implies one shall not judge a book by its cover.

26 有“力量”、“治权”、“统治权”等意思，后来成为享有绝对主权地区的统治者头衔。It means "power", "rule", "dominion", etc., and later became the title of the regional ruler who owns absolute sovereignty.

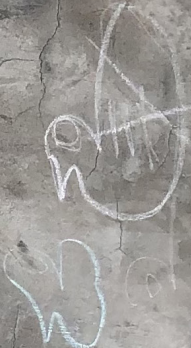
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عبدالله بن محمد بن عبد الوهاب

伊丽孜热是一个非常可爱

伊丽子又热是叫567 若若白

عبدالله بن محمد بن عبد الوهاب

عبدالله بن محمد بن عبد الوهاب







最后的佚事

作者按

作者是以一个常年热忱又谦虚的新疆迷以及中亚迷的个人角度写下此文的，文章有一部分内容改写自诸多多维基百科条目。本文基于作者在对历史和现实的理解上掺杂了一些肤浅的虚构和想象。中亚地区文化涉及面广且复杂，作者水平十分有限，如果有任何使读者感到冒犯或明显错误的地方，还请及时指出和包涵原谅。

一，来自昌吉的古丽（化名）向我透露出他们家族曾是鹰猎人（berkutchi），上世纪三十年代的时候从苏联翻山越岭，辗转逃往伊犁河流域时遇上了贵人。在中国居住了大半辈子后，现在她已经是哈萨克斯坦公民，全家移居努尔苏丹。

二，家住伊宁的陈北园（化名）表示，是在阿不都克里木的保护下，他的祖辈才躲过了无差别的屠杀——在三区武装斗争初期，阿不都克里木把一些他认识的非信教群众接到自己家里加以保护。他还下令发给每位非信教居民盖有内务厅长公章印，写着“好人，不准侵犯”字样的袖章。有两个游击队长强奸了一位姑娘，还抢走了她家的财物，阿不都克里木下令把这两个队长枪决。结果引起一些极端分子对他的诋毁，要撤销他的全部职务。因阿不都克里木的威望，故只撤销了他的内务厅长职务。

三，柯尔克孜族在饭店上班的小伙给自己起名叫 G-Dragon，他爷爷有一把库姆孜²⁷，据他说有 90 年历史，他的确稀罕那把琴，每天他都用纱布将核桃包起来，在琴杆上摩擦，直到核桃渗出的植物油将库姆孜抹得微微发亮。老人回忆父母当时说没办法了，去黑湖的雄鹰饭店，这是唯一的希望。

四，伊斯拉姆·阿克琿曾靠制作梵文的古手稿骗过了许多当时的国内外学者政客。²⁸最后被考古学家斯坦因（Marc Aurel Stein）揭穿，斯坦因没有采取进一步的行动，但给伊斯拉姆·阿克琿拍摄了一张照片。一九〇一年伊斯拉姆·阿克琿曾寻求机会前往欧洲未果，此后便渺无音讯。有人说后来在天山以北看到过他。传说中他的儿子是抓饭协会的传奇人物，极为擅长伪造文件帮助群众渡过难关。

20 世纪中期，阿不都外力在日记中写道：“我不是爱划分民族界限的人，但是我已无法再忍受身边发生的种种残暴的行为。”²⁹抓饭协会后来如何消失在历史和现实中，现在谁也说不清，笔者所知最近的佚事也止于距今一百年前的二十世纪四十年代。抓饭协会在 20 世纪初的出现，其实是与世界现代国家形成和现代化过程紧密相连的。协会的形象因未知的原因不存在了，就连他们所代表的价值也很难成为一种普遍。但就像创始人之一穆斯塔法在他的流亡日记中憧憬的那样，“我认为，未来生活在这片土地上的英雄们可以自如地在地方 - 国家 - 世界的遥远距离之间行走，跨越横在人与人、族与族，国与国之间的深堑。”³⁰

27 中亚的一种乐器。
A Central Asian instrument.

28 英国驻喀什噶尔总领事（Sir George Macartney），沙俄驻喀什噶尔总领事（Nikolai Petrovsky），瑞典传教士（Magnus Bäcklund），梵文学者霍恩雷（Rudolf Hoernlé），中国现代考古学家黄文弼（Huang Wenbi）等人。
British Consul General in Kashgar Sir George Macartney, Tsarist Russian Consul General in Kashgar Nikolai Petrovsky, Swedish missionary Magnus Bäcklund, Sanskrit scholar Rudolf Hoernlé, modern Chinese archaeologist Huang Wenbi, etc.

29 此处为笔者虚构，此句改写自三区革命领导人阿不都克里木·阿巴索夫（Abdulkirim Abbas）的爱人，伊犁商会会长杨从之女杨凤仪的遗言。
The diary portrayed here is fictitious. The quote is adapted from the last words of Yang Fengyi, the daughter of Yang Cong

who was the president of the Ili Chamber of Commerce, and lover of Abdulkirim Abbas, the leader of the Ili Rebellion.

30 穆斯塔法肖凯（Mustafa Shokay）并未在日记里写过此句，此句改写自 James a. Millward 的著作《Eurasian crossroads》，原句为：“Future heroes can span the distances between Xinjiang, China and the world as well as the divides between peoples. But to do so they will have to maintain a sense of balance.”

Muštafa Shokay did not write this sentence in his diary, this quote was adapted from the book titled *Eurasian Crossroads* by James A. Millward, the original text is: “Future heroes can span the distances between Xinjiang, China, and the world as well as the divides between peoples. But to do so they will have to maintain a sense of balance.”



The last anecdotes

1. Gül Li (a pseudonym) from Changji once disclosed their family's origin was berkutchi, known as the eagle hunters. In the 1930s, they ran across the mountains from the Soviet Union and fled to the Ili River Basin, where they met their benefactor. After living in China for most of her life, she is now a citizen of Kazakhstan, and her family has moved to Nur Sultan.

2. Chen Beiyuan (a pseudonym), who lives in Yining, said that it was under the protection of Abdulkерim that his ancestors escaped the indiscriminate massacre. At the beginning of the Ili Rebellion, Abdulkерim had taken some non-believers he knew to his own home for protection. He also ordered the issuing of armbands to non-religious residents with "Good people, No Infringement" signs and with the official seal of the Bureau of Internal Affairs. Two guerrilla company commanders raped a girl and robbed her family's property. Abdulkерim ordered the two to be executed. As a result, some extremists slandered him and wanted to remove all of his official duties. But as such a prestigious figure, Abdulkерim was only dismissed from being the Head of the Bureau of Internal Affairs.

3. The Kyrgyz guy who worked in a hotel named himself G-Dragon. His grandfather had a Kumuz²⁷ that was said to have enjoyed a history of 90 years. The instrument was very precious to him. He wrapped walnuts in gauze every day and rubbed it against the neck of the instrument until the oil oozing out of the walnut made the Kumuz slightly shiny. The old man recalled that his parents said at the time that they had no choice but to turn to the Eagle Hotel in Karakol. That place was their only hope.

4. Islam Akhun deceived many domestic and foreign scholars and politicians by producing ancient manuscripts in Sanskrit.²⁸ The counterfeits were finally exposed by archaeologist Marc Aurel Stein. Stein took no further action but took a photo of Islam Akhun. In 1901, Islam Akhun sought an opportunity to travel to Europe without success, and there has been no news since then. Some people claimed they had seen him later in the northern side of the Tian Shan Mountains. Rumour has it that his son was a legendary figure in the Society, who was very good at forging documents to help the masses tide over difficulties.

In the middle of the 20th century, Abduweli wrote in his diary: "I observed no ethnic boundaries but could not tolerate the atrocities committed around me."²⁹ It remains a mystery how the Society later vanished into history, and the latest anecdotes of this event took place one hundred years ago in the 1940s. The emergence of the Society in the early 20th century was closely connected with modern countries' formation and modernization process. The physical form of the Society ceased to exist for unknown reasons, and even the values it represented could hardly become universal. But as one of the founders, Mustafa, envisioned in his diary of the exile, "I think, future heroes can span the distances between regions, countries and the world, as well as the divides between peoples, races, and nations."³⁰



As an enthusiast of Xinjiang and Central Asia, the author humbly composed this article from a personal perspective. Part of the article is adapted from numerous Wikipedia entries. This article is based on the author's understanding of history and reality intertwined with some simple fiction and imagination. Given the fact that Central Asia enjoys extensive and complex cultures, although the article is written to the best of the author's knowledge, please pardon the author for offensive remarks or mistakes, if any.





正宗小吃

				
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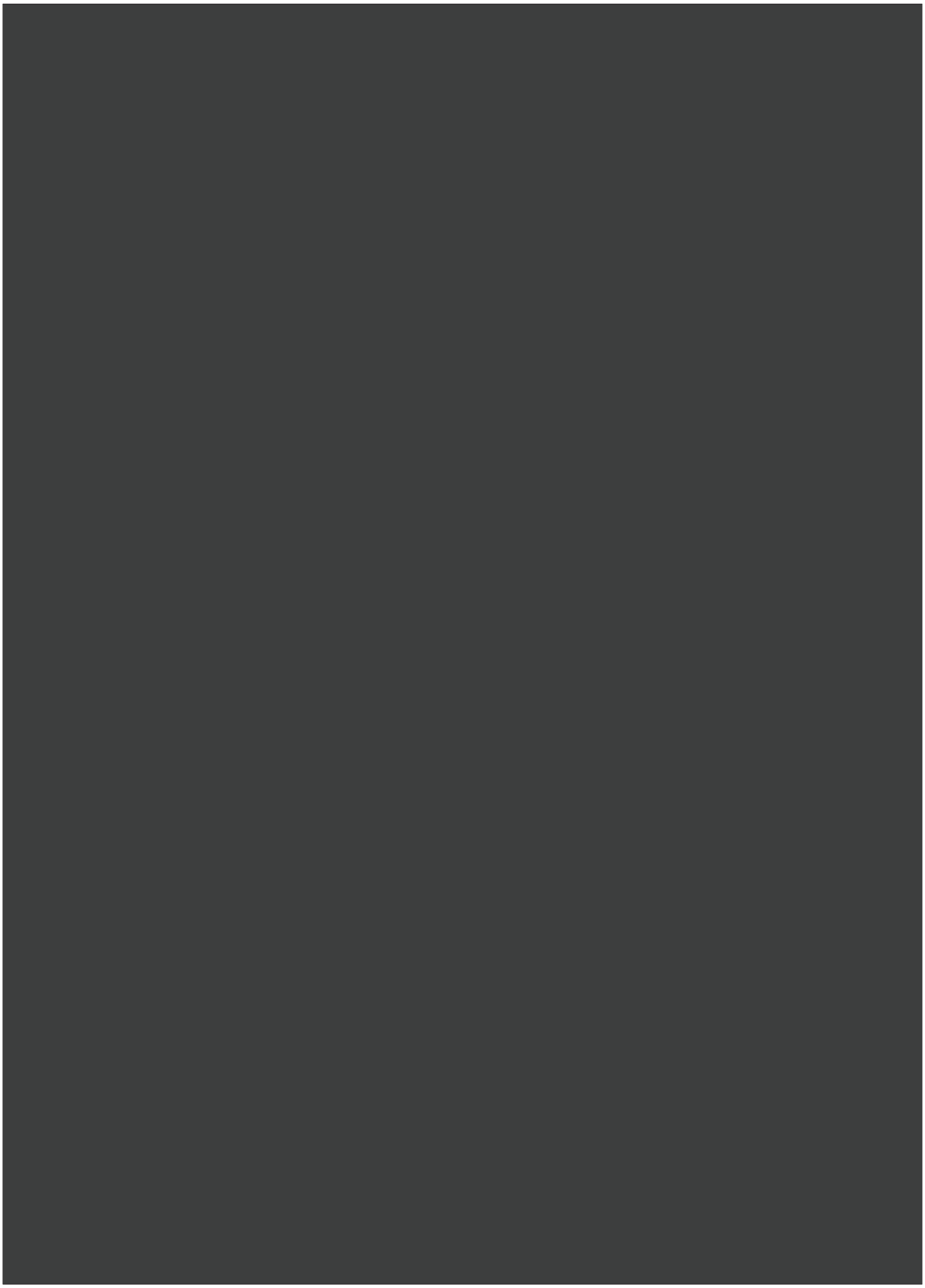
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