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ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

ADIUVANTIBUS
K. CZEGLÉDY, L. FEKETE, G. KARA, J. NÉMETH, S. TELEGDI

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INDEX

Tomus XXI

B. D. Badaraev (Ulan Ude), Notes on a List of the Various Editions of the Kanjur 339
L. Bese, On Khalkha Preverbs 225
A. Bodrogligeti, On the Turkish Vocabulary of the Iṣfahān Anonymous 15
Hilda Ecsedy, Trade-and-War Relations between the Turks and China in the Second Half of the 6th Century 131
Mary Ferenczy, Chinese Historiographers' Views on Barbarian—Chinese Relations (14—16th c.) 353
G. Hazai—P. Zieme (Berlin), Ein uigurisches Blockdruckfragment einer Einleitung zum Vajracchedikāsūtra 1
L. Kákosy, Imḥotep and Amenḥotep Son of Ḥapu as Patrons of the Dead 109
J. Káldy-Nagy, The Administration of the *Ṣanǰāq* Registrations in Hungary 181
L. Ligeti, Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs 45
L. Ligeti, Notes sur le lexique sino-tibétain de Touen-houang en écriture tibétaine ... 265
L. Lőrincz, Les recueils *Ro-sgruṅ* tibétains contenant 21 contes 317
С. Лувсанвандан (Улаанбаатар), О некоторых особенностях творчества Д. Нацагдоржа (1906—1937) 237
E. Mándoky, Devinettes tatares de Bulgarie 369
Susan L. Nádasdi, Identical Stories in the Twenty-five Tales of the Vetāla and in the Ocean of Story 363
A. Róna-Tas, A Brief Note on the Chronology of Tun-huang Collections 313
A. Róna-Tas, Marcelle Lalou (1890—1967) 381
A. Scheiber, Zwei neue Preisgedichte zu Ehren Abrahams aus Bagdad 249
R. K. Sprigg (London), The Role of *r* in the Development of the Modern Spoken Tibetan Dialects 301
G. Uray, Notes on a Chronological Problem in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* 289

Critica:

G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Bände II—III: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (L. Ligeti) 119
D. S. Loewinger—B. D. Weinryb, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau (A. Scheiber) 262
A. W. Macdonald, Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine I (L. Lőrincz) 385
Монгол ардын аман зохиолын дээж (L. Lőrincz) 261
S. N. Sen, A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics (G. Bethlenfalvy) 259
M. Taube, Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 1—4 (G. Bethlenfalvy) 386
Vedaśāstrasaṃgrahaḥ, an Anthology of the Vedas and Śāstras, Ed. by *Vishva Bandhu* (G. Bethlenfalvy) 260

Bibliographia 391

EIN UIGURISCHES BLOCKDRUCKFRAGMENT EINER EINLEITUNG ZUM VAJRACCHEDIKĀSŪTRA

VON

G. HAZAI—P. ZIEME (Berlin)

Unter den türkischen Fragmenten der Berliner Turfansammlung befindet sich eine nicht geringe Anzahl von Blockdrucken in uigurischer Schrift.[1] Wir wollen hier ein kleines, gut erhaltenes Blockdruckfragment vorlegen, dessen Text offenbar einen Teil einer Einleitung zum *Vajracchedikāsūtra*[2] bildet. Der auch in diesem Text mehrmals (3, 4, 14, 39, 46) belegte chinesische Titel ist *kim-qo-ki*.[3] Wegen des oftmaligen Vorkommens von chinesischen Namen und Bezeichnungen scheint dieses Fragment eine Übersetzung aus dem Chinesischen zu sein.

Der Blockdruck (Faltbuch) trägt die Signatur TM 43 [U 4796].[4] Das Fragment umfaßt insgesamt 47 Zeilen; zwischen den Zeilen 6/7 und 41/42 stehen chinesische Zahlzeichen: 二 (2) und 三 (3).[5] Aufgrund dieser Zahlzeichen kann man vermuten, daß vom Anfang des Textes nur wenig fehlt.[6]

Zwei Merkmale sprechen dafür, daß die türkischen Zeilen senkrecht gelesen werden müssen: einmal sind es die chinesischen Zahlzeichen, die eben-

[1] Die Blockdrucke sind alle buddhistischen Inhalts. In den folgenden Werken sind uigurische Blockdrucke veröffentlicht: (Berlin:) U II, S. 27—50; 50—75; TT, VI (vgl. S. 10); TT, VII Nr. 15, 16, 18, 40; ATG, S. 22—25; ETŞ, Nr. 16—27; (Leningrad:) *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*; *Kuanši-im pusar* S. 69—82, 103—109; USpr. Nr., 58, 59, 89, 90 (z. T. Berlin); *Huang Wên-pi*, Tafel 78, 96, 97, 98. Vgl. A. von Gabain, *Die Drucke der Turfan- Samlung*, Berlin 1967 (= SDAW Nr. 1).

Wertvolle Hinweise, besonders zu den chinesischen Namen, verdanken wir Prof. L. Ligeti.

[2] Es ist möglich, daß sich die Angaben bei D. Sinor, *A középázsiai török buddhizmusról*, KCsA Ergänzungsband I, S. 371 auf das vorliegende Fragment beziehen.

[3] Vgl. TT V Anm. B 1; ferner: T II M 12—42 [U 2724] v 2—3 (unpubl.) /// *i tïltaγïnta kim-qo-ki* (mit chinesischer Glosse in roter Schrift: 金剛經 *Kin-kang-king*) *atl(ï)γ včračitak sudur-ta* [*t(ä)ngri*] *burqan y(a)rlïqamïši bar*: «Im *kim-qo-ki* genannten *Vajracchedikāsūtra* geruht der göttliche Buddha zu sagen:». Die uigurische Form *kim-qo-ki* beruht auf einer Lautung aus der T'ang-Zeit (altchin.: *kiəm-kâng-kieng*), s. B. Csongor, *Chinese in the Uighur script of the T'ang-period*, in: AOH II, 94, 112, 115.

[4] Aus der Signatur ist der Fundort nicht ersichtlich. Die *U*-Nummern beziehen sich auf die neue Numerierung der Berliner türkischen Fragmente.

[5] Vgl. A. von Gabain, *Alt-türkisches Schrifttum*, S. 7.

[6] Ca. 30 Zeilen (?)

falls senkrecht zu lesen sind, zum anderen ist es die Tatsache, daß der eine (d. h. der obere) Rand breiter ist als der andere (d. h. der untere).[7] Ursprünglich wurde die uigurische Schrift waagerecht gelesen, selbst in der ersten Zeit der Herstellung von Blockdrucken las man die Zeilen noch waagerecht,[8] und erst in relativ später Zeit stellte man sich darauf um, die Zeilen senkrecht zu lesen. Auch die Orthographie der Blockdrucke überhaupt, wie auch des vorliegenden Fragments, zeugt von einer späten Abfassungszeit (*d* für *t* z. B. 21, 44; *t* für *d* z. B. 17; *s* für *z* z. B. 14, 27).

Text

1. *-in ol tavγač qan ki-čio atl(ï)γ balïq-taqï uluγ vrqar*
2. *-nïng törtünč-qat sïngdaqï qalïγ ičintä bu toquz*
3. *älig šlok-luγ : kimqoki nomuγ bitidip urdï : amtü-qa-*
4. *-tägi taqï bar ärür : ymä bu kimqoki atl(ï)γ nom ärdini*
5. *ärsär tükäl bilgä t(ä)ngri t(ä)ngrisi burqan-nïng titrüm*
6. *täring yorüglüg üduq nom y(a)rlïγï-nïng täringi inčkäsi*
7. *ärür : täringdä täring yorügin ärtingü alp tänglägülük*
8. *ärür : kim alqu burqan-lar arïγ-ïn kälmiš-lär : inčä*
9. *ärmäz-lär qamaγ-un barča bu nom ärdini oγur-ïnta*
10. *törümäsär b(ä)lgürmäsär-lär inčip užik itig king*
11. *yorüg üzä bošγunmaq-tïn bilgäli uqγalï bolsar*
12. *ymä : näng inčip kingin täringin tüpkärgäli ardï*
13. *ymä bolmaz : birük bu toquz älig šlok ärmädi ärsär :*
14. *bu kimqoki nom-nung yorügi ymä uqulmaγay kösünmägäy*
15. *ärti : anïn kim-lär birük muntaqï yorüg-čä bišrunsar*
16. *yorïsar-lar adaq-lar-ïn irklämätin ärdini-lig v(a)žir-lïγ*
17. *taγ-qa aqdinγalï uyur : titrü köni uqup kirtgünsär*
18. *-lär : tutsar-lar : kongül-lär-in amïrtγurup nirvan-lïγ*
19. *intin qïdïγ-qa ärtgäli uyur : bu muntaγ asïγ tusu*
20. *qïldačï üčün bu nom ärdini : anïn ol šlok-larïγ tükäl*
21. *bitidti : king alqïγ tüpsüz täring yorüglüküg ol šlok-larïγ*
22. *ymä qamaγ toquz älig bölük ol käzikčä : kin basa*
23. *ärür yana bir adïn adï baγ-ï b(ä)lgüsüz bilgä kälip :*
24. *munga yivädi biš šlok sözlädi : ašnu-qï toquz älig*
25. *šlok birlä qamaγu tört altmiš bölük boltï : bular-*
26. *-nï üzä timin bilgä bilig uquldï köni yorüg*
27. *kösündi : qaltï bilgä biliglig kün t(ä)ngri yoq quruγ*

[7] Vgl. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei*, in: PhTF II, S. 177.
[8] Vgl. A. von Gabain, a. a. O., S. 182.

28. *töz-lig kök q̈alïγ-ta tuγsar b(ä)lgürsär : ančulayu*
29. *kälmiš-ning arïγ yiri anta timin yaruyur közünür*
30. *dyan saqïnč-lïγ y(i)ti q̈ïlïč kǫngül-lüg ilig-tä*
31. *kirsär tutulsar : tuγmaq ölmäk sansar-lïγ s̱mnu šǫǫ-*
32. *-si ötrü timin bošulur yoq̈adur : q̈ačan kiši-li nom-*
33. *-lï ikigü-ni tarqarsar . bar-lï yoq-lï birlä*
34. *kitärsär baštïnqï ärür bu yǫrüg ạrtuq taqï nägü-lüg ol*
35. *birük törtünč qat sïngdaqï qalïγ qačan bošulsar :*
36. *örtänsär : anta bitimiš uẕik-lar s̱lok-lar ägsüsär*
37. *tüš-sär : ötünür-biz kin ödtäki yalanguq-lar-nïng*
38. *töz-in bu bitig-tä körüp ötügümüz-ni sïqurup : iki-*
39. *-läyü anï ornạdzun-lar : tükädi kimqoki atl(ï)γ nom*
40. *ärdini ičintäki tört altmïš bölük taq̈ẕut-luγ s̱lok*
41. *-lar-nïng törümiš tïltaγ-ï sụụ yǫrügi :: ::*

42. *namo buday-a : namo d(a)rmay-a : nama sanggay-a*
43. *yuu (vuu?) tayš̱i atl(ï)γ b(ä)lgürtmä äd'özlüg kiši körklüg*
44. *ayaγ-qa tägimlig tözün maytri bodistv-nïng lovuḍi*
45. *atl(ï)γ tavγač qan-qa yaṇgïrtï taqš̱urup nomlayu y(a)rlï-*
46. *-q̈amïš kimqoki sudur-ṇung toquz älig s̱lok yǫrügi ::*
47. *yana bir adïn aḍï bayï b(ä)lgüsüz bilgä sözlämiš*

Übersetzung

(1) . . . Jener chinesische Qan ließ, in der *ki-čio* genannten chinesischen Stadt (Präfektur), (2) im des im vierten ? befindlichen Stockwerk des großen Klosters, (3) den 49 Verse (śloka) umfassenden Lehrtext *kimqoki* abschreiben und niederlegen Bis jetzt (4) besteht er noch. Was nun dieses *kimqoki* genannte Lehrjuwel (5) betrifft, so ist es die Tiefe und Feinheit des mit der tiefgründigen (Hend.) Deutung versehenen und heiligen Lehrausspruchs des allerweisen Götter-Gottes *Buddha*. (7) Seine allertiefste Deutung ist äußerst schwer zu ermessen, (8) denn: alle *Buddhas* sind in Reinheit gekommen. (9) Sie wären so nicht, wenn sie alle (Hend.) infolge des Lehrjuwels nicht geboren und erschienen wären. (10) Wenn man aber die Buchstaben-Ausstattung (11) nach der ausführlichen Deutung durch das Lernen erkennt und versteht, (12) so kann man dennoch dessen Weite und Tiefgründigkeit überhaupt nicht ergründen. (13) Wenn nun diese 49 Verse nicht wären, (14) dann würde auch nicht die Deutung des *kimqoki*-Lehrtextes verstanden werden und nicht erscheinen. (15) Deshalb können nun diejenigen aber, die nach der hiesigen Deutung heranreifen (16) und wandeln, zum Juwelen- und Diamanten-Berg gelangen (wrtl.: sich ergießen), ohne mit den Füßen einen Schritt zu

machen. (17) Wenn man fest und wahrhaftig versteht und glaubt (18) und (an der Lehre) festhält, kann man mit beruhigtem Sinn (nach Beruhigung der Sinne) (19) zum jenseitigen Ufer des *Nirvāṇa* gelangen. (20) Weil dieses Lehrjuwel einen solcherartigen Nutzen (Hend.) zu schaffen vermag, deshalb ließ er jene Verse vollkommen abschreiben, (21) (d. h.) die ausführliche, weite und tiefgründige (Hend.) Deutung, jene Verse. (22) Und das sind alle 49 Teile nach der Reihenfolge. (23) Später darauf geschah es, daß wieder ein Weiser, dessen Name und Sippe (*bayγ*) unbezeichnet ist, kam (24), dieses ergänzte und 5 Verse sprach. Mit den vorherigen 49 Versen (25) zusammen wurden es insgesamt 54 Teile. (26) Durch diese wurde sofort die Weisheit verstanden, und die wahrhaftige Deutung (27) erschien. Wie die Sonne der Weisheit am (28) Firmament (Hend.) der nichtigen, leeren Wurzel erscheint (Hend.) so (29) wird dort sofort des So-Gekommenen (*Tathāgata*) reiner Ort sichtbar (Hend.). (30) Wenn man zu dem Fürsten, der mit den Meditations-Gedanken und mit der scharf (wie) ein Schwert seienden Gesinnung ausgestattet ist, (31) eingeht und (dort) gehalten wird, dann wird Šmnu's Heer des Geborenenwerdens und Sterbens, des *Saṃsāra*, (32) darauf sofort vernichtet werden und vergehen. Wenn man sowohl den Menschen als auch die Lehre entfernt und wenn man sowohl das Sein als auch das Nicht-Sein vernichtet, (34) dann ist das erste diese Deutung, was ist schließlich dann noch? (35) Wenn nun das im vierten des [?] befindliche Stockwerk vernichtet wird (36) und verbrennt, und wenn dort die geschriebenen Silben und Verse verloren gehen (Hend.) sollten, (37) dann bitten wir den Stamm der später (lebenden) Menschen, (38) sie mögen nach dieser Schrift schauen, unsere Bitten sammeln und (39) sie (d. h. die Schrift) wiederum niederlegen. Es ist vollendet die Vorwort-Deutung, die Veranlassung des Schaffens der 54 Teile der Gedichts-Verse des *kimqoki* genannten Lehrjuwels::

:: (42) Verehrung dem *Buddha*, Verehrung dem Gesetz, Verehrung der Gemeinde. (43—46) Das ist die Deutung der 49 Verse des *kimqoki*-Sutras, die der mit dem Erscheinungskörper namens *yuu* (*vuu*?) *tayši*, mit Menschen-Antlitz (ausgestattete), verehrungswürdige, edle *Maitreya-Bodhisattva* dem chinesischen Qan *Lovuḍi* von neuem vorzutragen und zu predigen geruht hat. (47) Wiederum sprach ein anderer Weiser, dessen Name und Sippe (*bayγ*) unbezeichnet ist, . . .

Anmerkungen zum Text

1. *ki-čio* chinesisch 京兆 (eine Fu-Präfektur)
2. *qat sïng* ?; vgl. Z. 35.
6. Die vorwiegend in adjektivischer Funktion gebrauchten Nomina *täring* und *inčkä* haben hier substantivische Funktion. Vgl. TT X Anm. 557 (S. 39).
8. *inčä*: nach G. Doerfer (GGA, 1964, S. 276) *ïnča* zu lesen, weil tuv. *ïnča* (vgl. *Russk.—tuv. slovar'*, S. 578).

16. *irklä-*: vgl. Kāsγ. *ärklä-* [*erkle-*] «*çiğnemek, basmak*» [Endeks, B. Atalay].
19. *intin* «jenseitig»: vgl. A. von Gabain, *Briefe der uegurjschen Hüen-tsang-Biographie*, SPAW (1938), 131—180, Anm. 1810; R. R. Arat, ETŞ 12_{42}.
27. *kün t(ä)ngri* «Sonne»; vgl. TT V, S. 13, Anm. A 5.
31. *šo̧o̧*: vgl. TT X, S. 58; G. Doerfer, *Mongolische und türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III, S. 282—285.
32—34. Der gleiche Text [*qačan . . . kitärsär*] kommt in einem Fragment eines Kommentars zum *Vajracchedikāsūtra* (?) vor, Blatt 7, r 2—4 (von diesem Text existiert jedoch nur noch eine alte Transkription, das Original ist offenbar verloren).
42. *nama* einmal für sonstiges *namo*; vgl. U II, S. 51, Anm. 1; ETŞ, 101.
43. *yuu* (*vuu*)?
43. *b(ä)lgürtmä ät'öz*: vgl. TT V Anm. A 33; Suv. 40_{14}—42_{11}, worin der «Erscheinungskörper» ausführlich erklärt wird; Ş. Tekin, *Buddhistische Trinitätslehre in der Goldglanz-Sutra*, in: UAJb 33 (1961), S. 187—192.
44. *ayaγqa tägimlig*: Zu diesem Begriff vgl. P. Aalto, in: Studia Altaica (Poppe-Festschrift), S. 17—22.
44/45. *lovuḍi* : *lovuti*, chin. 梁武帝 *Liang Wu-ti* (502—549), altchin. *li̯ang-mi̯u-tiei*. Als Form der T'ang-Zeit erwartet man *Lo* (genauer: *Lyo*) *wu-ti*, d. i. der Kaiser *Wu-ti* der *Liang*-Dynastie, der sich 517 dem Buddhismus zuwandte. In dieser Zeit erlebte der chinesische Buddhismus auch eine große Blütezeit; es wurden sehr viele buddhistische Bauten geschaffen, und eine große Zahl von Übersetzungen buddhistischer Werke wurde angefertigt. Vgl. O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* II, 163—168, III, 277—280.
Der Name dieses chinesischen Kaisers taucht noch öfter in den türkischen Fragmenten auf, u. a. T II M 12—9 [U 2698] v 4; T II M 12—27 [U 2713] v 3; T II S 53—501 [U 2973] (unpubl.).

— Ein anderes Blockdruckfragment (ohne Fundortsignatur, [U 4463]) enthält den gleichen Text, aber von einer anderen Vorlage(?). Das Fragment U 4463 entspricht den Zeilen 26—41 von TM 43 [U 4796].
Folgende Unterschiede bestehen:
1. Keine chin. Numerierung der Druckbögen (wie TM 43)
2. Das Blatt ist schmaler als TM 43 (21,8 cm gegenüber von 22,3 cm von TM 43). Ebenso verhält es sich mit der Breite des Schriftsatzes (16,8 cm gegenüber 17,3 cm von TM 43).
3. Während die Papierfarbe von TM 43 (hell)braun ist, ist U 4463 (hell)-weißlich.
An Textvarianten ist nur eine Stelle zu vermerken:
U 4463 Z. 12: *kin ödtäki yalnguq-lar nom-nung* (Fehler?)
TM 43 Z. 37: *kin ödtäki yalnguq-lar-nıng*

Wortindex

a- 'Pers. Pron. 3. P. Sg.' 15, 20, 39
ad̲ «Name» 23, 47
adaq «Fuß» 16
adïn «anderer» 23, 47
a̤lp «schwierig» 7
alqïγ «weit» 21
alqu «alle» 8
altmïš «sechzig» 25, 40
a̤mïrtγur- «beruhigen» 18
a̤mtï «jetzt» 3
ančulayu «so» 28
anta «dort» 29, 36
aqd̲ïn- «s. ergießen» 17
arïd̲ï 'Negationsverstärkung' 12
arïγ «rein» 8, 29
a̤rtuq «schließlich» 34
asïγ «Nutzen» 19
ašnu «früher» 24
atl(ï)γ «genannt» 1, 4, 39, 43, 45
ayaγ «Verehrung» 44
ägsü- «ermangeln» 36
älig «fünfzig» 3, 13, 22, 24, 46
är- «sein» 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 13, 15, 23, 34
ärdini «Edelstein» 4, 9, 16, 20, 40
ärt- «vergehen» 19
ärtingü «sehr» 7, 19
ät'öz «Körper» 43
baγ «Bande» 23, 34, 47
balïq «Stadt» 1
bar «vorhanden» 4, 33
barča «alle» 9
basa «später» 22
baštïnqï «erster» 34
b(ä)lgür- «erscheinen» 10, 28, 43
b(ä)lgüsüz «zeichenlos» 23, 47
bïšrun- «pflegen» 15
bil- «wissen» 11
bilgä «weise» 5, 23, 26, 27, 47
bilig «Wissen» 26, 27
bir «eins» 23, 47
birlä «zusammen» 25, 33
birük «aber» 13, 15, 35
biš «fünf» 24
biti- «schreiben» 36
bitid̲- «schreiben lassen» 3, 21
bitig «Schrift» 38
bodistv «ein werdender Buddha» 44
bol- «werden» 11, 13, 25
bošγun- «lernen» 11
bošul- «befreit werden» 32, 35
bölük «Abschnitt» 22, 25, 40
bu «dies» 2, 4, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 34, 38
budaya s. *namo budaya*
burqan «Buddha» 5, 8
d(a)rmaya s. *namo d(a)rmaya*
dyan «Meditation» 30
ïduq «heilig» 6
ič «innen» 2, 40
iki «zwei» 33
ikiläyü «von neuem» 39
ilig «König» 30
inčä «so» 8
inčip «aber» 10, 12
inčkä «fein» 6
intin «jenseitig» 19
irklä- «auftreten» 16
itig «Ausstattung» 10
käl- «kommen» 8, 23, 29
käzik «Reihenfolge» 22
ki-čio 'chin. Ortsname' 1, 45
kim «wer; derjenige» 8, 15
kim-qo-ki 'chin. Titel' 3, 4, 14, 39, 46
kin «später» 22, 37
king «weit» 10, 12, 21
kir- «eintreten» 31
kirtgün- «glauben» 17
kiši «Mensch» 32, 43
kitär- «entfernen» 34
kök «Himmel» 28

köni «wahr» 17, 26
kǫngül «Herz» 18, 30
kör- «sehen» 38
körklüg «schön» 43
közün- «sichtbar sein» 14, 27, 29
kün «Tag» 27
lovuḍi 'chin. Name' 44
maytri 'Maitreya' 44
muntaγ «so» 19
muntaqï «hiesig» 15
munga «diesem» 24
nama sanggaya «Verehrung der Gemeinde» 42
namo budaya «Verehrung dem Buddha» 42
namo d(a)rmaya «Verehrung dem Gesetz» 42
nägülüg «wie» 34
näng 'Negationsverstärkung' 12
nïrvan 'Nirvāṇa' 18
nom «Lehre» 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 20, 32, 39
nomla- «predigen» 45
oγur «Zeit» 9
ol «jener» 1, 20, 21, 22, 34
ornaḍ- «feststellen» 39
öd «Zeit» 37
öl- «sterben» 31
örtän- «verbrennen» 36
ötrü «dann» 32
ötüg «Bitte» 38
ötün- «bitten» 37
qačan «als» 32, 35
qalïγ «Stockwerk» 2, 28, 35
qaltï «als» 27
qamaγ «alle» 22
qamaγu «alle» 25
qamaγun «insgesamt» 9
qan «Qan» 1, 45
qat «Kal» 2,35
qïdïγ «Grenze» 19
qïl- «tun» 20
qïlïč «Schwert» 30
quruγ «trocken» 27
sansar «Kreislauf der Existenzen» 31
sanggaya s. *nama sanggaya*
saqïnč «Gedanke» 30
sïng «?» 2, 35
sïqur- «sammeln» 38
sözlä- «berichten» 24, 47
sudur «sūtra; Lehrvortrag Buddhas» 46
sụụ «Vorwort» 41
šlok «Vers» 3, 13, 20, 21, 24, 25, 36, 40, 46
šmnu 'skr. *māra*' 31
šọọ «Heer» 31
taγ «Berg» 17
tayši «Meister» 43
taqï «und» 4, 34
taqšur- «vortragen» 45
taqšut «Gedicht» 40
tarqar- «entfernen» 33
tavγač «chinesisch» 1, 45
tägimlig «wert» 44
tänglä- «ermessen» 7
t(ä)ngri «Gott» 5, 5, 27
täring «tief» 6, 6, 7, 7, 12, 21
tïltaγ «Ursache» 41
timin «alsbald» 26, 29, 31
titrü «genau» 17
titrüm «tiefgründig» 5
toquz «neun» 2, 13, 22, 24, 46
tört «vier» 2, 25, 35, 40
törü- «entstehen» 10, 41
töz «Wurzel, Stamm» 28, 38
tözün «edel» 44
tuγ- «geboren werden» 28, 31
tusu «Nutzen» 19
tut- «fassen» 18, 31
tükä- «zu Ende gehen» 39
tükäl «vollständig» 5, 20
tüpsüz «grundlos» 21
tüpkär- «ergründen» 12
tüš- «fallen» 37

u- «können» 17, 19
uluγ «groß» 1
uq- «verstehen» 11, 14, 17, 26
ur- «schlagen» 3
užik «Buchstabe» 10, 36
üčün «wegen» 20
üzä «auf, über» 11, 26
v(a)rqar «Kloster» 1
v(a)žïr «Diamant» 16
yalanguq «Mensch» 37
yana «wiederum» 23, 47
yangïrtï «von neuem» 45
y(a)rlïγ «Befehl» 6
y(a)rlïqa- «befehlen» 46
yaru «erstrahlen» 29
ymä «und, sowie» 4, 12, 13, 14, 22
yir «Land, Erde» 29
y(i)ti «scharf» 30
yivä- «ergänzen» 24
yoq «nicht vorhanden» 27, 33
yoqad- «vergehen» 32
yorï- «wandeln» 16
yo̲rüg «Deutung» 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 21, 26, 34, 41, 46
yuu [*vuu?*] 'chin. Name' 43

Grammatischer Index

I. Affixe an Nominalstämmen

a. $^{+}lük$: 7, 21
$^{+}lïγ$: 16, 18, 30, 31; $^{+}l(ï)γ$: 1, 4, 39, 43, 45; $^{+}luγ$: 3, 40; ^{+}lig: 16, 27, 28, 44; $^{+}lüg$: 6, 30, 34, 43, 43
$^{+}süz$: 21, 23, 47
^{+}li- $^{+}lï$: 32—33; $^{+}lï$- $^{+}lï$: 33
$^{+}gü$: 33, 34
$^{+}ünč$: 2, 35

b. ^{+}lar: 8, 16, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 36, 36, 37, 39, 41; $^{+}lär$: 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 18
$^{+}üz$: 38

c. $^{+}üm$: 38
$^{+}ï$: 6, 9, 23, 23, 41, 47, 47; ^{+}i: 2, 6, 7, 14, 18, 29, 38, 40, 41, 46; ^{+}si: 5, 6, 32

d. $^{+}ïγ$: 20, 21; $^{+}uγ$: 3; $^{+}üg$: 21; $^{+}nï$: 26, 39; ^{+}ni: 33, 38; ^{+}n 7, 18, 38
$^{+}ning$: 2, 5, 6, 37, 40, 44; $^{+}nung$: 14; $^{+}nung$: 46; $^{+}ning$: 29
$^{+}q̈a$: 3, 17, 19; ^{+}qa: 44, 45; $^{+}n̲ga$: 24
^{+}ta: 1, 28; ^{+}da: 2, 35; $^{+}tä$: 30, 37, 38; $^{+}dä$: 7; ^{+}nta: 9, 15, 29, 36; $^{+}ntä$: 2, 40
$^{+}tïn$: 11, 34
^{+}n: 9; ^{+}an: 32, 35; $^{+}ïn$: 8, 15, 16, 20; ^{+}in: 1(?), 12 12; $^{+}ün$: 44,
$^{+}čä$: 15, 22

e. $^{+}qï$: 1, 2, 24, 35; $^{+}q̈ï$: 15, 35; ^{+}ki: 37, 40

f. ^{+}a: 39, 46; ^{+}u: 32, 36, 35
^{+}r: 10, 28, 45
^{+}la: 28, 45; $^{+}lä$: 7, 16, 24, 39, 47
^{+}ad: 32
$^{+}kär$ 12

II. Affixe an Verbalstämmen

a. *-q̈*: 11, 14, 17, 26
-r: 15, 45; *-ar*: 33; *-är*: 34; *-ur*: 38
-ÿur: 18
-d̲: 3, 12, 17, 21, 39; *-t*: 18, 19, 43, 45
-l: 32, 35; *-ul*: 14, 26, 31
-n̲: 11, 36; *-ïn*: 17; *-un̲*: 15; *-ün*: 27, 29; *-ün̲*: 14, 37
-ma: 13, 14; *-mä*: 9, 10, 10, 13, 14

b. *-d*: 3, 13, 24, 24, 26, 27, 39; *-t*: 15, 21, 25
-ÿay: 14; *-gäy*: 14
-sar: 11, 15, 16, 18, 28, 31, 33, 35; *-sär*: 5, 10, 10, 13, 17, 28, 31, 34, 36, 36,37

c. *-ur*: 32, 32; *-yur*: 17, 19, 29; *-ür*: 4, 7, 8, 23, 29, 34, 37
-z: 9, 13
-müš: 46; *-miš*: 8, 29, 36, 41, 47
-dačï: 20

d. *-ï*: 3, 25, 26; *-i*: 13, 15, 21, 24, 27, 39
-zun: 39
-biz: 37

e. *-up*: 17, 18, 38, 45; *-ip*: 3, 23; *-üp*: 38
-ï: 12, 45; *-yu*: 28, 45; *-yü*: 39
-ÿalï: 11, 17; *-gälï*: 11, 12, 19
-mätin: 16
-ïn: 23, 47

f. *-mä*: 43
-maq: 11, 31; *-mäk*: 31
-im: 44
-g: 38; *-ɣ*: 8, 27, 29, 41; *-ïɣ*: 19, 19, 21; *-ig*: 10, 26, 27; *-üg*: 6, 7, 11, 15, 21, 26, 34, 38, 41, 46; *-q*: 37; *-ik*: 22; *-ük*: 22, 25, 40
-ïnč: 30
-t: 40
-l: 5, 20
-gä: 5, 23, 26, 27, 47

Abkürzungen:

AOH	= *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.*
ATG	= A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1950)
ETŞ	= R. R. Arat, *Eski Türk şiiri* (Ankara 1965)
GGA	= *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
Ht VII	= A. von Gabain, *Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang-Biographie* (Berlin 1938)
Huang Wên-pi	= Huang Wên-pi, *T'u-lu-fan k'ao-ku ki*, in: *K'ao-ku-hüe*, Nr. 3 (Peking 1954)

KCsA = *Kőrösi Csoma Archívum*
Kuan-ši-im pusar = W. Radloff, *Kuan-ši-im Pusar*: *Bibliotheca Buddhica* 14 (Petersburg 1911)
PhTF = *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I (Wiesbaden 1959), II (Wiesbaden 1965)
SDAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
Suvarṇaprabhāsa = W. Radloff und S. E. Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*: *Bibliotheca Buddhica* 17 und 27 (Petersburg 1913 und 1930)
TT = *Türkische Turfan-Texte*
U II = F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II (Berlin 1910)
UAJb = *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher*
USpr = W. Radloff und S. E. Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (Leningrad 1928)

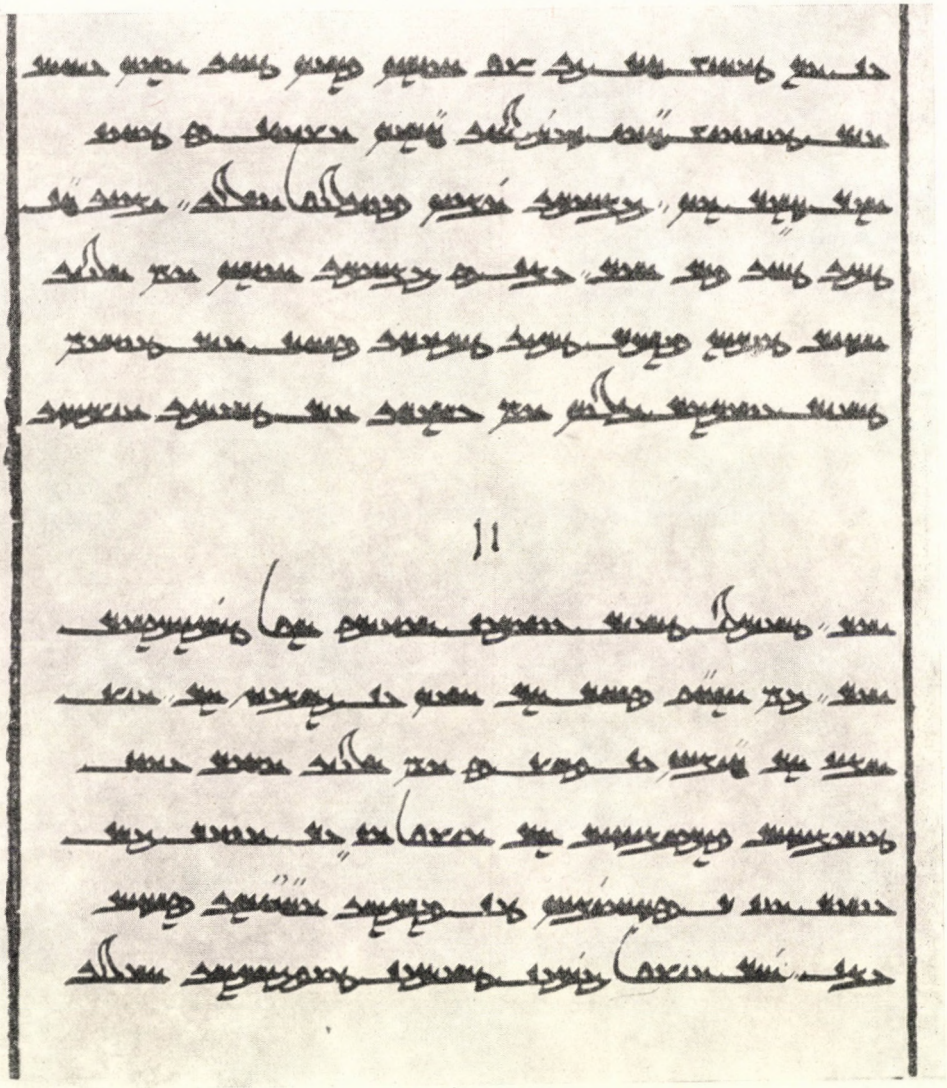
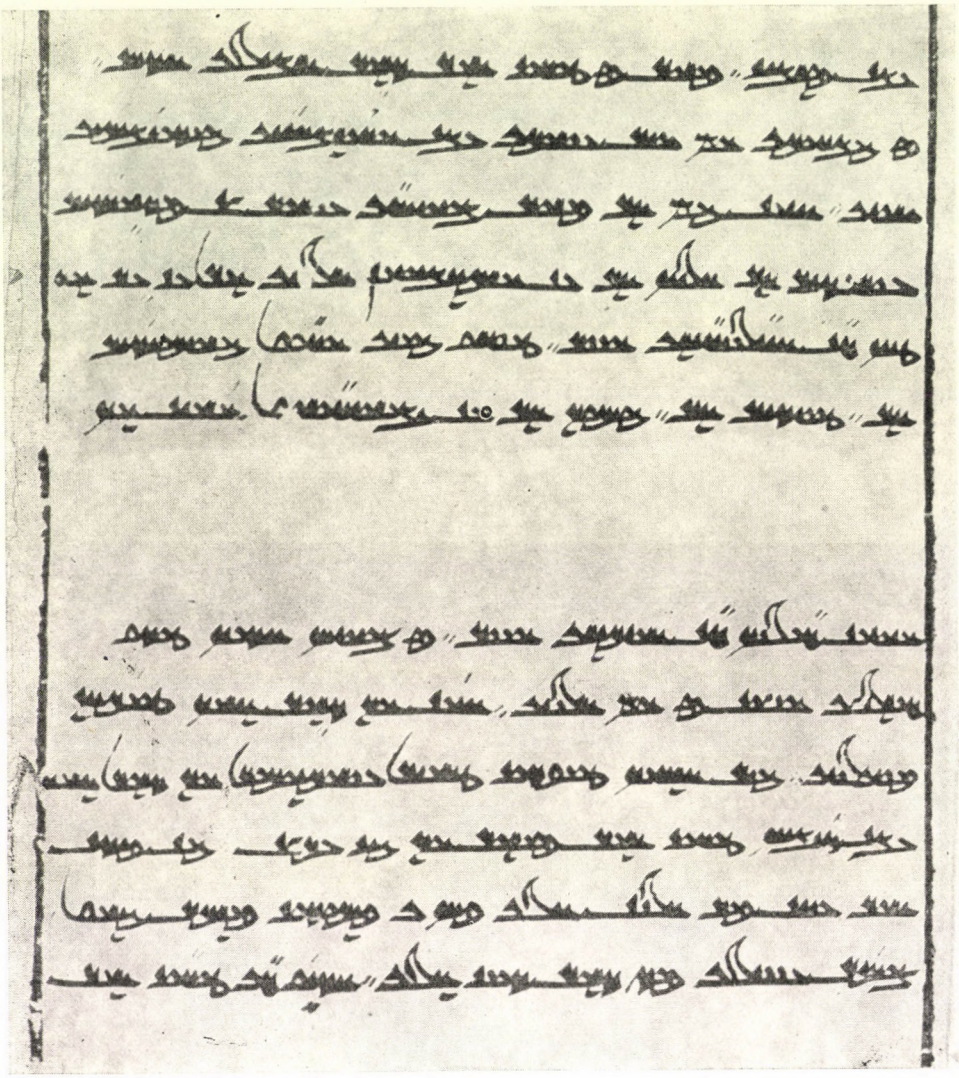


Abb. 1



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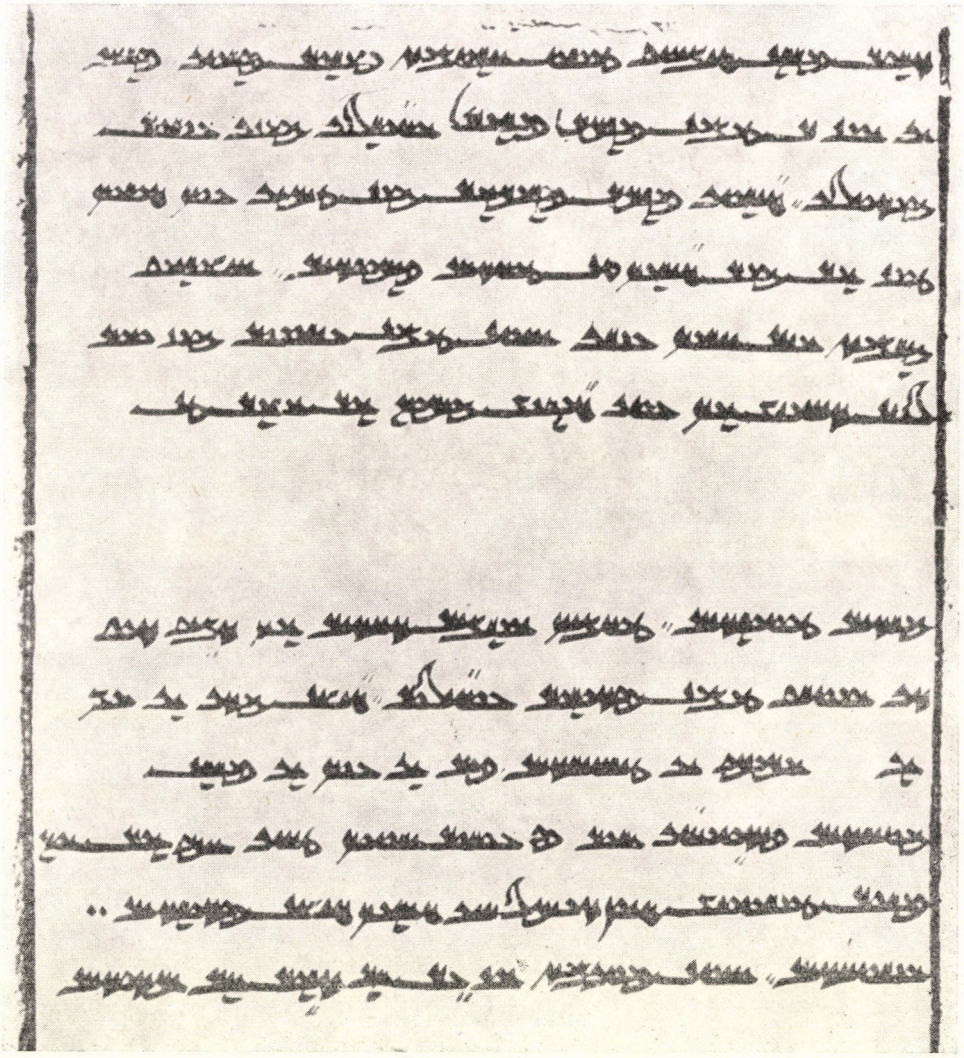

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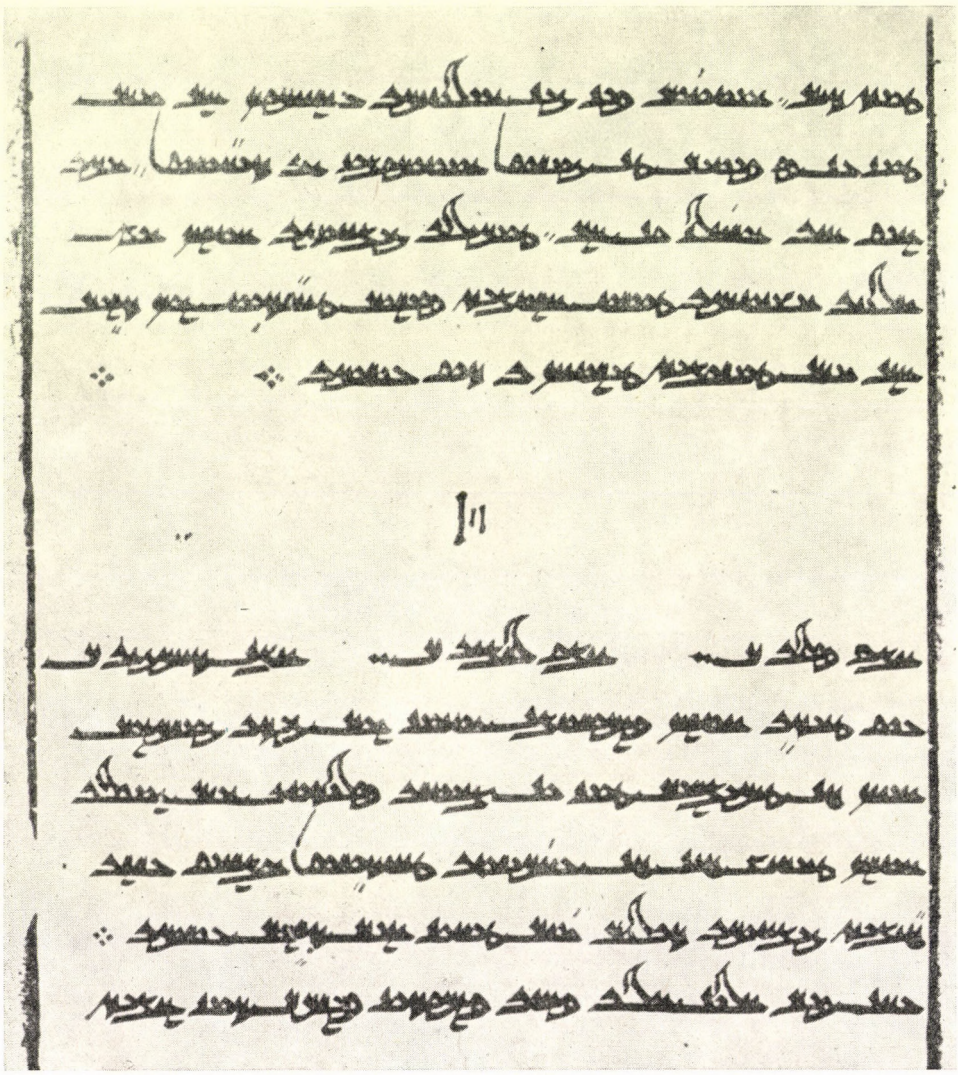

Abb. 4

ON THE TURKISH VOCABULARY OF THE IṢFAHAN ANONYMOUS

BY

A. BODROGLIGETI

1. The Carmelites' Mission to Persia, with their seat in Iṣfahān, in the 17th and 18th centuries, marked an important stage in the research of New Persian. The urgent need to possess a profound knowledge of the language the local population used led the missionaries to study carefully both literary Persian and its local dialects. The outcome of their linguistic and literary activity (translations,[1] grammars,[2] glossaries[3]) is an important contribution to the history and dialectology of the Persian language.

Among the lexicographic works of the Carmelites there is an extensive trilingual Glossary (containing about 9500 items) preserved in the Borghese collection of the Vatican library and described by E. Rossi in his *Elenco*.[4] The MS consists of 243 *recto* and *verso* pages, with twenty lines on every page. The pages are divided into three columns, one for the Italian entry words running in alphabetic order, the second for their Persian equivalents. One

[1] *Bio-Bibliographia Carmelitarum* (Romae 1939) gives a list of translations into Persian made by Carmelite Missionaries. Very fertile was the activity of Father Johannes Thaddeus a S. Eliseo, one of the first Carmelite missionaries to Persia, who lived there from 1604 to 1628.

[2] *Bio-Bibliographia* mentions the following grammars of the Carmelites: *Grammatica Linguae Persicae* of Ignatius a Jesu, *Grammatica cum Doctrina Christiana in ling. Persica et Turcica*. There is a short grammatical sketch in the introduction of the *Gazophylacium* (pp. 1—18).

[3] One of the most significant lexicographic works of the Carmelites is a Latin—Persian dictionary preserved in the Vatican Library with the title *Dictionarium Latino—Persicum cum caracteribus latinis qui declarant ipsa verba persica idest persicum caracterem*. The author is Father Ignatio a Jesu (cf. Rossi, *Elenco*, Borg. Pers. 15). A philological description of the MS is being prepared by Miss E. Jeremias at Budapest University. *Bio-Bibliographia* mentions other glossaries as well, e.g. *Vocabularium Persico—Italicum* of Dimas a Cruce, *Vocabolario persiano e toscano*, *Dictionarium Turco—Persiano—Arabo—Tedesco—Latino—Italiano—Francese* of Barnabas a S. Carolo, *Dictinarium Italo—Persicum* and *Gazophylacium* of Angelus a S. Josepho.

[4] Rossi, Ettore, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della biblioteca vaticano* = *Studi e testi* 136, Città del Vaticano 1948. Borg. Pers. No. 14, p. 169.

column, the third one on *recto* pages and the first one on *verso* pages, contains the Turkish part of the Glossary.

The comparison of the three columns is instructive. The Persian part of the Glossary is a translation of the Italian items, carefully following them line by line. This is the original variant of the Glossary. The Turkish words, entered by a different hand, render the Persian items with no regard to their Italian equivalents. The Turkish *glossator* evidently had no knowledge of Italian. This resulted in mistranslations from the point of view of the Italian entry words. Thus to Italian «leone, segno celeste», *šīr* in Persian, corresponds Turkish *süt* (133*v* 5), for Italian «composto, strumento geometrico», *parkār* in Persian, stands Turkish *čoχ iš* «much work», the glossator taking Persian [prk'r] for *pur kār*. etc.

The MS has numerous glosses in Armenian script. These are phonetic renderings of Persian words and afford a good insight into the Persian pronunciation in Iṣfahān in the 17th century.

There are no direct indications as to the author of the Glossary, the date and place of origin. Internal evidence most easily decide the last of these questions, since the Glossary contains many local references to Iṣfahān. One of them is quoted in Rossi's description of the MS.[5] Further references can be found on p. 172*r* 12: «peso di una mani di Aspahan, che sono circa 12 libre di 12 once», Persian *sang-i yak man*; and on p. 137*v* 15 where Italian «luoco dove si fa consigilo» is rendered by Persian *Ālā qāpū*, actually a building in Iṣfāhān. The determination of the authorship of the Glossary is a more difficult matter. However, an Italian—Persian Glossary translated later into Turkish and provided by Armenian transcriptions speaks of the atmosphere of the Carmelite Mission to Persia. The missionaries at first tried to convert Persian Muhammadans with very modest results. On that account they transfered their activity to the Armenian and Turkish inhabitants of Iṣfahān, Shīrāz and their surroundings, especially after being persecuted for the conversion of some of the Persian population.[6] The MS itself speaks of at least two authors, one compiling the Italian—Persian part, and the other introducing the Turkish glosses. The first one was most probably a European monk, who worked with the assistance of an indigenous informant, the other a bilingual inhabitant, a Turk knowing Persian. The date of origin of the Glossary may be determined by the activity of the missionaries in Persia, flourishing in the middle of the

[5] «Lessico italiano—persico—turco composto certamente a Iṣfahān dato che nei fogli 216—219 sono riportati i nomi di mestiere usati a Iṣfahān, da 'armarolo' a 'vetraro'». *Op. cit.* p. 169.

[6] For a detailed account of the first decades of the Carmelites' Mission to Persia cf. *Biblioteca Carmelitano-Teresiana de Misiones*, Tomo III, *En Persia* (1608—1624) by P. Fr. Florencio de Niño Jesús, Carmelita Descalzo, Archivero General de la orden. The persecution because of the five converted Persians is described in chapters 15 and 16.

17th century. This is the time in which we place the date of our document. It is, however, certain that it was compiled before the edition of the Gazophylacium, the large Italian—Latin—French and Persian dictionary of Father Angelo a S. Joseph, edited in 1684.[7]

2. The IA shares the main advantage of the lexicographic works of the Carmelite missionaries: it represents the vocabulary of the everyday language. Whereas the traditional indigenous Glossaries (Farhangs) were concentrated on the unusual words, expressions and idioms, occurring in the classical literary works, the missionaries dealt with a quite different subset of the language, with that of the everyday communication, trying to present it in its entirety. In the study of Persian lexicon due attention must be paid to this group of linguistic documents.

A further advantage of the IA is that it contains the vocabulary of a locality, words actually used in the language of the inhabitants of Iṣfahān. To a certain extent the IA is a glossary of dialectological importance, a representation of the Iṣfahān dialect of New Persian in the 17th century. In this respect the IA differs from the Gazophylacium, the latter comprising the Persian lexicon as a whole, gathered, from various written and oral sources.

The chief importance of the IA, however, lies in the Turkish glosses, about 9000 words and expressions, contained therein. This is the earliest document of the kind, affording rich information about the Turkish dialects in Iran. It will be an indispensable source in the research of the Azeri in particular and the history of Turkish in general.

The present paper is meant to be a preliminary report of the IA and will be followed by a complete edition of the Glossary.

3. *Dialectological delineation*

The language of the IA is a strongly Iranized Oghuz type Turkish dialect standing in close relationship with the Azeri dialects spoken in the territory of Iran (Aynallu, Qashqay etc.).

(i) Persian influence on the IA is manifest, above all, in the vocabulary. The majority of items in the Glossary consists of Persian and Arab loans or derivatives from Persian and Arab bases. There are foreign equivalents even in the place of Turkish words belonging to the basic vocabulary and current in other Turkish literary documents.

a) The wide-spread word for «hell» *tamuγ* (from Sogdian *tmw*, cf. Old T, *tamu*, CCum *tamu*, *tamuχ*, MM *tamuγ*, Quṭb. *tamuγ*, Sayf *tamuγ* etc.)[8] is not

[7] *Gazophylacium linguae Persarum, triplici linguarum clavi Italicae, Latinae Gallicae.* Authore Rev. adm. P. Angelo a S. Joseph, Carmelita Excalceato, Tolosano, Missionario Apostolico, Superiore Missionum sui Ordinis in Belgio. Amstelodami, Ex Officina Jansonio-Waesbergiana: Anno 1684.

[8] I use the following sources for illustration: Old T. = von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1950); CCum. = K. Grönbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Kopen-

known in the Glossary. The Persian and Arab loans *dūzaχ* and *ǰähännäm* (126*r* 13) are used instead.

b) Instead of Turkish *sor-* «ask» (cf. Old T. *sorul-*, Kāšγ. *sor-*, CCum *sor-*, MM *sor-*, Quṭb. *sor-*, Sayf *sor-* etc.) the Glossary contains the derivatwe *χabärläš-* for Persian *purs-* (129*v* 18).

c) The Glossary ignores Turkish *böri* «wolf» (cf. Old T. *böri*, Kāšγ. *böri*, CCum *böri*, *börü*, Quṭb *böri*, *börü*, Sayf *böri* etc.) and has Persian *gurg* as a loan (138*r* 5). Turkish *qurt* occurs in the sense of «worm» for Persian *kirm* (235*v* 6).

(ii) In the field of word formation verbal phrases consisting of a nominal part of Persian or Arab origin and a Turkish auxiliary verb are used according to the Persian pattern.[9] They are, mostly, translations of the equivalent Persian phrases. There are, however, cases where Persian simple verbs are rendered by verbal phrases in Turkish:

a) Persian *mīnālam* «I weep» and *nālīdam* «I wept» is rendered by *nālä äyläräm* and *nālä äylädim* (105*v* 2) though Turkish *aγla-* is also attested in the Glossary (105*v* 7).

b) Persian *qasam χwardan* «take an oath» is translated by *qasam yämäk* (110*r* 1), whereas in an other place we find *änd ič-* in the same meaning (cf. 109*v* 20).

(iii) So far as the vowel system of the IA may be reconstructed, long *ā* occurs in the first syllable of verbal roots and in any of the root syllables of nouns. The retention (or development) of a long *ā* was conditioned by Persian long *ā*, preserved in this quantity and quality in the Iṣfahān dialect of the 17th century. As the Armenian transcription of Persian words in the Glossary shows the short vowels already underwent the well-known qualitative change, (*u* > *o*, *i* > *e*, *a* > *ä*, the latter with exceptions)[10] whereas long ā, which had

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hagen 1942); MM = A. Bodrogligeti, *Glossary to Šayχ Šaraf's Mu'īnu'l-murīd* (in print); Quṭb = Z. Wjaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusrāv u Šīrīn Quṭba* vol. III, Glossary (Warszawa 1961); Sayf = A. Bodrogligeti, *Glossary to Sayf-i Sarāyī's Gulistān bi't-turkī* (in print); Kāšγ. = C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī's Dīvān Luγat at-turk* (Leipzig 1928); DK = M. Ergin, *Dede Korkut kitabı* II, (Ankara 1963).

[9] A detailed description of verbal phrases in New Persian can be found in S. Telegdi, *Nature et fonction des periphrases verbales dites verbes composés en persan*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* I, pp. 315—338.

[10] Cl. Pers. short (a) seems to have a wide range of allophones in the 17th century. In the Persian translation of the Koran in Latin letters (Vat. Pers. No. 51 in Rossi's *Elenco*, cf. Acta Orient. Hung. XIII pp. 261—276) it is rendered by *a* and *e*, according to the phonetic environment. (*a*) was retained, for instance, before or after syllables with long ā, e.g. *namaz* (= namāz) «prayer» (MS 43 B 24 et passim), *kazaz* (= *qasās*) «reward» (MS 40 B 21 etc.).

been labialized, as can be seen in some of the early Persian documents,[11] retained its original value and contrasted with short *a* only in quantity, where the latter had been retained. The prevailing of long *ā* in the Iṣfahān dialect influenced the vowel system of the IA.[12] The distinction of (') and (") in initial position and ø or *h* and (') within the word points to the existence of the vowel pair *ā* and *a*, diferring in quantity, cf. *ād* ["*d*] «name» (156*r* 12) but *ač-* ['*č*] «open» (189*r* 6). Cf. § 5. II. a.

(iv) There are features arguing for the IA being one of the Oghuz type Turkish dialects:

a) Old and East Middle Turkish initial *t-* changed into *d-*, e.g. *dāγ* [*d'γ*] «mountain» (151*r* 13, cf. Old T. *taγ*, Kāšγ. *taγ*, MM *taγ*, Sayf *taγ* etc.), *damar* [*dmr*] «vein» (234*r* 2, cf. Old T. *tamïr*, *tamar*, Kāšγ. *tamur*, CCum *tamar*, Quṭb *tamar*, Sayf *tamar* etc.), *dār* [d'r] «narrow» (22*v* 14, cf. CCum *tar* «eng», MM *tar*, MN *tar*, Quṭb *tar*, LA *tar*, Sayf *tar* etc.), *därі* [dry] «skin» (168*v* 20, cf. Old T. *täri*, Kāšγ. *täri*, CCum *täri*, Sayf *täri* etc.), *doγru* [dqrw] «straight» (191*v* 12, cf. CCum *toγru*, Quṭb *toγru*, *toγrï* etc.); *t* issued a *d* even in word end position, as in some of the Old Anatolian Turkish documents, cf. *od* ['wd] «fire» (103*r* 18, cf. Old T, *ot*, *oot*, Kāšγ. *ot*, CCum *ot*, MM *ot*, Sayf *ot*, but DK *od* etc.), *ād* ["d] «name» (156*r* 12, cf. Old T. *at*, CCum *at*, MM *at*, Quṭb *at*, Sayf *at* but DK *ad* etc.).

b) Absence of initial *b-* in the verb for «to be, to become», cf. *oluram* ['lwrm] «I will be» (214*v* 14).

c) Loss of *γ-/g-*, *q-/k-* in the suffix syllable *-γa/-gä*, *-qa/-kä* cf. *vüǰūda gätirmäk* «bring into existence» (141*r* 19), *ärä värmäk* «give in marriage» (143*r* 5).

d) Initial *b-* of certain words became *v-*, cf. *värmäk* «give» (143*r* 5, cf. Old T. *bir-*, Kāšγ. *bir-*, CCum *ber-*, *bir-* «geben», MM *ber-*, Sayf *ber-* but DK *vir-* etc.).

[11] Cf. Vat. Pers. No. 51 *ā* became *o* before nasals, e.g. *nome* «sacred book» (17 B 2 et passim), *nom* «name» (27 A 14 etc.). Gazophylacium has *mourdegon* «mortals», *asmon* «heaven» etc. The Persian glosses of the Codex Cummanicus contain such examples as *mechoem* «I will», *beghon* «call».

[12] For the mechanism of the quantitative change in the Afshar dialect brought forth by Iranian influence and instructive for other Turkish dialects in Persian environment cf. Ligeti's statement: „La gamme des longues en au. est pourtant beaucoup plus riche que, par exemple, en tkm. L'enrichissement des longues est dû, une fois de plus, à l'influence iranienne. Tout d'abord, la différence de la quantité vocalique a disparu dans les couples de mots si importantes pour l'histoire des longues turques. Ainsi on a, en au., indifféremment une longue dans la première syllabe des mots *âčmây* 'ouvrir' (tkm. *ačmaq*) et *âǰəmây* 'avoir faim, être pris de faim' (tkm. *āčmaq*). Ensuite, à l'analogie des longues déjà existant, une longue s'est développée dans une série de cas où, historiquement, on avait des brèves. Il est curieux de voir qu'on peut constater le même phénomène dans plusieurs dialectes iranisés du type kiptchak ayant des longues» (*Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 126).

(v) The language of the IA possesses traits in common with the Azeri Turkish dialects of Iran, especially with Aynallu and Qashqay. As the Glossary was meant for priests acting in Iṣfahān and Shīrāz and extending their activity to the Turkish speaking population of the town and its surrounding, we may reckon with a Turkish dialect of that area. The scarcity of dialectological data of the Turkish population in Iran does not enable us to arrive at a complete identification with one of the present day Turkish dialects. Until detailed dialectological descriptions of the Iranian Turkish languages are available, we cannot do more than make a concise comparison on the basis of the existing dialectological sources.[13] As a result we can locate the IA as an early document of an Iranian Turkish dialect, having close relationship with Aynallu and Qashqay.

a) The vocabulary of the IA contains a group of words characteristic of the Turkish dialects in Iran:

(1) The Glossary has Turkish *čāy* [*č'y*] for «river». It occurs in many examples, such as *čāy suvï* [*č'y swy*] for Persian *āb-i rūd* (98*r* 20), *furāt čāyï* [*fr't č'y*] for Persian *rūd-i Furāt* (98*r* 18). In Aynallu we find the word *čaylāq* in the sense of «Flussbett» (Kow. 45*b*).

(2) The verb *apar-* (< *alïp bar-*) «take, take away, ravish» is frequently used in the Glossary, cf. *aparam* [*'p'rm*] for Persian *mībaram* (237*v* 13), *payġām*

[13] This refers especially to the language of the Turkish tribes in Central and Southern Iran, for concerning Azeri dialects in Northern Iran, Turkey, the Azerbayjan SSR and Afganistan we have a number of exhaustive dialectological descriptions: N. I. Ašmarin, *Obščij obzor narodnych tjurkskich govorov gor. Nuchi* (Baku 1926); Bouvat, *Histoire de Yoûsouf Châh, nouvelle historique de Mîrzâ Feth'ali Âkhôndzâdê* (*JA* 1903 1st vol. pp. 393—489) with a short but interesting Glossary (cf. Foy: *MSOS* VII, 199). A. Caferoğlu, *75 Azäbajǧanische Lieder 'Bajaty' in der Mundart von Gänǧä nebst einer sprachlichen Erklärung* (*MSOS* XXXII, pp. 55—79, XXXIII, pp. 105—129). The author gives a clear survey of the sound system of the Ganja dialect comparing his material to Foy's data (see below); A. Caferoğlu, *Ṣarkta ve garpta Azerî lehçesi tetkikleri*: *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* III (Istanbul 1934) pp. 96—102, 136—141, 197—200, 233—238. O. Chatskaya, *Quatrains populaires de l'Azerbaïjan* (*JA* CCXII, pp. 228—265). Texts from the Ganja dialect. N. K. Dmitrijev, *Zur azerbajdschanischen Dialektforschung* (*WZKM* XXXVIII); Foy K. *Azerbajǧanische Studien mit einer Charakteristik des Südtürkischen* (*MSOS* VI, pp. 126—193, VII, 197—265). J. B. Hajibeyli, *Le dialecte et le folk-lore du Karabagh* (*JA* CCXXII, pp. 31—144); W. Monteil, *Sur le dialect turc de l'Azerbâydjân Iranien* (*JA* CCXLIV, pp. 1—77); X. de Planhol, L. Bazin, *Contribution à la dialectologie rurale de l'Azeri* (*JA* CCXLIX, pp. 411—425) containing names of animals, plants, tools. H. Ritter, *Aserbeidschanische Texte zur nordpersischen Dialektkunde* (*Der Islam* XI, pp. 181—212, XXV, pp. 234—268). M. A. Širaliev, *Govory muganskoj gruppy azerbajdžanskogo jazyka* (A. N. SSSR 1957); — *Izučenije dialektov azerbajdžanskogo jazyka* (*IAN* VI, pp. 431—436); H. S. Szapszał, *Próby literatury ludowej Turków Azerbajdžanu perskiego* (Krakou 1935) dealing with the Azeri dialects in Northern Iran. A critical survey of Azeri dialectology, with carefully selected illustrative material can be found in Ligeti's description of the Afshar dialect, *Sur la langue des Afchars d'Afghanistan* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, pp. 109—156).

aparmäk [*pyǵ'm 'prmk*] for Persian *pay'ām burdan* (157*v* 3), etc. Cf. Aynallu *apār-* «wegnehmen, rauben, pflücken» (Kow. 44*b*).

(3) The Instrumental Form *dünän* occurs in the sense of «yesterday», cf. [*dwnn*] for Persian *dīrūz* (117*r* 5), *dünän kičä* [*dwnn kyčh*] for Persian *dīšab* (117*r* 6). Cf. Aynallu *dünän* «gestern» (Kow. 46*b*).

(4) The Instrumental Case is formed in the IA by the suffix *-ïnan/-inän*, eg. *bu šarṭïnan* «on this condition» (60*r* 9) etc. This corresponds to the Instrumental form in some of the Azeri dialects.[14]

(5) The ordinal numbers are formed by *-mǰï/-mǰi*, eg. *üčümǰi* «third» (131*v* 9). The same forms are attested in the Azeri dialects.[15]

(6) Turkish *qïzïl* «red» (cf. Old T. *qïzïl* «rot», Kāšγ. *qïzïl* id., CCum *qïzïl* «hochrot», LN *qïzïl* «red», LA *qïzïl* «tot», Sayf *qïzïl* «red», etc.) is used in the sense of «gold», translating Arab-Persian *ṭalā* (162*r* 7). The same meaning can be found in Aynallu, *qïzïl* «Gold» (Kow. 51*b*).

(7) The word *yuχu*, developed from Turkish *uyqu* «dream» is frequent in the IA, eg. *yuχu* [*ywχw*] for Persian *χwāb* (214*v* 11), *yuχu ol-mäk* [*ywχw 'wlmk*] for Persian *χwāb dāštan* (116*v* 3), cf. Aynallu *yoχu* «Schlaf» (Kow. 49*a*).

b) In the sound system of the IA, so far as it may be reconstructed by way of analyzing the Arab orthography, there are a few sound changes resembling those in the Iranian Turkish dialects.

(1) One of these is the quantitative difference between short and long *a*. Aynallu evidences the same pair of vowels, as in words like *dāγ* «Berg» (Kow. 46*a*), and *daγït-* «verbreitet werden» (id.). Whereas in Aynallu the quantitative difference is restricted to the velar *a*, in Qashqay it appears with all of the vowel phonemes (cf. Kow. p. 67).

(2) The well-known change in the Turkish obstruent system resulting in plosive *q* becoming spirant *χ* in syllable final position before a vowel or a pause is one of the characteristic traits of the IA (cf. Note 27). This change took place in the Azeri dialects, among them in Aynallu, cf. *čoχ, čōχ* «viel» (Kow. 46*a*), *bālïχ* «Fisch» (Kow. 45*a*), *oχi-* «lesen» (Kow. 50*b*), etc.

(3) The loss of final *-n* in the Genitive case of nouns, described by Kow. (§ 21) occurs in IA as well, cf. *kimsänü* [*kmsnw*] instead of *kimsänün* (116*r* 14).

c) The Present form in *-ïr/-ir* is a characteristic feature of the Aynallu dialect (cf. Kow. § 25). In Qashqay, as Kow. mentions (p. 61) it appears sporadically. Traces of the *-ir* Present can be found in IA too, though the orthography is not always revealing on this point. The examples confirmed by spelling are *däyiräm* [*dyyrm*] «I say» (172*v* 9), *aluram* ['*lwrm*] «I take»

[14] This is the case in the Ganja dialect, cf. Caferoğlu's examples *ayašnan* «with the stick», *ušaχnan* «with the child», *gardašnan* «with the brother» (§ 17) with loss of *i*.

[15] Ordinal numbers in written Azeri are formed by the suffixes *-nǰï/-nǰi, -nǰu/-nǰü*. In the Azeri dialects forms in *-mïnǰi/-minǰi* and *-mǰï/-mǰi, -mǰu/-mǰü* occur. Cf. Caferoğlu, *birmǰi* «der erste», *ikimǰi* «der zweite» etc. (§ 71).

(180*r* 15), *sürüräm* [*swrwrm*] «I drive» (202*r* 14). These forms are used to render Persian Present Tense forms, in alternation with the Aorist.

4. *Orthography*

The Turkish glosses of the IA are written with Arabic letters according to the practice followed in New Persian.[16] The chief orthographical features of the MS are:

(i) Diacritical marks are very rarely used. Noteworthy is the spelling of *iy* «smell»: i.e. *alif* with a *kasra* (159*r* 13).

(ii) The Arab letters *alif* (’), *waw* (w), *yod* (y) and *hā’* (h) are used in the role of mater lectionis.

a) There are words where all of the vowels are rendered by the corresponding vowel-sign, as in [*dwd’q*] «lip» (131*r* 13), [*dyrn’χ*] «nail» (160*r* 8), [*’wrwǰ*] «fast» (161*r* 12).

b) Other words have no mater lectionis, e.g. [*yrtrm*] «I tear» (131*r* 18), [*kzrm*] «I pass» (167*r* 18), [*ǰkrm*] «I pull» (172*r* 7).

c) From the point of view of vowel indication the spelling of Turkish words are, in the majority of cases, of mixed character, some of the vowels being marked by a mater lectionis some not, as in [*dwtrm*] «I take» (174*r* 19), [*y’qš*] «rain» (174*v* 19), [*ywrk-syz*] «heartless» (176*v* 4).

d) Alif as a vowel sign occurs only in the first syllable of verbs and verbal derivatives, e.g. [*q’šydm*] «I scraped» (112*v* 18), [*s’nrm*] «I count» (157*v* 1). In non-initial syllables *a*/*ä* is either rendered by *γ* (*h*) or is not indicated, e.g. [*’yčrhm*] «I drink» (214*r* 6). In nouns *alif* occurs in all syllables, except case endings where (h) is used: [*ywmš’q*] «soft» (150*v* 1), [*twbr’q*] «earth» (226*r* 7), [*qwl’χ*] «ear» (161*v* 1), but [*nh ’šh*] «for what» (2*r* 16), [*qwǰ’qh ’almk*] «embrace» (3*v* 8), [*bwndh dwr*] «he is present» (4*r* 12). Sometimes initial *alif* bears a madda ˜ (’’) as in [*’’ǰ*] «hungry» (10*r* 18), [*’’d*] «name» (156*r* 12), [*’’prmk*] «take away» (195*r* 9). Long *alif* (’’) in initial position and *alif* (’) in positions other than initial stands only for velar *a*, they are never used for palatal *ä*.

e) Waw in the role of mater lectionis may occur in all syllables, cf. [*bwš*] «empty» (232*r* 1), [*bwz’w*] «calf» (239*r* 18), [*bkwr*] «side» (132*v* 4), [*’wχyrm*] «I read» (133*v* 3), [*y’pwšdwrwm*] «I stick» (31*v* 2), [*’wrgdhrm*] «I teach» (128*r* 11), [*kwkrčyn*] «pigeon» (164*v* 16). As the above examples show it may stand equally for *o*/*ö* and *u*/*ü*.

f) Yod as a vowel sign appears in first syllables and in word ends, e.g. [*kyčh*] «night» (13*r* 9), [*’ǰy*] «bitter» (16*v* 20), [*’ylčy*] «ambassador» (17*r* 8), [*kydrm*] «I go» (18*v* 11). It is frequently used in the suffixes *-mïš*/*-miš* and *-sïz*/*-siz*, e.g. [*’wrkn-myš*] «learned» (17*v* 9), [*qbwl ’wlwn-myš*] «accepted» (18*r* 4),

[16] This is the starting point in our interpretation of the IA orthography. We do not think the glossator could have been influenced by any traditional Turkish orthography whatever, first of all because it does not seem to have existed in any Turkish dialects of Iṣfahān and its surroundings in those days.

[*ytš-myš*] «arrived» (24*v* 13), [*ywl-syz*] «forlorn» (82*v* 12). *Yod* is equally used for *ï/i*.

(iii) Letter *hā'* (*h*) is used with a double value in the IA. Its use to denote the short open vowel *a/ä* is much broader.

a) Letter *h* stands for *a/ä* «before a pause, as in New Persian, e.g. [*swrh*] «after, then» (85*r* 2), [*swprkh*] «besom» (205*r* 12), [*qwrb'qh*] «frog» (189*r* 17). In this position this is the only sign for short *a/ä*, i.e. *alif* is not used at the and of Turkish words.

b) As suffixes are written separately, root final *a/ä* is mostly rendered by *h*, as in [*p'kyzh-lwk*] «purity» (185*v* 4), [*mzh-lw*] «tasty» (201*r* 14), [*pynh-ǰy*] «patcher» (203*r* 12), [*b'smh-čy*] «printer» (218*v* 14), [*pžmrdh ''m*] «I am faded» (18*v* 4).

c) The same applies to verbal roots before Verbal Noun suffixes *-maq/-mäk* and *-miš/-miš*, e.g. [*syǰrh-mk*] «spring» (200*r* 10), [*'šlh-mk*] «work» (230*r* 9), [*'sth-mk*] «love» (16*v* 17).

d) Letter *h* in the value of *a/ä* is frequently used in internal position, especially in the Aorist forms, cf. [*wrhrm*] «I beat» (170*v* 3), [*syǰrhrm*] «I spring» (222*r* 8), [*dwrhrm*] «I stand up» (134*v* 7), [*swrhrm*] «I drive» (220*r* 5), [*dwndhrwrm*] «I turn» (241*v* 15).

(iv) In a few words *hamza* (ʿ) is used to mark hiatus between two vowels, e.g. [*kʿwl*] = *köül* «Heart» (130*r* 3), [*swt yʿn*] = *süt yään* «drinking milk» (35*r* 11), [*yʿrm*] = *yäiräm*, (*ir* Present of *yä-*) «I am eating» (38*r* 19), [*qʿwrm*] = *qauram* «I fry» (102*r* 15), [*bʿwk*] = *bäük* «big» (111*v* 11), [*swʿt-mk*] = *soutmäk* vt. «cool, make cold» (82*r* 7); [*qʿwn*] = *qaun* «melone» (144*v* 10). Noteworthy is the spelling of the word denoting «pig»: [*dwʿnwz*] (177*r* 12), a mixture of two possible pronunciations, that of *douz* by the side of the more archaic *doŋuz* or *donuz*.[17]

(v) Difference is made between ب (*b*) and پ (*p*), ج (*ǰ*) and چ (*č*), e.g. [*bzdwrm*] = *bäzädüräm* «I ornate» (162*r* 4), [*bkwr*] = *bögür* «side» (132*v* 4), but [*p'lčwχ*] = *pälčuχ* «mud» (92*r* 11), [*q'pw*] = *qāpu* «door» (94*v* 13), [*'wrwǰ*] = *oruǰ* «fast» [78*r* 20), [*qbwl 'ylyǰy*] = *qabūl äyläyiǰi* «receiver» (98*r* 16), but [*'aqčh*] = *aqča* «gold, golden piece of money» (65*v* 2).

(vi) No difference is made between ک (*k*), گ (*g*) and ک (*n* < *ŋ*),[18] e.g.

[17] In words like *köül* < *köŋül*, *douz* < *doŋuz* and *qaur-* < *qavur-*, *sout-* < *sovut-*, *qaun* < *qavun* loss of *ŋ* and *v* is experienced. Azeri dialects (cf. esp. Ašmarin's material of Nukha) show the same development. Loss of *ŋ* may have proceeded through *y*, for the IA has words with *ŋ* > *y* change, cf. *köynäk* «shirt» (236*r* 8). This *y* coalesced with *y* < Old T. *d* and disappeared in the above examples, in the same way as in *bäük* cf. Old T. *bädük*.

[18] The guttural nasal *ŋ* which has been kept in most of the Azeri dialects (cf. Caf. § 67) developed in the IA into *n* at syllable ending or disappeared in intervocalic position (cf. Note 17).

[*'wk*] = *ön* «before» (73*v* 20), [*kwynk*] = *köynäk* «shirt» (236*r* 8), [*krk*] = *gürg* «wolf» (138*r* 5).

(vii) *Qāf* is used with its Persian value (= *γ*) in pause and within the word, the voiced *γ* contrasting voiceless *χ* in the consonant system, e.g. [*'qlh-mk*] = *aγlamäk* «weep» (105*v* 7).

(viii) In the majority of cases suffixes are written separately.

a) -maq/-mäk, e.g. [*kyzlt-mk*] = *gizlätmäk* vt. «hide» (68*r* 17), [*'yn'n-mk*] = *inānmäk* «believe» (74*v* 5), [*'sth-mk*] = *istämäk* «want, desire» (84*r* 5).

b) -mïš/-miš, e.g. [*mglwb 'wlwn-mš*] = *maγlūb olunmïš* «conquered, overcome» (67*v* 9); [*byš-myš*] «boiled» (71*r* 13), [*byš-mh-myš*] = *bišmämiš* «raw» (72*v* 6), but [*q'lmš*] = *qālmïš* «remained» (75*r* 14).

c) -luq/-lük, e.g. [*ym'n-lwk*] = *yamānlük* «wickedness» (71*r* 2), [*'rtwχ-lwk*] = *artuχlük* «increase» (75*r* 3), [*ǰ'qlwχ*] = *ǰāχluχ* (for Persian *čākī*) «soundness» (81*v* 7), [*'wz'χ-lwk*] = *uzāχlük* «remoteness» (82*r* 13).

d) -lu/-lü, e.g. [*''ry 'tk-lw*] = *ārï ätäklü* «pure, honest» (66*r* 7), [*kyz-lw*] = *gizlü* «hidden» (66*r* 5).

e) -sïz/-siz, e.g. [*qwt-syz*] = *quvvatsïz* «powerless» (75*r* 17), [*ywl-syz*] = *yolsïz* «forlorn» (82*v* 12).

f) Verbal roots are treated as separate words, e.g. [*'ylh-mlw*] = *äylämlü* «worth to do» (73*v* 8), [*'ylh-mswn*] = *äylämäsün* «he should not do» (79*r* 7), [*'wqšh-yš-syz*] = *oχšayïššïz* «dissimilar» (82*r* 4).

5. *Phonetics*

(i) The analysis of the orthography of the IA allows us to outline its sound system. For different reasons (shortcomings of the Arab alphabet, absence of diacritical marks, etc.) we can deal more with the phonemic than the phonetic structure of our document.

(ii) *Vowels*

a) The regular use of long *alif* (*''*) in initial, and simple *alif* (*'*) in internal positions of certain words and the use of initial (*'*) and internal zero or *h* in other words speaks of the existence of a long ā, contrasting with short *a* in the vowel system. At this point the introduction of *h* as a mater lectionis both in final and internal positions seems to be decisive. In our view the role of *h* was to stand for a short vowel (*a* and *ä*). The distribution of these vowel-signs is

	Long *ā*	Short *a*, *ä*
Initial	*''-*	*'-*
Internal	*-'-*	*-h-*, *-ø-*

As vowel length is not alien to some of the Turkish dialects in Iran,[19] we may

[19] To Qashqay and Aynallu Ligeti adds *Afshar* as another Azeri dialect possessing long vowels, as distinct elements of the sound system. By the side of new developments he finds Turkish words in which the vowels are etymologically long. It is worth noticing

take the above orthographic usage for a rendering of the quantitative difference between *ā* and *a*, the author of the Turkish glosses following the Persian orthographic practice (cf. Note 16).

Long *ā* seems to appear chiefly in first syllables and in monosyllabic words, e.g. *āš* [*''š*] «soup» (148*r* 12), *ātaram* [*''trm*] «I throw», but *atdïm* [*'tdm*] «I threw» (131*v* 19), *bāχaram* [*b'χrm*] «I look at» (114*r* 8), *bāγïrsuχ* [*b'qrswχ*] «stomach» (239*r* 1), *čāy* [*č'y*] «river» (98*r* 14), *qāčaram* [*q'črm*] «I flee» (103*r* 1), *qār* [*q'r*] «snow» (155*v* 5), *yāz* [*y'z*] «autumn» (218*v* 4).

Concerning the quantitative difference of other vowels in Turkish words the orthography offers a less solid basis. The use or omission of mater lectionis (*w* or *y*) may have been a practice to distinguish short and long vowels. Concerning the question of how far the quantitative difference penetrated into the vowel system of Turkish words the above table of short and long *a* is instructive. *ä* is never rendered by initial *''-* or internal *-'-* i.e. it does not participate in the quantiative differenciation. This is because Persian, the dominating language of Iran, had no vowel like long *ā*. It means that vowel length can be expected only with vowels existing in Persian, i.e. *ū*, *ī* and, perhaps, *ō*, by the side of long *ā*. On this basis the reconstructed vowel system of the IA is:[20]

	Short	Long	Indifferent
In all syllables	*a*	*ā*	*ä*
	i	*ī*	*i*
	u	*ū*	*ü*
First syllables only	*o*	*ō*	*ö*

b) In the vowel system of the IA we accept the dominating character of the vowels in the first syllable. The vowel system of the first syllables is more complete, *o*, *ō* and *ö* of the labial vowels occurring only in the first syllable of Turkish words.[21] In the IA orthography does not give direct indications concerning the quality of the labial vowels.[22] The prevalence of the first syllable

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that his examples with originally long vowels correspond with those in the IA, cf. au. *dâš* «pierre», IA *dāš* [*d'š*] «stone», au. *qâlmây* «rester», IA *qāl-* [*q'ldm*] «stay, remain» etc. (*Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 125—126).

[20] In Azeri there exists a closed *e* partly as a continuation of the same Old Turkish vowel, partly as a replacement of *ä* developed by shift in the neighbourhood of *v* and *y* (*ev* < *äv*, *sev-* < *säv-* etc.). There is no acceptable reason to posit a phoneme (*e*) in the IA. The words for «house» is spelt [*'v,*] that for «send, cause to arrive» [*ytš*^{0}] showing the absence of an [*ä* > *e*] shift in this condition. Spellings like [*kyčh*] for «night» [*dy*^{0}] for «tell, say» stands rather for *kičä* and *di-* showing the completion of the vowel shift *ä* > *e* > *i*, thus the new phoneme coalescing with original *i* in the vowel system.

[21] Cf. the same rule in Azeri (*Fund.* I, 284).

[22] Thus the distribution of *o/u* and *ö/ü* in the IA remains an open question. One must however keep in mind that in written Azeri *o* and *ö* is much more preferred, and

vowels can be seen in their correlation with vowels in the subsequent syllables. For orthographic reasons the correlation of $\bar{a} : u$ and $a : i$ seems doubtless. A long $\bar{a}$ in the first syllable is followed as a rule by u, whereas a short a in the first syllable, by $ï$, e.g. *sāru* [*s'rw*] «yellow» (107*r* 12), *qārun* [*q'rwn*] «belly» (235*r* 1), *yāχun* [*y'χwn*] «near» (4*r* 16), but *arïχ* ['*rχ*] «river» (100*v* 3).

c) A general trait of the predominance of first syllable vowels is their assimilatory effect on the subsequent syllables, resulting in vowel harmony. In the IA this rule partially lost its validity. Certain suffixes, so far as it can be detected in the orthography, appear chiefly in their palatal form even after roots consisting of velar vowels, cf. *yālγuzlüg* [*y'lqwzlwk*] «loneliness» (213*r* 3), *nābūd olmäk* ['*wlmk*] «perish» (65*r* 10). Similar exceptions from the rules of vowel harmony can be observed in Aynallu (cf. Kow., p. 10).[23]

(iii) *Consonants*[24]

a) Long consonants occur secondarily as a result of phonetic changes, e.g. *ossun* ['*wswn*] for *olsun* (42*r*10) and in conjunctions of end consonant with the initial consonant of suffixes, cf. *örgäddim* ['*wrkd̈m*] «I taught» (120*v* 13).

b) The IA attests a series of consonant changes characteristic of the Azeri dialects:

$p > b$ within the word in the neighbourhood of voiced consonant, cf. *täbdim* «I filled» but *täpärim* «I fill» (87*c* 20), *tabdïm* «I got» but *taparïm* «I get» (8*r* 13).

$b > p$ in word initial, e.g. *pālču*χ «mud» (92*r* 11), *po*χ (219*v* 5).

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this may have had an effect on the dialects as well. So the spelling [*dwd'q*] for instance may stand for *dōdāγ* «lip» and [*kwkrčyn*] «pigeon» for *kögärčin* or *gögärčin*, etc.

[23] The vowel harmony rule is often disturbed in the other Azeri dialects as well. But here, contrary to Qashay and Aynallu, the shift in the degree of fronting results in front vowels becoming back ones. Cf. Azeri dialects in Northern Persia: *bilma*χ «know», *bildigi* «what he knows», *sälamätlïχ* (*Fund.* I, 284). One of the main points arguing for the IA standing near to Qashqay and Aynallu is the shift of back vowels towards front ones in nominal and verbal suffixes.

[24] The consonant system of the IA consists of the following phonemes. [Members of the system not distinguishable in the orthography are given in brackets]:

	Labial	Dental Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop and Affricate	*p*	*t*	*č*	*k*	[*q*]	
	b	*d*	*ǰ*	*g*	*ġ*	
Fricative	*f*	*s*	*š*	[*ǵ*]	*χ*	*h*
	v	*z*	*ž*	[*y*]	*γ*	
Nasal	*m*	*n*			[*η*]	
Lateral		*l*				
Vibrant		*r*				
Semi-vowel			*y*			

b > *v* in final position,[25] e.g. *dolav* «cup-board» (71*v* 5).

b > *m* in word initials,[26] cf. *min* «thousand» (77*v* 19), *min-* «mount a horse» (151*r* 12), *män* «I» (64*r* 8), *mana* «to me» (132*r* 9).

b > *m* within the word, e.g. *kimi* «as, like» (24*r* 13), (cf. Note 48).

Final *-t* > *-d*, as in Old Anatolian Turkish, e.g. *igid* «young» (109*r* 4), *ād* «name» (156*r* 12). This change took place even in root final position, e.g. *örgäd-* vt. «teach» (120*v* 13).

q > *χ* in internal and final position,[27] e.g. *arχa* «back» (85*r* 18), *yāχun.* «near» (22*r* 13), *ǰïχmäk* «go out» (18*v* 20), *artuχ olmäk* vi. «increase» (32*v* 3).

č > *š* in *nišü* «why» instead of *ničün* (7*v* 7).

ls > *ss*, e.g. *ᶜāfiyät ossun* (42*r* 10), *nūš-i ǰān ossun* (42*r* 9).[28]

c) Metathesis is frequent in the language of the LA. It takes place especially with a plosive followed by the vibrant *r*, e.g. *yārpāγlu* [*y'rp'qlw*] «having leaves» (102*r* 19), *körpü* [*kwrpw*] «bridge» (176*v* 17), *ädäb örgänmiš* «learned» (17*v* 20), *kirbit* «matches» (212*v* 17). Other cases *yuχu*[29] «dream» (116*v* 3), *arvät* «women» (94*v* 1), *äksi* «old» (163*v* 3), *irälü* «forward» (32*v*5).[30]

d) Initial (prothetic) *y-* is absent in many Turkish words, e.g. *igid* [*'kyd*] «young» (109*r* 4), *ulduz* [*'wldwz*] «star» (219*r* 17), *iy* «smell» (159*r* 13), *üz* [*'wz*] «hundred» (157*r* 6), *il* «year» (19*v* 15), *ip* [*'yp*] «cord» (68*v* 8), *üzük* [*'wzwk*] «ring» (19*r* 8), *ilān* [*'yl'n*] «snake» (19*r* 14), *uva* «nest» (155*v* 10), *igirmi* «twenty» (234*v* 10).[31]

[25] This consonant change occurs in the dialects only. In standard Azeri *b* has been kept in word-endings. (Cf. *Fund.* I, 292).

[26] This change conditioned by subsequent nasal consonant can be found in written Azeri and its dialects as well. It is, however, questionable whether we can restrict this consonant shift to the Azeri only, for other dialects, new and old, produce examples of the same modification of sounds. Cf. Sayf *maŋla-* 1. «call to prayer»; 2. «sing» (111*v* 6 etc.) from Persian *bang*, *mamuq* «cotton» (47*r* 3) Kāšγ. *pamuq* «Baumwolle» (Brock. 138) etc.

[27] Plosive *q* shifting to spirant *χ*, a consonant change that I ascribe to Persian influence, is restricted to one single position, i.e. after the first syllable vowel in written Azeri. In the Turkish dialects of Iran this change has become more general, almost all noninitial *q*'s were replaced by *χ*'s. The language of the IA shares this feature of the Azeri dialects.

[28] The same case of assimilation occurs in the Azeri dialects of Northern Iran (cf. Foy: *MSOS* VI, p. 193).

[29] The word *yuχu* «dream» occurs in the Ganja dialect too. Caferoğlu derives it from original *uyuqu* with loss of initial *u* (*op. cit.*, § 24).

[30] Written Azeri shows the same examples, cf. *yarpaġ* «Blatt» < *yapraq*, *iräli* «vorwärts» < *ilärü*, *körpü* «Brücke» < *köprüg* (*Fund.* I, 297). For Azeri dialects cf. Caf. § 53 (*Ganja*), Foy: *MSOS* VI, pp. 180—181 (Tabriz) and esp. Ligeti's note in *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 148. The list given there (*torpaχ*, *yarpaχ*, *körpi*, *aruat* etc.) agrees to a great extent with the examples in IA.

[31] Loss of initial *y-* is very frequent both in written Azeri and its dialects, where together with the loss of the initial consonant the subsequent *ī* turns into *i*, e.g. *ilan* «snake» < *yīlan*, *il* «year» < *yīl* (cf. *Fund.* I, 296). Whether this vowel-change took place in the IA is difficult to decide on the basis of the Arab orthography.

e) Loss of final *-n*, *kimsänü* for *kimsänün* (116*r* 14), *nišü* «why» for *ničün* (7*v* 7).

6. *Morphology*

The Glossary contains finite verbal forms (mostly 1st sing. of the Present Tense, Aorist and Definite Past Tense), phrases and short sentences. This enables us to reconstruct, at least partially, the morphologic system of the language of the IA.

(i) *Verbs*

a) Verb roots in *-r* are directly used as a basis for 1st sing. of the Aorist. This is a striking structural deviation from the general Turkish Aorist forms being based on the Participle in *-r* as the Aorist theme. The new form, though brought forth by phonetic development,[32] is modelled on the Persian Present forms, consisting of the Present root (in loans being equivalent with the Nominative Case of nouns, cf. *fahm* «intelligence», *fahmam* «I understand») and Personal suffixes:

Turkish Aorist Scheme:	R	+ T	+ PS
Sporadic Aorist in IA:	R		+ PS
Present Tense in Cl. P.:	R		+ PS

where R = root, T = theme suffix, PS = Personal suffix. Cf. *yāpūšduram* [*y'pwšdwrm*] vt. «stick» (63*r* 10), *gätiräm* [*ktrm*] «I bring» (61*r* 11), *čayïram* [*čqrm*] «I call» (52*c* 7), *yānduram* [*y'ndwrm*] «I set on fire» (41*v* 1).

b) Present forms on an *-ïr/-ir* basis occur in a few examples, e.g. *däyiräm* [*dyyrm*] «I say» (172*v* 9), *aluram* [*'lwrm*] «I take» (180*r* 15), *sürüräm* [*swrwrm*] «I drive» (202*r* 14), *yäyiräm* [*y'rm*] «I eat» (38*r* 19). Such forms, rare in the IA, appear in full paradigm in the Aynallu dialect (Kow. § 25).

c) The orthography does not always mark the vowel in the Personal endings of finite verbs. Examples where the vowel is marked by a mater lectionis bear evidence of the following forms of personal suffixes:

(1) *-vän* 1st sing.,[33] e.g. *män sizün qurbānïzvän* [*mn syzwn qrb'n 'yzwn*] «I am your sacrifice» (64*r* 8).

[32] It is noted in the descriptions of Azeri dialects (Caferoğlu, Ritter, Ašmarin, etc.) that the Aorist of verbs in *l—r* as a root final consonant occurs in contracted form. Caferoğlu says (*Ganja*, § 20) this «loss of *a* and *e*» takes place in the 1st Person Sing. and Plur. of «the indefinite Present Tense». Of his examples are *gallam* = *galaram* «I stay», *bayïrram* = *bayïraram* «I cry», *aparram* = *apararam* «I take» etc.

[33] *-vän* developed from the Personal pronoun *bän* ~ *män* equally used as subject and as Personal suffix. This development took place already in Old Anatolian Turkish, where the two syntactic functions were provided with morphs of differring phonemic structure. Cf. *Tezkere Tercümesi*: *bän täkäbbür dägül-vän* «I am not proud» etc. It is not to be found in the latest period of Old Anatolian Turkish, such as *Dädä Qorqut* (cf. M. Ergin, *Dede Korkut kitabı* II, Indeks-Gramer, Ankara 1968, p. 459). Foy says verbal form

(2) *-am/-äm* 1st Sing. as in the Old Anatolian Turkish documents.[34] This corresponds to the personal suffixes in the Aynallu dialect (cf. Kow. §§ 23, 25), e.g. *ičiräm* [*'yčrhm*] «I drink» (214*r* 6), *gäzäräm* [*kzrhm*] «I pass» (80*r* 7), *bāχaram* «*b'χrhm*» «I see» (9*r* 16).

(3) *-um/-üm* 1st Sing.[35] e.g. *örgädärüm* [*'rgdhrwm*] «I teach» (128*r* 11), *yāpūšdurum* [*y'pwšdwrwm*] «I stick» (31*v* 2).

(4) *-sun* 3rd sing of the Imperative, e.g. *ossun* «let it be» (42*r* 10).

(5) *-siz* 2nd plur.,[36] e.g. *istärsiz* [*'strsyz*] «you want» (57*r* 18).

d) Aorist is formed by *-r*, *-ar*, *-ur* and the Personal suffixes, e.g. *tābšururam* [*t'bšwrwrm*] «I trust» (64*r* 18), *olurum* [*'wlwrwm*] «I will be» (83*r* 5), *qāluram* [*q'lwrm*] «I rest» (95*r* 9), *sïčraram* [*syǰrhrm*] «I spring» (200*r* 8), *vuraram* [*wrhrm*] «I beat» (170*v* 3).

e) Definite Past is formed in 1st sing. by *-dum/-düm*, e.g. *qāldum* [*q'ldwm*] «I stayed» (141*r* 2), *yätišdüm* [*ytšdwm*] «I sent».

f) Optative is formed by *-a/-ä* + personal suffixes, e.g. *bir sözüm var ki diyäm* [*dym*] rendering Persian *harfī dāram ki bigūyam* (115*v* 20), *χwaš ola* [*'wlh*] for Persian *χwaš bāšad* (93*v* 12).

(ii) *Infinitive*

a) There is only one form of infinitive, that in *-maq/-mäk* (mostly spelt *mk*, even with velar roots, seldom *mχ*), cf. *doγmaχ* «be born» (153*v* 15), *oynamäg* «dance» (34*v* 5), *avlamäg* «hunt» (42*v* 18).

b) Infinitives are often treated as nouns, *istämäk* stands for Persian *dūstdārī* (38*r* 1), *qaynamäg* for Persian *ǰūšiš vä ǰūšandagī* (39*v* 8).

(iii) *Participles*

a) The Participle in *-an/-än* (spelt *-n*) translates (1) various forms of Persian Present Participles, e.g. *sallanan* «swaying» for Persian *χirāmanda*, *ba-nāz ravanda* (176*v* 15), *qorχan* «afraid» for Persian *tarsān* (176*v* 4), *istäyän* «wanting» for Persian *ṭalab kunanda* (192*r* 7), (2) Persian action nouns, e.g. *qapan* «robbing» for Persian *rubāyiš* (189*r* 21).

b) The Participle *-miš/-miš* (spelt *mš* and *myš*)[37] renders Persian Passive forms (Past Participle + *karda šuda* of transitive verbs and Past Participle + *šuda* of intransitive verbs), cf. *ärinmiš* «melted» for Persian *gudāχta šuda* (78*v* 8), *az olmïš* «decreased» for Persian *kam karda šuda* (79*r* 4), *dolmïš* «filled»

Root + Personal Pronoun principally does not occur in the Southern Turkish dialects (*MSOS* VI, p. 131).

[34] Such is the case in DK, cf. Ergin, *op. cit.*, pp. 458—459.

[35] Standard Azeri and most of its dialects have only *-am/-äm*, *-yam/-yäm* in the 1st Sing. Only Qashqay attests the interchange of forms *-am/-äm* ~ *-um/-üm* (Kow., p. 60).

[36] Dialectal form (cf. Foy, Ritter). Written Azeri has *-sïnïz/-siniz*, *-sunuz/-sünüz* (cf. *Fund.* I, 301).

[37] This suffix does not occur with labial vowel, cf. Foy, 184.

for Persian *pur karda šuda* (88*r* 1), *äkilmiš yär* «sowed area» for Persian *zamīn-i kāšta šuda* (44*v* 11).

c) The Participle *-ačaγ/-äčäk* (spelt *-h-čq*) expresses future actions and is used to translate Persian Future Tense forms, e.g. *ne olačaγ dur* «what will happen?» for Persian *či χwāhad šud* (52*v* 2).

(iv) *Gerunds*

a) The Gerund in *-ub/-üb* (spelt *wb*) is used to express past actions with regard to their results in the present. In this function this form entered the finite verb system as one of the Past Tenses (cf. Aynallu *ičibän* «ich habe getrunken» etc. Kow. § 31), e.g. *kim gälübtur* «who has come» for Persian *ki āmada ast* (52*v* 5), *qabūl äyläyüb d[ur]* «it has been accepted» for Persian *pasandīda ast* (5*r* 13).

(v) *Nouns*

a) Plural is formed by *-lar/-lär* (spelt *lr*), e.g. *arvatlar* «women» (48*r* 7), *bäüklär* «the big» (111*v* 19).

b) The IA attests the following cases of nouns:[38]

Nominative: —, e.g. *mänüm äv* «my house» (2*r* 8), *čāy suvï* «water from the river» (7*v* 18), *ayaγ götärmäk* for Persian *pā bar dāštan* (4*v* 15).

Accusative: *-ï/-i*, *-nï/-ni*,[39] *-n*, e.g. *düšmäni* (3*r* 5), *özini* (215*r* 1), *qapunï* (36*v* 13), *köülin* (82*r* 7).

Genitive: *-un/-ün*, *-nun/-nün*; *-u/-ü*, e.g. *özinün* «of his own» (36*v* 10), *zādun bašï* «the top of sg.» (54*r* 6), *kimsänü* «of somebody» (116*r* 14), *olaru* «theirs» (12*v* 16).

Dative: *-a/-ä* (spelt *-h*), e.g. *özümä* «for/to myself» (220*r* 4), *yärä* «to the earth» (177*r* 20), *baša* «to the head» (177*r* 20), *yāda* «to the memory» (189*r* 9).

Locative: *-da/-dä* (spelt *-dh*), e.g. *bābda* (177*r* 20), *yärdä* «on the earth» (214*v* 10), *yärindä* «on its place» (214*v* 10).

Ablative: *-dan/-dän*, e.g. *özidän* «from himself» (22*r* 17), *yoldan* «from the road» (222*r* 11), *yüzindän* (192*v* 8), *dörtdän* «out of four» (191*r* 5), *bašïndan* «from his head» (201*v* 5).

Instrumental: *-ïnan/-inän* (spelt *-nn*, *-ynn*, *'nn*, *'ynn*), e.g. *közinän* «with the eye» (5*r* 1), *tämām täväǰ-ǰuhïnan bāχmäk* «look at with full attention» (11*r* 5), *öz rizāsïnan* «according to his desire» (12*v* 15), *olaru gümänïnan* «as they think» (12*v* 16), *bu šarṭ ïnan* «on this condition» (60*r* 9).

[38] There are essential deviations from the case forms of written Azeri. The IA has no Terminal Case and shows only the rest of the Equative. (Forms in *-sïz/-siz* etc. in our view do not belong to the declension pattern). Written Azeri has no Genitive form in *-ï/-i* etc., the loss of final *-n* being restricted to some of its dialects, such as Aynallu, etc. There is no Accusative form in *-n* in written Azeri, where only the forms in *-ï/-i/-u/-ü* and, after vowels *-nï/-ni/-nu/-nü* are attested. Exclusively dialectal form is the instrumental in *-ïnan/-inän* contrasting with it in *-la/-lä* and *ilä* in written Azeri.

[39] The Accusative Case ending *-nï/-ni* after a vowel is attested in the Azeri dialects (cf. Caf. § 71, Note).

The rest of the Equative in *-ča/-čä* has been kept in *ničä* «how many», cf. *ničäyä dägär* for Persian *čand mīarzad* (186*v* 1).

(vi) *Pronouns*

a) Personal pronouns:

	1st Sing.	2nd Sing
Nominative:	*män*	*sän*
Accusative:	—	—
Genitive:	*mänim*	—
Dative:	*mana*[40]	*sana*[40]
Ablative:	*bändän*	*sändän*
Locative:	—	—

Internal vowels are not indicated, cf. [*mn*] for *män* (64*r* 8), [*mnm*] for *mänim* (2*r* 8), [*sn*] for *sän* (168*r* 1), [*bndn*] for *bändän* (83*r* 6), etc. Final *-a* is spelt by *-h*, e.g. [*mnh*] for *mana* (114*r* 1), [*snh*] for *sana* (52*r* 17).

	1st Plur.	2nd Plur.
Nominative:	*biz*	*siz*
Accusative:	—	—
Genitive:	*bizim*	*sizün*
Dative:	—	—
Ablative:	—	—
Locative:	—	—

b) Possessive suffixes

	1st Pers.	2nd Pers.
Singular:	*-m*	*-n*[41]
Plural:	*-mïz/-miz*	*-uz/-üz*[42]
		-ïz/-iz

In the 3rd Pers. *-ï/-i*, *-sï/-si* is used.

[40] Written Azeri has *mänä* and *sänä*. In the dialects velar and palatal forms are equally used. Azeri dialects in Iran have *mänä* and *sänä* as seen in the material of Foy, Szapszaĭ and Ritter. Caferoğlu's texts from Ganja attest *mana* and *mänä*. Nukha has velar variants with various modifications *maã* ~ *mã* etc. (Cf. *Fund.* I, 301).

[41] A collation of possessive suffixes of the 2nd Person Sing. and Plur. in the Azer dialects can be found in Ligeti's article on the language of the Afshars (p. 138).

[42] Forms characteristic of some of the Azeri dialects in Iran.

c) Demonstrative pronouns

Sing.	«this»	«that»
Nominative:	*bu*	*o*
Accusative:	—	—
Genitive:	—	*onu*
Dative:	*buna*	*ona*
Ablative:	*bundan*	*andan*
		ondan
Locative:	*bunda*	*anda*
		onda

Plur.	«these»	«those»
Nominative:	—	*olar*[43]
Accusative:	—	—
Genitive:	—	*olaru*[43]
Dative:	—	—
Ablative:	—	*olardan*[43]
Locative:	—	—

d) Interrogative pronouns

(1) *kim* [*km*] «who», e.g. *kim gälübdur* «who has come» (52*v* 5), *kim dur* «who is it?» (52*v* 4).

(2) *nä* [*nh*] «what», e.g. *nä qusurï var, nä ġam var* (52*r* 16), *nä χabär dur* «what is the news» (52*r* 19), *ne išim var sana* «what have I to do with you?» (52*r* 18).

(3) *ničä*, Equative of *nä* is used in different meanings, «what kind of, what sort of» (52*v* 2), and «how many, how much» rendering Persian *čand* (186*r* 16).

(4) *nišü* [*nyšw*] «why» (7*v* 7).

(5) *hangïsï* [*hnksy*] «which», e.g. *hangïsï ikidän* «which of the two?» (52*v* 6).

e) Indefinite pronouns

(1) The interrogative pronouns *kim*, *nä* and *ničä* are also used in the role of indefinite pronouns.

(2) *här nä* «whatever», e.g. *här nä mümkün ola* «as it is possible» (186*r* 20).

(3) *kimsä* [*kmsh*] «somebody» (171*v* 15), *här kimsä* «whoever» (186*r* 9).

(4) *zād* [*z'd*] «something» (177*v* 3).[44]

(5) *här čänd* «however much»: *här čänd čoχdur* (13*r* 1).

(6) *här angïsï* «anyone of them» (53*r* 20).

7. *Word formation*

[43] Dialectal forms for *onlar* etc. in standard Azeri cf. Caf. § 70, Note 1.

[44] Cf. Caf. § 57.

(i) *Formation of nouns.* The IA attests the following suffixes forming nouns:

-γa/-gä: e.g. *süpürgä* «besom» (205*r* 12), *čäkürdgä* «locust» (136*v* 2). But *yumurta* [*ywmrth*] «egg», with loss of γ (163*v* 1).

-ǰï/-ǰi: e.g. *qālïǰï* «permanent» (171*r* 17), *örgädüǰi* «teacher, master» (168*v* 12), *dägirmänǰi* [*dkrmn-ǰy*] «miller» (150*r* 18), *äkinǰi* «sower» (12*v* 1).

-l: *qïzïl* «gold» (162*r* 7), *yāšïl* «green» (56*v* 8).

-lu/-lü: *günāhlü* [*kn'h-lw*] «sinner» (140*r* 3), *gizlü* «hidden» (66*r* 5), *ārï ätäklü* «pure» (66*r* 7).

-luχ/-lük: *yamanlük* «badness» (139*v* 7), *bäüklük* «greatness» (139*r* 12), *artuχlük ätmäk* vt. «increase» (75*r* 3), *uzaχlük* «remoteness» (82*r* 13), *ïšïχlük* [*'yšyq-lwk*] «light» (137*r* 11), *uzunluχ* «longitude» (137*r* 1), *yönüklük* «lightness» (133*v* 4).

-m: *ölüm* [*'wlm*] «death» (134*v* 17).

-ma/-mä: *bāsma* [*b'smh*] «press, printing» (218*v* 12), *ïsïtma* «fever» (93*v* 14).

-man/-män: *dägirmän* «mill» (136*v* 12).

-n: *dügün* «knot» (156*r* 7).

-sïz/-siz: *älsiz* [*'l-syz*] «handless» (150*v* 12), *quvvätsiz* «powerless» (75*r* 17), *yolsïz* «forlorn» (82*v* 12).

-š: *yāγïš* [*y'qš*] «rain» (174*v* 19), *öpüš* «kiss» (36*r* 6).

-χ: *uzaχ* «far» (15*v* 5), *qonāχ* [*qn'χ*] «guest» (13*r* 13).

(ii) *Suffixes forming verbs*:

-a/-ä: *oyna-* [*'wynrm*] «dance» (34*v* 20).

-ad/-äd: *düzäd-* «make, arrange» (6*r* 3).

-d: *čïχard-* «throw out» (42*v* 4), *yumšad-* «soften» (15*r* 9), *oturd-* vt. «cause to sit» (5*r* 15).

-dur/-dür: *yädür-* vt. «cause to eat» (53*v* 2), *dägüšdür-* vt. «exchange» (44*r* 3), *öldür-* «kill» (17*r* 5), *yāndur-* «burn» (3*r* 11).

-ïr/-ir: *büšir-* vt. «cook» (72*v* 20), *yätir-* «cause to arrive» (5*r* 3).

-l: *äldän väril-* «be lost» (2*v* 15), *yïrtïl-* «be torn to pieces» (4*r* 10), *yïγïl-* [*yql-mk*] vi. «gather» (5*v* 18).

-la/-lä: *āvla-* «chase for» (42*v* 19), *bāχušla-* vt. «present» (30*v* 11), *bāγla-* [*b'qlh-mk*] «bind» (11*v* 8).

-n: *yāran-* «be created» (71*r* 9), *gizlän-* vi. «hide» (68*v* 1), *ātlan-* «mount a horse» (49*r* 16), *örgän-* «learn» (17*v* 19), *itin-* «be sharpened» (11*r* 3), *bäzän-* «adorn» (3*r* 15).

-s: *χabärläš-* «ask» (9*v* 4), *yätiš-* «arrive» (3*v* 3).

-t: *gizlät-* vt. «hide» (68*r* 17), *örgät-* vt. «teach» (17*v* 17), *uzalt-* vt. «lengthen» (15*v* 11), *itit-* [*'ttmk*] vt. «sharpen» (11*r* 2).

8. *Lexicon*

The structure of the Glossary meets the requirements of everyday conversation. By the side of single words selected for this purpose there are com-

plete phrases, ready-made expressions to be used in short utterances. Verbs are given in two finite forms in Persian (Present and Preterite Tense 1st sing.) and they are rendered by the Aorist (rarely by the *-ir* Present) and the Definite Past Tense in Turkish. Prepositions are represented by their most frequent connections. The same practice is followed with Pronouns. The alphabetic order of Italian words are often interrupted by genetic passages, such as the arts occurring in Iṣfahān, various kinds of trees, diseases, names of months etc. Both the Persian and Turkish parts of the Glossary contain synonyms of single items. The scope of the Turkish glossary seems to be limited by the Persian set of words it renders.

In the following we give a short extract of the Turkish part of the Glossary.

a

ač- vt. «open»: *ačmäg* [*'čmk*] id. for *bāz kardan* 189*r* 6

ād [*''d*] «name» for *nām* and *ism* 156*r* 12

aγïr [*'qr*] «heavy» for *sangīn* and *garān* 172*r* 5

aγla- vi. «weep»: *aγlamäg* [*'qlh-mk*] «weeping» for *girya* 105*v* 7; *aγlamäg* [*'qlh-mk*] «shed tears» for *išk kardan* 131*v* 3

aγsāγ [*'qs'q*] «lame» for *lang* 221*r* 9

aγšam [*'qšm*] «evening» for *šām* 214*r* 10; *aγšam vaγtï* [*'qšm wqty*] «evening time» for *vaqt-i šab* 77*r* 13

āl-, al- vt. «take, buy»: *aluram* [*'lwrm*] «I take» for *mīgīram*; *aldïm* [*'ldm*] «I took» for *giriftam* 180*r* 15; *āldïm* [*''ldm*] «I bought» for *χarīdam ālurum* [*''lrwm*] «I buy» for *mīχaram* 59*v* 3; *ālan* [*''ln*] «buyer» for *χarīdār* 59*v* 4.

aldan- vi. «be deceived»: *aldanmäg* [*'ldn-mk*] id. for *farīb χwardan* 101*r* 18

aldat- vt. «deceive»: *aldatmäg* [*'ldt-mk*] id. for *gūl zadan* and *farīb zadan* 101*r* 17

alïn [*'ln*] «forehead» for *pīšānī* 102*v* 1

ānd ič- «take an oath»: *ānd ičmäk* [*''nd 'ǰmk*] «oath» for *sougand* and *qasam* 109*v* 20; *yālān and ičmäk* [*y'l'n 'nd 'ǰmk*] «perjury» for *sougand bar durūg* 216*r* 4

āpar-, apar-, apār- vt. «take, take away, ravish»: *köül āparmäg zādï* [*k'wl ''prmk z'dy*] «become fond of sg» for *dil burdan čīzīrā* 195*r* 9; *päyġām aparmäg* «bring a message» for *pay ām burdan* 157*v* 3; *ġam āparan* [*ġm ''prn*] «consoler» for *ġambar* 154*r* 7; *apāram* [*'p'rm*][45] «I take»; *apardïm* [*'prdm*] «I took away» 237*v* 13; *yōldan āparmäg* [*ywldn ''prmk*] «lead astray» for *az rāh burdan* 222*r* 11

[45] I.e. *apāram* ~ *apārram* instead of *apararam*. Cf. the form *ap'arram* in the Azeri dialects (*Fund.* I, 289).

ārï [*''ry*] «clean» for *pākīza* 185*v* 2
arïχ [*'rχ*] «river» 100*v* 3
artūr-, *artur-* vt. «increase»: *arturam* [*'rtwrm*] «I increase»; *arturdïm* [*'rtrdm*] «I increased» 150*v* 5
āru [*''rw*] «bee» for *zanbūr* 236*r* 1; *bāl ārusï* [*b'l ''rwsy*] id. for *zanbūr-i ᶜasal* 20*v* 19
arūχ [*'rwχ*] «lean, meagre» 139*r* 18
arχa [*'rχh*] «back» 85*r* 18
arχalïγ [*'rχ'lq*] «jacket» for *arχāliq* 109*r* 11
āš [*''š*] «soup» for *ās* 148*r* 12
āt-, *at-* vt. «throw»: *ātaram* [*''trm*] «I throw»; *atdïm* [*'tdm*] «I threw» 131*v* 19
ata [*'th*] «father» for *pidar* and *āb* 164*r* 3
aya [*'yh*] «saint» for *valī* 200*v* 17
ayaγ [*'yq*] «foot» 174*r* 3
āyru [*''yrw*] «different, separated» 83*r* 11

ä

äk- vt. «sow»: *äkäräm* [*'krm*] «I sow» for *mīkāram* lit. «I cultivate the earth»; *äkdim* [*'kdm*] «I sew» for *kāštam* 207*v* 3
äksi «old»: *äksi yūmurta* [*'ksy ywmrth*] «old egg» for *tuχm-i kuhna* and *tuχm-i mānda* 163*v* 3
äṃ- vt. «suck»: *süt ämmäk* [*swt 'mk*] «suck milk» 132*v* 6
ändi [*'ndy*] «now» for *ḥālā*, *isā*, *aknūn* and *īndam* 9*r* 4
ärüg [*'rwk*] «plum» for *zardālū* 41*r* 9
äski [*'sky*] «old» for *kuhna* 233*r* 19
ätäk [*'tk*] «skirt» for *dāman* 113*r* 15
ätmäk [*'tmk*] «bread» 165*r* 1; *iki ödlu ätmäk* [*'yky 'wdlw 'tmk*] «biscuit» for *nān-i du ātaša* 39*r* 1
äylä- vt. «do, make»: *äyläräm* [*'ylrm*] «I make»; *äylädim* [*'yldm*] «I made» 92*r* 18

b

bāγ «knot»: *dōn bāγï* [*dwn b'qy*] «girdle» for *band-i qabā* 37*v* 8; *boyūn bāγï* [*bywn b'qy*] «necklace» for *gardan-band* and *silisila* 55*v* 17
bāγïrsūχ [*b'qrswχ*] «stomach» 239*r* 1
bāγla- vt. «bind»: *bāγlaram* «*b'qlrm*] «I bind»; *bāγladïm* [*b'qldm*] «I bound» 133*r* 17
bālïγ [*b'lχ*] «fish» 172*v* 4
bārmāχ [*b'rm'χ*] «finger» 82*v* 16
bāsma [*b'smh*] «printing» for *bāsma* 218*v* 12; *bāsma ätmäg* [*b'smh 'tmk*] «print» for *bāsma kardan* 218*v* 13; *bāsmači* [*b'smh-čy*] «printer» for *bāsmači* 218*v* 14

bāχ- vt. «look, look at»: *bāχaram* [*b'χrm*] «look» for *mīnigaram*; *bāχdïm* [*b'χdm*] «I looked» for *nigaristam* 114*r* 8

bäšig [*bšyk*] «cradle» for *kahvāra* 72*v* 15

bäzäd- vt. «ornate»: *bäzädüräm* [*bzdwrm*] «I embelish» for *mīārāyam*; *bäzädim* [*bzdm*] «I embelished» for *ārāstam* 162*r* 4

bäzän- vi. «adorn»: *bäzänmäk* [*bzn-mk*] «ornament» for *pīrāya*

bïčāγ [*byč'q*] «knife» for *kārd* 57*r* 4

biz [*bz*] «we» 156*r* 9

bōrǰ [*bwrǰ*] «credit» for *qarẓ* and *vām* 75*r* 20

bōš [*bwš*] «empty» for *χala* and *tuhī* 60*r* 12

bögür [*bkwr*] «side» 132*v* 4

böylä [*blh*] «such, in such a way» for *īnčunīn* and *hamčunīn* 122*v* 1; [*bylh*] id. for *hamīn ṭour* 144*r* 11

bu [*bw*] «this» 54*v* 2

buγda [*bqdh*] «grain, corn» 112*r* 6

būlāšdur- vt. «mix, confuse»: *būlāšdurmäg* [*bwl'š-dwr-mk*] id. for *bar ham zadan* 62*v* 3

būlūd [*bwlwd*] «cloud» 157*v* 14

būrūn [*bwrwn*] «nose» 153*v* 11

buyrūγ «order, command»: *pādšāh buyrūγï* [*p'dš'h byrwqy*] «the king's order» for *farmān-i pādšāh* 75*v* 7

būzāw [*bwz'w*][46] «calf» for *gūsāla, bača-i gāv* 239*r* 18

bürä [*bwrh*] «flea» for «*kīk*» 184*v* 21

č

čaγïr- vt. «call»: *čaγïram* [*čqrm*] «I call» for *āvāz mīkunam*; *čaγïrdïm* [*čqrdm*] «I called» for *āvāz kardam* 52*v* 7

čaχïr [*čχyr*] «wine» 237*v* 17; *āγač küpi čaχïr üčün* [*''qǰ kwpy čχr 'yčwn*] «wooden cup for wine» 40*r* 16

čāy [*č'y*] «river» for *rūd* 98*r* 14; [*č'y*] id. for *rūdχāna* 98*r* 15; *čāy suwï* [*č'y swy*] «river-water» for *āb-i rūd* 98*r* 20; *Furāt čāy* [*fr't č'y*] «river Furat» 98*r* 18; *Nīl čāy* [*nyl č'y*] «river Nīl» 98*r* 16

čökürdgä [*ǰkwrdkh*] «locust» 136*v* 2

čïχard- vt. «send out, expel»: *čïχardmäg* [*čχrdmk*] id. for *dar kardan* and *χāriǰ kardan* 141*r* 17

čōχ [*čwχ*] «much, many» for *basyār* and *pur* 150*v* 8

čōχlug [*čwχ-lwk*] «multitude» for *anbūhī* and *basyārī* 150*v* 8

čüri- vi. «rot»: *čüriräm* [*čwryrm*] «I rot» for *mīpūsam* and *čüridim* [*čwrydm*] «I rotted» for *pūsīdam* 69*v* 3

[46] Cf. Azeri *buzov* < Old T. *buzaγu* (*Fund.* I, 289).

d

damar [*dmr*] «vein» 234*r* 2
dār [*d'r*] «narrow» 220*v* 14
dāš [*d'š*] «stone» 174*r* 11
dāχ [*d'χ*] «mountain» 151*r* 13
däg- vi. «be worth of sg»: *dägäräm* [*dkrm*] «I am worth of» for *mīarzam*; *dägdim* [*dkdm*] «I was worth of» for *arzīdam* 232*r* 13
dälü [*dlw*] «fool» 168*r* 11
där- vt. «collect, gather»: *däräräm* [*drhrm*] «I collect» *därdim* [*drdm*] «I collected» 55*r* 18
däri [*dry*] «skin» for *pūst* 168*v* 20
dïrnāχ [*dyrn'χ*] «nail» for *nāχun* and *zufr* 160*r* 8
di- vt. «tell, say»: *diyäräm* [*dyrm*] «I say»; *didim* [*dydm*] «I said» 79*v* 3
dil «tongue»: *dilin vä dilinän* [*dln w dlynn*] «by tongue» 135*v* 17
dīši [*dyšy*] «female» 94*v* 2
dīz [*dyz*] «knee» 107*v* 2
dōdāγ [*dwd'q*] «lip» 131*r* 13
dōγ- vi. «be born»: *dōγmäg* [*dwqmk*] id. for *mutavallid šudan* and *zāīda šudan* 153*v* 6
dōγru [*dwqrw*] «truth» for *rāstī* 87*r* 13; *doγru* [*dqrw*] «true» for *rāst* 191*v* 12
doγruluχ [*dqrwlwχ*] «rightness» for *rāstī* 191*v* 11
dōlāv [*dwl'w*] «cupboard» for *ganǰīna* 71*v* 5
dōldur- vt. «fill»: *dōldurmäg* [*dwldwrmk*] id. for *pur kardan* 87*v* 19
dūr- vi. «stand up, rise»: *dūraram* [*dwrhrm*] «I stand up» for *bar mīχīzam*; *dūrdum* [*dwrdm*] «I stood up» for *bar χāstam* 214*r* 9
düzäd- vt. «correct, improve»: *düzädmäk* [*dwzdmk*] id. for *rāst kardan* 189*v* 8

g

gäz- vi. «pass»: *gäzäräm* [*kzrm*] «I pass»; *gäzdim* [*kzdm*] «I passed» 167*r* 18
gīčä [*kyčh*] «night» 156*v* 19
gizlät- vt. «hide»: *gizlätmäk* id. for *panhān kardan* 153*v* 8
gögärčin [*kwkrčyn*][47] «pigeon» for *kaftar* and *kabūtar* 164*v* 16
gök [*kwk*] «heaven» 52*v* 11
götär- vt. «elevate, exalt»: *götäräm* [*kwtrm*] «I elevate»; *götärdim* [*kwtrdm*] «I elevated» for *bar dastam* 134*v* 3
göül [*k'wl*] «heart» 73*r* 4; *göüldän* [*k'wldn*] «with the heart» for *az dil* 60*r* 7; *göül dibindän* [*k'wl dbndn*] «with all the heart» for *az tah-i dil* 73*r* 5
gözät- vi. «nod»: *gözätmäk* [*kwz'tmk*] for *čašmak zadan* 50*v* 6

[47] Internal *-g-* changed to *-y-* or disappeared in most of the Azeri dialects, cf. *göyärčin* (Aγvannar) ~ *göärčin* (Gänjäli mähläsi, Gilähli mähläsi) but *gögärčin* (Baku), cf. *Fund.* I, 290.

gözgi [*kwzky*] «mirror» for *ābgīna* 18*v* 5
gül- vi. «smile»: *güläräm* [*kwlrm*] «I smile»; *güldüm* [*kwldm*] «I smiled» 192*v* 17
güyäv [*kyw*] «son-in-law» for *dāmād* 105*v* 17

h

hängï [*h'nky*][48] «which» 186*r* 4

ï

ïl [*'yl*] «year» 19*v* 15
ïsïtma [*'syt-mh*] «fever» for *tab* 93*v* 14

i

igid «young»: *igid öküz* [*'kyd 'wkwz*] «calf» for *gūsāla* 109*r* 4
igidlük [*'ykyd-lwk*] «youth» for *sann-i ǰavān* 109*r* 5
igirmi [*'krmy*] «twenty» 234*v* 10
ignä [*'yknh*] «needle» 12*r* 15
ik [*'yk*] «woman's spindle» for *dūk* 104*r* 4
indi [*'ndy*] «now» 117*v* 6
ip [*'yp*] «rope, cord» for *rīsmān* 68*v* 8
irälü [*'yrh-lw*] «forward» for *pīš* 32*v* 5
istä- vt. «ask for»: *istäräm* [*'strm*] «I ask for», *istädim* [*'stdm*] «I asked for» 84*r* 7
išlä- vt. «work»: *išlämäk* [*'šlh-mk*] id. for *kār kardan* 23*r* 9
it «dog»: *it āvāzï ätmäg* [*'yt 'w'zy 'tmk*] «bark» for *āvāz-i sag kardan* 2*v* 4
iti [*'yty*] «sharp» for *tīz* 8*r* 19
itit- vt. «sharpen»: *bïčāγ ititmäk* [*byǰ'q 'ttmk*] «sharpen the knife» for *kārd tīz kardan* 11*r* 2
iy [*'*with a *kasra*] «smell» for *būy* 159*r* 13; *yaγšï iy* [*yqšy '* with a *kasra*] «sweet-smelling» for *χwaš būy* 159*r* 14

k

känd [*knd*] «village» for *dih* 237*v* 3
kimi «as like»:[49] *dälü olmag it kimi* [*dlw 'wlmk 't kmy*] «become mad like a dog» for *divāna šudan mis̲l-i sag* 24*r* 13

[48] The change of initial *q-* into *h-* in the Old Turkish root **qa-* took place in the written Azeri and its dialects as well, cf. Azeri *hansï* ~ *hankï* «welcher», *harada* ~ *hanï* «wo», *haradan* «woher», *hačan* «wann» (*Fund.* I, 301), Ayn. *χare* «wohin», Qashq. *hana* «wohin» (Kow., p. 48*a*).

[49] Azeri has *kimi* = Osm. *gibi* (*Fund.* I, 291).

kīn [*kyn*] «wide» for *farāχ* 132*r* 13
körpü [*kwrpw*] «bridge» for *pul-i āb* 176*v* 17; *ayač körpü* [*'qč kwrpw*] «wooden bridge» for *pul-i čūbīn* 176*v* 18
köynäk [*kwynk*][50] «shirt» for *pīrāhan* 236*r* 8

m

män [*mn*] «I» 64*r* 8
min [*mn*] «thousand» 148*r* 3; *on min* [*'wn mn*] «ten thousand» 77*v* 19
min- vt. «mount a horse»: *minmäk* [*mn-mk*] id. for *savār šudan* 151*r* 12

o

ōd [*'wd*] «fire» for *ātaš* 103*r* 18
ōdūn [*'wdwn*] «fuel, wood» for *hīma, hīzum* 133*v* 10
oγlan [*'qln*] «son» 92*r* 10
oγrï [*'qry*] «thief» for *duzd* 131*f* 4
ōγšat- vt. «compare»: *ōγšatmäg* [*'wqšt-mk*] id. for *šabāhat kardan* and *mušābaha kardan* 165*r* 19
ōγšayïš [*'wqšh-yyš*] «similitude» for *šabāhat* and *mānandī* 165*r* 18
ōγul [*'wql*] «son» 105*r* 6
oγūrluχ «theft»: *oγūrluχ ätmäk* [*'qwrlwχ 'tmk*] «steal» for *duzdī kardan* 197*v* 4
ol- vi. «become»: *oluram* [*'lwrm*] «I will be» for *mīšavam'*; *ōldum* [*'wldm*] «I became» for *šudam* 214*v* 14
ōn [*'wn*] «ten» 77*v* 16
ōrta «middle»: *ōrtada* [*'wrtdh*] «in the middle» for *dar miyān* 122*v* 12
ōrūǰ [*'wrwǰ*] «fast» 78*r* 20
ōt [*'wt*] «grass» for *ᶜalf* 116*v* 11
ōχ [*'wχ*] «arrow» 102*r* 14
ōχï- vt. «read»: *ōχïram* [*'wχyrm*] «I read»; *ōχïdïm* [*'wχydm*] «I read» (Past Tense), 133*v* 3

ö

ölüm «death»: *ölümdän gurtarmag* [*'wlwmdn kwrtrmk*] «escape death» for *az marg χalāṣ šudan* and *az marg χalāṣ yāftan* 134*v* 17
örgäd- vt. «teach»: *örgädüräm* [*'wrkdwrm*] «I teach»; *örgädim* [*'wrkdm*] «I taught» 120*v* 13
ört- vt. «cover»: *örtäräm* [*'wrtrm*] «I cover» for *mīpūšānam*; *örtdim* [*'wrtdm*] «*pūšānīdam*» 153*v* 9

[50] Cf. Azeri *köynäk* for Osm. *gömläk* (*Fund.* I, 291).

p

pālčūχ [*p'lčwχ*][51] «mud» 92*r* 11
pālčūχlu [*p'l-čwχlw*] «muddy» for *gilālūda* 138*v* 4
pōχ [*pwχ*] «excrement» for *kuh* and *kaka* 219*v* 5

q

qāč- vi. «flee, escape»: *qāčaram* [*q'črm*] «I escape»; *qāčdïm* [*q'ǰdm*] «I escaped» 103*r* 1
qāl- vi. «stay, remain»: *qāluram* [*q'lwrm*] «I stay»; *qāldïm* [*q'ldm*] »I stayed» 191*v* 2
qāp- vr. «rob, ravish»: *qāparam* [*q'prm*] «I rob»; *qāpdïm* [*q'pdm*] «I robbed» 189*v* 1
qāpu [*q'pw*] «door» 94*v* 13
qār [*q'r*] «snow» 155*v* 5
qāranluχ [*q'rnlwχ*] «darkness» for *tarīkī* and *tīragī* 225*v* 14
qārbūs [*q'rbws*] «water-melon» for *hinduvāna* 144*v* 11
qardaš [*qrdš*] «brother» 101*r* 12
qaryа- vt. «curse»: *qaryамäg* [*qrqh-mk*] id. for *nafrīn kardan* 139*v* 19
qārūn [*q'rwn*] «belly, stomach» 235*r* 1
qārūšdur- vt. «mix»: *qārūšduram* [*q'rwšdwrm*] «I mix»; *qārūšdurdïm* [*q'rwšdwrdm*] «I mixed» 146*r* 4
qāšï- vt. «scratch, itch»: *qāšïram* [*q'šyrm*] «I scratch» for *mīχāram*; *qāšïdïm* [*q'šydm*] for «I scratched» for *χārīdam* 112*v* 18
qāšūγ [*q'šwq*] «spoon» for *qāšūq* 55*r* 10
qaur- vt. «fry»: *qauram* [*q'wrm*] «I fry» for *mībarīzam*; *qaurdïm* [*q'wrdm*] «I fried» for *baraštam* 102*r* 15
qïrχ [*qrχ*] «forty» 186*v* 4
qïsa [*qsh*] «short» for *kūtāh* 41*r* 1
qïš [*qyš*] «winter» for *zamastān* and *šitā* 218*v* 7
qïz [*qyz*] «daughter» 92*r* 6
qonāχ [*qn'χ*] «guest» for *mihmān* 13*r* 13
qōnšï [*qwnšy*] «neighbour» for *hamsāya* 237*r* 10
qōrχūd- vt. «frighten»: *qōrχūduram* [*qwrχwdwrm*] «I frighten»; *qōrχūddïm* [*qwrχwdm*] «I frightened» 147*r* 3
qūlāχ [*qwl'χ*] «ear» 161*v* 1
qūrbāγa [*qwrb'qh*] «frog» for *vazaġ* 189*r* 17
qūrt [*qwrt*] «worm» for *kirm* 235*v* 6

[51] Cf. Azeri *palčïġ* for Osm. *balčık* (*Fund.* I, 291).

qūrtar- vt. «save»: *qūrtarmäg* [*qwrtrmk*] id. for *rahā kardan* 202*v* 9
qūru [*qwrw*] «dry» 137*v* 7
qūrūχ [*qwrwχ*] «tail» for *dum* and *buna* 55*r* 15

s

sāǰ [*s'ǰ*] «hair» 230*r* 19
sālχum «a cluster of grapes»: *üzüm sālχumï* [*'wzwm s'lχmy*] id. for *χuša-i angūr* 112*r* 8; *sālχūm āγačï* [*s'lχwm ''qčy*] «vine-branch» for *čūb-i χūša* 112*r* 9
sān- vt. «count»: *sānaram* [*s'nrm*] «I count»; *sāndïm* [*s'ndm*] «I counted» 157*v* 1
sāru [*s'rw*] «yellow» 107*r* 12
sāt- vt. «sell»: *sātaram* [*s'trm*] «I sell»; *sātdïm* [*s'tdm*] «I sold» 234*r* 9; *äv sātan* [*'v s'tn*] «seller of the house» for *χāna-furūš* 193*r* 19
savāš [*sw'š*] «war» 114*v* 19
sïčān [*syč'n*] «mouse» 228*r* 15
sōγān [*swq'n*] «onion» 54*v* 6
sōra [*swrh*][52] «after» 85*r* 2
sout- vt. «cool»: *kimsänü köülin soutmäg* [*kmsnw k'wlyn sw't-mk*] «dispirit sy» for *dil-i kasīrā sard kardan* 82*r* 7
sök- vt. «vilify» *sökmäk* [*swkmk*] «abuse» for *dušnām* 127*r* 12
süpürgä [*swprkh*] «besom» 205*r* 12
sür- vt. «drive»: *sürüräm* [*swrwrm*] «I drive»; *sürdim* [*swrdm*] «I drove» 202*r* 14
sürü [*swrw*] «herd, flock» for *galla* and *rama* 113*r* 14
süt [*swt*] «milk» 132*v* 7

t

tābšūr- vt. «entrust, consign»: *tābšūruram* [*t'bšwrwrm*] «I entrust»; *tābšūrdïm* [*t'bšwrdm*] «I entrusted» 64*r* 18
tāp- vt. «get, find, aquire»: *tāparam* [*t'prm*] «I find» for *mīyābam*; *tābdïm* [*t'bdm*] «I found» for *yāftam* 231*r* 18
tāpïl- vi. «appear»: *tāpïlmäk* [*t'pl-mk*] id. for *paydā šudan* 105*v* 10
täbrän- vi. «tremble»: *täbränüräm* [*tbrh-nwrm*] «I tremble» for *mītapam*; *täbrändim* [*tbrndm*] «I trembled» for *tapīdam* 230*v* 4
täp- vt. «fill»: *täpäräm* [*th-prm*] «I fill» for *mīāgīnam*; *täpdim* [*tpdm*] «I filled» for *āgandam* 87*v* 20
titrä- vi. «tremble, shiver»: *titräräm* [*ttrhrm*] «I tremble»; *titrädim* [*ttrh-dm*] «I trembled» 230*v* 3

[52] Caferoğlu has *sōra* for Ganja-Dialect of Azeri (§ 67). The same form occurs in the Northern Azeri dialects (*Fund.* I, 290).

tōbrāγ [*twbr'q*] «earth» 226*r* 7
tūsbāγa [*twsb'qh*] «tortoise» for *lāk-pušt* and *sang-pušt* 224*r* 11
tük «hair»: *tük yārmäg* [*twk y'rmk*] «scrutinize» for *müy šikāftan*, Italian *vederla per minuto* 233*v* 4
tütün [*twtwn*] «smoke» for *dūd* 103*r* 12, and *duχān buχār* 232*v* 14

u

üldüz [*'wldwz*] «star» 219*r* 17
ūšāγ [*'wš'q*] «boy» for *ṭifl* and *bača* 92*r* 7
ūšāγlug [*'wš'q-lwk*] «childhood» 92*r* 8
ūva «nest»: *qūš ūvasï* [*qwš 'wsy*] «bird's nest» 155*v* 10
ūyāγlug [*'wy'χlwk*] «wakefulness» 237*r* 12
ūzalt- vt. «lengthen»: *ūzaltmäk* [*'wzlt-mk*] id. 15*v* 11
ūzāχ [*'wz'χ*] «far» 137*r* 6
ūzūn [*'wzwn*] «long» 137*r* 2

ü

üč [*'wǰ*] «three» 230*r* 18
üčümǰi [*'wčm-ǰy*] «third» 131*v* 9
üǰälüg [*'wǰh-lwk*] «greatness» for *bulandī* 16*r* 2
üz «hundred»: *dōγūz üz* [*dwqwz 'wz*] «nine hundred» 157*r* 6
üz- vt. «break»: *üzäräm* [*'wzh-rm*] «I break»; *üzdim* [*'wzdm*] «I broke» 216*r* 15
üzük [*'wzwk*] «ring» 19*r* 8

v

vur- vt. «beat»: *vuraram* [*wrh-rm*] «I beat»; *vūrdum* [*wwrdm*] «I beat» (Past Tense), 170*v* 3

y

yāγ [*y'χ*] «oil» 160*r* 13
yāγïš [*y'qš*] «rain» 174*v* 19; *yāγïš gälmäg* [*y'qš kl-mk*] «rain» for *bārān āmadan* and *bārīdan* 174*v* 20.
yaγšï [*yqsy*] «good» 173*r* 9
yāla- vt. «lick»: *yālaram* [*y'lrm*] «I lick» for *mīlīsam*; *yāldïm* [*y'ldm*] «I licked» for *līsīdam* 133*r* 11
yālγūz [*y'lqwz*] «alone» 213*r* 20
yālγūzlüg [*y'lqwzlwk*] «loneliness» 213*r* 3
yāpraγ [*y'prq*] «leaf» 98*v* 17
yār- vt. «split»: *yārarïm* [*y'rh-rm*] «I split»; *yārdïm* [*y'rdm*] «I split» (Past Tense) 80*r* 11

yārma [*y'rmh*] «bruised barley of wheat» for *balyur* 112*r* 7
yāru [*y'rw*] «middle» for *miyān* and *kamar* 147*v* 5
yārūχ [*y'rwχ*] «fissure» 94*v* 10
yāsdūχ [*y'sdwχ*] «cushion» 70*v* 2
yāš [*y'š*] «wet» for *tar* 150*v* 2
yāy [*y'y*] «summer» 218*v* 5
yayaγ [*yyq*] «pedestrian» 168*v* 14
yāz [*y'z*] «spring» 218*v* 4
yätiš- vt. «send, cause to arrive»: *yätišüräm* [*ytšwrm*] «I send»; *yätišdüm* [*ytšdwm*] «I sent» 141*r* 13
yïrt- vt. «tear to pieces»: *yïrtaram* [*yrtrm*] «I tear» for *mīdaram*; *yïrtdïm* [*yrtdm*] «I tore» for *darīdam* 202*r* 7
yōn- vt. «carve, cut stones»: *dās yōnaram* [*d'š ywnrm*] «I carve» for *sang mītarāšam*; *dāš yondïm* [*d'š yndm*] «I carved» for *tarāšīdam* 129*r* 2; *dāš yōnan* [*d'š ywnn*] «stone-cutter» for *sang-tarāš* 129*r* 2
yönük [*ynk*] «light» for *sabuk* and *χafīf* 133*v* 5
yūmrüγ [*ywmrwq*] «fist» 184*v* 19
yūmūrta [*ywmrth*] «egg» 163*v* 1
yūmūšad- vt. «soften»: *yūmūšadmäg* [*ywmwš'dmk*] id. for *narm kardan* and *χurd kardan* 172*v* 8
yūmūšāq [*ywmwš'q*] «soft» 150*v* 1
yuv- vt. «wash»: *yuvāram* [*yw'rm*] «I wash» for *mīšūram*; *yuvdum* [*ywdm*] «I wasted» for *šustam* 132*v* 14
yūχu [*ywχw*] «sleep» 214*v* 11; *yūχu olmäg* [*ywχw 'olmk*] «be sleepy» for *χwāb daštan* 116*v* 3
yük [*ywk*] «load» 172*r* 9
yüräklü «brave» 68*v* 4

DOCUMENTS SINO-OUIGOURS DU BUREAU DES TRADUCTEURS*

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

23.

1 [46a] *Qar-a qoi yir yangaq qul kiši Šämtäkä öčip bar ärki*
2 *män äbügäng ata barïnda öd sïng yumšap u čai kiši barïš*
3 *käliš tartïp üzülmäz barča u käi mung*
4 *üstünki qalïn utlï amtï-qï yitginčä saqïnïp töpü u qam-tai*
5 *tüzi tükäti amtï-qï taqï yimä yitärip u čäu äski*
6 *qaulï tartïp tobïčaq iki bi ar-γumaq iki bi ïnayat*
7 *tngri qayan kätirkäp u ko-län-kän soyurqap az bučuq u sä asït käräk*
8 [46b] *ning u ti näm-ä türlüg išlätip qul kiši yaqšï ačïγ-*
9 *-lïq birdi bolup inčip öčip tapdï*
10 *yarlïγ bilür*:

Votre esclave Šämtäkä, du pays des Qara qoi fait son rapport au trône: (2) mon grand-père et mon père, dans leur temps, ont envoyé des gens (3) pour aller et venir et l'envoi du tribut n'a pas cessé complètement. (4) Pour les faveurs gracieuses qui à [nous] tous ont été accordées jusqu'à présent par Votre Majesté, nous avons témoigné une gratitude (5) infinie. Maintenant de nouveau, conformément aux anciens (6) usages, j'ai envoyé en tribut: de grands chevaux de l'Occident, deux têtes, pur-sang de l'Ouest, deux têtes. J'espère que (7) l'Empereur céleste, ayant de la compassion pour moi, m'accordera quelques objets (8) faits pour s'en servir. Votre esclave s'est efforcé de bien (9) travailler. C'est pour cette raison qu'il a fait ce rapport au trône. (10) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Qar-a qoi*. D'après les textes chinois des Ming, la population de la ville de Qamul se composait de Mahométans (*Houei-houei*), d'Ouigours (*Wei-wou-eul* = *uiyur*) et de *Ha-la houei*; cf. *Ming-che*, 329, 3b; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, 178. Le nom *Ha-la houei* a été rétabli en *Qara qoi*, «Mouton noir», en turc, par P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII, pp. 130—133, note 99. La restitution de Pelliot est pleinement confirmée par la transcription en écriture ouigoure de notre document. Une partie des Qara qoi ne pouvant résister aux vicissitudes politiques de Qamul, a transmigré au Kan-

* La première partie du présent travail a paru dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* vol. XX, pp. 253—306.

sou. En effet, on signale, dès 1526, des réfugiés arrivant du district de Qamul; les émigrés se recrutaient aussi bien parmi les Nouveaux *Qara qoi* (*Sin Ha-la houei*) que parmi les Anciens *Qara qoi* (*Kieou Ha-la houei*). Henry Serruys, *The Mongols of Kansu during the Ming: Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* X (Bruges 1955; parues en 1961), pp. 316—326 (Some Settlements from Qamil [Ha-mi] and other Places). Cf. encore H. Serruys, *A Note on the «Wild Mekrid»* dans *Monumenta Serica* XXII (1963), pp. 434—445.

(1) *Šämtäkä*. Personnage autrement inconnu. Il s'agit très probablement d'un chef local des *Qara qoi* qui s'est rendu à la Cour pendant les années où *Qamul*, par suite des guerres avec les sultans de Tourfan, n'avait pas de roi ou ceux-ci étaient empêchés d'exercer le pouvoir (par exemple, *Šamba*). Cf. les ambassades de *Libayanda* (Doc. 3, 4, 41) apportant un tribut au nom de Qamul.

(1) *bar ärki*. Correspondance singulière du chin. 有 *yeou* «être; etc.» déjà enregistrée dans le Ky (cf. *AOH* XIX, p. 139). Son emploi dans ce passage, est conforme à l'usage du moyen mandarin des Yuan et des Ming. Le verbe *yeou* figure ici à la fin de la phrase; sur son emploi, voir Haenisch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der chinesischen Umgangssprache*, pp. 121—122. La construction 奏有 *tseou-yeou* a été déjà signalée par Chavannes qui a cherché à l'expliquer: «ils nous ont adressé une requête où ils nous disaient». Selon Haenisch il faut plutôt l'entendre comme «eine Eingabe, in der sich folgendes findet (*yeou*)».

(2) *barïnda öd*. L'expression ouigoure est calquée sur chin. 在時 *tsai-che* «du temps, du vivant». Sur *barïnda*, voir Doc. 20, note 4. Quant à la traduction jürčen de la même expression chinoise, voir Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, pp. 108—109.

(2) *sïng yumšap*. Voir Doc. 7, ligne 2—3, note.

(3) *barča u käi*. L'ouig. *barča* «tout, tous; complètement» est la traduction du chin. 皆 *kiai* (glosé *käi*) «all, every, entirely». Cf. Doc. 22, ligne 4.

(3—4) *mung*. La transcription du chin. 蒙 *mong*: «to cover; to conceal; a) dull, stupid; b) to receive from a superior; depreciatory term — I, my. Indicates the passive. To meet with, to leave». Ce caractère n'est ni traduit, ni commenté, mais il est reproduit en transcription seulement dans les documents ouigours, mongols et tibétains du Bureau des Traducteurs. Dans un document sino-mongol nous avons, par exemple, *mung degedüs-ün tügejü ögčü kündü šangsi* (*MNyt.* IV, p. 66, 1:3—4; ff. 1a, 1b). Dans un document sino-tibétain on lit: *moṅ goṅ-ma gnaṅ sbyin* (ff. 15a, 16a).

(4) *qalïn utlï*. Traduction du chin. 厚恩 *heou-ngen* «great kindness», décomposé en *heou* «thick; substantial; generous» ~ ouig. *qalïn* «épais, gros» et en *ngen* ~ ouig. *utlï*; ce dernier ne pose plus de problème.

(4) *amtï-qï yitgінčä*. Traduction du chin. 至今 *tche kin* «jusqu'à présent». Sur *amtï-qï* et sur sa fausse interprétation «aujourd'hui, à présent», voir Doc. 3, ligne 5, note. La forme *yitgінčä* se ramène au verbe *yit-* «se rendre, aller, arriver»; *-gінčä* (*-gïnčä*) est un suffixe de converbe (adverbe verbal); cf. A. v. Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 125 (*küči yitgінčä* «soweit seine Kraft reicht», *män kälgінčä* «bis ich wiederkomme», etc.). Bref, *amtï-qï yitgінčä* «jusqu'à présent» est un barbarisme du traducteur.

(4) *saqïnïp töpü u qam-tai*. C'est une fois de plus une traduction mal réussie, que même le traducteur a jugé bon de faire suivre d'une glose chinoise. En effet, *saqïnïp töpü* est censé rendre le chin. 感戴 *kan-tai* «rendre grâce, témoigner de la gratitude» où *kan* «to influence, to move; to affect; to touch: moved to thanks; gratitude» est traduit par *saqï ïp* (forme trouvée dans la source du traducteur) < *saqïn-* «déranger, affecter; avoir l'intention» et *tai* «to bear on the head or on the nose; to uphold; to honour; to bear, to sustain» par *töpü* «sommet de la tête».

(5) *tüzi tükäti*. Traduction du chin. 不盡 *pou tsin* «sans fin; très; incomplètement» (Rüdenberg); cf. 升安不盡 *cheng ngan pou tsin* «may you enjoy promotion and repose

without end» (Giles, p. 256, n° 2055). Chin. *tsin* «the utmost; entirely, all, wholly. To use up; to exhaust» ~ ouig. *tükäti* «complètement». Dans ce contexte, l'expression ouigoure est déplacée et dépourvue de sens.

(5) *taqï yimä*. Expression ouigoure bien connue («en outre, ensuite»), elle est adoptée pour rendre le chin. 仍 *jeng* «as before; usual; still, yet again». Les deux expressions ne se couvrent pas exactement.

(6) *tobïčaq*. Voir Doc. 3, note 8. Cette variété de cheval de l'Ouest est mentionnée dans le *Si-che-ki* de Tch'ang Tö: dans les pays de *Pao-ta* (*Baqdat*) on élève les chevaux *t'o-pi-tcha* (*tobičaq*); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, p. 140. Ce sont des chevaux à cou long et à pattes longues que Bretschneider cherche à identifier avec les chevaux turcomans.

(7) *az bučuq u ɛä*. Composé ouigour, jusqu'ici non attesté dans d'autres textes. Il est choisi pour rendre chin. 些 *sie* (= glose *sä*) «a little, a few; some; slightly».

(7) *asït käräg*. Traduction du chin. 應 | est décomposé en *ying* «ought; should; must; suitable; right; proper; fitting; necessary» ~ ouig. *asït* (leçon incertaine) «nécessaire» et en *yong* «to use, to employ; to consume; to apply; to put into practice; practical» ~ ouig. *käräk*.

(8—9) *ačïγ-lïg birdi*. Voir Doc. 16, ligne 4, note.

(9) *bolup inčip*. Traduction calquée machinalement sur chin. 爲此 *wei-ts'eu* «on this account», mais selon les éléments de l'expression on a chin. *wei* ~ ouig. *bolup* (sur cette équivalence, voir Doc. 21, ligne 6, note) et *ts'eu* «this; here» ~ ouig. *inčip* «puis, mais». A propos de ce dernier, voir encore ouig. *munda*, Doc. 7, ligne 1, note.

24.

1 [48a] *Turufan yir yangaq Moll-a Maqamat baš čal öčip qul kiši*
2 *ärür Sutan Ali ong ning u ti ilči barïš käliš tartïp*
3 *yïl ürkäč u kiu nämäptür sämqu čolasï bar ärki män ong*
4 *sözlä amtï yumšap u čai säning bar tartïp bitig u wun-*
5 *-šiu ïnayat*
6 *Taiming qayan yaqšï atïn yolïn yir sarï amrïlturmïš tapdï läu Qamul*
7 *balïq kölmäk tamγ-a büširägülük yitip u čäu qaulï tartïp*
8 [48b] *munïng täg oγrayu yumšap u čai qul kiši yitip u fuu*
9 *kingši u king baš čal tiläp ïnayat u ong ayïr ayïr soyurqap*
10 *öčip tapdï*
11 *yarlïγ bilür*:

Moll-a Maqamat du pays de Turufan en se prosternant fait son rapport au trône. Votre esclave (2) est l'ambassadeur du roi Sutan Ali, allant et venant il apporte le tribut (3), depuis des années. Pour me faire avancer au rang de *sämqu*, mon roi (4) m'a dit: maintenant, je t'envoie pour offrir le tribut et la lettre de créance (5) je mets mon espoir (6) dans la bonne réputation et la gloire de l'empereur des Taiming. La contrée est pacifiée. J'ai obtenu (7) le sceau de la ville de Qamul; selon l'ancien usage, je vous offre le tribut (8). C'est pourquoi votre esclave envoyé spécialement est arrivé (9) dans la capitale et

en se prosternant, il vous demande instamment et il espère une récompense importante. (10) C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (11) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Moll-a Maqamat*. Fonctionnaire de Tourfan, ambassadeur du «roi» Ali. Le titre de *Molla* revient dans les noms des petits fonctionnaires du monde turc du Turkestan des Ming. Ainsi, le *tou-tou* des *Qara qoi* s'appelle, en 1512, *Man-la Ha-san*, c'est-à-dire *Molla Xasan*; Pelliot dans *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII, p. 138, note 105. D'ailleurs, l'ambassade de *Moll-a Maqamat* paraît authentique: dans son «adresse» il est question de la prise de Qamul et du sceau d'or de cette ville. Cela revient à dire que son ambassade a dû se rendre à Pékin après 1473, occupation de Qamul, et avant 1478, mort d'Ali.

(2) *ärür*. Traduction machinale du chin. 是 *che* en fonction prédicative. Imitation de la syntaxe chinoise. Barbarisme du traducteur.

(2) *Sutan Ali ong*. Ali, roi de Tourfan, en 1469 a annoncé à la Cour qu'il avait pris le titre de *sultan*, et à cette occasion il a réclamé certains attributs de l'autorité du *sultan*. Malgré les refus réitérés du Ministère des Cérémonies, il a persisté à faire reconnaître son autorité. Profitant du désordre qui régnait alors à Qamul, en 1479 il a attaqué et occupé la ville, capturé la princesse douairière et s'est emparé du sceau d'or offert par l'empereur au roi de Qamul. En même temps Ali a conquis *Küsän* et a remporté une victoire sur les Oïrates. Mais l'empereur a encore refusé de reconnaître Ali comme le sultan de Tourfan, et puisqu'il n'a pas rempli les conditions qu'on lui avait posées, l'empereur n'a même pas reçu les ambassadeurs de Tourfan. Sur ces entrefaites, en 1478, Ali est mort, sans avoir remis en liberté la princesse douairière (elle est morte en captivité) ni rendu le sceau d'or de Qamul. Cf. *Ming-che*, 329, 20a—21b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 195—196; Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, pp. 87—90. Les sources musulmanes ignorent le nom d'*Ali*. Elias et Ross (*The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 104) ont cherché à identifier notre *Ali* à *Yunus* en partant des textes chinois qui veulent que *Ali* ait été le père d'*Aχmat*, alors que d'après les sources musulmanes le père d'*Aχmat* était *Yunus*. Ceci est vrai, mais les dates ne concordent pas avec cette hypothèse. Il me paraît toujours plus raisonnable d'admettre, avec Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 200, que *Ali* doit être identifié à *Kebek* (ou *Käpäk*) II, qui entre autres, était le sultan de Tourfan. L'identification de *Yunus* à *Ali* est certainement inadmissible, justement sur la foi de nos documents qui font figurer les deux personnes, par contre, nos textes sont muets au sujet de *Kebek* (ou *Käpäk*) II.

(3) *yïl ürkäč u kiu*. Calque fait sur chin. 年久 *nien kieou*. Pour la construction analogue *kün ürkäč u kiu*, voir Doc. 12, ligne 4, note.

(3) *nämäptür*. Traduction du chin. 加陞 *kia-cheng* «nommer, faire avancer». Bien que les deux caractères chinois soient rendus par un seul mot ouigour (d'origine mongole), ce dernier présente un sinicisme: *neme-* «augmenter, ajouter», il s'explique, par exemple, par le chin. *kia* «to add; to increase; to grant, to raise to». Quant au chin. *cheng*, dans les documents sino-mongols du Bureau des Traducteurs, il est traduit par *ner-e nemen* (*MNyt*. IV, p. 68, 3:6; ff. 5b, 6a).

(3) *sämqu*. C'est la transcription du titre chinois *ts'ien-hou* «chiliarque». Cf. H. Serruys, *Sino-Jürčed Relations During the Yung-lo Period* (1403—1424), p. 21. La forme *säm* reste aberrante. Chez Marco Polo, ce titre figure sous la forme de *cenchu*, lire *čenqu*; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I, p. 236. Notons en jürčen la forme $če^{n}$-*χu*; cf. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, p. 17.

(3) *bar ärki*. Cf. Doc. 23, ligne 1, note.

(4) *män ong sözlä*. «Mon roi me dit (ou: m'a dit)». La traduction ouigoure est indéfendable.

(4) *säning*. Au sens de «vous (*ni-mei*)» est un barbarisme, copié sur le Ky; cf. *AOH* XIX, p. 194.

(5) *atïn yolïn*. Traduction calquée sur chin. 名聲 *ming-cheng* «réputation», plus exactement *ming* «a name, reputation» ~ ouig. *at* «nom» et *cheng* «a sound, a voice, a tone; music; reputation, fame» ~ ouig. *yol* «bonheur, succès». *Atïn et yolïn* sont en cas d'accusatif (poss. 3e pers. Sg.).

(6) *yir sarï amrïlturmïš*. Cette phrase ouigoure manque au texte chinois.

(6) *tapdï läu*. Dans cette expression *läu* répond au chin. 了 *leao*, verbe auxiliaire qui est interprété comme «la terminaison du prétérit» (Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 57); «d'une façon générale, le temps passé est indiqué par l'adjonction du verbe auxiliaire *leáo*, . . .après le verbe principal ou à la fin de la phrase» (Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 22); c'est le signe du «past tense» (Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 238; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language*, II—III, 3). En revanche, il est considéré par Maspero (*Le chinois*, p. 12) comme un verbe auxiliaire, affixé au verbe principal, pour former l'aspect accompli; selon Frey (*Un système chinois des aspects*, p. 139), c'est «une particule» pour désigner «l'aspect achevé»; Průšek (*Quelques remarques sur les aspects chinois*, p. 413) y voit l'auxiliaire de «l'aspect perfectif». Cf. encore Halliday, *The Language of the Chinese «Secret History of the Mongols»*, pp. 82—85. En tout cas, notre traducteur n'a su que faire du chin. *leao*, il l'a simplement transcrit; il faut toutefois faire remarquer, qu'à maintes reprises le traducteur chinois a rendu le chin. *leao* par le passé déterminé du verbe principal ouigour.

(7) *balïq kölmäk*. «Ville (mur)» et «lac» représente un composé insolite en ouigour; il s'agit d'un calque linguistique fait sur chin. 城池 *tch'eng-tch'e* «ville, mur» + «lac» signifiant «le fossé d'une ville» ou encore «ville», c'est le sens qu'il faut adopter ici. Barbarisme du traducteur.

(7) *tamγ-a büširägülük*. C'est un calque linguistique fait sur le chin. 印信 *yin-sin* «a seal» (Mathews), où *tamγa* traduit *yin* «an official seal, a stamp, a mark» et *büširägülük* répond à *sin* «a letter; a token of confidence» (Mathews). Dans les documents sino-mongols du Bureau des Traducteurs la même expression revient sous la forme du mong. *tamay-a bisiregül*; cf. *MNyt*. IV, pp. 71, 8:3; 73, 11:3; 74, 12:4.

(7) *yitip čäu qaulï*. Ici *yitip* est sans doute une erreur pour *yitärip*. Sur *yitärip u čäu yi tapuqïnda qaulï*, voir Doc. 15, ligne 7, note.

(9) *ayïr ayïr soyurqap*. Calque fait sur chin. 重重賞賜 *tchong tchong chang sseu* «un cadeau important». Cf. *tchong tchong* «heavy, important» ~ ouig. *ayïr ayïr*, id. Cf. Doc. 36, ligne 3, note.

25.

1 [50a] *Uiγur yir omoγ u čü Qanikä öčip bolup tartïp iš qul kiši*
2 *äbügäng Aqimat munïng täg u yin ačïγ-lïq birdi qïdïγ sarï bar*
3 *ärki kunglau u kung mung*
4 *tngri yu̧küngäli bälgü u fung bolup ong čola u čäu soyurqap u ban birip u ki*
5 *tamγ-a büširägülük tauraq barïnda bu̧dün bölük qatayalap u kon yarčïmlap*
6 *u šu̧ tašqarï biriktürüp u čung tutuzu u čo̧n ulatï amtï-qï yitginčä tartïp*
7 *tüzi ägsük amtï yitärip u čäu tapuqïnda qaulï čorïp u tä yumšap u čai*

8 [50b] *čiqui sämši Käkänä bašlïγ on kiši tartïp altun yarmaq-lïγ bars bir boyïn*
9 *ala bars bir boyïn yana m-a öngi yangči topraq čïqïlur näm-ä türlüg bardï*
10 *tämiz ïnayat u ong ärtä soyurqap u sï yïγïp täginip bärü ičin tašïn u bäu*
11 *yïraq kiši čïn kirtü u čing ayïrlap u king öčip tapdï*
12 *yarlïγ bilür*:

Qanikä, maître du pays d'Uiγur (*Kao-tch'ang*) fait son rapport au trône au sujet du tribut à offrir. (2) Puisque Aqimat, grand-père de votre esclave, s'est efforcé [de vous servir] à la frontière (3) et en avait des mérites, (4) votre Majesté a bien voulu lui conférer le rang de roi (*wang*) et lui accorder (5) le sceau. Puis dans mon district j'ai contrôlé les barbares en les [unissant et] dirigeant. Jusqu'ici j'ai envoyé le tribut (7) sans faute. Maintenant, conformément à l'ancien usage, j'ai spécialement envoyé (8) le *čiqui sämši* Käkänä à la tête de dix personnes qui ont apporté en tribut léopard, une tête, (9) panthère tachetée, une tête et encore toutes sortes de produits locaux. (10) J'espère humblement que bientôt vous daignerez les accepter comme le signe du dévouement (11) des gens [d'un pays] lointain. C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (12) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Uiγur*. Dans ce cas le nom de la contrée *Uiγur* est suivi de l'interprétation chinoise *Kao-tch'ang*. Sur le sens de notre *Uiγur*, voir Doc. 21, ligne 1, note. Quant à *Kao-tch'ang*, cette dénomination très en vogue sous les T'ang, n'a rien à voir avec *Qočo*; à cette époque elle a une acception spéciale: elle désigne tout comme le nom *Uiγur*, la contrée d'*Uiγuristān* des sources musulmanes. Sur *Kao-tch'ang* sous les Yuan, cf. H. Serruys, *The Mongols of Kansu during the Ming*, p. 265.

(1) *Qanikä*. Maître (*omoγ*) d'Ouigourie. Selon notre document il était le petit-fils d'*Aqimat*; si ce dernier est identique au fameux *Aχmat*, il doit s'agir de *Šāh-χān* (1540—1570), fils de *Mansur*, petit fils d'*Aχmat*. Cette interprétation se heurte à une difficulté. Il est vrai que *Qanikä* reflète sûrement une forme indigène *Xanekä* (*Ḫānīkä*), donc le titre hypocoristique de *χan* pouvait, à la rigueur, avoir été porté par *Šāh-χān*, mais malheureusement, nos sources n'en soufflent pas mot. En revanche, d'après les mêmes sources musulmanes, *Xanekä* est l'appellation de *Maḥmūd-hān*, fils aîné du *Yunūs*, frère aîné d'*Aχmat* bien connu. Cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 129, 115—120; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 158, 235—236; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, p. 577; H. Vámbéry, *Die Scheibaniade, ein özbegisches Heldengedicht in* 76 *Gesängen* (Wien 1885), p. 456, note 83; A. Pavet de Courteille, *Mémoires de Baber* I (Paris 1870), p. 23.

(1) *bolup tartïp iš*. Sur *bolup*, dans cette fonction, voir Doc. 21, ligne 6, note. L'expression ouigoure est forgée sur chin. 爲進貢事 *wei-tsin-kong che* «dans l'affaire d'offrir le tribut». Cette formule chinoise est rendue, dans les documents sino-tibétains, par *don-la 'bul-ba 'bya-ba* (ff. 27a, 28a); ici encore nous avons affaire à un calque fait sur l'expression chinoise; l'ordre des mots, en tibétain, suit servilement celui de l'expression chinoise. Par ailleurs, dans les documents sino-tibétains on lit encore 爲乞討賞賜事 *wei k'i-t'ao chang-sseu che* «dans l'affaire de solliciter la faveur de votre Majesté», en tibétain *don-la khi-len gnaṅ-sbyin bya-ba* (ff. 23a, 24a; avec l'ordre des mots chinois).

(2) *munïng täg u yin*. Voir Doc. 3, lignes 3—4, note.

(2) *ačïγ-lïq birdi*. Voir Doc. 16, ligne 4, note.

(2) *qïdïγ sarï*. Traduction calquée sur chin. 邊方 *pien-fang* «frontière; chin. *pien* «a side, a border, an edge, a margin, a bask, a boundary; the frontier» ~ ouig. *qïdïγ* «frontière» et chin. *fang* ~ ouig. *sarï* (sur ce dernier, cf. Doc. 1, ligne 2, note).

(3—4) *mung tngri yu̱küngäli*. Sur l'emploi du *mong*, mot chinois en transcription ouigoure, voir Doc. 23, ligne 3—4, note.

(2—3) *bar ärki*. La formule 有功 *yeou kong* (~ ouig. *bar ärki kunglau u kung*) est rendue dans les documents sino-mongols par *bui gung* (*MNyt*. IV, p. 68, 3:4; ff. 5a, 6a), ce qui est encore un barbarisme flagrant. Les documents sino-jürčen ont *be-e gun* (Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, pp. 112—113); *gun* est ici encore la transcription du chin. *kong*.

(2—3) *kunglau u kung*. Le soi-disant mot ouigour *kunglau* est un emprunt au chin. 功勞 *kong-lao* «merit; worthy service». La glose chinoise (*kung*) nous rappelle le cas analogue du *kingši u king*; cf. Doc. 2, ligne 3, note. L'expression *kong-lao* revient dans les documents sino-jürčen (Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, pp. 134—135).

(4) *bälgü u fung*. Le chin 封 *fong* «to seal up, to blockade; to appoint to an office or to territory; a fief or principality; to bestow honours, to confer nobility; etc.» a été rendu par ouig. *bälgü* «signe, symbole»; c'est une équivalence assez pauvre.

(4) *bolup*. Cf. Doc. 21, ligne 6, note.

(4) *soyurqap u ban birip u ki*. L'expression *soyurqap birip* répond au chin. *ban-ki* ou 頒給 *pan-kei* «to confer upon — by authority». Il faut remarquer que dans ce document le nombre des gloses chinoises en écriture ouigoure est excessivement grand.

(5) *tauraq*. Equivalent du chin. *tsieou*; cf. Doc. 22, ligne 4, note.

(5) *barïnda bu̱dün bölük*. Traduction calquée sur le chin. 在本處 *tsai pen tch'ou*. Sur l'équivalence artificielle de chin. *tsai* «à» ~ ouig. *barïnda*, voir Doc. 18, ligne 4, note. Pour chin. *pen* «son, propre» ~ ouig. *bu̱dün*, voir Ky, dans *AOH* XIX, p. 148. Le chin. *tch'ou* «a place, an office, a department; a side or party; condition, circumstances» a été rendu, en ouigour, par *bölük* «section, chapitre, partie» (Ky; *AOH* XIX, pp. 144—145), tenant compte sans doute de l'acception spéciale de «division territoriale, district» attestée, entre autres, dans le tchaghataï du XVe siècle. Il est probable que c'est bien le sens qu'il faut donner au mot dans notre document.

(5—6) *qataγalap u kon yarčïmlap u šu̱*. L'expression *kon šu̱* ou 管束 *kouan-chou* «to control; to restrain» est traduite, comme presque toujours, caractère par caractère: chin. *kouan* «to govern, to care for, to control» ~ ouig. *qataγala-* «s'occuper de qch.; administrer» et chin. *chou* «to bind; to control; to keep in order» ~ ouig. *yarčïmla-* «contrôler, tenir en ordre». Les documents sino-mongols donnent, pour *kouan-chou* simplement *qadaγal-un* (*MNyt*. IV, p. 73, 11:4; ff. 21a, 22a).

(6) *biriktürüp a čung*. Le chin. 衆 *tchong* «all, the whole of; a multitude; a crowd — three or more» ~ ouig. *biriktür-* «unir» font une équivalence faible.

(6) *tutuzu u čo̱n*. La forme ouigoure représente un converbe en *-u* (Cf. Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 121, § 232) du verbe *tutuz-* «ordonner; amener» et elle devait traduire chin. 傳 *tch'ouan* «to propagate to preach; to summon; to transmit verbally; to hand down; to perpetuate; to spread as a rumour; to send.»

(6) *ulatï*. Traduction fantaisiste du chin. 及 *ki* «to extend; to reach to; to come up to; when, as long as, or, such as, a n d.» C'est pour ce dernier sens qu'on a cherché un équivalent, en ouigour, du mot: *ulatï* «et, encore, de plus». En réalité, nous avons ici 及至 *ki-tche* «until; up to a certain point». C'est ainsi que le chin. 及至今 *ki-tche kin* «jusqu'à maintenant» a abouti, en pseudo-ouigour, à *ulatï amtï-qï yitginčä*.

(6) *amtï-qï yitginčä*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 4, note.

(7) *tüzi ägsük*. C'est le chin. 不缺 *pou k'iue* «sans faute, sans déficience», pour *tüzi ägsük*; cf. Doc. 21, ligne 7.

(7) *yitärip u čäu tapuqïnda qaulï*. Voir Doc. 15, ligne 7, note.

(7) *čorïp u tä yumšap u čai*. L'expression *čorïp yumšap* est destinée à rendre le chin. 特差 *t'ö-tch'ai* «envoyer spécialement»; elle est décomposée en chin. *t'ö* «on purpose; special; eminent, alone; etc.» ~ ouig. *čorï-* «se proposer, avoir l'intention» et en chin. *tch'ai* ~ ouig. *yumša-*; pour ce dernier voir Doc. 1, ligne 1, note.

(8) *čiqui sämši*. Transcription du titre chinois *tche-houei ts'ien-che* «secrétaire commandant», souvent accordé, sous les Ming, aux chefs locaux turcs et mongols. Cf. Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China*, p. 380 («guard assistant commander»); H. Serruys, *Sino-Jürčed Relations During the Yung-lo Period* (1403—1424), pp. 10, 58 («assistant commandant»). Dans les documents sino-mongols du Bureau des Traducteurs nous avons également *čiqui-semsi*; cf. *MNyt*. IV, pp. 69, 4:2—3; 81, 24:1; 84,29:1.

(8) *Käkänä*. La vraie forme du nom reste incertaine, aussi son interprétation est-elle douteuse. Dans les autres sources, cet ambassadeur est inconnu.

(8) *Käkänä bašlïy on kiši tartïp*. C'est notre seul document où le nombre des personnes participant à l'ambassade est indiqué. L'ambassade conduite par *Käkänä* paraît assez importante sans être exagérément nombreuse.

(8) *boyïn*. C'est la traduction machinale du chin. 項 *hiang* «nuque, cou» employé comme numérale des bêtes sauvages.

(8) *altun yarmaq-lïy bars*. En 1411, une ambassade arrivée de *Beš balïq* offrit un léopard (*wen-pao*) en tribut à la Cour des Ming; cf. *Ming-che*, 332, 20a; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 240. Le léopard, connu en Chine depuis l'antiquité, était toujours considéré comme une bête exotique. Sous les T'ang, les ambassades arrivées des pays occidentaux en ont apporté de beaux spécimens en tribut. Apprivoisés, comme léopards de chasse, ils étaient très appréciés en Chine depuis cette époque, et plus tard, sous les Mongols, surtout dans la Horde d'Or et dans l'empire des Ilkhans de Perse. Cf. E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 87—88; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (Leipzig 1943), 9. 304; B. D. Grekov—A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie* (M.-L. 1950), p. 114; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 421.

(9) *ala bars* «panthère tachetée». Une de ces bêtes sauvages dangereuses que les ambassadeurs (et les marchands) de Turkestan amenaient volontiers en tribut à Pékin, et qui donnait tant de soucis aux autorités chinoises subalternes.

(9) *öngi yangči*. L'expression ouigoure signifie «de nature variée, divers, différent» en face du chin. 各樣 *ko yang* «each sort, every kind». Cf. Doc. 22, lignes 8—9, note.

(9) *topraq čïqïlur*. Traduction calquée sur 土產 *t'ou-tch'an* «products of a country». Barbarisme du traducteur. Cf. Doc. 5, note 4.

(10) *bärü ičin tašïn u bäu*. C'est une traduction fantaisiste du chin. 以表 *yi-piao* «en signe de». Pour rendre le chin. *yi* qui remplit en chinois tant de fonctions, on a choisi, avec la maladresse coutumière, pour équivalent ouigour, la postposition *bärü* «hierher; seit . . .; von . . . her». Quant à *ičin tašïn*, tout d'abord notre ms. porte une graphie qui se lit plutôt *äčin* ce qui est une erreur de copie. Les deux mots représentent l'instrumental du composé *ič taš* «intérieur et extérieur»; par ailleurs, sous la forme *ičin tašïn* il revient dans nos documents au sens de «vêtement et doublure», comme l'équivalent du chin. *piao-li* (cf. Doc. 10, ligne 4, note). Or, par une erreur extraordinaire, le traducteur a maintenu l'ouigour *ičin tašïn* même dans ce passage où le car. *piao* figure seul, sans *li*. C'est une autre histoire que cette fois le chin. *piao* a le sens de «manifester, déployer; signe. marque»; cf. 以表 *yi-piao* «as a token» (Mathews, p. 714, n° 5187:47).

(10) *yïraq kiši*. Expression insolite en ouigour, elle est calquée sur le chin. 遠人 *yuan jen* «strangers; persons from a distance». Dans les documents sino-tibétains on a *riṅ-mi* (ff. 19a, 20b).

(11) *čïn kirtü u čing ayïrlap u king*. Sur *čïn kïrtü*, voir Ky (*AOH* XIX, p. 152). Quant au chin. *king* «to reverence; to respect; to honour; a present» = ouig. *ayïrlap* < *ayïrla-* «respecter, honorer», en principe, c'est une équivalence satisfaisante. Cependant ouig. *čïn kirtü ayïrlap*, en tant que traduction du chin. 誠敬 *tch'eng-king* «sincere regard; reverence» est absurde. Pour la même expression chinoise, les documents sino-tibétains du Bureau des Traducteurs ont *čhiṅ gus-pa* (ff. 19b, 20b) où *čhiṅ* est la simple transcription du chin. *tch'eng* et où *yus-pa* a le sens de «respect, reverence, devotion» (Jaeschke, p. 70).

26.

1 [52a] *Asu yir yangaq kičig qul kiši Ababakir baš čal öčip män amtï ïnayat*
2 *u yang-lai*
3 *tngri yu̧küngäli uluγ buyan yïraq olurup u ku̧ qïdïγ sarï bir yu̧rük yitärip saqlap*
4 *törü u yasaq-nï tüzi qam qarïšïp amtï yumšap u čai Qoči tapuqïnda*
5 *bar tartïp bolut qïlïnč bir ba aqta toquz bi bardï tiläptür asït*
6 *käräk ning u ti näm-ä türlüg altun longq-a altun ayaq öngi önglüg*
7 *čäčäk sïdam čini qapqu baślïγ näm-ä qaltï mung*
8 [52b] *utlï soyurqap u sï birip ning u ti öčip tapdï*
9 *yarlïγ bilür*:

Ababakir, l'humble esclave du pays d'Asu se prosternant fait son rapport au trône. Maintenant (2) je mets ma confiance (3) dans la grande Fortune de votre Majesté céleste. Vivant loin, à la frontière, j'ai observé de tout mon coeur (4) les lois et les réglements, sans oser désobéir. Maintenant j'ai envoyé Qoči à la Cour (5) pour apporter en tribut une épée d'acier, des hongres, neuf têtes. Il vous prie de lui accorder (6) des objets faits pour s'en servir: bouteilles d'or, tasses d'or, vaisselle de porcelaine de couleur (7) variée, ornée de fleurs, de couleur unie et d'autres articles encore. Supposé que vous me les accordiez (8) en récompense, j'ai fait mon rapport au trône. (9) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Asu* (*A-sou*). Ce nom de pays est bien connu dans la *Géographie des Ming*. Bien plus, le *Ming-che*, 332, 23a—b, lui a consacré une courte notice. D'après ce texte, ce pays est situé entre l'Arabie (*T'ien-fang*) et *Samarqand*. Sa capitale est bâtie à côté d'une montagne, de l'autre côté elle touche à une rivière qui se jette dans la mer. Les habitants ont beaucoup de poissons et du sel; ce sont des agriculteurs. Ils vénèrent Bouddha. En 1419, *Ya-hou-cha* (*Yaqub šāh*), le souverain de ce pays envoya un tribut à l'Empereur. Mais vu la grande distance qui sépare ce pays de la Chine, on n'a plus envoyé de tribut. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 310—311. On serait tenté de songer aux Asses, descendants des Alains, vivant au Caucase (cf. Fairbank—Têng, *On the Ch'ing Tributary System*, p. 220); mais cette hypothèse est à peu près exclue,

aussi bien pour des raisons géographiques que pour des raisons historiques. Toutefois on doit tenir compte du fait que dans les transcriptions du *Ming-che*, *A-sou* peut représenter outre l'*As* une forme *Os*, répondant soit à *Oz*, soit (par une erreur du copiste ouigour) à *Oš*. Malgré les contradictions que l'on est à même de découvrir dans la notice consacrée à *A-sou* (bouddhisme et le nom mahométan *Yaqub-šāh* sont à peine conciliables), je serais enclin de voir là le nom d'*Oz-kend*, ville située au bord du Syr-darya qui se jette dans la «mer» d'Aral. Oz-kend, capitale du Ferghana n'a très probablement jamais envoyé de tribut à la Chine, mais il n'est pas impossible qu'un habile marchand mahométan venant de cette ville se soit posé, à Pékin, en envoyé tributaire de son souverain.

(1) *kičig qul kiši*. «Humble esclave» pour «je, moi»; cf. Doc. 21, ligne 5, note.

(1) *Ababakir*. On se demande s'il ne s'agit pas là du personnage bien connu d'*Ababakr* (*Abā Bakr*), fils de *Sāniz-mīrzā* (1458—1464), neveu de *Muḥammad Haidar* Ier (1465—1480) qui a joué un rôle assez important dans les luttes menées pour la partie occidentale du Mogholistan. Cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 495; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 571—572.

(3) *bir yu̯räk*. Calque fait sur le chin. 一心 *yi-sin* «with individed heart».

(3—4) *yitäriṗ saqlap*. Expression traduite sur le chin. 遵守 *ts'ouen-cheou* «to observe; to keep, to guard carefully», décomposé en *ts'ouen* «to honour, to obey, to comply; to follow» ∼ ouig. *yitär-* «faire complètement, mener à bien» et en *cheou* «to guard; to observe; to keep, as observances; to attend to; to hold on to; to maintain» ∼ ouig. *saqla-* «garder».

(4) *tüzi qam qarïšïp*. C'est la formule chinoise bien connue 不敢違背 *pou kan wei-pei* «je n'ose pas désobéir». Dans un document sino-tibétain on lit chin. *pou kan wei fa* «je n'ose pas transgresser la loi», tib. *ma gam 'gal-ba čhos* (ff. 59a, 60a—b; *gam* est la transcription du chin. *kan*; *'gal-ba* «to transgress, violate, break», *čhos* «loi»).

(4) *Qoči*. Retranscription basée sur la forme *Xoǰä*, répondant à *Ḫōǰa*. Personnage inconnu.

(5) *bolut qïlïnč* «épée d'acier». Cet article figure assez souvent sur la liste des tributs apportés par les ambassades occidentales. A titre d'exemple, rappelons qu'une ambassade de Samarkand en 1392 a offert en tribut, entre autres, des épées d'acier (鑌鐵刀 *pin-t'ie tao*). Une autre ambassade, en 1453, arrivant de *Hei-lou* (Hérat; le pays de *Cha-ha-lou so-lou-t'an* = *Šāh-rū[h] soltān*) a apporté également des épées d'acier. Cf. *Ming-che*, 332, 2a; 332, 22b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 256, 272. Sur *pin-t'ie* «une espèce d'acier», voir B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 515—516; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I, pp. 41—42; E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 263, 341. D'après Laufer (et Pelliot) *pin-(t'ie)* est très probablement un emprunt fait à l'iranien; cf. iranien **spaina*, langues de Pamir *spin*, afgh. *ōspīna*, ossète *äfsän*. Cf. encore prakrit *pin*, sur ce dernier, voir la note de Pelliot, dans Bagchi, *Deux lexique sanskrit-chinois*, pp. 280—281. Sur afgh. *ōspīna*, *ōspena* «fer» < av. **ayo spaēnəm* «le métal blanc», voir G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Paṣhto* (Oslo 1927), p. 12.

(5) *bir ba*. *Ba* est la transcription du chin. 把, numérale des objets ayant un manche. Cf. Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 97; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* I, pp. 126—127; Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 69.

(6—7) *öngi önglüg čačak sïdam čini qapqu*. Quant à la couleur de la vaisselle de porcelaine, «la couleur variée» (*öngi önglüg*) et «la couleur unie» (*sïdäm*) ne pose pas de problème. Par contre *čačak* traduisant le chin. 花 *houa* «fleur» s'explique par le sens figuré «ornamental, figured, spotted, variegated, piebald». Dans le document sino-mongol de 1453, le chin. *houa* est traduit par mong. *čečegtei* «fleuri, orné de fleurs»; *MNyt.* IV, p. 65; F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Edict of 1453*: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic*

Studies XIII, pp. 498 (surtout note 8), 439.

(7) *qaltï*. Il s'agit d'une équivalence imparfaite: chin. 如 *jou* «like, if, as; as good as, equal to; an initial particle: — if, supposing, etc.» ~ ouig. *qaltï* «si, comme». La construction *qaltï* etc., en ouigour, est inadmissible.

27.

1 [54a] *Taiming qayan uluy buyan tapuqïnda Sutan Aqimat baš čal öčip*
män kičig qul kiši
2 *yïraq olurup u kų qïdïy sarï ačïy-lïq birdi yïl ürkäč u kiu amtï*
3 *oγrayu yumšap u čai Qači Talaqan yitip u fuu*
4 *altun qapï altïn čayur bolup munïng täg u yin tangï yol ačïp*
ötkürmiš
5 *u tung ürgülči yumšap u čai kiši barïš käliš amtï išit u wun tapdï*
6 *üstünki yaqšï atïn yolïn bar ärki män oylï oylan yitärip u čäu-yi*
7 *tapuqïnda qauli tartïp tüzi ägsük öčip tapdï*
8 [54b] *yarlïy bilür*:

Devant la grande Fortune de l'Empereur des Taiming, Sutan Aqimat (Maqimat) se prosterne et fait son rapport au trône. Votre humble esclave (2) vivant loin, à la frontière, faisait son service depuis de longues années. Maintenant (3) il envoie spécialement Qoči Talaqan qui, arrivant (4) à la Porte d'Or, se présente à l'audience. Comme j'ai (5) toujours envoyé des gens lorsque les routes étaient ouvertes aux allées et venues, maintenant j'ai entendu (6) la bonne réputation et le renom de votre Majesté, en conséquence, moi, mes fils et mes petits-fils, conformément (7) à l'ancien usage, nous vous offrirons le tribut, sans cesse. C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) Dans le texte ouigour, le nom du chef tributaire est épelé *Maqimat*, dans le texte chinois le même nom est transcrit comme *A-hei-ma* ce qui donnerait, en orthographe ouigoure de nos documents, *Aqimat*. Lequel des deux noms est authentique? En Mogholistan, le frère aîné *Aḥmad*, souverain de Tourfan, s'appelait *Maḥmūd* qui régnait à Taškent et dans le Mogholistan occidental (1487—1508). Cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 120—123; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 235—236; Grouset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 574—576. Est-ce lui qui est visé par notre document? Après tout, il est bien plus probable qu'il s'agisse ici encore du sultan *A-hei-ma* (*Aqimat* = *Aχmat*) de Tourfan dont le nom est mentionné dans plusieurs de nos documents.

(2) *yïl ürkäč u kiu*. Voir Doc. 24, ligne 3, note.

(3) *Qači Talaqan*. *Qači* répond à une forme *Xaǰi* (cf. Doc. 30). La restitution de *Talaqan* < chin. *Ta-la-han* demeure incertaine; on pourrait songer, à la rigueur, encore à **Tarqan*. *Qači Talaqan* représente, très probablement, le nom d'une seule personne; actuellement on ne sait rien à son sujet.

(4) *tangï yol*. Traduction du chin. 道路 *tao-lou* «a road; a way» (Mathews). Il est

fort surprenant que *tangï* réponde à *tao* «route» qui, dans Ky, signifie «un prêtre taoiste (*tao*)» (*AOH* XIX, p. 259). Pour le moment, il est difficile de déterminer le sens primitif qu'il faut attribuer à ce mot ouigour jusqu'ici non attesté dans les autres sources.

(4) *bolup munïng täg*. Barbarisme calqué sur chin. 爲因 *wei-yin*.

(4—5) *ačïp ötkürmiš u tung*. Le chin. 開通 *k'ai-t'ong* «to open intercourse with; to open a way through» est traduit caractère par caractère: chin. *k'ai* «to open» ~ ouig. *ač-* «ouvrir» et chin. *t'ong* «to go through; to succede» ~ ouig. *ötkür-* «passer par, faire passer». Barbarisme coutumier.

(5) *ürgülči*. Le mot ouigour (emprunté au mong. *ürgülǰi*) signifie «toujours». Cette même acception du chin. 常川 *tch'ang-tch'ouan* est assurée sous les Yuan et les Ming; cf. Haenisch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der chinesischen Umgangssprache*, p. 111.

(5) *išit u wun tapdï*. L'ouig. *išit tapdï* est calqué sur le chin. 聞得 *wen-tö*; sur cette dernière construction, voir Doc 1, ligne 7, note.

(6) *bar ärki*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 1, note.

(6) *oylï oylan*. Traduction calquée sur le chin. 子孫 *tseu-souen* «sons and grandsons; descendants; posterity» ou *tseu* «fils» est interprété par *oylï* «son fils» (< *oyul*) et *souen* «petit-fils» par *oylan* «jeune homme, garçon», «fils du khan, prince». L'équivalence singulière *souen*: *oylan* est enregistrée encore dans le *Supplément* du Vocabulaire sino-ouigour du Bureau des Traducteurs, mais elle reste sans autorité: elle paraît remonter aux documents sino-ouigours du Bureau.

28.

1 [56a] *Udon yir yangaq čin-fuu Asman öčip qul kiši ïnayat u yang-lai*
2 *tngri qayan igäsi uluy buyan yir sarï amrïlturmïš tašqarï biriktürüp u čung*
3 *mängiläyür amtï yumšap u čai täumu Ali tartïp arslang šer*
4 *bir boyïn qar-a qulaq bir boyïn yitip u fuu*
5 *altun qapï tapuqïnda baš čal bärü ičin tašïn u bäu qul kiši čïn kirtü u*
6 *čing ayïrlap u king tüzi qam tiläptür soyurqap bolup inčip*
7 *öčip tapdï*
8 [56b] *yarlïy bilür*:

Le *čin-fuu* Asman du pays d'Udon fait son rapport au trône. Votre esclave met sa confiance (2) dans la grande Fortune de l'Empereur céleste, son maître. La contrée est pacifiée, les barbares sont (3) heureux. Maintenant j'ai envoyé le *täumu* Ali pour offrir en tribut: lion (4), une tête, *qaraqulaq* (chat-pard, ocelot), une tête. Arrivé (5) devant la Porte d'Or il se prosterne, en signe du dévouement de votre esclave (6) qui n'ose pas (désobéir). Il vous demande instamment des récompenses. C'est pourquoi (7) j'ai fait mon rapport au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Udon*. D'après les sources chinoises, c'est une station militaire sur le territoire des *Sa-li wei-wou-eul* (*Sarïy uiyur*) qui est limitrophe à l'est avec *Han-tong*, au nord, avec *Cha-tcheou*. Son nom chinois, dans les mêmes textes, est épelé *A-touan* qui répond

bien à une forme indigène *Odon*. Pratiquement c'est le nom de Khotan qui figure dans le *Ming-che*, par une confusion non sans exemple, encore une fois sous son ancien nom chinois *Yu-t'ien*. En tout état de cause, *A-touan* ou *Odon*, en 1424, avait pour chef *So-lou-tan* (= *Soldan?*), par son rang militaire un *tche-houei*, qui s'était allié avec *San-tsi-sseu*, chef de *Küsän*, pour attaquer les ambassades chinoises traversant leur pays. En 1431, Pékin a confié le soin de l'administration d'Odon à *Tchen-tche-han*. Cf. *Ming-che*, 330, 16a—16b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 208— 210; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I, pp. 408—425, s. v. *Cotan*.

(1) *čin-fuu*. Transcription, d'après un dialecte moyen mandarin des Ming, du chin. 鎮撫 *tchen-fou*. C'est un rang, «guard juge»; Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China*, p. 380; H. Serruys, *Sino-Jürčed Relations during the Yung-lo Period* (1403—1424) (Wiesbaden 1955; *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 4), p. 22.

(1) *Asman*. Chef d'*Udon*; personnage non identifié. Même la forme *Asman* fixée par l'orthographe ouigouro-mongole n'est pas authentique; il se peut fort bien que la transcription chinoise *A-sseu-man* (c'est ce que l'orthographe ouigoure répète servilement) soit basée sur un *Osman* original. Sur un *Osman* de Samarkand, voir Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, pp. 229, 253; sur *Osmán Mirzá* et *Osmán Sultán*, voir Elias—Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 522. Quant aux chefs d'*A-touan* (= *Odon*), on connaît vers 1406 *Siao-sie* (nom foncièrement chinois, mais appliqué, sous les Yuan et Ming même à des étrangers; dans la prononciation contemporaine: *Säu-sä*; cf. 小斯 *siao-sseu* = *se'üse*, Hs. § 272, Haenisch, Vocab., p. 134 «Bursche, Boy, Diener»; *nuyun*, *nu'un* «siao-sseu», Hy, Suppl. A, n° 149), en 1424 *So-lou-tan* (**Soltan*), en 1431 *Tchen-tche-han*. Cf. *Ming-che* 330, 16a—b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, 208—210.

(2) *biriktürüp u čung*. Cf. Doc. 25, ligne 6.

(3) *täumu Ali*. Le nom d'Ali est très répandu parmi les Musulmans du Mogholistan. Malgré sa fonction *täumu*, Ali, ambassadeur d'*Asman* (*Osman*) d'*Udon* demeure inconnu.

(4) *arslang šer*. Les lions envoyés en tribut ont été l'objet d'une discussion entre les hauts fonctionnaires chinois. D'après le *Ming-che*, 332,4b—5a, le *So-lou-t'an A-hei-ma* (*Soltan Aχmat*) envoya, en 1483, une ambassade qui apportait deux lions en tribut. Les envoyés ont été retenus avec les bêtes dangereuses, à Sou-cheou. Les personnes compétentes, ont proposé de refuser les bêtes sans utilité qui ne peuvent être employés aux cérémonies du sacrifice, ni attelées à un char. Cependant, l'empereur ordonna de les accepter en tribut. L'aliment des bêtes consistait, chaque jour, en deux moutons vivants, deux pots de soupe spéciale, deux pots de lait avec du miel. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 265. Il convient de faire remarquer que le lion, bête sauvage plus puissante que le tigre, aux yeux des Chinois, est bien connu en Chine dès les T'ang, apporté par les ambassades tributaires des pays occidentaux: de l'Inde, de Samarkand, de Tokharestan, de Perse, etc.; E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 84—87.

(4) *qar-a qulaq* «ocelot ou chat-pard». En 1490, un envoyé de Samarkand arrivé en même temps qu'une ambassade de Tourfan présenta en tribut un lion et un chat-pard. Cette fois encore l'envoyé fut arrêté à son arrivée au Kan-sou, on procéda au portrait de la bête sauvage et on le fit parvenir à l'Empereur qui consentit à accepter le tribut. La bête rare est mentionnée sous son nom indigène (*ha-la hou-la* = *qara qulaq*) dans le *Ming-che* 332, 5b, à propos de cette ambasse; dans le Ky (I 17b) le mot oiugour *qar-a qulaq* est suivi, en tant que traduction chinoise, par *ha-la hou-la*. Cf. encore Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 266.

(6) *bolup inčip*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 8, note.

29.

1 [58a] *Taiming qayan tapuqïnda Sutan Aqimat ong öčip öz-i burun-qï yïl*
arasïnda
2 *u kän sïng yumšap u čai ilči barïš käliš ačïp ötkürmiš u tung*
3 *tangï yol biz-lär yïl qarï ning u ti alqïš yïl kičig ning u ti*
4 *ačïγ-lïq birdi ïnayat*
5 *üstünki uluγ buyan*
6 *üstün tngri kätirkäp u ko-län-kän amtï yumšap u čai Qoči Faqurding*
7 *Tärbiš tartïp kädin at iki bi altun yarmaq-lïγ bars bir boyïn*
8 [58b] *bärü ičin tašïn u bäu yïraq kiši čïn kirtü u čing ayïrlap u*
9 *king či yu̯räk öčip tapdï*
10 *yarlïγ bilür:*

Devant l'empereur des Taiming, le roi Sutan Aqimat fait son rapport au trône. Ces dernières années (2), j'ai envoyé des ambassadeurs pour les allées et venues depuis que (3) les routes sont ouvertes. Ceux parmi nous qui sont âgés font votre éloge et les jeunes (4) s'efforcent [de vous servir]. Je mets mon espoir (5-6) dans la grande Fortune de Votre Majesté. (7) Que Votre Majesté céleste ait pitié de moi. Maintenant j'ai envoyé Qoči Faqurding Tärbiš pour apporter le tribut: chevaux de l'Ouest, deux têtes, léopard, une tête, (8) en signe du dévouement sincère des gens [d'un pays] lointain (9). C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (10) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1—2) *öz-i burun-qï yïl arasïnda u kän*. Le mot *öz-i*, dans cette construction, constitue un contresens. Il s'explique par le chin. 自 *tseu* qui signifie à côté de «depuis, de» encore «soi-même, privé, personnel»; le traducteur a opté pour cette dernière acception qui en réalité est ici hors de cause. Pour *burun-qï yïl arasïnda u kän*, voir Doc. 15, ligne 2, note.

(2) *sïng yumšap*. Voir Doc. 7, ligne 2, note.

(3—4) *yïl qarï nïng u ti alqïš yïl kičig ning u ti ačïγ-lïq birdi*. Cf. Doc. 16, lignes 3—4.

(8) *bärü ičin tašïn u bäu*. Le ms. porte *äčin*. Voir Doc. 25, note 10.

(8—9) *čïn kirtü u čing ayïrlap u king či yu̯räk*. Cette expression ne s'explique que par le chin. 誠敬之心 *tch'eng-king tche sin*. Sur *čïn kirtü u čing ayïrlap u king*, voir Doc. 25, ligne 11, note.

30.

1 [60a] *Badanš-a yir yangaq Maqamat yumšap u čai ilči Qači bašlïγ*
2 *Taiming qayan tapuqïnda baš čal öčip qul kiši barïnda qïdïγ saqlap*
iptip
3 *kündüz käčä kǫngül tägürüp amtï tutum kičig kädin at iki bi aqta*
4 *iki bi qaš taš iki käsäk ayïr biš batman yumšap u käm*

5 *bädük täumu yitip u fuu kingši u king tartïp ïnayat u ong*
6 *üstünki kätirkäp u ko-län-kän yïyïp läu išlätip qul kiši mui yaqšï*
7 *barïš käliš tartïp öčip tapdï*
8 [60b] *yarlïγ bilür*:

Délégués par Maqamat du pays de Badanš-a, l'ambassadeur Qači et les autres (2) se prosternent devant l'empereur des Taiming et font leur rapport au trône. Votre esclave s'acquittant à la frontière de sa charge de garde (3) jour et nuit a mis tout en oeuvre. Maintenant en offrant en tribut de petits chevaux de l'Ouest, deux têtes, des hongres, (4) deux têtes, des pierres de jade, deux pièces, d'un poids de cinq livres; j'ai envoyé (5) le grand *täumu* dans la capitale pour offrir le tribut. J'espère (6) que Votre Majesté ayant de la compassion pour moi, a bien reçu (7) les allées et venues de vos esclaves pour offrir e tribut. C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Badanš-a*. Il s'agit de Badakhchan. Le *Ming-che*, 332, 17b—18a, a consacré une notice à ce pays sous le nom de 八答黑商 *Pa-ta-hei-chang* ou *Badaqšan*. Or, cette contrée est située au nord-est de *Ngan-tou-houai* (*Andχoi*). Le périmètre de la ville mesure plus de dix *li*. Son commerce avec les pays occidentaux est florissant. Au XVe siècle, plusieurs ambassades sont arrivées de Badakchan à Pékin pour apporter le tribut. Le *Ming-che* signale, entre autres, les ambassades de 1420 (arrivées en même temps que les envoyés de Hérat), de 1461, ainsi que celle de 1483 (arrivées avec celles de Chiraz, de Samarkand). Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 276—278; J. K. Fairbanks—S. Y. Têng, *On the Ch'ing Tributary System: Ch'ing Administration*, p. 221; P.Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I, pp. 63—65, s. v. *Badascian*.

(1) *Maqamat*. C'est le maître de Badakhchan (ici appelé *Badanš-a*). Heureusement, le texte de *Ming-che* nous a conservé des informations utiles sur les ambassades tributaires de ce pays. D'après un passage, à l'époque de l'ambassade de 1483, le souverain de 把丹沙 *Pa-tan-cha* (*Badanša*) s'appelait *So-lou-tan Ma-hei-ma*, donc *Soltan Maχmat*. D'après Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 277, note 1097, ce serait *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, fils du *Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd*. Il est hors de cause pour ce document. Par contre, il n'est pas impossible que notre *Maqamat* soit identique au *wang* 馬哈麻 *Ma-ha-ma* [= *Maχamat*, **Maqamat*] de l'ambassade de 1461. Cf. *Ming-che*, 332, 17b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 277—278.

(1) *Qači*. La retranscription ouigoure reproduit le chin. *Ha-tche* répondant à *Xaǰi* (ar. *Ḥāǰī*). Sur ce Qači on n'a pas d'informations dans les autres sources. Par un curieux effet du hasard, un texte chinois nous a conservé le nom de l'ambassadeur que le prince de Badakhchan a envoyé en 1461 à Pékin: c'était *A-pou-tou-la* ou *Abdula* (ar. *Abdullah*). Cf. *Ming-che*, 332, 17b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 275—276.

(2) *barïnda qïdïγ*. Sur *barïnda*, calque du chin. *tsai* «à, dans», voir Doc. 18, ligne 4, note. Le chin. *tsai-pien* «à la frontière» est traduit, dans les documents sino-mongols, par *belen* (*sic*) *qiǰayar* (*MNyt*. IV, p. 67,2:2).

(2) *saqlap iptip*. Traduction faite sur le chin. 守護 *cheou-hou* «to guard, to protect», décomposée en *cheou* «to guard, to protect» ~ ouig. *saqla-* «garder» et *hou* «to guard, to protect» ~ ouig. *iptip* «protéger». En ouigour, c'est un barbarisme indéfendable.

(3) *kündüz käčä*. Sous cette forme, ce composé imite le modèle chinois *tcheou-ye* «jour et nuit»; régulièrement on attendrait *käčä kündüz*; cf. osm. *gece gündüz* «day and night» (Hony 116).

(3) *kǫngül tägürüp*. Cf. Doc. 18, ligne 5, note.

(3) *kičig kädin at*. C'est la traduction servile du chin. 小西馬 *siao si ma* «petit cheval de l'Ouest». L'expression chinoise est normalement rendue par l'ouig. *aryumaq*. Cf. Doc. 1, ligne 4, note et Doc. 3, ligne 8, note.

(5) *bädük täumu*. «Grand chef (tribal)» est un titre plus élevé que le *täumu*. Dans les documents tibétains du Bureau des Traducteurs, *ta t'eou-mou* est rendu par *čhen-po mgo-dpon* (38a; avec un ordre des mots chinois).

(6) *yïyïp läu*. Calqué sur chin. 收了 *cheou-leao*. Sur chin. *cheou* ~ ouig. *yïyïp*, voir Doc. 4, ligne 9, note. Quant à *läu*, voir Doc. 24, ligne 6, note.

31.

1 [62a] *Moll-a Aqimat ong yumšap u čai kälip ilči Mingγatu bašlïγ*
2 *Taiming qaγan uluγ buyan tapuqïnda baš čal öčip bar ärki qul kiši mui barïnda*
3 *qïdïγ ačïγ-lïq birdi yïl ürkäč u kiu tälim kunglau tartïp tüzi*
4 *ägsük amtï-qï taqï yimä yitärip u čäu äski qaulï oγrayu yumšap*
5 *u čai ilči tartïp öngi yangči sarï näm-ä birip birlä bitig u wun-*
6 *-šiu bardï nätäg m-a*
7 *utlï soyurqap u sï öčip tapdï*
8 [62b] *yarlïγ bilür*:

Délégués par le roi Molla Aqimat, l'envoyé Mingγatu et les autres (2) se prosternent devant la grande Fortune de l'empereur des Taiming et font leur rapport au trône: vos esclaves (3) font leur service à la frontière et depuis bien des années. Ils ont rendu beaucoup de services méritoires et ont envoyée tribut sans (4) cesse. Maintenant, conformément à l'ancien usage, j'ai spécialement envoyé (5) des ambassadeurs pour offrir le tribut: toutes sortes de produits locaux, en apportant avec eux la lettre [de créance]. (6) Comment [Votre Majesté] m'en témoignera-t-elle sa faveur? C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Moll-a Aqimat ong*. Le titre *moll-a* devant le nom du roi est assez déconcertant, car ce titre n'est pas confirmé par d'autres sources. On serait tenté d'identifier ce roi avec le roi de Tourfan du même nom, le fameux souverain du Mogholistan. Toutefois on affirme à son propos: «Sultan Ahmad Khán was a very religious prince and a devoted Musulman. He was versed in the Holy Law [*Shar'*] and most of his affairs were governed by it . . . He was especially affable towards darwishes and towards learned and pious men»; Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 123.

(1) *Mingγatu*. Nom nettement mongol qui signifie «chiliarque». Si *Moll-a Aqimat ong* est en effet identique à *Aqimat*, roi de Tourfan, soit *Sutan Aqimat*, souverain du Mogholistan, il est tout indiqué qu'un de ses envoyés tributaires porte un nom mongol. Bien plus, l'ambassadeur de Koutcha (*Küsän*) portant le même nom *Mingγatu* (cf. Doc. 40) doit être identique à l'ambassadeur de notre document.

(2) *bar ärki*. Même fonction que dans Doc. 23, ligne 1, note.

(3) *yïl ürkäč u kiu*. Voir Doc. 24, ligne 3, note.

(3) *kunglau*. Cf. Doc. 23, ligne 3, note; dans ce dernier document, *kunglau* est encore suivi de la glose *kung*.

(4) *taqï yïmä*. Cf. Doc. 23 ligne 5, note.

(5—6) *birlä bitig u wun-šiu*. Voir Doc. 21, ligne 2—3, note.

32.

1 [64a] *Küsän yir yangaq Üyäs ong öčip amtï ïnayat*
2 *tngri qayan uluy buyan yir sarï amrïlturmiš il kün mängiläyür qul kiši mui*
3 *saqïnïp töpü u qam-tai tüzi tükäti amtï tolu topraq čïqïlur*
4 *sarï näm-ä oyrayu yumšap u čai täumu Qan-on yitip u fuu*
5 *altun qapï altïn yalbarïp tiläptür u tau ton fuu kögüz-luq tavar sïdam*
6 *kök tavar yana m-a čini ayaq čini täpši bašlïy türlüg*
7 *öčip tapdï*
8 [64b] *yarlïy bilür*:

Le roi Üyäs du pays de Küsän fait son rapport au trône. Maintenant mettant son espoir (2) dans la grande Fortune de l'empereur des Taiming, le pays est tranquille, le peuple est heureux, vos esclaves (3) ont témoigné une gratitude infinie. Maintenant avec (4) des produits locaux je vous ai spécialement envoyé le *täumu* Qan-on. Arrivé (5) sous votre Porte d'Or, il sollicite des robes, de la soie pour gilets, de la soie (6) de couleur bleue unie et encore des tasses de porcelaine, des assiettes de porcelaine et d'autres articles. (7) C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône (8). L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Küsän*. Il est situé au Sud-Ouest de Sou-tcheou du Kansou, et limitrophe du district de Ngan-ting. Au début des Ming, *San-tsi*, le chef de Küsän devint tributaire de la Chine et fut nommé *tche-houei*. Son assistant, *San-tsi-sseu* commença par attaquer les ambassades chinoises et les ambassades en route en train d'apporter leur tribut à Pékin. Châtié et pardonné à plusieurs reprises, il mourut en 1432. Son successeur fut *Tou-li*, son fils. Entre 1465 et 1488, Küsän fut envahi et ravagé par le roi de Tourfan. Enfin, en 1512 Küsän fut ravagé et l'administration militaire détruite par *Yi-pou-li* (= *Ibiri taiši*), chef de la grande tribu mongole *A-eul-t'ou-sseu* (*Ordos*). Cf. *Ming-che*, 330, 16b—18b. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 210—211; Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, pp. 98—100; Saγang sečen, éd. I. J. Schmidt, pp. 184—186. Sur *Küsän*, nom de *Kuča*, même sous les Ming, voir P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, dans *Journ. As.* 1934 I, pp. 58—65. Les textes tibétains ont, pour ce nom, *Gu-zan* qu'on a cherché à identifier, à tort, à *Gučen*; cf. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* II (London 1951), pp. 282—287 et III (London 1955), pp. 77—79.

(1) *Üyäs ong*. La retranscription *Üyäs* qu'on pourrait lire à la rigueur aussi comme *Üyäz* reproduit la transcription chinoise *Wou-ye-sseu* faite sur une forme indigène qu'il est assez difficile de déterminer. Si l'on tient compte du cadre historique où se placent nos documents, on ne peut pas ne pas songer à *Vaïs* (ou *Veïs*) *khan*, fondateur de la

maison des derniers Tchaghataïdes dans le Mogholistan, père de *Yunus* et d'*Äsän buqa* En effet, *Wou-ye-sseu* peut bien représenter une forme turco-mongole *Uvais* (ou *Ŭväis*) plus exactement *Uvas* (ou *Ŭväs*); la confusion, en écriture ouigoure, des signes *v* et *y* est une erreur de scribe assez commune. Notons que Zambaur, *Manuel de chronologie*, p. 272, a enregistré ce nom sous la forme d'*Uwaïs*. Or *Vaïs-khan* (vers 1418—1429) apparaît aux environs de Tourfan et de Qočo. Il guerroya avec les Oïrates dont le chef, *Esen-tayiǰi* lui infligea plusieurs défaites. Cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 60—73; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 233—234; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 568—569.

(3) *saqïnïp töpü u qam-tai*. Voir Doc. 23, note 4.

(3) *tüzi tükäti*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 5, note.

(3—4) *tolu topraq čïqïlur sarï näm-ä*. Sur *tolu*, voir Doc. 7, note 7. A propos de *topraq čïqïlur*, voir Doc. 25, note 9.

(4) *Qan-on*, cf. Doc. 8, ligne 1, note.

(5) *kögüz-luq tavar*. Il s'agit de «satin pour gilet» (cf. Doc. 10, note 5), ensuite de «satin de couleur unie et bleue» (*sïdam kök tavar*).

33.

1 [66a] *Taiming qaγan uluγ buyan tapuqïnda Yäsän buq-a ong öčip qul kiši yitärïp u čäu-*
2 *-yi burun u sän yïl iš qaulï tartïp yitip u tau kingši u king yol*
3 *u tuu arasïnda u čung tälim täginip tolγaq u sin ämgä [k] artuq*
4 *kǫngül tägürüp ïnayat*
5 *üstünki irinčkäp u län-min soyurqap u sï birip qaš quur manglung tavar*
6 *abčam-a at täpingü bašlïγ türlüg nätäg m-a*
7 *utlï soyurqap u sï yïraq kiši ning u ti öčip tapdï*
8 [66b] *yarlïγ bilür*:

Devant la grande Fortune de l'empereur des Taiming, le roi Yäsän buq-a fait son rapport au trône. Votre esclave, conformément (2) à l'usage des années passées, a envoyé le tribut. Se rendant à la capitale, sur les (3) routes il a enduré beaucoup de souffrances, (4) il a fait de grands efforts. (5) Il espère que, le prenant en pitié, Votre Majesté lui accordera en récompense: des ceintures de jade, des brocarts à dragon, de la soie, (6) des bols, des chabraques de cheval et d'autres effets. Comment (7) [Votre Majesté] en témoignera-t-elle sa faveur à l'homme venu d'un [pays] lointain? C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Yäsän buq-a ong*. C'est le roi *Äsän buqa* II, fils de *Vaïs χan*, souverain du Mogholistan. Avec l'aide de l'emir doughlate *Saʿīd ʿAlī*, il monta sur le trône très jeune (1429—1462). Il guerroya contre les Timourides à plusieurs reprises. Son adversaire, le prince timouride *Abū Saʿīd* soutint *Yūnus*, frère aîné d'*Äsän buqa*. Et en effet, *Yūnus* réussit

à se faire reconnaître, chef du Mogholistan occidental dans la vallée de l'Ili (1456); à cette époque *Äsän buqa* II n'avait sous son empire que les territoires occidentaux, *Aqsu*, le *Yulduz* et avant tout l'*Uiγuristān*. Lorsque *Yūnus* tenta une nouvelle attaque contre son frère cadet, il fut repoussé et battu par ce dernier avec l'aide de *Saʿīd ʿAlī*. *Yūnus* se réfugia à l'Ouest, chez *Abū Saʿīd*. *Äsän buqa* mourut en 1429. Cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. *99 et 509; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 234; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 569—570.

(2) *iš qaulï*. L'expression est traduite du chin. 事例 *che-li* «usage», décomposée en *che* «an affair, a matter; an undertaking; a business» ~ ouig. *iš* «chose, affaire» et *li* «a regulation, a law, a custom, a precedent, a usage» ~ ouig. *qaulï* «coutume, usage, habitude». Après tout, le composé *iš qaulï* constitue en ouigour un barbarisme.

(2—3) *yol u tuu arasïnda u čung*. Traduction calquée sur le chin. 途中 *t'ou-tchong* «sur les routes». *Yol arasïnda* est un barbarisme, au point de vue du sens requis.

(5—6) *qaš quur*. La ceinture de jade passait pour un signe particulier d'honneur. En 1410, l'Empereur a accordé la ceinture de jade à *Mängli tämür*, roi de Qamul, nommé *tchong-yi wang*; *Ming-che*, 329, 2b. Il est intéressant de voir qu'au Xe siècle, à l'époque des Cinq dynasties, parmi les objets de tribut envoyés par les Ouigours de Si-tcheou (région du Tourfan) on trouve la mention de ceintures ornées de jade; cf. J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouigours à l'époque des Cinq dynasties d'après les documents chinois*, pp. 86—87.

(7) *yïraq kiši*. Vòir Doc. 25., ligne 10, note.

34.

1 [68a] *Qamul čung-šün ong Šamba öčip amtï-qï ïnayat u yang*
2 *saqïnïp u muu*
3 *tngri yu̱küngäli yaqšï atïn yolïn qaltï kün ai oqšatï yoq bolup tüzi*
4 *yitärip u čäu yoq kiši tüzi ïnayat u yang amtï tartïp*
5 *kök yu̱rüng kädin at tört bi bota iki či yana m-a öngi*
6 *yangči sarï näm-ä čorïp u tä yumšap u čai bädük täumu*
7 *Qoči Yäsän bašlïγ tartïp bardï tauraq tiläptür al altun-luq*
8 [68b] *tavar u čų̈-sï ton fuu iki türlüg bädük börk bir töpuqïnda*
9 *u ting altun quur bir bataq-ï nätäg m-a*
10 *utlï soyurqap u sï birip ning u ti öčip tapdï*
11 *yarlïγ bilür:*

Le *čung-šün ong* Šamba de Qamul fait son rapport au trône. Maintenant il (2) admire (3) la bonne réputation et le renom de Votre Majesté. Comme il n'y a pas d'endroit où le soleil et la lune ne (4) brillent pas, il n'y a personne qui ne vous admire pas. Maintenant je vous ai envoyé en tribut (5) des chevaux de l'Ouest gris, quatre têtes, chamelon, deux têtes, ainsi que toutes (6) sortes de produits locaux. J'ai spécialement envoyé le grand *täumu* (7) Qoči Yäsän et d'autres pour offrir le tribut. Puis je sollicite de la soie rouge foncé brochée d'or, (8) de la soie fine, des robes, deux pièces, grand chapeau, une pièce, (9)

ceinture d'or, une pièce. Comment (10) me témoignerez-vous votre faveur? C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (11) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *čung-šün ong*. Transcription du chin. 忠順王 *tchong-chouen wang* «prince fidèle et obéissant», titre accordé aux chefs de Qamul par les empereurs Ming. En 1410, ce titre fut accordé à *Änkä temür*, chef de Qamul, en 1482 à *Han-chen*, enfin en 1492 ce fut le tour de *Šamba* d'être nommé *tchong-chouen wang*. Cf. *Ming-che*, 329, 8a; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 181—182; Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, p. 93.

(1) *Šamba*. Chef bien connu de Qamul. Après la mort de *Han-chen* (en 1488), dans un intervalle relativement tranquille de la lutte menée contre les envahisseurs de Tourfan, on l'a élu comme son successeur. En 1492 l'empereur lui a conféré le titre de *tchong-chouen wang*. Peu après il est tombé en disgrâce, la ville a été attaquée et prise une fois de plus par les troupes de Tourfan, et lui même a été fait prisonnier (1493). En effet les affaires allaient mal à Qamul, ses rivaux profitèrent de ses difficultés internes et extérieures et commencèrent à jouer un rôle de premier plan: *Yen-k'o po-la* (*Änkä bolat*) en tant que son suppléant, *Sie-yi hou-sien* (*Säyit Hüsän*) chef des Musulmans et *Pai tie-li-mi-che* (*Bai därmiš*), chef des *Qara qoi*. La ville de Qamul fut reprise par la garnison chinoise de *Kou-yu* en 1495, mais *Šamba* ne fut mis en liberté qu'en 1497. Il mourut en 1506. Cf. *Ming-che*, 329, 8a—11b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 182; Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, pp. 91—97.

(1) *amtï-qï*. Voir Doc. 3, ligne 5, note.

(1—2) *ïnayat u yang saqïnïp u muu*. L'expression *ïnayat saqïnïp* traduit le chin. *yang-muu*, plus exactement 仰慕 *yang-mou* «to expect; to desire; to look up with admiration», comme le plus souvent, caractère par caractère: chin. *yang* ~ ouig. *ïnayat* (équivalence bien connue de la plupart de nos documents) et chin. *mou* «to desire, to long for, to be fond of; to think of affectionately; to admire» ~ *saqïn-* «penser à, croire».

(3) *kün ai oqšatï*. Traduction calquée sur le chin. 日月一般 *je yue yi-pan* «comme le jour et la lune»; c'est un barbarisme.

(3) *yoq bolup*. Contresens dû à la fausse interprétation du chin. 無處 *wou-tch'ou* «il n'y a pas d'endroit». Cependant, outre le *tch'ou*[4] «a place» on a encore *tch'ou*[3] «to dwell, to abide in, to stay on, to be at rest in». Le traducteur a encore opté pour le sens qui est ici hors de cause; c'est de là que notre *bolup* provient.

(4) *yitärip u čäu*. Cette expression revient assez souvent dans nos documents, au sens de «conformément»; cf. Doc. 15, 22, 23, 25, 35. En effet, le chin. 照 *tchao* signifie dans ces cas «according to, as seeing that», seulement le même *tchao* a encore le sens de «to illumine; to reflect». Dans notre passage il faut adopter cette acception avec laquelle, bien entendu, ouig. *yitärip* est inconciliable.

(5) *bota*. Les ambassades arrivées de Turkestan offraient souvent des chameaux en tribut. Les sources chinoises annoncent un tribut de chameaux de Samarkand, de *Yu-t'ien* (Khotan), de *Hei-lou* (Hérat); *Ming-che*, 332, 2a; 18a, 22b; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 258; 247, 272. Dans les Documents persans du Bureau des Traducteurs des chameaux (*uštur*) sont présentés par *Šämsdin*, l'envoyé de Tourfan (11a), par *Hüsän*, envoyé de Qamul (31a).

(5) *kök yurüng kädin at*. Une fois de plus, nous sommes en présence d'un mot-à-mot machinal en ouigour calqué sur le chin. 青白西馬 *ts'ing-po si-ma* ce qui signifie «cheval gris occidental», à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un terme technique. Ne faut-il pas y voir une robe de cheval spéciale? En effet, le fameux *Uluy bäg mirza*, prince de Samarkand, envoya, d'après le *Ming-che*, 332, 4a, un cheval doux de robe noire avec les pattes antérieures et la tête blanches (馬色元蹄額白). Cf. encore Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 263.

(5) *iki či. Či* est la transcription du chin. 隻 *tche* «objet simple, la moitié d'une paire». En même temps, c'est la numérale des yeux, des bras, des mains, des pieds, des chaussures, ainsi que des navires, des boîtes, de la volaille et de certains animaux. Barbarisme du traducteur. Pour la numérale *tche*, voir Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, I, p. 117; Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 69.

(7) *Qoči Yäsän*. La retranscription ouigoure reflète le nom *Xoǰä Äsän*. On serait tenté un instant de songer à 火者亞三 *Houo-tchö Ya-san* (*Xoǰa Asan* répondant à *Ḫōǰa Ḥasan*), puisqu'il est mentionné avec 寫亦虎先 *Sie-yi Hou-sien* (*Säyit Hüsän* répondant à *Saʿīd Ḥusain*) de Qamul. Cependant, d'après l'argumentation de Pelliot, il est certain qu'il s'agit là d'une tout autre personne. Cf. P. Pelliot, *Le Ḫōǰa et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming*: *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII, pp. 81—292.

(8) *čų-sï*. La glose chinoise 紵絲 *tchou-sseu* «soie fine pour préparer des robes» est l'équivalent de *tavar*; ce dernier est interprété, dans nos documents, le plus souvent par *touan-tseu*.

(8) *iki türlüg*. Le most *türlüg* est la traduction chin. 件 *kien* «pièce» qui est ici une numérale. Barbarisme du traducteur. Sur la numérale *kien*, voir Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 96; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* I, p. 117; Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 69.

(8) *bädük börk* «grand bonnet». La même expression chinoise est rendue dans un document sino-mongol du Bureau des Traducteurs par mong. *bürge köbegün* «大帽子 *ta mao-tseu*» (*MNyt.* IV, p. 82, 26:4,6; ff. 52a, 53a). Dans l'expression pseudo-mongole, *köbegün* répond au chin. *tseu* ce qui dénonce l'ignorance du traducteur en matière mongole. Mong. *bürge* «ta-mao» est d'ailleurs enregistré dans le Hy, Suppl. A, n° 91. Pour le mongol, voir mong. cl. *bürgü* «bonnet d'été» (Kow. II, 1262), *bürkü* «summer hat» (Les. 150); kalm. *bürg*^{ü} (incertain) «leichter Sommerhut, Halmhut» (Ramst. 67); khal. *bürch* (Luvs. 95). Dans un document sino-jürčen (Grube, *op. cit.*, pp. 134—135), au nombre des cadeaux sollicités en récompense on trouve, comme équivalent jürčen du *ta mao-tseu* «grand chapeau», l'expression AMBA-*an maq-la zï*.

(8) *altun quur*. Il s'agit évidemment d'une ceinture [ornée] d'or. Elle figure, avec la ceinture [ornée] de jade, sur la liste des cadeaux accordés aux chefs tributaires par l'empereur. La ceinture d'or en tant que cadeau impérial revient dans un document jürčen (ALČU-*un dai;* cf. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, pp. 114—115) et dans un document mongol *altan büse*; cf. *MNyt.* IV, p. 82). A propos de l'*altan büse*, dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, voir §§ 117, 238. Sur la ceinture d'or sous les Leao, voir K. A. Wittfogel—Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao* (907—1125), pp. 332, 337, 339, 346, 349, 358.

(8—9) *bir töpuqïnda u ting*. Traduction maladroite et erronée d'un sinicisme. Il s'agit du prétendu équivalent ouigour du chin. 頂 *ting* «sommet de la tête» qui sert à faire fonction d'une numérale pour les chapeaux et les chaises à porteur. Le traducteur, pour se tirer d'affaire, a tout simplement rendu le mot chinois par l'ouigour *topuq* «sommet de la tête, sous sa forme munie de désinence casuelle possessive, telle qu'il le trouvait dans sa source. Sur la numérale *ting*, voir Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 98; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* I, p. 134; Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 70.

(9) *bir bataq-ï*. Le mot *bataq* (on attendrait plutôt *butaq*) est la traduction du chin. 條 *t'iao* «rameau» qui est la numérale des objets longs. Barbarisme du traducteur. Sur la numérale *t'iao*, voir Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 97; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* I, p. 133; Brandt, *Introduction to Spoken Chinese*, p. 69.

35.

1 [70a] *Taiming qayan tapuqïnda taiši Ababakir baš čal öčip qul kiši ïnayat*
2 *üstünki uluγ buyan barïnda qïdïγ bir yu̱räk yitärip saqlap törü m-a*
yasaq-
3 *ni tüzi qam qarïšïp amtï yumšap u čai ilči Ismayin tartïp*
4 *bolut qïlïnč tört ba saparan biš on batman ainaq iki on*
5 *yangaq tämiz ïnayat u ong*
6 *tümän yaš u sui igäsi yïγïp täginip yitärip u čäu qaulï birip u ki*
soyurqap
7 *u šang altun-luq manglung tavar u čuu-sï yayal toruγ tavar*
8 [70b] *öngi önglüg torqu bo̱z bašliγ nämä nätäg m-a*
9 *utlï soyurqap u sï öčip tapdï*
10 *yarlïγ bilür*:

Devant l'empereur des Taiming le *taiši* Ababakir se prosterne et fait son rapport au trône. Votre esclave mettant son espoir (2) dans la grande Fortune de Votre Majesté, fait le service de tout son coeur à la frontière, et il observe les lois et réglements (3), sans oser les transgresser. Maintenant il a envoyé son ambassadeur, Ismayin pour apporter le tribut: (4) épées d'acier, quatre pièces, du safran, cinquante livres, lunettes, vingt (5) pièces. J'espère humblement (6) que le seigneur de dix mille années les acceptera et que conformément (7) à l'ancien usage, il m'accordera en récompense de la soie brochée d'or, du brocart à dragons, de la soie fine pour robe de gala (*yayal toruγ*) (8) de la soie de diverses couleurs, de la toile et encore d'autres articles. (9) Comment [Votre Majesté] m'en témoignera-t-elle sa faveur? C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (10) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Ababakir*. Cette fois le nom du pays est passé sous silence, bien plus, la personne qui envoie son tribut n'est pas un roi, ni même un chef, mais un *taiši* seulement. Il est fort probable que *Ababakir* figurant dans notre document est identique à cet *Ababakir* qui a envoyé son tribut du pays d'*Asu* à Pékin (cf. Doc. 26, note 1).

(1) *taiši*. C'est la transcription du titre chinois 太師 *t'ai-che* «grand précepteur». Sur ce titre, voir Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China*, p. 379 («grand preceptor»); R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires* I, pp. 19—20. On confond assez souvent ce titre avec chin. 太子 *t'ai-tseu* «prince héritier» qui a donné en ouigour (et en mongol) *taisï* ou *taisi*; cette dernière forme a abouti, en mongol, tout régulièrement à *taiši*. Cf. *Esen taišï*, le chef oïrate qui, en 1440, a succédé à son père *T'o-houan* [= *Toγon*]; *Ming-che* 328, 3a; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 165.

(2) *bir yu̱räk*. Cf. Doc. 26, ligne 3, note.

(3) *Ismayin*. Transcription du nom mahométan *Ismail*. Personnage complètement inconnu. Le même nom est porté par plusieurs personnes importantes de cette époque. Sur *Ismail χān*, souverain de Kāšγar, cf. Elias—Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 509; sur *Ismail šāh*, *ibid.*; sur *Ismail sultan*, *op. cit.* 510.

(4) *biš on*. Dans Ky, nous avons régulièrement *ällig*. La forme *biš on*, malgré s. yög. *pison*, est aberrante et elle s'explique comme la traduction servile du chin. *wou-che* «cinquante (à la rigueur «cinq dix»)».

(4) *iki on*. Ici encore nous avons affaire à une traduction servile faite sur chin. *eul-che* «deux dix» signifiant «vingt». Cf. Doc. 1, note 5.

(4—5) *iki on yangaq*. *Yangaq* est la traduction du chin. 面 *mien* «face, visage, surface» qui est en outre la numérale des miroirs, des gongs, des drapeaux». Barbarisme du traducteur. Sur la numérale *mien*, voir Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, p. 42; Vissière, *Premières leçons de chinois*, p. 98; Mullie, *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* I, p. 125.

(6) *tümän yaš u sui igäsi*. «Le seigneur des dix mille années», c'est-à-dire l'Empereur. Cf. 萬歲爺 *wan-souei ye* «the emperor». Dans les documents sino-tibétains, nous avons, pour *wan-souei*, la traduction mot à mot *khri-phrag na-so* (ff. 19a, 20a; *na-so* «stage of life, age», Jaeschke, p. 298).

36.

1 [72a] *Taiming qayan tapuqïnda Yäsän buq-a ong baš čal öčip qul kiši boyum boyum*

2 *u lui-ši mung*

3 *üstünki qalïn utlï ayïr soyurqap u šang amtï-qï yitginčä saqïnïp*

4 *töpü u qam-tai tüzi tükäti oyrayu yumšap u čai ilči Qoči*

5 *tartïp šišir iki käsäk tobičaq on bi tämiz ïnayat u ong*

6 *tümän yaš u sui igäsi irinčkäp u län-min yïraq tašqarï soyurqap az bučuq u sä*

7 *asït käräk-ning u ti näm-ä türlüg öčip tapdï*

8 [72b] *yarlïy bilür*:

Devant l'empereur des Taiming, le roi Yäsän buq-a se prosterne et fait son rapport au trône. Votre esclave a reçu pendant (2) des générations (3) par une faveur gracieuse de Votre Majesté des récompenses importantes jusqu'à présent: (4) il s'est montré infiniment reconnaissant. J'ai spécialement envoyé l'embassadeur Qoči (5) pour apporter le tribut: agates, deux pièces, grands chevaux de l'Occident, dix têtes. J'espère humblement (6) que le Seigneur des dix mille années aura pitié de moi, et qu'il accordera au barbare venu de loin quelques objets (7) faits pour s'en servir. C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(3) *qalïn utlï ayïr soyurqap u šang*. Pour *qalïn utlï*, voir Doc. 23, ligne 4, note. L'expression *ayïr soyurqap* est la traduction du chin. 重賞 *tchong-chang* «récompense importante», ou encore «récomperses réitérées». Il est à peu près sûr qu'il est inutile de chercher dans *ayïr soyurqap* le reflet d'une expression ouigoure authentique, allusion à un «cadeau lourd», qui constituerait en quelque sorte le contre-pied du «cadeau léger». Cette dernière expression est en effet attestée en turc; cf. tchag. *yengil* ou *yengül böläk* «des cadeaux légers ou portatifs» (PdC 560). Dans un document de la Horde d'Or, daté

de 1466, nous lisons *ayïr salam yengil böläk*; cf. T. Halasi Kun, *Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan*, dans *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* V (Budapest 1942—1948), p. 151. Sur turc *böläk, beläk*, voir G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II (Wiesbaden 1965), pp. 413—415. Cf. encore Doc. 14, ligne 4, note.

(3—4) *saqïnïp töpü u qam-tai*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 3, note.

(4) *tüzi tükäti*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 5, note.

(4) *ilči Qoči*. Le nom de l'envoyé *Xoǰä* ne dit pas grand'chose: ce nom très répandu parmi les Musulmans du Mogholistan a été porté par beaucoup de personnes, même parmi les envoyés tributaires. A présent il est impossible de l'identifier et de préciser ses fonctions auprès de *Äsän buqa*.

(5) *šišir*. Il n'y a rien de surprenant de voir figurer ce nom de pierre précieuse sur la liste des articles apportés en tribut. Il faut pourtant signaler que l'interprétation du terme *šišïr*, plus exactement *chö-chö*, son équivalent chinois, prête à équivoque. Laufer cherchait à identifier *chö-chö* à plusieurs pierres précieuses qui variaient selon le pays où l'on s'en servait. Il estimait que c'était l'émeraude dans l'Iran (la Perse des Sassanides) et au Tibet, la malachite en *Fou-lin* (Syrie); plus tôt il avait même songé à la rubicelle. Cf. B. Laufer, *Notes on Turquoise in the East* (*Field Museum of Natural History*, Publication 169. Anthropological Series, Vol. 13, No. 1), Chicago 1913. Le même, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 516—518. On y a voulu voir encore saphir, turquoise, onyx. E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 230—234, 333—334 estime qu'il s'agit là de la lazulite. Selon Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 518, «Under the Ming *se-se* was merely a word vaguely conveying the notion of a precious stone of the past, and transferred to artifacts like beads of colored glass or clay.» Il n'en reste pas moins certain que notre *šišir* a le sens d'agate», à la rigueur «une espèce de calcédoine».

(6) *yïraq tašqarï*. Expression calquée sur chin. 遠夷 *yuan-yi* «étranger habitant loin (de la Chine)». Dans un document sino-tibétain de Bureau des Traducteurs (ff. 1a, 12b), la même expression est traduite par *riṅ-phyi* «étranger lointain» ce qui constitue en tibétain une construction insolite.

(6) *az bučuq u sä*. Voir Doc. 23, ligne 7, note.

37.

1 [74a] *Turufan yir yangaq Aqimat ong öčip bolup tiläptür iš qul kiši*
2 *äbügäng ata barïnda qïdïγ tälim bar ärki kunglau taqai ärtä mung*
3 *nämäptür u šing soyurqap u šang amtï tartïp tobïčaq tört bi tämiz*
4 *ïnayat u ong*
5 *üstünki irinčkäp u län-min yitärip u čäu qaulï ayïr soyurqap u šang*
6 *qul kiši mui yaqšï barïš käliš tartïp nätäg m-a*
7 *utlï soyurqap u sï öčip tapdï*
8 [74b] *yarlïγ bilür*:

Rapport au trône du roi Aqimat du pays de Turufan, dans une affaire de sollicitation. (2) Le grand-père et le père de votre esclave, à la frontière, ont bien mérité dans le service, sans en avoir (3) eu la faveur d'un avancement. A présent je vous offre en tribut de grands chevaux de l'Ouest, quatre têtes. (4) J'espère humblement (5) que Votre Majesté ayant pitié de moi, conformément à l'ancien usage, m'accordera une récompense importante. (6) Vos es-

claves chargés d'aller et de venir ont apporté le tribut. Comment [Votre Majesté] m'en témoignera-t-elle (7) sa faveur? C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Turufan yir yangaq*. Le pays tributaire de Tourfan, plus exactement les Mahométans de ce pays, ont eux aussi, envoyé des ambassades tributaires à Pékin. En effet, parmi les documents sino-persans du Bureau des Traducteurs arrivant de Tourfan une adresse a été présentée par *ʿAlī* (*A-li* = *Ali*; ff. 1a—2b), une autre par *Šamsu-'d-Dīn* (*Chan-si-ting* = *Šemšdin*, ff. 11a—12a), une troisième adresse par *Aḥmad* (*A-hei-ma* = *Aχmat*; ff. 19a—20a), enfin une dernière par *Muḥammad* (*Mou-han-mo* = *Muχammat;* ff. 23a—24a). Parmi les ambassades mongoles de Tourfan on mentionne celle de 1469, envoyée par *Sultan Ali;* l'ambassade était composée de 200 personnes, et elle fut arrêtée au Kansou; H. Serruys, *Mongol Tribute Missions of the Ming Period*, pp. 54—55.

(1) *Aqimat ong*. Il s'agit ici sans aucun doute du même personnage qui est mentionné dans plusieurs de nos documents, sous le nom de *Sutan Aqimat ong*. Cette fois c'est son titre de *Sutan* qui est omis, dans les autres documents c'est le nom de Tourfan (*Turufan*) qui manque.

(1) *bolup tiläptür iš*. Traduction calquée sur chin. 爲乞討事 *wei k'i-t'ao che*, c'est un mot à mot servile qui ne demande même pas d'être analysé. Sur la construction *wei...che* (*bolup...iš*), voir Doc. 25, ligne 1, note. Dans les documents sino-tibétains on lit, entre autres, 爲乞討賞賜事 *wei k'i-t'ao chang-sseu che*, «[rapport au trône] dans l'affaire de solliciter une récompense», en tib. *don-la khi-len gnaṅ-sbyin bya-ba* (ff. 23a, 24a).

(2) *tälim bar ärki kunglau*. Pour *bar ärki kunglau u kung*, voir Doc. 25, ligne 3, note.

(2) *taqai ärtä*. Equivalence déconcertante du chin. 未 *wei* «not, not yet; not being». Dans les documents sino-tibétains du Bureau des Traducteurs on s'est ici contenté de le transcrire simplement, d'après les règles fallacieuses de l'orthographe tibétaine, en *dbu'i*, lire *wui* (ff. 49b, 50a). Pour l'expression qui nous occupe ici, voir dans les documents sino-mongols: 有功未蒙朝廷陞賞 *yeou-kong wei mong tch'ao-t'ing cheng-chang* «ils ont des mérites, mais ils n'ont pas reçu de l'empereur un avancement dans le rang», en mongol: *bui gung üdügüy-e mung degedüs-ün ner-e nemen soyurq-a* (*MNyt.* IV, p. 68,3:4—6, ff. 5a, 6a). La traduction mongole présente un bon spécimen des barbarismes du Bureau.

(5) *ayïr soyurqap u šang*. Voir Doc. 36, ligne 3, note.

38.

1 [76a] *Qočo yir yangaq yumšap u čai ilči Tämür bašlïy*
2 *Taiming qayan uluy buyan tapuqïnda baš čal öčip qul kiši kälip kingši u king*
3 *tartïp yalbarïp tiläptür u tau soyurqap yanïp bar ïnayat u ong*
4 *soyurqap u sï birip qaš quur manglung bašlïy türlüg öčip tapdï*
5 *yarlïy bilür:*

Envoyé du pays de Qočo, l'ambassadeur Tämür et les autres (2), se prosternant devant la grande Fortune de l'empereur des Taiming, font leur rapport au trône. Vos esclaves venant dans la capitale (3) apportent le tribut et vous demandent de leur accorder la faveur de pouvoir s'en retourner. Nous espérons (4) que vous nous accorderez en récompense des ceintures de jade, du

brocart à dragons et d'autres effets. C'est ce que nous avons rapporté au trône. (5) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Tämür*. A propos de cet envoyé de Qočo qui a dû visiter Pékin à une date indéterminée, on ne sait actuellement rien de précis.

(5) Ce document ne fait que mentionner fort sommairement l'envoi du tribut mais il s'arrête sur les cadeaux que les «ambassadeurs» désiraient avoir en récompense.

39.

1 [78a] *Lukčin yir yangaq yumšap u čai kälip ilči Faqurding bašlïγ*
2 *Taiming qaγan uluγ buyan tapuqïnda baš čal öčip qul kiši yol u luq-tuu*
3 *yorï qačtï čïγai ïnayat u yang-lai*
4 *üstünki uluγ buyan tuz inč täg u am yitip u tau kingši u king*
5 *amtï tartïp qaš taš bir käsäk marčan iki čïbïq-ï saparan*
6 *biš on batman birip birlä bitig u wun-šiu bardï öčip*
7 *tapdï*
8 [78b] *yarlïγ bilür*:

Délégués du pays de Lukčin, l'ambassadeur Faqurding et les autres (2) se prosternant devant la grande Fortune de l'empereur des Taiming font leur rapport au trône. Vos esclaves éprouvaient (3) de grandes difficultés pour les allées et venues sur la route. Mais mettant leur confiance (4) dans la grande Fortune de Votre Majesté, en tranquillité, ils sont arrivés à la capitale. (5) Et maintenant ils offrent en tribut: de la pierre de jade, une pièce, du corail, deux pièces, du safran (6), dix livres. Ils les ont offerts avec la lettre [de créance]. C'est ce qu'ils ont rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Lukčin*. Ville dans le Turkestan, elle est à 70 *li* à l'Est de *Houo-tcho* et à 1000 *li* à l'Ouest de *Ha-mi*. C'est le bien connu 柳城 *Liu-tch'eng*, appelé sous les Ming encore 魯陳 *Lou-tch'en*. Cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, p. 310; *Ch'in-t'ing Hsi-yü tung-wên-chih* I (Tokyo 1963), p. 92. Les habitants du pays parlent l'ouigour. Des ambassades tributaires ont été envoyées à la capitale, à partir de 1406. Cf. *Ming-che*, 329, 18a—19a; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 184—185.

(1) *Faqurding*. Cf. Doc. 21, note 2. *Faqurding* est, ici encore, le chef d'une ambassade apportant le tribut à la Cour. Chose curieuse, le *Ming-che*, 329, 18b—19a, nous a conservé le souvenir d'une série d'ambassades tributaires de *Lukčin*. En 1407, le chiliarche *Wa-k'i-la* apparaît à Pékin. Nouvelles ambassades en 1409, en 1413, sans mentionner les noms des ambassadeurs; en 1422, l'envoyé de *Lukčin* offre 2000 moutons en tribut. D'autres ambassades en 1430 (conduite par *A-hei pa-che* ou *Aqbaš*), en 1440, en 1448. Plus tard *Lukčin*, conquis par Tourfan, cesse d'envoyer son tribut à la Cour. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 185.

(3) *yorï qačtï*. Cf. Doc. 9, lignes 3—4, note.

(3) *čïγai*. Sur le sens spécial du mot, voir Doc. 9, ligne 3, note.

(4) *tuz inč täg u am.* Cf. Doc. 9, ligne 4, note.

(5) *marčan.* Corail a été apporté en tribut par une ambassade de *Lou-mi*; cf. *Ming-che*, 332, 30a; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 308. Il s'agit sûrement des marchands de Tourfan ou de Samarkand. *Lou-mi* représente *Rūm* ou encore *Rūmī*, un nom persan ou tadjik pour «Turc» ou «Occidental». Aussi les histoires avec les lions apportés en tribut en 1524 et en 1526 dénoncent-elles des gens du Turkestan. Ce n'est guère un effet du hasard qu'un officier chinois ait découvert des personnes de Tourfan parmi les membres de l'ambassade de *Lou-mi* (*loc. laud.*). Cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 523—525; E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 246—247.

(6) *bitig u wun šiu.* Voir Doc. 21, ligne 3, note.

(6) *bardï.* Cf. Doc. 1, ligne 5, note et Doc. 16, lignes 8—9, note.

40.

1 [80a] *Küsän yir yangaq oγrayu yumšap u čai ilči Mingγatu bašlïγ*
2 *ïnayat*
3 *tngri yu̱küngäli uluγ buyan yir sarï il kün amrïlturmïš amtï tutum bu̱dün*
4 *topraq čïqïp čïqïlur sarï näm-ä tartïp aqta iki bi ainaq*
5 *iki on yangaq ïnayat u ong*
6 *üstünki yïγïp ärzün ning u ti nätäg m-a*
7 *utlï soyurqap u sï öčip tapdï*
8 [80b] *yarlïγ bilür:*

Envoyés spécialement du pays de Küsän, l'ambassadeur Mingγatu et les autres (2), mettent leur espoir (3) dans la grande Fortune de Votre Majesté. La contrée et le peuple sont pacifiés. A présent nous avons (4) des produits naturels de notre pays et des produits locaux, apporté en tribut: des hongres, deux têtes, des lunettes (5), vingt pièces. Nous espérons (6) que Votre Majesté voudra bien les accepter. Comment (7) [Votre Majesté] nous en témoignera-t-elle sa faveur? C'est ce que nous avons rapporté au trône. (8) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Mingγatu.* Sans doute identique à l'envoyé de *Moll-a Aqimat ong*; cf. Doc. 31.

(3) *topraq čïqïp čïqïlur.* Voir Doc. 5, ligne 4, note

(6) *yïγïp ärzün.* Cf. Doc. 3, ligne 9, note.

41.

1 [29a] *Qamul yir yangaq yumšap u čai kälip ilči tuu-tu*
2 *sämši Libayanda*
3 *qaγan uluγ buyan tapuqïnda baš čal öčip qul kiši yitärip u čäu-yi*
4 *burun u sän yïl iš qaulï kälin kingši u king tartïp almas*
5 *sapɪran aqta iki bi ïnayat u ong*
6 *üstünki irinčkäp u län-min yïγïp ärzün ning u ti öčip tapdï*
7 [29b] *yarlïγ bilür:*

Délégué du pays de Qamul, l'ambassadeur *tuu-tu* (2) *sämši* Libayanda (3) se prosternant devant la grande Fortune de l'Empereur fait sont rapport au trône. Votre esclave, conformément à l'usage (4) des années passéés, est venu dans la capitale pour apporter en tribut du diamant (5), du safran, des hongres, deux têtes. J'espère que (6) Votre Majesté, ayant pitié de moi, les acceptera. C'est ce que j'ai rapporté au trône. (7) L'ordre impérial en décidera.

(1) *Qamul yir yangaq*. Le pays tributaire de Qamul, poste de transit de toutes les ambassades et de toutes les caravanes de marchands arrivant du Turkestan à destination de Pékin et inversement, figure, outre les documents sino-ouigours, dans ceux des départements persan et mongol du Bureau des Traducteurs. Quant aux documents persans, il y en a quatre qui proviennent des ambassadeurs de *Qāmil* (c'est la forme en écriture arabe du nom). La première adresse (f. 5a) émane de *Muḥammad* (*Mou-han-mo*) «esclave de Qāmil» que je ne saurais identifier pour le moment; son envoyé s'appelle *Ḥasan* (*Ha-san*). Dans les trois autres, le nom du chef de Qāmil est passé sous silence. Dans le 2e document (f. 25a), c'est toujours *Ḥasan* qui est porteur de l'adresse. Dans le 3e document (f. 27a), l'ambassadeur s'appelle *Ḥājī*. Enfin le 4e document porte, en transcription chinoise, le nom de *Xusän*, ambassadeur de Qāmil; ce dernier nom est remplacé, dans le texte persan, par *Ḥājī*, sans doute par inadvertance. On sait que la population de Qamul se composait de Mahométans (*Houei-houei*), d'Ouigours et de *Qara qoi* (Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII, p. 137, note 131), ainsi que de *Mekrit* sauvages et de *Siao-lie-t'ou* (H. Serruys, *A Note on the «Wild Mekrid»*, dans *Monumenta Serica* XXII [1963], pp. 434—445). Il est fort probable que les documents persans proviennent non pas des Ouigours, mais des Mahométans de Qāmil. Aussi *Muḥammad* est-il un de leurs chefs. Parmi les documents du département mongol qui ont été envoyés de Qāmil, le premier est très intéressant (*MNyt*. IV, p. 73:12; ff. 23—24b): il est envoyé par *Qanšim*, le *yiu-dudu* de Qāmil. Or le nom du *yeou tou-tou* est fort bien connu, c'est 罕愼 *Han-chen*, prince de Qamul, qui est nommé gouverneur en 1472 et meurt en 1488; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 181—182; Pelliot: *T'oung Pao*, XXXVIII, p. 198; *Ming-che*, 329, 16a—17b. L'autre document représente l'adresse de *Bayan*, sans doute un chef mongol local, résidant à Qāmil. D'autres ambassades tributaires mongoles, arrivant de Qāmil sont signalées par H. Serruys, *Mongol Tribute Missions of the Ming Period* en 1437 (p. 30; avec l'ambassade de *Toqmaq*) en 1444 (p. 38; envoyée par *Dawadaširi*), en 1445 (p. 40), en 1455 (p. 50; envoyé par *Dawadaširi*; ambassadeur *Körlük qaya?*), en 1460 (p. 54; envoyée par *Nuwudaširi*) et en 1475 (p. 56; envoyé par *Beg arslan* [?], ambassadeur *Man-la-ha* ou *Molla Xa*[*san*?]).

(1) *tuu-tu*. Le ms. porte *tuu-tu-a*.

(2) *sämši*. Dans le ms. la forme *šämši* est une erreur du copiste.

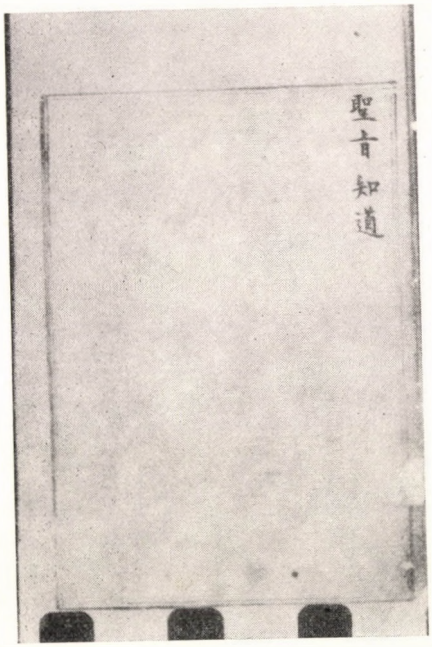
(2) *Libayanda*. Dans le ms A ce nom apparaît sous la forme estropiée *Libaynrda*.

(4) *iš qaulï*. Cf. Doc. 33, ligne 2, note.

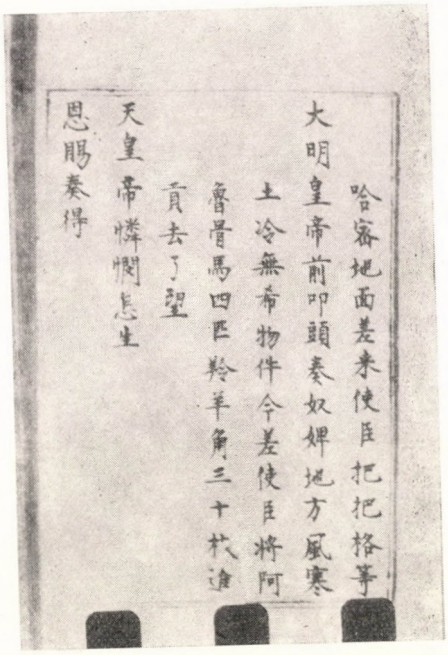
(4) *kälin*. Dans les autres documents nous avons, à sa place, la forme *kälip*.

(5) *saparan*. Le safran est connu en Chine dès les T'ang où il est importé le plus souvent par les ambassadeurs tributaires des pays de l'Ouest. Son importation augmente sous les Yuan et, encore davantage sous les Ming. Cf. *Pen-ts'ao kang-mou*, 15, p. 33; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 309—312.

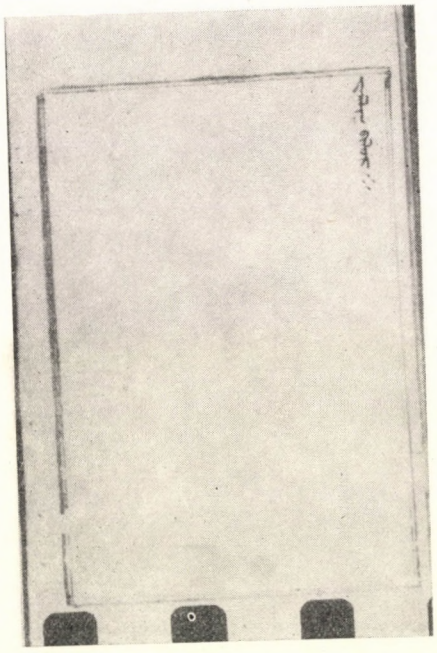
(6) *irinčkäp*. Le ms. A offre ici encore *črnčkäp*.


聖旨知道

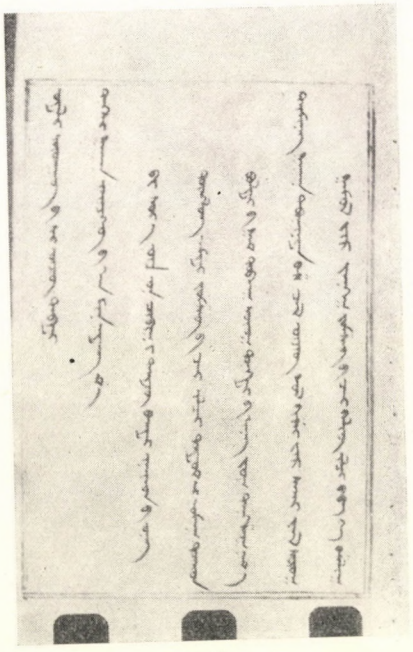
1b


哈密地面差來使臣把把格等
大明皇帝前叩頭奏奴婢地方風寒
土冷無希物件今差使臣將阿
魯骨馬四匹羚羊角三十枝進
貢去了望
天皇帝憐憫恩賜奏得

1a



2b



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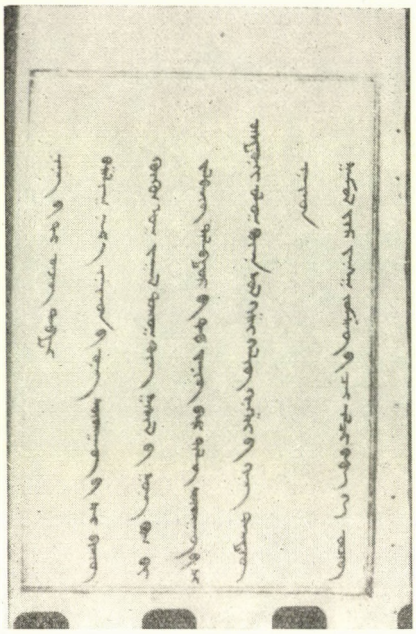
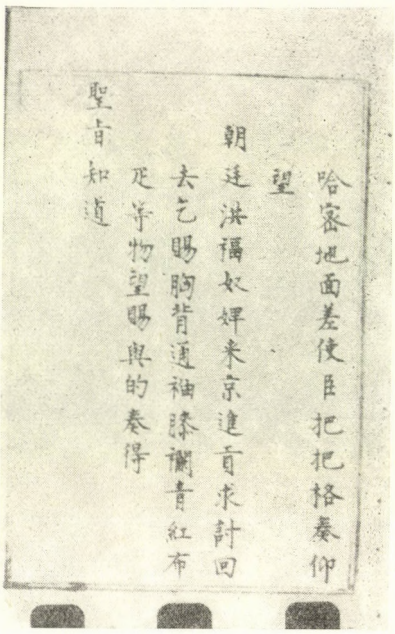
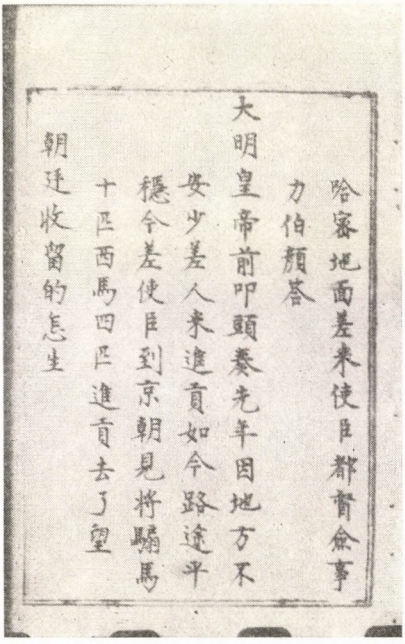


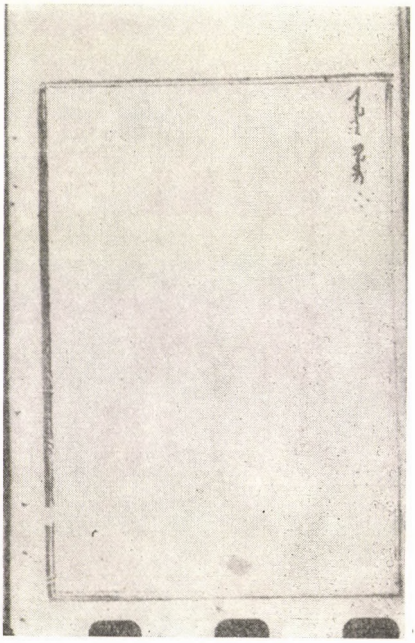
4a


哈密地面差使臣把把格奏仰
望
朝廷洪福奴婢来京進貢求討回
去乞賜胸背蟒袖膝襴貢紅布
疋等物望賜與的奏得
聖旨知道

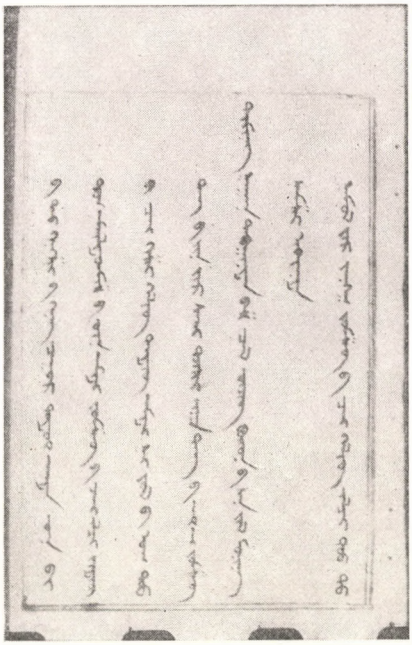
3a


哈密地面差來使臣都督僉事
力伯顏答
大明皇帝前叩頭奏先年因地方不
安少差人來進貢如今路途平
穩令差使臣到京朝見將騸馬
十匹西馬四匹進貢去了望
朝廷收留的怎生

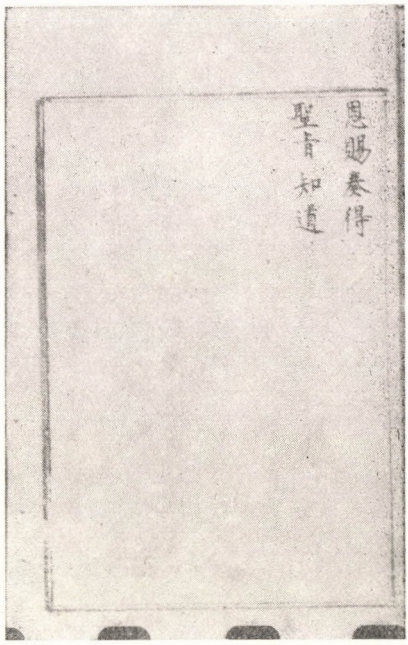
5a



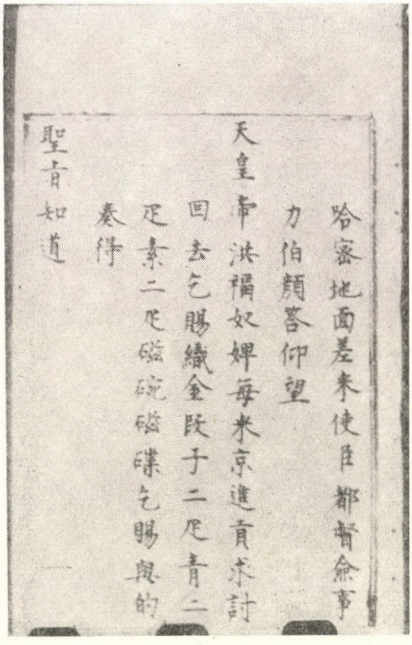
4b



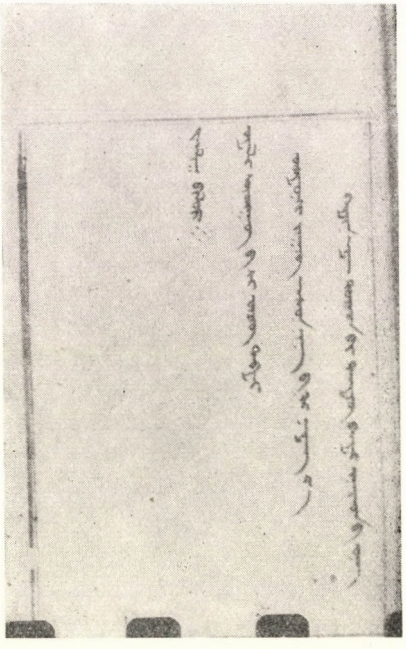
6a


恩賜奏得
聖旨知道

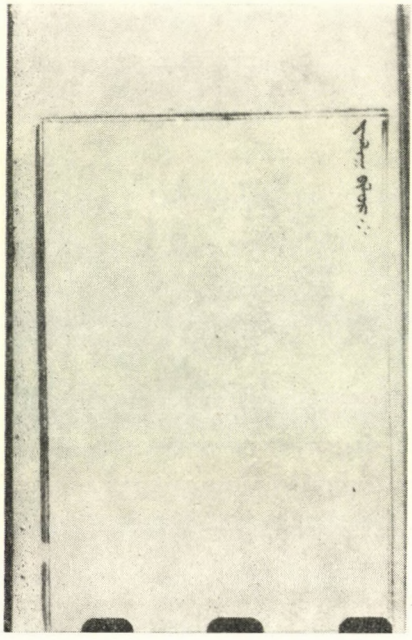
5b


哈密地面差來使臣都督僉事
力伯顏答仰望
天皇帝洪福奴婢每來京進貢求討
回去乞賜織金段子二疋青二
疋素二疋磁碗磁碟乞賜與的
奏得
聖旨知道

7a



6b



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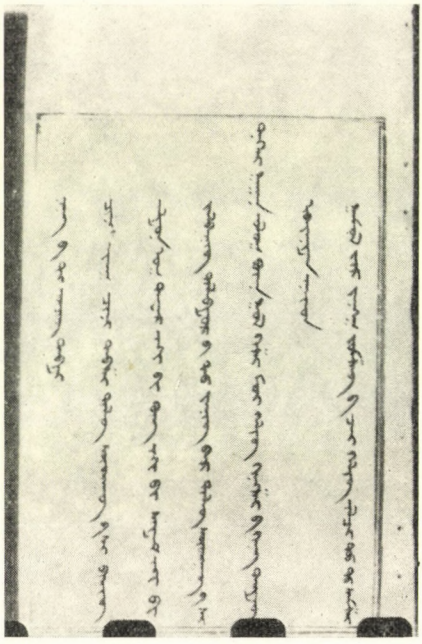

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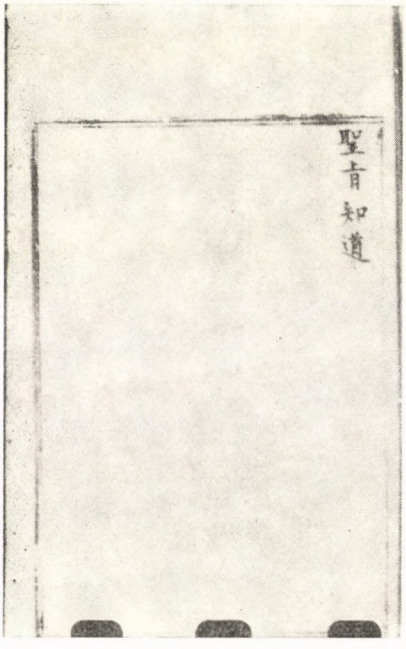
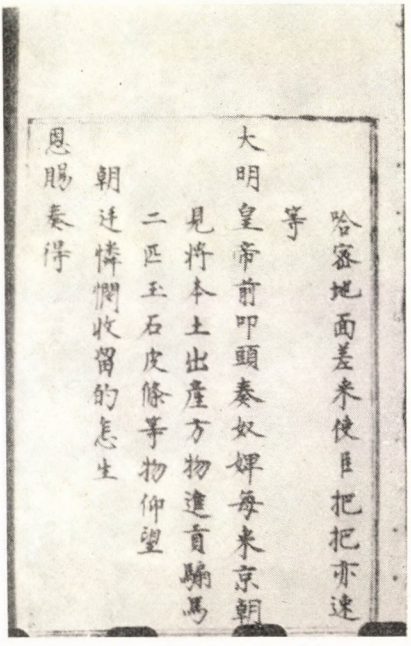
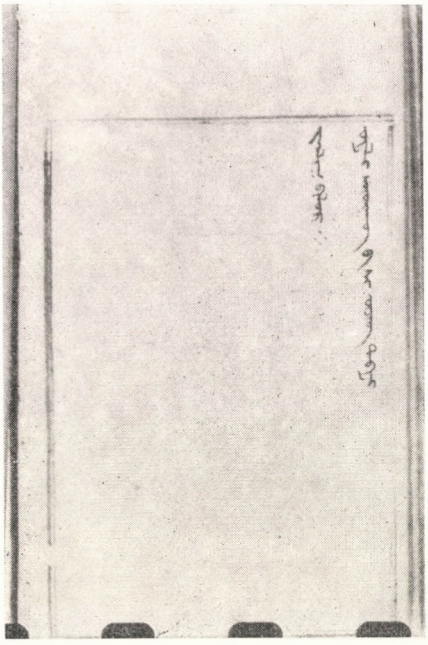

聖旨知道

9b


哈密地面差來使臣把把赤速
等
大明
皇帝前叩頭奏奴婢每來京朝
見將本土出產方物進貢騙馬
二匹玉石皮條等物仰望
朝廷憐憫收留的恩生
恩賜奏得

9a



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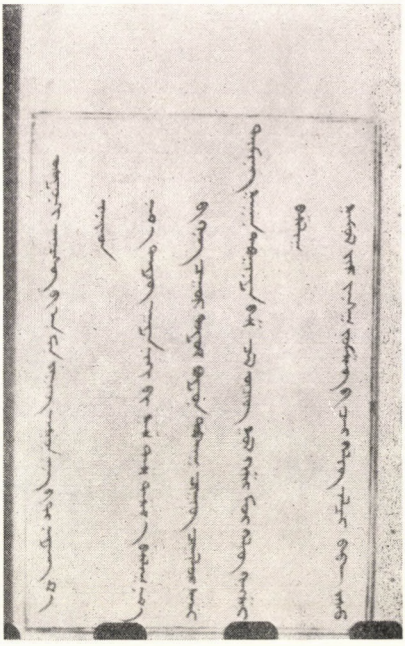
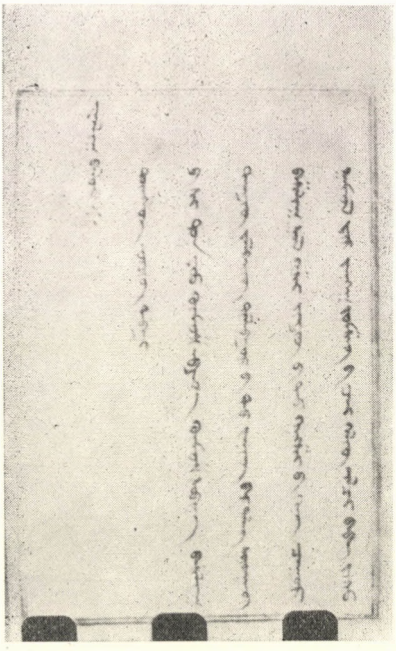
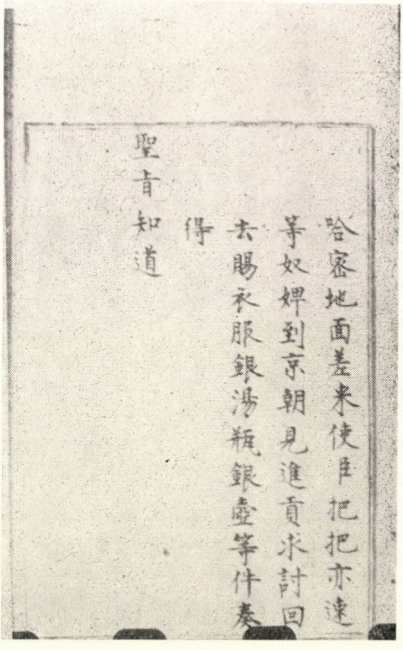


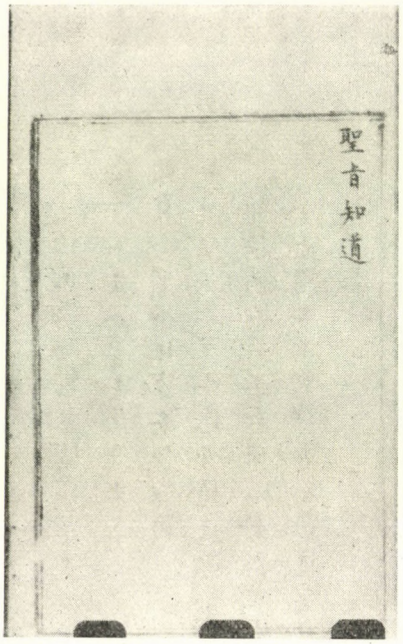
10a



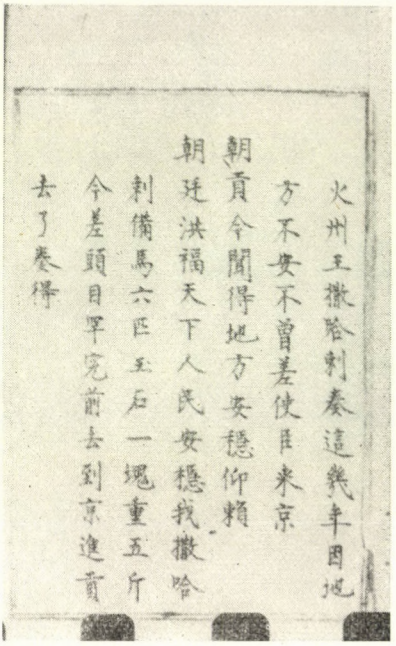
11b



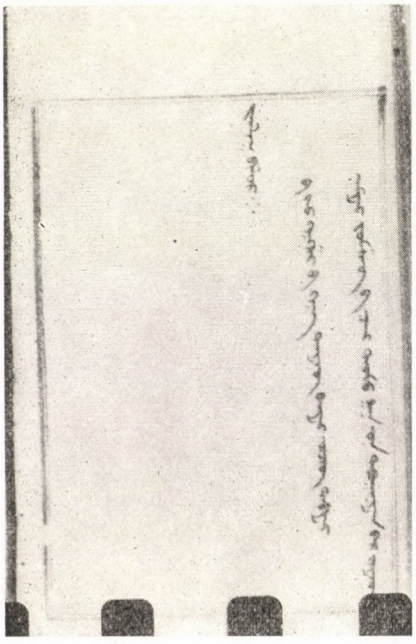
11a


聖旨知道

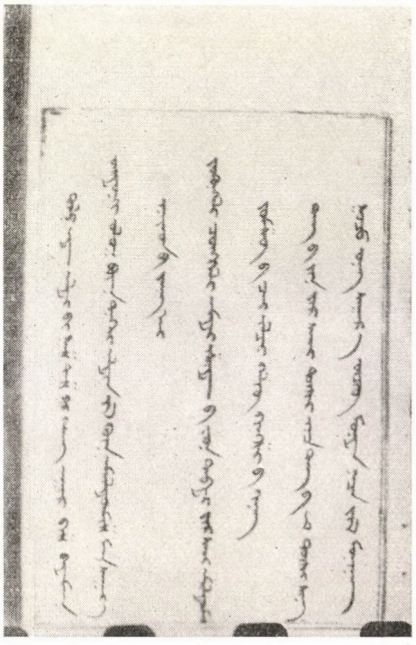
12b


火州王撒哈剌奏這幾年回回地
方不安不曾差使臣来京
朝貢今聞得地方安穩仰賴
朝廷洪福天下人民安穩我撒哈
剌備馬六匹玉石一堰重五斤
今差頭目罕完前去到京進貢
去了奏得

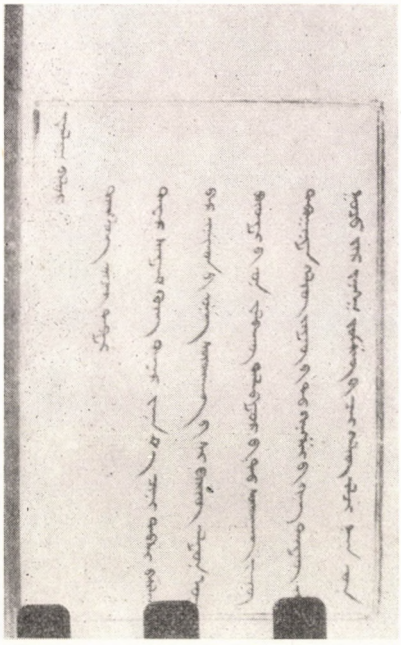
12a



13b



13a



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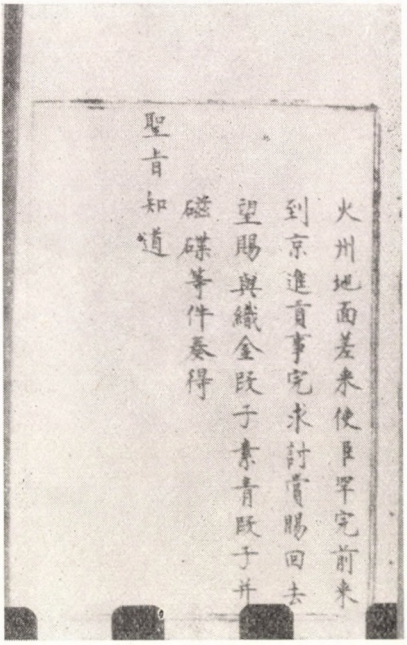

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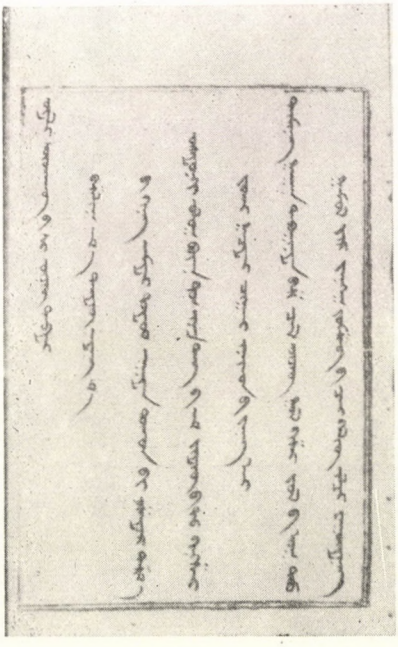

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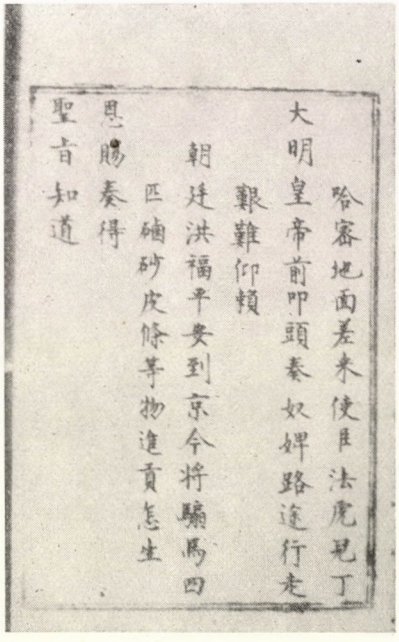
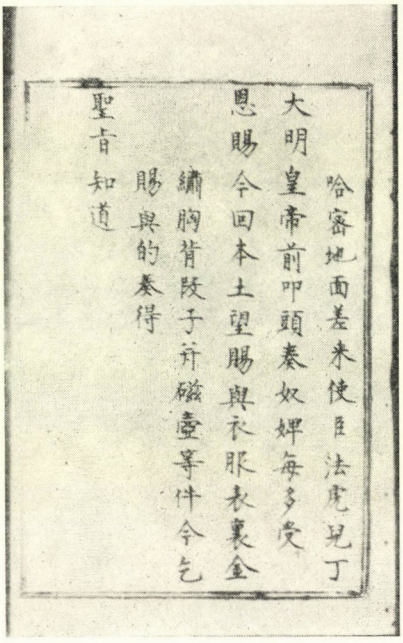
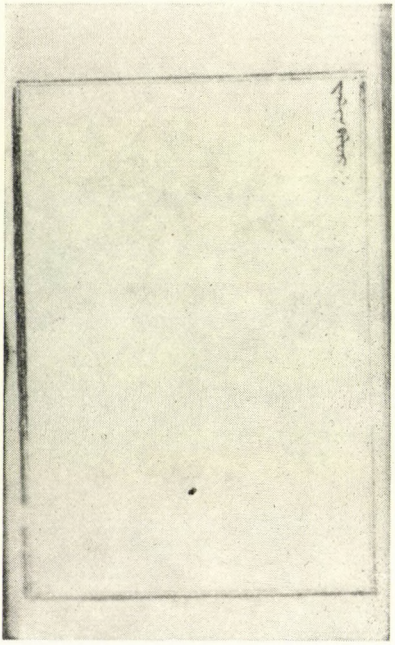


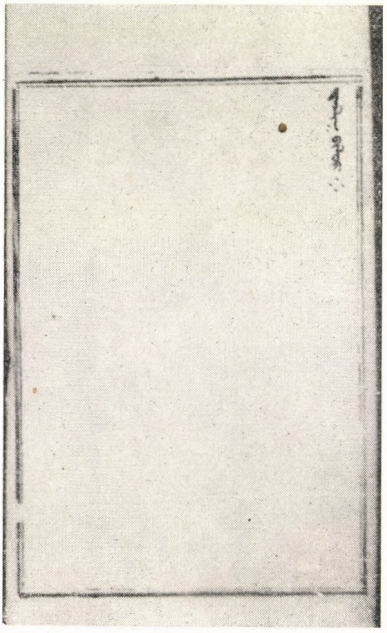
16a


哈密地面差来使臣法度兒丁
大明皇帝前叩頭奏奴婢每多受
恩賜今回本土望賜與衣服表裏金
繡胸背段子并磁壺等件令乞
賜與的奏得
聖旨知道

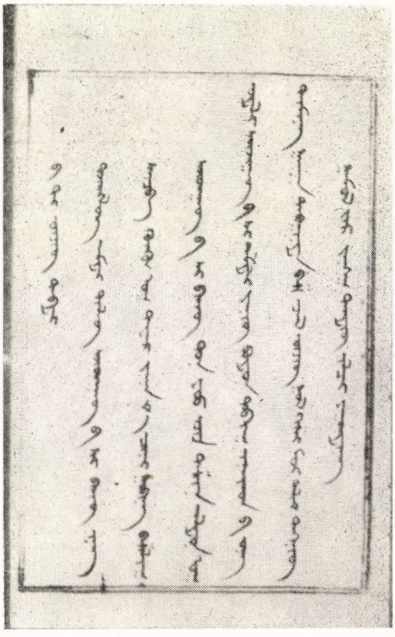
18a



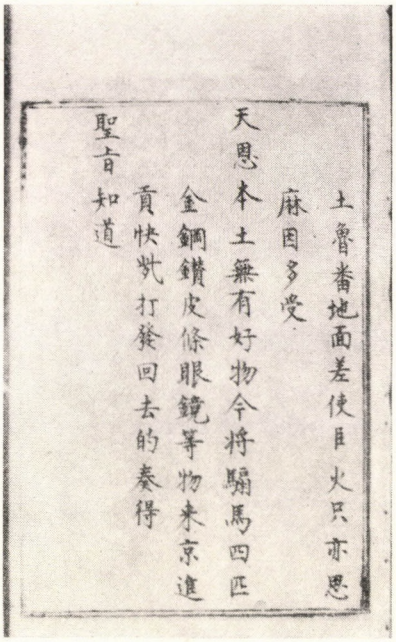
17b



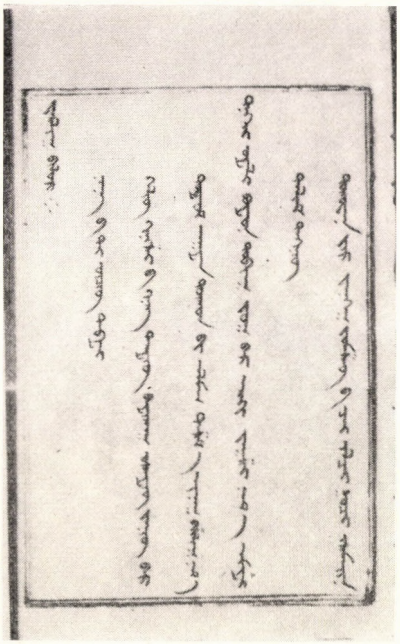
19b



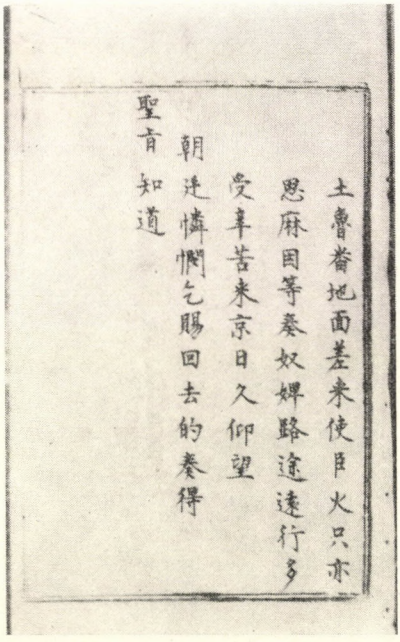
19a


土魯番地面差使目火只赤思
麻因多受
天恩本土無有好物令將騙馬四匹
金鋼鑽皮條眼鏡等物来京進
貢快教打發回去的奏得
聖旨知道

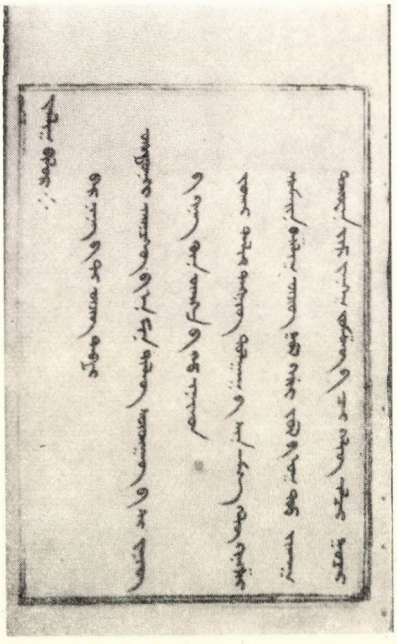
20a



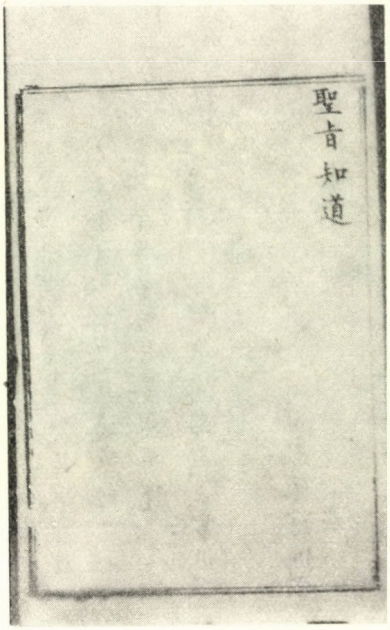
21a


土魯番地面差来使目火只赤
思麻因等奏奴婢路途遠行多
受辛苦来京日久仰望
朝廷憐憫乞賜回去的奏得
聖旨知道

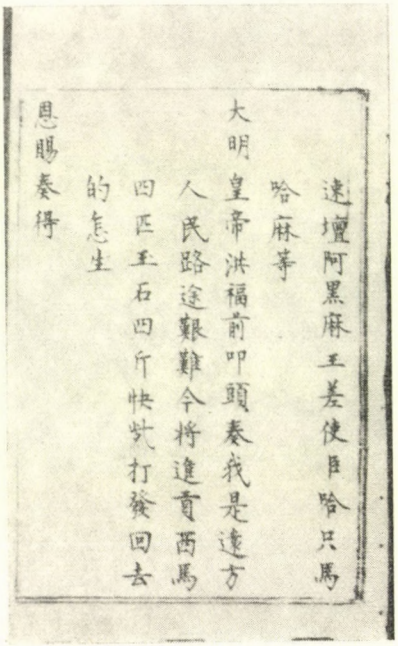
22a



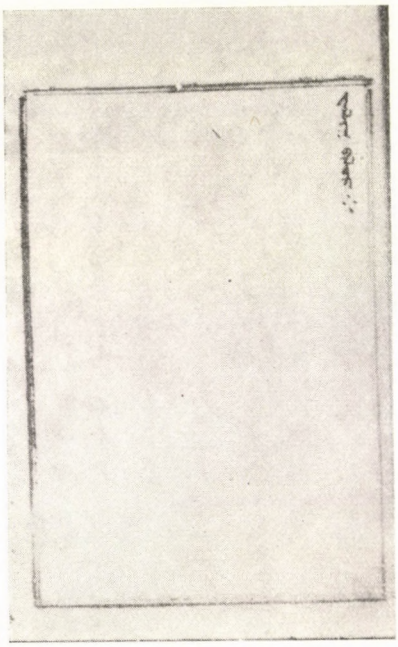
23a


聖旨知道

24b


遠壇阿黑麻王差使臣哈只馬
哈麻等
大明
皇帝洪福前叩頭奏我是遠方
人民路途艱難今將進貢西馬
四匹玉石四斤快快打發回去
的怎生
恩賜奏得

24a



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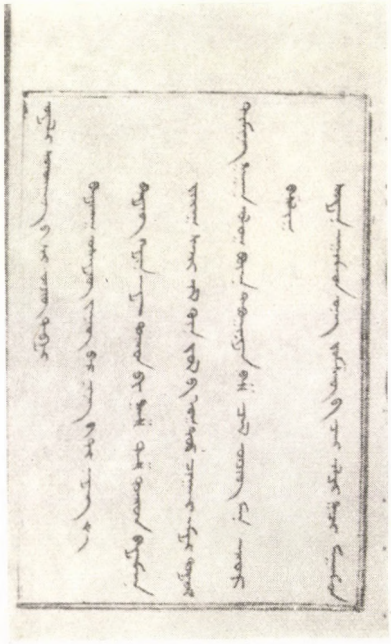

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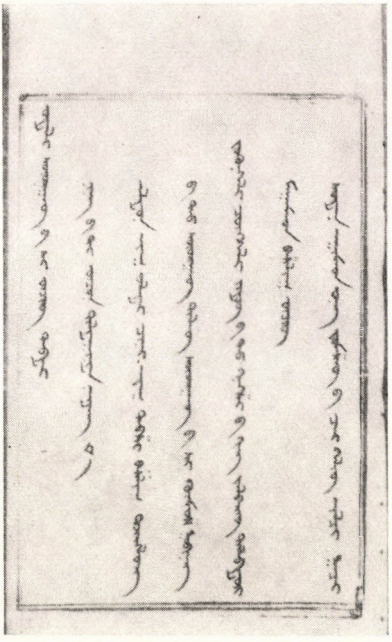

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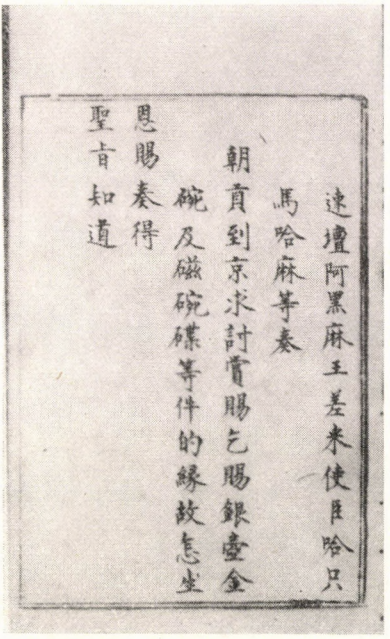

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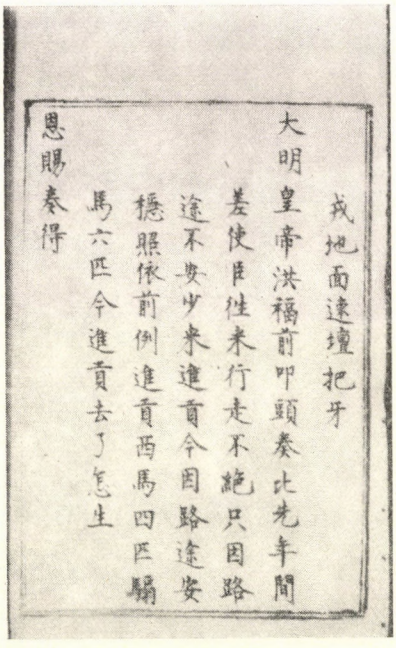

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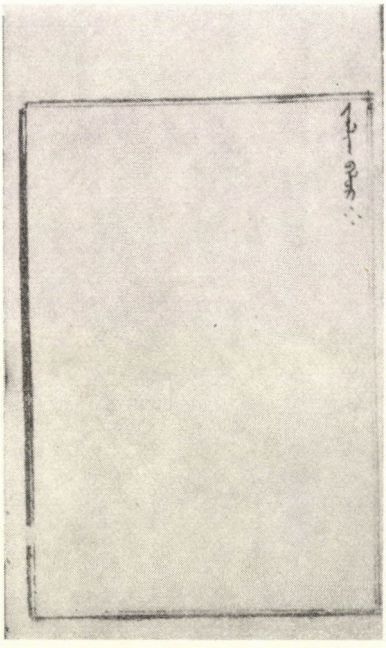

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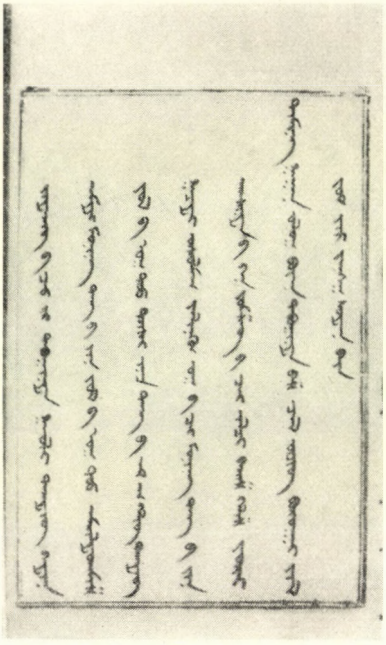

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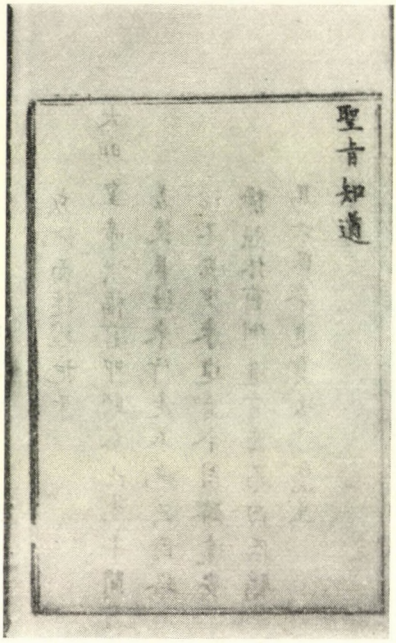

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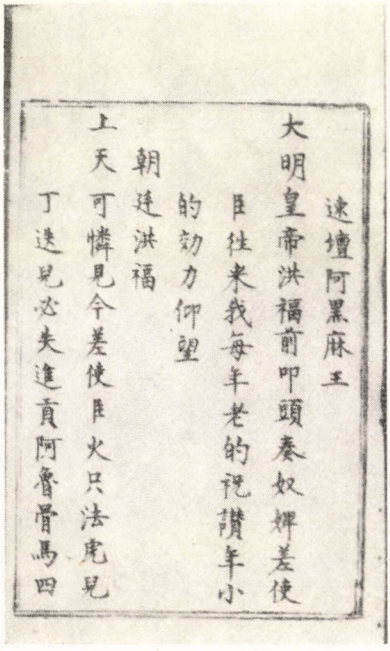

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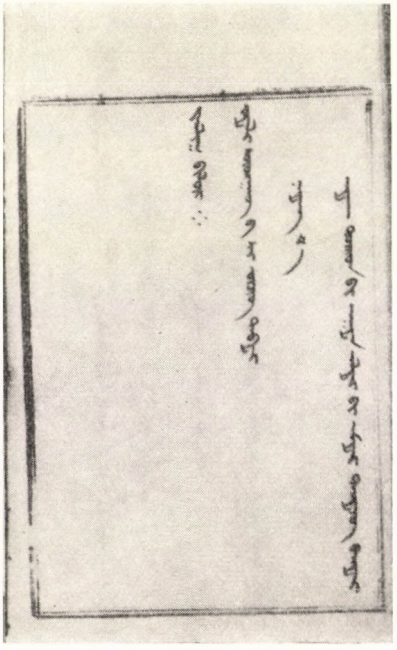

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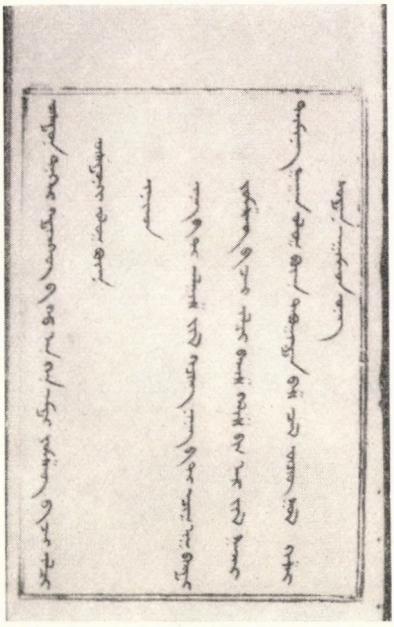

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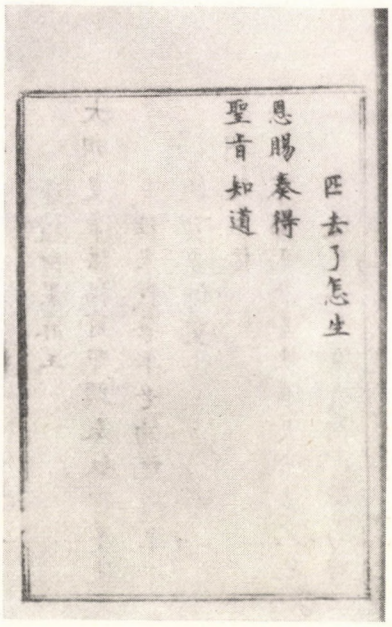

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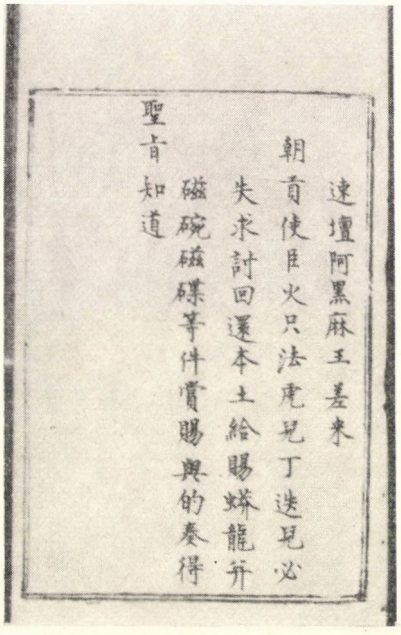

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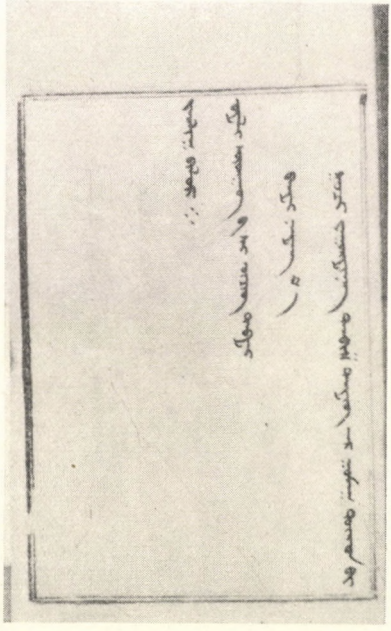

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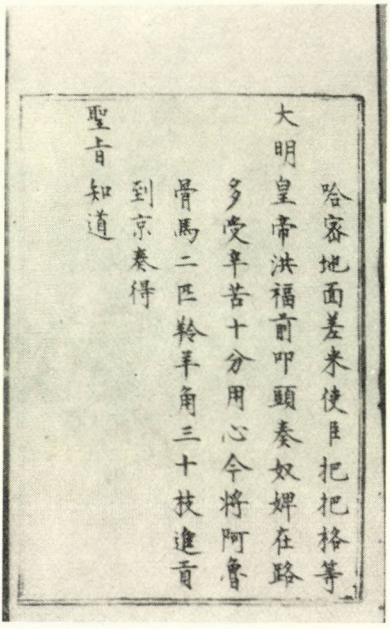

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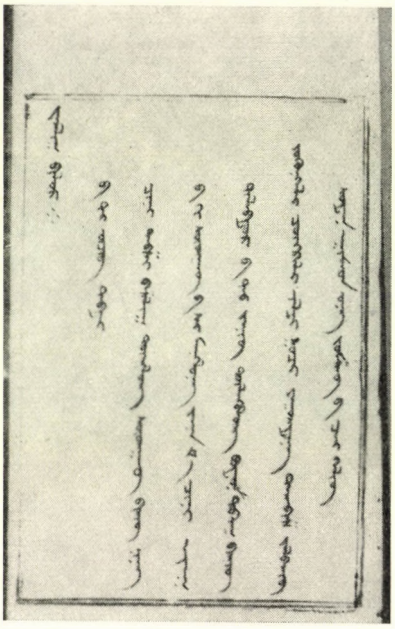

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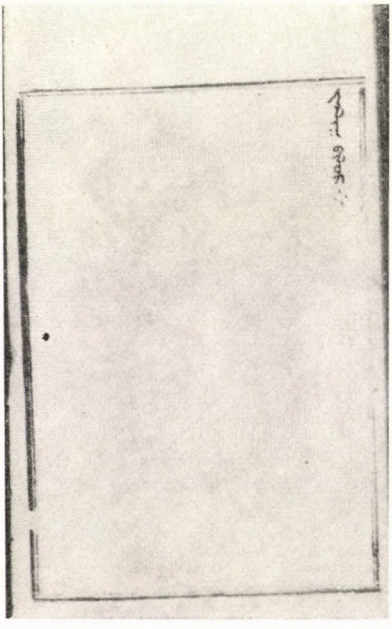

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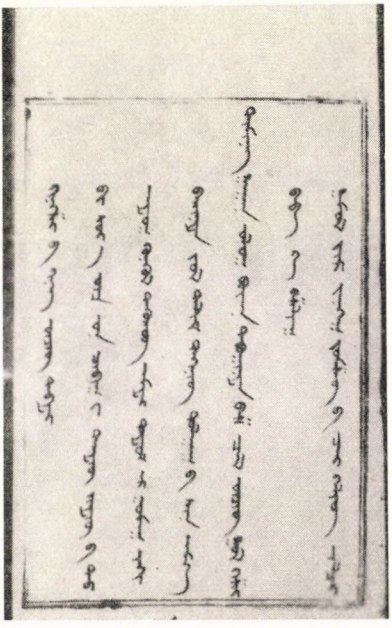

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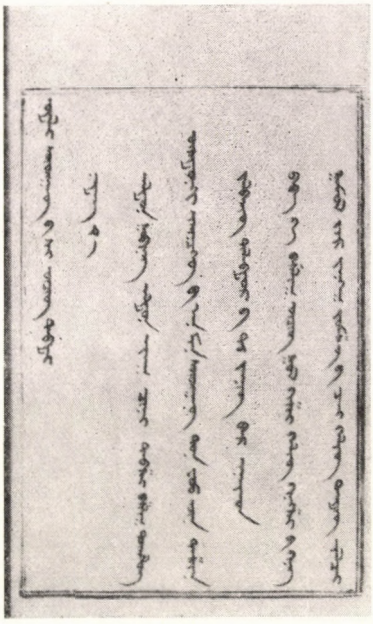

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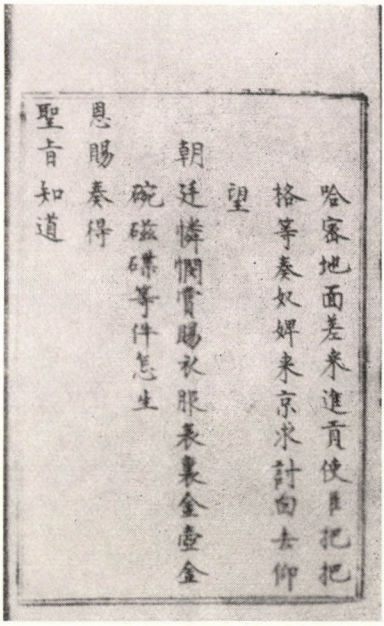

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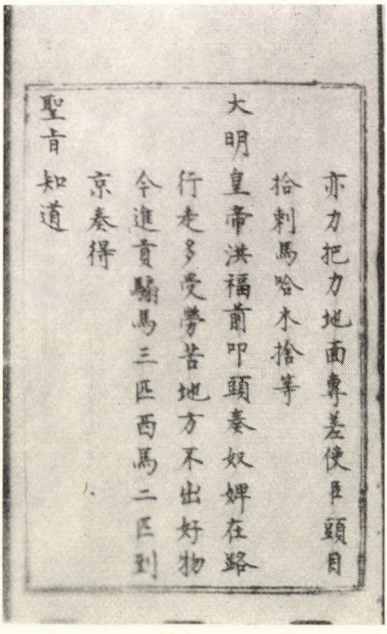

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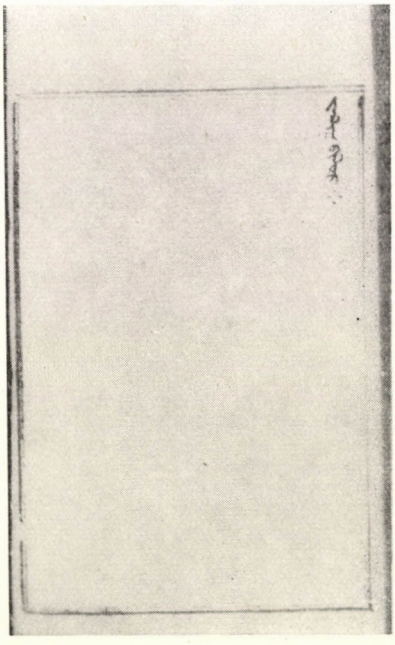

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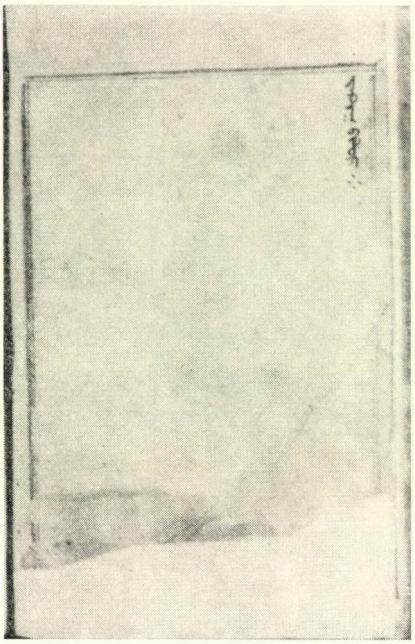

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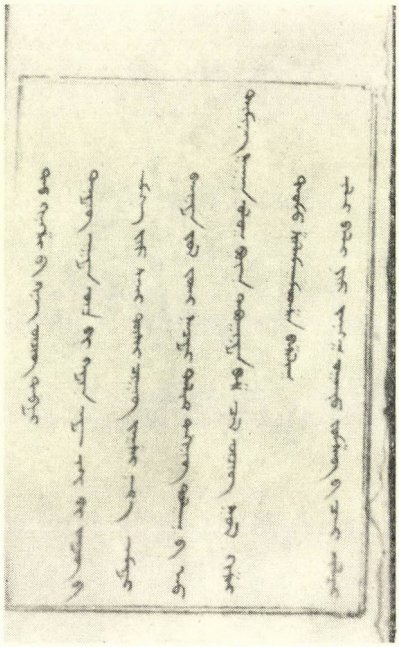

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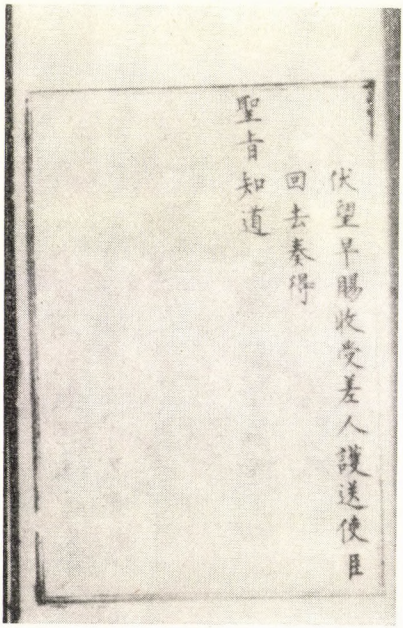

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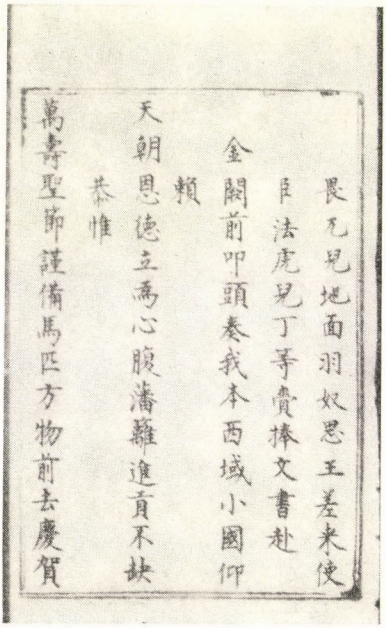

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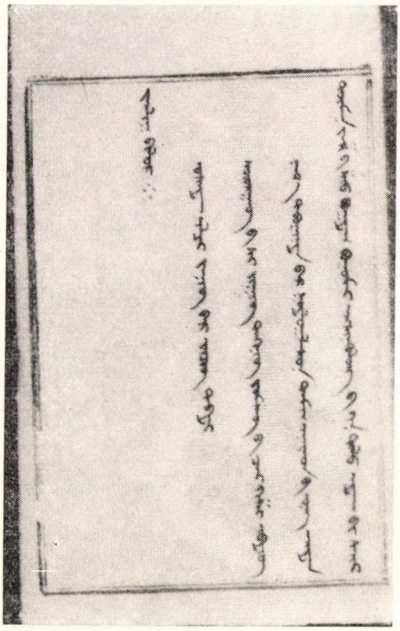

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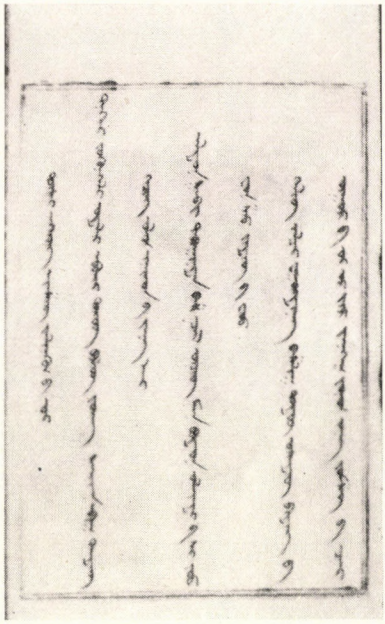

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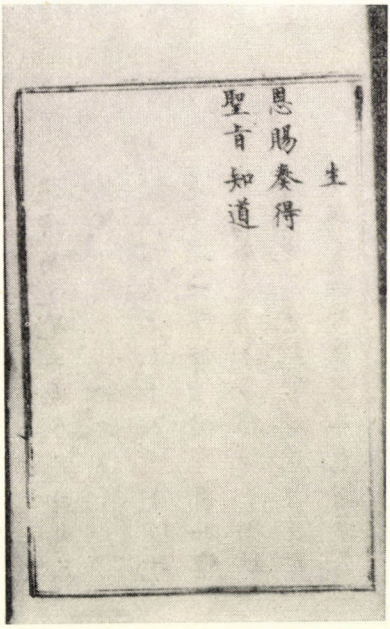

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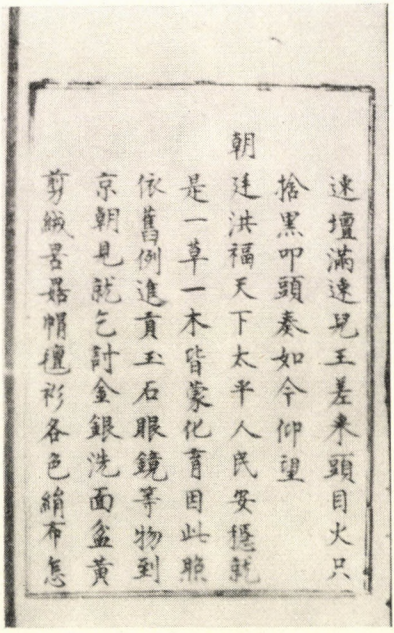

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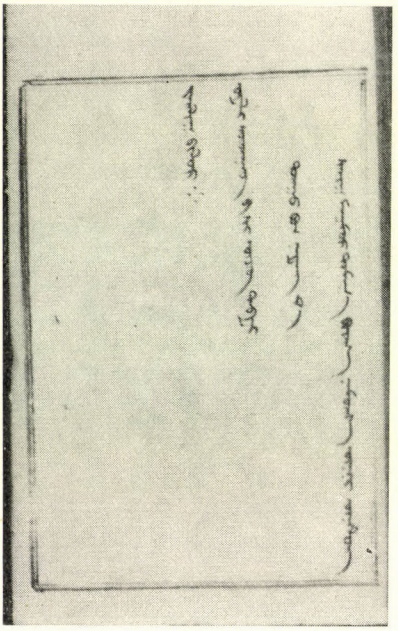

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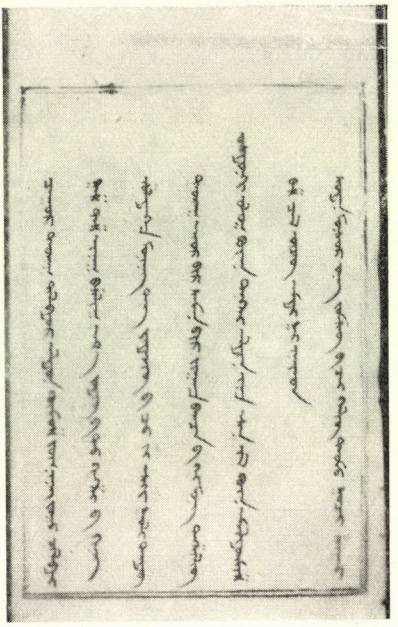

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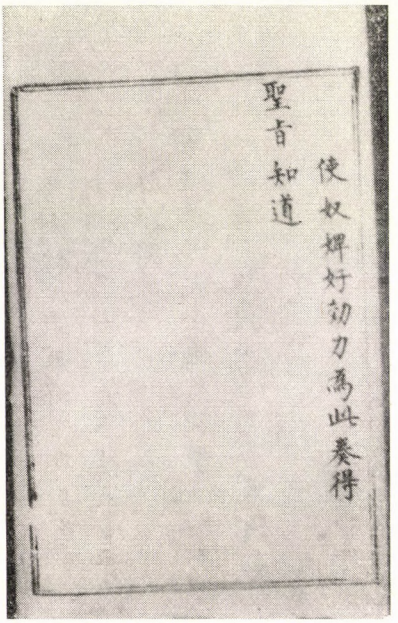

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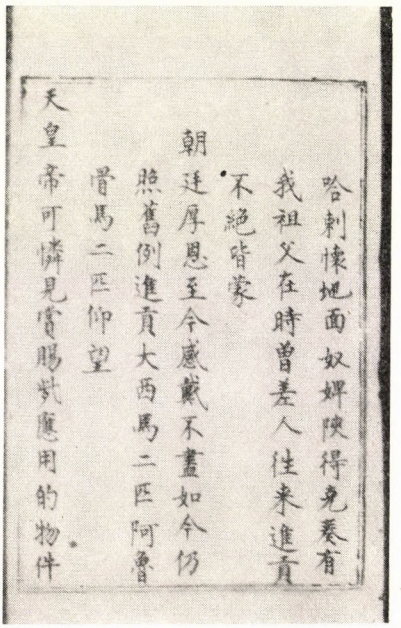
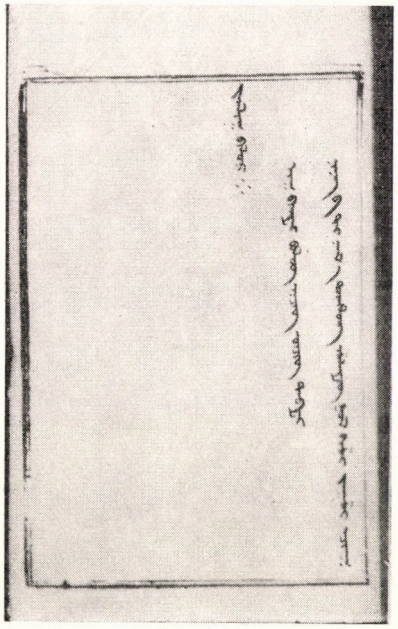


45a

哈剌慄地面奴婢陝得免差有
我祖父在時曾差人往来進貢
不絶皆蒙
朝廷厚恩至今感戴不盡如今仍
照舊例進貢大西馬二匹阿魯
哥馬二匹仰望
天皇帝可憐見賞賜收應用的物件

使奴婢好幼力為此差得
聖旨知道



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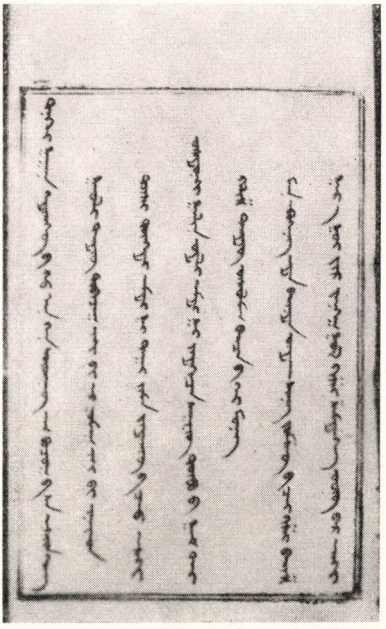

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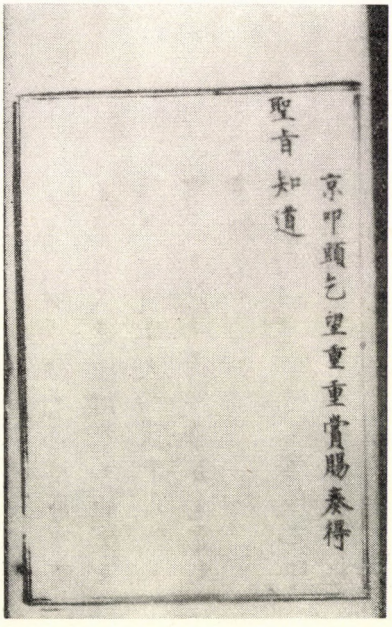

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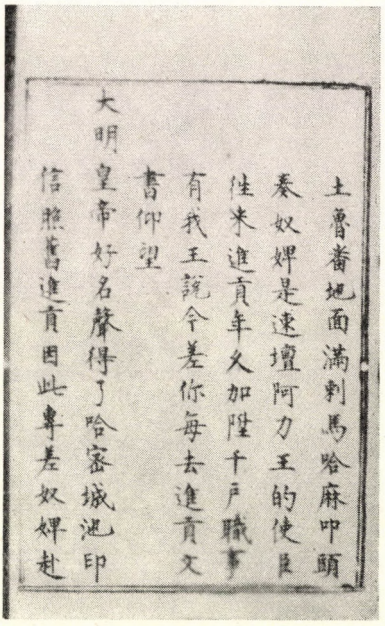

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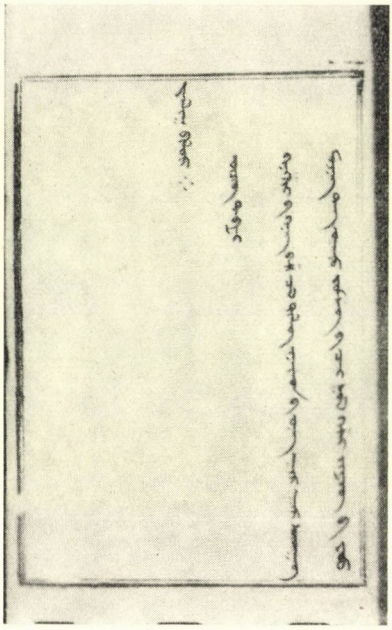

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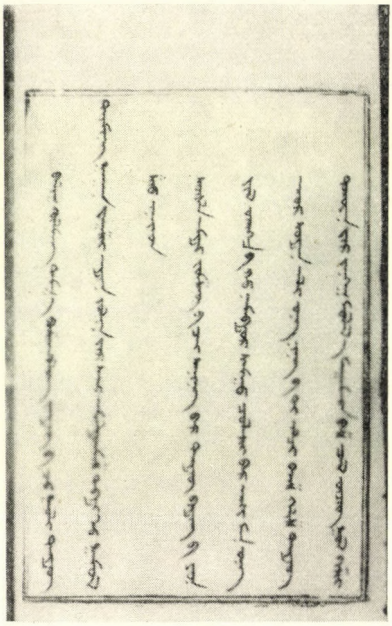

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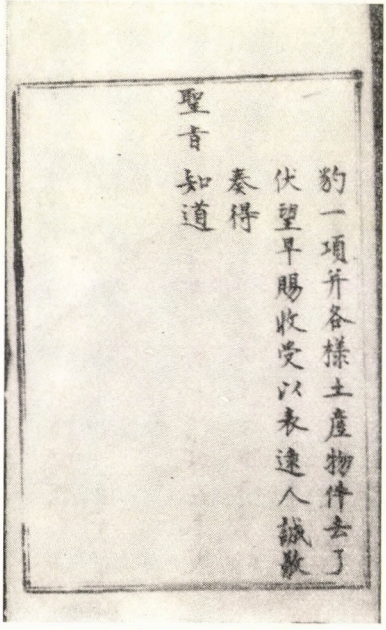

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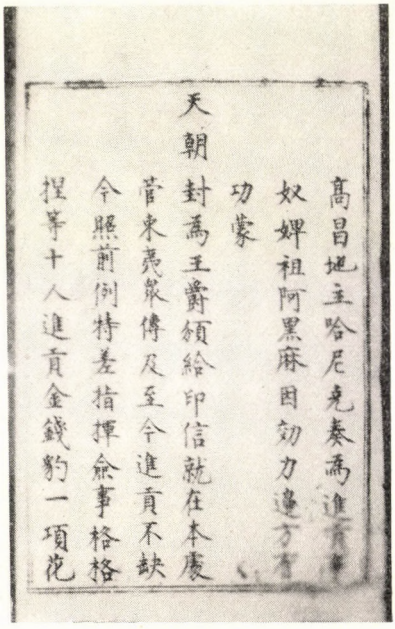
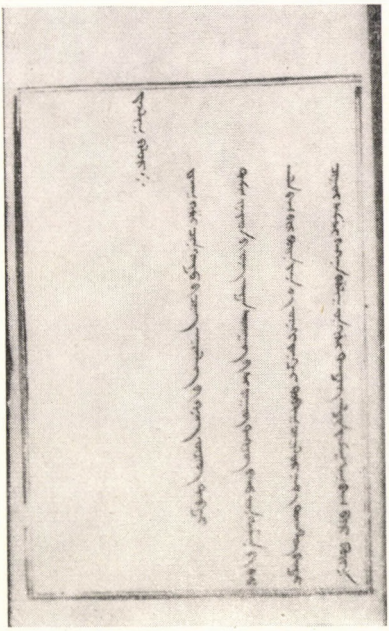


高昌地主哈尼克奏為進貢
奴婢祖阿黑麻因効力邊方有
功蒙
天朝封為王爵領給印信就在本處
管束衆傳及至今進貢不缺
今照前例特差指揮僉事格格
捏等十人進貢金錢豹一項花

49a

豹一項并各樣土產物件去了
伏望早賜收受以表遠人誠敬
奏得
聖旨知道



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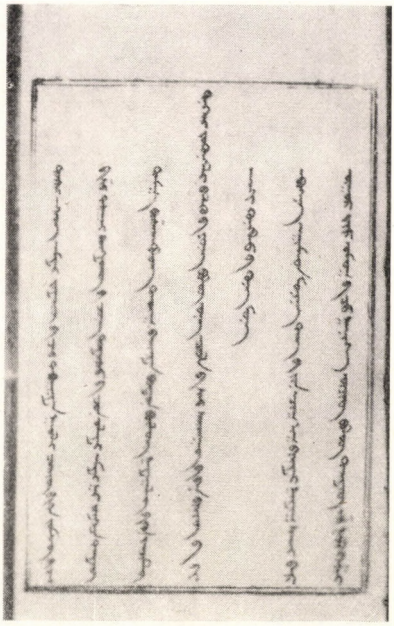

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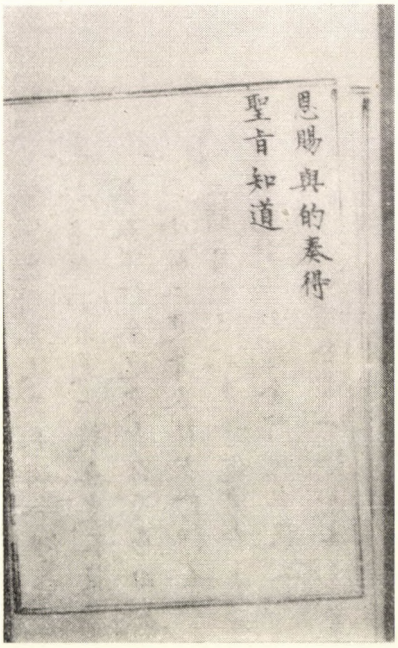

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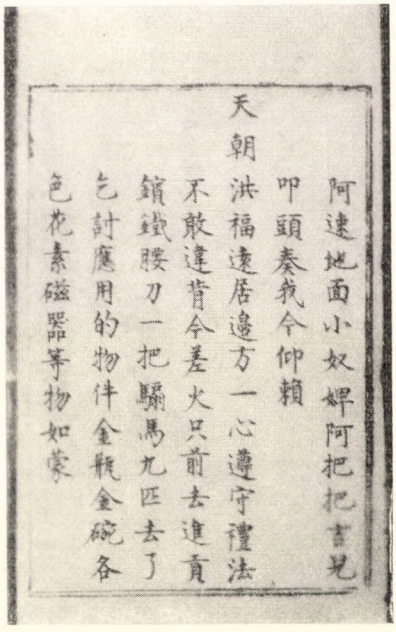

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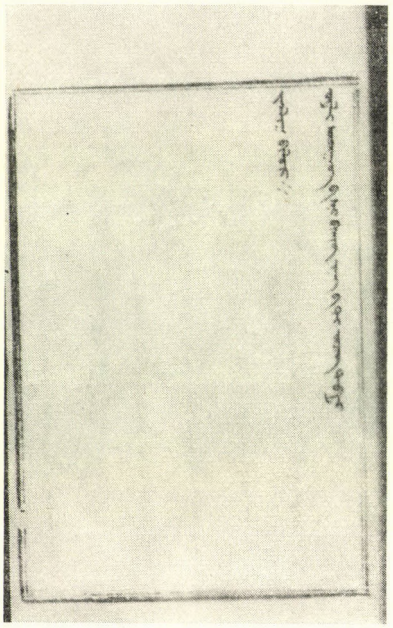

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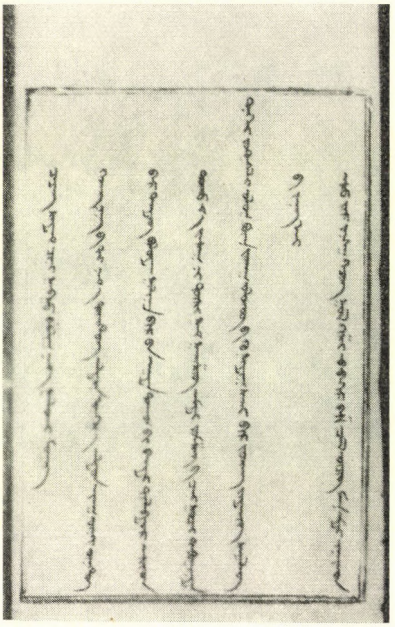

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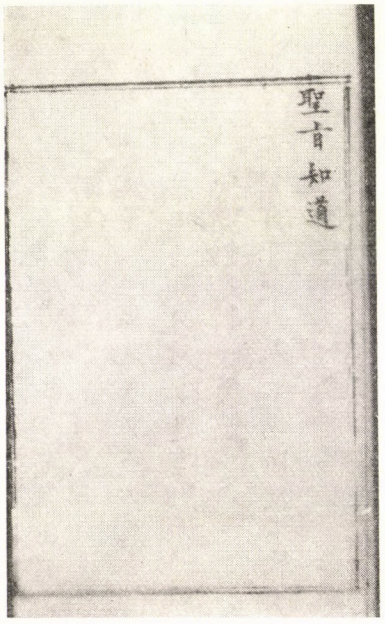

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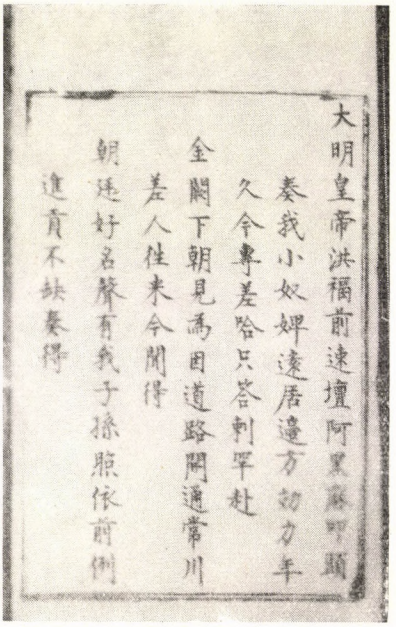

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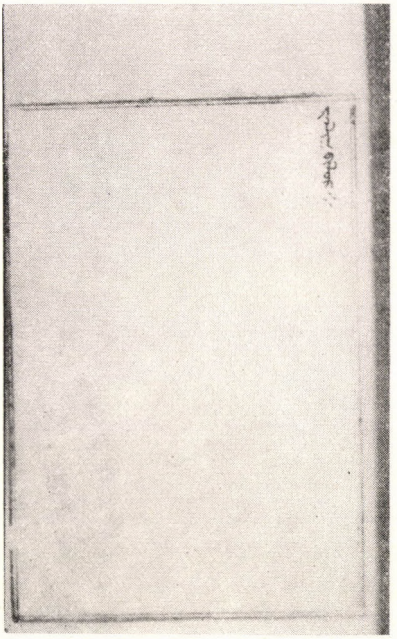

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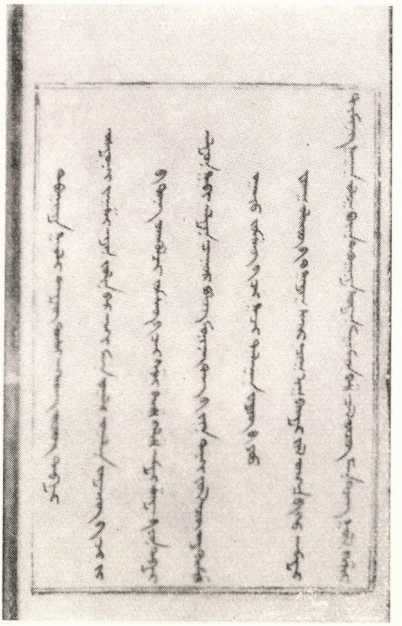

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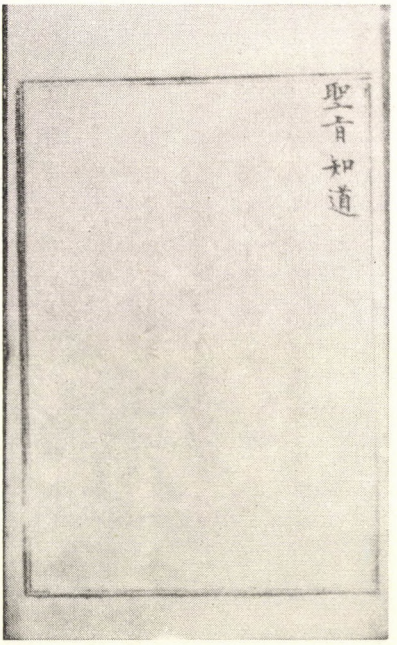

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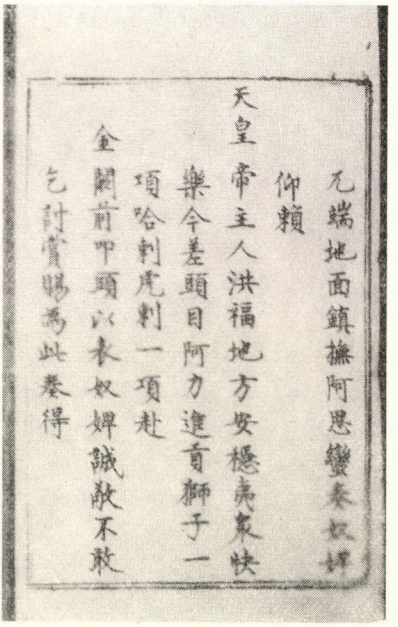

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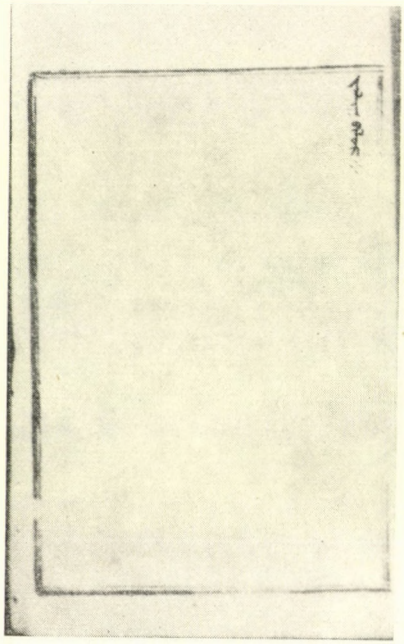
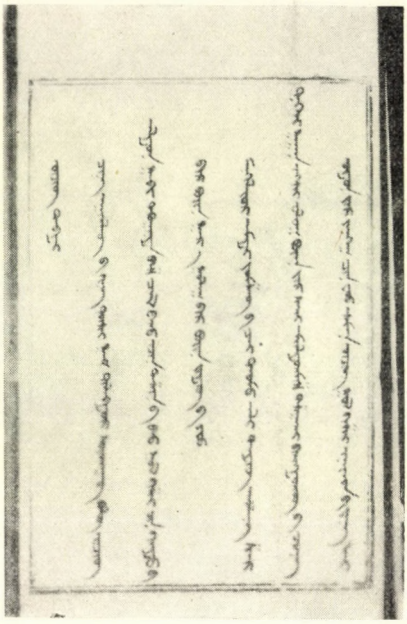
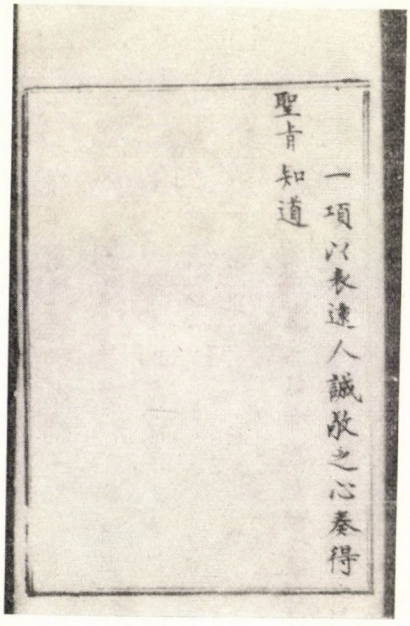


56b



56a



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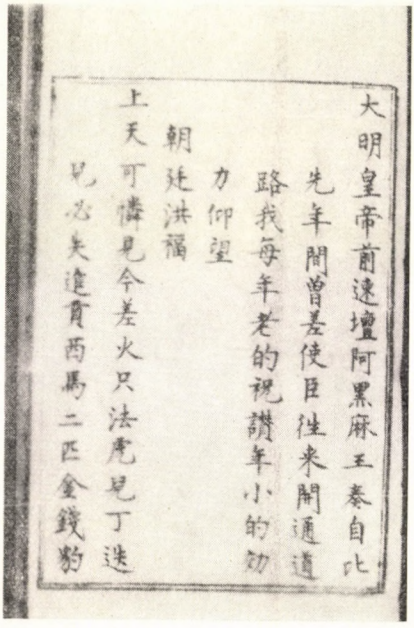

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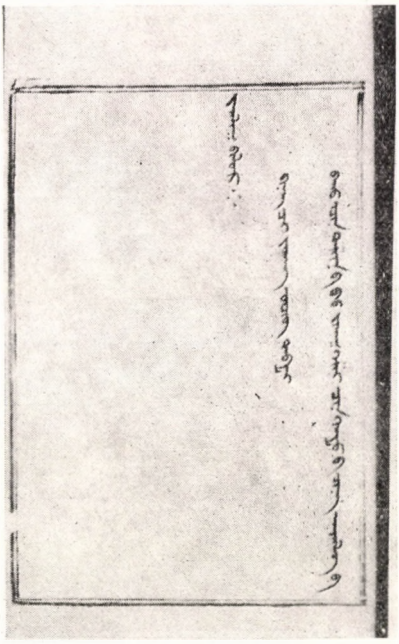

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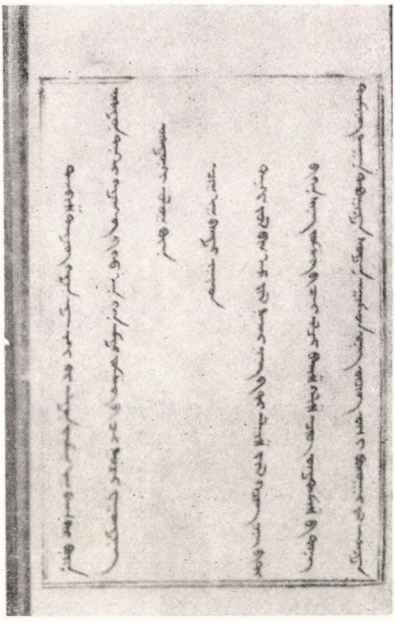

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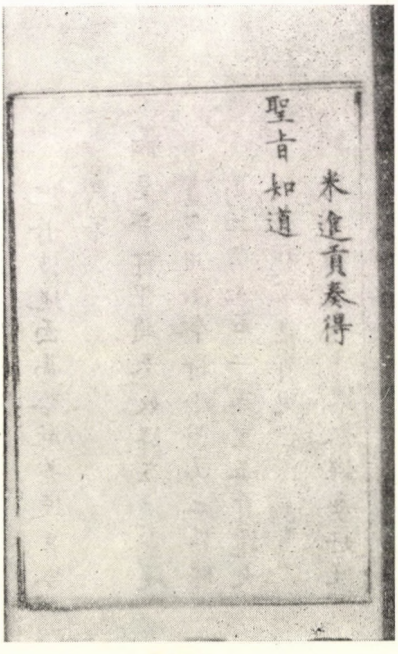

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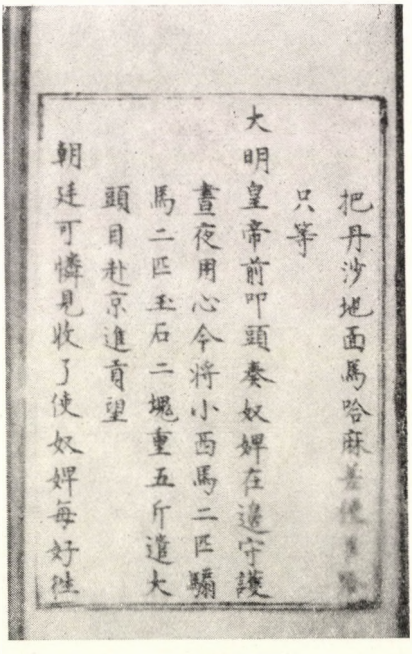

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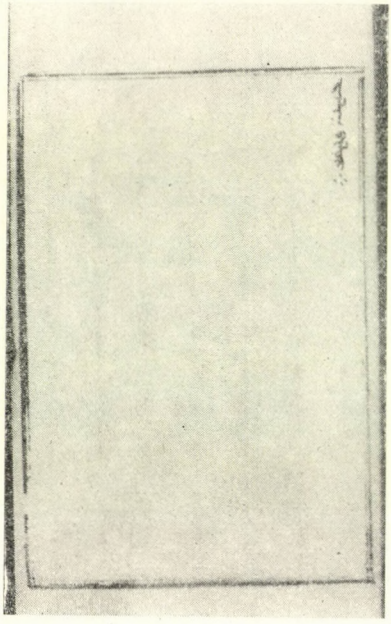

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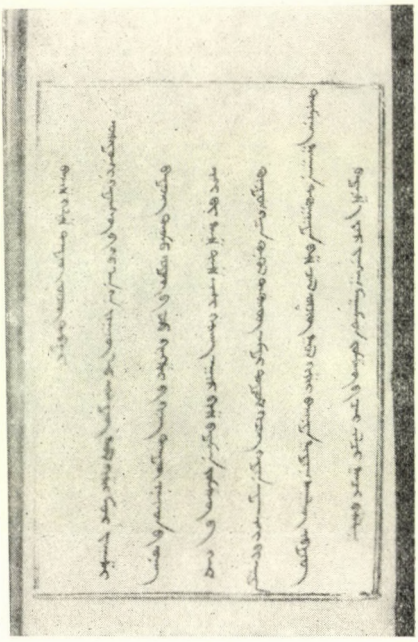

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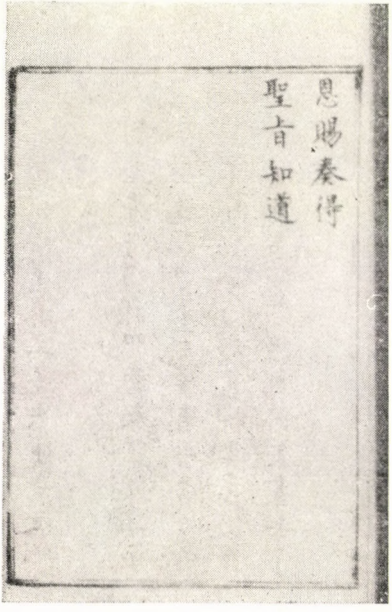

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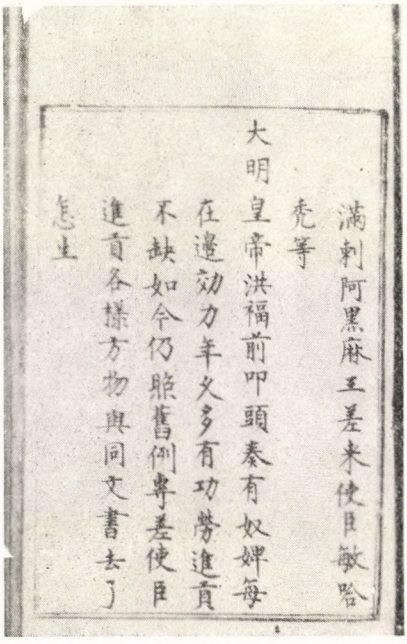

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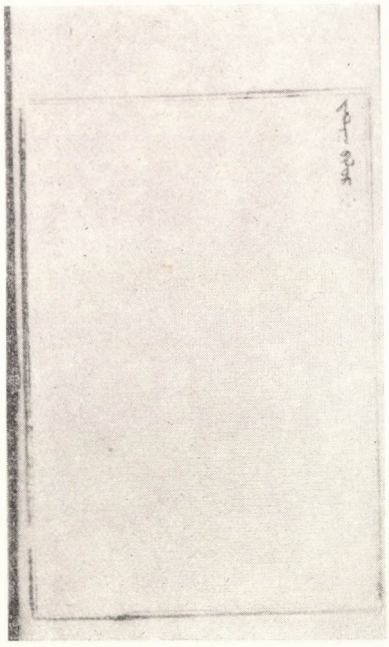

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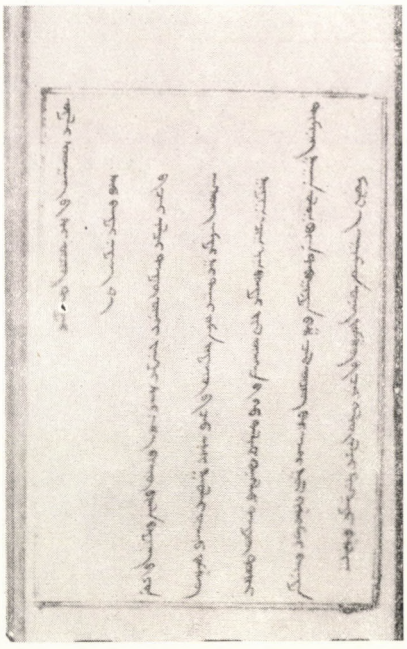

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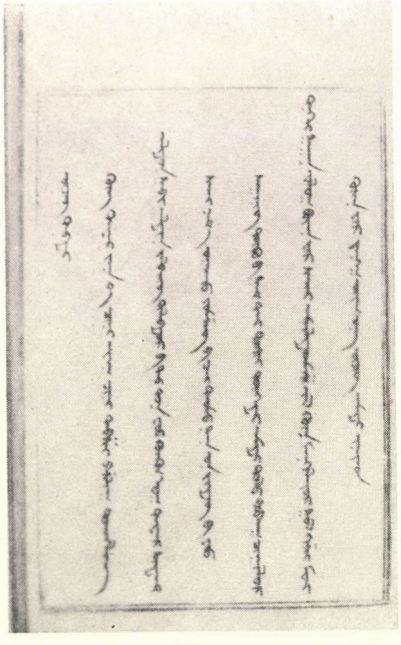

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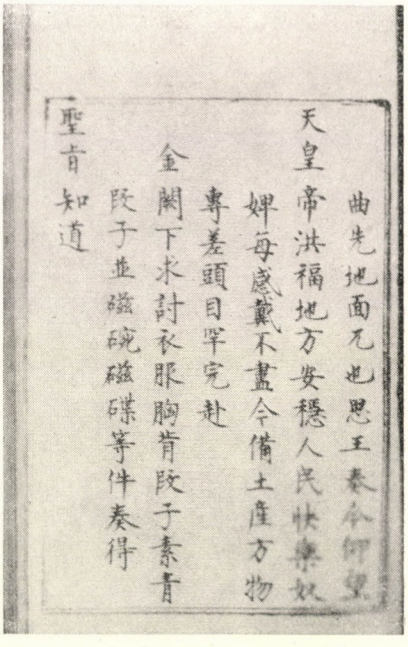

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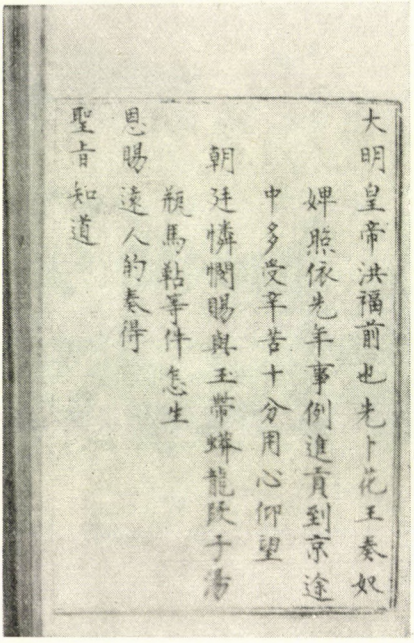
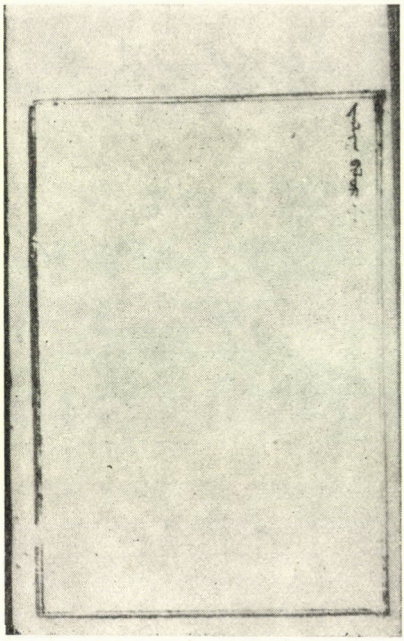

大明皇帝洪福前也先卜花王奏奴
婢照依先年事例進貢到京途
中多受辛苦十分用心仰望
朝廷憐憫賜與玉帶蟒龍跌子湯
瓶馬粘等件怎生
恩賜遠人的奏得
聖旨知道

65a



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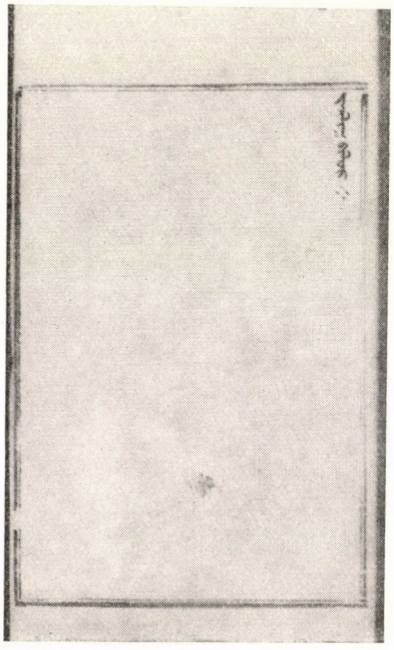

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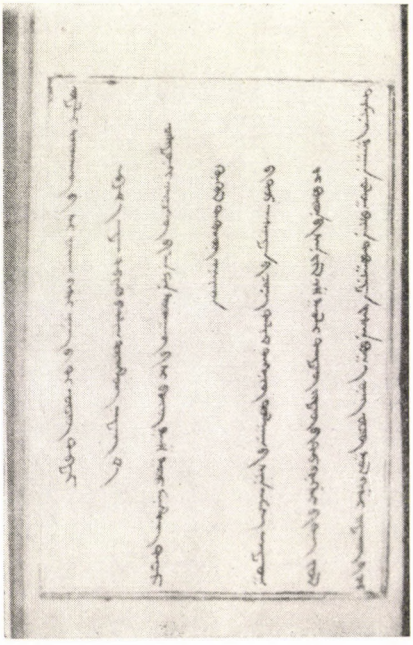

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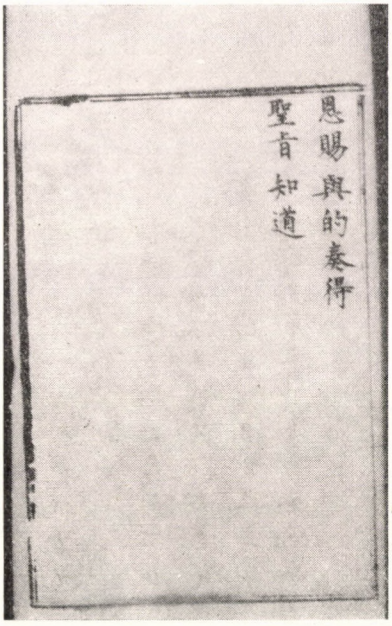
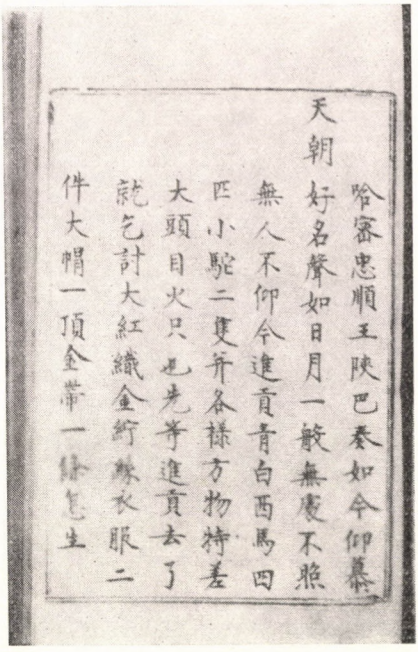
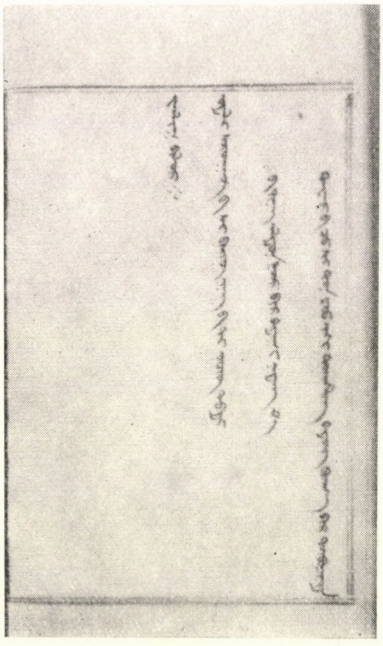

恩賜與的奏得
聖旨知道

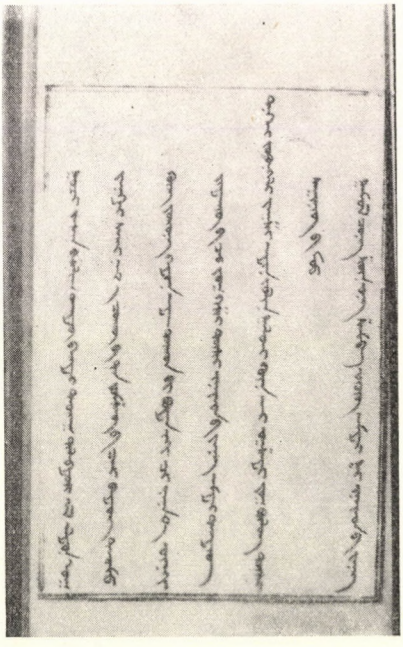
67b


哈密忠順王陝巴奏如今仰慕
天朝好名聲如日月一般無處不照
無人不仰今進貢青白西馬四
匹小駝二隻并各樣方物特差
大頭目火只迎光等進貢去了
就乞討大紅織金紵絲衣服二
件大帽一頂金帶一條欽此

67a



68b



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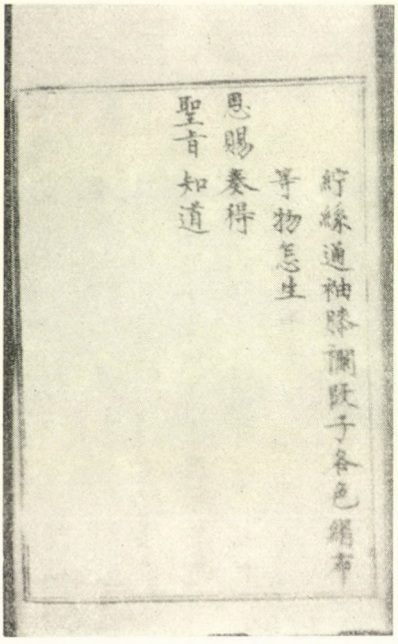

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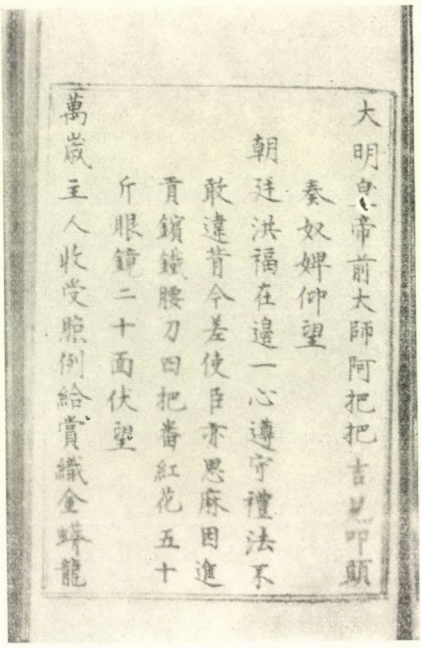

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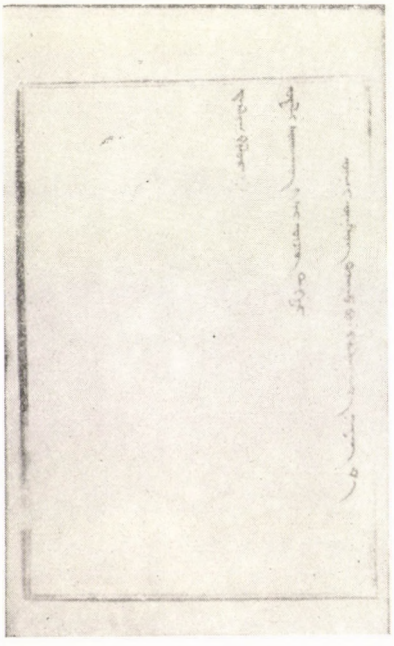

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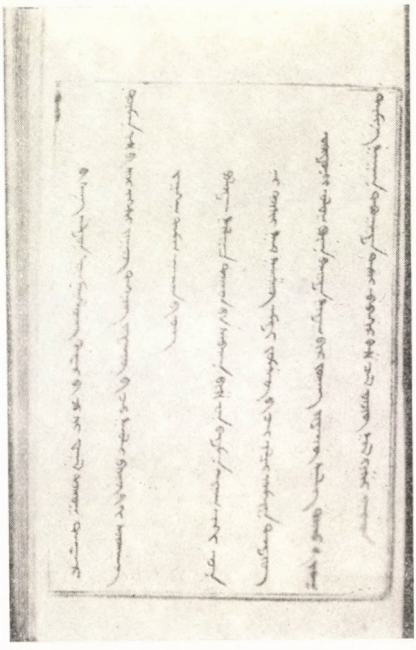

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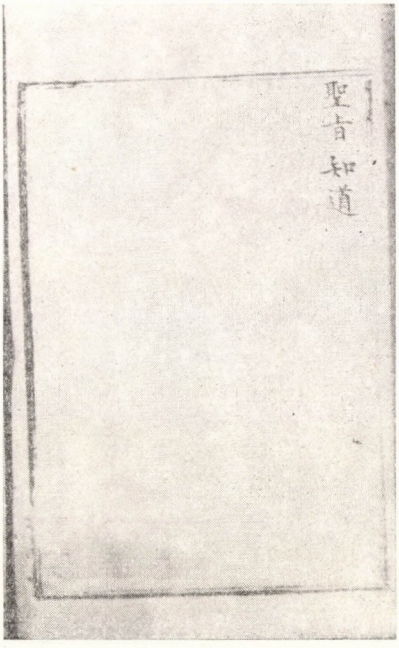

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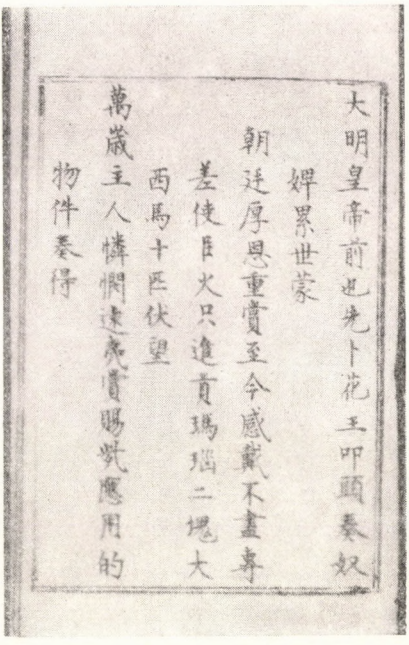
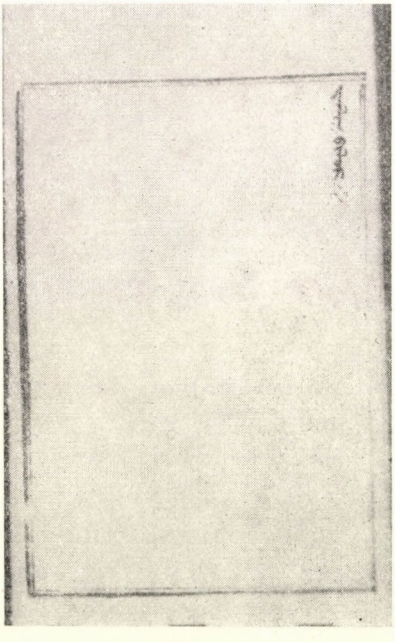


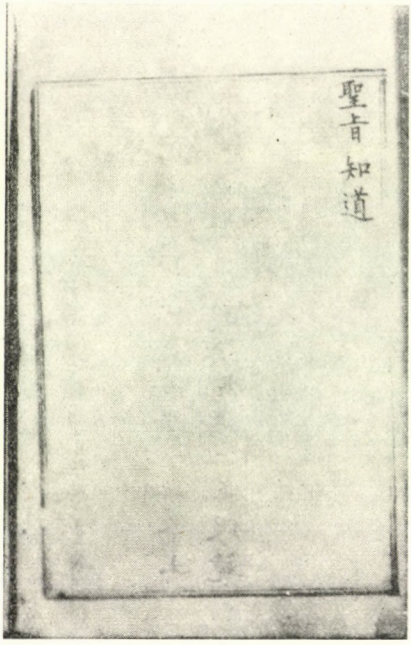
71a



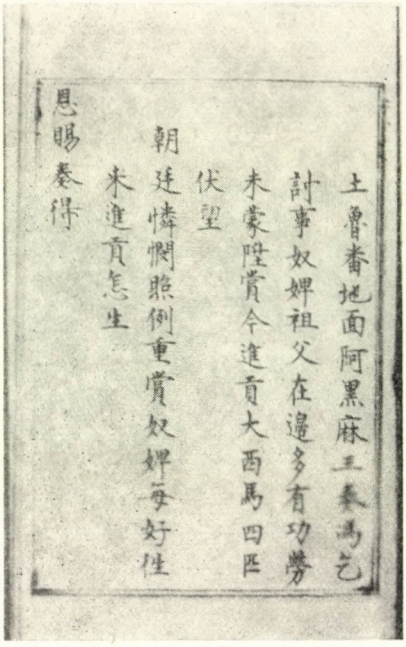
72b



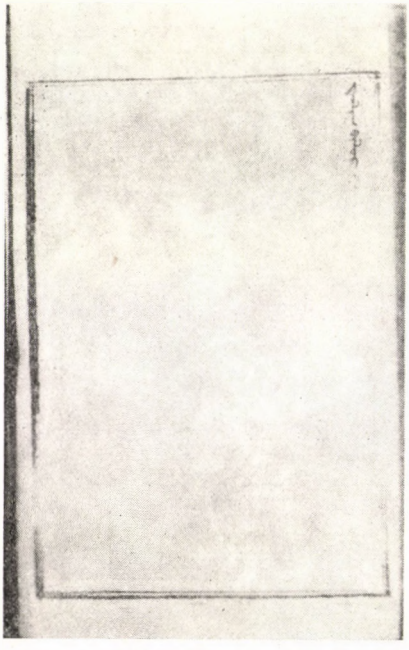
72a


聖旨知道

73b


土魯番地面阿黑麻王差馬乞
討事奴婢祖父在邊多有功勞
未蒙陞賞今進貢大西馬四匹
伏望
朝廷憐憫照例重賞奴婢受好住
來進貢怎生
恩賜養得

73a



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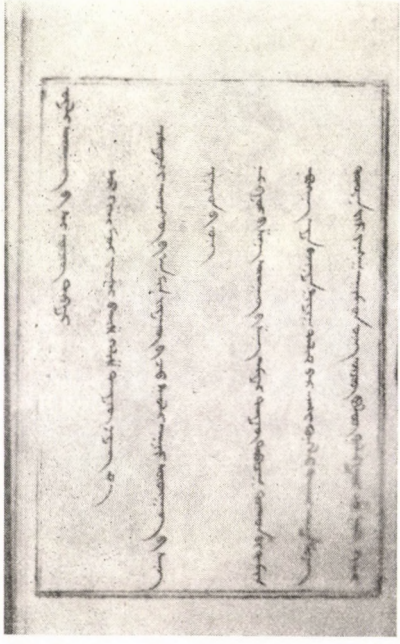
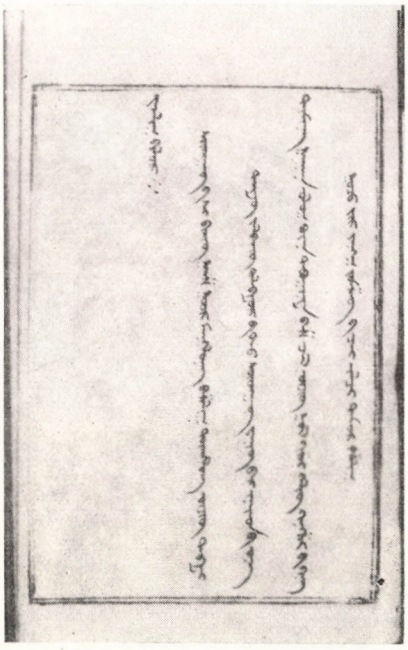
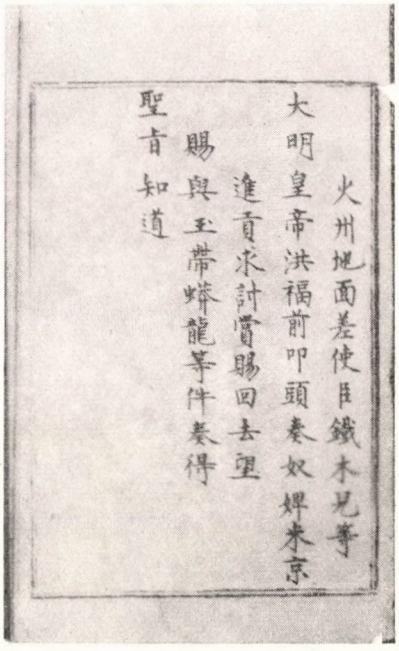


74a

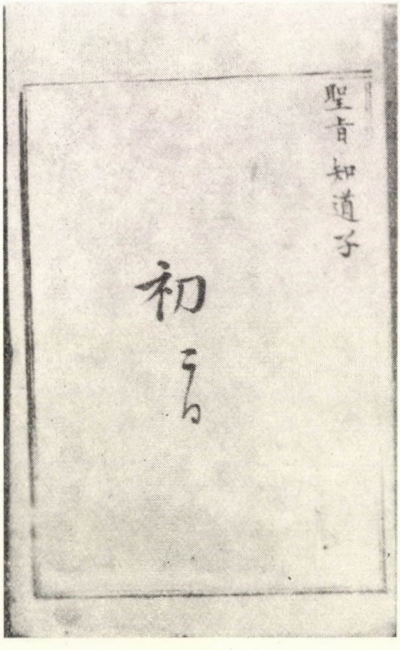


76a



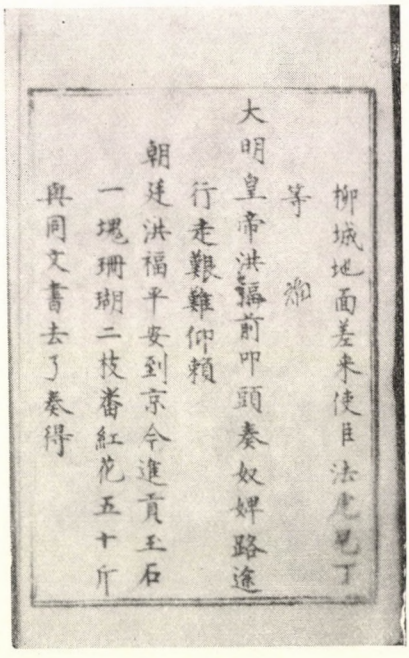
火州地面差使目錢木兒等
大明皇帝洪福前叩頭奏奴婢來京
進貢求討賞賜回去望
賜與玉帶蟒龍等件奏得
聖旨知道

75a



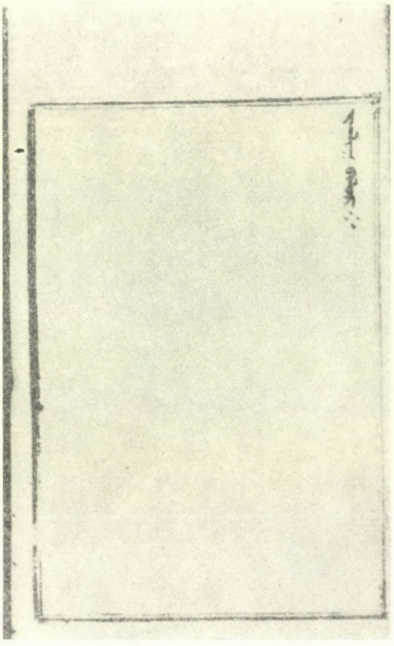
聖旨知道了
初五

77b

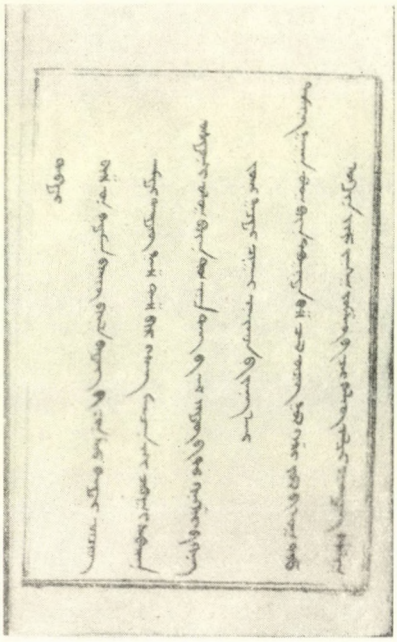


柳城地面差來使目法克兒丁
等 細
大明皇帝洪福前叩頭奏奴婢路途
行走艱難仰賴
朝廷洪福平安到京今進貢玉石
一堆珊瑚二枝番紅花五十斤
與同文書去了奏得

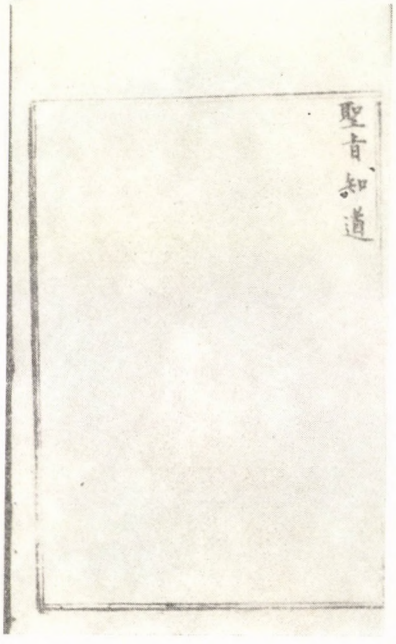
77a



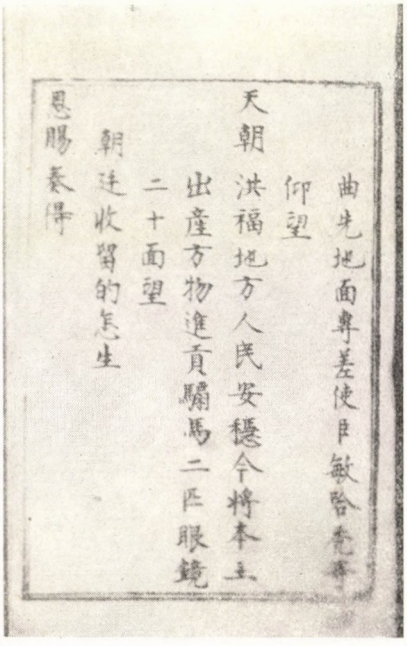
78b



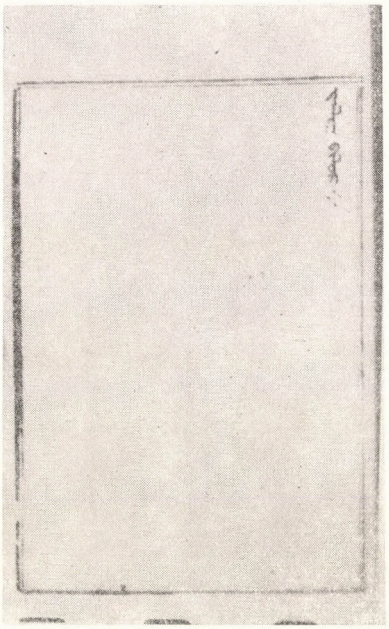
78a



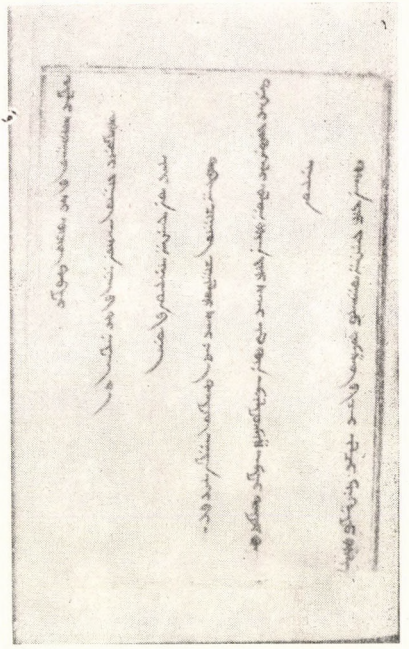
79b



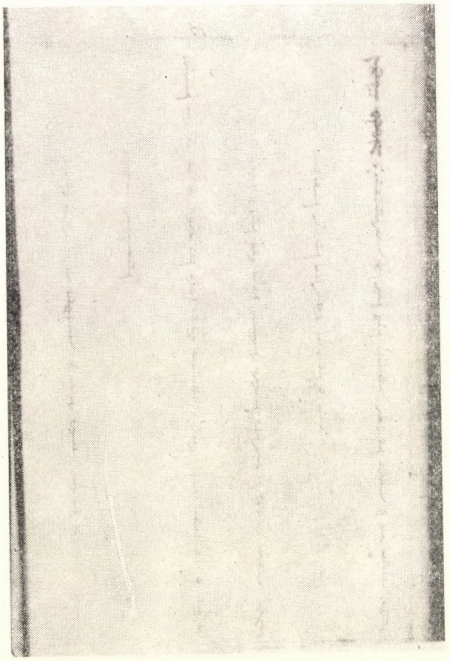
79a



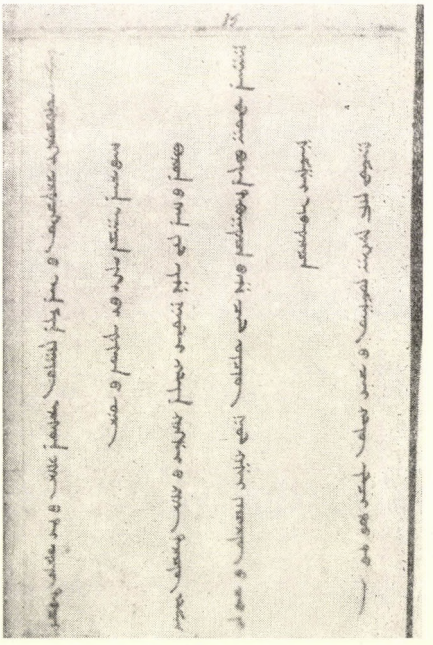
80b



80a



*28b



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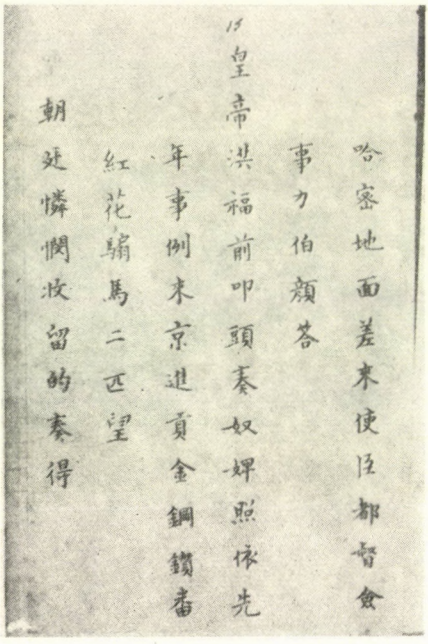
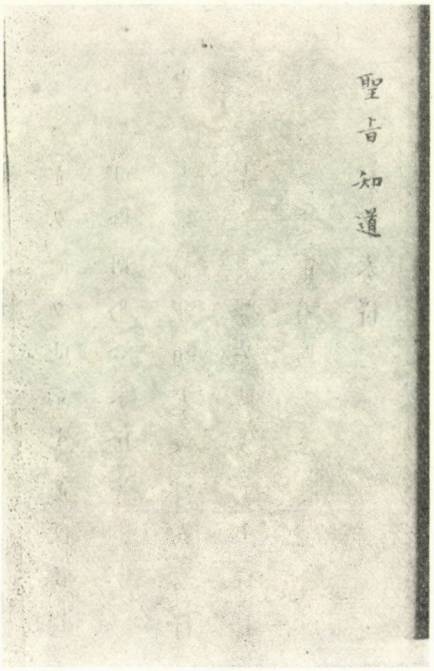


哈密地面差來使臣都督僉
事力伯顏答
15
皇帝洪福前叩頭奏奴婢照依先
年事例來京進貢金鋼鑽番
紅花騙馬二匹望
朝廷憐憫收留的奏得

*29a



聖旨知道

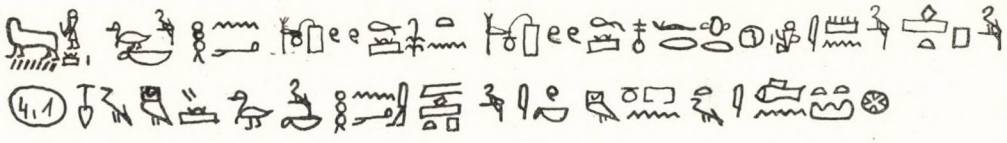
*29b

IMḤOTEP AND AMENḤOTEP SON OF ḤAPU AS PATRONS OF THE DEAD

BY

L. KÁKOSY

Two lines of a late hieratic text[1] describing the ritual of embalming, raise interesting questions concerning the high respect of the two deified sages and the relationship between the Egyptian and Greek religions as well. The passage says this of the dead:



«Your soul comes near[2] Amenḥotep, the royal scribe, the chief scribe of recruits [*nfr(w)*]. Your soul joins (or: unites with) Imḥotep while you are in the Valley.»

On the basis of this reference to Imḥotep, we may take it for certain that the other person meant is Amenḥotep, the son of Ḥapu, the famous wise man and official in the age of Amenḥotep III, who was given a funerary temple[3] as a special distinction by his lord for his services. The cult of Amenḥotep and Imḥotep flourished in the last centuries of paganism side by side along the Western side of Thebes up to Roman times, and that is why they are mentioned together in the papyrus of Theban origin probably written in the 1st century. A. D.[4] On the Western side among the places of the cult of the two

[1] Pap. Boulaq III, 3,34—4,1. S. Sauneron, *Lu rituel de l'embaumement* (Le Caire 1952), 10.

[2] *Wb.* III, 373 12. An alternative translation: «Your soul travels together with the royal scribe» etc.

[3] Cl. Robichon-Al. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*: FIFAO XI (Le Caire 1936). His sarcophagus resembled that of the kings. Bonnet: *RÄRG* 21.

[4] About the dating of Pap. Boulaq III. and Pap. Louvre 5,158 containing the same rite, see Sauneron XIII. The provenance of Pap. Boulaq is Thebes (Sauneron VII). The Louvre papyrus is probably a copy of the former, but at any rate it is most closely related to it. The mother of its owner was a musician of Amon (Sauneron X). Concerning the papyrus cf. G. Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1883).

sages the small chapel of Deir el Bahari became the most celebrated from the middle of the 3rd century B. C.

It was hollowed out in the cliff behind the original sanctuary, on the topmost level of the old temple built during the reign of Ḥatšepsut. According to the evidence of the Greek graffitis sick people came here in great numbers in search of recovery and payed homage to Amenḥotep, Imḥotep and Hygieia.[5] The two sages can be found together in the small temple of Deir el Medine[6] in Medinet Habu and in the Kasr el Aguz temple,[7] where they were worshipped evidently because of their wisdom, together with a local form of Thoth (Teephibis). On the Eastern side of Thebes their cult is disclosed in the temple of Ptaḥ.[8] We see then that Imḥotep was fully acknowledged as god in Thebes, despite the fact that — in contrast to Amenḥotep — the centre of his cult was not there, but in the North, on the territory of the necropolis of Memphis.[9] From here it reached the South,[10] Upper-Egypt and the temples of Nubia. During Emery's new excavations in Saqqara (see *op. cit.*, plate V. Our note 9.) a mummy of an ibis was found with Imḥotep represented on its wrapping. Consequently he protected also the sacred animals after their deaths.

The character of the two sages' worship varies from place to place. In Deir el Bahari pilgrims trusted Amenḥotep above all, while in the temple of Deir el Medine — which will be discussed later on — only Imḥotep was regarded as a really «beneficent god».[11] The respect for Amenḥotep was here

[5] A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir El-Bahari* (Le Caire 1951).

[6] Porter-Moss II, 137.

[7] D. Mallet, *Le Kasr El-Agouz* (Le Caire 1909), pl. 38—39. About their cult in Medinet Habu: J. B. Hurry, *Imhotep* (Oxford 1926), 57, plate IX, LD IV, 32c.

[8] Porter-Moss II, 68. Urk. VIII, 144—45: The text on page 144 obviously refers to Amenḥotep. Cf. E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Heidelberg 1964), 19. Note 51. On the Imḥotep hymn see recently S. Sauneron, *Un hymne à Imouthès*: *BIFAO* 63 (1965) 73 sq.

[9] On the problem of Imḥotep's tomb see W. B. Emery, *Preliminary report on the Excavation at North Saqqara 1964—5*: *JEA* 51 (1965), 3 sq. On the basis of the hermetic Asclepius treatise (37,20 sqq.) it seems that his tomb was sought by some people in the of Fayum. A. D. Nock—A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II (Paris 1960), 347.

[10] E.g. Edfu, Philae, Debod, Kalabsha, see the index of Porter-Moss VI, VII. His popularity in the Ptolemaic Age is proved also by the inscription about the «Seven Years of Famine». P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Séhel* (Le Caire 1953). In the Pap. Chester Beatty IV (19th dynasy) vso. 3,5, he is mentioned among the great sages. From that time we have no proof yet of his deification. A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*. Third series (London 1935), II. pl. 19.

[11] Here the epithet *ntr mnḫ* (euergetēs) obviously refers to him and not to Ptah. Cf. K. Piehl, *Inscr. hier.* (Stockholm—Leipzig 1886—1895), I (CLXI c, *δ ξ*), H. Brugsch: *ZÄS* XIII. 125. Cf. Mallet, *op. cit.*, 38. In 1964 I managed to check the old editions of the Deir el Medine text on the spot.

paid rather to his outstanding personality. This distinction made by the priests, as the popular cult in Deir el Bahari proves it, did not influence Amenḥotep's real divine role, and the people unfamiliar with such subtle theological distinctions looked — at least in Thebes — upon both of them as gods. Imḥotep appears as the legendary architect of temples,[12] as inventor of charms,[13] but his popularity was based above all on the belief of his being a god who helps the distressed. «Imḥotep, son of Ptaḥ, the beneficent (*mnḫ* = euergetēs) god who comes to those who call him. He gives life to everybody.»[14] The well-known healing activity ascribed to him — owing to which he was identified with Asklepios — is mentioned also by an inscription in Esna.[15] It was he who, according to the text of the Taimḥotep inscription granted a son to a priest and his wife.[16] It was he who protected his followers against the dangers of the sea,[17] but in this role of his there is probably evidence of Greek influence, for Imḥotep was not satisfied with the veneration of the Egyptians only, and according to the great aretalogical text of the Pap. Oxyrh. 1381[18] his resolute wish was to see his sacred book spreading in the Greek language as well, and with such an ardour that he went as far as afflicting the reluctant translator with some disease.

There are interesting early manifestations of Amenḥotep's religious cult already in the age of the New Kingdom as for instance, the statues in the temple of Karnak which represent him as an intermediator between men and gods.[19] In the Late Period it is his healing power which exercised the greatest

[12] K. Sethe, *Imhotep der Asklepios der Aegypter*: *Untersuchungen* ... 14 (Leipzig 1902), 15 sq. According to E. Chassinat, *Une nouvelle mention du pseudo-architecte du temple d'Horus à Edfu*: *BIFAO* 28 (1929) 1 sq in the text of Edfu in question Imḥotep does not appear as the builder of the Horus temple, but as a builder of temples in general.

[13] The great Demotic Magical Papyrus (London—Leiden) IV, 1; F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London 1904), 38 sq. About Imḥotep's role in alchemy R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig 1904), 267, B. H. Stricker, *Le prison de Joseph*: *Acta Orientalia* 19 (1943), 101 sq. In the astrology: Festugière, *L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos*: *Revue Biblique* 48, 1 (1939) 45 sq.

[14] *Urk.* VIII, 150 (231). Or: «Imḥotep, the Great, etc.»

[15] S. Sauneron, Esna II (Le Caire 1963), 211 (No 107.).

[16] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 922 sq. E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden 1954) 192.

[17] Pap. Oxyrh. 1381 col. X. 214—5. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. XI (London 1915), 299.

[18] Cf. J. Leipoldt, *Von Übersetzungen und Übersetzern. Aus Antike und Orient*: *Festschrift W. Schubart* (Leipzig 1950) 56 sq. His role in the hermetic documents also, exhibits his popularity among the Greeks.

[19] E.g. *Urk.* IV, 1383, 1385. The list of material concerning Amenḥotep see in W. Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie* (Leipzig 1939), 2 sq. The greatest monument of his veneration in the Late Period is a granite statue from Karnak in the Cairo Museum. G. Daressy, *Notes et remarques*: *Rec. de Trav.* 19 (1897), 13 sq.

influence on the masses. Besides the texts of the cultic place in Deir el Bahari we know also an inscription according to which people suffering even from eye-diseases had expected recovery from him.[20] Although his career was that of a soldier, later on — similarly to Imḥotep — he was renowned above all as a sage. The discovery of the Chapter 167 of the Book of the Dead was also assigned to him.[21] His supposed teachings — as in the case of Imḥotep — spread among the Greek population, as it is shown by a text linked with his name.[22] However, it has been pointed out that — at least in part — the text is an adoption of Greek gnomes.[23]

The two cults exhibit similar features and are in connection with the archaizing trend of the Late Period and the respect for the primeval ages. These cults when regarded only in their relevant features, show that the venerators expected above all the solution of their problems and troubles in the earthly existence. While, on the other hand, the ritual of embalming which places the souls of the dead under their patronage and into their company, shows that their cult must have been in connection with the belief in the other world. Egyptian texts generally mention the chief gods, above all Osiris and Re, when speaking of the company of the dead in the netherworld. Besides they speak — but only in general — about the blessed souls[24] and at other places, about the dead who are together with their families and relatives in the realm of the other world.[25] The mentioning of the two deified dead personages seems to some extent strange in such a context.[26] We can learn from various other sources as well that the Egyptians had themselves buried with predilection near the tombs of sacred people or animals.[27] Yet this is but

[20] H. Wild, *Ex-voto d'une princesse saïte à l'adresse d'Amenhotep-fils de Hapou*: *MDAIK* 16 (1958) = *Festschrift Junker* II, 407 sq.

[21] W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires au Livre des Morts* II. (Leiden 1881), 67 sq.

[22] U. Wilcken, *Zur ägyptisch-hellenistischen Literatur. Aegyptiaca*: *Festschrift Georg Ebers* (Leipzig 1897), 144 sq.

[23] Cf. Bonnet: *RÄRG* 22, Wilcken, *op. cit.*, 144 sq., Bataille, *op. cit.*, XIII. About Amenḥotep in general, see: W. R. Dawson, *Amenophis the son of Hapu*: *Aegyptus* VII. (1926) 113 sqq. Cf. Manetho (ed. Waddell), frg. 54 (Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I, 26 [236].)

[24] About these in the Pyramid-Texts: L. Kákosy, *Pyramid Texts and Society in the Old-Kingdom*: *Annales Univ. Budapestinensis, Sectio Historica* IV. (1962), 12 sq.

[25] E.g. C. T. II. spell 131 p. 151 sq., where the family of a deceased person is freed at Geb's command from the forced labour for Seth and from the census for Isis. According to another passage, a dead man arriving into the other world releases his family and his servants from work (CT. II spell 146, p. 180 sq).

[26] In the New Empire too, the books about the other world (e.g. Amduat and Book of the Gates) generally mention only the different groups of the blessed and damned without naming individuals. Only the name of the owner of the tomb is sometimes written out.

[27] In the case of vezir Kagemni (Gemnikai): C. M. Firth—B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Le Caire 1926), 129 sq. A burial in Serapeum (*Ḥaemuaset*) and in its vicinity

an unsatisfactory parallel, because in Imḥotep's case we may take it for certain that he was not buried in Thebes. At best we can maintain only that the dead buried near the temples of the two popular deified men of the Western side were regarded as belonging closely to their company. The *valley* means in our text the necropolis in the vicinity of Deir el Bahari and at the same time the world beyond as well, for Ḥatḥor was waiting for the dead here, at the entrance of the Western mountain. The Egyptians apparently regarded it as comforting that their relatives were buried in this sacred spot and were under the patronage of the gods. But they hoped for even more than that. This is displayed by the mention of the *ba* and the special role of the two deified men in the contemporary religion. As it will be pointed out presently both of them do have certain connections with the sepulchral sphere, but the solution — in our opinion — should be looked for above all in the respect of the Egyptians for the *sciences.*

Of the Theban inscriptions referring to Imḥotep a passage from the Ptaḥ temple in Karnak should be mentioned. It tells us that every day the soul (b3) of the deity descends from heaven into this temple.[28] Among the monuments referring to Imḥotep on the Western side, the temple of Deir el Medine from the Ptolemic period deserves attention. Its major gods were Ḥatḥor and Maat, but — as has been mentioned before — Imḥotep and Amenḥotep played a significant role as well. In the niche of the sanctuary a scene, unusual in temples, can be seen: the representation of the weighing of the heart. A figure wearing a long apron and holding the sign of Maat in his one hand appears before the court. His other hand is raised in the gesture of adoration before Maat, the «Lady of the West».[29] The dead person is not named in the inscription, judging by his appearance the question might be asked whether it is not *Imḥotep* that can be seen before the court of the other world?[30] As Imḥotep's tomb was a long way from Thebes, this building may have proclaimed Imḥotep's judgement and following apotheosis in the other world as well as the veneration of the two above-mentioned godesses, and may have served for his funerary cult.

also meant a great distinction. Cf. the recent work of J. Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques de Sérapeum de Memphis* (Paris 1962), 130. A high-priest of Thoth, called Anḫ-Ḥr was buried in the ibis and monkey catacombs in Tuna el Gebel. Sami Gabra: *Fouilles à . . . Touna el Gebel (Hermopolis Ouest)*: *ASAE* 39 (1939), 493 sq.

[28] *Urk.* VIII, 145, line 4. Similar formulae were used in connection with other gods too (e.g. Chassinat: *Dendara* II, 73, 174 etc.). Cf. Hurry, *op. cit.* 61.

[29] LD. IV. 16/b. J. Capart, Thèbes (Bruxelles 1925), 275, fig. 190. E. Otto, *Osiris und Amun* (München 1966), Taf. 8.

[30] The representation of the head (baldness) recalls the images of Imḥotep. See *e.g.* Mallet, *op. cit.*, figure 11; H. Junker—E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien 1965), 69 etc. The possibility remains, of course, that we have to do with a figure of a priest of the temple.

The fate of Amenḥotep, son of Ḥapu in the other world is mentioned in the inscriptions of his statues several times. Now it is worth while noting the passage of a text relating his union with the followers of Horus.[31] This expression indicates different notions.[32] Here it evidently refers to the legendary kings of the primeval era who had already appeared in the Pyramid Texts as the protectors of the dead.[33] In Amenḥotep's case their mention seems reasonable all the more, because owing to his funerary temple he had a cult like that of the deceased kings. Thus he himself could appear as the protector of the mummy.

Yet all this does not alter the fact in the least that none of them can be regarded decidedly as a god of the dead. But if we take into consideration that both the Egyptian population of the Late Period and the strangers visiting the Valley of the Nile were imbued with enthusiasm for a mysterious, ancient *science*, then at once the two sages' role in the embalming rite becomes much clearer. The people held that this *knowledge* belonged mostly to the sages of ancient times, but certain people could obtain it later by means of the ancient papyri and secret magical books. As Na-Noferkaptaḥ's tragedy shows it in the first Setna novel[34] for anyone who acquired it in a violent, illegitimate way — it could easily turn fatal. Thus the view became predominant according to which the *totality* of knowledge can be obtained only after death, in the netherworld, as it had already been asserted in the Dialogue of the Weary of Life with his Soul: «*He who is there will be a sage.*»[35]

In order to get in into the other world was necessary to know the names of the gods who were there.[36] One had to know what answers to give to the demons guarding the gates, had to know the various spheres of the realm of the other-world, etc. Consequently ahead of the ignorant lay the certain ultimate destruction, so each Egyptian wanted to appear here as a sage. All this was obviously in close connection with the outstanding position of the scribes in Egyptian society.[37]

[31] *Urk.* IV, 1814.

[32] Recently: J. V. Beckerath, *Šmśj-Ḥrw in der ägyptischen Vor- und Frühzeit*: *MDAIK* 14 (*Festschrift Kees*), 1 sq, W. Kaiser, *Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptishen Frühzeit* I, *Zu den šmśw Ḥr*: *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 199 sq.

[33] Pyr. 921. In tomb 359 in Thebes Amenḥotep can be seen under the name *Ḥwj*, in the company of kings. E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* (Wiesbaden 1956), 53.

[34] F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford 1900).

[35] 145—6. line. A. Erman, *Das Gespräch eines Lebensmüden . . .*: *APAW* 1896, 73; K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig 1924), 46. Cf. CT. VII, spell 1048, p. 300.

[36] The Book of the Dead, e.g. chapters 125, 141, 142, 144.

[37] This is emphasized by the admonition literature too. H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden 1957).

In Chapter 94 of the Book of the Dead which survived as late as the Ptolemaic age (Pap. Milbank) the deceased keeps affirming that he had arrived in the other world with Thoth's writings as a scribe. The aim of the chapter, as indicated by its title, is that he should get a palette and cup for water from Thoth thus to become a real scribe[38] after his death. Chapter 95 and 96 express this same desire of his to be in Thoth's company. Amenḥotep, son of Ḥapu himself became a sage — still in his life — through catching sight of Thoth's 3ḫ.[39] In the Pyramid Texts the same serious problem emerges: what the deceased will be dealing with in the other world. It is very likely that the mention of the scribal profession had its roots in the direct experiences of practical life, in the leading role of the scribes, later, however, this otherwordly knowledge and the profession of the scribes gained a certain transcendental content. This is indicated already by the Pyramid Texts mentioning the transformation of the dead into Sia,[40] *i.e.* their union with the personified Intellect. The illustration of the Chapter 100 of the Book of the Dead represents a dead man who really succeeded in getting into Thoth's company and now he is travelling with him, Ḫeperi and Šu in a barque.[41] In the Setna novel on the other hand, the tomb of Nanoferkaptaḥ is lit up by the light from the book radiating as Sun. (IV, 34 sq., cf. VI, 2) Having said all this it becomes evident why the Egyptian dead wanted to get into the company of the two sages. They considered themselves keepers of some secret knowledge so they were to share the fate of the two great sages, their ideals. It might be due also to the fact that having become sages themselves they hoped to share the privilege of the protection of the two gods to a greater extent than in their lives and to gain introduction from them to spheres of knowledge still unknown to them. The mummy of ibis mentioned above also came into Imḥotep's protection as the sacred bird of the god of Wisdom. Thus this special requirement of the embalming rite for the dead can be shown to have its roots in Egyptian tradition too, but those similar views that can be disclosed also in the later Greek-Roman religion, serve for its background as well. When sentenced to death, Socrates comforted himself and his followers in his «Apology» by saying that — if can they trust in the old traditions — he would get into the company of Orpheus, Musaios, Hesiod, Homer[42] and the Homeric heroes.

[38] See e.g. Th. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents* (Chicago 1960; *OIP* 82), 169. cf. Pietschmann, *Der Verstorbene als Schreibpalette*: *Festschrift Ebers*, 87 sq.

[39] *Urk.* IV, 1820.

[40] 267c/d At another place we can read that all the gods' sj_3^2 is swallowed up by the dead king (411/d).

[41] E. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe dynastie.* (Paris 1912), Pl. VI.

[42] Platon: *Apologia*, 41 B. *ἢ αὖ Ὀρφεῖ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἄν τις δέξαιτ' ἄν ὑμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι, εἰ ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθῆ.*

The significance of these ideas about the netherworld will increase during the Hellenistic and Roman age when their wide-ranging spread is shown also by the archeological material. In this connection the group of the *Muse* and *philosopher-sarcophagi* were analysed by Cumont in detail.[43] In the formation and apotheosis of the sage-ideal the decisive factor was obviously Stoic philosophy. «*S oici . . . negant quemquam nisi sapientem divinum esse posse.*»[44] In non-Stoic circles these ideas developed in the sphere of the belief in the other world, in certain cases definitely in the direction of magic. The wisdom offered by philosophy is more and more replaced by knowledge offered by the writings accessible to some initiated people only and at length among the gnostics — not unlike in Egypt — the dead could pass the dangerous regions during their heavenly travels only by means of secret charms.[45]

The above-mentioned sarcophagi prove the fact that the dead wished to appear as scholars in the other world, they are represented holding books in the company of the Muses or they appear as wise philosophers.[46] Literature takes an interest in the fate of the sages in the other world too, and also Lucian speaks maliciously about the banquets at the Island of the Blessed where Homer, Socrates and Pythagoras are present.[47] In the 2nd century a member of the imperial guards hoped — according to his epitaph — that his soul would get into heaven, where Orpheus and Plato are staying.[48]

If we examine the territory of Egypt we can find among others the statues of Pindaros, Hesiod, Homer, Protagoras, Thales and Plato in the necropolis of Memphis placed in the hemicycle which forms one of the foregrounds of the Sarapieion.[49] In this cemetery the dead enjoys not only Imḥotep's protection, but at the same time they lay in the company of the great Greek writers' and scholars representations. Sarapis being the ruler of Hades, here in

[43] *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains.* (Paris 1942), 307 sq. Some views of Cumont's book were criticized by A. D. Nock (*AJA* L, 1946 140 sqq) but in the interpretation of these sarcophagi was he in our opinion in the main points undoubtedly right. (On this subject cf. also H. I. Marrou: MOYCIKOC ANHP², Roma 1964, esp. 315 sqq.)

[44] Cicero, *De divinatione* II, 129.

[45] Irenaeus, *Adv. haeres.* I, 21, 5; Epiphanios, *Panar*, 36,3. Cf. e.g. the *Gospel* of Mary and the *Apocalypse* of Paul. W. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502 (Berlin 1955), 70 sq and A. Böhlig-Pahor Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen* (Halle—Wittenberg 1963), 25. In the latter text an old man wants to hold up the apostle when ascending to heaven, and he can go further only with the help of a sign or gesture. Kákosy, *Gnosis und ägyptische Religion.* Le origini dello gnosticismo. (*Supplements to Numen XII, Leiden 1967*) 238 sqq.

[46] See note 43.

[47] *Ver. narr.* I, 15, 17, 21 sq.

[48] *Anth. Pal.* VII. 363. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 315.

[49] J. Ph. Lauer—Ch. Picard, *Les statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Paris 1955), 48 sq.

the vicinity of the tomb of the Apis bulls these statues had obviously not only decorating function.

So we have to do with religious ideas familiar both to the Egyptians and the Greeks. In an era when the two cultures were in close contact it seems reasonable to presume their mutual interaction. Though in Thebes the Greek influence is less prominently felt than in Lower- and Middle-Egypt, nevertheless it is clearly discoverable in the tombs of the Roman age.[50]

The veneration of the deceased great sages flourished in the Ptolemaic age among the Greeks in Egypt as well. The decisive proof of this is furnished by the tomb of Petosiris in Tuna el Gebel. The tomb of the wise priest of Thoth became a centre of pilgrimage for the Greeks and to a lesser extent for Egyptians as well. One of the visitors inscribed the following poem on the wall of the tomb:[51]

Πετόσειριν αὐδῶ τὸ(ν) κατὰ χθονὸς νέκυν,
νῦν δ' ἐν θεοῖσι κείμενον μετὰ σοφῶν σοφός.

Thus while his body rested in the earth, Petosiris was repasting[52] with the gods and was received into the company of the deified sages.

The concurrence of such elements, greatly contributed to making the Greek and Egyptian religions and cultures approximate to each other. The conservative Egyptian attitude despising foreigners could not completely refuse external influences, not even concerning the belief in the other world. This is shown most clearly by the second Setna novel where among the descriptions of the afflictions in the other world we can meet the torments of Tantalos and Oknos.[53]

[50] A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*. (Le Caire 1952), 290 sq.

[51] G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, I. (Le Caire 1924), 24.

[52] About this meaning of *κείμενος* cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 269.

[53] II. 16 sq. Griffith, *op. cit.*, 156 sq, where a translation of another meaning can be found yet. Cf. W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke* I (Leipzig 1937), 44; E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf 1963), 197.

CRITICA

GERHARD DOERFER, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit.* Band II: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen, alīf* bis *tā.* V—VIII et 671 pages. Wiesbaden 1965. — Band III, *ǧim* bis *kāf.* 670 pages. Wiesbaden 1967. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band XIX, Band XX. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.

Voilà la partie turque de l'oeuvre de M. Doerfer. Les deux gros volumes (qui seront suivis d'un troisième) nous renseignent suffisamment, dès maintenant sur les qualités et sur les imperfections de son ouvrage. A propos de sa méthode de travail, de sa répulsion pour la thése altaïque, de la nature trop personnelle de sa critique je ne pourrais que répéter ce que j'ai dit à ce sujet dans le compte rendu que j'ai consacré, dans *AOH* XVII, 343—349, à la partie mongole de son étude. La seule chose qui mérite peut-être d'être signalée, c'est qu'assez souvent les commentaires qui suivent les «éléments» turcs du persan me paraissent bien plus longs que dans le vol. I; dans quelques cas nous sommes en présence de véritables petites monographies: *bahādur* (366 : 817) 12½ pages; *bek* (389 : 823) 17½; *tarχan* (460 : 879) 14½; *türk* (483 : 888) 11½; *tamγa* (559 : 933) 11; *tümän* (632 : 983) 10; *χatun* (III, 132 : 1159) 10½; *χan* (III, 141 : 1169) 39 pages.

Les deux volumes nous fournissent un ensemble d'informations fort abondant, évidemment il reste encore beaucoup à y ajouter; quant aux conclusions de leur auteur, elles demeurent souvent contestables sinon inacceptables. Dans ce qui suit je tâcherai de formuler, à titre d'échantillon, quelques remarques à leur sujet.

II, 2 (411) *ïpār* [lire *ipār*] «Thymian, Ysop (thymus satureia)» ← tü. *ïpar* «Wohlgeruch, Moschus».

Cette interprétation mise en avant par M. D. n'est pas exacte, car elle laisse supposer que le persan a emprunté au turc un mot signifiant «parfum, musc», et c'est en persan que le mot a pris l'acception d'une «fleur odorante». En réalité le mot turc devait avoir le même sens que le persan. Or, d'après Vullers et Steingass, le mot persan signifie plusieurs plantes: sarriette (*Satureia*), hysope (*Hysopus*; ajouté par M. D. non sans quelque fondement), marjolaine (*Maioranna*), origan (*Origanum*), thym (*Thymus*). On voit bien que ces plantes appartiennent aux classes XXII—XXVII de la famille des labiées (*Labiatae*). Or il est notoire que les labiées sont des plantes aromatiques, elles le sont par leurs feuilles qui sont couvertes de poils sécréteurs et donnent des huiles; elles sont employées aujourd'hui en parfumerie, en pharmacie et, comme condiments, dans nos mets.

Il est intéressant que le sens «fleur ou plante aromatique» soit assez faiblement attesté en turc. Toutefois M. D. a retrouvé ce sens dans certains dialectes

osmanlis (signalé déjà, à propos de son équivalent hongrois, par Hasan Eren, dans *Magyar Nyelv* XXXIX, 1943, 359) et, sous une forme aberrante, dans le tatar de Kazan. Je puis ajouter à cette liste la forme *ǰôpar* que j'ai entendue dans le dialecte kongrat de l'özbeg, en Afghanistan, forme que mon informateur a interprétée, en tadjik, comme *yak gul* «une fleur». Enfin c'est ici qu'il faut ranger le hongrois *gyopár* [= *ďopār*], malgré le criticisme coutumier de M. D. («zweifelhaft ist», «angeblich»). Le hongr. *gyopár* signifie aujourd'hui «gnaphale» (*Gnaphalium*) et le *havasi gyopár*, «edelweiss ou immortelle des neiges» (*Leontopodium*); ces plantes rentrent dans la famille des composées ou synanthérées (*Compositae*). Mais cette interprétation est moderne, dans l'ancien hongrois le mot avait encore son sens d'origane (NySz. I, 1173). Le hongr. *gyopár* remonte à une forme *ǰïpar* et nous ramène au moins au IXe siècle.

Il a échappé à M. D. que *yïpar* [*yï-p-ar*] a été rapproché du *yïd* [*yï-d*] «odeur; parfum; musc» par A. Gabain, *Altt. Gr.*, p. 70 (§ 107), par C. Brockelmann, *Osttürk. Gram.*, p. 96 (§ 34).

Pour terminer la discussion du pers. *ipār*, M. D. a consacré 13 lignes dans le but de réfuter l'interprétation du nom *Apar* tentée par W. Bang. Mais c'était peine perdue. Le tchag. *yapar*, point de départ de Bang, n'existe pas, c'est une des nombreuses fausses leçons de Kúnos; l'édition d'Istanboul, sur laquelle Kúnos a travaillé, offre *yp'r* (p. 303) qu'il faut lire *yïpar* tout simplement.

II 9: 412. *'tkh* ~ *'t'kh* (*ätäkä*) «Prinzenerzieher» (= *atabäg*) ← tü. *ätäka* (< *ata-äkä* ?), ursprünglich vielleicht «Vater des Milchbruders».

Je propose, dans les deux cas, la leçon *atakä*, forme qui a pu aboutir, dans certains dialectes turcs, à *ätäkä*. En tchag., il faut compter avec *ataka*, *atekä* et *atäkä* (cf. PdC 5). Cf. encore kirg. *atake* «б тюшка; пап ша» (Jud., *Kirg—russ. sl.* 1940, 56; cette édition distingue encore *k* de *q*). Le tat. Kaz. *ätkä* remonte à son tour à **ata-kä*.

Cette fois encore il n'y a aucune raison de poser une interprétation différente pour le persan et pour le turc. Il s'agit dans les deux cas du même nom à l'acception de «papa; oncle; père adoptif; précepteur».

L'étymologie proposée par Arat (*ata* «père» plus *äkä* «soeur aînée») n'est pas acceptable. Radloff a analysé *ätkä*, à juste titre, comme *ata* + *kä*. Le formatif *kä* qui a gêné M. D. est un suffixe hypocorystique, à une seule forme, qui s'ajoute le plus souvent aux noms de parenté (parfois à leur forme vocativique). Brockelmann, *Osttürk. Gram.*, p. 111 (§ 65) offre le même suffixe dans *ämmäkä* «oncle (?)», *bäläkä* «gosse» (< *balakä*), *dädäkä* «papa», *hinäkä* «petite épouse», *öpäkä* «grand-père». Par contre, *abaya* «frère aîné», ainsi que les adjectifs *inčkä* «fin», *ingičkä* «recourbé» s'expliquent autrement. Dans les documents ouigours tardifs de l'époque des Ming, nous avons les noms *Babakä* et *Qanekä* (*Ḫān-i-kä*). C'est ici qu'il faut ranger, en kirghiz, *atake* «mon père, papa», *eǰeke* «soeur aînée», *abake* «tonton», *qïzïke* «fillette»; cf. Jud., *Kirg.—russk. slov.* p. 38, s. v. *ake*.

Cependant le suffixe *-ke* ne remonte pas au kirg. *ake* «père, papa, oncle», mais il s'est formé sur l'influence du tadjik *-ka*, suffixe diminutif: *mardaka* «le bonhomme, le type» < *mard*; *zanaka* «la bonne-femme» < *zan*; cf. Abd-ul-Ghafûr Farhâdi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan. Grammaire du Kâboli*, Paris 1955, p. 106. Ce suffixe, d'un emploi très restreint aussi bien en tadjik qu'en turc, avait une valeur affective soit dépréciative soit caressante, tout comme *-ak* (*-gak*), dans le Kâboli (*op. cit.*, p. 104): *bâyak* «jardinet», *χânagak* «maisonnette»; péjoratif ou dépréciatif: *Anwarak* «cet Anwar !», *sawzak* «personne aux yeux verts»; caressant: *byâdarak* «petit (et cher) frère», *χwârak* «petite (et chère) soeur», *čučagak* «tout petit».

II, 130: 564 *'nkh* (*änäkä*) «Amme».

Pour les formes turques il faut rappeler: tchag. *anakä* (*'n'k'*, *'n'kh*) «nourrice, sage-femme; gouvernante» (PdC 37), *enäkä* «sage-femme» (MA: Po. 403); tourki *anaka*,

aneka «mother, little mother» (Jar. 22); kirg. *eneke* «maman» (*ene* «mère) (Jud., *Kirg.—russ. sl.* 954); özb. *enaga* «nourrice; sage-femme» (Bor., *Uzb.—russ. slov.* 555); oyr. [= alt.] *eneke* «1. maman; 2. sage-femme» (Bask., *Ojr.—russ. sl.* 192); cf. encore L. A. Pokrovskaja, *Terminy rodstva v tjurkskich jazykach: Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov* (Moskva 1961), pp. 22—25. Ici encore nous avons affaire à un dérivé du nom *ana* (*änä*) «mère», muni du suffixe diminutif *-kä*.

II, 73: 492. *ayač eri* (*'y'č 'yry*) «gens de la forêt».

Laissant de côté le problème du nom *Akatiroi* (*Akatziroi*) de Priskos, qui ici ne nous regarde en rien, il s'agit d'une glose de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn, d'après laquelle ce nom turc signifie «gens de la forêt» (*mard-i beša*). Se réclamant de l'autorité de F. W. K. Müller (*Zwei Pfahlinsch.*, 34) M. D. conteste la justesse de cette glose: «seine Argumentation läuft darauf hinaus, dass *ayač är*i ja höchstens «Baummann», «Holzmann» bedeuten könnte, nicht aber «Waldmann»; dieses berechtigte Argument ist auch von Pelliot nicht widerlegt worden durch den Hinweis darauf dass in vielen Sprachen «Baum» und «Holz» und «Wald» mit demselben Ausdruck belegt werden: im Tü. werden diese Begriffe eben getrennt».

Mais là c'est une erreur. Voici quelques exemples: léb. *ayaš* «der Wald» (Radl. I, 152); chor *ayaš* «1. Baum, Holz, hölzern; 2. (sag., chor) Stock; 3. (chor) der Wald» (Radl. I, 152—153); oyr. [= alt.] *ayaš* «1. дерево; лес» (Bask., *Ojr.—russ. sl.* 12), *qoyu ayaš* «густой лес» (Bask., *Russ.—alt. sl.* 275); hak. *ayas* «1. дерево; 2. лес» (Bask., *Chak.—russ. sl.* 169; Čank., *Russ.—chak. sl.* 350); kzk. *ayaš* «дерево; лес; arbre; forêt» (Iljm. 109), kzk. *orman*, *ayaš*, *toyay* «лес» (Saur. *RKzS* 314).

Indépendemment de RD, le mot est attesté dans le Manuel kiptchak-arabe de 1245: *ayačärı* «Waldmann» (Houtsma, p. 49; mentionné très discrètement par M. D. parmi les références bibliographiques). Ce nom, en tant que composé, se trouve confirmé par les termes se rapportant à des noms de peuple (ou de tribu) que voici:

köčäri «nomade» (Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks: Journ. As.* CCXXXVIII, 1950, 55: 193); tchag. *köčäri*, *köčämän* «nomades qui habitent sous la tente» (PdC 464). Cf. *köč*; tchag. *köč* «action de se transporter, de se mettre en mouvement» (PdC 464);

qumäri «(Sandmann) Wüstenbewohner» (Houtsma 92). Cf. *qum* «sable»; tchag. *qum* «sable mouvant» (PdC 437);

učäri «Grenzbewohner» (Houtsma 55). Cf. *uč* «frontière, limite»; Kāšγ. *üč* «Spitze; Grenzland» (Br. 227);

šarqäri «Orientale» (Houtsma 79). Cf. ar.-pers. *šarq* «the East» (Steing. 742);

rumäri «Grieche» (Houtsma 85). Cf. pers. *rūm* «Greece; Rome, the Roman Empire; Roumelia; Turkey» (Steing. 596);

türkäri «ein Türke» (Houtsma 67; orthographié *türükär*). Cf. *türk* «turc».

Tous ces noms sont des composés dont le deuxième élément *är* (*er*) «homme» est suivi du suffixe possessif de la 3e personne du singulier («rapport d'annexion» de Deny, *Grammaire*, § 235, 1091—1128).

S'il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi M. D. s'est opposé à la glose «gens de la forêt» pour le terme *ayač eri*, il est encore bien plus difficile de concevoir comment il a pu admettre, même sous réserve, l'interprétation absurde de «charpentier» pour ce nom.

M. D. tient l'étymologie de Gombocz, hongr. *ács* < vieux-tchouv. *ayačči* pour incertaine. Jugement dépourvu de tout fondement.

II, 502: 896. *turumtai* (*trmt'y*, *ṭrmt'ay*).

Quant aux équivalents turcs et mongols, je n'ai pas grand-chose à ajouter à la liste de M. D. A propos d'un recoupement mongol, j'ai pourtant deux mots à dire. Pour *Hs*, M. D. cite ce mot, sur l'autorité de Haenisch, sous la forme de *turimtai*; bien plus, en se référant au *Hy*, il lit de même *turimtai*, corrigeant énérgiquement la leçon *turumtai* proposée par Lewicki. Malgré l'insistance de M. D. le mot doit

être lu correctement *turumtai*. A cette époque le chinois ne possédait pas de mots à finale *-m* (notre *lin* était prononcé encore *lim*), avec *ho-k'eou*. Les transcripteurs, pour transcrire une syllabe étrangère *lum* ou *rum*, avaient le choix entre *lim* ou *lun*; dans le cas présent, ils se sont prononcés pour la première solution. (Cette particularité est d'ailleurs de vieille date, on n'a qu'à se rappeler *Fou-lin*, transcription de *Φῶμ*. Il en était de même en ce qui concerne la syllabe étrangère *lon* ou *ron*, dans ce cas les transcripteurs se sont servis des caractères à prononciation *lan*; cf. Ligeti: *Asiatische Forschungen* 17, pp. 127, 134, note 9.

La forme *turimtai*, en écriture ouigoure, du ms. Hirth n'a pas de valeur, elle a été ajoutée ultérieurement à la transcription chinoise par les scribes du Bureau des Traducteurs des Ming sachant très imparfaitement le mongol. Voici quelques-unes de leurs restitutions en écriture ouigoure: 161 *quruyana* «rat» (*quluyana*); 234 *mairam* «bêler» (*mailam*); 272 *duyuluya* «casque» (*duyulya*); 340 *qoyimosun* «bas de feutre» (*oyimosun*; *hoyimosun*); etc.

Avec la même orthographe (*t'ou-lin-t'ai*) le mot *turumtai* est recueilli le vocabulaire sino—ouigour du Bureau des Interprètes (27b, 17b).

On peut toujours affirmer avec Mostaert que *turumtai* signifie, aussi bien en mongol qu'en turc, «un oiseau de proie de petite taille». Quant au sens exact du mot, il n'est pas nécessairement le même dans toutes les langues en question. Dans les langues turques actuelles, citées par M. D., nous avons «Falco apivorus» (ouig. mod., kkalp.), «Falco tinnunculus» (bachk., tat. Kaz., kirg.), «falco vespertinus» (özb.); l'interprétation du mot n'est pas stable même dans une seule et même langue.

Le hongr. *torontayl*, *torontal* du XVe siècle (depuis tombé en desuétude) est interprêté dans le latin médiéval de Hongrie comme *iſtiulio* et *iſinilio*; j'ai émendé ces graphies altérées en *iſmerlio* qui répondrait à l'ital. *smeriglio* et au fr. *émerillon*.

Au point de vue sémantique l'accord est complet entre le mot hongrois emprunté au turc et le mot mongol *turumtai* qui s'appelle encore *qara nidün*, défini en mongol comme «ayant la pupille noire» (*nidün-ü čečegei burayan*); cf. Dict. tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna I, 208, s. v. *khra-žri*; *Qayan-u bičigsen Manju ügen-ü toli*, cité par A. Mostaert, *HJAS* XIII, 312. Il doit s'agir là encore d'un émerillon. Cf. ce que dit à ce sujet M. D., p. 304.

Quant à la traduction chinoise du mot mongol (*long to-eul*, *long t'o-eul* et *to-eul*), il s'agit bien moins d'un mot étranger que d'un terme chinois vulgaire. Il est fort probable que le car. *long* s'écrive 龍 et que l'omission de la clé 118 soit due à la négligeance des scribes des Ming. En même temps, le car. *eul* n'y figure pas au sens de «mâle», mais il sert à former, dans la langue parlée un substantif; tout comme dans *niu-eul* «fille», traduisant le mong. *ökin*, dans le même Hy (n° 422); cf. Wieger, *Chinois parlé*, pp. 32—32.

L'expression chinoise n'est pas portée aux grands dictionnaires, je puis signaler pourtant 龍 脫 *long-t'o*, interprété par 鴞 *yao* («a general term for the sparrow--hawk, kite, harrier and similar birds» (Mathews n° 7294), d'après le *Tchong-houa ta tseu-tien* III, *wei*, p. 211 (et III *wei*, p. 22, s. v. *t'o*). Récemment cf. T. Morohashi, *Dai Kan wa jiten*, vol. VIII, n° 26742: 39.

Dans le *Tche-yuan yi-yu*, le seul vocabulaire sino-mongol des Yuan qui nous soit connu actuellement, le mong. *turumtai* est interprété en chinois par 龍 奪 *long-to* (éd. Ishida, n° 326).

III, 1: 1017; *ǰāgambō*, à la rigueur *ǰāgambu*.

Selon Pelliot, *ǰā* (< *ǰa'a*) de RD est une meilleure leçon que *ǰaqa* de *Histoire secrète*. M. D. cette fois encore s'oppose à l'opinion de Pelliot. Dans son idée, *ǰaχa-gambu* de l'*Hs* est une mauvaise leçon pour *ǰayagämbü* (*gämbü*, avec son *ä* et avec son *ü* est hors de cause) ou *ǰayagambu* qui est à son tour pour *ǰa'agambu*. Mais M. D. est dans l'erreur. Il dit la même chose que Pelliot, seulement il paraît avoir oublié

que dans la transcription chinoise aussi bien que dans l'écriture 'phags-pa (parfois même en écriture arabe; cf. *AOH* XVI, pp. 151—153) on ne fait pas de différence entre *q* (pour lui *χ*) et *γ* en positions initiale et médiale et qu'on écrit *qaǰar* et *qurban* pour *γaǰar* et *γurban*, *čaqān* et *qulaqai* pour *čaγān* et *qulaγai*. En un mot, la graphie *J̌aqa°* de l'*Hs* peut bien signifier à la fois franchement *J̌aqa°* et *J̌aγa°*; ce dernier peut représenter, bien entendu, *J̌a'a°*.

Mais après tout, M. D. croit ne pas pouvoir admettre cette interprétation: «Jedoch ist nicht zu vergessen, dass GG eine wesentlich ältere und deshalb a priori vertauenswürdigere Quelle ist». C'est vrai, mais il y a là encore quelque chose qu'il convient de ne pas oublier. La rédaction primitive de l'*Histoire secrète* n'est pas parvenue jusqu'à nos jours. Bien plus, le manuscrit mongol sur lequel les transcripteurs travaillaient tout à la fin du XIVe siècle n'était point le manuscrit autographe. Le ms. de la fin du XIVe, tout en rapportant le texte mongol assez fidèlement, renfermait déjà quelques passages altérés. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Il est notoire que les transcripteurs ne comprenaient pas toujours leur texte mongol et, dans bien des cas, ils ont mal lu le mot à transcrire; à plus forte raison, ils étaient dans l'incertitude quand il s'agissait de la transcription des noms propres. Voilà donc une interprétation qui s'offre toute seule: le ms. mongol comprenait le nom en écriture mongole *y'q' k'mbw* que les transcripteurs ont transcrit, à tort ou à raison, machinalement comme *ǰaqagambu*; par contre l'informateur de RD a lu le même nom (correctement?) *ǰāgambu*. Voir dernièrement, L. Ligeti: *Transcriptions chinoises de trois noms propres dans l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*: *Asiatische Forschungen* 17, pp. 123—136.

III, 313: 1317. *sim* (*sym*) «ein Hohlmass».

J'avoue que je ne vois pas très bien pourquoi M. D. considère ce mot d'origine chinoise comme «élément turc» du persan. Dans l'ouigour, nous avons *šing* pour chin. 升 *cheng* «pinte» et *küri* pour 斗 *teou* «boisseau»; cf. W. Bang—A. v. Gabain, *Uigurische Studien*: *Ung. Jb.* X, 1930, pp. 196, 203—204. Dans l'ouigour tardif des Ming on a, dans les mêmes acceptions, *išing* et *küri*, cf. Ligeti: *AOH* XIX, 158, 178. Pour le persan nous n'avons qu'une seule mention, celle de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn où il est dit que le pers. *qafīz* se dit en chinois *sīm*.

Dans une note ajoutée à la traduction russe de Smirnova, M. Pankratov fait remarquer (p. 173, note 7) que, dans le même passage, le texte chinois du *Cheng--wou ts'in-tcheng-lou* (f. 84b) porte *teou* au lieu de *cheng* qui lui paraît plus exact.

Or je ne crois pas qu'il s'agisse là d'une erreur, il se peut fort bien que *sim* ou *šim*, par une langue intermédiaire, réponde au chin. *teou*. Cette langue intermédiaire a très bien pu être le mongol. Toutefois nous avons dans le Suppl. A du Hy (n° 72) l'équivalence que voici: mong. *šim* (en transcription chinoise *chen*, en écriture ouigoure *sim*), en chinois *teou*. En revanche, sous le n° 73, le chin. *cheng* est rendu en mongol par *šingsi* (en transcription chinoise, 升子 *cheng-tseu*; écriture ouigoure, *singsi*).

Enfin, nous avons dans le mongol préclassique un verbe *simle-* au sens de «mesurer avec la pinte». On lit par exemple, dans une confession (des péchés) bouddhiste: *badmanlaqui simlekü-dür aryadaγsan* «ayant trompé dans le pesage et dans le cubage» (*Altan gerel* 66b; *MNyt.* V, p. 86).

Dans le moyen-mandarin *šing* > *šim* est aberrant, mais amplement attesté aussi bien sous les Yuan que sous les Ming.

III, 234: 1221. *sāngūn* (*s'nkwn*) «un titre princier».

Selon M. D. «Im GG entspricht *Ilχa Saŋgum*, oft auch *Saŋgum*, so nach Haenisch transkribiert. Stattdessen schreibt Pelliot (1944a, 54; Cheng-wou 334) *Sängün*». Mais il y a là une confusion. Dans la transcription de Haenisch nous avons *Nilḫa Sanggum* et *Sanggum*, Pelliot écrit «à sa place» (dans *Hs*) partout *Sänggüm*, de même Shiratori, dans son édition du texte mongol de l'*Hs*, s'est fixé sur *Seńgüm*. La

forme *Sängün* invoquée par Pelliot se rapporte à *Ts'in-tcheng-lou* qui est inséparable de RD où l'on a une forme à finale *-n*. Par ailleurs, la forme à finale *-m* apparaît encore chez Tūsī.

Non satisfait des leçons jusqu'ici proposées, M. D. se demande, quelle est la forme correcte du nom dans l'Histoire secrète: *Sanggum*, *Sänggüm*, *Sänggüm*? Aucune, dit-il, c'est encore la forme *s'nkwn* de RD et la forme *s'ngwn* de *Maḥrnāmag* qu'il faut adopter. A son avis, c'est cette même leçon que suggère l'*Hs* avec sa transcription *sang-kouen* (par exemple, fin du § 165, début du § 167): *Sanggun*.

Avant tout il vaut mieux laisser de côté le *Maḥrnāmag*, il ne nous dira pas grand-chose pour déterminer l'appellation du fameux personnage kéréïte. Ensuite, il faut préciser la vraie forme de RD.

Tendencieusement, M. D. met en vedette la forme *s'nkwn* pour s'assurer la voyelle *a* dans la première syllabe. Mais *s'nkwn* n'est qu'une leçon variante qui, dans le cas présent, ne vaut même pas *snkm*, l'autre variante. Le nom s'écrit chez RD régulièrement comme *snkwn* qui suggère tout simplement la leçon *Sengün*.

Dans l'*Histoire secrète*, le nom est en effet transcrit par le chin. *sang-kouen*, mais M. D. se trompe quand il veut le restituer en *Sanggun*. Je viens de rappeler plus haut que la finale *-m* et le *ho-k'eou* sont inconciliables dans un seul et même mot chinois. Cela revient à dire que dans le cas présent le chin. *kouen* peut bien représenter une syllabe étrangère *gun* (*gün*) et *gum* (*güm*). Si l'on ne se contente pas (avec M. D.) du témoignage des §§ 165 et 167, pour vérifier la transcription du nom, mais si on procède au contrôle de la transcription chinoise même au cas où le nom est suivi de la désinence du génitif ou de l'accusatif, on aura *Sang-kou-men*, lire *Senggüm-ün* V, 32b, 36b, 38b, 44a; VI, 12a, 29b; VII, 6a; VIII, 43b; *Sang-kou-mi* lire *Senggüm-i* VI, 16a, 16b; VII, 6b. Par ailleurs, ce n'est point un secret: c'est pourquoi unanimement Haenisch, Pelliot et Shiratori ont transcrit *Senggüm*.

Comment expliquer le chin. *sang*? Le chinois n'avait pas de caractère propre à rendre la syllabe étrangère *säng* (*seng*); pour la transcrire, les transcripteurs ont recouru soit aux caractères *siang*, soit à *sang*. Le même car. *sang*, dans la valeur d'une syllabe étrangère *säng* (*seng*), est employé, par exemple, dans le nom de la rivière *Senggür* (*sang-kou-eul*).

Enfin, l'*Altan tobči* de *Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin* offre *Senggüm*, forme authentique en écriture ouigouro-mongole, pour l'*Histoire secrète*.

L'appellation *Senggüm* du Kéréïte *Nilqa* (*Ilqa* chez RD et dans le *Ts'in-tcheng-lou*) remonte, ainsi que l'a montré Pelliot, au titre chinois 相公 à *siang-kong* qui se prononçait sous les Yuan, en vieux mandarin, *säṅ-guṅ* (en écriture 'phags-pa); la même prononciation était aussi valable pour le moyen mandarin des Yuan et des Ming. D'après cette dernière prononciation ont été transcrit l'*Histoire secrète* et le *Houa-yi yi-yu* mongol.

Pour être plus précis, ce dialecte ou plutôt ce groupe de dialectes moyen mandarin était considéré comme plus ou moins classique: par exemple, les finales *-m*, *-n*, *-ng* étaient soigneusement distinguées les unes des autres. Dans un autre groupe de dialectes, les finales *-m* et *-ng* ont passé à *-n* (c'est le dialecte chinois des vocabulaires sino-ouigours et sino-jürcen du Bureau des Traducteurs à l'époque des Ming). Un troisième groupe de dialectes est caractérisé par le passage *-ng* > *-m*. En d'autres termes, *güm* dans *senggüm*, quant à sa finale, n'a rien de mongol ou de k'i-tan, la finale *-m* est un phénomène purement chinois. Il faut toutefois faire remarquer que dans *senggüm* le passage *ng* > *m* ne s'est révolu qu'en finale absolue; en position médiale (dans le composé), le *ng* s'est maintenu inchangé, tout comme dans 令公 *ling-kong* > *linqqum* (cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.* I, 493—494 où il lutte contre l'interprétation magistrale de Pelliot, courageusement, mais désespérément mal informé).

La forme *sängüm* de RD et du *Ts'in-tcheng-lou* remonte à un dialecte où la finale *-ng* a donné *-m*.

La seule chose qui, dans *senggüm* et *sengün* soit turque ou mongole c'est l'adaptation du vocalisme chinois primitif à l'harmonie vocalique requise par ces langues.

III, 291: 1289. *säwruga* «esturgeon étoilé (acipenser stellatus).»

Cet «élément turc du persan» est en réalité un emprunt fait au russe севрюга, recueilli dans le vocabulaire persan—russe de Miller (p. 296). Les autres dictionnaires persans sont, à ce qu'il paraît, muets à son sujet. L'emprunt doit être de date assez récente.

Le mot russe est à son tour un emprunt fait au turc. Le mot turc en question est authentique, mais assez mal attesté dans les langues actuelles. M. D. n'a que trois recoupements dont l'un, le tat. de Kazan remonte, par l'intermédiaire de Radloff, à Budagov; les grands dictionnaires de cette langue l'ignorent aujourd'hui. La forme turkmène de Räsänen (attestée par AB 359) ne figure pas non plus dans les dictionnaires turkmènes publiés depuis. On peut toutefois ajouter à cette modeste liste: tob. *süirü* «der Sterlet» (Radl. IV, 797); kūr. *sū̄rik* «Sterlet» (Radl., *Proben* IV, 141); tara *sū̄rük*, id. (Vasmer, *REW* II, 601; relevé sans doute aussi dans *Proben*).

Dans ces conditions il est intéressant de signaler que le mot est encore attesté en hongrois sous la forme de *sőreg* > *séreg* «esturgeon étoilé»; il remonte au vieux tchouv. **širik*. Cf. Gombocz: *MNy*. XIII, 1917, 185—189; Ramstedt, *Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen*: *JSFOu* XXXVIII, 1: 18; Bárczi, *Szóf.Sz.* 274.

L'étymologie du mot turc ne soulève en effet aucun problème, c'est le dérivé, muni du suffixe diminutif *-k*, de l'adjectif *süβri*, *süvri*, *süirü*, *sū̄rü* «pointu; allongé; conique». Le tchouv. *šəvər*, *šürεɢε*, id., confirme pleinement le vieux tchouv. **šivrik* > hongr. *sőreg*. (On se demande si ce n'est pas la forme tchouvache qui explique a. russe *ševriga* «gesternter Stör, Acipenser stellatus», russe шеврига, dial. шеврога, шеврыга; cf. Vasmer, *REW* III, 385).

Malgré Gombocz, le mot turc n'a pas de correspondance directe en mongol. Cf. toutefois: oïr. lit. *šügürliq*, *šögörliq* «стерлядь; esturgeon» (Pozdn. 178, 174), *šögörliq* (Golst., *Russ.—kalm. sl.* 113); kalm. lit. *šigrlü* «esturgeon» (Iliš., *Russ.—kalm. slov.* 685), kalm. *šögr̥lr̥ɢ* (Pozdn.) «Sterlett», *šörgᵒlr̥ɢ* (*zaγᵖsn̥*), id. (Ramst., *Kalm. Wb.* 368); khal. *šüchêrlêg* (*zagas*) «esturgeon» (Damdins.—Luvsand., *Oros-mongol toli* 361). Cf. encore mong. lit. *šüri* «esturgeon» (Golst., II, 422).

Au point de vue sémantique il faut retenir: kalm. *šowr̥lɒɢ̱* «Sterlett, eig. Spitzfisch'» < *šowr̥* «spitz; Spitze» (Ramst., *Kalm. Wb.* 365, 366).

III, 292: 1292. *sözümiz*, *sözümüz* «notre parole».

M. D. est enclin à ramener cette formule au temps des Turcs de l'Orkhon et à voir son premier emploi, entre autres, dans *tängri-täg tängri yaratmïš türk Bilgä qaγan saβïm*. Cependant l'analogie ne me paraît pas très heureuse.

La formule turque *sözümüz*, aussi bien dans les documents persans que turcs, remonte à la pratique de la chancellerie mongole. Or dans cette pratique, tout au moins à l'époque mongole, l'emploi des formules était rigoureusement fixé et les auteurs des différentes pièces de chancellerie n'étaient pas à même de choisir les expressions à leur gré. Aussi eût-il été inconcevable de confondre les termes *yarlïγ* et *söz*, ainsi que l'a fait M. D. en traduisant *yarlïγïmïz* par «Unser Wort» (p. 294, 4ᵉ ligne d'en bas).

Dans l'usage de la chancellerie mongole, le terme *ǰarliγ* (*ǰarliq*) «ordre impérial» était réservé au seigneur suprême, le souverain de l'empire (*qaγan*, *qa'an*, *qān*). Au terme mongol répondaient bien le turc *yarlïγ* et le chin. 聖旨 *cheng-tche*. A titre d'exemple, rappelons parmi les édits impériaux en écriture 'phags-pa (pour ma liste, voir *AOH* XIII, 202—203): *qān ǰarliq*

manu, édit de Qubilai (1280 ou 1282), édit de *Ayurbarvada* (de 1314, A, B et C), édit de *Ayurbarvada* (de 1318), édits de *Toγan temür* (de 1336 et 1351); cf. l'inscription récemment éditée par M. A. H. Franke, dans *Asiatische Forschungen* XVII, pp. 49—57.

Les princes, les gouverneurs de province, les maîtres des territoires plus ou moins importants, eux aussi promulguaient des édits, ceux-là n'étaient jamais «des ordres» (*ǰarliγ*), mais modestement des «paroles» (*üge*).

Mangala, prince de *Ngan-si* (1276), *Ananda*, également prince de *Ngan-si* (1283), *Qaišan*, prince de *Hoŋuai-ning* (1305) publiaient des édits princiers, des rescrits, en mongol des «*üge manu*», en chinois des 令旨 *ling-tche*. Ces derniers figuraient, dans les rescrits, sous la forme de *ling-ǰi*, par exemple dans le rescrit d'*Aruγ*, prince de *Yun-nan* (1340); cf. G. Kara, *L'inscription mongole d'Aruγ, prince de Yun-nan* (1340): *AOH* XVII, 1964, p. 167; F. W. Cleaves, *The Lingǰi of Aruγ of* 1340: *HJAS* XXV, 1965, 67. Le texte chinois des rescrits de Mangala, d'Ananda porte *ling-tche* à la place de *üge manu* (le texte chinois de Qaišan n'est pas connu); cf. Ts'ai Mei-piao, *Yuan-tai pai-houa pei-tsi-lou*, pp. 25: 23; 31: 29. Pour d'autres *ling-tche*, voir *op. cit.* 8: 7 (1243); 13: 12 (1245); 14: 13 (1247); 15: 14 (1247); etc.; Éd. Chavannes, *Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole*: *T'oung Pao* V, 1904, p. 368, note 3.

Dans les chancelleries des parties occidentales du vaste empire mongol on respectait la distinction fondamentale qui sépare l'ordre impérial (*ǰarliγ*) du rescrit (*üge*); l'emploi du terme *ǰarliγ* par un khan local eut signifié que ce dernier aspirait au pouvoir central ou, tout au moins, qu'il tenait à s'en libérer.

Les khans tchaghataïdes se sont contentés de l'expression *üge manu*: *Tuγluγ-temür üge manu, Kebeg übe manu* (*Mongol Nyelvemlektár* I, pp. 157—162). Lorsque le rescrit a été porté par un fonctionnaire du khan, c'est celui-ci qui s'est réservé la formule *üge manu* tout en se réclamant de l'autorité de l'ordre du khan: *Yisün-temür-ün ǰrlγ-iγr Temür-satilmiš toγačin šügüsüčin üge manu, Ilasqoǰa-yin ǰrlγ-iγar Qdma* (?)*-baγatur üge manu*, etc. (*MNyt.* I, 150—155).

La chancellerie mongole des ilkhans exerçait une influence considérable sur la chancellerie persane contemporaine ainsi que sur la chancellerie turque des Timourides, des Osmanlis et sur celle de la Horde d'Or et du khanat de Crimée.

Sous sa forme turque *sözümüz, sözüm* a perdu peu à peu la nuance protocollaire qu'il revêtait jadis. Cf. A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın ordu, Kırım Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*. Istanbul 1940. V. Veliaminof-Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khanat de Crimée*. St. Pbg. 1864.

III, 331: 1335. *šiläm* (*šilam*?) «baptême; religion (de baptême = chrétienne)» (?)

Le mot *šiläm* ou *šilam* revient dans la lettre de Küyük, rédigée en persan, publiée pour la première fois par Pelliot. Dans son commentaire succinct ajouté à sa traduction, il a tenté de tirer au clair le mot en question et pour ce faire, il s'est réclamé du témoignage de la lettre d'Arγun datée de 1290, alors inédite. Il a montré que l'expression persane «entrer dans le *šiläm*» répond exactement au mong. *siläm-tür ora-* ainsi qu'au lat. *baptizari et effici christiani* de la version latine. Quant à l'origine du *šiläm*, il a songé au syriaque **šlam* «paix», puis, tenant compte du latin *baptizari*, il a voulu voir ce mot dans mong. *silemde-* «humecter, tremper dans l'eau», enregistré par Kowaleski, tout en écartant *silemde-* indiqué par Golstunskij et par certains dictionnaires indigènes. Il a supposé que le verbe *silemde-* s'était formé sur un nom, probablement d'origine étrangère, *siläm* «baptême».

La question posée par Pelliot a été reprise plus tard, à propos de la lettre mongole d'Arγun, par MM. Mostaert et Cleaves (*HJAS* XV, 1952, p. 459). D'après ces savants, «cette étymologie semble dif-

ficilement acceptable», parce que ce mot leur paraissaît inséparable du *šilam* «jeûne», dans *šilam sara* «mois de ramazan, mois du jeûne». Dans une note ajouté à leur argumentation ils ont fait remarquer qu'en face de la forme *silemde* de Kow., c'est *silemede-* qui leur paraît authentique, et à cet effet ils ont cité ord. *šilemeᴅe-* «mouiller avec de la salive», kalm. *šilm̥dᵊ-* «mit der Zunge etwas befeuchten», Hs *silemelǰe-* «baver».

On se serait attendu à ce que M. D. tâche de formuler son opinion en partant de l'interprétation de MM. Mostaert et Cleaves, dernier mot qui a été dit à ce sujet. Mais non. Armé de la munition de 1952, il ouvre le feu, en 1967, sur Pelliot de 1923.

Après une citation partielle du commentaire de Pelliot il constate froidement: «Pelliots Ausführungen enthalten verschiedene Fehler bzw. Irrtümer». Ces «fautes et erreurs» sont soigneusement exposées et numérotées de (1) à (5). Les voici: (1) la leçon *šiläm-tür* (*šilam-tur*) est une faute, il faut lire *šiläm-dür* (*šilam-dur*); (2) *šlam*, en syriaque, est inadmissible, car la forme classique est *šlamā*; (3) le sens du mot syriaque ne constitue pas nécessairement (nicht unbedingt) une difficulté; (4) il faut adopter *silemede-*, malgré *silemde-* de Kowalewski; (5) *silemede-* signifie «mouiller avec de la salive; baver» et non pas «humecter, tremper dans l'eau».

«Damit wäre nun Pelliots Erklärung erledigt», conclut-il avec satisfaction. Vraiment? Voyons donc.

(1) La leçon *šiläm-tür* (*šilam-tur*) est correcte malgré M. D., c'est ce que porte ms. Il s'agit d'une particularité de l'orthographe préclassique qui a une importance particulière par le fait que les transcripteurs de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* l'ont, dans leur transcription, rendue, machinalement: *Uriyangqai-tur* (§ 9), *Dobun-mergen-tür* (§ 10), *üge-tür* (§ 16), *J̌ürkin-tür* (§ 140); *büküi-tür*, *qan-tur*, *qahan-tur* (§ 141); *hon-tur*, *tutum-tur* (§ 280), etc. Pour rester à la lettre d'Arγun de 1290, nous avons encore: *tngri-tür* (lignes 4, 30); *nom-tur* (6); *irgen-tür* (11); *Urumi-ta*, *büküi-tür* (34). Les autres documents préclassiques offrent des exemples de cet ordre par centaines.

(2) Sans entrer dans la discussion du mot syriaque, il faut rappeler que dans les transcriptions turco-mongoles ainsi que dans les emprunts mongols faits aux langues voisines, ce ne sont jamais les formes «classiques», mais bien leurs variantes «vulgaires» qui se reflètent.

(3) Une possibilité, une solution qui ne s'impose pas, constitue, à mon sens, une drôle de «faute» ou d'«erreur».

(4) Nous l'avons déjà vu chez MM. Mostaert et Cleaves, y compris la conclusion «die Form *šilemde-* bei Ko. dürfte einfach eine Verlesung sein» (Mostaert—Cleaves: «La forme *silemde-* semble due à une mauvaise lecture»).

(5) Conclusion superficielle tirée de l'acception du verbe en ord., kalm. et dans Hs, citée par MM. Mostaert et Cleaves. Sans entrer dans la discussion du *šiläm* (*šilem*) qui nous entraînerait trop loin, nous rappellerons dès maintenant, sous bénéfice d'inventaire, l'interprétation du mong. *silemde-*, d'après *Wou-t'i* II, 2518: chin. 蕭水 *tchan-chouei* «tremper dans l'eau» (cf. chin. *tchan* «to dip into», Mathews n° 145»; «eintauchen», Rüdenberg n° 1183); tourki *suγa maltadu* «tremper dans l'eau»; tib. *čhur sbaṅs* «tremper dans l'eau» (cf. *sboṅ-ba*, pf. *sbaṅs* «to steep in water, to soak, to drench», Jaeschke 405); ma. *ulγa-* («nass machen, anfeuchten, eintauchen, benetzen»; Hauer 955). Le nom *silem-e* est attesté dans mong. *silem-e talbiqu* «norγan temdeg talbiqu (faire une marque en mouillant)» (*Monγol üsüg-ün dürim-ün toli bičig*, Peking 1960, p. 847); en khalkha *šilêm* «ogtolž êsgêch jumand oromlož norgon tavĭsan têmdêg (marque mouillée qu'on pose sur une matière à découper)» (Ja. Cêvêl—Ch. Luvsanvandan, *Mongol chêlnij tovč tajlbar tolĭ*, Ulaanbaatar 1966, p. 847).

Après la diatribe contre Pelliot et après ses propres hypothèses rédigées sur un ton bien plus modeste, M. D. conclut: «Damit bleibt die Etymologie des Wortes nun unklar . . .»

III, 561: *qunčuy* (*qwnčwy*) «princesse». La forme persane *qūnčūi* mise en avant par M. D. n'existe pas. Pour sa source, M. D. se réfère au *Sino-Iranica* de Laufer où il est dit (p. 564): « . . . and *kuń ču* . . . were likewise adopted in Mongol Persia». (Laufer parle donc de *kuń ču* et non pas de *qunčuy*.) Malheureusement les références de Laufer n'apportent rien à cette affirmation: Blochet, *Introduction*, p. 183, présente un tableau sommaire des titres chinois dans RD, sans aucune précision; la référence p. 473 de l'édition du texte persan de RD par Blochet repose sur une erreur, il n'y est question de notre titre chinois sous aucune forme. Le n° 1585 de M.D. est donc tout simplement à supprimer.

Par ailleurs la forme proposée par M. D. pour RD est impossible, la forme *qunčuy* (ach. *kung-tśi̯u*) est une forme aberrante (dialectale), dénonçant le début des T'ang. (Il n'y a aucune raison de lire avec H. Namık Orkun, en écriture runique, une fois *qonču*γ, une fois *qunču*γ.) Les formes *χûnčûî*, *χûnžûî*, *χunžûîγ* présentées par le *Maḫrnâmag* reflètent la même prononciation chinoise, ainsi que l'orthographe soghdienne *γwnčwγh*. Cf. B. Csongor, *Chinese in the Uighur Script of the T'ang-Period*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVIII, p. 88; Hilda Ecsedy, *Old Turkic Titles of Chinese Origine*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVIII, p. 88. La forme *qunču*γ a fait fortune et a survécu, dans le turc, jusqu'à Kāšγarī.

Les variantes tibétaines *koń-čo*, *khoń-čo*, *koń-ǰo* reflètent, avec plus ou moins d'approximation, la forme chinoise «normale» à l'époque T'ang. Cf. Bacot—Thomas—Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris 1940—1946), p. 88. P. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* I (Paris 1952), pp. 1—4, note 387.

Dans le vieux mandarin, en écriture 'phags-pa, nous avons *guń-ǰü*. Il apparaît sous la même forme (*gungǰü*) dans le moyen mandarin. C'est en effet ce que nous avons dans le rescrit d'*Aruγ*, prince de Yun-nan cf. G. Kara: *AOH* XVII, p. 149.

Ma. *gungǰu* reflète la forme moderne du mot chinois.

Voici encore quelques brèves remarques.

II, 114. La transcription chinoise *ngan-tch'ouen-wen* (*'ān-č'ūn-wēn* de Grube, p. 90) reflète la forme ǰürčen *ALČU-un* donc *alčun* (et non pas *ančun*). Cette leçon est garantie par les caractères joutchen, la transcription chinoise est erronée; cf. Ligeti, *Le déchiffrement des «petits caractères» joutchen*: *AOH* III, 225. Le mot ǰürčen est attesté déjà dans le *Kin-che*, 135, 12a, sous la forme de *ngan-tch'ouen* qui répond de même à *alčun*. L'ancienne forme à *lč* est conservée jusqu'aux temps modernes dans les noms géographiques de Mandchourie; cf. *Alčuqa* «Name eines Ortes in Kirin» (Hauer 33). Le passage *lč* > *nč* (tout comme *lǰ* > *nǰ*; *lt* > *nt*, *ld* > *nd*) est caractéristique du mandchou: ma. *ančun* «Ohrgehänge der Frauen», *ančuraxi* «mit Goldschlägerhaut hergestelltes Blattgold» (Hauer 51) remontent également à un ancien *alčun*.

II, 116. Ajouter aux recoupements de *āliš* «Handel, Tausch»: tdj. lit. *ališ* «мена, обмен, з мена, перемен » (Bert., *TRS* 23, 159); Kābolī *āliš* «exchange, barter», construit avec *kardan* (Bogdanov: *JPASB* XXVI, 59).

II, 255. Ajouter après le n° 708 un n° 708 bis: Kābolī *bāqa* «frog» = pers. *qurbaya* (Bogdanov, *Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian*: *JPASB* XXVI, 1930, 64). Cf. III, 437: n° 1449.

II, 309. «Ausführlich referiert Banzarov (162 und 304, Anm. 261) über dieses Wort; er akzeptiert Vladimircovs Ansicht, dass *begter* ← tü. *begter* ← pers. *bagtar*. . . .» Banzarov est mort en 1855, toute cette activité a été déployée par G. N. Rumjancev qui a ajouté ses commentaires (pp. 253—349) au *Sobraine sočinenij* de Dorži Banzarov, édité à Moscou en 1955.

II, 552. Le vieux-hongr. *tulbó* < vieux-tchouv. *tulubaγ* < **tulupaγ* est une hypothèse gratuite. L'interprétation du mot par le mongol ne vaut pas mieux. Cf. B. Munkácsi, *Ungar. tulbó und tömlő*: *MSFOu* LXVII, 1933, pp. 284—289; L.

Ligeti: *NyK.* XLIX, 1935, pp. 219—220. Pais: *MNy.* XXX, 1934. Hongr. *tömlő* est d'origine finno-ougrienne; cf. Bárczi, *Szój. Sz.*, 316.

II, 630. Tchag. *tülemiš* est une fois de plus une leçon erronée de Kúnos (p. 199) qu'il faut corriger, avec M. D., en *tölämiš*; toutefois la forme *tölämiši*, réclamée par M. D. n'existe pas. Cf. éd. d'Istanboul, p. 125.

III, 7. La graphie persane *ǰyw* est à lire *ǰiu*, la graphie *ǰw* peut représenter *ǰiu* et *ǰu*. La transcription *ǰou* de M. D. est celle de nos jours. Avec RD nous sommes au moyen mandarin qui offre pour ce mot la prononciation *ǰiu*; la forme *ǰu* est aberrante, mais bien attestée; cf. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises*, pp. 79—80. Pour le joutchen, la transcription *čeu* de Grube est à lire également *ǰiu* et non pas *ǰeu* comme le veut M. D.; *ǰeo* (= *ǰeu*) est mandchou.

III, 47. Ad nº 1062: Kābulī *čapan* «a coarse mantle made of thick cloth (almost like felt) peculiar to Afghanistan» (Bogdanov, p. 67).

III, 95. Ajouter aux équivalents du pers. *čumča*: Kābolī *čamča* H.-T. = P. *qāšuq* T «spoon». Selon Bogd., le mot a cours parallèlement avec *qāšuq* (Bogdanov 67); pers. *čamčeh* «a laddle, a skimmer; a scoop» (S. Haïm, *New Persian—English Dictionary* I, 599); pers. *čamče* «Kelle; Schöpfeimer; Bagger» (H. F. J. Junker—Bozorg Alavi, *Persisch—deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 233).

III, 197. La graphie *d'y lyw* représente *Dai-liw* (à la rigeur *-lêw*) et non pas *dāi liyau* leçon proposée par M. D. En vieux mandarin et en moyen mandarin *Ta Leao* se prononce *day-lêw* (orthographié en écriture 'phags-pa). Le même mot chinois, dans le nom *Leao-yang*, est transcrit, en écriture ouigoure, dans l'inscription sino-mongole de 1335, comme *Leu-yang*, cf. *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* I, p. 45, ligne 10. Cf. F. W. Cleaves: *HJAS* XIII, p. 86.

III, 307. A propos de l'étymologie surranée de Gombocz (*BTLw.* 66), M. D. nous dit, «Er [Gombocz] übersieht, dass die atü. Form *sïčyan* lautet. Da das Čuv. ein *-γ-* genauso verliert wie das SW.-Tü. und da es in letzterem *sïčan* heisst, wäre altčuv. *sïčan* zu erwarten, das aber nicht ung. *cziczkány* [lire *cickány*] hätte ergeben können. Das ung. Wort muss also aus einem tü. Dialekt stammen, der *-q-* hat, wahrscheinlich aus dem Petschenegischen oder Komanischen».

Il a échappé à M. D. que Gombocz, dans Gombocz—Melich, *EtSz.* I, 659—660, a modifié ce qu'il avait affirmé en 1912, et a montré que le hongr. *cickány* était un néologisme du naturaliste hongrois J. Földi qui a emprunté ce nom, tout au début du XIXe siècle, à Schreber (*Die Säugethiere* IV, 1792, 684).

III, 352. Ad nº 1352. Kābolī *tūy* «marriage; marriage-feast; wedding». (Bogdanov 117); pers. *toy* (*twy*, *ṭwy*) «a feast, a wedding-feast (rare)» (Haïm II, 318), *tuy*, *ṭuy* «Hochzeitsfest, Freude» (Junker—Alavi 499).

III, 442. Il y a lieu de rattacher le turc *qarsaq* «renard des steppes» aux formes mongoles suivantes: Hy *kirsa* «renard des steppes» (Lew. 57); Yy *kirsa*, id. (72b); Ls *kirsa*, id. (136b); mong. lit. *kirsa* «renard des steppes, corsac» (Kow. III, 2553), «steppe fox. Alopex corsac» (Les. 472); oïr. lit. *kirsa*, id. (Pozdn. 286), kalm. *kirsə* Ö, T «grauer Steppenfuchs» (Ramst., *Kalm. Wb.* 232), ord. *ġirsa* «espèce de renard de petite taille qui vit dans les dunes, corsac» (Most. I, 267); üjüm. *ġérs* üE, ab. «corsac» (Kara 16); khal. *chjars*, id. (Luv. 597). Sont des emprunts faits au mongol: kirg., tél. *qïrsa* «Fuchs» (Radl. II, 759); ma. *kirsa* «Steppenfuchs, Korsak» (Hauer 589).

III, 458. Ad nº 1472: Kābolī *qurūt* (= pers. *kašk*)» (Bogdanov, 104); pers. *ġorut* = *käšk* «dried, condensed whey» (Haïm II, pp. 538, 639); pers. *ġorut* = *kašk* «getrocknete Sauermilch, Molke» (Junker—Alavi, pp. 572, 602).

III, 477. Le pers. *qušqun* [*qšqwn*] «croupière» n'est pas attesté dans Vullers, ni dans Steingass. La forme *qašqūn* recueillie par Miller (p. 382) est corrigée en *qušqūn* par M. D. Junker et Alavi (*Per-*

sisch—deutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig 1965, p. 574) ont de même *ǧašǧun* «Schwanzriemen (am Pferdegeschirr)». Est-ce une prononciation réelle ou bien l'influence de Miller? S. Haïm (*New Persian—English Dictionary* II, 543) offre toutefois *ǧošǧun* «a crupper» (*o* = *u*).

III, 486. «Das Wort bei K wird oft fälschlich *qutuz* gelesen, so ausser Atalay noch Brock 87». Inversement, c'est Atalay (1943) qui a copié la fausse leçon de Brockelmann (1928).

III, 487. Ad n° 1502: Kābolī *qulāč* «fathom» (Bogdanov, p. 104); pers. *ǧolāč* «a measure of length, a fathom» (Haïm II, 556); pers. *ǧolāč* (terme marit.) «Faden (Längenmass)» (Junker—Alavi 577).

III, 660. Ad n° 1602: Kābolī *kūya* «moth, moth-worm» (Bogdanov, p. 88; le rapprochement du H. *koyā* «cocon of the silkworm» n'est pas à retenir). Cf. encore J. Németh, *Probleme der türkischen Urzeit*: *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* V, 1942—1947, p. 76. Le kalm. *gürü*, *gūr*, *gūrü* rattaché au turc *küyä* par Ramstedt (*Kalm. Wb.* 140) doit être un autre mot.

Je pourrais continuer longuement ces remarques corrigeant les fausses informations, refusant les opinions inacceptables de l'auteur. Si j'y renonce c'est que je tiens à rappeler que si longue que soit la liste des problèmes où je me sépare de l'auteur, les points où je suis d'accord avec lui sont bien plus nombreux.

Tout compte fait, je dois dire que je considère les *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* comme une oeuvre magistrale qui fait admirer les qualités exceptionnelles de son auteur dont les vastes connaissances dépassent les capacités usuelles d'une seule personne. Nous avons en effet là une oeuvre importante dont nul ne pourra se passer et qui constituera un outil indispensable dans les mains des turcologues, des mongolisants et, malgré l'auteur, des altaïstes.

Il est bien regrettable que l'auteur, à titre de refléxions critiques, se montre un juge si passionné à l'égard de ses prédécesseurs et de ses confrères; Pelliot, Ramstedt et Poppe sont ses favoris. Avouons-le, c'est une déficience sérieuse qui risque de compromettre le crédit de cette oeuvre importante. Mais nous espérons que même ses opinions trop personnelles et pas très heureuses trouveront chez les lecteurs de M. Doerfer bien plus de bienveillance et de compréhension que celles de ses prédécesseurs et de ses savants confrères n'ent ont trouvé auprès de lui . . .

Louis Ligeti

INDEX

G. Hazai, — P. Zieme (Berlin), Ein uigurisches Blockdruckfragment einer Einleitung zum Vajracchedikāsūtra 1

A. Bodrogligeti, On the Turkish Vocabulary of the Iṣfahān Anonymous 15

L. Ligeti, Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs 45

L. Kákosy, Imḥotep and Amenḥotep Son of Ḥapu as Patrons of the Dead 109

Critica:

G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Bände II—III: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (L. Ligeti) 119

E. SCHÜTZ

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TRADE-AND-WAR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TURKS AND CHINA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 6th CENTURY*

BY

HILDA ECSEDY

This paper aims at treating the early period of the Turk-Chinese connections, the economic background of the 6th century relations between the Chinese Empire and its northern neighbour, the nomadic empire unified by the Turks; their history will be examined in this period on the basis of Chinese sources.[1]

The Turks acted along China's borderland much in the same way as other nomadic peoples; this circumstance enabled the Chinese historians to find them similar to other nomadic peoples and to characterize them by repeating historiographers' commonplaces and quoting passages from reports about other peoples and empires, first of all about the *Hsiung-nus*, if only because of traditionalism.[2] To avoid further superficial generalizations arising from these traditional, and often erroneous, generalizations, it seems necessary to disregard all these traditional statements and to analyze the data of the sources, clearing up their coherent history and sifting the information, sometimes by the help of the coherency itself. That is what seems profitable in respect of the Turk-Chinese relations too, from their very beginning in the second half of the 6th century onwards.

Since China was directly connected mainly with the eastern part of the Turk Empire (also before its division into an eastern and a western part), naturally those data that we may expect from the Chinese sources concern usually this eastern side of the empire. But just these data can be the most suitable material for the purposes of this paper, as they reflect adequately first of all the connections between China and the Turks. (As a matter of fact, often they reflect these connections rather than the whole of the Turk history.)

Naturally the Chinese sources record primarily the Chinese side of the relations between China and a foreign power. Beside direct reports, however, we can often make use of the unintentional evidence of those minor informations, which seemed unimportant to the historian, and therefore they were preserved without any alteration or corruption. And, as in case of the Turks we can observe a powerful nomadic people, founder of a huge empire, directly connected with China for two centuries and so reported in the Chinese sources long

and several times, we have good reasons to expect from the study of their history further evidence of the Turk-Chinese relations in the period concerned as well as about nomad-Chinese relations in general.

In China — and not only in China — it was the surface of history: the events which first drew the historians' attention, i.e. the rearrangement of the vast framework of the steppe, the dates of battles, and of rulers' changes. Let us examine now these events, the most conspicuous moments of nomadic history: their wars, which must have aroused the interest of the Chinese historiographers, if only because of the danger they meant for China; but let us pay attention first of all to the economic concomitants of the Turk campaigns, battles or mere skirmishings threatening the Chinese borderland. In this way the attentive reader of the sources can trace the real motives of these repeated wars, often considered random marauding campaigns; but after a thorough study of the sources, we find these expeditions neither random, nor of a mere marauding kind.

China took notice of an emerging new people usually at the time of its first attack or of the arrival of its first delegation to the imperial court; if was at that time that the historical sources related everyithing they knew of the former history of that people. The first report on the Turks which after the legendary beginnings bears the marks of contemporary information, dates probably from about 545.[3] We read about them that the tribe of 土門 *T'u-mên* (i.e. *Bumïn*, the later *qaγan*[4]) became gradually prosperous; then his Turks came to the Chinese fortresses to barter for silk, and they wanted to make contacts with China.[5] Not much later, still before the Turks became independent, in 545 the first Chinese delegate had been sent to them;[6] and in the next year Turk envoys brought to the Chinese court the «products of their land» (方物, a usual Chinese term for the presents: «tribute» of the foreigners).[7] This meant a peaceful beginning of the Turk-Chinese connections lasting for two centuries and recorded by the Chinese sources as a perpetual state of war. But in spite of the increasing number of the Turk attacks and inroads taking place later on, this period is also worth reviewing from the point of view of their repeated attempts at rapprochement, directly continuing their first friendly approach to China.

A survey of the events of the 6th century is complicated by the fact that at that time several states were waging wars on China's territory for the hegemony until 589, when the dynasty *Sui* succeeded in unifying China.[8] Each Chinese dynastic source, describing mainly the history of a certain state, kept an eye on the activities of the Turks naturally from the viewpoint of the state concerned, and sometimes it is not easy to recognize the coherence of their actions taking so many different forms, separated artificially by the sources. Considering, however, that the individual Chinese states did not mean a fundamental difference for the Turks, and therefore the same Turk groups joined now this state, now that against the other, in accordance with the balance of

forces, — it seems advisable to simplify these events into the history of the connection of the Turks with China as a whole; this kind of simplification is not infrequently seen in the Chinese sources, too.[9] We have all the more reason to do so because the tribes of the Turk Empire faced the unified China from 589 on.

Before characterizing the connections between the Turks and China, I shall try to draw a rough sketch of the events, mainly from the point of view of the early Turk-Chinese peaceful relations, with the simplifications mentioned before — if possible; from the first diplomatic missions up to the time of the disintegration of the Turk Empire (when the aspect of the steppe north and west of China became much more complex). I use here mostly the well-known informations of the best sources on the period concerned, i.e. the *Chou-shu*, *Pei-shih*, *Pei Ch'i-shu* and *Sui-shu*, with some references to other sources, but tracing only the main line of the events, and following with attention their contradictory character.[10]

Towards 545 the Turks, strengthened just previously, led by their chief *T'u-mên (Bumïn)*, arrived at the Chinese frontier fortresses (塞) in order to obtain silk by barter (市繒絮), and they wanted to establish contact (通) with China.[11] These two intentions seem to have been connected, but only the second was fulfilled: in 545 an envoy of China went to the Turks. They received him with pleasure, considering his mission a sign of the rise of their prestige. [This did not keep them back, however, from seeking for other «contacts» with China, if we may believe the report of the *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien* about their contemporary attacks.[12]] When, probably in the next year, *T'u-mên*'s delegate returned the visit, he brought presents («products of his land») to the Chinese court.[13] (Their first wish concerning the possibility to obtain silk, was not fulfilled at this occassion either.)

In the following years the Turks were engaged in wars. First as subjects of the *Juan-juan* Empire, they defeated their co-subjects, the revolting *T'ieh-lê* tribes,[14] and after the victory, aware of their strength, they asked a *Juan-juan* princess as wife for their ruler. The rude refusal of the *Juan-juan*s, ignoring the change of forces, accelerated the fall of their empire; *T'u-mên* had their delegate(s) killed, sought for another ally, i.e. asked for a Chinese princess (as a token and pledge of the allience), and received the imperial consent. In 551, when the emperor died, *T'u-mên* sent envoys to the court with 200 horses as a present of condolence, and soon he received the princess requested.[15] Finally in 552 the Turks attacked and defeated the *Juan-juan*s; they became independent under *T'u-mên*'s rule. He called himself 伊利可汗 *I-li k'o-han* (*Il qayan*, «*qayan* of the people») from this time on,[16] and established lively diplomatic connections with China.[17]

Il qayan died in the same year.[18] His son, 科羅 *K'o-lo* (*Qara*), the next *qayan*, sent 50 000 horses to the Chinese court in 553, and in the same year he

died.[19] His younger brother 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin*, succeeding him under the name 木杆 *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*)[20], after several successful western and northern expeditions,[21] led attacks against North-China, sent presents to China from time to time, and was presented with gifts by the emperor at several occasions, being in a permanent diplomatic relation with China, as follows:

in 554 the Turks attacked the state 齊 *Ch'i* (i.e. the remains of the *Juan-juan*s on *Ch'i*'s territory) with the help of the state *Wei*,[22] but a few months later they sent «tribute» to the *Ch'i* court; a group of them asked for *Ch'i*'s protection and sent tribute in return; *Mu-kan qayan* changed delegates both with *Wei* and *Ch'i*, promised his daughter to both of them, and received abundant presents from both of them;[23]

in 555 the Turks sent their envoys with presents to China;[24]

in 558 the Turks sent delegates and gifts («products of their land») to China;[25]

in 560 the Turk delegates were invited with several Chinese high dignitaries together to a festive banquet given in the court, and there they were presented with money and silk (錢帛);[26]

in 561 *Mu-kan qayan* sent three delegations to China with presents;[27]

in 563—564 *Mu-kan qayan* and his Turks, allied with *Chou*, attacked *Ch'i*; but when the allied army was defeated, the Turk troops pillaged in the Chinese borderland on their way home; in the same year the Turks, however, offered the products of their land to the *Chou* court;[28]

in 565 several Chinese high dignitaries set out on a mission to the Turks to accompany *Mu-kan qayan*'s daughter, betrothed to the *Chou* emperor, to the court;[29] and the Turks sent envoys to *Ch'i*;[30]

in 566 the Turks sent a delegation with presents to China;[31]

in 567 the Turks sent two delegations with presents to China: both to *Chou* and *Ch'i*; and the Chinese dignitaries could finally start with *Mu-kan qayan*'s daughter from the *qayan*'s residence to the capital of *Chou*;[32]

in 568 *Mu-kan qayan*'s daughter arrived to the *Chou* court,[33] and

in 569 *Mu-kan qayan* sent envoys to the *Chou* court with presents (horses).[34] Since *Mu-kan*'s time onwards the Turks grew still richer and stronger. The Chinese courts (both *Chou* and *Ch'i*), being afraid of their marauding campaigns, did their best to be on good terms with them; the *Chou* court gave them 100 000 rolls of silk (繒絮綿綵) yearly, and treated well those more than 1 000 Turks who lived in the capital, dressed in brocade (錦) and ate meat. Meanwhile the court of *Ch'i*, to avoid their pillages, showered further presents on them.[35]

After *Mu-kan qayan*'s death in 572,[36] his younger brother 他(～佗)鉢 *T'o-po qayan* had several 10 000 soldiers, thus China feared him; *Chou* and *Ch'i* competed for getting into a marriage bond with him, but he esteemed them only upon their gifts and his pride increased more and more.[37] Under his rule

in 572 *Chou* sent a delegation to the Turks;[38] *T'o-po qayan*, who was advised to get acquinted with Buddhism in order to be as rich as *Ch'i* (following Buddha's teachings), sent delegates with presents to the *Ch'i* court and asked for Buddhistic sacred books in return;[39]

in 573 the Turks sent delegates to *Ch'i*, asking for a princess for *T'o-po qayan*, who sent his envoys to the *Chou* court too, presenting horses;[40]

in 574 the Turks sent delegates with horses to *Chou*;[41]

in 577 *T'o-po qayan* received willingly and supported those who fled to him from the state *Ch'i*, recently destroyed by *Chou*;[42]

in 578 the Turks sent envoys to *Chou* with the products of their land, and led several marauding campaigns in the territory of *Chou*; the imperial army failed in oppositing the Turks;[43]

in 579 *T'o-po qayan* asked for peace and for a princess from the *Chou* emperor; he was promised the princess on the condition that he would extradite 高紹義 *Kao Shao-i*, who had fled to him previously from *Ch'i*; the *qayan* did not consent; soon he made raids on China;[44]

in 580 he sent delegates with presents to *Chou*, asking for the princess promised before; the princess was sent to *T'o-po*; influenced by a Chinese delegate, he extradited *Chou*'s enemy *Kao Shao-i*,[45] and shortly afterwards he died.[46]

After his death, in 581, both parts of the Turk Empire, divided into an eastern and a western part from this time on, sent presents to China, but the emerging new dynasty *Sui* depreciated them and made preparations for a war against them.[47]

In 582 several Turk defeats (and further attacks) took place in succession, partly because of the growing Chinese forces, mobilized against them, partly because China took advantage of the internal war of the Turk Empire.[48]

In 583 the Turks attacked China several times; they sent delegations to the court with presents and asked for peace and military help, but without success.[49]

In 584 Turk groups asked for Chinese protection and received it;[50] a festive banquet was given to the Turk envoys staying in the court;[51] and both *Sha-po-lio qayan* and his wife (*qatun*) *Ch'ien-chin* princess changed filial-fatherly letters with the *Sui* emperor *Wên-ti*. The *qayan* in a respectiful letter expressed his wish to exchange sheep and horses for silk;[52] and the Chinese delegate, who assured him of the benevolence of the emperor, received, from him 1000 horses and one of his nieces as a wife.[53]

In 585 *Sha-po-lio qayan*, harrassed by the Western Turks and the Khitai tribes, asked for permission to move southward of the Desert, to 白道州 *Po-tao-chou* (in 綏遠 *Sui-yüan*). The emperor, who had just previously tried to get into contact with *Sha-po-lio*'s enemy 阿波 *A-po qayan*, now gave *Sha-po-lio* the permission requested,[54] he sent him all the necessaries (衣食) and presented to

him carriages, garments, drums and pipes (車服鼓吹). With Chinese military help *Sha-po-lio* defeated *A-po*,[55] then he got all the booty obtained in this campaign, and being pleased with all this he promised to keep Chima's borders intact. In a letter he confessed himself China's subject,[56] referred to the merits of the Turks in the defence of China's borderland, and promised to send horses to the court. After his son had arrived to the court, the emperor conferred on him and his wife (who was called 大義 *Ta-i* princess from this time on) extraordinary imperial favours in return;[57] therefore the *qayan* began to send yearly tribute-presents to the court.[58]

In 586 a group of the Turks, which had submitted itself earlier to China, received the Chinese calendar,[59] and *Sha-po-lio qayan* sent a delegation with presents to the *Sui* court.[60]

In 587 *Sha-po-lio qayan* sent his son with presents to the court and asked for permission to hunt in the region of 恆州 *Hêng-chou* and 代州 *Tai-chou* (Shanhsi); beside that he received the permission, he was sent food and drink too as a present. The hunting being over, he offered to the emperor the tails and tongues of the animals, killed by him.[61] After *Sha-po-lio*'s death, *Sui Wên-ti* sent an envoy with 5000 rolls of silk as a present of condolence,[62] and when *Sha-po-lio*'s younger brother 處羅 *Ch'u-lo*[63] accessed to the throne, the emperor presented him drums, pipes and banners. *Ch'u-lo qayan* used these insignia for pretending that he was supported by Chinese troops, and in this way he succeeded to defeat and capture the old enemy *A-po qayan*.[64]

Finally in 588, after *Ch'u-lo qayan* had died[65] and the emperor had sent to the Turks precious vessels as a token of condolence,[66] *Sha-po-lio*'s son 都藍 *Tu-lan qayan*[67] succeeded his uncle. The new *qayan* sent a delegation to the court, and received 3000 rolls of silk; then his Turks began to send envoys and yearly «tribute» to China. *Tu-lan qayan* had a rebellious Chinese caught, and called the emperor's attention to the danger by an envoy, who brought to the court cloth made of *po* (勃布)[68] and fish-glue as gifts. Shortly afterwards his uterine younger brother 褥但 *Ju-tan tegin* offered a jade-stick of 于闐 *Yü-tien* (Khotan) to the emperor, who in return conferred on him Chinese official titles.[69] In that year several delegations, i.e. *Tu-lan qayan*'s high dignitaries were arriving in the court in succession; they brought 10000 horses, 20000 sheep, 500 camels and 500 cattles. Shortly afterwards another delegation arrived, asking the emperor to establish a market-place for them in the borderland so that they could trade with China (請緣邊置市與中國貿易); and they received the imperial permission.[70]

From that time barter-trade was going on between the Chinese and the Turks for two centuries, but — in spite of the permission received in 588 (and later on, several times) — generally everything happened in the traditional way: the Turks sent «presents» and expected a recompense, — but the Chinese reply to their request always depended on the momentary circumstances.

Soon after this «victory» of the Turks, concluded by the imperial permission for a legal trade, the power relations changed.

China, — divided till then into individual states fighting against each other and thus needing urgently the friendship and sometimes even the military help of the Turks, no matter at what cost, — was unified in 589 under the rule of the emperor *Sui Wên-ti*; and soon the imperial court thought the victorious army strong enough to manifest China's power in foreign relations too, — after so many compromises of the previous years.

It is evident, on the other hand, that the Turks did not realize that the concessions previously received from China had been given only for tactical reasons. They hoped for a lasting peace with China and even her military help in their wars with the other peoples of the disintegrated Turk Empire. The Eastern Turks, attacked from time to time by their western brothers, needed help, and therefore asked for protection in Chinese territories. But the Chinese, who always considered a request like this a sign of surrendering, granted for the Turks step by step all the favours involved in the position of a Chinese subject, later on they even forced these «favours» upon them, and expected the Turks to defend in return the Chinese borderland against the foreign peoples. Thus in the nineties of the 6th century, when the weakened Eastern Turks served as satisfactory defence of the strengthened China against other nomads, and when at the same time the Turks — not completely aware of the consequences of their position — became Chinese subjects to a certain degree, the Turk-Chinese connections changed their form for a period, and the remote parts of the Turk Empire lost even their sporadic contacts with China at about the turn of the century.

The situation described above offers a suitable opportunity to stop here in order to review this period. This time, being the age of the first prosperity and independence of the Turks, enables us to reveal the real and natural character of their activities; and this period — like many other periods — well characterizes the usual attitude of the Chinese Empire towards the Turks (and, in general, to other nomadic peoples too).

When analysing the background of the two sides of the Turk-Chinese connections, I refer not to single isolated data, but the continuous course of the events. However, only (or primarily) those actions will be taken here into account, which seemed important from point of view of the whole of Turk and Chinese policies, without aiming at the completeness of the data concerning e.g. the inner problems of the Turk or of the Chinese Empire. Furthermore, intentionally no mention is made of the minor battles, unimportant skirmishings on the border territories, as they were more or less independent from the character and result of the events summarized here. (Besides, the correct sequence and coherence of the significant moments can tell us more in this case than any ideally complete collection of the battles, requests, permission setc.[71])

As a matter of fact, the main conclusions of the following argumentation can be drawn from the rough historical sketch itself given above, as the stereotyped formulation of the events was intended to show the similarity of the actions of the similar or of the same motives. In this way, the connection, discovered in the scattered pieces of information about the «martial» Turks, still seeking for peaceful connections with China, helped to show the very character of their actions and connections, and when possible, all this was reflected in the text of my summary too (although not at all arbitrarily, as it can be seen from the Notes).

If we examine the whole course of the Turk-Chinese connections, the events of rather different character, when enumerated one after another, seem by no means so confused as they are described several times in the histories of the single Chinese states, and not at all random, especially if we take into consideration that the terms «presents» and «products of their land» certainly refer to silk from the Chinese side and first of all to livestock from the Turk side. (This is clear from the parallel passages of the reports; in a few cases a certain passage may speak about the «products of their land», «presents» or «tribute», but from the parallel passage we learn that in the same year and month the Turks sent horses to China; and after the reports on mutual presents, where the goods are not specified, we find the numbers and numerary classifiers, from which we may guess that «horse» and «silk» must have been written in the original document.[72])

It is remarkable that presents are sent simultaneously with the attacks and «pillages»; the Turk ruler who sends a delegate with demands, leads a campaign against China, when meeting a refusal; it is, however, the same ruler again who is not long in presenting further gifts in the hope that the court, — if only because of fear, — will fulfill his demands (as e.g. *T'o-po qayan* did in 579—580).

Thus one could rightly ask: is the Turk Empire at war with China? If so, why do the Turks seek for a regular contact with her? If not, what is the real motive of their intention to accomplish this contact?

First let us see why the Turks wanted to have continuous peaceful connections with China.

It is a well-known fact that in the period concerned China's authority and the good intentions of China as an ally played a decisive role in the changes of the balance of power between the neighbouring territories, all the more because the balance of real forces on the steppe was often substituted by the unstable balance of prestiges. (Sometimes a battle between two Turk tribes might be decided by the Chinese flags alone, appearing — in Turk hands — among the troops of one of the parties, although China did not give much military help to its allies in that time, if only because of its internal troubles and wars; e.g. in 587 *Ch'u-lo qayan*'s triumph over *A-po qayan* was due partly to the

Chinese banners waving above *Ch'u-lo*'s warriors, received from China and making the enemy beleived that the Chinese army, too, took part in the battle, on *Ch'u-lo qayan*'s side, see above.) Moreover, marriage-connections were also expected to keep the good relations with China — on the same reasons. This is but one part of the Turk-Chinese relations, the part clearly seen by the Chinese historians too, the part often even overesteemed.

Reading our sources it becomes obvious that the Chinese considered all the presents arrived from the foreigners — those of the Turks too — a mere token of respect towards China. This was shown also by the surprise and indignation at the court, when the Turks demanded recompense. In the behaviour of the Turks, on the other hand, we can see consistent efforts for establishing regular barter-relations with China, aiming at the exchange of the «products of their land», i.e. their livestock for Chinese silk. This effort is reflected also by the correspondence between *Sha-po-lio qayan* and *Sui Wên-ti* in 584, when the Turk *qayan* explicitly declared his hope for receiving regular gifts of silk further on as a token of the friendly and peaceful intentions of China, because — as he wrote — what sheep and horses meant for one country, that was meant by silk for the other, and thus they would give their livestock to the Emperor in order to get his silk (see Note 52). This letter in its present form is probably fictious, still it is able to reflect that the Chinese were forced to recognize the aim of the efforts of the Turks, but the demands on silk — and sometimes even the demands of market-places — were fulfilled only because they were afraid of the military power of the Turks.

Let us see the other part of our question: what is the cause of the repeated, ceaseless attacks of the Turks and other nomads against China and other states, both against settled and nomadic peoples? The traditional answer is not only unsatisfactory, but also false, even if we disregard those obviously superficial remarks to the effect that the nomads have «warlike character», «they are eager to fight» etc. [These statements belong to the old patterns, applied to several nomad peoples; we read e.g. about the *T'ieh-lê* tribes of the 6th century in the chapter ic of the *Pei-shih* (1325b) and in the chapter lxxxiv of the *Sui-shu* (840a): «Their nature is cruel and violent, they are good at mounted archery, they are exceedingly covetous and avaricious, and they live on robbery and pillage.» The perfunctory nature of the passages like this is evident, still it is not easy to get rid of the impression made by them, as we see in case e.g. of the Chinese historiography.]

One of the traditional explanations of the wars of the nomads concludes that the Turks — and the other nomadic peoples — leave their old land and set forth, even at cost of war, to another place when their pasture ground got worn out. Without doubt, if it happens so, nomadic tribes are forced to move «seeking for water, tracing the pastures», as reported by the sources, and if the neighbouring territories are conquered by other peoples, the occupation of their

new land cannot be realized in a peaceful way. But our suspicion may be rightly aroused by the fact, that after a tribe or a group of tribes had left a territory, immediately another people conquered the same place; and, in spite of the eventual simplifications, it cannot be accidental that the sources repeatedly underline the identity of the left place with that conquered by a new people. Evidently in this way it is impossible to explain the behaviour of the Turks and other nomads in relation to China. (The explanation adduced above is naturally not enough for the motivation of all the movements of the nomads on other territories either.) At least when the Turks demand territories from China, they do not complain at the same time that their old pasture had got worn out; they indicate different other reasons inducing them to ask for the possibility to go to China's territory. In 587 the Turks asked for a permission to hunt in Chinese territory (by the way: *Sha-po-lio qayan* hunted just in that part of the province Shanshi, which was called later on «Horse-market»[73]); but in other cases they went to China, because they escaped from another tribe and they needed shelter; they asked for a territory to settle or to pasture, first of all because they were not strong enough to defend their pasture-land outside China. But when they are strong enough to remain independent, their repeated and consistent demands are concerned not with territorial problems, but with the exchange of horses for silk, and their main demand is the establishment of constant market-places along the Chinese frontier fortresses.

If only because of this reason, we are bound to disregard the other traditional explanation of the wars of the Turks too: i.e. that the nomadic economy cannot produce enough to sustain the nomads, and they can keep themselves in existence by the help of marauding campaigns only.[74] [This is one of the most frequently repeated commonplaces; e.g. in the chapter lxxxiv of the *Sui-shu* (842a) and in the chapter ic of the *Pei-shih* (1325b) we may read that in every age one or another nomadic people endangered the Chinese Empire and «all of them were pastoral livestock-breeders by profession, and they obtained their wealth from pillage and robbery: 皆以畜牧爲業, 侵鈔 (SS; PS 抄) 爲資».]

Undoubtedly, robbery was the only aim of certain inroads of the Turks, especially in case of the smaller occassional attacks in the frontier region. But — as we can infer from the sources — they did not rob food, did not plunder granaries, and their demands did not include agricultural goods. (Food was presented by the Chinese officials only to those of them, who surrendered themselves to China or were considered to surrender, and they got these gifts of food as an allowance, just because they were already considered Chinese subjects, and not necessarily in view of the character of their economy.)

Besides, according to the very reports of the Chinese sources, the attacks of the Turks manifested by no means their weakness, as we can read several times that when they were weak and poor and starving, they withdrew and escaped into mountains and forests; and they only led attacks again when they

became stronger.[75] Obviously neither the quantity of their «gifts», nor their demands of market-places indicate their poverty. It would be wrong to flash back into this period mechanically the image of the steppe of the later centuries, when the nomads were forced to live in their closed pasture-lands of decreasing size and were deprived of their formerly so broad exchange-relations. In that later period, when their economy was really poor, they could not lead victorious wars either. Anyhow, in the period in question, in the second half of the 6th century, the nomads of the Turk Empire could extend their rule over half of Asia and even beyond it; this does not show their weakness and poverty, on the contrary, their attacks and successes can be connected in most cases just with their prosperity.

On this basis it seems possible to reconstruct the continuous and logical concatenation of the events of the Turk-Chinese economic connection in the period examined, giving a key to some other phenomena of the history of the Chinese-nomadic relations in general:

After having appeared in the neighbourhood of the Chinese frontier fortheresses, the Turks tried to enter into connection with China in order that they could get silk in exchange for the surplus number of their livestock. They needed the good intentions of the emperor, so they sent him gifts: «products of their land», i.e. animals, mostly horses; in return, as expected, they received silk, the usual Chinese gift presented to powerful «Barbarian» envoys. Soon they left for China with more animals, expecting more silk. In the meanwhile, however, the court had enough of horses and did not send more silk, or at least not the quantity wanted. The disappointed Turks then led a campaign against China. After their military successes, the emperor, being at a loss, sent them silk again in order to secure their good intentions. The *qaγan* of the Turks sent livestock again as a token of friendship, but when the present to return it came late, he resented and even came forward with demands. More and more horses were sent to China, in superfluous quantities, and if no silk was sent in return, invasions forced the court to give even more abundant «gifts». Finally, when the Turks wanted to get silk in a legal way, free from troubles, they asked the emperor to appoint constant market-place(s) for them. The permission for trade was granted to the Turks, but the poor efficacy of the permission is shown by the fact that later on it had to be repeated several times; this and later permissions must have been enforced from time to time by force of arms, and barter-trade was going on in this way later on too, — with or without imperial permission.

That is why in case of the Turks — and other nomadic peoples — war and trade are not in contradiction; on the contrary, trade involves war, because military actions are needed to create the possibilities for trade. Naturally the weapons of the Turks played a considerable role in the wars between nomadic tribes, in wars of expansion and in marauding campaigns too, as wars did not

stop even at the time when they tried to make peaceful contacts; besides, their constant preparedness for war, necessary under these circumstances, made the skirmishings inevitable both among themselves, and between them and their neighbours.[76] In this way the respect for their military power was growing all the time, and so China was forced to comply with their requests to trade with them, though reluctantly.

This trade, exchanging the livestock of the Turks for Chinese silk, one of the old, common and most precious currencies of Asia, made possible that silk, a kind of money in China too, could play an intermediary role in the economy of the countries of Eurasia by the help of the Turks and other nomads who not only used but also sold it. When selling the silk they faced other countries and problems, and some of the problems were solved in a similar way — by weapons —, though naturally their attitude depended on the different circumstances they found in those territories; but the discussion of the related problems would exceed the scope of this paper.

However, no matter how useful this trade could be and was for a number of countries, in the Turk-Chinese part of the exchange it was the Turks who had primary interests in maintaining permanent connections, since China was not a natural market for their livestock, or at least not in direct proportion to the supply. From the Chinese point of view, silk was but the cost of peace, and they also felt the mere demands of the Turks on silk a kind of «robbery», — in fact sometimes more or less rightly. By regular military actions the Turks succeeded in forcing China to continue this barter also in those cases when it was disadvantageous for China. Naturally in this barter relation, enforced by war, the quantities taking part in the exchange were determined mostly by the proportions of military powers, of fear and tactics (hence the unproportionately enormous quantities of silk sent by China at several occassions to the Turks), — and thus trade of this kind could be advantageous first of all for the enforcing party. And as trade in China was subjected to imperial permission, especially in case of selling silk in a bigger quantity and to foreigners, — every Turk attempt at barter led to a military collision or at least to the hostility of the Turks and the Chinese Empire as a whole.

The opposition of the Chinese court toward the «Barbarians» is well reflected in the history of the Turk-Chinese relations even in the second half of the 6th century, when China — divided into several parts, suffering from civil wars, being at the mercy of foreign armies — tried to be on good terms with the people living in the neighbourhood. The fact that every concession given to foreigners was but a temporary compromise from the Chinese point of view, can be inferred from the course of the events too in the period examined. Sometimes even the principles of the official Chinese standpoint are formulated, as e.g. in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* (at the beginning of the *Sung*-period, when anti-alien feelings were expressed more openly than earlier, for example in the

T'ang-period when the main sources used here were written); in *chüan* cmxcic, chapter 互市 *Hu-shih* «Barter-marketing», 11 725 b we read as follows:

«Our rulers, when governing the Barbarians of the four directions, now used the method to treat them kindly in order to win their hearts (懷柔之道), and then they used the principle to control them by restraint (羈縻之義). By this method they quieted the borderland and calmed China; and thus, establishing barter-trade, i.e. by the method of treating (the Barbarians) kindly and controlling (them) by restraint, we retarded (緩[77]) them. We have pursued this policy from the beginning of the *Han*-period. Then we appointed the market-places (走集之地) and enacted the laws concerning the (frontier) passes and markets (關市之法). In this way, by bribes, we gained their confidence [i.e. that of the Barbarians]. Among (our) measures of defence this was one of the tactics to pacify the Barbarians (和戎之一術).»

As can be seen from the whole chapter concerned of the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, as well as from the quoted introductory passage alone, the treatment of the Turks in China was not at all exceptional. The barter-trade was going on with the other foreigners — nomads and non-nomads —on the same terms and under similar circumstances, also in the period of the hegemony of the Turks on China's borders. Naturally the participation of the Turks in this enforced trade was corresponding with their power position. Approximate information can be obtained about the role the Turks played in this imperial-royal-princely exchange of gifts e.g. from the chapters cmlxviii—cmlxx 朝貢 *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» of the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*. From an accounting of the data of these chapters we can conclude that during the time passed after the first appearance of the Turks in the Chinese border region (about 545) till the last visits of the foreign delegations in the *Sui* court (in 616), the number of the gift-bearer Turk delegations must have been nearly one fifth of the number of all the other foreign delegations which delivered «tribute» to the officials of the imperial court. (Of course, the quantity of the transported goods cannot be estimated on the basis of this list, and the specification of the presents is not possible either, except for a few occasional cases.)[78]

The aversion to foreigners did not concern the goods brought by them, as several foreign wares, considered exotics in China, were popular and sought after at the same time when trade was opposed (at least by the authorities). Numerous luxury goods received approval when they were brought to the court as gifts (without a request of recompense), but when they were offered for trade, they met with opposition.[79] The dignitaries of the court saw a loss of prestige even in the mere possibility that China could seem to need something from the «Barbarians». That is why market-places were used even for the purpose — among other purposes, including trade too, when it happened to be granted — to demonstrate China's power and richness, to dazzle the foreigners. (It happened so e.g. in 610, when the «Western Barbarians» received the

permission to enter the market of *Lo-yang* in order to trade, but there a feast was prepared for them instead, the soil was covered with mats and the trees were bound around with silk, that all this would shame the foreigners, who wanted to add something to China's abundance.[80])

The Chinese authorities could make another use of the market-places, if they had to yield them to the foreigners, namely to get information from the merchants about their country, about the routes leading there etc., and these pieces of information were gathered from time to time and were edited on imperial decree in order to help the ruler and his officials to defend China against the foreigners.[81] (Naturally posterity must be grateful even for informations such as these, if they were preserved, but they decreased in value by the fact that they were not verified by personal experiences, and it is worth mentioning that generally the necessity of verification did not even arise.)

Anyhow, the trade with foreigners in China was not looked upon favorably, to tell the truth, in case of nomadic peoples sometimes with good reasons, in consequence of the one-sided supply of livestock and also in consequence of the arbitrary methods the nomadic peoples adopted when intending to trade with China. (True, they were forced to use these methods in order to find markets, partly because of the opposition of the Chinese authorities, but this does not alter the case.)

China — being a large-size self-supporting empire from ancient times and insisting on her well-organized autarky based on agriculture — did not need the livestock offered from year to year by the Turks and other nomads, or at least not in the quantity offered, and sometimes not the species in supply were wanted in China. But even if the Chinese could have used and would have needed the wares of the stockbreader nomads, the authorities did not dare to accept them for fear of the usual consequences: the unproportionately great demands, following the delivery of the presents.[82]

The Turks and the other livestock-breeder nomads offered for trade in the first place horses, sheep, cattles and camels. When judging the attitude of the Chinese authorities to the nomads, naturally we have to take into consideration, that China had enough of cattles and sheep;[83] the use of the camels was not widely popular in China (though a considerable number was needed in certain periods);[84] and the common horses of the nomadic peoples were needed only in limited number, partly because in certain times riding on horseback became a privilege in China,[85] partly because the Chinese preferred the taller, largebodied horses of Central Asia, suitable to be harnessed, to the smaller saddle-horses of the nomads.[86] Moreover, sometimes the Chinese were forced to give so great quantities of silk in return that the temporary advantages of this kind of trade could be almost neglected.[87] As more and more silk was needed in order to fulfil the demands of the foreigners, more and more silk was demanded by the court from the common people in tax; the discontent of the Chinese

people increased in this way too, and thus the nomadic peoples by their constant demand on silk contributed indirectly to the economic and social troubles of the Chinese Empire, — as it was repeated several times by the Chinese poets in this epoch and in later periods as well.

Thus beside the traditional aversion, the imperial court had also other reasons for upholding its reserve or even hostility against the trade with the nomads, and these reasons seem to explain and justify this policy from the Chinese economic viewpoint. But it turned out again and again that the economic considerations were of secondary importance for the Chinese officials, and the repeated complaints of the economic disadvantages of the foreign relations might be considered pretexts rather than reasons for the measures of the official circles. This is well shown by the unexpected prohibitions on the most marketable Chinese wares, the sale of which could have meant the most advantageous trade business for China too. Prohibitions were declared in certain periods on the sale to foreigners of gold, silver, silk etc., and last but not least, on the sale of iron and of articles made of iron. It can be easily understood that the export of iron was hindered, with the aim that China's neighbours, who could soon become China's enemies, should not obtain weapons from China or make weapons from Chinese iron. But the prohibitions concerned the most peaceful goods as well, e.g. embroideries, pearls or even yaktails, and in these cases no other reason can be suspected than the mere fact that these goods were sought for by foreigners.[88]

The arbitrary methods of the nomads, demanding permissions of trade, cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the foreign trade policy of the Chinese authorities either, because they assumed similar attitudes also in the cases when peaceful tradesmen came who did not demand trade relations on horseback and with weapon in hand. The measures of the bureaucracy taken in order to control or to diminish the trade with foreigners do not seem to be directly connected with the momentary behaviour of the foreigners, but with China's power position instead, and with the inner power situation of the Chinese bureaucratic apparatus. Therefore — it seems — the main line of the official Chinese policy in the foreign-Chinese relations is to be explained primarily by internal reasons, i.e. by the traditionally and intentionally closed economy of China, maintained by a strong bureaucratic power. (The temporary — no matter how short or long — changes of policy of the official Chinese circles towards the foreigners in the different historical periods, however, can be explained naturally by internal or external reasons respectively.)

Aware of the power of the bureaucratic world in China, we must not discount that in this case too, the official standpoint was of decisive importance. The trade itself had a despised or at least an ambiguous position in China, in the second half of the 6th century too,[89] but the trade with foreigners was even more disapproved: it was strictly controlled (when allowed), opposed and restricted,

if not explicitly prohibited. Especially the trade between the Chinese officials of high rank and the «Barbarians» was hindered; the fate of several high dignitaries shows that although trade was not considered a crime, the trade with foreigners was sometimes seriously punished. [E.g. at the end of the *Sui* dynasty, 宇文化及 *Yü-wên Hua-chi* and his brother 宇文智及 *Yü-wên Chih-chi* could hardly avoid the penalty of death, when it turned out that they — «infringing the prohibition (違禁)» — had trade connections with the Turks.[90]] Obviously in these cases the concealing and misappropriation of the income, obtained by trade and due to the court, meant the main crime of the officials; and there were many other local and temporary prohibitions too on certain goods, places etc., which — in the case of their infringement — involved so many countermeasures, that they made large-scale private trade practically impossible.[91]

In spite of all these, Chinese-foreign trade was going on, not only there and then, where and when it was granted by an imperial decree, but in many places and without interruption, — namely between the foreigners and the population of the Chinese border region (which — due to the unfixedness of the Chinese border-lines — meant a considerable territory). Though the quantity of the goods changed in this way could not be significant for the whole economy of the huge Chinese Empire, this trade relation cannot be overlooked, as it helped in spreading certain articles from China into other countries and vice versa. Both parties were interested in this trade, as the Chinese population bought willingly «exotic articles» offered by foreigners (and that is why foreign tradesmen tried to enter the country and, if possible, to settle in China, not only in the borderland, but also inside the country). Nevertheless, the trade connections established in this peaceful way could develop only to a certain limited extent, because every business, including local trade, too, when proved to be financially advantageous, was immediately monopolized by the government (and soon afterwards, on the places which were officially controlled, the bureaucratic difficulties, put in the foreign merchants' way, made this local trade wasted slow by slow).[92]

Finally, all this local trade of the Chinese inhabitants of the border regions with the foreigners, was a result mainly of the distance of these regions from the centre of the empire; it existed and developed first of all in those times when the power of the central authorities could not reach and control the more outlying parts of the Chinese Empire. The limits of the development of a trade like this, were determined by the fact that it could exist only in the geographical peripheries of China, on the peripheries of the Chinese economy and society, and, as a matter of fact, despite the whole Chinese bureaucratic state machinery, which, however, always succeeded in overcoming all the «irregularities» gaining ground from time to time in China (but only to a certain extent and for a certain period of time).

That is why, after all, in the half century of the Turk-Chinese connections examined above, China represented the passive side, doing her best to keep the Chinese Empire hermetically closed to foreign influences (not always successfully, but it is another question), — and the active role in this connection must have been played by the nomads, i.e. by the stockbreeder rider-nomads of the Turk Empire, who went to China on horseback with their herds to barter them at any cost, even at cost of war.[93]

When trying to summarize in conclusion what the above analyzed trade relations had meant for China and for the rider-nomad empires — for that of the Turks in our case — related to her, we must, for the sake of clarity, neglect several collateral circumstances which might be far from being unimportant from another point of view. This means that we try to limit our examination of the subject to the most essential phenomena related to trade, not only because the rest of the facts needs a separate study, but for the reason that the above-mentioned phenomena brought into light from the raw material of historical sources call attention to a few vitally important relations.

China in the studied period, as we have seen, was led by mere political-tactical considerations, when, from time to time, — but mostly for not a long time, — imperial permissions were granted to legalize foreign-Chinese barter-trade exercised on her territory. Since China took small or no interest in the special way of trade she was forced into by the nomads, she did not realize its possible advantages. Not only the larger exploitation of these advantages was abandoned in China, but even the sporadic spontaneous initiatives were turned down by the rigidly negative official attitude. The court did not regard this exchange as any more significant, than, for example the diplomatic exchange of presents between the emperor and foreign rulers. What it realized was at best the shift of proportions unfavourable for China, in which it sought justification for the traditional Chinese policy of isolation. Although there were efforts to change this policy, these isolated attempts were doomed to failure. The main reasons for the seclusion, i.e. the most characteristic internal features of China,[94] namely: the economy based on autarky and an omnipotent bureaucracy willing to conserve it at all costs, prevented China's foreign relations and those new, perhaps stimulating experiences gainable through them from advancing the country in the direction of the change and development of its social order or economy. On the contrary, these relations, by their very nature of compulsion and therefore of questionable advantages led, after shorter or longer interludes, to a further stiffening of the traditional anti-foreign policy.

For the Turks, and for other livestock-breeder rider-nomads as well, trade was nevertheless inevitably necassary, not for mere subsistence in the strict sense of the word, but for getting rid of their surplus animals, i.e. in times of their prosperity. Then — or at least primarily then — it was the role of

trade to exchange livestock, the surplus of their essentially onesided economy (both the «surplus» and the one-sidedness being a result of their successful efforts to trade), for other goods, mostly for those suitable for a further exchange. Thus for subsistence, or rather for maintaining their existence in an unchanged form, they needed a permanent market, and in this sense they were dependent on the economy of their neighbourhood. At the same time they made themselves useful and even irreplaceable by acting — in consequence of their geographical position and of their mobility, — though under necessity, as intermediaries between certain distant or otherwise isolated parts of Eurasia. (Consider, for example, their extremely important role in the China of self-imposed isolation!). This being at the same time the most frequent if not the only form of exchange of goods between distant regions, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the large profits gained on this intermediate trade made an important contribution to the prosperity and growing prestige of the ridernomadic tribes and tribal confederacies, to the organization (or reorganization after disintegration) and expansion of the great rider-nomad empires.

This barter, which had initially met mutual needs and became disproportionate and so much specific only later, thus proved to be actually useful in the economy of Eurasia (as an intermediary between different cultures, mainly between material cultures) and in any case it was vital for the pastoral peoples of the steppe. Therefore, when running short of natural markets — which, because of the one-sided offer, the nomads frequently could not find, or at least not for any long time — they had to use armed force in order to create exchange opportunities. This means that the possibility and even the necessity of war were basically included in this exchange form, that is, it needed an easily organizable or even constant army. Thus the military organization of the nomads and the nomadic life organized in a military form were closely connected to the way of trade they practiced, which demanded frequent military actions and brought about that external pecularity of the «warlike» rider-nomads which was their most distinctive and also most dangerous feature in the eyes of their exchange-partner enemies: an almost constant state of war, or at least constant alertness for it. This in itself makes it clear enough that we must not overestimate those «feudal» characteristics, or rather those features suggesting feudal bonds, which occur in the nomadic military organization, in the militarily organized empire, or in the relation between conqueror and conquered, etc. (See e.g. Appendix I.) For an apt interpretation of these features we must consider their place in the whole of the organization, which is to be all the more emphasized, since this organization, in spite of all its progressive, seemeingly promotive features, is dependent on the economical function of wars, with the decline of which it loses its original character and importance.

Consequently, as far as the military force of this organization is strong enough to obtain and keep the market, no social-economical change is necessary. Under such circumstances it is obvious, that the great rider-nomad empires, — necessarily recreating their basically unchanged living conditions, — could exist only as long as on one hand their ground of existence, and moreover their material capacity — apparently far above their own output — were justified by their intermediary role and by their monpolistic position in the trade of Eurasia; and on the other hand, as long as their military superiority could preserve the conditions of their specific way of exchange, i.e. by being able to obtain a market for any quantity of their surplus livestock. Thus it is clear that in the modern times, when, for different reasons, the main trade routes were shifted to the Oceans, the military organization, having lost its economical function, kept existing and even growing, having an end in itself (this happened already in the Mongolian Age, but became apparent with the heirs of the Mongolian Empire); and in this way, the extreme ravages of war gave opportunity to the exaggeration and generalization of the «civilization-destroying» part of the nomads and to the arbitrary application of this trivial generalization to earlier historical periods. But this very same legendary awe-inspiring military power (which, as it is widely known, had spread its own legend on purpose) forced the surrounding states into successful defence, — soon they could even expand at the expense of the nomads, — and with that the old roads of the rider-nomads toward prosperity were closed for ever.

Thus the analysis of the economical structure of the Turk Empire even in its rise and first golden age — when all the conditions favouring the rider-nomads were still in full power — reveals those threads which led straight to its ultimate fall, and those reasons which are to a great extent responsible that rider-nomad pastoral livestock-breeding combined with intermediate trade proved in the long run, in spite of all its earlier significance, to be a deadlock in the life of the Asian and East-European steppes.

NOTES

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List of abbreviations used in this paper:

Chinese sources:

CS — *Chou-shu*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* IX, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

CTS — *Chiu T'ang-shu*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* XII, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

HTS — *Hsin T'ang-shu*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* XIII, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

PCS — *Pei Ch'i-shu*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* IX, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

PS — *Pei-shih*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* IX, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

SS — *Sui-shu*: *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ shih* IX, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Peking 1958.

TCTC — *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien* I—X (with 考異 *K'ao-i* and 胡三省 *Hu San-hsing*'s commentary), Ku-chi ch'u-pan-shê, Peking 1956.

TFYK — *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* I—XII, Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking 1960.

THY — *T'ang hui-yao*: *Ts'ung-shu-chi-ch'êng ch'u-pien*, Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Shanghai 1936.

TT — *T'ung-tien*: 九通全書 *Chiu-t'ung ch'üan-shu*, 貫吾齋 Kuan-wu-chai, 1901.

(In the quotations the Roman numerals give the number of the *chüan* «chapter», the Arabic numerals indicate the page of the passages referred to.)

Other abbreviations:

Balázs, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* — S. Balázs, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der T'ang-Zeit (618—906): Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Ostasiatische Studien* XXXIV (1931), 1—92; XXXV (1932), 1—73; XXXVI (1933), 1—62.

Bičurin — N. Ya. Bičurin, *Sobranie svedenij o narodach, obitavšich v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena* I—III, Izdateljstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR (Moscow—Leningrad 1950—1953).

Boodberg, *Isocolometry* — P. Boodberg, *Notes on isocolometry in early Chinese accounts of Barbarians: Oriens* X (1957), 119—127.

Chavannes, *Turcs occid.* — E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Pbg. 1903).

Franke, *Geschichte* — O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches. Eine Darstellung seiner Entstehung, seines Wesens und seiner Entwicklung bis zur neuesten Zeit* I—V, Verlag von Walter de Gruyter et Co. (Berlin—Leipzig 1930—1952).

Harmatta, *Byzantinoturcica* — J. Harmatta, *Byzantinoturcica*: *Acta Antiqua* X (1962), 131—150.

Hoang, *Concordance* — P. Hoang, *Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne*: *Variétés Sinologiques* XXIX (Shanghai 1910).

Julien, *Documents* — St. Julien, *Documents historiques sur les Tou-kioue (Turcs). Extraits du Pien-i-tien, et traduits du chinois par —*: *Journal Asiatique*, VIe série III (1864), 325—367, 490—549; IV (1864), 200—242, 391—430, 453—477.

Liu Mau-tsai — Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)* I—II, Otto Harrassowitz (Wiesbaden 1958).

Malov, *Pamiatniki* — S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pisjmennosti. Teksty i issledovanija. Izdateljstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow—Leningrad 1951).

Morohashi — 諸橋轍次 Morohashi Tetsuji, 大漢和辭典 *Dai kan-wa jiten*. 大修館書店 Dai-shūkan shoten (Tokyo 1960).

Pelliot, *Neuf notes* — P. Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*: *T'oung Pao* XXVI (1929), 201—265.

Pulleyblank, *A Sogdian colony* — E. G. Pulleyblank, *A Sogdian colony in Inner Mongolia*: *T'oung Pao* XLI (1952), 317—356.

Schafer, *T'ang exotics* — E. H. Schafer, *The golden peaches of Samarkand. A study of T'ang exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963), University of California Press.
Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften* — V. Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei in Übersetzung und mit Einleitung*: *ZDMG, N.F.* III (1924), 121—175.
Thomsen, *Inscriptions* — V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées par —*: *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* V (1896).
Thomsen, *Turcica* — V. Thomsen, *Turcica. Etudes concernant l'interpretation des inscriptions turques de la Mongolie et de la Sibérie*: *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* XXXVII (1916).

[1] Turks, i.e. 突厥 *T'u-chüeh*; this Chinese name seems to be the transcription of the word *Türk* of the Orkhon inscriptions (instead of the form *Türküt* suggested by Marquart and Pelliot before), as interpreted on the basis of other Chinese transcriptions by E. G. Pulleyblank (*The Chinese name for the Turks*: *JAOS* LXXXV (1965): 2, 121—125). The name *Türk* harmonizes with the other contemporary transcriptions of the name of the Turks, cf. Harmatta, *Byzantinoturcica*, 131—150. By the name «Turk», here I mean the tribes (alliance of tribes or peoples) of the Turk Empire (552—744) as a whole, without respect to their language or to their ethnic characteristics. We may do so not only because further analysis would otherwise run into serious difficulties (if it were possible at all, especially in the earliest period of the Turk history), but also because generally all the subjects of the Turk Empire were but *t'u-chüeh* «Turk» in the Chinese historical sources, without any further distinction.

[2] About the Chinese historiographers' stereotypes on Barbarians see Boodberg, *Isocolometry*.

[3] Concerning the earlier period of Turk history, from the Chinese sources we may learn — beside a few pieces of information of their mythic origin and some other obscure details, — that the tribe named already 突厥 *T'u-chüeh* and led by the clan 阿史那 *A-shih-na*, fled to the *Juan-juan* Empire (蠕蠕 *Juan-juan*, 茹茹 *Ju-ju*, 柔然 *Jou-jan*) in the time of the emperor 太武帝 *T'ai-wu-ti* (424—451) of the dynasty *Later Wei*, and the Turks lived for generations at the meuntain *Chin-shan* (Altai), at its southern part (PS ic, 1316a; SS lxxxiv, 831b; TT cxcvii, 45b; without date: CS l, 424b; HTS ccxv 上, 1499a; the TCTC clix 4926 informs us about the foresaid data, without date, after a report of the first Chinese delegation sent to the Turks in the 11th year of the 大同 *Ta-t'ung* period, 545). The PS, SS and TT connects the appearance of the Turks in the Altai region with the defeat of the state 沮渠 *Chü-ch'ü* (439; cf. Franke II, 197—199). But even if we suppose the presence of the Turks somewhere west of this place in an earlier period (e.g. in the 4th century), we cannot expect competent and more detailed information about them in the Chinese sources until the time they got directly connected with China, namely from the years not much prior to their gaining of independence in 552. The passage of the TT cxcvii, 46a, reporting about the beginning of the Turk prosperity at the end of the dynasty Later *Wei* (後魏之末), probably does not concern the year 534 (when the state *Wei* fell into two parts: Western and Easter *Wei*) as Liu Mau-tsai seems to think in a comment (II, 490, n. 19); the parallel passage of the SS lxxxiv, 831b indicates the time of 伊利 *I-li* (*Il*) *qayan* in the same way, but then immediately relates his attack against the *T'ieh-lê* tribes (in 551 and in the time preceding 551), thus it seems obvious that «Later» *Wei* means here only *Wei* (up to 556?) without taking into consideration the division of the state, more likely its western part; the PS ic, 1316a writes more correctly: «at the end of *Wei* (魏之末)», — i.e. both the TT and the SS begin the very history of the Turks in the late forties of the 6th century. The only mention about them which could be considered somewhat earlier, can be found in the biography

of 宇文測 *Yü-wên Ts'ê*, prince (公) of 廣川 *Kuang-ch'uan* (cf. CS xxvii, 210a and PS lvii, 827b; the former biography is partly translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 28—29). There we find an inroad of the Turks in the 12th month of the 8th year of the 大統 *Ta-t'ung* period (23th of December, 542, — 2oieth of January, 543, according to Hoang, *Concordance*; Liu Mau-tsai I, 28 and 433 dates this inroad from 542); but this attack is not mentioned neither in the Turk chapters nor in the annals of the dynastic histories, and it is not registered in the TCTC either (unless a passage concerning the year 545, mentioning Turk attacks against the state *Wei*, refers to an earlier period, cf. Note 6). Beside this dubious date we are informed about the period before the first delegations, i.e. before 545, in a very laconic way, *cf.* the following notes. — Further on, too, in this paper the dates are given according to Hoang, *Concordance*.

[4] 土門 (HTS ccxv 上, 1499a: 吐門) *T'u-mên*, a member of the *A-shih-na* clan, was the eldest son of 土務 *T'u-wu* ~ 大葉護 *Ta-yeh-hu*, the «Great *Yabyu*» (at least according to the HTS ccxv 下, 1505b; the *Great Yabyu* is mentioned in the SS lxxxiv, 831b too, but only as an ancestor of the Turks); see the genealogy of the *A-shih-na* clan in Liu Mau-tsai II, Appendix. Being the first *qayan* of the Turk Empire, *T'u-mên* or *I-li k'o-han*, *qayan* of the independent people (*il* of the Orkhon inscriptions), was very probably identical with the great ancestor of the (Eastern-Northern) Turks, i.e. *Bumïn*, the brother of 室點蜜 *Shih-tien-mi* ~ *Ištämi*, ancestor of the Western Turks (cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions* 97, 135; Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften* 123, 145; Thomsen, *Turcica* 18—19; Malov, *Pamiatniki* 21).

[5] This report about the first appearance of the Turks at the Chinese borders can be found in the CS 1, 425a and in the PS ic, 1316b; it is quoted by the 外臣部 *Wai-ch'ên-pu* «Foreign Subjects' Chapter» of the TFYK, once without date, in the chapter *Chung-tsu* «Tribes and Clans» (cmlvi, 11252a—b) and once in the chapter *T'ung-hao* «Connection and Friendship» (cmlxxx, 11509b), dated from the 11th year of the *Ta-t'ung* period (後周太祖西魏大統: the strange date of the TFYK reflects the fact that the replacement of the state Western *Wei* by *Chou* was more or less a change in name only). The latter passage is followed by the report of the first Chinese delegation sent to the Turks, and thus it refers to a period prior to 545.

The Turk chapters of the CS and SS were translated in full by Bičurin and Liu Mau-tsai, the reports of the Annals on Turks in the CS, PCS, PS and SS by Liu Mau-tsai. As they are generally accessible and I agree with them in the main points, new translations — with a few exceptions — are not given. As a rule, when quoting source-materials, references are made to the original texts only. References to the translations are made only in special cases.

[6] The emperor *Wên-ti* of the westernmost Chinese state, Western *Wei*, sent a 胡 *Hu* to the Turks as a delegate, a certain 安諾槃陀 *An No-p'an-t'o* of 酒泉 *Chiu-ch'üan* (in the province Kansu); as he was designated as a 胡 *Hu* «Western Barbarian», and as his family name was 安 *An*, he was probably of Sogdian origin, see Pulleyblank, *A Sogdian colony* 318—323. — This delegate was sent in the 11th year of the 大統 *Ta-t'ung* period, i.e. between the 28th of January, 545, and the 15th of February, 546 (cf. CS 1, 425a; PS ic, 1316b; TFYK cmlxxx *T'ung-hao* «Connection and Friendship» 11509b). (Bičurin I, 228 is mistaken in placing this event to 535.) The TCTC clix, 4926 relates about the travel of *An No-p'an-t'o* between the 9th of March (*kêng-shên* day of the 2nd month) and the 13th of April (*i-wei* day of the 3rd month) in the 11th year of the 大同 *Ta-t'ung* period: 545; but we find there one more note about the Turks: «It was in that time that their chieftain (酋長) *T'u-mên* became strong and great, and they attacked several times the western borderland of *Wei*.» Beside this passage we are informed about these early attacks of the Turks only in the biography of *Yü-wên Ts'ê*, see Note 3.

[7] *T'u-mên qaγan* sent presents to the Western *Wei* court in the 12th year of the 大統 *Ta-t'ung* period: 16th of February, 546—5th of February, 547 (CS 1, 425a; PS ic, 1316b; without date: in the TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b). (Bicurin I, 228 is mistaken in dating this event from 536.)

[8] In the period in question the Turks were connected with the following states on China's territory: The successors of the state *Wei*, ruling over the whole North-China until 534 (Later *Wei* ~ Northern *Wei* ~ *T'o-pa Wei* ~ *Yüan Wei*), i.e. Western *Wei* (535—556, its capital was *Ch'ang-an* in Shenhsi) and Eastern *Wei* (534—549, its capital was 鄴 *Yeh* in Honan). Western *Wei* was replaced by Northern *Chou* (from 557 until 580, when it was defeated by *Sui*), and the state Eastern *Wei* was replaced by Northern *Ch'i* (from 550 until 577, when it was defeated and conquered by *Chou*). From 581 on, the state *Sui* grew stronger and stronger, and at the end of the same decade *Sui* unified China (its capital was first *Ch'ang-an*, then 大興 *Ta-hsing* in Shenhsi). — Meanwhile China's southern part was ruled by the states *Liang* (502—556) and *Ch'ên* (557—588) successively; in 588 *Ch'ên* was defeated by *Sui*.

[9] The Chinese historiographer's intention to keep in mind the imaginary unity of the empire as «China» (even in the periods when only smaller separate states existed instead) is reflected several times in our main sources too (written at the beginning of the *T'ang* dynasty, unifying China again!), e.g. speaking about 中國 «China» in the CS 1, 425a and PS ic, 1316b, although at the first trade attempts of the Turks obviously the state Western *Wei* is concerned; or writing about the time of *Mu-kan* 木杆 [~**Buqan*, *cf.* Thomsen, *Turcica* 19] and his successor, the CS 1, 427a and the PS ic, 1318b mentions that the Turks wanted to embarrass and to threaten China: 中夏, although in that period the Turks were closely connected with the *Chou* court, and beside *Chou* they had connections only with *Ch'i*. Therefore, when reading about the attacks and other hostilities of the foreigners against China, we have to take into consideration this *pars pro toto*— aspect of the Chinese sources; i.e. sometimes an expedition of a foreign people reported as an «attack», can be an attack against one of the Chinese states, but at the same time it could have meant help for another, and so it is not necessarily to be considered as a sign of hostility towards China as a whole. (Cf. the role of the Turks in the war of *Chou* against *Ch'i* in 563—564, see later.)

[10] To facilitate the survey, the events are mentioned as a rule under the heading of the year in which they took place, although naturally the turn of the year is but an arbitrary boundary of the events. — The summary of this period, from point of view of China, can be found in Franke, *Geschichte* II, 233—250, 310—312, where the events are ramifying according to the history of the separate states, as given in the Chinese sources. [In the history of the Turks by L. N. Gumilev (*Drevnie tjurki*, Izdateljstvo «Nauka», Moscow 1967) the data of the Chinese sources are interpreted on the basis of the well-known text editions: Bičurin; Julien, *Documents*; Liu Mau-tsai etc.]

[11] The expression 繒絮 can be considered a compound designation for 'silk' («coarse silk + fine silk»: 繒纊 is one of the explanations suggested by Morohashi). Julien, *Documents* III, 329 writes «silk» (but by mistake the translation reads as « . . .pour vendre de la soie . . .»); both Bičurin I, 222 and Liu Mau-tsai I, 6 try to specify the silk in question (« . . . (покупать) хлопчатку и шелковые ткани» and «Seide . . . und Florettseide» respectively), but very likely the designations of the gifts, when they are not registered in a detailed list, may not be taken literally; besides, the traditional presents of silk given to the Turks are described mostly with the same expressions which were used in similar cases as early as in the time of the *Hsiung-nu*s and later on as well. In this paper «silk» will be mentioned generally without further specification.

[12] Cf. Note 3 and Note 6.

[13] Cf. Note 7.

[14] Concerning the problems of the *T'ieh-lê* tribes see E. G. Pulleyblank, *Some remarks on Toquzoghuz problem*: *UAJb.* XXVIII (1956), 35—36, and see the references there cited.

[15] After *T'u-mên*'s delegation to the Western *Wei* court, the first date we have about the Turks is that of the fulfilment of *T'u-mên*'s request: the emperor *Wên-ti* of Western *Wei* gave the princess 長樂 *Ch'ang-lo* to the Turk *qayan* as a wife (*qatun*) in the 6th month of the 17th year in the 大統 *Ta-t'ung* period, i.e. between the 19th of July and the 16th of August, 551, cf. CS 1, 425a; PS ic, 1316b. Immediately after these reports we are informed about *Wei Wên-ti*'s death and about *T'u-mên*'s delegation bringing horses to the court as a token of condolence; and the two latter events are told to have happened «in the same year». But *Wei Wên-ti* died earlier than the time when the princess was sent to the *qayan*'s residence: he died in the 3rd month of the 17th year of the *Ta-t'ung* period, i.e. between the 23rd of March — 20th of April, 551, cf. CS ii, 22a; PS ix, 135b, — according to the TCTC this happened on the 28th of March, 551, i.e. on the *kêng-hsü* day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year in the *Ta-pao* period, cf. TCTC clxiv, 5063. Some other reports do not give precise dates. (SS lxxxiv, 831b: 後魏之末, and PS ic, 1316a: 魏之末, where the period about 550 is concerned, cf. Note 3.) The chronological difficulty is solved both by the TFYK and the TCTC by attributing everything concerning the departure of the princess to 宇文泰 *Yü-wên T'ai*, considered the first ruler of Northern *Chou*, called 周太祖 *Chou T'ai-tsu* and 文帝 *Wên-ti* as well (although he did not rule as an emperor, he was only a powerful minister, 丞相 *ch'êng-hsiang* in that time, but practically he held the imperial power). The TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b tells the story of these years in *Chou T'ai-tsu*'s time, and the TCTC clxiv, 5069—5070 reports even the war with the *T'ieh-lê* tribes, *T'u-mên*'s delegation requesting a *Juan-juan* (*Jou-jan*) wife, the refusal and the killing of the *Juan-juan* delegation at the same occasion when gives information about *T'u-mên*'s request of a Chinese wife and about the consent of the *ch'êng-hsiang* of *Wei*, *Yü-wên T'ai*, i.e. at the end of the 6th month of the 2nd year in the *Ta-pao* period, after the *kêng-wu* day (15th of August). Thus, in harmony with the date of the CS 1, 425a and PS ic, 1316b, the date quoted here, though not indicated, could be the 16th of August, 551 (as that is the last day of the 6th month), — but presumably it was the date of the start of the Chinese princess to the court of *T'u-mên* ~ *Bumïn qayan*. (By the way, neither *Wei Wên-ti*'s Annals, nor *Chou Wên-ti*'s biography contains this date. It was the Turk war of independence against the *Juan-juan*s which was recorded first in the imperial annals; see later.)

We are informed about the sequence of the events (recorded probably later on) in the Turk chapters of the CS and PS (*loc. cit.*) as follows: a Chinese princess was promised to the Turk *qayan*, soon the emperor died, and a present of condolence was sent by the Turks. The only precise date from this period must have been connected later on with the imperial consent, and that was why the chronological order was disturbed. But when a princess was asked from the Chinese court, mostly at least two dates were given: the day of the arrival of the delegation and the day of departure of the princess (sometimes the day of the imperial consent, too, was indicated), and therefore we may suppose that there was an earlier Turk delegation, asking for a Chinese wife for *T'u-mên*, and at that time the princess was already promised to him; probably that is why *T'u-mên* sent gifts when the emperor died. (Obviously the Chinese historians did not have direct evidence of this period.)

In this way we can reconstruct the events:
in 547—550 the Turks defeated the *T'ieh-lê* tribes, and when their request of a *Juan-juan* princess was refused, they broke with the *Juan-juan*s. In 551, but before the 28th of March, 551, a Turk delegation went to the Western *Wei* court and asked for a Chinese princess. The request was granted. On the 28th of March, the emperor *Wên-ti* of Western *Wei* died, and 200 horses were sent by the Turks to the court as a present of condolence. Finally, in the time of *Wei Wên-ti*'s successor, in the 6th month (perhaps on the 16th of August, 551) *Ch'ang-lo* princess started to the residence of *T'u-mên*.

[16] This attack of the Turks against the *Juan-juan*s is the first Turk action mentioned in the imperial annals: PCS iv, 35b; PS vii, 105b. It is dated, according to the calendar of Northern *Ch'i*, (both in the PS vii, 105b and in the TFYK cmxcv *Chiao-ch'in* «Battles and Attacks» 11684,) from the 2nd month of the 3rd year in the 天保 *T'ien-pao* period, i.e. 11th of March — 9th of April, 552; *Ch'i* was directly concerned in this event, as a part of the defeated *Juan-juan*s fled to *Ch'i*'s territory. According to the PS ic, 1316b, the war took place (more likely: it began) in the 1st month of the 1st year of the emperor *Fei-ti* of Western *Wei*, i.e. between the 11th of February — loth of March, 552. The TCTC clxiv, 5077—5078 relates about this war between the *ping-shên* day of the 1st month and the *kêng-tzŭ* day of the 2nd month in the 1st year of the 承聖 *Ch'êng-shêng* period (8th—12th of March, 552).

[17] *T'u-mên* ~ *Il qayan* must have been on good terms with *Ch'i* too beside the state Western *Wei*, as according to the PS ic, 1317a he changed delegates with *Ch'i*.

[18] The death of *Il qayan* is not dated, but as the passage reporting about it can be read right after his victory against the *Juan-juan*s, dated from the beginning of the year 552 (see Note 16), one would think that the *qayan* died after the war, in 552. S. Julien thought so on the basis of the *Pien-i-tien* (*Documents*, III, 330), Chavannes, *Turcs occid.* 48 refers to him; but Bičurin I, 228 and Liu Mau-tsai II, 494 quote *Szŭ-ma Kuang*'s date (553), Bičurin without comment, Liu Mau-tsai with doubt. The TCTC clxv, 5097 reports about these events really between the *chia-ch'ên* day of the 2nd month — *ping-shên* day of the 4th month in the 2nd year of the *Ch'êng-shêng* period, i.e. between the 11th of March — 2nd of May, 553, but obviously because of the lack of the date; *Il qayan*'s death must have been connected with the single precise date preserved, with that of the generous present of *K'o-lo* (**Qara*)*qayan* (mentioned by the CS l, 425a—b, see below), recorded in the *Chou* court in the 3rd month of the 2nd year of the emperor *Fei-ti* (30th of March — 28th of April, 553). This practice of the Chinese historians can be noticed — like in the other sources — in the TCTC too, and thus it seems probable that *Szŭ-ma Kuang* did not believe at all that the events enumerated in the passage in question had all happened within a month. — On the basis of the excerpt quoted from the TCTC, supposed that it is to be placed within the 3rd month, one should imagine that within a month — or even in a shorter period — *I-li* (*Il*)*qayan* died; (after the mourning) his son, *K'o-lo* (*Qara*) became the new *qayan*; he sent 50 000 horses to the Western *Wei* court, and his present arrived; he attacked and defeated the *Juan-juan*s, then he died and *Mu-kan* (**Buqan*) succeeded him on the throne. One can wonder if all this could happen within such a short period. — Consequently: *Szŭ-ma Kuang* had not have more data at his disposal from this period than we have, and thus there is no reason to suppose that *Il qayan* died later and not in 552 as it seems probable from our texts.

[19] During the short period between *I-li* (*Il*) *qayan* and *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qayan* (the former died in 552, the latter became *qayan* in 553) we are informed about a certain 科羅 *K'o-lo* (*Qara*) *qayan*, named 乙息記 *I-hsi-chi*, son of *I-li* (CS—PS, and the TCTC follows them); about 阿逸 *A-i qayan*, younger brother of *I-li* (PS); and about 逸 *I qayan*, younger brother of *I-li* (SS). — Bičurin I, 221 writes about *A-i*, younger brother of *I-li*,

but Bičurin I, 228 writes after *I-li* and before *Mu-kan* (transcribed there by mistake as *Mu-yü*) only about *K'o-lo* ~ *I-hsi-chi qayan*, following the *Chou-shu*, without mentioning the related problems; Chavannes, *Turcs occid.* 48 repeates Julien's opinion (*Documents* III, 330—331), based on the *Pien-i-tien*, which is not a competent source in this respect; and Liu Mau-tsai II, 493—494 mentions the contradictions in the information concerned, expressing his suspicion that *K'o-lo*, *A-i* and *I qayan* could be one and the same person.

All the problems concerning the successor(s) of *I-li qayan* (chronological difficulties: three or at least two *qayan*s within a year's time; the order of succession etc.) originate from the discrepancies of the information given in the different sources about this period. The Turk chapter of the PS is misleading in this respect, as it reports both about 阿逸 *A-i qayan* and *K'o-lo qayan*, it is this source, however, which shows well that the two *qayan*s are not mentioned in the same context! As well-known, sometimes the Turk chapters tell the same story more than once, maybe in different form, taken from different sources. That is why the war of *I-li* (*Il*) *qayan* with the *Juan-juan*s, his victory, the foundation of the Turk Khaghanate, his death and his successor's deeds can be found twice in the Turk chapter of the PS; once only *A-i qayan* is mentioned, at the second occasion we read only about *K'o-lo* (*Qara*) ~ *I-hsi-chi qayan*. The first text of the PS seems to be similar to the parallel passage of the SS, the second one is like its parallel in the CS; but none of them contains more than one *qayan* between *I-li* and *Mu-kan qayan*!

Let us examine the four primary texts we have about the successor of the first *qayan* of the Turks; they seem to go back to two (kinds of) documents.

I. The information of the CS l, 425 and that of the PS ic, 1317a can be fitted together into one coherent text. Below we find the text, without dots, where the PS and CS agree; marked by dots, where a character occurs only in the CS; and the related passages of the PS, not included in the CS, are in brackets: 土門死, 子科羅立, 科羅號乙息記可汗, 又破叔子於沃野木賴山, 二年三月科羅遣使獻馬五萬匹, 科羅(且)死, (捨其子攝圖, 立其) 弟俟斤立, 號(是爲)木汗(杆)可汗...

II. The transcriptions of the parallel passages of the SS lxxxiv, 831b are slightly different, and the text is one character shorter than the text of the PS ic, 1316a. The following excerpt is that of the PS; the character lacking in the SS is marked by a dot. We find in brackets the parallel characters of the SS.

[土門～伊利]卒, 弟阿逸可汗立, 又破蠕蠕(茹茹), 病且卒, 捨其子攝圖, 立其弟俟叔(斗), 稱爲木杆可汗...

The Text II shows that 逸 *I* and 阿逸 *A-i qayan* must be one and the same person. Comparing the texts I—II, it turns out that — beside the gift of 50 000 horses — they relate about the same events: *T'u-mên* ~ *I-li* died; the next *qayan* ascended the throne; he defeated the *Juan-juan*s; he got ill and died (one may suspect a word 病 in the Text I too, as the word 且 occurs in the PS without function); and finally, instead of his son *Shê-t'u*, his younger brother 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin* became the new *qayan* under the name 木杆 *Mu-kan*. — In the Text II *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qayan*'s personal name 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin* — generally identified with the Turk title *irkin* ~ *ärkin*, cf. L. Ligeti, *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* I (1950—1951), 171—173 — is found in the forms 俟叔 *Szŭ-shu* and 俟斗 *Szŭ-tou* instead of the form 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin* of the Text I. *Ts'ên Chung-mien* explains the character 斗 as a usual mistake for 升 (similar to the character 斤), and he quotes another example of it — cf. 岑仲勉 *Ts'ên Chung-mien*, 突厥集史 *T'u-chüeh chi-shih*, Chung-hua shu-chü, (Peking 1958) II, 504 —. There is another passage which might support this explanation: in the TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b the name 俟斤 (there can be no doubt

that he is the person in question) is written by mistake 俟升 six times. But, unlike *Ts'ên Chung-mien*, who tries to derive the character 升 graphically from 叔, on the basis of the comparison of the texts quoted above, one could venture to suppose that the incorrect form of the name 俟叔 originated under the influence of a document giving a more detailed description of the attack against the *Juan-juan*s and containing the name of the *Juan-juan* leader (鄧)叔子 (*Têng*) *Shu-tzŭ* too, like the Text I; and thus both forms of 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin*'s name (俟叔, 俟斗) of the Text II can be negligible as mere mistakes.

After all it seems probable that 1. there was only one *qayan* between *I-li* (*Il*) ang *Mu-kan*(*Buqan*), called 科羅 *K'o-lo* (*Qara*) ~ 乙息記 *I-hsi-chi* [~ (阿)逸 (*A-*)*i*?] (the last form being supposable only one name); 2. all the primary texts we have about the period between the time of *I-li* and *Mu-kan*, concern this *qayan*.

Beside the differences, unimportant in this respect (the details of the war with the *Juan-juan*s; the gift of *Qara qayan*), the only real difference can be found in the passage stating that *K'o-lo* was *T'u-mên*'s son (CS—PS, Text I), and the passages telling that (*A-*)*i* was *T'u-mên* ~ *I-li qayan*'s younger brother (PS—SS, Text II). But it would be understandable to find the sources confused here owing to the change which took place in the order of sequence of the *qayan*s; i.e. according to the Turk traditions (at least at an advanced phase of their social development) the eldest son should have inherited the throne, but later on it was the younger brother of the ruler who succeeded him on the *qayan*'s throne. (We may but guess that it could be due partly to the young age of the *qayan*'s sons at the time of their father's death, because when e.g. *Qara*'s son *Shê-t'u* grew up: 長, cf. SS lxxxiv, 832b, he became *qayan* under the name *Išpara*, see later. In Gumilev's opinion this is the only case, however, when this explanation can be adapted, and he points out this new system of succession to the throne to have been a successful method of the *A-shih-na* dynasty to avoid fratricidial wars for the throne and to preserve the — comparative — unity of the huge Turk Empire for two centuries, cf. L. N. Gumilev, *Udeljno-lestvičnaja sistema u tjurok v VI—VIII vekah — K voprosu o rannih formah gosudarstvennosti*: *Sovetskaja Êtnografija* 1959: 3, pp. 11—25.) This change of sequence caused some trouble in the Turk Empire, and it is not impossible that the contradictions of the documents are to be explained by these circumstances. E.g. *I-hsi-chi* (i.e. *Qara*), stated by the CS—PS to be *Il qayan*'s son, is mentioned as his younger brother by the TFYK cmxcv *Chiao-ch'in* «Battles and Attacks», 11684b.

Naturally other evidences (and probably other sources) would be needed to explain every detail; e.g. the name (*A-*)*i* does not necessarily belong to the *qayan* to whom the texts containing the name can be attributed etc. We can still consider *K'o-lo* (*Qara*) *qayan* on textual reasons a son of *I-li* (*Il*) *qayan*, and consequently *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) to be *Qara*'s younger brother. This supposition can be supported by a passage of the SS (lxxxiv, 835a), writing that in the Turk Empire since *Mu-kan qayan*'s time — in spite of the traditions — mostly the younger brothers succeeded their elder brothers on the throne. Really, earlier it did not happen so, as — we have just seen above — *Buqan*'s predecessor, *Qara* was *T'u-mên* (*Il*) *qayan*'s son. The same conclusion can be drawn from the TT cxcvii, 46a, as we read there that *Mu-kan* was *T'u-mên*'s son (and thus his elder brother, *K'o-lo*, too, must have been *T'u-mên*'s son, though his name is not mentioned there); and, as we can see in the TCTC, *Szŭ-ma Kuang*, too, must have concluded like this (following the text of the CS—PS).

[20] See the other forms of 木杆 *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qayan*'s name in Liu Mau-tsai II, 495; his personal name was 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin*; his other name was 燕都 *Yen-tu* (CS—PS) or 燕尹 *Yen-yin* (TT cxcvii, 46a).

[21] After *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qayan*'s accession to the throne, the CS (l, 425b), SS (lxxxiv, 831b) and PS (ic, 1317a) mark out the extension of the Turk Empire, and in

connection with this they summarize (without date) the expeditions of conquest of the Turks. One might think that they all took place in the early 50s of the 6th century, — the TCTC clxvi, 5140 reports about them in the very beginning of 556 (at the end of the 1st year of the 紹泰 *Shao-t'ai* period), in connection with the complete defeat of the *Juan-juan*s by the Turks. About the western Turk wars of conquest we are much better informed by the western sources; — on the victory of the Turks against their most dangerous rivals, the Hephtalites about 558 or soon afterwards, see Franke, *Geschichte* II, 234; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire.* II. *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien* (476—565), Desclée de Brouwer (Paris—Bruxelles—Amsterdam 1949), p. 518; K. Czeglédy, *Heftaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok* [*Hephtalites, Huns, Avars, Onogurs*] in *IV—IX. századi népmozgalmak a steppén* [*4th—9th century movements of peoples on the steppe*]: *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai* [*Publications of the Hungarian Linguistic Society*] LXXXIV (Budapest 1954), p. 11; on the Turk history in western sources see the references in Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I. *Die byzantinische Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*: *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten* X. Akademie-Verlag (Berlin 1958), 76—81.

[22] We read in the SS lxxxiv, 831b that *Mu-kan qayan* attacked Eastern *Wei* with the help of Western *Wei*. There we find no date, but in the time of this attack Eastern *Wei* was replaced by *Ch'i*; the PS ic, 1317a writes more correctly (without date again) that *Mu-kan* attacked *Ch'i* with the help of *Wei*.

[23] See Appendix I.

[24] According to the PCS iv, 38a, this delegation was sent to the *Ch'i* court on the *wu-yin* day of the 4th month in the 6th year of the 天保 *T'ien-pao* period (the 3rd of June, 555); it is recorded in the TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11 393b too. The delegation was sent probably by *Mu-kan qayan* and not by the Turks living in *Ch'i*'s territory, cf. Appendix I. — In 554—555 *Mu-kan qayan* led war against the *T'u-yü-hun*s; after he defeated them with the help of the *Chou* general 史寧 *Shih Ning*, he gave the general 100 servants (奴婢), 500 horses and 10000 sheep (cf. CS xxviii, 214b—215a, translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 22; PS lxi, 872b). — According to the CS l, 426b and PS ic, 1318a the defeat of the *T'u-yü-hun*s took place in 554; in the passages mentioned above this war took place after 553. — The TCTC clxvi, 5152—5153 reports about this campaign in 556, cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occid.* 260.

[25] In this year the Turks sent presents to the *Chou* court at least once, on the *hsin-yu* day of the 12th month in the 2nd year of the emperor *Ming-ti*, i.e. on the 27th of December, 558; cf. CS iv, 30b. Only one delegation is mentioned in this year in the CS l, 426b; PS ic, 1318a and TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a. The PS ix, 139a reports on another Turk delegation with presents, arriving similarly on a *hsin-yu* day, but in the 10th month, i.e. on the 28th of October (if this report does not originate from a mistake of copying).

[26] See the translation of this passage of the CS iv, 32b in Liu Mau-tsai I, 14. The same report can be read in the PS ix, 140a. Both of them inform us that this banquet took place on the *hsin-yu* day of the 3rd month in the 2nd year of the 武成 *Wu-ch'êng* period, i.e. on the 20th of April, 560.

[27] Sometimes we find the term «tribute» in one report, the words «gift», «products of their land» etc. in another passage about the same event, but all of them were considered in the court an acknowledgement of China's supremacy. — In 561 three large Turk delegations (三輩) arrived to the *Chou* court (cf. CS l, 426b; PS ic, 1318a); two of them are dated from the *hsin-yu* day of the 1st month in the 1st year of the *Pao-ting* period, i.e. 14th of February, 561 (CS b, 34b) and from the *wu-ch'ên* day of the 5th month, i.e. 21st of June, 561 (CS v, 35a); the PS x, 142a does not mention the number of the delega-

tions. All the three occasions, when the Turks brought «tribute», are registered in the TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a: two delegations arrived in the 1st and 5th month respectively, and there was a third delegation too, in the month indicated as 一月, which can be a mistake for 二月, because it can be found right after 正月 (the next date is 五月); if so, then one of the three Turk delegations that year arrived to *Ch'ang-an* in the 2nd month, i.e. between the 2nd and 31st of March, 561.

[28] According to the CS v, 37a, 楊忠 *Yang Chung*, general of the army of *Chou*, received the imperial order to attack *Ch'i*, on the *wu-tzŭ* day of the 9th month in the 3rd year of the *Pao-ting* period, i.e. on 29th of October, 563. The PCS vii, 52b reports on the ravage of the allied troops of *Chou* and *Mu-kan qaγan* on the *chi-yu* day of the 12th month in the 2nd year of the 河清 *Ho-ch'ing* period, i.e on the 18th of January, 564; and the decisive defeat of the allied armies took place on the *kêng-shên* day of the 1st month in the 4th year of the *Pao-ting* period, i.e. on the 28th of January, 564. The later trials of *Chou* (with Turk help) against *Ch'i* in this year did not succeed either, and the *Chou* court felt the allied Turk army, marauding in Chinese territories from time to time, as dangerous as an enemy (cf. CS l, 426b—427a), in spite of the presents of *Mu-kan qaγan*, arrived on the *ting-mao* day of the 5th month of the 4th year in the *Pao-ting* period, i.e. on the 4th of June (cf. CS v, 37b; PS x, 143a; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a).

[29] The Chinese delagation started out to the Turks for *Mu-kan qaγan*'s daughter on the *hsin-yu* day of the 2nd month in the 5th year of the *Pao-ting* period, i.e. on the 25th of March, 565 (cf. CS v, 38a; in the PS x, 143a we find a *hsin-ch'ou* day, but in the 2nd month there is no *hsin-ch'ou* day).

[30] *Szŭ-ma Kuang* knows of a Turk delegation sent to *Ch'i* in the 5th month of the 6th year of the 天嘉 *T'ien-chia* period, i.e. between the 14th of June — 13th of July, 565; according to him this meant the beginning of a continuous connection (通) between the Turks and *Ch'i* (cf. TCTC clxix, 5252).

[31] This Turk delegation was sent to the *Ch'i* court in the 2nd year of the 天統 *T'ien-t'ung* period (566), cf. PCS viii, 55b; PS viii, 120b; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a; both in the passage of the PCS and in that of the PS a reference can be found to the 1st year of the 天和 *T'ien-ho* period, i.e. the year is indicated according to the calendar of the state *Chou* too.

[32] The first Turk delegation, sent to the *Chou* court, arrived on the *jên-shên* day of the 5th month in the 2nd year of the *T'ien-ho* period, i.e. on the 25th of May, 567 (cf. CS v, 39b; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二 11394b). *Mu-kan qaγan*, who had consented previously to his daughter's marriage with the *Chou* emperor (after some hesitation), now conspired against *Chou* with *Ch'i* and did not let the Chinese delegation start home with his daughter, cf. CS l, 427a; PS ic, 1318a and TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b (where *Mu-kan qaγan*'s name 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin* is written 俟升 by mistake, see Note 19). *Mu-kan* sent delegates with gifts to *Ch'i* in the 10th month of the 3rd year in the *T'ien-t'ung* period, i.e. between the 17th of November — 16th of December, 567, cf. PCS viii, 56a; PS viii, 121a; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a. Finally, in consequence of some heavenly signs (a terrible storm broke out) he still allowed his daughter to set out for the *Chou* court.

[33] The future empress of the *A-shih-na* clan arrived in the *Chou* capital on the *kuei-mao* day of the 3rd month in the 3rd year of the *T'ien-ho* period, i.e. on the 20th of April, 568, cf. CS v, 40a; PS x, 144a.

[34] The delegation with the horses, presented by *Mu-kan qaγan*, arrived in the *Chou* court on the *ting-szŭ* day of the 7th month in the 4th year of the *T'ien-ho* period, i.e.

on the 27th of August, 569 (CS v, 41a). The passage of the PS ic, 1318a writes only about «tribute-present» (貢獻), while from the parallel passages we know that horses were sent with this delegation to *Chou* (cf. PS x, 144b; CS v, 41a; CS l, 427a; TXYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394b). Probably this is not the only case when horses or other kinds of livestock are hidden under the conventional Chinese terms for the «presents» of the Turks.

[35] Cf. CS l, 427a; PS ic, 1318b. This report about the yearly «presents» of the *Chou* court to the Turks etc. concern first of all the time after *Mu-kan qayan*'s death, but the expression «since» (俟斤从來) does not exclude *Mu-kan qayan*'s time, and thus it is not impossible that the situation described here was characteristic of the last years of *Mu-kan qayan*'s rule too.

[36] About *Szŭ-chin* ~ *Mu-kan qayan* we have no data after 569, but it is probable that he died only in 572, as — according to the SS lxxxiv, 832a — he ruled for 20 years, and 553 was the first year of his rule, thus 572 could be the twentieth; *Szŭ-ma Kuang*'s reckoning, too, concluded like this (TCTC clxxv 5449—5450), and he dates *Mu-kan qayan*'s death (and the beginning of the rule of his successor, *T'o-po qayan*) from 572, cf. TCTC clxxi, 5314. — The first mention about 他鉢 (CS) ~ 佗鉢 (SS) *T'o-po qayan* originates from 573. (But see Note 39 too!) See the problems of this dating in Liu Mau-tsai II, 503—504.

[37] Cf. SS lxxxiv, 832a; TFYK m *Ch'iang-shêng* «Violence and Prosperity» 11732b. — In order to provide peace in the Turk Empire (or at least in the eastern part of it), at the beginning of his rule *T'o-po qayan* conferred ranks on his rivals: he appointed his younger brother 褥但 *Ju-tan* (cf. in the SS 832a: 褥但可汗子) to rule over the western territories under the name 步離 *Pu-li qayan*, and sent 攝圖 *Shê-t'u* — *K'o-lo*(*Qara*) *qayan*'s son — to rule over the eastern regions under the name 爾伏 *Êrh-fu qayan* (cf. PS ic, 1318b; SS lxxxiv, 832a); in this way he succeeded in delaying the complete disintegration of the empire for some years.

[38] The delegation of the *Chou* court started to the Turks on the *kuei-yu* day of the 2nd month in the 1st year of the 建德 *Chien-tê* period, i.e. on the 29th of February, 572, cf. CS v, 42b; PS x, 145a; TFYK cmlxxx *T'ung-hao* «Connection and Friendship», 11509b.

[39] Cf. SS lxxxiv 832 a—b; there we find no date, but *T'o-po qayan*'s request of Buddhist sacred books can be dated probably from 572, as the presents of the Turks sent to *Ch'i* were recorded in that year by the PCS viii, 59a; PS viii, 123a and TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394a. They had to ask for Buddhist books from *Ch'i*, as in *Chou* Buddhism was persecuted in the seventies of the 6th century, cf. K. Ch'en, *On some factors responsible for the anti-Buddhist persecution under the Pei-Ch'ao: HJAS* XVII (1954), 261—273. — It turns out from a report of the TFYK, that the emperor of *Ch'i* had the sacred books in question translated into Turk (for *T'o-po qayan*); a high-ranking official from *Ch'i*, 劉世清 *Liu Shih-ch'ing* was told to be an expert of the languages of the Barbarians of the four directions, and on imperial order he translated the books requested into the language of the Turks — «into Turk language»: (作) 突厥語翻 — in the early 70s of the 6th century. *Cf. Liu Shih-ch'ing*'s biography in 斛律羌舉 *Hu-lü Ch'iang-chü*'s biography in the PCS xx, 142b, translated by Liu Mau-tsai I, 34, and in the TFYK cmxcvi *Ti-i* «Interpreting and Translation», 11691a; about the Buddhism in *T'o-po qayan*'s court see E. Chavannes, *Jinagupta* (*528—605 après J.—C.*): *T'oung Pao, Sér. II, Vol. VI* (1905), 345—346; on the Buddhism among the Turks see A. v. Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, 162—167, in *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern.* Otto Harrassowitz (Leipzig 1954).

These reports do not harmonize with other pieces of information in the sources, stating that the Turks had no script, they made only notches on wood for credentials (cf. PS ic, 1317a; SS lxxxiv, 832a; the CS l, 426a contains only the second part of the passage); but there are other passages too, stating that their written characters resemble those of the 胡 *Hus* (CS l, 426b; PS ic, 1317b), and these passages occur in the same text where the negative statements can be found (CS, PS). But as the information «they have no script . . .» etc. belongs to the old patterns of the Chinese historiography for nomadic peoples (see Boodberg, *Isocolometry* 123), probably it was the other remark — about the script resembling that of the *Hus* — which originated from a more recent period, and thus supposably it can be connected with the Turks directly. As in this period, in the second half of the 6th century, *Hu* meant «non-Turkic Central-Asian», chiefly «Sogdian» (cf. Pulleyblank, *A Sogdian colony* 318—319), it would not be impossible to see in this piece of information an argument for those who seek for the origin of the Turk script in the script of the Sogdians, — living in large number among the Turks, closely connected with them. — See the summary of the researches concerning the script of the Turks in S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Drevnetjurkskie runičeskie pamjatniki kak istočnik po istorii Srednej Azii*, Izdateljstvo «Nauka» (Moscow 1964), 44—47. — But neither the request of books, nor the information that those books were translated for the Turks into their language, can give us a guarantee that those books were translated into the native language of the Turk *qayan*, or that those books were read by the *qayan* himself, as we know from the western sources that when the Turks established diplomatic relations with a foreign power, they carried on their negotiations with the help of interpreters (cf. Harmatta, *Byzantinoturcica*, 146—149). In the West they had Persian and Sogdian interpreters; in China it was the Sogdian language which could easily mediate between the Chinese and the Turks, — and it is not useless to remember that the first Chinese delegation sent to the Turks in 545 was led by a Sogdian of Kansu, see Note 6. (A. v. Gabain suspects a Sogdian clerk helping *Liu Shih-ch'ing* to put the Turk texts — maybe, into «Uigurian» writing, see *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, 164—165.) — But without further data it is impossible to draw further conclusions from this evidence.

[40] The arrival of the Turk envoys sent to *Ch'i* in the 4th year of the 武平 *Wu-p'ing* period (573) is recorded in the TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493a; about the presents (horses) sent to *Chou* we can read in the CS l, 427a and PS ic, 1318b.

[41] The Turk delegates arrived to the *Chou* court on the *kêng-wu* day of the 1st month in the 3rd year of the *Chien-tê* period (the 15th of February, 574), cf. CS v, 44b; PS x, 146b; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394b.

[42] Cf. CS vi, 53a and PS x, 150b. *T'o-po qayan* supported *Kao Shao-i* from *Ch'i* by this troops, that he could proclaim himself emperor, cf. CS l, 427a—b; PS ic, 1318b; according to the TCTC clxxiii, 5383—5384 this happened after the *wu-ch'ên* day of the 12th month in the 9th year of the 太建 *T'ai-chien* period, i.e. after the 13th (and before the 31st) of January, 578.

[43] The presents of the Turks arrived in the *Chou* court on the *jên-shên* day of the 3rd month in the 1st year of the 宣政 *Hsüan-chêng* period, i.e. on the 28th of March, 578, cf. CS vi, 56a; PS x, 152a; TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11394b. Only a few weeks later a series of serious marauding-pillaging expeditions were led by the Turks against *Chou*, cf. CS vi, 56b — PS x, 152a; CS vii, 58a — PS x, 153a; CS l, 427b — PS ic, 1318b; PS x, 153a, and the imperial army facing them was defeated. Nevertheless in the winter of this year, after they had sieged 酒泉 *Chiu-ch'üan* in Kansu and pillaged in the borderland, — without being defeated, presumably only because of the wintertime, — the Turks withdrew (cf. CS l, 427b; PS ic, 1318b).

[44] The imperial order, promising 千金 *Ch'ien-chin* princess to *T'o-po qayan*, is dated from the time between the *kuei-hai* day and *wu-ch'ên* day of the 2nd month in the 1st year of the 大象 *Ta-hsiang* period, i.e. between the 14th and 19th of March, 579 (CS vii, 60a), — so the request of marriage must have arrived from the Turks only some weeks later than the last attacking troops (CS vii, 59a); cf. CS vii, 60a; PS x, 153b; without date: TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b. — See the events of the whole year (579) in the CS l, 427b; PS x, 153b—155a.

It is worth mentioning — because it draws our attention to a peculiarity of the Chinese official historiography, — that the proper sequence and significance of the events of 579 (the year so hard and ignominious for China) is not at all clear when we read the separate informations about the single moments of the year. E.g. from the Annals of the *Chou-shu* the reader may learn that the emperor decided to give a princess to *T'o-po qayan* (CS vii, 60a), but a short time later the *qayan* still led an inroad to the territory of the state *Chou* (CS vii, 61a); and later on (in 580, see Note 45) we find a passage (CS viii, 66a) about the extradition of *Kao Shao-i* (an enemy of *Chou*, who had fled to the Turks from the state *Ch'i*, destroyed by *Chou* just previously), but this information does not seem to be in connection with the forementioned events. In the Turk chapter of the *Chou-shu* (CS l, 427b) the situation is much clearer: *T'o-po qayan* asked for peace and asked for a wife from the *Chou* court, but when the princess *Ch'ien-chin* was promised him only on the condition that the would extradite *Kao Shao*-i, he was displeased and attacked *Chou*. (The same text can be found in the PS ic, 1318b.) Now only one more detail is omitted, or at least it is not mentioned here, though it is not useless to consider, namely that those Turks who approached China in a peaceful way and with requests at the beginning of the year, had led victorious campaigns against China not much earlier. That is why, on one hand, the *qayan*'s request of marriage was not at all a sign of his weakness as the *Chou* court thought (drawing conclusions probably from China's foreign connections, generally enforced by a foreign people's power); and that is why, on the other hand, in that time *Chou* — having been defeated just previously — was not in a position to demand anything from the Turks. (Really, the Turks, instead of extraditing *Chou*'s enemy, led further attacks against *Chou*.) In this way the traditional Chinese foreign policy could lead to a certain misinterpretation of the historical facts, and hindered China in recognizing and utilizing the possibilities of recreating or strengthening its foreign relations, even if they would have been useful for China. Besides, it is this misinterpretation of the historical situation, originating from the misunderstandings mentioned above, which make sometimes so difficult to clear up the very history of the nomadic-Chinese relations.

[45] *T'o-po qayan*'s delegation with gifts arrived to the *Chou* court on the *wu-wu* day of the 2nd month in the 2nd year of the *Ta-hsiang* period (on the 3rd of March, 580, cf. CS vii, 62b; PS x, 155a; TFYK cmlxxvii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b). — For the journey of the princess *Ch'ien-chin* we have two dates: one of them can be found in the SS i, 11b, dating it from the period between the *i-wei* day and *ting-wei* day of the 5th month, i.e. between the 8th and 20th of June (the PS xi, 161b dates it from the period between the *i-wei* day and *chi-yu* day of the 5th month, i.e. between the 8th and 22nd of July); and we find another date in the TCTC clxxiv, 5415—5416, where these events are related between the *chia-tzŭ* day of the 6th month and the *chia-shên* day of the 7th month in the 12th year of the 太建 *T'ai-chien* period, i.e. between the 7th and 27th of July; these dates could indicate the day of the start and that of the arrival respectively. The Chinese delegation, asking for the extradition of *Kao-Shao-i*, prince of 范陽 *Fan-yang*, an emigrant from *Ch'i*, must have arrived somewhat later. The extradition took place on the *chia-shên* day of the 7th month in the 2nd year of the

Ta-hsiang period (the 27th of July), cf. CS viii, 66a; PS x, 157a (this is the nearest *chia-shên* day; in the 7th month no *chia-shên* day can be found). The Turks now fulfilled the demand, refused earlier, of the *Chou* court, — probably not only under the influence of the «persuasion» of the Chinese delegate (referred to in CS l, 427b), but also because of the arrival of the Chine seprincess and of some gifts too, brought by the delegation; at least *Szŭ-ma Kuang* mentions some 賂 «bribe» too, cf. TCTC clxxiv, 5416. — See the biography of *Kao Shao-i*, prince of *Fan-yang* in PCS xii, 83b—84 (translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 32—33) and PS lii, 754b—755.

[46] *T'o-po qayan* was still alive about 27th of July, 580, when *Kao Shao-i* was extradited, see Note 45; not much later he got ill and died (PS ic, 1318b; SS lxxxiv, 832b), after having ruled for ten years (SS), but the period of his rule is indicated, of course, according to the Chinese method of reckoning, i.e. he died in the tenth year of his rule, in 581 (as he became *qayan* in 572, see Note 36 and Note 39). *Szŭ-ma Kuang* dates *T'o-po qayan*'s death from the 13th year of the *T'ai-chien* period (581), cf. TCTC clxxv, 5449—5450, though we read there the whole history of the change of rulers and the break of the Turk Empire into two parts at the end of the (Chinese) year mentioned (about in the first days of February, 582), cf. TCTC clxxv, 5449—5451; obviously not only that short period of time is concerned there.

[47] When *T'o-po qayan* died in 581, his son 菴羅 *An-lo* succeeded him, but as he was not able to rule over the turbulent tribes of the Turk Empire, yielded the throne to *K'o-lo*(*Qara*) *qayan*'s son 攝圖 *Shê-t'u* who became *qayan* under the name 伊利俱盧設莫何始波羅 *I-li chü-lu shê mo-ho shih-po-lo* ~ 沙鉢略 *Sha-po-lio* (*Il kül šad baya išpara* ~ *Išpara*), cf. PS ic, 1318b—1319a; SS lxxxiv, 832b. (About *Išpara qayan*'s name see Pelliot, *Neuf notes* 210—211.) *Sha-po-lio* appointed *An-lo* a *qayan* of partial power, and to his other rival, to the disregarded son 大邏便 *Ta-lo-pien* of the late *Mu-kan qayan* the name and rank 阿波可汗 *A-po k'o-han* (*Apa qayan*); this did not hinder, however, the discontent *Apa qayan* in joining the western part of the empire, which became independent just at that time (cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occid.*, 219—220). That is why we can find reports in 581 about presents sent to the Chinese (*Sui*) court both by *Sha-po-lio qayan*, ruler of the Eastern Turks and by *A-po qayan*, who had joined 達頭 *Ta-t'ou* (*Tardu*), *qayan* of the Western Turk Empire. *A-po qayan*'s delegation arrived to China on the *jên-wu* day of the 8th month in the 1st year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. on the 18th of September, 581; *Sha-po-lio*'s presents arrived in the 9th month, after the *jên-shên* day, i.e. between the 7th and 12th of October, 581, cf. SS i, 17b; PS xi, 164a; TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395a. (The SS lxxxiv, 832b and the PS ic, 1319a explain the wars of the next years by the contempt of the first *Sui* emperir *Wên-ti*, bringing about the anger of the «Barbarians».)

[48] Sometimes we are informed only about the defeats of the Turks (in 582 e.g. cf. SS i, 18a — PS xi, 164a—b; SS i, 18a — PS xi, 164b), but we find no mention about the attacking movements of the Chinese army (besides, in those cases when it is the Chinese who attack, the battles are describe generally as punitive expeditions: 討, 討征 etc.). Thus we may suppose that the Turks — in spite of their defeats — attacked again and again. (The Chinese records mostly did not notice the difference between the defeat of a Turk or another nomadic army and between the retreat, belonging to the military tactics of the nomads, — in disadvantageous situations, of course.)

In this year, in 582, an enormous Turk attack was mounted against China (with 400 000 warrioirs, as we read in the PS ic, 1319a and in the SS lxxxiv, 832b); it was due — beside the hostile manners of the *Sui* emperor — to the complaints of the Turk *qatun*, *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s wife *Ch'ien-chin kung-chu*, a *Chou* princess whose country was destroyed by *Sui* in 580. (She was first *T'o-po qayan*'s wife, see Note 45, but *Sha-po-lio*,

acceding to the throne, probably married his dead uncle's wife, — as it was usual among the Turks, cf. PS ic, 1317b; CS l, 426a; SS lxxxiv, 832a.) — The greatest defeat that *Sha-po-lio* suffered in this year, can be explained by the attacks of the Western Turks and by the severe winter as well, cf. PS ic, 1319a—1320a; SS lxxxiv, 833b; TFYK cmlxxxiv, *Chêng-t'ao* «Punitive Expeditions» 三, 11561b. But neither the Turks, nor the Chinese could gain a final victory. *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s Turks had to fight both against the Chinese troops and their compatriots, and the *Sui* army, engaged in a war for the hegemony inside China, could not win definitively the Turks, though the *Sui* court tried to contribute to the disintegration of the Turk Empire by intrigues too (by seeking for a connection with the Western Turks, see Note 54). *Sha-po-lio* soon (in 583, see later) realized the necessity of a compromise in order to ensure the peace at least with China, and the *Sui* court shortly afterwards was forced to change the tone of its foreign policy toward him. (The fate of the Eastern Turks, however, weakened during these years in the many battles with their different enemies, was decided for a long time by the mere fact that they had to ask for support from China in the early 59os.)

[49] After several Turk attacks, ending with Turk victory or at least not with Turk defeat and with the defeat of the Turks respectively (PS xi, 165a; SS i, 18b—19a), the Turks sent a delegation to the *Sui* court on the *chia-wu* day of the 4th month in the 3rd year of the *K'ai-huang* period (the 23rd of May, 583), cf. SS i, 19a. Probably this delegation brought presents too, as a «tribute» of the Turks was recorded in the same month in the TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395a; the PS xi, 165b mentions that in this year the Turks sent a delegation with presents to the court, — obviously with no result. At least we are informed about two defeats of the Turks (PS xi, 165b — SS i, 19a); finally the Turks sent envoys, asking for peace, on the *wu-yin* day of the 6th month (the 6th of July), cf. PS xi, 165b; SS i, 19a. There is no sign of the willingness of the *Sui* court to conclude peace, but from the cessation of the Chinese hostile actions against the Turks in the succeeding years it turns out that the attacks of the Turks were not without effect on China, though they failed to reach their aim.

It happened in this time that *Sha-po-lio* defeated *A-po qayan*, who conspired with the *Sui* court against him, see Note 47. After the defeat, *A-po qayan* helped by *Ta-t'ou* (*Tardu*) *qayan*, ruler of the Western Turks, attacked *Sha-po-lio* and won. Soon both *A-po qayan* and *Sha-po-lio*'s cousin 地勤察 *Ti-ch'in ch'a* (*Tigin šad*), who had joined previously *A-po qayan*, asked for military help in China, bui in vain. Cf. PS ic, 1320a; SS lxxxiv, 833b—834a; TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» — , 11493b. (The TCTC relates all this in the 5th month of this year, cf. clxxv, 5465, — though probably it happened within a longer period of time.)

[50] 10 000 men and women of the tribe 蘇尼 *Su-ni* surrendered to China on the *ting-wei* day of the 2nd month in the 4th year of the *K'ai-huang* period (on the 31st of March, 584), cf. SS i, 20a. 蘇尼: 'a military commander', 掌兵之官, cf. TT cxcvii, 46a. — Pelliot considered the name 蘇尼 *Su-ni* (*Suo-niei*) a transcription of *Suvarṇa*, see Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*: *JAs.* CCXXIV (1934), 73.

On the *kêng-hsü* day of the same month, i.e. on the 3rd of April, 584, another Turk group went to China's territory, led by *A-shih-na* 玷 *Tien* (SS i, 20a) or *A-shih-na* 玷厥 *Tien-chüeh* (PS xi, 166a). *Hu San-hsing* expresses his doubts concerning this information, as the ruler of the Western Turks *Ta-t'ou* (*Tardu*), named *A-shih-na Tien* (*-chüeh*) too, could not be the person surrendering his group to China (TCTC clxxvi, 5473). Maybe the group in question had belonged previously to those Turks who joined *Tardu*'s Western Turk Empire.

[51] The banquet took place on the *ting-wei* day of the 4th month in the 4th year of the *K'ai-huang* period (the 30th of May, 584); beside the Turk envoys (who had stayed

probably for a longer period of time in the capital, as we are not informed about their arrival), other foreign delegates, too, were present (cf. SS i, 20a).

[52] Cf. SS lxxxiv, 834a; PS ic, 1320a; TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b—11494a. — 千金 *Ch'ien-chin*, princess of the late *Chou* house who had tried to turn his new country against the *Sui* emperor, destroyer of her native country, after so many defeats and other troubles, in 584 asked *Sui Wên-ti* in a petition to adopt her as his daughter and her husband as his son; the emperor assured them about his favour in a letter brought to the *qayan*'s residence by a delegate. *Sha-po-lio qayan*, pleased by the message, wrote another letter, expressing his filial feelings and promising his loyalty; finally he confessed his hopes concerning the future connections of the *Sui* Empire with the Turks in the following way: 此國所有羊馬都是皇帝畜生, 彼有繒綵都是此物; 彼此有何異也 (cf. SS; PS: 彼此不異也) «All the sheep and horses owned by this country will belong to the emperor, and all the silk [simple and coloured silk] of the other [i.e. Your country] will belong to this [country]; what is the difference between them? [PS: there is no difference between them]» — i.e. between the two sides of the contract expected by the *qayan*, between the two kinds of exchangeable goods etc. — Bičurin I, 237 interprets this passage in the same way; St. Julien translates the end of the paralell passage of the *Pien-i-tien*: « . . . entre nous il n'y a pas de différence.» (Julien, *Documents* III, 495.) Liu Mau-tsai's interpretation (I, 50) is misleading: « . . . Gibt es da noch Mein und Dein zwischen uns?» — Both from the text and from the history of the Turk-Chinese connections described in this paper, we may take it for certain that it is the barter of livestock for silk what is concerned in *Sha-po-lio*'s letter.

The *qayan*'s letter is dated from the loth day of the 9th month in the 辰 *ch'ên* «dragon» year. The year 584 was a «year of dragon (甲辰 *chia-ch'ên*)», and according to the Chinese calendar the 10th day of the 9th month would be in this year the 19th of October, 584. But as in China both the years and the days were given generally with the help of the sexagesimal cycle, at least in the official historical sources in question, this kind of dating could represent a foreign practice, very likely that of the Turks; in this case perhaps the date cannot be reckoned according to the Chinese calendar. — Although nothing else is known about this letter of *Sha-po-lio* (*Išpara*) *qayan* (e.g. in what language it was written etc.), the unusual indication of the date could be the earliest information about the dating system of the Turks. Several pieces of contradictory information, however, seem to disprove it. — The Chinese sources agree in stating that the Turks did not have any knowledge of calendrical reckoning, and this statement is strengthened by another passage telling that in 586 the Chinese gave calendar to the Turks. Pelliot, who enumerates the related problems in his *Neuf notes* (II: «*Le plus ancien exemple du cycle des doux animaux chez les Turcs*», 204—212, especially pp. 206—209), concludes: We cannot be surprised if the Turks did not possess special astronomic knowledge, enough to make a calendar, but they could still have some means to reckon the years, e.g. they could realize it with the help of the zodiac cycle, as we can see in the *qayan*'s letter; and the calendar given by the emperor could not mean a significant change, as the Turks, permanently connected with China, had the possibility of getting acquainted with the Chinese calendar, if they wanted to do so, in any other periods as well. — A. v. Gabain adds that until the 8th century there is no trace of the Chinese form of dating among the Turks, thus the Turks do not seem to have used the Chinese calendar given to them (as probably they did not want to recognize China's authority); and — as only the Chinese records preserved a dating form, constructed with the help of the zodiac cycle, from an early period like this (from 584), — it could not be of significance. (Cf. A. v. Gabain, *Alttürkische Datierungsformen*: *UAJb.* XXVII (1955), 193.) — With

the help of a few further details, some light can be thrown on the real and apparent contradictions of the Chinese sources.

True, according to the Chinese sources the Turks «did not know the sequence of the years, they reckoned them only according to the verdure of the grass» — but this passage is one of the old stereotyped patterns concerning the nomads (Boodberg, *Isocolometry* 123), thus it can be related primarily to the *Hsiung-nu*s of the *Han*-period and we have to read it with caution when later nomads are concerned. The Chinese, aware of their astronomically based, strictly constructed calendar, of course, would not recognize a less differentiated, practical reckoning of time, even if they would have noticed it e.g. in case of the Turks, thus the negative report does not disprove the existence of some kind of reckoning of time among the Turks. — The other information, namely that the Turks received the Chinese calendar in 586, does not mean a real difficulty either, as obviously it was not the Eastern Turk Empire that was given the calendar, but only a smaller group of the Turks, who had submitted themselves to China earlier, and consequently their history — and the acceptance of the Chinese bureaucratic authority, connected with the acceptance of the Chinese calendar — is to be examined independently of the fate of the Eastern Turk Empire, see Note 59!

To conclude, the Chinese records do not contradict to the dating preserved in *Sha-po-lio* (*Išpara*) *qaγan*'s letter; i.e. even in such an early period, in 584, the time could be reckoned among the Turks with the help of the zodiac cycle (and, naturally, the separate years could be reckoned according to the seasons of the year, i.e. according to «the verdure of the grass» as well).

[53] First the *qaγan* received the Chinese envoys unwillingly, but later on he changed his mind and allowed them to call him a subject (臣) of China, cf. PS ic, 1320b; SS lxxxiv, 834a—b. — The TCTC (clxxvi, 5475—5476) relates all the events of the Turk-Chinese connections in 584 between the *chia-hsü* day of the 9th month, i.e. the 24th of October and the *jên-hsü* day of the 11th month, i.e. the 11th of December in the 2nd year of the 至德 *Chih-tê* period (584) at a stretch, probably because of the lack of precise dates.

[54] On the *chia-shên* day of the 5th month in the 5th year of the *K'ai-huang* period (the 1st of July, 585), a delegation of the *Sui* court started to *A-po* (*Apa*) *qaγan* (PS xi, 166b; SS i, 20b), likely in order to seek for a distant (and thus not so dangerous) ally against the Eastern Turks, and to sharpen the conflict between the two parts of the Turk Empire. But the delegation did not return with success (at least there is no report of the result), — maybe it could not reach *A-po qaγan*. Thus *Sha-po-lio*'s letters could be received in a favourable manner.

[55] According to the report of the SS about this battle, *Sha-po-lio* defeated and captured *A-po qaγan*. But *A-po qaγan* appeared again in 587 (see Note 64), when he suffered a final defeat from 處羅莫何 *Ch'u-lo Mo-ho* (*Baγa*), *qaγan* of the Eastern Turks; that is why the passage about his capture must be a mistake: the TCTC clxxvi, 5490 considers it an interpolation. Liu Mau-tsai (II, 527, Note 272) thinks that some details of the Turk history between the two battles of *A-po qaγan* must have remained unknown for the Chinese.

[56] Though *Sha-po-lio qaγan* had already allowed the Chinese delegate to call him a subject of China (see Note 53), we find a passage in the PS (xi 166b) — SS (i 20b), informing us that on the *jên-wu* day of the 7th month in the 5th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. on the 28th of August, 585, *Sha-po-lio qaγan* sent a letter to the emperor, in which he called himself a subject (of China). Probably the Chinese court attributed special importance to the written form of the manifestation of the *qaγan*'s loyalty to the emperor.

[57] *Sha-po-lio* sent his seventh son 庫合眞特勒(=勤) *K'u-ho-chên t'ê-lê* (= *ch'in*) (*tegin*) to the *Sui* court, he arrived on the *ping-hsü* day of the 8th month in the 5th year of the *K'ai-huang* period (the 1st of September, 585), cf. SS i, 20b. In the SS lxxxiv 835a and PS ic 1321a the *tegin*'s name is written 窟合眞 *K'u-ho-chên*. He was received as a close relative of the imperial family, a banquet was given for him in the inner palace, and he was presented precious gifts. But beside this respectful reception of the *qaγan*'s son, every favour of the emperor which was conferred to the *qaγan* at this time, was connected only with *Sha-po-lio*'s new position. As he confessed himself a Chinese subject, he was rewarded by those favours which could express that from this time on he would be a subject of full authority of the Chinese Empire: his (personal) name might not be uttered from this time on in China, his rank was recognized (as that of the other dignitaries of China) and announced in the temple of the ancestors etc., — and his wife, princess *Ch'ien-chin* from the *Yü-wên* family of *Chou*, got the name 大義 *Ta-i* and the family name 楊 *Yang* of the emperor *Sui Wên-ti*, who adopted her. — Judging from *Išpara qaγan*'s joy, he must have misunderstood the kind treatment of the emperor; he hoped to have closer connections further on, and naturally he did not take into consideration that these favours he received had been forced by the wars of the previous years, when China had not been strong enough to destroy its Turk neighbours; and he did not notice, of course, that some of the «favours» were not rewards at all. E.g. the new name *Ta-i* «Great Justice» of the *qatun* was ironic rather than flattering, as it could remind the old sentence of the *Tso-chuan*: 大義滅親 «The great justice does not shrink back even from destroying the parents», — thus referring to the tragic fate of the parents of the princess, whom she had to forget, in order to be adopted just by the destroyer of her parents and native country. (Cf. TCTC clxxvi, 5475—5476.)

[58] See the events of the year 585 in the PS (ic, 1320b—1321a) and in the SS (lxxxiv, 834b—835a).

[59] The Turks received the calendar from *Sui Wên-ti* on the *kêng-wu* day of the 1st month in the 6th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. on the 12th of February, 586, cf. SS i, 21a; the PS xi, 166b writes *kêng-tzŭ* day, but in the 1st month there is no *keng-tzŭ* day; the TCTC clxxvi, 5485 follows the SS writing *kêng-wu* day (in the 4th year of the *Chih-tê* period, but this does not change the date). It happened a fortnight after the beginning of the year, i.e. at the very beginning of the year, because this fortnight was the period of the New Year's festivities in China. (The 6th year of the *K'ai-huang* period began on the 26th of January, 586.) As well-known, the Chinese considered the recognition of their calendar (the symbol and guarantee of the imperial authority) a sign of submission of a foreign people. In several cases (e.g. in case of «tributes», brought as presents or for trade) the signs of respect remained mere signs, but the term 頒曆» to promulgate the calendar» does by no means concern only the calendrical reckoning of the sequence of the years (曆). *Hu San-hsing* comments the passage 隋頒曆於突厥 «*Sui* promulgated the calendar among the Turks» as follows: 班曆則稟受正朔 «The spreading of the calendar means the acceptance of the New Year's Day as the beginning of the year [with all the imperial orders and instructions given at the time].» (Cf. TCTC cmlxxvi, 5485.) Thus this meant a real submission of those who accepted the calendar, as they were fitted in this way into the bureaucratic mechanism of the Chinese Empire. Naturally the «Turks» in question could not be the subjects of the independent and powerful Eastern Turk Empire; the fact that their leader is not even mentioned, makes it more probable that a smaller group of them is concerned. Really, just a short time before, in 584, two Turk groups went to China, submitting themselves to the authority of the *Sui* emperor, cf. Note 50. Probably they were those who accepted the Chinese calendar and the imperial orders, connected with it, in 586; that is why this information is not directly related to

the history of the Eastern Turk Empire, and it can be even disregarded e.g. when studying the old Turk dating system. (See Note 52.)

[60] *Išpara qayan*'s gifts arrived to the *Sui* court on the *kuei-hai* day of the 3rd month in the 6th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. on the 6th of April, 586, cf. PS xi, 166b; SS i, 21a; TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395a.

[61] *Išpara qayan* sent his son with gifts to the Sui court in the 1st month of the 7th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. between the 14th of February — 14th of March, 587, cf. PS ic, 1321a; SS lxxxiv, 835a. The «tribute» is recorded in the TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395a. We can read the story of the hunting in the TFYK cmlxxiv *Pao-i* «Rewards to Foreigners» —, 11440b; dated from the *K'ai-huang* period in the TFYK cmxcix *Ch'ing-ch'iu* «Requests and Demands» 11721a; a strange date can be found in connection with this story in the TFYK cmxcvii *Yung-chih* «Courage and Boldness», 11701a, where the passage about *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s hunting is introduced by the character 宋 *Sung*, but supposably it remained in this passage from a report about another event happened under the (劉 *Liu*) 宋 *Sung* period (420—478), as the reports are arranged according to chronological order, and the passage preceeding the lines about *Sha-po-lio*'s deeds, originates from the 晉 *Chin* period (265—419). — In the passages of the TFYK referred to above (in the *Pao-i*, *Ch'ing-ch'iu* and *Yung-chih* chapters) the region of the hunting is written — instead of 恆代之間 of the PS, SS and TCTC — like this: 嘗代之間; probably the first character remained there from the contemporary name of the region 常山郡 *Ch'ang-shan-chün*, while 恆州 *Hêng-chou* can be considered its archaic name. (On the placename *Hêng-chou* see Liu Mau-tsai II, 508, Note 110.) — The TCTC clxxvi, 5489 records the events in question in the 4th month of the year 587, — before *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s death, see Note 62.

[62] *Sha-po-lio* (*Išpara*) *qayan* died on the *kêng-hsü* day of the 4th month in the 7th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, i.e. on the 18th of May, 587, cf. PS xi, 167a; SS i, 21b. The latter passage states that *Sha-po-lio* was succeeded by his son *Tu-lan qayan*, but between *Sha-po-lio* and *Tu-lan*, the younger brother of *Sha-po-lio qayan*, *Ch'u-lo Mo-ho* (*Baya*) *qayan* was the ruler of the Eastern Turks, no matter for how short a time, and *Tu-lan qayan* ascended the throne only in the next year, 588, see the next notes.

[63] 處羅 *Ch'u-lo*, known as 處羅侯 *Ch'u-lo-hou*, became *qayan* under the names (titles) 葉護 *Yeh-hu* (*Yabγu*) and 莫何 *Mo-ho* (*Baya*) (after having displaced the son of the previous *qayan Tu-lan*, as the younger brothers of the *qayan*s usually did so). The last character of his (personal) name 處羅侯 *Ch'u-lo-hou* is not common in transcriptions, but as 侯 means in Chinese «prince» or «princely person», it is not striking in a *qayan*'s name. Besides, in this way 處羅 *Ch'u-lo*, *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s younger brother, ruling in 587—588, could be distinguished well from the *qayan* 處羅 *Ch'u-lo* of the Western Turks, son of 泥利 *Ni-li qayan*, who suceeded *A-po* (*Apa*) *qayan*, when he was captured by the Eastern Turks (see Note 64); and who fled to China in 611 (cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occid.* 19). Nevertheless the character 侯 can be a mistake too, written instead of 俟, as these characters are often confounded in the sources; — see *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qayan*'s personal name 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin* written 俟升 several times in the TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b; the name 處羅侯 *Ch'u-lo-hou* itself is written 處羅俟 *Ch'u-lo-szŭ* in the TFYK cmlxxiv *Pao-i* «Rewards to Foreigners» —, 11440b. — Thus it is not impossible that *Baya Yabγu qayan* was called originally 處羅俟斤 *Ch'u-lo Szŭ-chin*. (And, as he ruled for such a short time, if his name was miswritten in a document, there was no occasion to correct it.)

[64] The banners and musical instruments of the imperial army, given to the Barbarians, symbolized China's alliance and readiness to help, and several times this symbolic help alone evoked respect for the allied foreign army, as it happened in *Ch'u-lo qayan*'s

case too. The *qayan*, told clever and cunning, used the Chinese imperial insignia to decide the battle against *A-po qayan*'s Western Turks, to capture *A-po*, in order to hand him over to the court. Probably this victory opened the way for him toward the western territories of Central Asia, see Note 65. *A-po*'s defeat is not dated; the TCTC clxxvi, 5490 reports about this battle before the *chia-hsü* day of the 4th month of the 1st year of the 禎明 *Chêng-ming* period (the 11th of June, in the 5th month? 587), but as all this is recorded immediately after *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s death (he died on the 18th of May, cf. Note 62) and *Ch'u-lo*'s accession to the throne, we may suppose that *Szŭ-ma Kuang* did not know of more precise dates either. — In 585, when *Sha-po-lio qayan* defeated *A-po qayan*, we find a passage that *Sha-po-lio* captured his enemy, — probably it is an interpolation, cf. Note 55.

[65] When *Ch'u-lo qayan* led a campaign in West, he was hit by an arrow (PS ic, 1321b; SS lxxxiv, 835b), — namely by that of *Bahrām Čōbin*, the famous Persian general, in 588 (cf. K. Czeglédy, *Bahrām Čōbin and the Persian apocalyptic literature*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), 24), and the *qayan* died. The TCTC clxxvi, 5498 reports about these events at the end of the second year of the *Chêng-ming* period, after the *kêng-tzŭ* day of the 12th month, i.e. after the 28th of December, 588 (and before the 22nd of January, 589), but without indicating the dates.

[66] The emperor *Wên-ti* of *Sui*, destroyer of his last rival, the state 陳 *Ch'en*, sent to the Turks precious vessels, looted in *Ch'ên*, as a token of condolence, in the 8th year of the *K'ai-huang* period, in 588, cf. TFYK cmlxxx *T'ung-hao* «Connection and Friendship», 11509b (*Tu-lan qayan*'s personal name can be found there in the form 雍闓).

[67] The late *Išpara qayan*'s son, 雍虞閭 *Yung-yü-lü*, became the ruler of the Eastern Turks under the name 頡伽施多那都藍可汗 *Hsieh-chia-shih To-na Tu-lan k'o-han*, in short 都藍 *Tu-lan qayan*. (Cf. PS ic, 1321b; SS lxxxiv, 835b; in the SS the character 那 is not correctly written.) The first part of *Tu-lan qayan*'s name 頡伽施 *Hsieh-chia-shih* (*yiet-kịa-śiẹ*) is apparently a transcription of the well-known title which occurs in the 8th century among the Uigurs: *el* [*ü*]*gäš*(*i*) ~ *il ügäsi* «Ruhm des Reichs» (see the latter form in F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II: *Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1910), 93—94; cf. the other Chinese transcriptions of the title *il ügäsi* in H. Ecsedy, *Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei-t'ing* (*790—791 A. D.*): *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII (1964), 97—99).

[68] SS lxxxiv, 835b: 勃布 «*po*-cloth»; PS ic, 1321b: 勃布 «*p'o*-cloth», i.e. a certain kind of cloth made of a plant named 勃~勃, identified in China with other plants (not necessarily related to the plant in question) like 繁母 *fan-mu*, 蓬勃 *p'ang-po*, 皤蒿 *p'o-hao* etc., and all of them are told to be identic with the plant 白蒿 *po-hao* «Artemisia stelleriana», which has 白毛 «white hair» on the back side of the leaves (cf. *Tz'ŭ-hai*). Pelliot raised the possibility to see a transcription of the Turkic word *böz* 'cotton' in the part 勃 *po* (*b'uət*) of the expression 勃布 «*po*-cloth» (Pelliot, *Neuf notes* 216). *Böz* could mean in the original language «a cloth made of plant». (See the other forms and meanings of the word *böz* in L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming. Le Kao-tch'ang-kouan yi-chou du Bureau des Traducteurs*: *Dissertationes Sodalium Instituti Asiae Interioris* XI (Budapest 1966), 145.) On the textiles made of cotton and other vegetable fibres, fashionable in China and necessary to be imported, see Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 204—207.

[69] The mission of 褥但 *Ju-tan tegin* is recorded in the 7th year of the *K'ai-huang* period (587) in the TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395a (there the name is written 傴但 *Ju* (*No*)-*tan*). Both the SS lxxxiv, 835b and the PS ic, 1321b mention it «in the same year», when *Sha-po-lio qayan*'s hunting, death etc. took place, but from the sequence of the events it is obvious that it happened in the following year, in 588.

[70] Cf. PS ic, 1321b; SS lxxxiv, 835b; TFYK cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 三, 11395b.

[71] See the list of the Chinese delegations sent to the Turks in Liu Mau-tsai I, 402—409; the Turk delegations sent to China: Liu Mau-tsai I, 410—417; and the list of the Turk inroads to China («Raubüberfälle», although not all of them were marauding campaigns, as we have seen from the history of the period concerned): Liu Mau-tsai I, 433—439.

[72] See e.g. Note 34!

The barter of horses for silk seems to be reflected also by the confusion of the Chinese numerary classifiers for silk and for horses: 匹 *p'i*[3] and 疋 *p'i*[3] (earlier: *shu*[1]).

The unusual adaptation of a classifier of noun to such different objects gave an opportunity for a lot of speculations in China from the earliest time. These opinions are summarized in the thorough study on numerary classifiers of 劉世儒 *Liu Shih-ju*, entitled *Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao* 量詞 *liang-tz'ŭ yen-chiu*, Chung-hua shu-chü (Peking 1965), pp. 184—187 and pp. 227—228. *Liu Shih-ju* agrees with the opinions of those, who consider the character 疋 to be a mistake for the character 匹, see p. 184, therefore he discusses only the word 匹, and he concludes (p. 228): there are two kinds of 匹 *p'i*[3]; one of them is a 陪伴詞 'numerary classifier' for horse etc., the other one is a 稱量詞 'unit of measure' for cloth etc., and both of them originated — quite independently — from the word 匹 of the expressions 匹配 or 匹偶 «a pair», «a couple», «a married couple». Though *Liu Shih-ju*'s opinion is supported by several, well-based arguments, there remain several points to be explained.

Liu Shih-ju discusses the related problems within the word 匹, exluding 疋 from the further researches, as he considers it a mere graphical mistake for 匹. Nevertheless, from a few earlier informations about the word (see in the *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* and in Morohashi's dictionary), we learn that the word 疋, pronounced *shu* (**ʂi̯o*), meaning «foot» (its archaic graph represented probaby a drawing of a foot, cf. B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*: *BMFEA* XXIX (1957), 42), indicated a measure, which was the top measure in a system where every unit of measure doubled the quantity of the former unit (cf. *Liu Shih-ju*, p. 227). Later on (probably in an early period), when 匹 substituted or at least could substitute 疋, 疋 lost even its phonetic form and was pronounced like 匹 *p'i*[3] (*p'i̯ĕt*). Naturally the word 匹 meaning 'a pair' could involve the meaning of a measure described above without difficulty. — This explanation does not contradict *Liu Shih-ju*'s other conclusions, and in the 3rd—6th centuries, when he examines the numerary expressions, 疋 could be only a variant indeed for the numerary classifier generally written 匹. (According to *Liu Shih-ju*'s opinion, p. 184, in the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties 疋 and 匹 were but optional variants, and it happened later on that 疋 became a numerary classifier for 布 'cloth' and 匹 became a numerary classifier for horses. But then what about the independent meaning and the earlier phonetic form of the word 疋?) — In *Liu Shih-ju*'s opinion originally the word 匹 as a numerary classifier indicated mainly animals in general, and its sphere of signification became narrower only later on; finally in the 3rd—6th centuries it was used most frequently for horses (cf. *Liu Shih-ju*, *op. cit.*, p. 184). *Liu Shih-ju* enumerates the reasons why the word 匹 'a pair' could indicate animals, mainly horses: as it could imply the sense «man and horse (i.e. a mounted man)», «two horses» (as a couple of them was harnassed generally), «male and female» etc. These arguments are not completely convincing, as 匹 indicates one horse and not a couple of horses, but the fact that 匹 was used as a numerary classifier for animals and especially for horses, does not require further explanation, even if we cannot derive it from the expressions 匹配 ~ 匹偶 'a married couple'. (In a later period 匹 was able to provide the word 馬 'horse' with the idea of plurality, but, instead of the number «two», an indefinite plural was involved in the expression 馬匹, originating from the usual

classical structure «馬 + 匹 + a numeral», cf. H. Herrfurth, *Die Klassifikationsaffixe im Chinesischen*, p. 38, in *Beiträge zum Problem des Wortes im Chinesischen, Herausg. von Ratchnevsky*, II, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1964.)

Anyhow, the most striking feature of the numerary classifier 匹 *p'i* is that it can be used both for animals, mostly for horses and for cloth, mainly for silk. It turns out from the numerous opinions aroused in China on this problem that some kind of connection was always felt between the two uses of the word 匹, but all the explanations — sometimes quite fantastic ones — seem to be mere speculation; no wonder that after having reviewed them, *Liu Shih-ju* states that there is no connection between the two senses of the word 匹, better to say, between the two words. *Liu Shih-ju*, p. 186, quotes the opinions concerning the background of the horse—silk connection. — There are authors stating that as early as in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period (8th—5th centuries B. C.), horses and silk were presented together; that one piece of silk covered the length of a horse etc., and even that there was some connection between the length of the shadow of a horse and the length of a piece of cloth (quoted by the *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* and Morohashi from the *Yüan*-period, from 周伯琦 *Chou Po-ch'i*'s 六書正譌 *Liu-shu chêng-o*). One of the explanations, however, is worth mentioning: it connects the double use of the word 匹 with the trade, saying that after a horse perished, when selling it, a piece of cloth is given in return.

To conclude, no matter how the word 匹 could become a numerary classifier both for horse and silk (and could be substituted in both senses by 疋, originally connected only with cloth), aware of the history of the nomadic-Chinese barter of horse for silk, one cannot help supposing that this barter, i.e. the common experience of some kind of equivalency between horse and silk, at least contributed to the spread and common use of this kind of double meaning of the numerary classifier in question. But as this kind of trade began earlier than the 6th (or 3rd—6th) century, we may seek for the origin of the examined phenomena in an earlier period; this suspicion can be strengthened by an information of 吳任臣 *Wu Jên-ch'ên*'s 續字彙補 *Hsü Tzŭ-hui-pu* (17th century; quoted in Morohashi, under the heading 疋), stating that the alternative usage (通用) of the characters 匹 and 疋 goes back to the *Han*-period, and it can be considered a vulgar mistake («a vulgar borrowing»: 俗借字). — Finally, when evaluating the significance of the barter of horse for silk, it is to be taken into consideration that this barter-relation was able to arise a — no matter how slight — change, or at least it could contribute to a change in such a conservative medium as language.

[73] The territory of the province *Shanhsi* was connected with horse-breeding and horse-marketing at least from the *Ch'in*-period (221—206 B. C.), when the town 馬邑 *Ma-i* «Horse-town» was built, — according to some sources, the name was due to the horse-breeding in this territory. In the *Han*-period (206 B. C.—220 A. D.) it was one of the points where the Chinese had to clash frequently with the *Hsiung-nus*, but probably not only war-like actions took place there, and not only horse-breeding, but marketing, too, belonged to the characteristics of this place; under the emperor *T'ang Hsüan-tsung* (713—755), a market was established there under the name 馬市 *Ma-shih* «Horse-market», where the horses of nomadic peoples, Chinese silk, tea etc. changed hands. This marketplace continued functioning in the later centuries too, up to the *Ch'ing*-period. (Cf. Morohashi, under the headings 馬邑 and 馬市.)

[74] See e.g. the recent paper by S. Jagchid: «*Trade, Peace and War between the Nomadic Altaics and the Agricultural Chinese*», submitted to the XXVIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, August 13—19, 1967.

[75] E.g. the wise *Tonyuquq* told about the Turks at the beginning of the 8th century

(CTS cxciv 上, 1442b): «When they are strong, they advance troops to rob and plunder and when they are weak, they skulk away and hide among mountains and forests.» (Cf, Liu Mau-tsai I, 173.)

[76] On the constant preparedness of the nomads for war and on its motives see R. B. Ekvall, *The nomadic pattern of living among the Tibetans as preparation for war*: *American Anthropologist* LXIII (1961), 1250—1263.

[77] In the text of the TFYK we find 爰 instead of the character 綏.

[78] Cf. TFYK cmlviii—cmlxx *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 一/三, 11386a—11396a. Naturally the Turk envoys brought gifts only to the states Western *Wei*, *Chou*, *Ch'i* and *Sui*, while in case of the other foreign peoples the total number of the contemporary missions was taken into account, of those too, which arrived to the *Liang* or *Ch'ên* court during the period in question. The list of tributes of the TFYK does not contain all the Turk delegations which brought presents to China (e.g. the delivering of the first Turk «tribute» is dated here from the January—February of 554, i.e. from the 12th month of the 天保 *T'ien-pao* period, in *Ch'i*, cf. cmlxix 二, 11393b), — but supposedly some of the delegations of other foreign peoples, too, could be left out, and thus probably the proportion of the number of the delegations is not far from the reality.

[79] On the maniac fondness in China of the articles reminiscent of nomadic life, see e.g. *Po Chü-i*'s favourite felt tent (his two poems, describing it, are translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 471—472). About the contradiction that the aversion to foreigners and fondness of foreign goods could exist at the same time, see Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 22—23. Of course, there were some changes too — even if temporarily — in this aversion and in this fondness, cf. E. G. Pulleyblank's remarks on the differences in his review on Liu Mau-tsai: *BSOS* XXII (1959), 383. — The list of the goods brought by the Turk envoys to the Chinese courts can be found in Liu Mau-tsai I, 455—456.

[80] Tee TCTC clxxx, 5649 tells the story without date, about at the middle of March, 610; it is the description of one of the great imperial «exhibitions», when the foreigners could see China's products, as everything which represented China's wealth was exposed (大陳文物). It reads as follows:

«The Western Barbarians (諸蕃) asked that they might enter the market *Fêng-tu*[a] in order to trade (交易). The emperor [*Sui Yang-ti*] permitted it, but first he ordered to set in order and to adorn the inns and shops, likewise the eaves and penthouses [i.e. the houses], to arrange the pavilions sumptuously, that specious wares should be piled up [in them] abundantly, and everybody and everything should appear in splendour and prosperity. Even the vegetable sellers spread dragon-beard mats[b], and if a Western Barbarian merchant (胡客) passed by a slapbang shop, everybody invited him to sit down, and when — after he had drunk and ate fill — he left, the cost of [all] this was not taken from him. [The merchants] were told fraudulently: «China is abundantly supplied, for drink and food usually no price is demanded.» All of the Western Barbarian (胡) merchants sighed with fright. A wise man of them pondered it over and over, and seeing that the trees were bound round with silk and brocade, said: «In China, too, there are poor people, whose bodies are not covered with clothes; what if these goods were given to them? what is the use of binding the trees with silk?» The people on the market felt ashamed and could not answer.» — *a)* 豐都 *Fêng-tu* was the eastern market of the Eastern Capital, i.e. *Lo-yang* (it is mentioned in the commentary of the TCTC too). — *b)* According to the commentary, the 龍須席 *lung-hsü*-mat was made in the district 安慶 *An-ch'ing* of the region 淮上 *Huai-shang* (in the province Anhuei) of a plant named 龍須草 *lung-hsü*-grass. The plant in question is probably identic with the 龍鬚草 *lung-hsü-ts'ao* «dragon-beard grass» ~ 石龍芻 *shih-lung-ch'u* «lizard-hay»: Juncus effusus, var. decipiens forma utilis (cf. *Tz'ŭ-hai*).

[81] 裴矩 *P'ei Chü* e.g. obtained his information in 607 from the *Hu* (Sogdian?) merchants of the Western Countries, who went to 張掖 *Chang-i*, i.e. to *Kan-chou* (in the province Kansu) to trade with the Chinese. Cf. the biography of *P'ei Chü*: SS lxvii, 703—706 (translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 85—88); PS xxxviii, 550—553; CTS lxiii, 644a—645a; HTS c, 939a—940a; F. Jäger, *Leben und Werk des P'ei Chü. Ein Kapitel aus der chinesischen Kolonialgeschichte*: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* IX (1920/1922), 81—115, 216—231.

[82] On the political motives of the refusals, even if the offered goods could have been useful for China, see Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 59.

[83] Cf. Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 73, 75—76.

[84] Cf. Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 70.

[85] Cf. Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 59.

[86] Cf. Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 59—61. — Even the Chinese authorities sought for certain kinds of horses. E.g. on the *ting-mao* day of the 7th month in the 5th year of the *Ta-yeh* period, i.e. on the 7th of August, 609, the *T'u-yü-huns* were asked to send to the capital their horses of dragon-species, — not for trade, but as a present (the request at that occasion was not fulfilled, cf. PS xii, 181b). This kind of horse, told to be bred in an island of the lake *Ch'ing-hai* (cf. Th. D. Carroll, *Account of the T'ù-yû-hún in the history of the Chin dynasty*: *Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations* IV. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 23), were closely connected with Western Central Asia (Ferghana, Samarkand), and the legendary traditions related to them go back to the ancient times, cf. P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*: *JAs.* CCXXIV (1934), 71—72; P. A. Boodberg, *Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier*: *HJAS* I (1936), 288. These legendary horses of western origin were popular in China later on too, cf. E. Bretschneider, *Chinese intercourse with the countries of Central and Western Asia in the fifteenth century*: *The China Review* V (1876—1877), Part I, 125.

[87] See Balázs, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1932, 53.

[88] Cf. Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 23—24, 284. — See the part 關市 *Kuan-shih* «Frontier passes and markets» of the THY lxxxvi, 1578—1580, and the part 市 *Shih* «Marketing» of the same chapter of the THY, pp. 1581—1583; they show well that in the course of the *T'ang*-period now new market-places were established, then they were closed, afterwards trade was again permitted for a while and so on. Here we can see examples of the prohibitions on the trade of different wares, cf. e.g. THY lxxxvi, 1581: «In the 3rd (intercalary) month of the 2nd year of the *K'ai-yüan* period [714] a decree [was announced]: «It is not allowed to sell brocade, damask, gauze, fine silk gauze, embroidery, (finely) woven silks, yaktails, pearls, gold and iron to the (Western) Barbarians (蕃); and likewise those who are intending to enter the Barbarian regions, are not allowed to carry objects made of gold or iron across the western and northern frontier passes.»»

[89] Cf. E. Balázs, *Le traité économique du «Souei-chou». Études sur la société et l'économie de la Chine médiévale* I: *T'oung Pao* XLII (1953), 173—174; 231—232.

[90] See the biography of *Yü-wên Hua-chi*: SS lxxxv, 843a—846a, translated by Liu Mau-tsai I, 121.

[91] In the *T'ang*-period too, although in that time China had widespread and many-sided connections with the neighbouring and even more distant countries, the prohibition on private trade (at least on large-size private trade) influenced China's foreign relations in a disadvantageous way. This prohibition — even if unwritten sometimes — hampered every initiative in foreign policy, which could involve private interest too. That happened e.g. in the 780s, when the powerful chief minister 李泌 *Li Pi*, in order to re-strengthen the connections between the Uigurs and China, opened the way for the merchants arriving from the Uigurs. Beside that the minister realized the advantages that the Uigurs as allies could mean (better to say: the danger that the Uigurs as enemies could represent)

for China, probably he was led also by the intention to make profit from the controlling of the trade-routes. His «treason» — the fact that his political manoeuvres were led by private interest too, i.e. by the wish to take advantages from the large-size foreign-Chinese trade, — was revealed soon; charges were brought against him, he fell out of favour, and his short-sighted successors reversed hurriedly his foreign policy, thereby accelerating the loss of the last Central Asian positions of the *T'ang* Empire, cf. Hilda Ecsedy, *Uigurs and Tibetians in Pei-t'ing (790—791 A. D.)*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII (1964), 83—104. The successors of the minister *Li Pi*, who found a good pretext in the prohibition on trade for their intrigues, and who made their best to eliminate *Li Pi*'s pro-Uigur policy, must have belonged to those officials who had suffered earlier much from the Uigurs living in the capital; these Uigurs made themselves hated — among others — by usury transactions for those officials who had got into debt. (See Schafer, *T'ang Exotics* 20, 284.) That is why the aversion toward the Uigurs could hinder these officials even in realizing the possibility to take some profit of the Uigur-Chinese trade (as supposably *Li Pi* himself did not intend to do more either, but he must have belonged to another strata of the bureaucracy of the capital, which did not have special reasons to feel so much hatred against the connections with the arbitrary and usurious Uigurs).

[92] Cf. Balázs, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1932, 52—53; 58—66; on the waste of the discoveries and initiatives by monopolizing them by the government, see E. Balázs, *The birth of capitalism in China*: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* III (1960), 203—206.

[93] See Appendix II.

[94] Here, and also elsewhere in the study, when touching upon the questions of the general development of China, I rely, without any special reference, upon that historical outline (or am in agreement with it) which is to be found in the explanation and adaptation of the Marxian category «Asian mode of production» by Tőkei, cf. F. Tőkei, *Sur le mode de production asiatique*: *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* LVIII, Akadémiai Kiadó (Budapest 1966), 69—84.

APPENDIX I

A short mention of the events in question of the year 554 can be found in Franke, *Geschichte* II, 253; III, 288.

a) The Turk delegation with *Mu-kan* (*Buqan*) *qaγan*'s presents arrived in the *Ch'i* court on the *ting-szŭ* day of the 8th month in the 5th year of the 天保 *T'ien-pao* period (the 15th of September, 554), cf. PCS iv, 37a; the arrival of the delegation is registered in the same month in the TFYK too (cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11393b).

b) On *Mu-kan qaγan*'s repeated marriage promises to both sides (both to *Chou* and *Ch'i*) in the time of 恭帝 *Kung-ti* of Western *Wei* see CS 1 426b; PS ic, 1318a. (The TFYK cmlxxviii *Ho-ch'in* «Peace and Relationship» —, 11493b, when reporting about this period, writes 俟升 instead of *Mu-kan qaγan*'s personal name 俟斤 *Szŭ-chin*, cf. Note 19.) From the CS and PS (*loc. cit.*) we are informed that *Mu-kan* decided to give his daughter to the *Chou* court, «being persuaded» by a delegation of *Chou*, but he asked at the same time to attack *Ch'i* with allied troops, — i.e. in fact *Mu-kan* turned against *Ch'i*, because the emperor 文宣帝 *Wên-hsüan-ti* received the defeated *Juan-juan*s in his territory, and the *qaγan* made a decision in favour of *Chou* in the hope that *Chou* would help him to destroy the remnants of the *Juan-juan*s in *Ch'i*.

c) The Chinese reports on this year (554) give an opportunity to recognize a nomadic group, which tried to behave in China like they had used to act in their home-

land, in the steppe. In this way, on the one hand, some light can be thrown on the relations of the elements of a nomadic empire, or at least on one kind of the possible relations, namely on the connection between the ruling element (or clan or tribe or people) and other elements (or tribes or peoples) of the great empires of the steppe nomads. On the other hand, when reading attentively the short notices about a foreign group which attached itself to the Chinese Empire, we get direct information about the attitude of the Chinese official world (including the Chinese official historiography too) to the peoples (elements of peoples etc.) arriving to Chinese territories.

In the TFYK cmlxix *Ch'ao-kung* «Audience and Tribute» 二, 11393b a short and strange summary of the events can be found; probably it is due to the scissors-and-paste method of the Chinese historiography. By the way, it is the first occasion when the Turks were registered in the list of tributaries of the TFYK, not because they did not bring presents to China earlier, but presumably because their presence in the neighbourhood of the Chinese frontier was taken into account only after the beginning of their independence. The passage in question reads as follows:

«In the 12th month of the 4th year [in the period *T'ien-pao* of Northern *Ch'i*, i.e. between the 19th of January—17th of February, 554] the emperor [*Wên-hsüan-ti*] punished the Turks. The Turks requested that they might surrender themselves. [The emperor] permitted it, and therefore (於是) they sent their tributes and presents (貢獻) in succession.»

If so, then all this must have happened just after the time when the Turks had taken over the power along the northern borders of China, in the period of their successful conquering campaigns. Further suspicions arise when we take into consideration that in the same year a Turk delegation brought presents to the *Ch'i* court (see the part *a)* of this Appendix), very likely independently from these «tributes and presents in succession», which were reported at the beginning of the year and which were not mentioned later on (as the Chinese sources generally stop mentioning those presents which become — or at least seem to become — regular). Furthermore, in those years, in the time of *Kung-ti* of Western *Wei* (554—556) both the court of *Wei* and that of *Ch'i* competed for *Mu-kan qaγan*'s daughter, and both of them tried to surpass oneanother in presents in order to get his good intentions and his daughter as an empress (see the part *b)* of this Appendix).

No doubt that not «the Turks» as a whole (as often written in the sources for the sake of simplicity), but a smaller group of them is concerned in the passage quoted above. The fact that no leader is mentioned in connection with this group, makes it more probable that it was not a significant part of the Turk Empire. Thus we have to search after the motives of the events of that year in the north-eastern territories of China quite independently of the data known from the history of those Turks who remained *Mu-kan qaγan*'s subjects (and who brought their *qaγan*'s gifts to the *Ch'i* court at the occasion referred to above).

The TFYK contains other pieces of information too about the Turks in *Ch'i* in 554, and in two passages (cmlxxxiv *Chêng-t'ao* «Punitive Expeditions» 三, 11558b; cmxcv *Chiao-ch'in* «Battles and Attacks», 11684b) we can read more detailed versions of the account shortened in the form referred to; they correspond to the text of the PCS iv, 36b (translated in Liu Mau-tsai I, 17); we are going to analyze those data which can be found in these passages.

From an earlier note of the PCS iv, 36b and PS vii, 106a we learn that on the *chi-wei* day of the 12th month in the 4th year of the *T'ien-pao* period, i.e. on the 20th of January, 554, the Turks attacked again the *Juan-juan*s (here: *Ju-ju*s), who fled southward from the Turks. (When they had been attacked by the Turks first, in 552, a part of them had fled to the territory of *Ch'i* and had asked for protection, but soon they had

been driven back to the northern region; now, when the Türks wanted to destroy even their remnants, they tried to follow the old way again.)

The events, following the attack and flight, happened in the 12th month of the 4th year of the *T'ien-pao* period. The PS vii, 106a connects them with the *kuei-hai* day, i.e. the 24th of January, 554. The beginning of this passage informs us that «the emperor punished the Türks in the North», thus the day mentioned could be the date of the commencement of the imperial expedition against the Türks, who attacked the *Juan-juan*s, living in *Ch'i*'s territory and protected by *Ch'i* (in spite of the fact that the Türks were in lively diplomatic connection with *Ch'i* in that period).

The emperor *Wên-hsüan-ti* of *Ch'i*, after having «punished» the Türks, received the *Juan-juan*s into his country, under his protection; thereafter he dethronized their ruler 庫提 *K'u-t'i*, and to the ruler's place he appointed 菴羅辰 *An-lo-ch'ên* (the son of the late *qayan* 阿那瓌 *A-na-kuei*, defeated by the Türks), settled the people of the *Juan-juan*s in 馬邑州 *Ma-i-chou* (by mistake sometimes written 馬邑川 *Ma-i-ch'uan*, in the province Shanhsi) and supplied them with food and silk(給其稟餼繒帛 «he gave them their grain-allowance and silk», cf. PCS IV, 36b and the foresaid two passages of the TFYK). Meanwhile the imperial army drove the Türks northward, to 朔方 *Shuo-fang* (still in Shanhsi); then they asked for permission to surrender themselves. They received the permission, so they could go back southward, and therefore from this time on they sent tribute-presents regularly. (Cf. PCS iv, 36b; PS vii, 106a; TFYK cmlxxxiv *Chêng-t'ao* «Punitive Expeditions» 三, 11558a; TFYK cmxcv *Chiao-ch'in* «Battles and Attacks» 11684b.)

The mere fact that *Ch'i* protected the *Juan-juan*s against the Türks, had many further consequences, as it made the Türks even closer allies of *Chou* and prepared their concerted future actions against *Ch'i* (in 563—564), although not much later, in the 3rd month of the same year, i.e. at the end of April — at the beginning of May, 554, the *Juan-juan*s revolted against *Ch'i* (cf. PS vii, 106a), they were expelled from their territory, they were defeated several times both by *Ch'i*'s army and *Mu-kan qayan*'s Türks, and in 555—556 they disappeared, or at least the Chinese lost sight of them. The fate of the Türks, «surrendering themselves», is not reported later on either, but even the short note about them at the beginning of the year 554, quoted above, can lead to a few noteworthy considerations.

The Chinese sources state that the Türks, after having won the remainder of the *Juan-juan*s in *Ch'i*, faced the imperial army, and were «punished» (討). The term 討 would mean a punitive expedition ('to chastise', 'to remove', cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po hu t'ung. The comprehensive discussion in the White Tiger Hall*: *Sinica Leidensia* VI, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1949—1952, II, 458); in this case, however, the consequences do not show a complete defeat of the Türks. By this expedition the Türks were driven back (or they themselves withdrew, as they did not feel themselves strong enough to oppose *Ch'i*'s army, — as they used to do in similar cases; nevertheless it could not but mean victory for the Chinese). The Türks did not go too far, and they did not run at all, since they — better to say: a group of them — asked for permission to remain in *Ch'i*. So they must have sent envoys to the emperor's army, and there — as one may guess from the results — they were received favourably; and they were allowed to live (or to settle) within *Ch'i*, by all means nearer to the centre than the place from where they had been «driven back» before. The difference between the reception of the Türks and the punishment of an enemy, which is completely defeated, can be seen well in the next period, when the revolting *Juan-juan*s were really driven back, and afterwards they were defeated and even destroyed.

But the Türks («punished» recently) «asked that they might surrender themselves», — and the favourable answer meant for them a peaceful possibility to move to the region

they had wanted to conquer before. Being pleased by this, from that time on they sent tributes regularly to the *Ch'i* court. The imperial court, having good reasons to consider these Turks China's subjects — as they lived on *Ch'i*'s territory and sent tributes to the authorities, — could be content at *Ch'i*'s victory; the court did not take into account, of course, that it was not the *Ch'i* emperor who conquered the Turks, defeating them in their homeland, but just the Turks gained a territory in *Ch'i*. (A frequent consequence was, however, of the flight of a foreign group to China that the immigrants, separated from their earlier conditions of life, changed their way of life in China and were absorbed. This could happen to these Turks too, as far as we can conclude from the silence of the sources about their fate, — but it is another question.)

If we had a report like this only about the Turks or only about the *Juan-juan*s, there could be hardly anything else to be told, but luckily they occur in the same passages, in the same period and almost in the same place, and their position can be compared.

Both the Turks, who were «punished», and the *Juan-juan*s, protected by the Chinese, received a territory from the state *Ch'i*. But the *Juan-juan*s had to dethronize their own ruler, because another leader of theirs was supported by the court: *An-lo-ch'ên*, the son of the last ruler of the independent *Juan-juan*s; nevertheless, instead of being chosen by his people, the new ruler was appointed by their «protector». In the same period of time no change is mentioned in the organization of the Turks (while in the cases of their real surrender, their leaders lost their original ranks and Chinese titles were conferred on them instead, thus becoming «servants» of the Chinese, — as they complain in the Orkhon inscriptions, cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions* 99; Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften* 146; Malov, *Pamiatniki* 21). The *Juan-juan*s obtained presents from the court, but the expression designating the food and silk given to them, is a term used for the allowances of the Chinese officials, thus from the Chinese viewpoint this gift was but «salary», given to the actual subjects of the empire. Meanwhile the Turks sent gifts (tribute) themselves, and it means that they were at least able to send presents, like *Mu-kan qayan*'s independent Turks. Strangely enough, the position of the «punished» Turks is obviously more advantageous than that of the «protected» *Juan-juan*s.

Presumably the Chinese wanted to give the best to their protegé, i.e. the possibility to be in a position similar to the other subjects of China. The same could have happened to the Turks too, but they were stronger than the *Juan-juan*s and this was reflected in their treatment by the Chinese authorities in *Ch'i*. It is easy to understand that the documents tried to conceal these setbacks to Chinese prestige (if they were discovered at all), but after all it seems necessary to find out, if possible, the signification of the well-known expressions too, i.e. the real relations hidden under the mechanic historiographic terms like e.g. 請降. In this case it could be explained like this: [the Turks] «asked [without war] for a place inside China».

As for the group of the Turks in question, probably they were not strong enough to obtain a territory from the other nomads outside China (or simply they tried to get along in another way), but they represented a military power strong enough to expel the *Juan-juan*s and to threaten China as much that they could obtain a Chinese territory by a mere request. They did not demand it gratis, they gave presents to the court in return, and one can wonder if they did not consider this situation as a kind of barter. It is not unique in the history of the nomads to find a people intending to obtain the right to use a territory by a gift, as a recompense, as a more or less symbolic recompense, of course, like e.g. in 587, when *Sha-po-lio* (*Išpara*) *qayan* asked for a permission to hunt (just in the province in question, in Shanhsi, see above), and he sent to the emperor the tongues and tails of the deers he had killed. Obviously it was but a symbolic present, but it was still a symbol of a part of the hunting spoils.

Recognizing the constant and violent intention of the Turks to create barter-marketing relation, we cannot be surprised to see the economic motives of their other intentions. They sent gifts not only in order to get silk and other rare and precious goods, suitable even for further barter, but also when they wanted to win the emperor's good intentions, his alliance or his permission for something; when they asked for a Chinese princess (like in the case of marriage agreements at home), and even when they asked for Buddhist sacred books, they sent presents in return (in 572).

Anyhow, it is worth noticing that the Turks seem to have esteemed some kind of value of the territory obtained by them, they tried to express their esteem in «tribute», — and in our case, as they were not defeated and were living in China without being Chinese subjects, their behaviour probably shows their usual behaviour in their steppe homeland. The symbolic present of *Išpara qayan* was meant for one single occasion, as he did not need the territory for a longer period of time; but the «surrendering» group of the Turks, which wanted to ensure its right to live on the territory of the state *Ch'i*, intended to do it by sending regular gifts, — as we are told by the Chinese sources. (Nevertheless the regularity of those «tributes», presents, which are alleged to be regular, i.e. which seem to become regular, cannot be controlled either in this case, or in a great number of the cases.)

Before stating these regular gifts to be a kind of rent paid for the territory yielded to the Turks, and before jumping to rash conclusions from this relation between the Turks and the *Ch'i* court, which seems to be usual for the Turks as they are the initiators in it, — it is worth considering that the relations mentioned here are always closely connected with the actual — and temporary — military situation. The Turks did not ask for land in order to graze, they wanted to obtain a territory where they could feel secure, and by their presents they intended to «buy» primarily the benevolence of the *Ch'i* court; and the Chinese gave them their land (probably not their cultivated land) not in return for their tribute, but because of fear of their weapons. Besides, this kind of «rent», as it is not in any ratio to the size, profitability etc. of the land obtained, cannot be anything but symbolic, symbolizing (no matter with what enormous quantities sometimes) only the unstable balance of prestiges, influenced by the power-relations, in spite of the economic interests included in the intentions of at least one of the parties. But apart from this, as these «rent»-relations were created by weapons and represented the interest (even if economic interest) of only one of the parties, — in this case the interests of the Turks, — these relations cannot be expected to last longer than the military power (or prestige) of the Turks who succeeded in obtaining the advantages in question.

The behaviour of the Turks in China, where feudal features could be observed only in embryonic form and only temporarily, should serve as a warning for those who suspect feudal relations between the different — ruling and subjugated — elements of the nomadic empires (e.g. in the case of a tribe or a smaller unit who defends — actually or nominally — another weaker group, whose members give gifts, in return, in the hope that they can live in a certain territory in the future too). In China, where nothing changed during the short period in question, the Turks were able to create their special («rent» — «protection») relationship to China, but as a matter of fact, it represented only an ambiguous and unstable connection established by their military power, — and from the sources it is clear that this situation was not unusual for the Turks.

This moment of the Turk-Chinese history shows well that in any case, weapon-made, arbitrary and unstable connections between nomadic tribes or between nomads and settled peoples, even if these connections appear as rent-like relationship on the one side and protection-like relation on the other, cannot result in more than rudimentary, *quasi*-feudal, feudal-like relations, all the more because the further development is

frustrated again and again by the change of power-relations, and because a connection like this can be realized and maintained only in the period of military superiority of the enforcing party.

APPENDIX II

The common — and inaccurate — term «nomad» has in the foregoing been used without restriction, although it comprises usually peoples and groups of peoples of several continents and thousands of years, relying upon such external features which generally suit more than one group of people (e.g. «they live by stock-breeding» or «they wander following the pastures» etc.), and are therefore unfit for the proper characterization of a mode of existence. Recognizing their most apparent differences, attempts to separate the individual nomadic groups from each other at least on the basis of the greatest geographical frames have already been made. (Partly according to regions, naming «Central-Asian», «Near Eastern», «North-African» etc. nomads, and partly according to land features, differentiating between «mountain-» and «plain-dwelling» etc. peoples.) This mechanical method which can by no means solve the problem since it merely labels what it ought to analyze is misleading in two directions: it assumes that geographical boundaries necessarily coincide with the borderlines of certain economic spheres (which borderlines are, by the way, generally much less rigid), and, moreover, it suggests that the differences have primarily, if not exclusively, geographical reasons.

It is obvious that the criteria on the basis of which the groups of nomads might be individually and historically characterized must derive from a multiliteral analysis of nomadic history — at least as far as the historical material investigated or still unexamined enables us to separate and characterize them. The term «nomad» has partly been used here by necessity — for want of a better name — and partly for the sake of a more convincing analysis, so that the *differentia specifica* should follow from the analysis itself.

Here, at the end of our study, we are able to say that those nomads who had been the primary subjects of our research and whom our final conclusions concern seem to be best described by the term «rider-nomad», used already in the related literature from time to time. Mere horse-breeding has no decisive force, since we know of peoples who breed but do not ride horses (or at least riding does not characterize them), whereas other peoples know and use horses, and may even sell them, although animal-breeding is not their main occupation. The special situation in our case is to a great extent due to the extremely large quantity of livestock to be found with the rider-nomads of the Asian and East-European steppes (which itself is certainly also a consequence of selling opportunities).

Thus the term «rider-nomad» is used here naming those chiefly livestock-breeding nomads moving and fighting on horseback who breed their large quantity of livestock for the purpose of exchange too, and who are able to achieve this purpose continuously, for a longer period by using peaceful, or if necessary, warlike means resulting from their military superiority. (We wish to treat the manyfold consequences of these circumstances and their effects on the social organization on another occasion.)

The above definition makes clear that the life of the rider-nomads is to a great extent determined by the historical situation, i.e. by the extensive necessity and possibility of the exchange in question, and also that geographical factors in their proper place must naturally also be taken into account, but only as possibilities, as geographical-climatic circumstances favouring nomadic stock-breeding, mainly horse-keeping. No doubt, in the Turk or in any other rider-nomad empire (which in any case cannot consist of only rider-nomadic peoples) economic factors outside stock-breeding (namely agriculture and crafts)

would well deserve further analysis, even within the area of the rider-nomads. It is, however, quite reasonable to attempt to describe the relation between the rider-nomads and their neighbours (mainly China) using that distinctive feature which all written and archeological sources agree in regarding as the most apparent and most essential characteristic of the nomads, namely on the basis of their animal husbandry, with the emphasis on horse-breeding and other phenomena closely related to it.

(See, moreover, Lattimore's general discussion of the historical role of the horse in Asia, in the history of the peoples of the steppe, in the acceleration of historical processes: e.g. O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, Boston 1962, Beacon Press, pp. 60—61, 63—65 etc.; and also his witty remarks concerning the unique development of pre-Columbian America in the absence of the horse: O. Lattimore, *The frontier history* in *Studies in frontier history. Collected papers 1928—1958*: *Le monde d'Outre-mer, passé et présent, Troisième Série, Essais* IV. Mouton et Co., Paris — La Haye 1962, p. 487; — here, pp. 482—483, we find a short note about the gifts of the nomads, which are expected to be returned by other gifts, and thus they seem to involve some kind of «gift-trade».)

It is to be noted here, that the phenomena related to the part played by the horse and treated in our study can naturally be best analyzed from the historical material of such an age when the absence of faster means of communication and the existence of vast uncultivated and unpopulated areas rendered the use of the horse great significance. This in itself explains why the much fuller but too late data of the past few centuries cannot provide substantial evidence applicable also to earlier ages, since then the horse did not mean special advantages any more for those who bred and used them, not only because of the decrease of the vast open areas, but chiefly in consequence of the technical development.

Traces of several earlier phenomena may, however, be observed also later, e.g. efforts to renew the nomadic compulsory exchange of horses, but without its earlier importance and function, in an absolete and small-scale form, cf. e.g. H. Serruys, *Four documents relating to the Sino-Mongol peace of 1570—1571*: *Monumenta Serica* XIX (1960), 1—66, where the attitude of the Chinese authorities to the Mongols is not different from that seen in this paper in their connection with the Turks; and H. Serruys, *Three Mongolian documents from 1635 in the Russian archives*: *CAJ* VII (1962), 1—41.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE *SANJĀQ* REGISTRATIONS IN HUNGARY

BY

J. KÁLDY-NAGY

1. The historical development of the *Ṣanǰāq* registration

The development of the economic and social structure of the Ottoman Empire was determined for centuries by the Moslem laws concerning landed property. The newly conquered areas, on the other hand, were connected organically to the central administration of the Empire by the enforcement of these dogmatic laws. The same Moslem laws were enforced in Hungary when soon after the occupation of Buda a decree was issued by sultan Süleyman to the effect that all people living in the Buda *vilāyet* shall remain where they are, no one shall ever do any harm to them and their children. Their chattels, their village and town houses, shops and other building and the crops of their vineyards and gardens shall be their own property used by them according to their will. They are free to sell these possessions, give them away or into proprietorship in any way whatsoever and in case of demise the title shall devolve on their legal heirs. The arable lands cultivated by them are also to remain in their possession, but not in the form of property ownership as the above mentioned possessions, since they will be, as in the other well-defended territories, *arāẓ-i memleket* land of the country known by the name «Treasury land» (*arẓ-i mīrī*), and as the property of the Treasury they can be put into the possession of the *reʿāyā* only by way of lease. They can sow and harvest whatever corns and other crops they want. They must pay the *ḫarāǰ*-part as the tithe and the other dues and they shall possess according to their will. If the soil will be not neglected but satisfactorily cultivated as it should be, and all dues be correctly paid, the owners must not be disturbed and molested by anyone, but they shall possess the land in their own manner till they die. In case of their death their children shall take their place and possess according to the conditions mentioned above. When no child is left, then, as it is the custom in the other well-defended territories, with the payment of the «instant fee» (*üǰret-i muaʿǰele*) the land must be put into the possession (*ṭapu*) of anyone who is able to cultivate it and he shall possess it according to the said conditions. Their vineyards and gardens will be similar possessions and if the vineyard and the garden will be desolate, their places must be maintained in the same way as

the arable lands, so they must not regard them as their own properties.»[1] Thus the land of the conquered part of Hungary became the property of the Turkish Treasury. At the same time the Moslem law concerning landed property brought about an administrative and financial system which was entirely different from the previous one.

The basic feature of the Turkish financial administration, the so called *muqāṭaʿa*- system originated in the 8th—9th centuries, the classical age of the Islam. The word *muqāṭaʿa* at that time meant the total of the annual taxes of a certain area or province (*vilāyet*), the amount determined in advance.[2] The same conception was meant by this term also in the Seljuk Empire where beside the members of the ruling dynasty and the leaders of the empire also soldiers could receive the *muqāṭaʿa* of an area in return for their services, in which case the inhabitants of the area paid the taxes due to the treasury to the owner of the *muqāṭaʿa*.[3] Later the *tīmār*-system of the Ottoman Empire was modelled, though under a different name, on this Seljuk military organization.[4] In the *tīmār*-system of the Ottoman Empire those who rendered services were also

[1] The first register of the Buda *sanǰāq* began with this text of law. The original of the register is deposited in Istanbul, in the Başvekâlet Arşivi (Archive of the Prime Minister's Office), reference mark: Tahrir defterleri Nr. 410. The cited text is in fact an introduction to the code of Ebussuud Efendi (1490—1574), the most outstanding jurist of his age (published: Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası, Istanbul, 1330/1913).

[2] Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen 1950), 107. For the conception of the *muqāṭaʿa* and its historical development from the word «*ikta*» see also O. Turan, *Ikta*: *Islam Ansiklopedisi* V (Istanbul 1950), 949—59.

[3] Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuad, *Bizans müesseselerinin osmanlı müesseselerine te'siri*: *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* I (İstanbul 1931), 223—25. The most important historical source of informations about the state system of the Seljuk Empire, quoted also by Köprülüzade, is the work of Grand-Vizier Nizāmulmulk (1063—1092) written, under the title «Siyāsatnāma», about governing, which was published in English (H. Darke, *Nizām al-Mulk. The Book Government or Rules for Kings*, London 1960), and also in German (K. E. Schabinger, *Nizāmulmuk. Reichskanzler der Saldschuqen 1063—1092 n. Cr. Siyāsatnāma*, Freiburg—München 1960). In connection with this question a recently published, important study must also be mentioned: Cl. Cahen, *Selçuki Devletleri Feodal Devletler mi idi?* [Was the Seljuk Empire A Feudal Empire?]: *İstanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XVII, offpr.

[4] Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuad, *op. cit.*, 230—32. The word *muqāṭaʿa*, together with the *timār*-system was transplanted into the Osmanli-Turk fiscal administration as a technical term; among the first Turkish chroniclers ʿĀšīqpašazāde and Dursun Bey used the word *muqāṭaʿa* in the sense «tax and duty» (*vergi ve resim*), see T. Gökbilgin, *XV—XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve paşa livası, vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* (Istanbul 1952), 87. The meaning of the word *muqāṭaʿa* as it developed in the Ottoman Empire was made clear by L. Fekete who gave it the apt name «fiscal administration unit» (*Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* I, Budapest 1955, p. 85.), as opposed to those western specialists and lexicographists who with an erroneous conclusion from the characteristic feature of the Turkish taxation explained it simply as «tenacy» or «tax-tenacy».

entitled to possess only the revenue of the Treasury land and not the land itself so their estates were not fiefs but revenue-holdings.[5] This *tīmār*-system made it necessary to register the estimated production of the population of each district or rather the amount of treasury revenue coming from it.[6] These registers enabled the Treasury to decide the tithe and tax-incomes of which towns and villages would be kept as Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates or assigned, as *tīmār*-, *ziʿāmet*- or (Beglerbeg's) *Ṣanǰāqbeg's ḫāṣṣ*-estates for a certain period to civil or military office-bearers and, where necessary, to garnisons of fortresses instead of cash payment.[7]

Thus the *ṣanǰāq*-registers are surveys of the estimated revenue of the Treasury and not accounts of the collected taxes. Their function was similar to that of the urbarium the purpose of which was also to fix the liable dues of the population. But the *ṣanǰāq*-registers became important documents also in inter-state negotiations because their data of place-names were regarded by the Sultans as decisive proofs in boundary disputes. Concerning Hungarian boundary disputes especially numerous references were made to the first *ṣanǰāq*-registers made by Halil *Beg*.[8] At later registrations efforts were made to enlarge the *defter*'s of Halil *Beg* by the addition of undefended border villages. István Báthori protested against this action in 1572 and to reassure him Selim

[5] Fekete L., *Török birtokrendszer a hódolt Magyarországon* [Turkish Landed Property System in Conquered Hungary]: *Ért. a Tört. Tud. Köréből* XXV, Nr. 9 (Budapest 1940), 8. In the Ottoman Empire only 5—10 percents of the land was held as real estate (*mülk*) see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi* (İstanbul 1955), 40. The position of these real estates was always uncertain, since they could be arbitrarily taken back by the Sultan any time, so most of those rewarded with such estates formed church foundation estates (*vaqïf*-estates) on them, with the condition of retaining a certain percentage of the income for themselves and their heirs. See in detail: Fekete, *op. cit.*, 11—12.

[6] Egypt was the only province of the Ottoman Empire where no *ṣanǰāq*-register was made because the *ṭīmār*-system was not introduced there. Stanford J. Shaw wrote about this extensively in *The Land Law of the Ottoman Egypt 960/1553: A Contribution to the Study of Landholding in the Early Years of Ottoman Rule in Egypt*: *Der Islam* 38 (1962), 106—137.

[7] See *Two Sultanic Ḫāṣṣ Estates in Hungary during the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII (1961), 31—33. — This system was also introduced in a few fortresses which avoided Turkish rule but lacked the money for soldier's pay. «Following the Turkish method the estate of the fortresses were frequently distributed among the soldiers instead of payment. When György Thury takes over the commandment of Palota, the sixty-six villages of the fortress are distributed among twenty leading officers. They are using its income and also pay the soldiers from it.» Pákay Zs., *Veszprém vármegye története a török hódoltság korában a rovásadó összeírása alapján*. [The History of Veszprém County during the Turkish Conquest on the Basis of Tax Registrations] (*1531—1696*)(Veszprém 1942), 11.

[8] Fekete L., *Budapest a török korban* [Budapest in the Turkish Period] (Budapest 1944), 178.

II wrote: «Up to this day no harm has been done from here to those villages, towns or lands which have been held there for a long time, they are now held as they were held before; those villages that are written into the *defter* of Halil *Beg* are held here, this I have written to the King and to the *Beg*s of the border fortresses as well; my command is still the same; I believe that nothing has been done against my register. If you were offended in those villages belonging to Transsylvania for a long time and not put in the *defter*, pray, write to me in Turkish the names of those villages and that land in which the offense was done also by whom it was done.»[9]

Four years later, however, when a few Turkish-held villages were recaptured by the commander of Várad the letter in which Kristóf Báthori wrote that the *defter* of Halil *Beg* had not been violated[10] had no influence on Sultan Murad III who strictly forbade the Voivod of Erdély any intervention carried out by the commander of Várad or by anyone else in the question of the villages listed either in the *defter* of Halil *Beg* or Muharrem *Beg*.[11] Kristóf Báthori was then forced to give away two villages, Bikács and Nagyradvány, as a present to Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafa pasha of Buda, in order that the should« as he had kindly promised, make efforts to influence the Porte of the mighty Emperor of the Turks to return to the possession of the fortress of Várad all the villages, market-towns, localities and estates belonging to the County of Bihar and the fortress of Várad that are held and taxed by the Turks and are not entered on the list of Halil *Beg*, but which having been listed later by Husaim *Beg* and Muharem *Čelebi*, were occupied by the Turkish Emperor. If this be managed and achieved by His Lordship, we promise to bestow on him three whole further places for ever.»[12]

Border registers were the source of many further debates and bargainings in later years. In order to avoid such debates the Prince of Transylvania, in 1590, when he became aware that the Turks were planning new registrations, instructed his emissary carrying taxes to the Porte to take special care «that

[9] Letter of Selim II to István Báthori, published by Szalay L., *Adalékok a magyar nemzet történetéhez a XVI-dik században* [Glosses on the History of the Hungarian Nation During the 16th Century] (Pest 1859), 199.

[10] Letter of Kristóf Báthori to Sultan Murad, published by Szalay L., *Erdély és a porta 1567—78.* [Transylvania and the Porte] Pest, 1862. 287—89.

[11] Letter of Sultan Murad to Kristóf Báthori, *ibid.*, 307—308.

[12] Deed of gift of Kristóf Báthori to Muṣṭafa, pasha of Buda, *ibid.*, 313—14. Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafa did indeed receive the villages Bikács and Nagyradvány, but he must have accepted them with the permission of the Sultan, since when he made his property a church foundation (*vaqïf*-estate), the two villages were entered in the deed of foundation as the gift of the Padishah. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arṣivi Müzesi D. 7000. The further three villages promised by Kristóf Báthori are, however, not mentioned in the deed of gift. There are two more villages, Püspökladány and Köröspéterd in it, but he received those from Selim II as a gift, thus, at an earlier date.

the question of the conquered villages should not involve the *defters*».[13] It may have been the result of the instruction given to he emissary and perhaps to other persons that the following was written to the Prince by Zabay *Beg*, who was commissioned in 1591 to make new registrations: «Your Highness must command me where to begin the listing of villages. I shall enter Szolnok, Gyula, Jenő and perhaps also the owners of *tīmār* -and *ziʿāmet*-estates, because as I have heard from the villages they are always quarrelling and bothering your Highness. Concerning the beginning it has been decided that I should begin it in Szolnok. I wish to God to carry out these tasks fully and I ask your Highness to believe me that I will not be reluctant to serve Your Highness as long as I live, but serve gladly.»[14]

New registers must be made every thirty years, wrote Grand Vizier Luṭfi pasha at the beginning of the 1540's.[15] The same was ordered by Grand Vizier Kemankesh Muṣṭafa pasha a hundred years later.[16] But this order was not carried out, neither in the 16th, nor in the 17th century; in the 16th because the administrative organization was not dynamic enough to effect the registrations the need of which arose not every thirty, but often at ten years' intervals, and by the 17th century the administration of the declining Empire was so loose, that it was unable to carry out the task of new registrations not in every ten but even in thirty years. «In the old days, when the padishas's ferman

[13] Instruction of the Prince of Transylvania to György Ravaszdi, see Haan, L.—Zsilinszky M., *Békésmegyei oklevéltár* [Archives of Békés County] (Budapest 1877), 203.

[14] Letter of Zabay to the Prince of Transylvania, ibid 208—209. Ömer *Alaybeg* was the census-taker of the *ṣanǰāq* in 1591, the name Zabaybeg is probably a misspelled Hungarian variety of the word *alaybeg*.

[15] R. Tschudi, *Das Asafname des Lutfi Pascha* (Berlin 1910), 33 and 41, quoted by I. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanli devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1948), 109—110, mentioning also that the instruction of Lutfi pasha was, in 1592, confirmed as a law by Ferhād pasha.

[16] Faik Reṣit Unat, *Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa layihası: Tarih Vesikaları*, vol. I (Istanbul 1942), 462. quoted by M. Sertoğlu, *op. cit.*, 42. In the Turkish specialist literature beside the mentioned time-limit of thirty years the changes of the person of the sovereign is usually also mentioned as the main reason of the registrations of the *ṣanǰāq*s from time to time, see Ö. L. Barkan, *Türkiyeʿde Imperatorluk devirlerinin nüfüs ve arazi tahrirleri: İstanbul Üniversitesi Iktisad fakültesi Mecmuası* II (1941), 35—39. and H. Inalcik, *Suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara 1954), XVIII. In Hungary only once was a new register made when the sovereign changed: the 1567 register of the Gyula and Csanád *ṣanǰāq*s. But it was made at that date because Gyula was occupied in 1566 and not because of the accession of Selim II to the throne. In his quoted study Ö. L. Barkan writes that at a change of the sovereign all deeds of gift had to be renewed, which, according to him, made the registrations necessary. In his study he presents the texts of the laws concerning the registrations in the first place, which are highly valuable from the point of view of research. But he did not use other archival sources to point out their enforcement in practice and made no effort to date the undated registers quoted by him.

arrived somewhere everybody listened, now countless decrees are without avail in any case,» wrote Qočï Bey in his well-known memorandum to Murad IV.[17] To sultan Ibrahim he definitely emphasized the necessity of new registers because in his opinion in villages where ten tax-payers had been listed now there was only one left, because the *reʿāyās* ran away, whereas in villages where only one tax-payer had been listed now another ten had meanwhile moved in.[18]

In the 16th century at the occurrence of such cases the registration of the *ṣanǰāqs* was still promptly ordered. A good example of this is the sultan's reply to the report of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda: «You reported in your letter that some of the borderland *ṣanǰāqs* belonging to Buda were prospering because of many desolate lands have turned into villages. But the residents of a few villages have run away, because of the attack of the giaors and these villages became desolate. Their registration is therefore necessary. Now the registration of the *ṣanǰāqs* of Szendrő, Szigetvár, Pécs, Fülek, Hatvan, Szécsény and Pozsega will be ordered, since the *ṣanǰāqs* of Szeged and Szerém have already been registered and their *defters* have been received at my High Court. If besides the abovementioned *ṣanǰāqs* the registration of further *ṣanǰāqs* were necessary, you must submit it to me together with the appointment of an honest commissioner (*emīn*) and a scribe, so that my majestical order could be sent accordingly.»[19] The above listed *ṣanǰāqs* were last registered in 1570,[20] thus not thirty years

[17] A. K. Aksüt, *Koçi Bey risalesi* (Istanbul 1939), 39.

[18] *Op. cit.*, 96.

[19] Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 36, 253. The sultanic decree sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in May, 1579, of which only the relevant part has been printed above. The *mühimme defteri* the «*defter* of important matters» is the *defter* of the copies of the most important decrees of the Sultan or resp. the Sultanic council. These decrees are mostly instructions answering the reports or requests of *Beglerbegs*, *Ṣanǰāqbegs*, *Qāḍis*, etc. The oldest *mühimme defteri* dates from 1544. The index of the contents of the *mühimme defteris* of the years 1564/65 and 1565/66 are published by Gliša Elezović, *Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva mühimme defteri* (Beograd 1950). The individual *mühimme defteris* usually contain the copies of 1000—1500—2000 decrees. About hundred volumes of 16th—17th century *mühimme defteris* are extant (preserved in Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Archive of the Premier Minister's Office), which during my archival researches in Istanbul, in 1963, I inspected and made microfilm copies of the decrees concerning Hungary. Useful general information about the *mühimme defteris* as historical sources is given by Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1525—1615. A study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford 1960).

[20] According to the report of Muṣṭafa, pasha of Buda all the *ṣanǰāqs* of the Buda *vilāyet* were then registered. (Vienna, Bibl. der ehemaligen Konsularakademie, MS. I. F., p. 25, 3.) A few of the registrations made in 1570 have come down to us, and one of them has even been published in a scientific study, see L., Fekete: *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* [The 1570 Tax Register of the Esztergom ṣanǰāq] (Budapest 1943). Under the influence of this publication a committee was formed in the Turkish

before, as prescribed by Luṭfi pasha. The persons suitable for the task of registering the *ṣanǰāq*s were usually appointed at the proposition of the *Beglerbeg* though it could happen without asking for his opinion. The registrators of the *ṣanǰāq* of Pozsega in 1568 were for example appointed at the recommendation of the *Beglerbeg*: «Since in your letter to my high court you have reported that the Pozsega *livā* must be newly registered and that in your opinion the notary of the janissaries of Buda, Ahmed *ziʿāmet*-holder and the *ziʿāmet*-holder Behrām of Pozsega are most fit for this task, I order the new registration of the aforenamed *livā* in the manner proposed by you, while the mentioned Ahmed shall be appointed as comissioner and the mentioned Behrām as scribe».[21] It is probable that the registering comissioner of the Temesvár *vilāyet* in 1578 referred to in the respecting Sultanic rescript as «Former *Defterdār* of my Imperial Treasury, a *müteferriqa* of my High Court Ḥasan, the new census-taker of the Temesvár *vilāyet*»,[22] was appointed from among the court people without asking for the advice of the *Beglerbeg*. The leader of the registration, the commissioner, frequently called simply censustaker, (*muḥarrir*)[23] was usually chosen from among higher-ranking officials regarded as more reliable.[24] Forexample Derviš *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged in 1560,[25] Muharrem *Čelebi tīmār defterdārī* of Temesvár in 1567,[26] the *ziʿāmet*-holder Hüseyn *beg* in 1570,[27]

Historical Society with the purpose of publishing the Turkish *ṣanǰāq* registers. (H. Inalcik, *op. cit.*, VII). The cited work of H. Inalcik was the starting volume of the series. In the next volume the register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* from 1578 will be published under the editorship of Tibor Halasi Kun, as it was announced in his study titled «*Sixteenth-Century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary*» (*Belleten* Nr. 109. 3.)

[21] A decree to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda, Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 7, p. 945.

[22] Decree to the *Beglerbeg* and *Defterdār* of Temesvár. Ibid Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 246.

[23] In contemporary Hungarian translations the census-taker «ki ez falukat irta» (who registered these villages) is aptly called «Ország Deákja» («Scribe of the Country)» see. Haan, L. and Zsilinszky, M., *op. cit.*, 198.

[24] «The census-taker must be a good Mohammedan, a wise man and a just an incorruptible person», Qočï Bey wrote in his quoted memorandum.

[25] A decree to Derviš, *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 3, p. 229.

[26] 1567 registration of the Gyula and Csanád *ṣanǰāq*s, Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri Nr. 365. We must mention that the names of the *emīn* and the scribe and also the date of the registrations are rarely indicated in the registers, so frequently these must be searched for in other sources.

[27] Report about the completion of the registration of the Szeged and Szolnok *ṣanǰāq*s, Vienna, Bibl. der ehemaligen Konsularakademie MS, J. F. 25, p. 4, see also Velics A., *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* [Defters of the Turkish Treasury in Hungary] (Budapest 1890), II. 392.

Aḥmed former *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Hatvan in 1579—80,[28] Ali, *Qāḍī* of Buda in 1580,[29] and Ömer *Alaybeg* in 1890—91[30] were all promoted from among higher-ranking office-bearers to the title of census-taking comissioner.

In some cases the original occupation of the scribes assisting the commissioners can also be established. For example Ibrahim bin ʿAbdullah, who was appointed to register the Temesvár *vilāyet* in 1578 was an assistant clerk of the Financial Department (*ahkām-i māliye kātibi*),[31] Aḥmed, appointed in 1580 for the registration of the Szekszárd, Pécs and Szekcső *ṣanǰāq*s, a scribe of the *Defter* Repository (*defter-i ḫāqānï kātibi*)[32] and Mehmed working in the registration of the Buda, Szekszárd, Szekcső and Simontornya *ṣanǰāqs* in 1591, a scribe of the High *Divān* (*ʿan kātibān-i divān-i ʿališān*).[33] Thus according to the evidence these persons appointed were rather scribes and clerks holding jobs at different administrative departments and had considerable practice in penmanship as well as in the composition of defters.

The work of the census-takers in contrast to their original professions was only a casual, temporary job. It was of course paid specially in the way that they were entitled to collect two *aqče* from each taxpayer of which one *aqče* was received by the commisioner and one by the scribe.[34]

The appointed commissioners and scribes were sometimes sent to register one, and sometimes more *ṣanǰāq*s. E.g. from among the above-mentioned census-takers Dervish, *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged registered in 1560 five *ṣanǰāq*s, those of Buda, Hatvan, Nógrád and Fülek, together,[35] Ali, *Qāḍī* of Buda in 1580 only one, the Buda *ṣanǰāq*,[36] while the former *Alaybeg* Ömer was in sent 1590/91 to register seven of them, *viz.* Szerém, Szeged, Szolnok, Hatvan, Fülek, Szécsény and Nógrád. Later, however, it turned out that Ömer *Alaybeg*'s commission to register seven *ṣanǰāq*s was too much, because Sinān, *Beglerbeg* of Buda reported to the High Court that the registration of seven *ṣanǰāq*s done by Ömer *Alaybeg* alone would take so long that it would cause loss to the Treasury and alarm among the soldiers (since new *tīmār*-estates could be granted only after the

[28] Register of the Pécs *ṣanǰāq* from the year 1580, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri no. 585.

[29] Register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq* from the year 1580, *ibid.*, Tahrir defteri no. 592.

[30] Decree to Ömer former *alaybeg*, now census-taker. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 67, p. 103.

[31] Decree to the *Beglerbeg* and *Defterdār* of Temesvár. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 246.

[32] The 1580 register of the Pécs, Szekcső and Szekszárd *ṣanǰāq*s, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri no. 585. and 593.

[33] The 1591. register of the Buda, Szekszárd, Szekcső and Simontornya *ṣanǰāq*s, Başvekâlet, Arşivi, Tahrir defteri No. 611 and 632.

[34] Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.* 44.

[35] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, vol. 3. p. 229.

[36] Decree to the *Qāḍī* of Buda. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 43, p. 21.

registrations had been completed). Therefore he advised that from among the seven *ṣanǰāq*s the registration of one, that of Szerém, should be carried out separately by Meḥmed, notary of the janissaries of Buda as the commissioner and by Ḫudāverdi as the scribe. The advice of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda was taken into account and the aforenamed Meḥmed and Hudāverdi were sent to register the *ṣanǰāq* of Szerém.[37] But is appears that two decades later such considerations were already disregarded, since in 1613 Ibrahim, former *Defterdār* of Buda was commissioned to register all the *ṣanǰāq*s of the Buda *eyālet* together.[38] From the registers made at that time only one, the register of the Szekcső *ṣanǰāq*, is known,[39] which being actually a mere copy of the 1591 register[40] already indicates the decline of the administration in the 17th century.

The construction and contents of the *ṣanǰāq* registers have already been revealed by Professor L. Fekete: «The actual register contains by localities, or, in certain cases by smaller districts the names of the taxable householders and some other persons, giving the number of taxable houses in each locality and detailing the amounts collected under different titles.»[41]

2. The method of the *Ṣanǰāq*-registrations

The census-takers received a detailed instruction,[42] a copy of the previous register[43] and, if necessary, the assistance of armed force[44] in carrying out their

[37] *Ömer Alaybeg* was also informed about the submission of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda and the answering instruction. Decree to Ömer, former *alaybeg*, census-taker of the Szerém, Szeged, Szolnok, Hatvan, Fülek, Szécsény and Nógrád *ṣanǰāq*s belonging to Buda. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 67, p. 103.

[38] Decree to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 80, p. 459.

[39] Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 637. (Flügel 1378), 1614 register of the Szekcső *ṣanǰāq*.

[40] The 1591 register of the Szekszárd, Szekcső and Simontornya *ṣanǰāq*s in one volume. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri No. 632.

[41] Fekete, L.: Die Siyāqat-Schrift, 77., for more details see *ibid* 75—84.

[42] The following was written in connection with the registration of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* to the *Qāḍï* of Szeged as the census-taker in June, 1577: «You are now ordered to register the aforenamed *livā* and my detailed majestical order concerning this matter has been sent to you.» Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 31, p. 22.) The contents of this detailed decree is, however, unknown.

[43] The *Beglerbeg* of Buda was also ordered in December, 1613 to hand over the copy of the previous register «Ibrahim, former *Defterdār* of Buda received the order to register the *livās* of the Buda *eyalet*. But since the Imperial *Defterḫāne* does not possess the *defters* of the Koppány *ṣanǰāq*. I order you to take the summary (*ijmāl*) and detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) *defters* held at Buda and, making two true copies of it, to give one to the above-mentioned census-taker and send the other, together with the original reposited at Buda, to my Blessed Threshold.» (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 80, p. 459.)

task. None of the detailed instructions concerning the taking of the census is known, so those minute phases and circumstances of making the registers that determine their values as historical sources must be found out by the collection of other extant written records.

When the survey began, the first job of the census-takers was to register by name the residents of the individual settlements. In order to help in this work during the registration the spahis were obliged to bring all the *reʿāyās* to the *emīn*[45]. Naturally the residents tried to run away from the census-takers, which often made it necessary to take stronger measures. For example the following instruction had to be sent in 1578 to the *Beg*s and *Qāḍī*s of the Temesvár *vilāyet*: «When the registration of the named *vilāyet* began, some *reʿāyās* escaped to other *ṣanǰāq*s in order to get rid of being *reʿāyā*s and of the *ǰizye* tax, and to avoid the entering in the *defter* of those who had so far not been entered. Also some of the spahis did not bring all their *reʿāyā*s to the registration. As my Imperial command has been asked for to warn such spahis and the *emīn*s and wardens of ports and crossing-places that they must guard *reʿāyā*s and not let them run away to another *vilāyet* until registration is completed, I have ordered all of you to take care of this case personally as soon as my Imperial Command requiring full obedience is received. You shall warn the *ziʿāmet-* and *tīmār-*holders and the guards of ports and crossing-places until the finishing of the registration of the named *vilāyet* they must not let the *reʿāyā*s out of the *vilāyet* neither those who had previously been left out of the *defter*, nor anyone else. Ports, crossing places and every part of the country where escapes are likely should be guarded so that no man could stay away from the *vilāyet* against my Imperial Command. If anyone would, after the warning, help the *reʿāyā* to escape, report his name to me and a description of him together with his possession.»[46] Even such measures were not always strong enough when

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The making of the new registers was made easier by the handing over of not only the previous register but also the *ǰizye-defter*s, see the instruction sent to the *Beglerbeg* and the *Defterdār* of Temesvár in January, 1578. *Ibid.* Mühimme defteri Vol. 33, p. 246.

[44] When it seemed to the census-takers that the inspection of a *ṣanǰāq* would be dangerous they asked for help to protect their personal security. At a request of this nature the *Beg* of Szolnok and the commanders of the fortresses of the *ṣanǰāq*s received the following instruction in 1580: «Sending a letter the census-taker of the named *livā* asked that the mentioned *ṣanǰāq* being on the borderland, a satisfactory number of men should be assigned to him. I have ordered therefore that there be enough soldiers to assist him at hostile places.» (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 43, p. 150.) A similar instruction was sent in 1579 to the *Beglerbeg* of Temesvár and the *beg*s of the Temesvár *vilāyet*. Ibid. Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33., p. 317 and 351.

[45] This was prescribed by Sultan Süleyman in his law enacted in order to establish the general points of the registrations. The text of the law is published by Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, 39—44.

[46] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33., p. 246.

border villages were registered. Selim II had to write to János Zsigmond: «Thus, it is necessary, as honesty and loyality to my High Port demands, that you send the residents of the above mentioned towns and villages so that coming here they can be put into the new *defter*.»[47]

According to the law the residents on presenting thenselves had to be entered in the *defter* on the list of the locality in which they had lived for ten years; those who had not yet spent ten years in their new place of residence would be entered to their previous domiciles except when they had come from another country.[48] But this law was often disregarded by the census-takers which caused many debated cases to be settled later. This happened after the 1570 registration and when the consequences were reported by the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in 1573, he received the following instructions: «It was reported in your letter that in the *vilāyet* some *reʿāyā*s belonging to spahis had left their former domiciles and settled on the land of another spahi and during the registration of the *vilāyet* they were entered in the *defter*s as *reʿāyā*s both at their old and new domiciles. You requested therefore my majestical command in the question of which spahi should receive their taxes? The *reʿāyā* entered at two places now belongs to that spahi on the land of whom he had been found and registered for more than ten years previous to the present registration of the *vilāyet*; thus according to the law the *reʿāyā*-tax is due to that spahi. I have therefore ordered that in the case of such debates among the spahis the *reʿāyā*-tax of the *reʿāyā* registered at two places in the way reported by you shall be collected by the one on whose land he had been registered as settled ten years before the registration of the *vilāyet*, the other spahi must not intervene. Grain-tithes and taxes, however, are due to the spahi on the land of whom his farming is situated. Whatever the debates may be, from now on act upon my majestical order in this question.»[49] In order to prevent such disputes the following instruction was sent on the occasion of the next registration in 1579. to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda and the census-taker of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq*: «Your have reported that some of the landless *reʿāyā*s of the named *livā* left their old villages and now ask for being registered as *reʿāyā*s in villages with more arable land. Do not enter such *reʿāyā*s at their old places but register them at once as *reʿāyā*s at the village requested by them. Put the income of the *tīmār*s of the old spahis on record also in this way.»[50]

The *reʿāyā* was bound by law to bring also his bigger sons for registration, but his smaller children would not be listed.[51] The *ṣanǰāq* registers reveal

[47] Karácson I., *Török-magyar oklevéltár 1533—1789* [Turkish-Hungarian Archives 1533—1789] (Budapest 1914), 68.

[48] Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, 43—44.

[49] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 22, p. 140.

[50] *Ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 40, p. 149.

[51] Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, 41.

that though it were indeed the head of the family and his grown sons who were registered in the first place, many times all adult male members of the household were followingly also registered if they were making their living together, thus the aged father, unmarried brother, married son, son in law and servants of the householder. In such cases however, only the head of the family was put on the list by his surname, his home folks were listed only by their Christian names. The judge, the priest, the scribe, the smith and the widows were also entered only by their Christian names. But all those who supported themselves or made an independent living were entered on the list by surnames.

In the Turkish financial administration the nominal registration of the population was more important than the recording of the size of cultivated land, because the definite value for the estimated income of the Treasury, was represented by the working capacity of the *reʿāyā*. Therefore if the *reʿāyā* disappeared he was searched for like a loss in the cash-book. This fiscal attitude is indicated by a decree sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in connection with three *reʿāyās* missing from the Szolnok and Belgrade *ṣanǰāqs* in 1565: «. . . since you reported to me the falling into captivity of these three tax-payers, I order you as soon as my command is received to find out in whose captivity the aforenamed are held, because they belong as *reʿāyās* of my well-defended Empire, to the tax-payers registered in the new defter, and if still prisoners, they are to be set free.»[52]

Not too much could be gathered from the registers concerning the material capacity of the missing *reʿāyās*. It was actually only at times that the census-takers made a short reference to the material wealth of the *reʿāyā*. If anyone had sheep, their number was noted down above his name; if he was exempted from taxation because of constant fortress work, it was recorded how many sacks his arable land was worth and how many cartfuls of hay his meadow produced, if he had no permanent residence because he was a shephard living in the plain or an itinerant workman they wrote «wanderer» (*ḥaymāne*) under his name, if he was very poor, «beggar» (*sāil*) was written above his name and if he was disabled, they marked him as «disabled, old» (*nātuvān, pīr*). Even these laconic remarks were inconsistently made by the census-taker, since the liabilities of the residents had to be taken into account together, summed up for the whole of the settlement. Thus the residents were responsible for their duties together, which meant that if anyone disappeared, ran away or died, the community was bound to go on bearing the burden of liabilities to the extent fixed at the time of the registration. This was the reason of the cases when members of the community burdened by taxes visited those who had left years before and tried to persuade them to move back to their village.[53]

[52] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 6, decree: No. 633.

[53] E.g. in 1632 the residents of the village Egyve (?) visited with the letter of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda György Nagy in Jászberény who had left their village and wanted

The liabilities of the missing people could not be erased from the *defter* at once, since they were not registered individually. Only a new registration could adjust or fix the liabilities of the whole community again. The copy of the previous register was given to the census-takers to inspect when looking for the residents of the settlements. This process of the taking ot the census is clearly indicated by the composition of the register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq* made in the year 1560.[54]

The census-taker read out in each settlement the names listed in the last register one by one, asked those who reported present if there was any change in their family conditions, noted between the lines the names of their sons, who had grown up since the last time and wrote in if their previously registered sons had married since the last registration. He inquired about the reason of the absence of those who did not answer their names and wrote above their names what he was told: died, disappeared, escaped or, lived in Őrsi village, had been living in the town of Kecskemét for ten years, *etc.* Then he put the names of the new residents to the end of the old list — if there was no space, then he wrote them on the edge of the sheet — and after this he indicated the number of the «old» inhabitants of the previous register, how many of them died and how many remained, and the number of newcomers. The fair copy of the new register, from which the names of the dead, missing and the runaways were naturally omitted, was based on this correction of the previous register.

Having registered the names of the residents in this manner at first the census-taker entered from among the liabilities the total number of the *ǰizye*-tax payers, indicating the amount of taxes to be paid by them.

The imposition of the *ǰizye*-tax was administered in different ways in the vast territory of the Ottoman Empire, since in introducing it to the conquered countries the local customs of taxation were usually adopted. For this purpose they studied the laws of the country as it is revealed by the instruction sent to Meḥmed *Čelebi* who registered the *ṣanǰāq*s of Pozsega and Szerém in 1545: «With the beginning of the registration of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq* the royal laws have been recently examined, and it has been established that the old custom was to collect one filori and corn tithe per house (family) and when wars were waged by the kings, they collected also one *filori*, that is fifty *aqče*, for the expenses of the campaign».[55] Old customs were also cited at the 1554 registration of the Lippa and the 1567 registration of the Gyula and Csanád *ṣanǰāq*s in connection with the imposition of the *ǰizye*-tax: «Since it was the old custom of

to make him return, although he had already lived there since four years. György Nagy, however, proved to the *Qāḍï* of Hatvan, that he had lived in Egyve (?) only for nine years, so he did not return to his village. Turkish documents of the town Jászberény, No. 24.

[54] Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 314.

[55] Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 12321, p. 135.

the *reʿāyās* of the Lippa *vilāyet* to pay one Hungarian *filori* — which is a hundred *penz* — per house (family) on Kāsim's (Saint Demeter's) Day, the day known in Turkish as «*qōč qātïmï*»,[56] they shall pay the same amount hereafter.»[57] A more detailed statement about the duty of paying the *ǰizye*-tax is the following: «Fifty *aqče* shall be paid annually by those whose moveables are worth 300 *aqče*, that is, by every person possessing in addition to his house, vineyard and field the value of 300 *aqče* in property within his house, in wine in his casks and in animals. Whether the *reʿāyā* lives alone in the house, or with his sons, or two or more brothers from the same father, having their livelihood, crops or shop at the same place live together in it, they are not to be counted separately, but shall pay fifty *aqče ǰizye*-tax together. But if the house is occupied by such brothers or sons and their father whose livelihood, crops or shop are separate and who possess the value of 300 *aqče* in moveables, each of them shall pay fifty *aqče ǰizye*-tax separately. From those, however, who do not possess moveables worth 300 *aqče* nothing shall be collected.»[58] Exempted from the *ǰizye*-tax were those who took over the judge's office in the year when their turn came,[59] further on the priests, and those, who were permanently engaged in maintenance work of bridges, roads and fortresses.[60]

Such determination of the tax-paying liability was actually in accordance with the tenth Act passed by the Hungarian diet in 1547, which concerning the imposition of the accepted war aid (*subsidium*), levied on tenements decided that: «The tax should be levied upon all those who possess six forints worth in

[56] *Qoč qātïmï* is the time of the letting of the rams to the tegs.

[57] Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 292. and 365.

[58] This decree of universal validity can be found at the beginning of almost each *ṣanǰāq*-registers. The laws determining the liabilities of the *reʿāyās* adjusted in most cases to the local customs of law were recorded on the first page of most of the registers. The greatest shortcoming of these codes (*«qānūnnāmes»*) of a few pages is their very brevity, because they do not contain all the provisions of law concerning the duty of the *reʿāyās*. We must, therefore quote, in the following, different *qānūnnāmes* and there are liabilities the relevant measures of which cannot be found in the extant *qānūnnāmes* at all. Several of these short law-books have been collected and published by Ö. L. Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. ıncı asırlarda osmanlı imperatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. kanunlar* (Istanbul 1943). The agricultural references of the *qānūnnāmes* of the Buda, Esztergom, Hatvan and Nógrád *livās* are published in a Hungarian translation in Fekete, L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 187—189. For the complete text of the same qānūnnāme see Fekete L., *Budapest a török korban*, 206—210.

[59] The *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 554). For the office of the judge taken in turns by the residents of the village see Szabó I.: *Tanulmányok a magyar parasztság történetéből* [Studies in the History of the Hungarian Peasantry] (Budapest 1948), 308.

[60] The *qānūnnāmes* do not agree as to the exemption of the priests from the *ǰizye* tax. According to the above quoted *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, for example, priests were also obliged to pay the *ǰizye* tax, whereas according to the Buda *qānūnnāme* they were not. See Fekete L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 189.

moveable property and each of them should pay it.»[61] 300 *aqče* at that time was the exact equivalent of 6 Hungariant forints.

But the determination of the liability of the *ǰizye*-tax had another form prescribed for herdsmen living in the plain: «There are many herdsmen possessing sheep and cattle in the shelters (*sālāš*, Hung. *szállás*) of the Szeged *livā*. In order to collect their *ǰizye*-tax determined by law it is laid down in the new Sultanic defter that from each wandering herdsman (*ḫaymāne čobān*) possessing more than ten heads of cattle and fifty sheep one *ġuruš ǰizye*-tax shall be collected.»[62]

From among the deliveries due to the landowner the census-taker counted first the *ispenǰe*-tax (*resm-i ispenǰe*) called «*kapu-adó*» (*resm-i qapu*) in Hungary. Its levying was usually modelled on that of the *ǰizye*-tax in the statute-books: the *reʿāyā* who is able to pay the *ǰizye*-tax, that is, possesses the necessary 300 *aqče* worth of moveables, must pay his landowner the sum of 25 *aqče* on St. George's Day and another 25 *aqče* on the day of St. Demeter in gate-tax.[63] This general decree was supplemented in one of the *qānūnnāmes* by the following explanation. Whether there are three, four or even more houses in the same yard, or only one, 25 *aqče* must be given to the spahis on the day of St George and another 25 *aqče* on St. Demeter's day by everybody.»[64] Thus it is clearly expressed by this decree that the levy of the gate-tax refers to the number of the houses or families in the yard, and not the gate of the yard. Despite this the census-takers did not always act consistently, because the number of the registered *ǰizye*-tax payers and gate-tax payers was not always equal; it was sometimes the first, sometimes the latter that was more.

According to the law the *reʿāyās* of Buda and Pest did not pay the *ǰizye*-tax because they had not paid it under the kings either.[65] Also those exempted from the *ǰize*-tax, the judges, priests and war labour servicement were also exempted from the gate-tax.

The property category established for the *ǰizye*-tax, the independent «*ḫāne*» (meaning: house, family) possessing moveables worth 300 *aqče*s, served as the basis of other taxes beside the gate-tax. One of these was for example the

[61] *Magyar törvénytár, 1526—1608. évi törvénycikkek* [Hungarian Legislative Records, Acts from the Years 1526—1608] (Budapest 1899), 196—97.

[62] The *qānūnnāme* of the 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*. Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 572. Herdsmen who, though better-to-do, were hard to reach thus enjoyed much more favourable condition of *ǰizye*-tax payment. For the originally fixed value limit of 300 *aqče* was, according to an inventory of estate, the price of two heifers, while six cows at the same time were sold for 1200 aqče. See Velics A., *op. cit.*, II, 138.

[63] Concerning the gate tax this short text of law is contained by most *qānūnnāmes* at the beginning of registers.

[64] We could find this supplementary explanation only in the *qānūnnāme* of the Mohács *ṣanǰāq*. Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 441.

[65] Fekete L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 187.

hay- and firewood-tax, developed from the delivery of the cartful of hay and firewood, by way of which 25 *aqče* was collected per *ḫāne* (using the above-mentioned Turkish category),[66] under Süleyman in the Hatvan *ṣanǰāq*. This amount was, in 1570 in the Esztergom *ṣanǰāq*, determined in 20 *aqče* and according to the number of gate-tax-payers, if it was registered as more than that of the *ǰizye*-paying «houses.»[67] In 1577 the hay- and firewood-tax was raised to one *ġuruš* in the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, and the imposition of the same was also intended in the *ṣanǰāq* of Pozsega, but there it was regarded as unjust on the ground that the carts there by which this delivery had originally been transported were smaller than those in the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*. But is spite of this one *ġuruš* was imposed also in the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq* instead of the previous 12 *aqče*.[68]

The candle-making tax (*resm-i šemḫāne*) was also imposed per houses or families (*ḫāne*), because it was reported to the High Court in 1570 by the *Beglerbeg* of Buda that no wax is taken or sold to the candle-dipper but it is sold secretly, causing loss to the Treasury. Therefore he suggested the levy of 3 «*penz*» for each «*ḫāne*» in order to make up for the loss. Upon his suggestion the entering of 3 *penz* per *ḫāne* in the *defter* was ordered.[69]

In some places the fines imposed, beside flogging, for the field damages caused by cattle were also fixed per *ḫāne* in order to make this income permanent. In the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, for example, 2 *aqče* was collected per *ḫāne* as field-damage fine,[70] where as in the *ṣanǰāq* of Újvár half a *pint* of butter (1 *pint* = 1 1/2 *oqqa*) was exacted under the same pretext from each hane, together with the posture-tax (*resm-i otlāq*).[71]

The value limit of 300 *aqče* was beside these also an index in the levy of fines for fighting and assaults. According to the law a poor man, who did have not the property worth 300 *aqče* had to pay, by right of the *Qāḍī*s sentence, 100 *aqče* for a broken head and 50 *aqče* for the causing of a bleeding wound. But those, who possessed more had to pay 200 instead of 100 *aqče* for the same offence, whereas those regarded as definitely wealthy paid 300 *aqče*.[72] Such fines belong-

[66] *Qānūnnāme* of the Hatvan *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 550.

[67] Fekete L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 16 and 36.

[68] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 4., Vol. 36, p. 250 and Vol. 40, p. 152.

[69] *Ibid.* Mühimme defteri, Vol. 12., p. 320, see also the *qānūnnāme* of the Szekszárd *ṣanǰāq*, ibid. Tahrir defteri, No. 593.

[70] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 554, *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*.

[71] *Ibid.* Tahrir defteri, No. 698., *qānūnnāme* of the Újvâr *ṣanǰāq*.

[72] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 563., *qānūnnāme* of the Koppány and Simontornya *ṣanǰāq*s. — The definition «poor man» may be collated again with the decisions of the Hungarian diets (1557: article 3.), according to which those were to be regarded as «*paupers*» whose moveables did not exceed the value of six forints, equivalent as mentioned, to 300 *aqče* in Turkish money. Besides bodily assaults fines were to be paid for theft, slander, etc. See Velics A., *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, (Budapest 1890), Vol. II, 140.

ed fully to the income of the landowner in the settlements, which were socalled free (*serbest*) holdings. The *ḫāṣṣ*-estates of the Sultan, of the *Beglerbeg*s and *Ṣanǰāqbeg*s, the *ziʿāmet*-estates and the *tīmār*-estates of the *defter* scribes, *defter čauše*s and castellans were free.[73] Their position is well characterized in a Sultanic decree sent to the *Qāḍïs* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* in 1578: «Isḥaḳ *Beg*, the Beg of the named *livā*, has reported to me that there are in that *livā* many thieves and robbers who commit outrages. But when their seizure is attempted most of them take shelter in the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-villages and the villages of the *ziʿāmet*-holders. Since these villages are free, the *voyvods* of the *ṣanǰāq* cannot enter and capture them. Therefore I order you to warn the office-bearers of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-villages and the holders of «free» villages that the lawless bandits and thieves taking shelter there must be given up, so that they can be punished according to the law.»[74] The income of such «free» villages from fines and charges were included in full in the amount of revenue collected from the village. But those villages which were not «free», only half of the penalties was included in the income, because the other half was due to the *ṣanǰāqbeg*.[75]

The main point in the estimation of the penalties as well as of any other incomes (wheat-tithe, must-tithe, bride-tax) was that three year's average of the individual income sources had to be registered; the instruction was to sum up three year's income of the individual sources and to enter one third of the sum in the *defter*.[76] The account of the cash value of the deliveries was based on the officially established prizes.

It was always the amount of the corn-tithe in grain (ninths are mentioned only in the *qānūnnāme* of the Szécsény *ṣanǰāq*) that had to be recorded, the cash value was put under it. For registering deliveries in grain the *kile*, a Turkish measure, was always used. One *kile* in Istanbul, when used for weighing wheat, equalled 20 *oqqa* (1 *oqqa* = 1282 gr), that is 25,65 kilogrammes, while, in barley, it weighed about 22.25 kilogrammes. For the *kile* was in fact a cubic measure, and when used for measuring the amount of wheat, its 20 *oqqa*s, amounted to 35,27 litres.[77]

In the Mohács *ṣanǰāq*, about the middle of the 16th century the *kile* was equal to the Hungarian «*fertál*», which, as it was written, was 24 *oqqa*,[78] which

[73] *Ibid.* Tahrir defteri, No. 824, *qānūnnāme* of the Hatvan *ṣanǰāq*.

[74] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 35, p. 394.

[75] *Qānūnnāme* of the Koppány and Simontornya *ṣanǰāq*s, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 563.

[76] Ö. L. Barkan, *Türkiye'de* 40. — In connection with the enforcement of this law the census-taker was also instructed not to be contented only with the declaration of the *reʿāyā* and the statement of the *timār*-holders at the listing of the liabilities but to make inquieries also elsewhere. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühümme defteri, Vol. 39, p. 141. The instruction was issued in 1579.

[77] W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden 1955), 41.

[78] *Qānūnnāme* of the Mohács *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 441.

in today's measure would be 30.76 kg. A decree sent in 1579 to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda and the census-taker of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq* contains useful informations concerning the local varieties of the *kile* measure. «You have reported that in one district of the named *livā* the *kile* is 84 *oqqa*, while in others it is 66, 72, 100 or 35 *oqqa*, and since you have requested to put an end to this, I order that every *kile* should be 30 *oqqa*. I order this to be put down in the new Sultanic *defter*, and you should have it announced in each district that the old *kiles* must be smashed and new *kile*s be made.»[79] It seems however, that new *kile*s of 30 *oqqa* had to be made only in the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq*, because in the *qānūnnāme* of the neighbouring Pécs *ṣanǰāq* it was prescribed that the basis of the counting should be the *kile* of 32 *oqqa*, used in the Sultanic markets,[80] which thus amounted to 41 kg.[81] Beside these informations it is worth noting that according to a decree issued by Sultan Mehmed IV, barley delivered at Buda was to be weighed with the officially tested *kile*, which contained 18 *oqqa*s.[82] So the size of the *kile* was as varied locally and temporally as most of the contemporary cubic measures. The conversion of the amount in *kile* required, therefore, local knowledge even at that time.

Sometimes besides the corn tithes the census-taker had to record also the so-called *sālāriyye* income due, from the corn produced outside the village, to the master of the *reʿāyā*, which usually meant one part in thirty. The corn tithe was due to the *tīmār*-holder, whose land the *reʿāyā* cultivated, that is to his land-holder (*ṣāḥib-i arż*), whereas the *sālāriyye* revenue was received by the master of the *reʿāyā (ṣāḥib-i raiʿyyet)*, that is. the respective *tīmār*-holder in the locality. The land-holder and master of the *reʿāyā* was, in most cases, one and the same *tīmār*-holder, with exclusive rights except for the case when the corn or wine of the *reʿāyā* was produced, or his animals grazed, on the land of another *tīmār*-holder.

The *sālāriyye* imposed on corn was, however, the case of much discontent and frequent debates, especially when not one part in thirty, but one in ten was demanded from the *reʿāyā*, meaning actually a double tithe, as it happened in the village of Csép in 1571, when the following instruction was sent to the *Qāḍï* of Kuvin (Ráckeve) commissioned to investigate this case: «From among the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-villages the *reʿāyā*s of the village of Csép came here to lodge the following complaint: since the land of their village was not enough for

[79] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 40, p. 147.

[80] *Qānūnnāme* of the Pécs *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 585.

[81] One *kile* in the town of Eger, when used for weighing wheat, equalled circ. 41 kg. in 1693. Published relying upon several archival sources by Ila B., *A vízimalmok teljesítőképessége a XVII. sz. végén* [The Productivity of Water-Mills at the End of the 17th Century]: *Agrártörténeti Szemle* VI (1964) 420—421.

[82] Karácson S., *Török—magyar oklevéltár 1553—1789* [Turco—Hungarian Archive] (Budapest 1914), 243.

them to earn their livelihood, they were compelled to till the land of the village of Csura (?) situated on the other side of the Danube but the *muqāṭaʿa emīn* of Kuvin wants to collect a doubled tithe from them — Meḥmed *čauš* is commisioned to investigate this case, with the instruction to look at all their arable lands and see if it is enough for them to live on, or not. If their own land were not enough, then it would be against the law to collect double tithes and in that case it must not be done. But if their own land is enough for seed and harvest the tithe must be repeatedly collected. Act in this way, so that no loss should be suffered by the Treasury, and no tyrannization by the *reʿāyā*.[83] It seems that the *čauš* Meḥmed sent to investigate the case, found the arable land of the village Csép to be sufficient, because the census-taker of the *ṣanǰāq* Ali, *Qāḍī* of Buda, imposed *sālāriyye* on the residents in 1580.

The monetary values of corn tithes were registered only for the calculation of the expected annual Treasury income from the settlement, and not for the tithe-collectors to rely upon, when collecting the tithes. On the contrary, it was forbidden by several decrees to demand money from the *reʿāyā* by force instead of the tithe in kind. Regarding the delivery of the tithe the *reʿāyā* was to carry it only to the nearest market and not to a market-place as distant as twenty day's journey or to the house of the spahis, as it was often demanded.[84]

The amount of the must-tithe was registered in Hungarian cubic measures, in *pint* (1.6 litres) or in *cseber* [*čeber*] (42.42 litres), and the cash value was noted under it, though similarly to the corn-tithe, the *reʿāyā* was only liable to deliver it in kind. Its delivery in kind, however, was a heavier burden than the corn-tithe, since the barrel was often lost together with the must-tithe itself, so later is seemed more endurable if they could pay it in cash. But cash-payment had its own problems, because there were debates and complaints concerning either the amount of the tithe or its value the settlement of which after all meant extra burden for the central fiscal administration.

Debates of this kind are revealed by a report of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in 1573, or rather by the Sultanic decree sent in reply: «In the *vilāyet* of Buda most of the income of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates of the *Beglerbeg*, the *emīrs* and *tīmār*-holders comes from the revenue of wine; it is customary for the *reʿāyā* to render cash instead of the must tithe. The *emīns*, *ʿāmil*s and the security guards, however, do not collect it at its proper time, but long after the time fixed by the

[83] Vienna, Bibl. der ehemaligen Konsularakademie. MS I. f. 25. — Thus according to the instruction double tithe was to be imposed as *sālāriyye*-revenue. Concerning this, however only this much can be read among the data of the register referring to the village Csép: «Wheat with the *sālāriyye*: 300 kile». See the 1580 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 592.

[84] They wrote about this to the *Qādi* of Szeged as the census-taker in 1577 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 4) and also to the *Beglerbeg* and the *Defterdār* of Temesvár in 1579 (*ibid.* Mühimme defteri, Vol. 44, p. 234).

law, in order to raise the tithe. They are not satisfied with the original tithe, they raise its amount of their own accord and get the tithe paid at a higher price than the daily one. Besides that in this way nothing is left of the *reʿāyā*'s income, they demand *ġuruš* from the *reʿāyā*, in spite of the fact that in the *vilāyet* the «*penz*» *aqče* is customary. This harrassment induces the *reʿāyā* to abandon his vineyard causing thereby great damage to the revenue. You have furthermore reported that it would be reasonable to put *čauš*es beside the *emīn*s as well as beside the guards of the *Beg*s during tithe-collecting so that together with the village judges they should establish the amount of the tithe justly, and enter it in the *defter*. I order, therefore, to collect the tithe in due time, and when its payment in money is permitted by custom and agreed to by the *reʿāyā*, it must be collected according to the amount of the tithe and at the daily price; not one *aqče* more must be collected.»[85] The cited decree supplements, besides our knowledge of the administration of tithe-collecting, that of the registrations: according to the instructions in it the amount and daily price of the must-tithe were to be established separately, thus the registered tithe and monetary value of the three year's average production was only an index for the expectable Treasury revenue from the settlement in question.

According to the *qānunnāme* of the Mohács *ṣanǰāq* the *reʿāyā*, if his wine was produced in the fields of another village, had to deliver ot the spahi in return for the vintage permission two *kile* of barley, two loaves of bread, a hen and four *čebers* of wine as *akó* (1 *akó* = ca. 50 litres), after each vineyard of 32 hoe-cuts. The census-taker entered these deliveries of the *reʿāyā* in a laconic form: must-tithe, together with the *aqō . . . čeber* (*šīre maʿ aqō čeber*).[86] At the suggestion of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda, however, this «custom left from the time of the kings» was abolished, or rather modified in the following manner: after the landowner of the vine-lands (*ṣāḥib-i arż*) had received the must-tithe, the master of the *reʿāyā* (*ṣāḥib-i a raʿiyyet*) received one *pint* of every thirty pints of must.[87] This delivery was stipulated in the *qānūnnāme* of the Szerém *ṣanǰāq* with the addition of an important condition. If the *reʿāyā* possessed enough land within compass of the fields of his own village, but tilled the soil or planted vine also elsewhere, besides the tithe he was to give also one part from thirty as *sālāriyye* from what he produced there.[88] Whether the land of his own village was enough for the *reʿāyā*, or not, was judged, as in the case of the village of Cséb, by a commissioned *čauš*.

At certain places it was the custom at vintage that the *tīmār*-holder was given one basket of grapes or alternatively 2 *aqče* «basket-money» (*resm-i sepet*)

[85] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 22, p. 329.
[86] *Ibid.* Tahrir defteri, No. 441.
[87] Decree to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda, *ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 12, p. 320.
[88] Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda osmanlı*, 312.

after each vineyard. In the 1579 registration of the *ṣanǰāq* of Pécs, we have documentary evidence of this method of delivery.[89]

The income arising from the vineyards of Moslems were to be registered according to a different regulation. For if Moslems planted vine themselves, they did not have to pay any tithe, but 4—6 *aqče* after each *dönüm* (= 939.3 m²) of vine-land. But if the vine was bought from a Moslem or wine was made out of the grapes, they were liable to deliver the tithe.[90]

Beside tithes and taxes imposed on vines the Treasury made a profit also on the selling of wine in two ways; as the income from the monopoly (*monopolye*) and as barrel-tax (*resm-i fūčï*).» The law is that in those towns and villages where there are vines, monopoly must be hold for two months and ten days.»[91] When monopoly was held, the *reʿāyā* could not sell his wine until the wine of the Treasury was sold out.[92] More detailed informations about this can be found in the *qānūnnāme* of the Nikopol *ṣanǰāq*: «The commissioners should keep monopoly for two months and ten days in those months of the year which they choose. During this period the earthen vessels and barrels of the Moslems must be sealed and they must not sell wine to anyone but the wine of the commissioners must be sold. The monopoly must not last longer than that even if the wine were not to be sold out during that time.»[93] The census-takers had to — or rather should have had to — register the income from the monopoly in accordance with these laws. The way of the execution of these laws is demonstrated by the instruction sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in 1571. «Since the vine-lands of the town named Tolna do not lie within its own fields it is against the law to hold monopoly there, so the previous census-taker did entered no monopoly-income in the defter. Later, however, *Qāsim Beg* registered 30.000 *aqče* in the aforenamed town as monopoly income. After this the *emīn*s and *ʿāmil*s had wine brought from another place and held monopoly for four months, and then they graciously settled the *reʿāyās* who had fled to their villages from the harrassments. The emins should not cause such damage to the Treasury hereafter. You have reported also that the addition of about fifty *ġuruš* to the monopoly-income is accepted, but no more than that. Now you shall solve this problem in a way more profitable to the Treasury but also in

[89] For the basket-money see *ibid.* 308. and the 1579 register of the Pécs *ṣanǰāq*. Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 585.

[90] The *dönüm*-tax imposed on the gardens of Moslems was not uniformly established it is 4 *aqče* in the 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 570), 5 *aqče* in the 1570 register of the Esztergom *ṣanǰāq* (Fekete L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 30) and 6 *aqče* in the 1580 register of the Szekszárd *ṣanǰāq* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 593).

[91] *Qānūnnāme* of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*. See Fekete L., *Budapest*, 208.

[92] *Qānūnnāme* of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 243.

[93] Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda osmanlı*, 270.

accordance with the *reʿāyās* wish, so thatno damager to the Treasury and no harm to the *reʿāyā* be done.»[94]

The registration of the town of Tolna from the *ṣanǰāq* of Szekszárd was effected by Qāsim *Beg* in 1564/65, and though his register was lost, we do have the income accounts from the town of Tolna — a Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ* estate — from the very same year. According to the accounts the monopoly income in Tolna in the year 972 (from 9. Aug. 1564 to 25 Jul. 1565) amounted to 30.000 *aqče* and in the next year 45.000 *aqče*.[95] Thus in the year 1564/65 the amount entered in Qasim *Beg*'s *defter* was put to account, whereas the amount of the next year already shows the actual abuses indulged in by the *emīn*s and *ʿāmil*s. These distortions, however, were ended, and by the registration of the year 1571 in accordance with the cited instruction 32.550 *aqče* monopoly income was recorded in the town of Tolna.[96] On the other hand, according to the same register, no monopoly income came from the town of Paks producing one thousand *čeber* must-tithe (its cash value was 48 000 *aqče*) although, according to the above quoted law, monopoly would have had to be held in every wine-producing settlement.

Concerning the other duty imposed on wine sales the following were laid down in the law book: «Where no wine is produced in their own fields but brought in barrels from another place and sold in wine-shops, 15 *aqče* must be paid to the landowner as barrel-tax after each barrel. If they were not to sell, but drink it all in their houses, no barrel-tax shall be collected, but it they were to drink only one part of it, selling the other, 15 *aqče* shall be collected per barrel».[97] In some of the registers the barrel-tax can be found together with the bride-tax and the fines in the same item. According to the law 30 *aqče* was paid in bride tax (*resm-i ʿarusāne*) at the wedding of a Moslem virgin and 15 at the wedding of a widow.[98] Perhaps the origin of this peculiar combination of tax categories was that at weddings there was also wine-selling and perhaps fights too.

At certain places the imposition of the barrel tax was combined with the monopoly revenues. «Since in certain towns it is usual to pay to the landowner (*ṣāḥib-i arż*) one *ġuruš*, that is, fifty *aqeč* per barrel as monopoly after the wine brought from outside, this shall be recorded hereafter in the same way.»[99]

[94] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 12., p. 321.

[95] Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 575 (Flügel 1364).

[96] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 665. In the instruction sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda the 30.000 *aqče* of the previous *defter* and its being raised by about 50 *ġuruš*, that is, 2500 *aqče* were mentioned.

[97] The 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 570.

[98] Fekete, L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, 189.

[99] The 1570 *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 554.

With this in view the census-taker accounted the total of 14.352 *aqče* in the town of Vásárhely in 1570 as barrel tax, monopoly, bride tax and fines together, whereas in Szeged the amount of 35.425 *aqče* was entered on the list as fines, bride-tax and barrel-tax, with an additional 24.112 *aqče* in barrel-tax entered separately.[100] But in 1578 already the redemption of the monopoly (*bedel-i monopolye*) was entered by the census-taker also in Szeged, because by then the respective text of the law had been changed: «In the town of Szeged the monopoly held for selling Treasury wine has recently been abolished by a Sultanic decree, but to redeem it one *ġuruš* monopoly tax must be levied per barrel on the wine brought from elsewhere.»[101] When the monopoly tax was introduced in Szeged, the barrel tax was not abolished, only reduced to 12 *aqče* from the original 15 *aqče*, and the amount of 49.063 *aqče* in fines, bride-tax and barrel tax together was entered in the register.[102]

The changing into tax of the monopoly profits from wine sales is referred to, beside the above-quoted law, by the following decree: «The *reʿāyās* of the village of Adony, since they live by the roadside are molested not only by those coming and going but also their carriages are requisitioned for Treasury service and they are perpetually forced to serve in many ways. Since in the said village wine is mostly sold by marauders and strangers besides the inhabitants the *reʿāyā*s are unable to fulfill their duties and suffer need. For these reasons and in return for all their services they are permitted to sell their own wine by way of monopoly according to the law.»[103] Thus the residents of the village of Adony could hold monopoly for two months and ten days without paying monopoly tax, while the marauders were obliged by the census-taker to pay 500 *aqče* monopoly tax.[104]

After the registration of the takings tithes and taxes from corn and vine production the produce of garden plants and fruit trees was also taken into account. But the revenue due from them had to be registered differently if they were produced in a field garden, a «*bōstān*».

The word *bōstān* had not always meant field garden in Turkish horticulture. This is indicated by a decree of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda dated from 1574: «Recently in the town of Buda a person named Hüsrev has bought several of the empty and ruinous plots of land from the Treasury, for 2.000 *aqče*, but he has not built anything upon them after paying for them. The Moslems need these plots badly but he has planted vines on one part of them and made a «*bōstān*» out of the other. Rumour has it that there are Moslems who would pay as much as 30—40.000 *aqče* for these plots purchased from the Treasury by

[100] The 1570 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, *ibid.*
[101] The 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, *ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] 1578 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 611.
[104] *Ibid.*

shameless cheating. Since it is necessary to know the truth in this case I order you to examine this as soon as my decree is received, and report it in truthful writing to my Blessed Threshold.»[105] The word «*bōstān*», however, was probably used among the tax-paying population rather with the meaning «field garden», because it had been retained by the popular language of the country around Szeged up to the end of the last century. There is even a folksong from Tápé two lines of which clearly refer to this usage of the word.[106] Thus, the *bōstān* could be a vegetable-garden or a melon field by a river or at the end of the village, or even among the arable lands of the village if there was room for it.[107]

In connection with the taxation of gardens the books contained the following law: «From those who have a garden attacked to their houses and do not sell the tarragon, parsley and other vegetables which they planted for their own consumption, nothing shall be collected after such gardens, but if they carried the above-mentioned vegetables to the market, the tithe must be taken. If it (the produce) were sold, the tithe, and if it were not sold, four *aqče* after each *dönüm* of land should be collected after the bostan-garden.[108] Relying upon these decrees the census-takers regarded the market conditions in making the accounts of the garden tax (*resm-i bōstān*), or respectively of the tithe liable for vegetables and fruit, recording only its cash value, never its amount.

From among the smaller domestic animals of the residents the census-takers had to count the pigs and the sheep or lambs, and the bees by beehives.

The following was written about the imposition of the beehive tithe (*ʿöšr-i küvvāre*) in the *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*: «One of ten beehives, a half of five shall be taken and if there be even less, then two *aqče* after each hive shall be collected. The tithe must be collected at the time of the running. The tithe belongs to the land on which the hives stand. In those cases when at running-time the hives stand on the land of another man, but at other times on the *tīmār* of the *reʿāyā*'s master, half of the time is due to the land-holder and the other half to the master of the *reʿāyā*.» The tithes of the beehives were not recorded in the registers, only the amount of their cash redemption was noted.[109]

Concerning the registration of the pig-tax (*biḏʿat-i ḫanāzir*) the law prescribed that «two *aqče* be taken after each pig more than one year old, but none

[105] Başkevâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 24, p. 172.

[106] Kálmány, L., *Szeged népe* [The People of Szeged] (Arad 1882), Vol. II, p. 184 Sándor Bálint refers to this quotation: *Szegedi szótár* (Budapest 1957), Vol. I, p. 182.

[107] «Az idén nincs bosztánunk» («We have no *bōstān* this year») — they said in Pádé, see Bálint, S., *op. cit.*, 182.

[108] *Qānūnnāme* of the Koppány and Simontornya *ṣanǰāq*s, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri no. 563.

[109] Ö. L. Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. inci asırlarda osmanlı*, 308.

after a pig less then one year old.»[110] The census-takers usually did not enter the number of pigs, only the sum coming from the two *aqče*s due a piece. In some instances, however, a forther tax, the so-called pannage tax (*resm-i otlāq*) was also registered after pigs. According to the law: «those who had been registeres for pannage-tax, when going to that place, shall pay two «*penz*» (one *aqče*) pasture-tax to the landowner. They cannot say that they have already paid it to the spahi, because what they paid to the spahi was merely for pasturing on the fields of his village. If the mast were in his own village lands they shall pay only four *penz* (that is two *aqče* pig tax) and nothing for the pasturing, but if it is in the fields of another, he is due to pay two *penz* pasture-tax.»[111] This tax is usually entered as pannage-tax in the registers.

Where sheep-tax is concerned, the measures are most clearly stated by the 1570 law-book of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*: «Since it is entered in the old *defter* that on the day of St. George the landholder is given one *penz* per sheep, the same will continue to be collected. In some places, however, it is the tenth lamb that is taken on the day of St. George and therefore in such places the one *penz* per sheep must not be collected.»[112] Thus the census-taker entered either the sheep-tax (*ʿādet-i āġnāṃ*) or the lamb tithe (*ʿöšr-i berre*) according to the local custom. Where the payment of the sheep tax was the custom he counted the sheep and noted the amount of taxdue after them. Usually he did not enter the number of sheep by head, because it could be gathered from the amount of the taxliable. But where the delivery of the lamb tithe was customary, he mostly entered their cash value, 15—20 *aqče* each, only rarely recording their number. In such cases, however, in order that the number of sheep could, when necessary, also be established, he wrote above the names of the residents the number of their sheep.[113]

In the *vilāyet* of Temesvár sheep-farming was conducted on such a large scale that its profits were kept for the Treasury. This was expressed by the 1554 law book of the Lippa *ṣanǰāq* in the following way: the entire sheep tax of the Temesvár *vilāyet* belongs to the Treasury, except that of those parts of the Arad and Csanád *ṣanǰāq*s beyond the river Maros and near the enemy fortresses where, because of the difficulties of its collection, it was registered as the

[110] This law can be found in the *qānūnnāme* of almost every *ṣanǰāq*-register.

[111] The 1554 *qānūnnāme* of the Szécsény *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 293.

[112] For the *qānūnnāme*s of the other *ṣanǰāq*s do not indicate clearly whether sheep tax or lamb tithe was to be given.

[113] Knowledge of the number of sheep was, perhaps apart from tax collection, necessary from the point of view of the meat supplies of the army. I conclude this from an instruction sent, in 1545, to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in which he is ordered to buy 20.000 sheep at the daily price for army provision purposes. See Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 12.321.

income of the spahis. Thus according to this decree in the registers of these *ṣanǰāqs* the number of sheep was noted above the name of the residents. Where the revenue was due to the spahi, the monetary value of the lamb tithe was also recorded in the same way, whereas at other places it was noted that the sheep tax was due to the Treasury, but its amount was not entered.[114]

After sheep, if they were pastured on someone else's field also a separate pasture tax had to be paid. Concerning this one of the law-books decreed that: «the pasture tax is due to that place where the sheep are grazed and not where their owner is living; one middling sheep is to be taken after each flock. But after sheep driven from outside, that is, from another *ṣanǰāq*, from a good flock a sheep worth twenty *aqče*, from a middling one, a sheep worth fifteen, and from a poor flock a yearling worth ten *aqče* is to be taken. It is, however, against the law to take a sheep worth more than twenty *aqče.*»[115]

Pannage tax after pigs and pasture tax after sheep could therefore only be levied when these animals were grazed in the fields of another village. This is why great discontent was caused by the efforts to collect pasture-tax on the basis of the registration at the shelters in the fields around Szeged. The following decrease was sent in 1565 to the *Beglerbeg* of Buḍa at the request of the resident of Szeged: «From Szeged some Mohammedan subjects came to my high court recently and said that the census-taker of the *vilāyet* invented a shelter-tax: (*resm-i ṣāllāš*) to be paid after animals moving in the fields their town, for which there had been no law before. He registered an annual average of 15.000 *aqče* and we are therefore forced to pay one *aqče* after each animal grazed on our pastures. At their complaint the *defter* was inspected and the amount was found registered as it was claimed, but it is against the law to collect pasture tax after the animals of the *reʿāyā*s of the towns and villages of my well-defended Empire if they do not eat grass and drink water on the land of someone else and if they are pastured at their own places. I order therefore, with the annullment of the mentioned amount, that, as soon as my decree is received, you prevent the demand of the illegally registered average pasture tax, if the animals of the named town do not go beyond their own pastures, do not go to the places of desolate villages or if they do, they eat no grass and drink no water there, but graze only in their own lands.»[116]

[114] A separate *defter* account was made of the sheep tax collected by the commissioners of the Treasury. See e.g. the sheep tax *defter* of the Csanád *ṣanǰāq* from the year 1581. (Velics, A., *op. cit.* I. 333—336) These sheep tax *defter*s were, at the time of the registration of the respecting *ṣanǰāq*, also given to the census-takers partly in order to help them in taking the data and partly because they were to enter the newly found sheep which till then had not been entered in the *defter*. See the decree sent, in 1577, to the *Beglerbeg* and *Defterdār* of Temesvár, Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33 p. 246.

[115] Ö. L. Barkan: *XV. ve XVI. inci asırlarda osmanlı*, 310.

[116] Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 6, decree No. 725.

Concerning the pasture-tax the following is recorded in the 1560/61 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*: «On the land of Szeged the pasture tax of the shelters of the residents of Szeged is 15.000 *aqče* in cash. They pay one *aqče* per animal.»[117] Thus the tax was levied upon 15.000 animals but it is told only by a later instruction what these animals were.

It seems that Iskender Pasha of Buda in spite of the received decree, did not stop the levy of the 15.000 *aqče* pasture tax, since a little later the *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged himself had to intervene on behalf of the residents because of the continued harrasments. This resulted in the sending of a new decree in February, 1566: «In a letter the *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged has reported that since the conquest till now nothing has been collected from the *reʿāyās* of the town of Szeged after their cattle held in the shelters within their own fields. The *ʿāmil*s of the Treasury, however, demand, besides the payment of their taxes and other dues, two year's tax of one *aqče* per head of cattle. When this was first reported to the Sublime Porte, order was sent to Iskender Pasha and the *Defterdār* of Ḅuda that the animals of the named town should not be allowed to eat grass and drink water when they moved on the land of someone else and if tax were illegally demanded after the animals moving within their own fields it should be stopped, so that nothing should be collected.[118] So nothing has until now been collected, but they are constantly pressed by the *ʿāmil*s. If, in the above-mentioned way, tax were imposed on their cattle, they would certainly run away. — Since he reported their asking for help in this matter, I order that as soon as my noble decree has been received, you make inquiries from those well-acquainted with this matter, and see whether it has been customary to impose tax on the cattle of the *reʿāyā*s of Szeged, if they are grazed on their own land. If although no such tax has been registered in the *defter* of the *vilāyet*, the *emīns* and *ʿāmil*s want, in spite of the custom and the *defter*, to collect tax after their animals, you must stop them. Nothing shall be demanded without cause and against the custom and the *defter* of the *vilāyet*.»[119]

Thus pasture tax was levied on cattle, although the cattle of the residents were not to be registered since there was no law for any tax imposed on them. The only result of the report of the *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged, in spite of this, was that the *Beglerbeg* of Buda was ordered to investigate the matter again, which as it turned out, had no practical significance.[120] For in the cited *qānunnāme*

[117] *Ibid.* Tahrir defteri, No. 332.

[118] This decree sent to Iskender Paša was already printed above.

[119] This instruction was found incidentally, in a different file, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye 2775, p. 903.

[120] The following new decree was sent to the *Beglerbeg* and the *Defterdār* of Buda in March 1566: «Sending a report to my gate, you who are a *Beglerbeg*, together with the *Qāḍīs* of Szeged and Pest, reported the reception of a majestic command ordering that — since the Szeged *mīrlivā* had submitted, that although the shelters of the town Szeged

of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* of 1570 the pasture tax was already legally establised: «Since it has been an old custom to pay one *aqče* pasture tax for each animal in those empty and desolate villages and plains where manors called «shelters» (*ṣālāš*) have been set up, the soil is tilled, meadows are reaped and animals are grazed throughout the year, the same shell be collected herafter. The pasture tax must be paid even if there is no shelter.» On the basis of this law it was once more registered in 1570 by the census-taker of Szeged that: «On the lands of Szeged, the pasture tax of the shelters of the residents of Szeged: 15.000 *aqče*, they pay one *aqče* per animal.»[121]

It is very likely that the residents lodged a new complaint against the pasture tax levied on their cattle, because, among others, the following was written to the census-taker of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* in 1577: «You have reported the large-scale horse- and cattle-breeding of the villages of the Plain, and the matter of the pasture tax levied on these. Well then, there is no law for imposing pasture tax on horses and cattle. Take care not to enter anything in the new *defter*.»[122] But in spite of the warning the *Qāḍï* of Szeged wrote in the new register: The pasture revenue of the shelters of the residents of Szeged on the land of that town: 25.000 *aqče*».[123] The pasture tax of the shelters was registered not only in the Szeged, but also in the Buda *ṣanǰāq*. Ali *Qāḍï* of Buda, the census-taker of the *ṣanǰāq*, for example noted after the enumeration of the

had never been taxed the *emīn*s demanded tax after their animals going on their own fields and pastures, saying that it was entered in the new Sultanic *defter*, the collection of which would certainly cost the loss of *reʿāyās* to us — you should investigate this, because nothing was to be imposed on their animals against the *qānūn* if they moved about their own fields and pastures, whereas if they moved in plains outside their pastures or ar the places of desolate villages, then pasture tax were to be collected. When according to this command, the case had been investigated the following facts were reported: it is true that the 4—500 *aqče* revenue called «*ṣālāš*»-tax (shelter-tax), that is, pasture tax of some plains of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* were recorded for the spahis. The spahi usually collects one *aqče* per animal in shelter tax. Having proved that now it had also been collected in this way the census-taker of the *vilāyet* entered one *aqče* pasture tax after the animals grazed at the shelters and not entered in the *defter*. So the shelter tax was demanded by the *emīn*s in accordance with the *defter* and not an *aqče* more was taken. But encouraged by some of the biggest rascals among them they (the residents) sent a man to the high court requesting a noble command. Everything that they said in the hope of winning the noble command was contrary to the truth. You having so reported I have ordered that as soon as my noble decree has been received you investigate the method in which treasury tax has been imposed on the mentioned animals since old times. The pasture tax shall be collected in the old way and no one must dispute the old custom.» (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye 2775; p. 1089)

[121] 1570 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, *ibid*. Tahrir defteri, No. 554. This time, however, he entered by name those who had shelters.

[122] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 34, p. 144.

[123] 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*.

different taxes and tithes in Jakabszállás: «From the pasture tax of the shelters 3340 *aqče.*»[124] This amount probably meant also cattle and horse pasture tax, since only 35 lambs were recorded in lamb tithe.

In the levy of pasture tax the following general points were also taken into consideration: «In villages very near to each other whose fields are in such a close neighbourhood that no waste land lies between them so that after the crop has been harvested and the hay gathered the animals can go and graze in the fields of each other nothing is to be collected, because this will be a case of collective ownership, and if the area in question is not a separate land indeed pasture tax is not to be collected.»[125] This means that even if there was only one shelter between the two villages the pasture tax had to be paid.

The data of the laws and registers quoted in connection with the pasture tax indicate the desire of the Turkish fiscal administration to impose taxes even on animals grazing on «the ruined places of desolate villages,» on the lands of deserted settlements long uncultivated.[126]

The owner of the land left uncultivated was, however, also taxed if he was found. Referring to this the following instruction was sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in 1571: «Some of the *reʿāyā*s giving up forming occupy themselves and make their living with a different work in the towns and villages causing in this way damage to the (Treasury) revenue. From such a *reʿāyā* who, although he has land, does not cultivate it and does not, with the consent of the *ṭīmār*-holder, let it be cultivated by someone else, but leaving his whole land engages in another trade, fallow land tax (*resm-i čift bōzāniyye*) is to be taken.»[127]

[124] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri No. 592.

[125] 1570 *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*.

[126] There were already many desolate settlements in the second half of the 16th century. The instruction sent to the census-taker of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* in 1578 indicates that the Treasury made efforts to find also another way of gaining profit on this: «Sending a letter you reported that in the named *livā* there were many desolate places suitable for being peopled. In one or two villages certain *reʿāyās* had cunning and well-to-do wanderers (*haymāne*) entered instead of themselves and asked for being entered at such desolate places in order to prosper. A high order should be sent [!] to support the leaving and moving into another plain of *reʿāyās* putting wanderers in their place because this would promote the prosperity of the country, increase the Treasury income and the security of the *vilāyet*. — Upon your report of all this I have ordered that as soon as my decree arrives you enter in the *defter* the annexion of such wastes to my Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-villages if it is possible for the above mentioned wastes to be populated and reach prosperity and if by settling people there in the manner reported by you the above-mentioned wastes are suitable for Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates.» Başvekâlet Arşivi Mühimme defteri, Vol. 34, p. 308.

[127] *Ibid.* Mühimme defteri, Vol. 12, p. 320. In registers at our disposal we cannot find entries of fallow land tax. They are, on the other hand, quite frequent in a few tithe-registers (see *Two Sultanic Ḫāṣṣ-Estates in Hungary during the 16th and 17th Centuries* in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII, 31—62). The opposite of the *resm-i čift bozāniyye* was the *resm-i čift* «land tax» paid by Mohammedans (which can be parallelled with the gate tax of the Mohammedans) in which 22 *aqče* was paid after a complete *čiftlik* (peasant farm).

The uncultivated land could be given to anybody who paid the ownership (*resm-i ṭapu*) and was willing to undertake the duty of tax and tithe payment. The inspection of the ownership right and at times the collection of the tax was the job of the census-taker. Referring to this, texts similar to the following one can be found in the registers: «Száraszeg being empty and desolate was taken possession of, with the payment of the ownership duty, by the residents of the village Haraszti on condition of giving the tithe due to the landowner and thus it has been entered in the new Sultanic *defter*. The ownership duty is 400 *aqče*. The income from the tithes: 450 *aqče*.»[128] Or: «A meadow in the fields of the town Szentlőrinc, at the locality named Szentlőrinc-völgye in the possession of Mikó Gál, Bács Jakab, Tót Izsák, Ág Tamás and Fóris István of the village Tarcsa, and of Keresztös Orbán of the village Bicsérd, 13 cartfuls (of hay) Ownership duty: 240 *aqče*.»[129] This ownership duty could not be included in the Treasury revenue of the village, since it was taken by the census-taker immediately at the occupation of the property. For example Aḥmed, the census-taker of the Szigetvár and Pécs *ṣanǰāq*s in the year 1579 collected and handed over to the Treasury of Buda 60.000 *aqče* in ownership duty.[130] The ownership duty of smaller property, of tenements, vineyards or small parcels, however, appears to have been included in the revenue of the *tīmār*-holder, because it was, although without the name of the property, entered on the register of the revenue of the settlement.

The size of the whole *čiftlik* was determined according to the quality of the soil. In the *āqnūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* a whole *čiftlik* at a very good place is 60 *dönüm*, 100—120 at a mediocre place and 150 *dönüm* at a bad one. (Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda osmanlı*, 308). Those who did not have a whole *čiftlik* paid only 12 *aqče* as «*resm-i bennāk*». In 1578 they entered a few Mohammedans in Szeged, who paid 22 *aqče* in *resm-i čift* and some others paying 12 *aqče* in *resm-i bennāk* (See Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 570.) Both tax categories are examined in detail by H. Inalcik, *Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rüsumu*: *Belleten* sayı 92, 575—608.

[128] 1579 register of the Pécs *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri No. 585. When the ownership duty had been paid previously the census-taker made an entry like the following one: «The *čiftlik* of the Miklōš diyaq [scribe]. Since after the payment of the ownership duty at the time of the previous registration of the above named *vilāyet* he had taken possession of the forty sackfuls of arable land, the meadow giving twenty cartloads of hay and the two-wheeled mill building of the *čiftlik* and on the condition of giving the tithe it had been signed over to him, now it was signed over to him also in the new Sultanic *defter*. Income from the tithe: 150 *aqče*. Empty lands were sometimes claimed not only by the residents of the locality and the neighbouring village but also by Turks, which was entered by the census-taker in this manner: «The *čiftlik* of Naṣuḥ bin Hamza. Since according to the Sultanic law it is rightful to take possession of empty and desolate pastures and meadows, the aforenamed has taken possession of it with the payment of the ownership duty and on condition of giving the tithe it has been signed over to him in the new Sultanic *defter*.» (The above quoted register of the Pécs *ṣanǰāq* from the year 1579.)

[130] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 40, p. 196.

At the registration of the above-mentioned town, Szentlőrinc, for example, besides ownership duty of the meadows a separate 28 *aqče* ownership duty of an unknown source was entered.[131] There are, however, several registers where no entries concerning ownership duty can be found at all, because, as in the case of the 1578 registration of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, these were contained by a separate list attached to the end of the register. The short list mentioned above bears the title: The *Defter* of the Ownership Duties of the lands of Szeged.» In this appendix the census-taker entered in ownership duty 10—12 *aqče* per *dönüm* after building sites, *bōstān*-gardens and vineyards (a *dönüm* = 939.3 m²), 200—300 *aqče* after shelters without indicating their size, and 500—1500—2000 *aqče* after a farmstead.[132]

The census-taker collected not only the ownership duties but also the price of those Treasury owned houses, mills and tenements which he sold during the registration to those who wanted them.[133]

Towards the end of the 16th century, however, it became so hard to find claimants for uncultivated arable lands and vacant plots of laud etc., that the actual problem was no longer the collection of the ownership duty but finding *reʿāyās* willing to till the soil. This is referred to by the following instruction sent, in 1588, to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda, the *Defterdār* and the *Qāḍïs* of the *vilāyet*: « You reported that some of the *reʿāyās* of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates had left their domiciles and were settled by *tīmār*- and *ziʿāmet*-holders on their estates, and in this way damage has been done to the revenue of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates. I order, therefore, that you take utmost care of this matter and force those in your *qaẓā*[134] to move back and settle in their former places of residence, who had left them and now live on the lands of *tīmār*- and *ziʿāmet*-holders if they have not yet lived there for ten years.»[135]

[131] For the ownership duty in certain cases could also be collected by the *tīmār*-holder; according to the *qānūnnāmes* if the *reʿāyā* had left his land uncultivated for three years the *tīmār*-holder was entitled to give it to anyone who, paying the ownership duty, undertook its cultivation (see Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda osmanlı*, 310). We have, however no further data concerning the encashment of the ownership duty by the *tīmār*-holder.

[132] The 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* quoted above already.

[133] Such sums were paid also by Derviš. *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged, census-taker of the Buda, Hatvan, Nógrád, Fülek and Szécsény *ṣanǰāq*s in 1559/60. See L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda 1550—1580* (Budapest 1962), 766.

[134] *I.e.* each *Qāḍï* should take care of it in his own district, «*qaẓā*».

[135] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 64, p. 179. This process was even more increasing during the 17th century. *E.g.* in the town Jászberény in 1634 a few *tīmār*- and *ziʿāmet*-holders appeared with an extract of the register to certify that their *reʿāyās* were with their sons among the residents there. Since Jászberény was a Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estate, the *Qāḍï* of Hatvan was ordered to prevent such molestation of the *reʿāyās* (Turkish documents, Jászberény, No. 29).

In the survey of the Treasury revenue of the individual settlements in the registers the mill tax and the fish tithe, if there were any, were usually mentioned among the last items. 50 *aqče* was to be levied after mills working throught the year and 25 after those working only for half a year. There was a different taxation in the town Gyöngyös where 300 *aqče* were levied on certain mills and 100 on others,[136] whereas in the Szerém *ṣanǰāq* the annual tax of the mills on the small stream was 32 *aqče* and the semi-annual tax 12 *aqče*.[137] At larger settlements were there was more than one mill the census-taker frequently listed the names of the millowners, but otherwise he indicated only the number of the mill-wheels and the amount of the tax to be paid. Tithe had to be given after fish caught in the river, but half of the fish was to be delivered if it was caught in fish-ponds or in that part of the river which was rich in fish. The census-takers recorded only the monetary value of both the fish tithe and the fish half. But the establishment of whether the fishing-place could be qualified as a fish-pont or not gave rise to such debates that the residents in certain cases turned even to the High Porte itself. Evidence of this is contained by the following instruction sent in 1573 to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda and the *Defterdār*: «The residents of the village of Máma sent a man to my High Court and let me know that although fish tithe had been recorded in the *defter* for fishing in a branch of the river Tisza the *emīn*s of Szolnok. Hasān Ḫoǰa, J̌afer and ʿAbdi after having collected the fish tithe of the *defter* force them to give also the half of the fish caught by them. I order therefore that together with the aforenamed and the debating *emīn*s you examine the copy of the *defter* and if tithe has been recorded for the Treasury after the fish caught in the named locality then that should be collected according to the *defter* of the *vilāyet* and the people should not be harrassed in spite of it.»[138]

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Beside the tithes and taxes enumerated above at larger settlements items of income from legacies, unclaimed property and stray animals,[139] slaughter-house duty, the rent of Treasury shops, market sales duty, river-

[136] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 550, the *qānūnnāme* of the Hatvan *ṣanǰāq*.

[137] Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda osmanlı*, 309.

[138] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kepeci tasnifi, No. 67.

[139] In connection with legacies the 1570 *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* ruled that the *Qāḍī* was forbidden to tour the villages in search of deceased persons, estimating the heritage higher than its actual value and to take exceedingly large sums of money unlawfully. «The properties of the deceased must be taken stock of justly, and after their distribution among the heirs 15 *aqče* is to be collected after every one thousand *aqče*.» But the *Qāḍī* of Temesvár had to be reprimanded in 1573 for disobeying these rules, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 26, p. 133. Because of the abuses in the selling of stray animals the cited *qānūnnāme* of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* ruled that on animal found could not be sold before the passing of one month and ten days.

crossing duty and the customs duty of trade routes were also to be listed, all of them summarily, in one item, or sometimes at places with a busier traffic, in separate items: wine duty, cattle duty, etc.[140]

It was, however, the duty of the census-taker to list everything by the taxing of which the Treasury revenue could be increased; there were census-takers who, for example, when they noticed a church in the village, promptly entered a separate fifty *aqče* in church-tax (*resm-i kilisā*).[141] During the registration the *Qāḍï* had to take care that no possible source of Treasury income should be left out of the register.[142]

No detailed register had to be made of the taxes and tithes of those villages, where the residents made an agreement with the Treasury to pay their duties at an annual flat rate, only the payable amount was indicated. But the names of the residents were to be listed also in such cases in order that it could be known where they belonged as *reʿāyās*. The Treasury revenue of those border villages that the census-takers could not reach and the *reʿāyās* did not report in response to summons the amount of the lump sum to be paid was registered at a mere estimation (*ber veǰh-i taḫmīn*).[143] Such Treasury incomes were mostly granted to the spahis as their revenue.

The registration of the individual *ṣanǰāq*s, because of the difficulties of covering an area or finding the *reʿāyās* as well as for many other reasons, took greatly different lengths of times. The registration of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* in 1577, for example, was completed in about five-six months,[144] whereas the 1591 registration of the Szerém *ṣanǰāq* took four months.[145]

When the registration was finished the data listed according to the prescriptions had to be assembled and engrossed in a *defter*.[146] The carefully made

[140] These data must have been obtained second-hand by the census-taker, that is, he probably borrowed them from the above-mentioned accounts of taxes and customs duties. Thus the original accounts themselves contain more detailed and creditable informations.

[141] The levy of the church tax was even prescribed in the Szeged *qānūnnāme* of 1570.

[142] Ö. L. Barkan, *Türkiye'de*, 41.

[143] Some examples for this can be found also in the 1590/91 register of the Szolnok *ṣanǰāq*. Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 634.

[144] The Qaḍï of Szeged was commissioned to register the *ṣanǰāq* on about 15 July, 1577 (Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 31, p. 22.) and completed the work of the registration about the 21st of December (*ibid.* Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 154). I have not quoted these data from the original letter of commission or from the reports about the results of the registration, but from the Sultanic instructions repeating them. This makes it necessary to point out approximately the date of the beginning and the finishing of the registration.

[145] Meḥmed, notary of the janissaries of Buda received his commission about the 11th March in 1591 (Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 67, p. 103) and finished his work about the 8th of July in the same year (*ibid*, Mühimme zeyli defteri, Vol. 5, p. 60).

[146] Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 35, p. 209, from the year 1578.

fair copy, then, had to be sent to Istanbul in a small sealed bag.[147] There they were always anxious to receive the results of the registration hoping that the new register would give account of a larger revenue than the previous one. If this hope was fulfilled the decree about the excess profits would follow soon: «Since sending the *defter* account of the Buda, Hatvan, Nógrád, Fülek and Szécsény *ṣanǰāq*s registered by you at my noble command you reported the appearance of an excess amount of 2.693.947 *aqče* coming from corn and other surplus values (*tefāvut-i ġallātdan*). I order it to be added to the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estate. I order that as soon as my decree is received the increase be, with the assistance of the *Beglerbeg* of Buda and the *Defterdār*, added to the suitable Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estate.»[148] Derviš *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged produced the increase from the «corn surplus values» by raising the price of corn: e.g. he counted for a *kile* of wheat twelve *aqče* instead of the ten *aqče* taken ten years earlier, and for a double (i.e. wheat and rye mixed) *kile* he counted six *aqče* instead of the earlier five.[149] By this «price increase» he actually decreased the income of the *tīmār* holders in favour of the Treasury, since they received hereafter the Treasury revenue of smaller or less settlements for their salary, the amount of which — except for promotions — did not increase. The *tīmār*-holders were dissatisfied with this and tried to find different pretexts to retain their former *tīmār*-estates. Derviš *Beg*, because of the discontent, received the following decree:

[147] Ibid. Mühimme defteri, Vol. 12, p. 144, from the year 1571.

[148] This decree was, in 1560, went to Derviš *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged as the census-taker (*ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 3, p. 229). The excess income appearing in comparison with the previous register was separated, detached and was technically known as a «detachment» (*ifrāz*). For the incomes detached from the *tīmār*-estates and transformed into Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates see L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 383—391. During the registration several decrees were sent concerning the utilization of the *ifrāz*. In 1570, for example, the *Beglerbeg* of Buda received the following decree about the *ifrāz*: «In order that the soldier's pay of the janissaries of the fortresses of those parts should remain in the Treasury I order *tīmār*-estates to be given from the *ifrāz* of the registered *ṣanǰāq*s at places near to the fortresses» (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 9, p. 7). Thus the occurring *ifrāz* was not always attached to the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estate, but at times distributed among soldiers in the form of *tīmār*-estates in order to retain the money in the Treasury. It happened, because of the shortage in money, that a decree was sent to the census-taker about the *ifrāz* even already at the beginning of the registration: «You are now ordered to register the named *livā*, my majestic decree concerning this matter has been sent to you. If anybody asked any part of the *ifrāz* which is possible to occur during such a registration, no *ifrāz* must be given until the report coming to my high court. (Decree to the *Qāḍï* of Szeged as the census-taker of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* in the year 1577. Mühimme defteri, Vol. 37, p. 22). It was almost half a year later that the census-taker could report in reply to the above decree that after the registration an *ifrāz* of 800.000 *aqče* appeared. (Decree to the same person, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 33, p. 154.)

[149] Cf. the 1547 and 1560 registers of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 410 and 314. — Another source of the excess income was that Derviš *Beg* registered more villages than the previous census-taker.

«Sending a man to my High Porte you reported that when during the distribution the *tīmār*-estates according to the new *defter* were handed out to the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*-holders of the registered *ṣanǰāq*, they were discontented and reluctant to accept them. Since during the time of the crushed giaors the villages and plains of the *vilāyet* of Buda had been owned as possessions the spahis of the registered places now demanded their former villages. Since you have asked for my noble order in the debated case, I order that when the villages and plains suitable for *ḫāṣṣ*-estates have been marked out from among all the registered places, you hand oher to the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār* holders on the basis of the identity documents (*yāfta*)[150] their warrants (*teẕkere*), marking out their properties, as they deserve either from their own *tīmār*s or from other places, from among those that are not suitable for *ḫāṣṣ*-estates.[151] But in marking them out you must not listen to those saying «we want our own *tīmār*s.» Furthermore, all the customs duties of river-crossing, salt or carts and any other customs duties that are to be collected on the *ḫāṣṣ*-estates of the *Beglerbeg* or the *Emīr*s, or on the *tīmārs* of other *ziʿāmet*- or *tīmār*-holders must be entered on the register of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*, no customs duty shall be registered for the *Beglerbeg*, the *Beg*s or anyone else.»[152] Thus the discontented spahis would have liked to get rid of the *tīmār*-system itself and hold their estates in the giaor way of property ownership.

The above cited decree, on the other hand, shows that having listed the liabilities of the *reʿāyā* the job of the census-taker was not yet finished because on the basis of the register the *ḫāṣṣ*-estates of the Sultan, the *Beglerbeg* and the *Ṣanǰāqbeg* and also the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*-estates had still to be marked out or rather distributed.[153] Thus the registration of the distribution of the estates, the

[150] After each identity certificate (*yāfta*) issued the *Beglerbeg* was allowed to collect one gold coin and the *Defterdār* 12 *aqče*. See the respecting decree sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Temesvár in 1568; *ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 7, p. 332.

[151] Duty had to be paid also for the *teẕkere*, the warrant, and in proportion to the income received. *E.g.* about 1575 the *tīmār*-holder had to pay in case of a new warrant 12 *aqče* after each thousand *aqče* but only half of it in the case of a mere re-issuing of a warrant. But the levy of the duty was progressive a *ziʿamet*-holder or a *ṣanǰābeg* etc. paid according to different rates. See Istanbul, Ṣehid Ali Paşa Kütüphanesi, No. 2832, the MS was written about 1575. For the duty on the *teẕkere* in the 17th century see Fekete, L., *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 340—341.

[152] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 3, p. 243.

[153] The work of the census-taker was prolonged because of this, e.g. the registration work of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*, as we have mentioned before, began in July, 1577 and was to have been finished by the end of the year, in December (see note 144 and the end of note 148), but the census-taker received an instruction concerning the distribution of *tīmār*-estates as late as in June, 1578.) See Mühimme defteri, Vol. 35, p. 15) Thus the completion of all the administrative work took a whole year. This was the reason of putting the date 986, that is, the year 1578, on the register.

composition of the so-called *tīmār defter*s because one of the census-taker's duties.[154]

The time of the distribution, however, was always disclosed to the census-taker by a separate decree: «Since you have truthfully registered the aforenamed *livā* and sending the *defter* to my Blessed Threshold reported that you have found 1134 families (*ḫāne*) more than those registered in the previous *defter* and made a detachement (*ifrāz*) of 200.000 *aqče*, I order the distribution to begin on the 8th day of February, 1580.»[155] The sanctioned *ṣanǰāq*-registers or rather their attested copies were sent to the census-taker in order to enable him to begin the distribution as it is told by the following decree: «The Buda *vilāyet* was newly registered, its *defter*s on their arrival to my Blessed Threshold have been examined. Since they were accepted ther copies were made of them and, with the sign of my Noble *ṭuġra*, have been sent to you.[156] I have ordered that as soon as they arrive, the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār* — holders receive their warrants from those *defter*s on the basis of their identity documents, so that my noble deed of gift (*berāt*) could be newly granted.»[157] Thus the registers were sent to Istanbul for inspection copying and attestation. The copy attested by the *ṭuġra* and returned to the census-taker was kept in the *defter* repository (*defter-ḫāne*) which was set up in the centre of the *vilāyet*, at Buda in our case.[158] No

[154] The oldest *defter* known so far has been published by H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i ṣancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara 1593). For the general construction of the *defter*s see: Fekete, L., *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 101—110.

[155] Decree to Ali, Qāḍī of Buda, census-taker of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 39, p. 204. — Three months later, however a new date was set for the beginning of the distribution of the *tīmār*-estates: «Sending a letter you reported that the named liva was justly registered and an *ifrāz* of 50.000 *aqče* was found, and after this you requested permission for the distribution. I order therefore the distribution to begin on the 16th of May, 1580 and that as soon as my decree is received after the attachment to my sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estate and the entering in the new *defter* of the abovementioned *ifrāz* you mark out the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār* estates of the named *livā* and give *teẕkere* to those showing the identity certificate (yāfta) of the *Beglerbeg*.» Thus the *ifrāz* became less than in the first report which may be the result of a miscalculation, or perhaps the register was not as truthful after all, as on seeing the *ifrāz* of 200.000 *aqče* it had been written in the Sultanic decree.

[156] The *ṭuġra*, a graphical representation of the name of the ruling Sultan gives the first proof of the date of the register when no date is written on it, which is quite frequently the case.

[157] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 71, p. 169. — On the basis of the warrant (*teẕkere*) the *tīmār*-holders were granted their deeds of gift, the «*berāt*» on which duty was also imposed: 25 *aqče* after each thousand *aqče* and the half of it in case of a mere re-issuing. The *tīmār*-holders could in fact possess lands also without the *berāt*, which they did quite frequently in order to avoid payment of the duty. Therefore it was decreed that the *tīmār*-holder who does not change his warrant for a deed of gift in half a year is to lose his estate. Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa Kütüphanesi, No. 2832.

[158] A copy of the *ṣanǰāq* registers had always to be kept at the residence of the regionally responsible *Beglerbeg*, a decree of this effect was sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in

ṭuġra was drawn on the register deposited in the central Istambul office, so the *ṭuġra* today is the recognition mark of those registers that were once reposited at *vilāyet* centres.[159]

After marking out the *ḫāṣṣ*-estates of the Sultan, the *Beglerbeg* and the *Ṣanǰāqbeg*, the census-taker had to hand out the *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*-estates relying upon the *ṭuġra*-signed *defters*.[160] It was often during this distribution that it came to light whether the census-taker did his job properly or not; whether he-as fair or partial in registering the liabilities of the *reʿāyā*s. The following decree, for example, tells us how, in 1580, the *tīmār*-holders lodged a complaint against the census-taker of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq*. «The *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*-holders of the Pozsega *livā* submitted a report to my Blessed Threshold according to which the census-taker Behrām, *ziʿāmet*-holder and *defter-emīn* of Buda had not registered the aforenamed *livā* justly. He did injustice by registering at some *tīmār*-estates more and at others less than the *reʿāyā* would be able to bear. In order that you should see clearly in this matter the *defter* brought to my Blessed Threshold by the aforenamed census-taker has now been sealed and sent to you. I order that as soon as it is received you investigate the case of the registration of the named *livā*. Examine the previous and present *defter* thoroughly, so that you are able to see whether he made the register fairly and according to my majestical *fermān*, or as reported by the *ziʿāmet* and

1552: The *defter*s of the Alaǰahisar and Vučetrin *ṣanǰāq*s had earlier been given to the *Beglerbeg* of Rumilia, but since I ordered these *ṣanǰāq*s to be put under you beglerbegship, I have sent order to the *Beglerbeg* of Rumilia that he should hand over the sealed *defters* of the above-mentioned *ṣanǰāq*'s to you». See Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Revan Kütüphanesi K. 888. (For the keeping of the *ṣanǰāq*-registers at Buda see also note 43.)

[159] M. Sertoğlu, the director of the Archives of the Prime Minister's Office has written about this in his book (*op. cit.*, 43), but he does not mention that there are cases when the *ṭuġra* is drawn on both copies of the register, as for example on the 1580 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*; one of the copies with the *ṭuġra* is to be found in Istanbul today (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 592) while the other, also with a *ṭuġra*, in Vienna (Nat. Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 613). Another unexplained fact is that the 1547 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq* has three copies (all the three in Istanbul today, in the Başvekâlet Arşivi, reference: Tahrir defteri, Nos 388, 410 and 449) one of which has the *ṭuġra* while the other two are without it. The available registers do not enable us to establish the reason of the necessity of having two *ṭuġra*-signed copies in the first case, and beside one with the *ṭuġra*, two without it in the latter.

[160] Because of the negligence of the spahis in their duties the census taker had to keep in view the following decree sent to the *Beglerbeg* of Buda in 1580. «Some *tīmār*- and *ziʿāmet*-holders holding *tīmār*s, or *ziʿāmet*s in two *ṣanǰāq*s do not render their services in due time. When the census-taker of the *vilāyet* wanted to correct this, they argued saying that their *tīmār*s and *ziʿāmet*s in two *ṣanǰāq*s had been granted to them by decree. Since you reported this to me, I order you to warn the census-taker of the *vilāyet* seriously that he should give warrant for *tīmār* to those who hold *ziʿāmet* or *tīmār* in two *ṣanǰāq* within their own *ṣanǰāq* and assign the one in the other *ṣanǰāq* to someone else.» (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 43, p. 28.)

tīmār-holders, he registered at the *tīmār*-estates of some of them more and at others less. If, completing the investigation, it appears that in some villages not the endurable amount of delivery but more or less than that has indeed been registered, get it justly corrected.»[161] Thus the census-taker of the Pozsega *ṣanǰāq* must have been partial, similarly to the census-taker of the Szendrő *ṣanǰāq* about whom it was expressly said that «taking bribery he favoured *Beg*s and others, certain courtiers and rhymesters.»[162] But complaints against the census-takers came several times from the other side, from the part of the residents with so strong complaints that the *Beglerbeg* of Buda himself had to report them. «From the *reʿāyā*s of the Sultanic *ḫāṣṣ*-estates and other towns and villages in the Szolnok *livā* the census-taker of that *livā* Aḥmed *ziʿāmet*-holder took much money saying that he would erase the dead and the runaways from the *defter*, but he did not correct the *defter* and nor did he return the money.»[163] Besides being greedy these census-takers did not do their work with the circumspection and care Derviš *Ṣanǰāqbeg* of Szeged did his in the age of Sultan Süleyman, who during the 1560 registration of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, did not only erase the dead and the runaways from the *defter*, but also gave lucidly arranged numerical data concerning the new and older residents.[164]

Toward the end of the 16th century, however, there were more and more complaints against the census-takers, some of them so grave that, as it is revealed by the following instruction, in 1590—91 the registration had to be actually postponed for some time. «Census-takers have recently been delegated to certain *livā*s of my well-defended Empire, who did set about their job, since in spite of my orders they exacted much money from the poor and molested even the spahis, my decrees postponing the registrations have been sent out. But that province is on the borderland, so its registration is necessary. I have ordered therefore to complete it in a just way, so that not a single *aqče* or no piece be taken in defiance of my decree.»[165] It might easily have been due to the influence of this decree that in 1591 Ömer *Alaybeg*, the census-taker of several *ṣanǰāq*s wrote to the Prince of Transylvania: «Your Highness knows that I was born and raised here in the Borderland; I wanted the poor to praise me and pray for me and that the poor would fare well in the country of Your Highness too.»[166] We have no information whether the census-takers continued to extort the money from the poor, but it is certain that they did not usually

[161] *Ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 39, p. 95. The same complaint was lodged, in 1552, against the census-taker of the Istōlni Belġrād (Székesfehérvár) *ṣanǰāq*. — *Ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 48, p. 34.

[162] *Ibid*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 16, p. 9.

[163] *Ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 48, p. 127.

[164] *Ibid.*, Tahrir defteri, No. 314; this *defter* has been examined in detail above.

[165] *Ibid.*, Mühimme defteri, Vol. 68, p. 58.

[166] Haan, L. and Zsilinszky, M., *op. cit.*, 209.

oblige them to higher deliveries for the treasury as they had done ten years earlier, which, on the other hand, does not increase the value of the registers. The quality of the work of the census-takers, however, is most clearly shown by the registers themselves. To demonstrate this we present the data of the village Békásmegyer from the registers of 1580 and 1590 of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*.

From the 1580 register:[167]

Antal wanderer (*haymāne*) unmarried, *Baqša Lőrinč*, his son *Balāš* unmarried, *Balāšfi Pāl*, his son *G'örg'* unmarried, *Barši Balāš*, his son *Bālind* unmarried, *Barta Ištvān*, *Benedik* wanderer unmarried, *Bodi Andrāš*, *Bornemisa Yānoš*, his brother *Bālint* unmarried, *Čegledi Gergel*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Čep Benedik*, *Čep Ištvān*, *Elek Alberd*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Fodor Balāš*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Qāntor Ištvān*, *Qoron* (*?*) *Benedik*, *Qoša Bālind*, *Qovāc Balāš*, *Mōnār Gergel*, *Naǵ Yānoš*, his son *Ṭomāš* unmarried, *Nag' Ṭamāš*, his son *Alberd* unmarried, *N'eregyārtō Ṭamāš*, his son *Andriāš* unmarried, *Petrežen Māte*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Petri* servant (*isluǵa*) unmarried, *Šomog'i Yaqab*, *Ṣalai Gāšpār*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Tine Ġāšpār*, *Ṭōt Ambruš*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, his other son *Yānoš* [!] unmarried, *Ṭōt Andrāš*, *Ṭōt Andrās* [!], *Ṭōt Farqaš*, *Ṭōt Pāl*, his brother *Miḥāl* unmarried, *Ṭōt Petri*, *Ṭōt Šimon*, his son *Yānoš* unmarried, *Teregel* [?] *Ištvān*, his son *Tamāš* unmarried, *Urayn Andrāš*. The number of *ǰizye* tax-payers (*ḫānes*): 35. The income 3100 *aqče*, such as:

the number of gate tax-payers: 35	2750 (!)
wheat and double 10 *kile*	140
beehive tithe	100
pig tax	50
must tithe 10 *pints*	40
bride tax and barrel tax	20

From the 1590 register:[168]

Baqša Lörinč, his son *Balāš*, *Barši Balāš*, his son *Yānoš*, *Bata Ištvān*, his son *Yānoš*, his son *Miḥāl*, *Boġdāni Luqāč*, *Boqri Yānoš*, *Boqri Luqāč*, *Bug'i Andrāš*, his son *Alberd*, *Čāna Yānoš*, *Hayaš Gergel*, *Hirvāt Yānoš*, *Huṣār Lőrinč*, *Qānṭor Benedik*, his son *G'örg'*, *Qutaš Tamāš*, his brother *Benedik Mesāroš Gergel*, *Nāṣ Bālint*, his son *Orbān*, *N'erges Tamāš*, his son *Andrāš*, *Petrežilom Yānoš*, *Pirošqa Ġerqel*, *Ṣabō Balāš*, his son *Mārton*, *Ṣalai Ġāšpār*, his son *Yānos*, *Ṣalai Ištvān*, *Ṭōt Andrāš*, his son *Ṭamāš*, *Ṭōt Ğāšpār*, *Ṭōt Pāl*, his son *Andrāš*, *Ṭōt Petör*, his brother *Yānoš*, *Žōdoš G'örg'*. The number of *ǰizye* tax-payers: 26 Income from tithes and taxes 3100 *aqče* such as:

[167] Baṣvekâlet Arṣivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 592.
[168] *Ibid.*, Tahrir defteri, No. 611.

the number of gate tax-payers: 26	1300
wheat 50 *kile*	750
double 30 *kile*	270
beehive tithe	100
must tithe	210
pig tax	150
hay and firewood tax	225
bride tax and barrel tax	30
the price of straw	10
linseed tithe	5
fines	50

The names of the residents are here arranged in alphabetical order for easier comparison of the two lists. The comparison shows that in 1590 the names of the residents who had died or ran away were not entered on the list, because otherwise with the addition of those who moved in later the number of the residents would have been more and not less. Thus the register is so far acceptable and useful. But the account of the income and the list of the deliveries seems to be artificial. We suppose that the census-taker held the total income of 1580 in view and, although varyingly in the individual tax and tithe categories, he entered more in one and less in the other in order to produce exactly 3100 *aqče* total income again.[169] We conclude this from the fact that there are several other examples in the register where the sum of the income is exactly the same as ten years earlier. Let us demonstrate this by printing the total incomes of the first ten settlements in the order of the 1580 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*:

[169] It is also characteristic of this method of calculation backwards from the final sum that the census-taker did not notice that Ali, *Qāḍï* of Buda, the previous census-taker had counted at the enumeration of the deliveries 1000 *aqče* more than the actual amount in gate tax by mistake ! This fact, on the other hand, is a warning that the register of the *Qāḍï* of Buda must also be treated critically. The delivery of 10 *kile* in corn tithe seems to be especially small for the 35 *ǰizye* tax-payers. (It may be mentioned that the village of Békásmegyer had been deserted according to the 1547 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*, but later its residents resettled. The register of the year 1560 mentions 18 heads of families, whereas according the 1562 register 32 *ǰizye* tax-paying families were living there with a corn tithe of 25 *kile*, who even had a two-wheeled mill working. In 1580 the mill was not entered on the list, which might perhaps indicate a decrease in corn production, but the living conditions and the census-taking work of the *Qāḍï* of Buda, however, need further examinations.)

	1580	register	1590	register
Buda, customs revenue	523.030	*aqče*	523.030	*aqče*
Buda, tax and tithe	200.000	*aqče*	200.000	*aqče*
Bölcske, the revenue	70.400	*aqče*	70.400	*aqče*
Hada, the revenue	3.000	*aqče*	2.000	[!] *aqče*
Bodmér, the revenue	575	*aqče*	1.040	[!] *aqče*
Előszállás, the revenue	21.450	*aqče*	21.450	*aqče*
Jakabszállás, the revenue	2.000	*aqče*	2.000	*aqče*
Karácsonyszállás, the revenue	21.550	*aqče*	21.550	*aqče*
Sárosd, the revenue	900	*aqče*	900	*aqče*
Szentalbert, the revenue	1.000	*aqče*	1.000	*aqče*
Újszállás, the revenue	1.000	*aqče*	1.000	*aqče*

From this adaptation at many but not all places to the register of 1580 it may be concluded that the census-taker was led by his own interests and not by those of the Treasury.[170]

The first registration of the 16th century was ordered in 1613 and, as it was previously mentioned, Ibrahim, former *Defterdār* of Buda was commisioned to register all the *livās* of the Buda *eyālet*. But the former *Defterdār* thought that the making of so many new registrations would mean too much work for him, so he simply had the *defter*s of 1590 copied. It is true, that we have only one example of this, the 1590 *defter* register of the Szekcső *ṣanǰāq* and its copy from the year 1613.[171] But there are other documents supporting this assumption; the 16th century register can be collated with the data of the *tīmār defter*s or *tīmār* journals (*ruznāmče*) of the 17th century, which, as it is well known, contain the expectable incomes of the settlements handed out to the *tīmār- ziʿāmet-* and *ḫāṣṣ*-holders actually on the basis of the registers. The following are data cited from three *tīmār* journals and three *ṣanǰāq*-registers:

From the *tīmār* journal of the Szolnok *ṣanǰāq* of 1613—1633:[172]		From the 1591 register of the Szolnok *ṣanǰāq*: [173]	
Csongrád town, the revenue	22.900	*aqče*	22.900 *aqče*
Kécske village, the revenue	15.170	*aqče*	15.170 *aqče*
Várkony village, the revenue	14.000	*aqče*	14.000 *aqče*
Újfalu village, the revenue	9.000	*aqče*	9.000 *aqče*
Péteri village, the revenue	6.500	*aqče*	6.500 *aqče*

[170] For the exact adoption of the income accounts of the 1580 register several further examples are to be found in the 1580 and 1590 register of the Szekszárd *ṣanǰāq*. (See Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, Nos 593 and 632)

[171] See notes 39 and 40.

[172] Fekete L., *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 541.

[173] Başvekâlet Arşivi. Tahrir defteri, No. 634.

From the *tīmār* journal of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq* of 1624—1633:[174]		From the 1578 register of the Szeged *ṣanǰāq*:[175]
Szeged town, tax and tithe	285.000 *aqče*	285.000 *aqče*
Szeged town, customs revenue	249.490 *aqče*	218.500 *aqče* (!)
Tömörkény village, the revenue	130.000 *aqče*	130.000 *aqče*
Gyeve village, the revenue	38.000 *aqče*	38.000 *aqče*
Tápé, village, the revenue	30.000 *aqče*	30.000 *aqče*
Szentpéter village, the revenue	15.600 *aqče*	15.600 *aqče*
Röszke village, the revenue	3.000 *aqče*	3.000 *aqče*
Zenta village, the revenue	26.541 *aqče*	26.541 *aqče*

From the *tīmār* journal of the Buda *ṣanǰāq* of 1676—1677:[176]		From the 1590 register of the Buda *ṣanǰāq*:[177]
Kara village, the revenue	7.000 *aqče*	7.000 *aqče*
Adacs village, the revenue	5.999 *aqče*	5.999 *aqče*
Kóka village, the revenue	18.000 *aqče*	18.000 *aqče*
Domony village, the revenue	6.000 *aqče*	6.000 *aqče*
Újszász village, the revenue	15.000 *aqče*	15.000 *aqce*
Szente village, the revenue	8.000 *aqče*	8.000 *aqče*

Among the above data the only changing item is the 1578 customs revenue of Szeged, all the others are exactly identical, even in the *tīmār* journals, of the end of the 17th century with those of the *ṣanǰāq*-registers of the end of the 16th century. These agreements prove that no census was taken of the residents of the Buda *eyālet* in the 17th century.[178] The abolition of the *muqāṭaʿa*- or *tīmār*-system would ideed have made it unnecessary, but, instead of giving way to a reform of the financial administration of the Empire, it remained.

The *tīmār*-holders because of the multiple decrease of the value of money in the 17th century, must have been discontented with the revenue granted to them on the basis of the old and obsolete *ṣanǰāq*-registers, whereas not registering the liabilities of the *reʿāyā* officially according to the changes in the value

[174] Fekete L., *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 611.

[175] Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, No. 570.

[176] *Ibid.*, Maliye 447.

[177] *Ibid.*, Tahrir defteri, No. 611.

[178] Register was naturally made about the newly conquered area, as for example about the Újvár *eyālet* in the 1660s.

of money gave opportunity to much greater abuses than in the 16th century.[179] Thus the introduction of a new system of fiscal administration was hindered by the now anachronistic *tīmār*-system, which had earlier made, from time to time, the registration of the *ṣanǰāq*s necessary.

[179] For the «running up» of the taxes in the 17th century see Ráth K., *A Győr megyei hódoltságról. Győr vármegyének 1642-ben összeírt sérelmi jegyzőkönyve a török ellen* [On the Conquest in the County of Győr Record of Complaints of Győr County against the Turks, compiled in 1642]: Magyar Történelmi Tár VII (1860), 3—123, and Merényi, L., *A hódoltság adózása történetéhez* [To the History of Taxation during the Conquest]: *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* X (1903), 18—32.

ON KHALKHA PREVERBS

BY

L. BESE

This paper deals with the preverbs of the Khalkha-Mongolian dialect. It follows essentially the same train of thought as that in *A Study in Buriat Preverbs* (*AOH* XIX, [1966], p. 217—244.) so that the two papers may furnish a basis for a further study in comparative dialectology. At the same time, this paper can be looked upon as a more detailed and accurate explanation of my topic.

Hitherto Mongolian preverbs have been classed among adverbs.[1] This raises the question of whether this conception is a sound? In order to give the correct answer, it is worth while taking the differences between the respective usages of preverbs and adverbs into consideration.

1. Similarities in the usage of the Mongolian preverb (e.g. verbal prefix) and adverb are as follows:

1.1 In Khalkha the adverb may be:

1.11 simple nominal:

(1) *morĭ churdan javlaa* «the horse went quickly»

1.12 noun + instrumental particle:

(2) *Damdin sŭch.êêr mod chagalav* «D. cuts wood with an axe»

1.13 verbal plus converbial particle:

(3) *Damdin unta.ž chêvtnê* «D. lies asleep»

1.14 noun + postposition:

(4) *Damdin nogoon dêêr untna* «D. lies on the grass»

1.15 a combination of the former:

(5) *Damdin nogoon dêêr untaž chêvtnê* «D. sleeps on the grass».

This list is far from complete. It is sufficient however to prove that a great variety of morpheme types and complexes can take the place of an adverb. Thus, in principle, preverbs may also be adverbs.

1.151 In this case, however, a distinction has to be made: there is a marked difference between adverbs like *churdan* «quickly» (1), *nogoon dêêr* «on the

[1] For the relevant literature see Bese, *op. cit.*, p. 217, footnote 1.

grass» (4), *sùch.êêr* «with an axe» (2), and adverbials consisting of a verbal plus one of the converbial particles (e.g. *unta.ž* «asleep» (3)).

Let us take here (5) as an example to show the ways it can be formed into different sentences:

(i) *Damdin chêvtnê* «D. lies»
(ii) *Damdin untna* «D. sleeps»
(iii) *Damdin nogoon dêêr chêvtnê* «D. lies on the grass»
(iv) *Damdin nogoon dêêr untna* «D. sleeps on the grass»
(v) *Damdin nogoon dêêr* «D. on the grass», in turn, is not of sentence status.

In this way, *Damdin nogoon dêêr untaž chêvtnê* (5) is in fact a complex of two sentences. When this is being formed, one of the sentences (5ii or 5iv) turns into an adverbal syntagme (*Damdin untaž* or *Damdin nogoon dêêr untaž*), and becomes embedded in the other (5iii). It is only with this reservation that converbs can be termed adverbs.

1.2 The other reason why the preverb can be considered as adverb is that — in normal order — the adverb, as well as the preverb always occurs immediately before the verb.

1.3 Adverbs may follow one another in a defined order. For example, *šuvuušig* «as a bird» may also appear before the adverb *churdan* «quickly»:

(6) *morị šuvuušig churdan javlaa* «the horse went [as] quickly as a bird».

Besides

(7) *morị šuvuušig javlaa* «the horse went [so] as a bird», too, is a normal sentence.

In case of preverbs, co-occurrences are also possible. Cf. **5.1—4.**

1.4 When in Khalkha adverbs occur before verbs, certain deverbal noun-forming suffixes may not follow the verbal stem. (Such a suffix is, for example, *-lt* in *chògži-* «to develop» : *chògžilt* «development».) These deverbal noun-forming suffixes may also not occur after a prefixed verbal stem. Thus, while **tas charvalt, *but coxilt* are nonsense as against *tas charva-* «to shoot asunder with an arrow» and *but coxi-* «to crush», *charvalt* «shot», *coxilt* «blow, stroke» are legitimate forms. Cf. **7.**

2. These are the similarities which seem to prove the adverb-character of the Khalkha preverb. And what can be brought against this conception? Are there differences in the usage of the preverb and adverb?

This can be shown, first of all, by deviations from the normal order. For example, besides (2),

(8) *sùchêêr Damdin mod chagalav* «with an axe, D. cut wood»

is also a normal sentence. Or taking another example:

(9) *odoo cas orž bajna* «now it snows»
(10) *cas odoo orž bajna* «it now snows».[2]

[2] These are partially free-order adverbials; in Khalkha, however, there are also fix-order adverbials as, for example, *churdan* «quickly» in (1). In this instance *churdan*

On the other hand, the order of the preverb cannot be changed in the same form as before. The preverb may only occur immediately before its verb, and in no other place. Thus against

(11) *salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêv* «the wind blew [completely] through the thin dress» a sentence like

(12) **nêvt salchi nimgên chuvcsyg ùlêêv* is nonsense in Khalkha.

2.2 The adverb is a secondary part of a sentence and shows indifference to the subject of the verb. For example,

(13) *až ùjldvêrijn chògžlijn javcyg ichêd churdasgach chêrêgtêj* «the pace of the development of industry should be vigorously stepped up !»

Here the presence or absence of the adverb *ichêd* «vigorously» does not affect the relation between the object and its verb.

Quite different is the situation with the preverb, for, it is impossible to form from (11) a sentence like

(14) **salchi nimgên chuvcsyg ùlêêv*,

since no object-verb relationship exists between the noun *chuvcas* «dress» and the verb *ùlêê-* «blow».

Apart from this, the object of the prefixed and non-prefixed verb may occasionally be one and the same. For example,

(15) . . . *chugarchaj ildijn išijg atgaad* . . . « . . . he gripped the hilt of the broken sword, and . . .» and

(16) . . . *chugarchaj ildijn išijg tas atgaad* . . . «he strongly gripped the hilt of the broken sword, and . . .»

can equally be correct sentences. Such examples as these, however, would hardly disprove what has been stated above.

2.3 In Khalkha, certain syntactical modifiers may also follow the adverb. By these modifiers the adverb can be underlined — logically or affectively — within the verbal phrase.

Such a modifier is e.g. *-l*. This modifier may not follow the preverb, however. Thus, while

(17) *morǐ churdan l javlaa* «the horse went quickly, indeed»

from (1) is a perfectly legitimate sentence,

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may not precede the subject without becoming its attribute. Namely, *churdan mori javlaa* means «the quickly horse went» and not «the horse went quickly» (for this see (52)). Therefore, the adverb *amarchan* «easely» can be inserted in (11), too, in one way only: *salchi nimgên chuvcsyg amarchan nêvt ùlêêv* «the wind easily blew through the thin dress» (32). In the other two possible positions *amarchan* could only act as attribute: **amarchan salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêv* «the easy wind blew through the thin dress», or **salchi amarchan nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ulêêv* «the wind blew through the light thin dress». (It only could act so, because an attribute *amarchan* is not normally applicable to *salchi* «wind», or *chuvcas* «dress».

(18) **salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt l ùlêêv* from (11) is nonsense.

-č is another modifier. This cannot occur after the preverb either. Thus, derived from (1),

(19) *morĭ churdan č javlaa* «the horse went quickly also» is possible in a defined context, but

(20) **salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt č ùlêêv* from (11) is not at all legitimate.

2.4 Now it remains to be seen whether there is any difference between the adverb and preverb in the interrogative? In this instance only converbs are meant by the term adverb.

(21) *Dorž gudamžaar jum idêž javna* «D. walks eating in the street».

In the verbal phrase of this sentence the interrogative word, e.g. *chên* «who», can be inserted in two ways:

(22) *gudamžaar jum idêž chên javž bê?* «who walks eating in the street?» and

(23) *gudamžaar jum chên idêž javž bê?* «eating in the street who walks?».

Thus the interrogation can refer not only to the main verb of the verbal phrase, but also to the converb.

Different is the situation with the preverb. In the verbal phrase of the sentence

(24) *Dorlig bataar mangasyn aman chùzùùg tas ogtolžêê* «D. bataar cut asunder the neck of the mangus»

the interrogative word can be inserted in one way only:

(25) *mangasyn aman chùzùùg chên tas ogtolž bê?* «who cut asunder the neck of the mangus?».

Besides, in spoken Khalkha, the form

(26) *mangasyn aman chùzùùg tas chên ogtolž bê?*,

which is impermissible in literary Khalkha, is possible.

2.5 In case of answer the possibility is also defined: while

(27) *Mangasyn aman chùzùùg Dorlig bataar tas ogtolžêê* «It was D. bataar who cut asunder the neck of the mangus»

is correct, a sentence like

(28) **Mangasyn aman chùzùùg tas Dorlig bataar ogtolžêê* is nonsense.

2.6 The rules specified in **2.4** hold good of prohibition as well, that is, in the verbal phrase of (21), prohibition can be inserted in two ways:

(29) *gudamžaar jum idêž bitgij jav* «do not walk eating in the street!» and

(30) *gudamžaar jum bitgij idêž jav* «walking in the street do not eat!»

In such a way, prohibition can be applied not only to the main verb, but to the converb, too.

Preverbs present a different picture: here the form

(31) *mangasyn aman chùzùùg bitgij tas ogtol* «do not cut asunder the neck of the mangus!»

is correct, while the form

(32) *mangasyn aman chŭzŭŭg tas bitgij ogtol,*
although quite understandable, is against the norm.

2.7 The converb or converbial complex is, by itself, the result of a rewriting rule: e.g. (3) is the combination of two sentences:

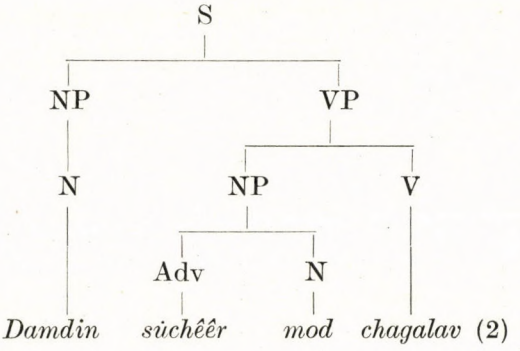
(i) *Damdin chêvtnê* and (ii) *Damdin untna* (**1.15**).

On the other hand, (11) is not a combination of two sentences ((i) **salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt* and (ii) **salchi nimgĕn chuvcsyg ülêêv*. The preverb, then, cannot be transformed.

3. To sum up: according to the criteria listed in **2.** the preverb + verbal stem complex is a sintactically inseparable unit. The preverb + verbal stem complex is then a phenomenon of internal morphology; and it is a compound. Consequently, the Khalkha preverb is not an adverb.

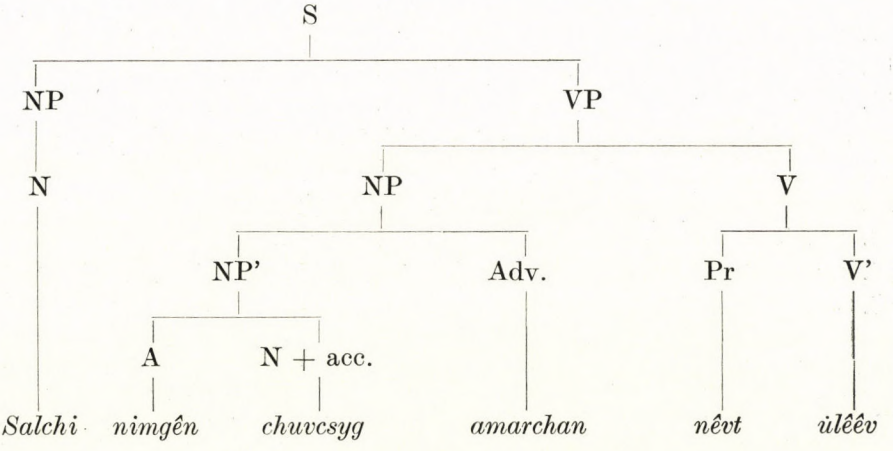
This problem can be shown by two trees:

A) if the verb is not preceded by a preverb:



(2)

B) if the verb is preceded by a preverb:



(32)

«the wind easily blew through the thin dress», a modified variant of (11).

The preverb thus occurs within the main verb of the verbal phrase. Therefore the verbs of (1) *javlaa* «went», (2) *chagalav* «cut», (3) *chêvtnê* «lies», (4) *untna* «lies», (15) *atgaad* «gripped», and (21) *javna* «walks», as well as (11) *nêvt ùlêêv* «blew through», (16) *tas atgaad* «strongly gripped and», in level of syntax, are equivalent within the verbal phrase of the given sentences.

4. Adopting this method, it is possible to extract a whole series of preverbs from literary Khalkha.

From the morphological point of view, distinction can be made between two types of preverbs.

4.1 A group of preverbs cannot be further analysed beyond a certain limit. These are root-preverbs. The following elements fall into this category:

1. *balba* «asunder»
2. *bjac* «asunder»
3. *bulga* «out»
4. *bult* «entirely»
5. *but* «asunder»
6. *bült* «out»
7. *coo* «through»
8. *còm* «through, accross»
9. *cuu* «asunder»
10. *dêlbê* «asunder»
11. *êlt* «asunder»
12. *êmt* «away»
13. *chaga* «in half, apart»
14. *chacha* «in half, apart»
15. *chalc* «asunder»
16. *chamch* «asunder»
17. *chaltĭ* ~ *chalĭt* «away»
18. *chalt* «away»
19. *chalz* «in two pieces»
20. *changi* «up»
21. *chêgz* «ont»
22. *chêmch* «asunder»
23. *cholbi* ~ *cholbo* «away»
24. *cholt* «away»
25. *chovch* «asunder»
26. *chuga* «in two pieces»
27. *chuu* «out»
28. *chüü* «out»
29. *mòlt* «out»
30. *mult* «out»
31. *nêvt* «through»
32. *njac* «asunder»
33. *nuga* «asunder»
34. *ogc* «away»
35. *oglo* «out»
36. *òm* «away»
37. *sêt* «through»
38. *soch* «out»
39. *suga* «out»
40. *šolbo* «out»
41. *šulba* «out»
42. *šuu* «away»
43. *šuvt* «through»
44. *tas* «asunder»
45. *tês* «asunder»
46. *ùlt* «asunder»
47. *zad* «asunder»
48. *zog* «down»
49. *zulga* «down»[3]

4.11 The root-preverb may be followed by a great variety of bound morphemes, which are all word-forming suffixes. Thus, e.g., *tas* «asunder» :

[3] This does not claim to be an exhaustive list of Khalkha preverbs.

tas.ag «part, section», *tas.la-* «to break asunder»; *tas.da-* «tear asunder»; *bjac* «asunder» : *bjac.chan* «little, a few». Consequently, the root-preverb is a non-closing morpheme.

It is necessary to note that suffixes following the root-preverb, are, without exception, of denominal character, that is, are denominal nomen-, or denominal verbum-forming suffixes. This topic will be resumed later (**7.**).

4.2 A suffix *-r* may also appear after the root-preverb. Syntactically, the distribution of this derivative root-preverb is the same as that of the root-preverb. Therefore, if the root-preverb is substituted by the symbol Pr, it will result formally in Pr$-r$=Pr.

Here are a few examples:

(33) *orog saaral čono barĭsan chonio tasar idêž orchiv* «the grey wolf devoured his caught sheep; [that is, the sheep he had caught]»

(34) *Dorž char tòmrijg choromchon zuur tasar cavčiv* «All at once, D. cut asunder the black iron (at one blow)»

(35) *Gončig šilbùùrijn chujvaar chonĭny arĭsyg oglor coxižêê* «with the noose of the tether, G. ripped up the skin of the sheep»

(36) *ùchrijn šir nugar tuslaa* «the skin of the cattle curled all about».

However, this formal equality does not imply equality in the sphere of meaning. The *-r* appearing after the root-preverb, is a suffix of intensity which modifies the meaning of the root-preverb in a peculiar way. At the same time, the suffix *-r* is semantically marked both as regards the root preverb and the verb.

In Mongolian, derivative preverbs of the Pr-*r* type would not allow bound morphemes (suffixes, endings, markers) to follow them. They are, then, closed morphemes.

The norm of literary Khalkha would not tolerate the root + *r* type.[4] It only occurs in the spoken language.

5. The Khalkha preverb always occurs before the verbal stem. In this position, however, the co-occurrence of several preverbs is possible. For example:

(37) *Dorž balar ich ojg nêvt šuvt javžêê* «D. walked through and through the dark big forest»

[4] The preverb of the Pr-*r* type is known from lexical data: *udar tat-* «toear, rip». (Cf. dictionaries by Rinčinê and Luvsandêndêv.) At the same time, there is no data available in Khalkha on the root-preverb *uda* «asunder». (Cf. Buriat *uda* «asunder».)

Also no data can be found in our Khalkha corpus of preverbs of the type Pr-*r*. The following three examples have been taken from literary texts translated from Buriat into Khalkha:

Khal. *chugar cochi-* «break into pieces at once» Bur. *chuchara sochi-* «id.»

Khal. *tasar cavči-* 'chop off' Bur. *tahara sabš-* «id.»

Khal. *tasar cavči-* «chop off» Bur. *tahara sabša-* «id».

Considering that

(38) *Dorž balar ich ojg nêvt javžêê* «D. walked through the dark big forest» and

(39) *Dorž balar ich ojg šuvt javžêê* «id.»

are equally perfectly legitimate sentences, co-occurrences of the *nêvt-šuvt* type are the results of a definite transformation.

In Khalkha, the following co-occurrences have been noted:

5.1 Two different root-preverbs: *balba dêlbê* «asunder-asunder», *nêvt šuvt* «through-through» and so forth.

5.2 Two identical root-preverbs: *chuga chuga ùsêr-*«jump away, jump aside», *nêvt nêvt tavi-* «press through», and so on.

5.3 Three different root-preverbs: *njac bjac chêmch coxi-* «cut asunder-asunder-asunder». This type is against the norm, and is possible, at best, in the spoken language.

5.4 Co-occurence of two different preverbs of the Pr-*r* type is not allowed in literary Khalkha. The following example is taken from a Khalkha folklore text:

(40) . . . *seereerin n'ôbtôr šaaž alwaa* «. . . stabbing through and through the back of his neck by great force, he killed (him)»[5].

5.5 Of the co-occurrence of two identical preverbs of the Pr-*r* type no example can be found in literary Khalkha. The sentence

(41) *ogtorgujn orog saaral üülijg / tasar, tasar dêlž* . . . «splitting asunder-asunder the celestial grey cloud . . .»[6]

from folklore may be regarded as an extreme example in literary Khalkha.

5.7 The order of preverbs in co-occurrences is fixed. In (37), for example, **šuvt nêvt* may not occur instead of *nêvt šuvt*. Although these are synonyms, **šuvt nêvt* is anomalous in Khalkha. At the same time, the order of co-occurring preverbs in verse is doubly fixed. For example:

(42) *chatan aman chüzüügij nï / chamch balba daraad bosov* «he broke the neck [with lighthing speed], and stood up».[7]

In this case, the order of *chamch balba* could not at all be changed owing to the alliteration at the beginning of the line.

At any rate, co-occurrences in Khalkha are stylistic variants. Therefore, their use is often rhythmic, or of an affective nature, in heightened language.

5.8 It may also occur that the continuity of the preverb + verb complex is interrupted by a complement. The complement may be:

5.81 adverb:

(43) *Gurvan davchar gjandangijn dêêd davchraas dord davchryn šalyg chürtêl*

[5] Cf. Poppe, N., *Proizvedenija narodnoj slovesnosti chalcha-mongolov. Severo-chalchaskoe narečie* (Leningrad 1932), p. 38.

[6] Cf. Rinčinsambuu, G., *Mongol ardyn baatarlag tuulïs* (Ulaanbaatar 1960), p. 47.

[7] Cf. Rinčinsambuu, G., *op. cit.*, p. 113.

nêvt, čig coolson bjacchan nùchên tušaa . . . «around the tiny hole drilled through the floor, from the uppermost to the lowermost, of the three-storied prison.»[8]

5.82 object:

(44) . . . *chêêrijn zêrlêgêê nêvt, alsyn uul chardagtaj adil* «. . . in the same way as they used to look through the game of the waste, [or] as they used to look at faraway mountains.» [i.e. so they ignore the person].[9]

The complete sentence in (43) and (44) is the simplified form of the co-occurrences *nêvt coolson* + *čig coolson*, and . . . *chêêrijn zêrlêgêê nêvt chardagtaj* + . . . *alsyn uul chardagtaj*, respectively. Considering that the preverb cannot be transformed (cf. **2.7**) lines of the . . . *chêêrijn zêzlêgêê nêvt*-type are pseudo-syntagms.

The frequency of such structural solutions is extremely low. Therefore, they should be considered stylistic peculiarities.

6. Prefixed verbal stems may wel be followed by all hortative markers, mood markers, tense markers, subordinators, converbial pacticles and participial particles. These are all bound morphemes which are not allowed to follow one another linearly, but can be interchanged vertically.

Thus, the verbal phrase containing a prefixed verbal stem which is distinguished by finite verbal forms, can be transformed in various ways.

6.1 By adding a participial particle, the verbal phrase can be nominalized. After such a re-writing, for example, the VP of (11) may act as attributive to the subject *salchi* «wind»:

(45) *nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêch salchi* . . .

(46) *nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêsên salchi* . . .

(47) *nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêdêg salchi* . . .

(48) *nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêgč salchi* . . .

It is noteworthy that, at the same time,

(49) **nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ulêêgêê salchi* is anomalous. The usage of nomina imperfecti is thus semantically marked.[10]

[8] Cf. Battulga, Z., *Burangujn gamšig. Têrgùùn dêvtêr*(Ulaanbaatar 1962), p. 114.

[9] Cf. Rinčen, B, *Úúrijn tujaa. 1. devtet.* (Ulaanbaatar 1951), p. 70.

[10] As to the semantically marked nature of participial particles, I submit here some further examples:

In the VP of the sentence *Bat uruulaa tas žimijv* «B. strongly tightened his lips» the prefixed verb can be re-written as the adjective of its object. But:

(i) *tas žimijch uruulaa* is anomalous

(ii) *tas žimijdêg uruulaa* is anomalous

(iii) *tas žimijgêê uruulaa* is anomalous, and only

(iv) *tas žimijsên uruulaa* is not anomalous.

The VP of the sentence *chonǐ nogoo idnê* «the sheep eats grass» can also be re-written correspondingly. In this case, however, only

(i)*nogoo idsên chonǐ*

(ii) *nogoo iddêg chonǐ*

6.2 The transformation of the preverb + verbal stem complex into a converb does not differ basically from the problems of transforming unprefixed verbs. (On this problem see **1.15**).

6.3 A Khalkha sentence can be transformed into clauses by subordinators. For example, (11) can be re-written as

(50) *salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêbêl* . . . «if the wind blew through the thin dress . . .»

(51) *salchi nimgên chuvcsyg nêvt ùlêêtêl* . . . «while the wind [completely] blew through the thin dress»

In this way, the prefixed verbs may be the head of the verbal phrase, main part of the clause, adjective, converb, or the head of the adjectival and converbial syntagms. From all these facts, it emerges that in complexes of the type preverb + verbal stem, it is the latter that constitutes formally the predominant element.

7. In Khalkha, a category «Nominal class» can be subcategorized into «Nomen substantivum», «Nomen adjectivum», «Nomen adverbium», «Nomen postpositum». For example:

(52) *churdan morĭ churdan javlaa* «the fast horse went quickly»

In this instance the substantive *churdan* «quickly» is adjective in the noun phrase, and adverb in the verbal phrase without adding any formal marker.

This fact should be underlined because certain preverbs are also possible to be substegorized much in the same way.

The following combinations occur in Khalkha:

7.1 the preverb is particle denoting intensity before adjectivs:

coo šinê «brand new» (*coo* «through + *šinê* «new»), *tês buruu* «completely false» (*tês* «asunder» + *buruu* «false»), *tês òòr* «completely different» (*òòr* «other, different»). These are idioms.

7.2 the preverb is a noun:

bi còmijg ojlgov «I understood everything» (*còm* «through, across»), *còmijg ustga-* «liquidate everything».

These nominal environments, or positions characteristic of nominals are restricted to a few root-preverbs only. If we add, moreover, that nothing but suffixes of nominal nature may follow root-preverbs (cf. **4.11**), a partial nominal distribution of Mongolian root preverbs can only be taken into account. Thus, in turn, Khalkha preverbs can also be considered as quasi- or semi-nominals.

8. What the formal rules constitute is an abstract frame in which any preverb may, on principle, be associated with any verb. In reality, the possibili-

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(iii) *nogoo idêch chonĭ*, are correct, while

(iv) *nogoo idêgč chonĭ*, and

(v) *nogoo idêê chonĭ*, are anomalous.

These semantic restraints require further investigation.

ties of this association are restrained, however. The restraints are of semantic character. To these problems I shall return later in a separate paper. Here I should like to mention some of the problems involved.

8.1 As has been mentioned in (**2.2**), the Khalkha preverb is not indifferent to the object of its verb. This is characteristically shown e.g. by the relationship between the verb *cochi-* «to beat, strike sg.» and the prefixed verb *bulga cochi-* «to beat out, knock out sg.».

To the verb *cochi-* «beat, strike» various objects are normally applicable. E.g. *cag cochi-* «the watch goes» (lit. «the clock strikes» (the hours)), *tómör cochi-* «to forge» (lit. «strike the iron»), *bömbög cochi-* «to play volley-ball» (lit. «beat the ball»), *utas cochi-* «to telegraph» (lit. «beat the wire»), *chundaga cochi-* «to clink glasses» vulg. (lit. «beat the brandy glass»), *samar cochi-* «to crack nuts», *tujpuu cochi-* «to make bricks», *salchi cochi-* «to catch cold from a draft' (lit. «beat the wind»), *mod cochi-* «to strike the wood», *tochoj cochi-* «beat the elbow», *šagaj cochi-* «to beat the talus», *churuu cochi-* «to beat the finger» and so forth.

On the other hand, the following objects are only applicable to the prefixed verb *bulga cochi-* «to beat out, knock out»: *mod bulga cochi-* «to tear up a tree by the roots», *tochoj bulga cochi-* «to wrench the elbow», *churuu bulga cochi-* «to wrench the finger», *šagaj bulga cochi-* «to twist the talus (when dissecting an animal)». This modification is caused by the preverb *bulga* «out» which subordinates the verb *cochi-* «to beat, strike» to its own meaning.

The same modification can be observed in the compounds: *bulga mušgi-* «to wring out sg.»: *mušgi-* «to turn, twist», *bulga tat-* «to pull up sg. by the roots»: *tat-* «to draw», *bulga ùsêr-* «to pull out, draw out»: *ùsêr-* «to jump», etc. To these, too, only words of such meanings as joints, limbs: hand, foot, neck, trees and plants with their roots, etc., are applicable as objects.

This sphere of object can be derived from the root-preverb *bulga* «out» (cf. **4.11**) and corresponds to the sphere of object of the verbs *bulga. la-* «to break at the root» and *bulga.ra-* «to be uprooted». This points to the fact that — although the verb formally prevailes in the preverb + verb complexes (**6.**) — the preverb is the semantically predominant element.

8.2 In Khalkha texts, the frequency of prefixed verbs is very low. Consequently, they also express a peculiar affectivity. Here I do not wish to dwell upon this topic any further, but one thing is beyond doubt, and it is that these stylistic values of prefixed verbs should be added to the meaning.

8.3 Another problem arising from what has been stated above, is shown by *tasar idê-* in (33). In this instance it is also possible to define accurately the meanings of *tasar* and *idê-* (e.g. «by great force, suddenly through» and «to eat»), which are submeanings from the viewpoint of the construction as a whole.The meaning of the whole construction is «to devour». So the meaning of *tasar idê-* «to devour» is not simply a sum of two meanings, but is an overmeaning, that is an idiom.

О НЕКОТОРЫХ ОСОБЕННОСТЯХ ТВОРЧЕСТВА Д. НАЦАГДОРЖА (1906—1937)

С. ЛУВСАНВАНДАН (Улаанбаатар)

В 1921 году трудящиеся Монголии, освободившись от национального и социального гнета, начали строить новую, счастливую жизнь, укреплять и развивать свое государство. Раскрепощенный труд народа обеспечил прогресс и процветание свободной независимой Монголии.

Замечательным достижением монгольского народа является социалистическая культура, в том числе литература и искусство. Делу создания и развития современной монгольской культуры, неразрывно связанной с жизнью народа, посвятил свое творчество выдающийся монгольский писатель Дашдоржийн Нацагдорж.

I

Д. Нацагдорж родился в 1906 году в семье разорившегося тайджи (дворянина).[1] Поэт рос и воспитывался в сложный, суровый период, полный социальных противоречий и потрясений, когда небывало обострилась классовая борьба между аратами и феодалами, и широко развернулось национально-освободительное движение. Время и народ требовали от передовых людей, чтобы они активно боролись за новое общество. Этой цели Д. Нацагдорж с 15 лет посвятил свою жизнь, талант и творчество.[2]

В 1925 году, будучи секретарем нового правительства и членом Военного совета, Д. Нацагдорж руководил бюро монгольских пионеров. Он

[1] Его отец был умным и способным человеком. Он многое сумел сделать для обучения и воспитания своего сына. С малых лет Нацагдорж свободно читал и писал на родном языке. Д. Нацагдорж познакомился не только с шедеврами национальной литературы, но и с переведенными на монгольский язык произведениями китайской классической литературы, изучил по словарю три восточных языка. Не случайно первым шагом Д. Нацагдоржа, на литературном поприще, была пьеса «Ушандар», написанная на сюжет одного индийского произведения.

[2] Об истории написания большинства произведений писателя обстоятельно рассказано в книге Б. Соднома «Творческая биография Д. Нацагдоржа» (Улаанбаатар 1966). С. Лувсанвандан. Д. Нацагдорж. *Studia Mongolica*. T. V, F. 12. (Улаанбаатар 1966).

написал «Песню пионеров», которую поют вот уже много поколений юных пионеров[3] и которая стала их гимном.

В 1925 году Д. Нацагдорж, жадно стремящийся к знаниям, поехал учиться за границу в Советский Союз и поступил там в Ленинградский институт национальных меньшинств. В 1926—1929 годах он учится в Германии, где овладевает специальностью журналиста. За эти годы им написаны стихотворение «Учиться — в дальние края» и стихи-дневник «От Улан-Батора до Берлина» (1926).

Миновав сотни гор и тысячи рек, окунувшись в чужую жизнь, он видит «Первомай в буржуазном мире» (1928 год), и зрелище могучей демонстрации немецких рабочих рождает в нем уверенность в светлое будущее человечества.

Живя в стране Советов, впервые проложившей путь в это будущее, учась вместе с советскими людьми, он воочию видит совершенный гением Ленина и силами всех трудящихся Октябрь, который зажег зарю рассвета над миром, и восклицает «Пусть солнце сияет яркое прекрасному миру новому!»[4]

В 1930 году Д. Нацагдорж возвращается на родину: «Из тех краев, куда степным гусям не долететь, издалека вернулся сын и знаний клад привёз».[5]

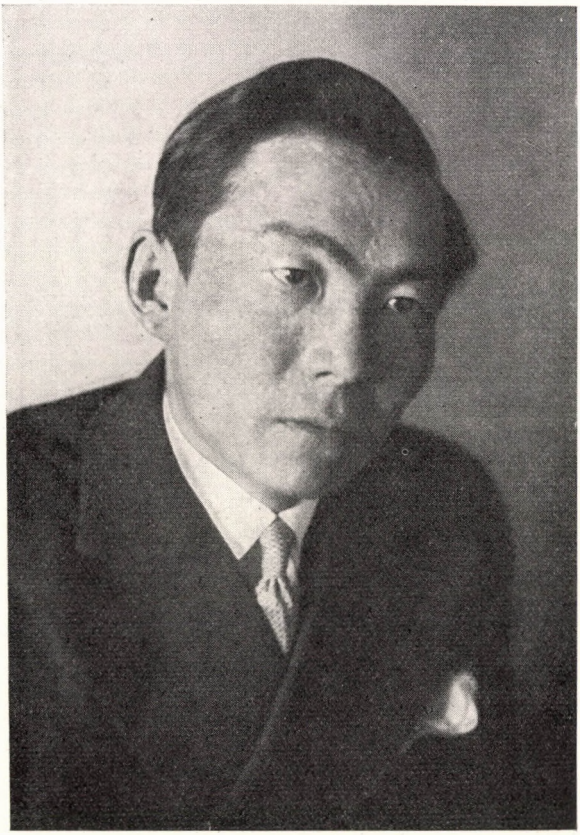
Вдохновленный великими переменами в жизни Советской страны, предвещающими невиданный рассвет человеческого разума, молодой писатель вглядываясь в бездонные глубины вселенной, обращается к Марсу:

«Слежу за звездой прекрасной,
Сияющей в отдаленье,
Слежу за красною искрой,
Блуждающей в небе темном...
Слежу я, а Марс из бездны
На солнечный мир взирает.
Давно я жажду, планета,
В твою углубиться тайну:
Какие деревья смотрят
С поверхности золотистой,
Какие таят богатства
Твои глубинные недра?

[3] Эта песня впервые была издана в 1926 году в книге «Правила юных пионеров» под названием «Песня юных пионеров — смены молодежи».

[4] Стихотворение «Октябрь» (1931 г.) перевод С. Ботвинника «Д. Нацагдорж. Избранное» (Москва 1956), стр. 20.

[5] Стихотворение «Учиться — в дальние края» в книге «Поэзия народной Монголии» (Москва 1961), стр. 24.



Д. Нацагдорж 1937

Живут ли на Марсе люди,
На нас ли они похожи,
И горячо ли любят,
И будут ли
Слать нам письма?
И видят ли эти люди,
Как наши пылают стяги,
И слышат ли наши песни,
Свободные, молодые?
Давайте, друзья, простроим
Такое большое счастье,
Чтобы всей Вселенной сияло
На десять тысячелетий!»[6]

[6] Стихотворение «Марс» (1931), перевод Ботвинника «Поэзия народной Монголии». ГИХЛ (Москва 1960), стр. 31—32.

Так писал сын монгола-скотовода еще 36 лет тому назад, проникая своим взором в наше время, когда разум человека и невиданный прогресс науки и техники откроют перед людьми путь к планетам и звездам. В этих мечтах и думах простого монгола отразилось извечное стремление человечества проникнуть во вселенную.

Д. Нацагдорж очень многое сделал для того, чтобы приобщить свой народ к многовековой культуре человечества. Он был первым переводчиком А. С. Пушкина на монгольский язык, превосходно перевел произведения Мопассана, Эдгара По.

Жизнь Д. Нацагдоржа полна событий, а произведения его отличаются исключительным многообразием тем и жанров. Обличительная критика отжившего и сознательное утверждение нового проходят красной нитью через все творчество Д. Нацагдоржа, представляя собой ключ для понимания специфических черт и особенностей его произведений, которые играли действенную роль в деле воспитания монгольского народа в духе революционного патриотизма. Гимном красоте и величию отчизны звучит его поэма «Моя Родина»

Любимая, родимая страна
Легла с Хенгана до Алтая здесь она,
Сроднился с ней народ в бесчисленных веках,
Сегодня светит ей, как солнце, алый стяг.
Мне так мила и сердцу так нужна
Монголия — прекрасная страна.[7]

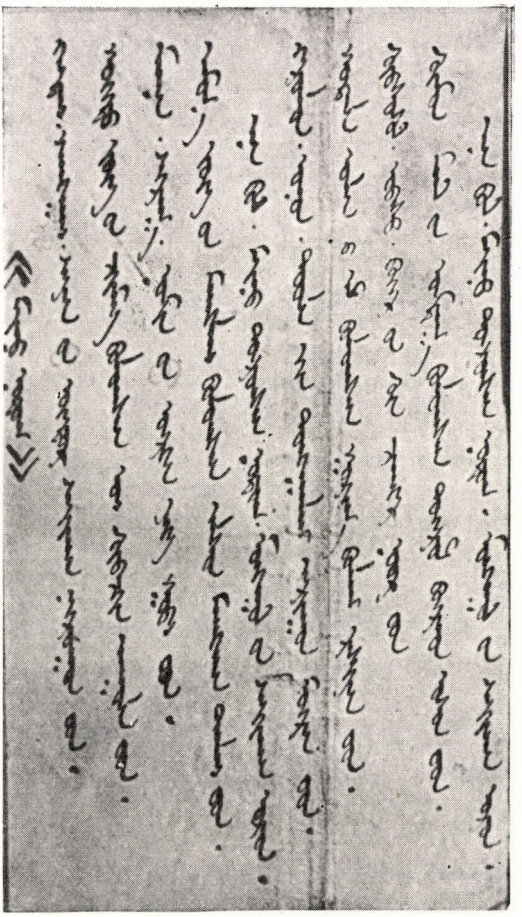
В ней ярко изображены величественная картина родной земли, неисчерпаемое богатство ее недр, а самое главное — героическое прошлое и светлое будущее монгольской нации.

При чтении данной поэмы перед нашим взором встает, по словам Ц. Дамдинсурэна, прекрасная монгольская страна и ее свободный народ. Первый съезд Союза монгольских писателей назвал ее «вершиной новой поэзии»,[8] потому что «она нашла и выразила то, что в уме и на сердце монгола»,[9] по образному выражению одного из зачинателей новой монгольской литературы С. Буяннэмэха. Логическим продолжением и художественным завершением поэмы является так называемое «Историческое стихотворение», где поэт пишет:

[7] Моя Родина (1933), перевод С. Болотина. «Поэзия народной Монголии» (Москва 1961), стр. 29.

[8] Материалы Первого съезда монгольских писателей (Улаанбаатар 1948), стр. 48.

[9] С. Буяннэмэх. Ключ к литературному творчеству. Рукопись. Госархив. (1935), стр. 61—62.



Рукопись поэмы «Моя Родина»

Знакомых песен звук, знакомый мой язык,
Земля любимая, к которой так привык,
Везде твою я вижу новую зарю,
Во имя Родины живу я и творю.[10]

В суровые годы империалистической агрессии поэма «Моя Родина» звучала как призыв к защите Родины, укрепляла патриотические чувства людей, звала их на подвиг. В дни мирного созидания она вдохновляет народ на самоотверженный труд во имя Родины.

Дыханием подлинной гражданственной лирики пронизан цикл стихотворений Д. Нацагдоржа «Четыре времени года» (1934). В них «...поэт

[10] Перевод С. Болотина в книге «Поэзия народной Монголии» (Москва 1961), стр. 29.

сумел ярко и выразительно нарисовать картину жизни монголов со всеми, только ей присущими особенностями быта, живой связью с природой. Каждое стихотворение цикла воспринимается через конкретное настроение, воссоздает сложную гамму чувств и переживаний»,[11] — говорит советский монголовед Л. К. Герасимович.

Пламенный патриотизм, страстный порыв в будущее, трогательная материнская ласка, нежная любовь — все эти чувства органично соседствуют в поэзии Д. Нацагдоржа.

Сердечно и взволнованно воспел он монгольскую мать:

Красавица степей монгольских, меня ты пеленала, мать,
Руками белыми своими мне колыбель начала, мать,
Ты голосом своим чудесным мне тихо напевала, мать,
Словами мудрыми своими меня ты поучала, мать.[12]

Проникновенно выражает поэт чувство любви, чутко вслушиваясь в тончайшее движение души:

Два поистине верных сердца,
Словно золота чистый слиток,
Не найдет в них малейших трещин
Даже кончик иглы тончайшей.[13]

Лирика Д. Нацагдоржа мелодична и калоритна. В ней через призму любви отражается духовный мир и моральный облик обновленного революцией монгольского человека.

Стихи Д. Нацагдоржа отличаются чеканным ритмом и большой музыкальностью, емкостью и законченностью. Многие строки из его поэзии стали крылатыми словами и выражениями. Он отражал думы и чаяния своего народа в типических чертах и в неповторимой индивидуальности.

Главный стержень его поэзии — пламенная любовь к Родине, родному народу и грустная эллегия на старое, отжившее, т. е. уверенность в будущем своей нации, насмешливая ирония над тем, что мешает её развитию.

[11] Герасимович Л. К. Литература Монгольской Народной Республики (1921—1964 годы). (Ленинград 1965), стр. 72.

[12] Стихотворение «Моя мать (193), перевод Я. Смелякова. «Поэзия народной Монголии» (Москва 1961), стр. 35.

[13] Стихотворение «Любовь» (1934), перевод А. Гитович. «Д. Нацагдорж. Избранное» (Москва 1956), стр. 36.

II

Д. Нацагдорж был подлинным певцом революционной нови. На передовой линии огня он сражался своим беспощадным пером с реакционным и консервативным в жизни монгольского общества. Это — вековая отсталость, буддийская религия и моральные устои феодализма. Их вечный спутник — болезнь. Она была опаснейшим врагом возрождения и развития монгольской нации.

Хоть солнце и восходит —
Света нету,
Хоть жизнь идет —
Не чувствуешь ти мира;[14]

пишет поэт. Он говорит о том, что эта трагическая участь простого человека и не фатальная судьба его, а мрачное следствие феодального общества. Мощным орудием в руках народа против того, что мешает расцвету Монголии, являются научное знание и просвещение, особенно научная медицина. На эту тему Нацагдорж написал более сорока стихов и несколько рассказов и очерков. Так создавалась новая жанровая форма в монгольской поэзии — агитационное стихотворение.

Возникшие в связи с требованиями жизни, отвечавшие условиям своего времени, агитационные стихи Д. Нацагдоржа поднимали на щит и поддерживали все прогрессивное и нужное народу, бичевали вредное и отживающее.

Д. Нацагдорж восхищается не только физическим совершенством, но и духовной красотой человека и пишет в стихотворении «Здоровье» (1935 год):

Здоровье — это сила, храбрость, воля,
В здоровье — красота лица и тела,
Здоровье вызывает в людях гордость
И веру в исполнение желаний.[15]

Если мать здорова – сын здоров. Если народ здоров — и нация здорова. И «пусть будет тьма, тьма монгольских детей» во весь голос провозглашает поэт. Он спешит видеть новый рабочий класс, героических тружеников, активных строителей нового общества и национальную интеллигенцию, распространяющую научные знания и революционную культуру в горах и степях Монголии.

[14] Стихотворение «Глаза» (1935) Д. Нацагдорж. Избранное» (Москва 1956), стр. 51.
[15] Перевод С. Ботвинник «Д. Нацагдорж. Избранное» (Москва 1956), стр. 46.

Стране нужны образованные люди, народу — научные знания, пишет Д. Нацагдорж. «Учись» — был его лозунг. Писатель последовательно проводит в своих стихотворениях мысль о том, что прогресс и строительство нового общества невозможны без развития науки, призывает настойчиво учиться и трудиться, чтобы процветала страна.

Агитационные стихи Д. Нацагдоржа остры и актуальны, многообразны по тематике, отличаются глубиной мысли, простотой и находчивостью, высокими художественными достоинствами.

III

Д. Нацагдорж — писатель нового времени. Во всем его творчестве, на широком фоне современности, показан меняющийся и обновляющийся облик людей, то новое и типичное, что принесла монгольскому народу революция. Наглядным примером этого являются его короткие рассказы и сжатые новеллы, отличающиеся яркостью красок, меткостью характеристик. В скупых выражениях, без лишних слов он умеет сказать многое и показать целый мир. Так, в рассказе «Сын старого мира» (1930) Д. Нацагдорж находит верный и емкий образ феодальной Монголии. С самого детства и до серых волос жили люди возле одной речки, перекочевывая вдоль берега с места на место. Всю жизнь они кружили вокруг одного и того же колодца, были как под перевернутым котлом. В эпилоге поэт символически изображает как монгольский народ опрокидывает старый мир, открывает себе путь в новый. Сын старого мира становится сыном нового мира.

Отмирание старого и зарождение нового в жизни общества и в сознании людей правдиво показано также в рассказе «Белый месяц и черные слезы» (1932) при помощи контраста. Этот прием мы можем видеть даже из заглавия рассказа, где у богатых — белый месяц, а у бедняков — черные слезы. Со слезами на глазах и с грустью на душе батрачка Цэрма встречает Новый год, занимаясь изнурительной и бесконечной работой. А хозяева с многочисленными гостями едят, пьют и веселяться. От праздничного веселья содрагается белоснежная юрта.

Два главные персонажа рассказа — жена хозяина и ее батрачка Цэрма. Хозяйка ведет праздную жизнь и живет обильно. Батрачка много работает, а достаются ей только объедки с хозяйского стола. В результате этого за три года жена хозяина располнела так же сильно, как похудела Цэрма.

Писатель не просто рисует контрастные картины жизни богатых и бедных людей, но и сопоставляет характеры, поступки своих героев.

Вот Цэрма в канун нового года стоит в грустном раздумье в просторном дворе хозяина и тяжело вздыхает. Тут пронзительный крик хозяйки застав-

ляет девушку содрогнуться. «Так-то ты подмела двор, может быть, ты не знаешь, что завтра новый год, скотина?» — злится хозяйка. Когда Цэрма, взвалив корзину с мусором на спину, выходит из ворот, ее оглушает брань идущих навстречу китайских купцов: «Что трясешь мусор на подарки? Вот глупая тварь», — ругаются они. «Проводи гостей в левую комнату», — приказывает дочка хозяина. Кто только не помыкает Цэрмой!

Дочь хозяина Мядагдма и бедняга Цэрма, обе девушки, любят молодых людей, но их взгляд на любовь не одинаков. Мядагдма легкомысленно относится к любви и понимает ее как развлечение. Дочь и мать живут душа в душу. Они обе любят говорить что «простые люди не знают счастья, у них не бывает любви». Они считают уделом бедняков работу.

У Цэрмы, дочери бедного арата, любовь — это счастье. Сколько бы ни бранилась хозяйка, как бы тяжела и бесконечна ни была работа Цэрма в душе не чувствует себя одинокой. Она вынимает платочек, подарок Цультума — любимого человека, вытирает им пот с загорелого лица, и тепло становится у нее на сердце. Цэрма не только откладывает в сторону чесучевый халат, который ей дали поносить на праздник, но и сбрасывает в конце концов бремя подневольного труда. Усталая и измученная девушка задумывается: «В праздник все хозяева наденут новые нарядные шелковые халаты, наденут собольи и бобровые шапки. Какое это счастье — досыта есть вкусные кушанья, пить вино. Почему же я должна недосыпать, ходить в рваной одежде и горевать о своей доле?» — спрашивает она. В душе девушки, слепо верившей, что ей выпала злая доля, вспыхнул пока еще не осознанный протест против своего бесправного положения и огонек надежды, сверкнул отблеск нового. Этот слабый огонёк может разгореться ярким пламенем в благоприятной среде, но может и заглохнуть.

В конце рассказа показано, что время богатых Дагданов кончается, наступают новые времена, когда Цультум и Цэрма встречаются со счастьем.

Произведения Д. Нацагдоржа направлены на побуждение национального самосознания народа, испытавшего вековое колониальное угнетение, воспитывают чувства патриотизма и интернационализма.

«Прозрачная и чистая, много тысяч лет течет река без всяких перемен, по одному руслу. И если на ее берегах беспрестанно происходили исторические события и постоянно менялась человеческая культура, то ведь причиной этому является борьба», — пишет Нацагдорж в рассказе «Неслыханные события». Действительно, в ходе суровой борьбы между старым и новым обновляется и преображается облик страны. Совсем не случайно в своем рассказе «Неслыханные события» писатель показывает пробуждение природы, когда с гор и теснин стремительно несутся бурные потоки, свеж и чист воздух, привольно дышится людям. Глазами нового человека, героя рассказа Болода, смотрит писатель на счастливое сегодня родной страны, вглядывается в ее будущее.

Д. Нацагдорж показывает, что счастье народу дала революция, её победа — это плоды борьбы. Борьба между старым и новым не на жизнь, а на смерть шла не только в общественной жизни, но и в духовном мире аратов. В результате борьбы и победы нового, старый тележник Лувсан[16] отдает своего сына в школу, левша Даржа[17] приводит сына-батрака ламы домой. В рассказах «Быстроногий скакун» (1930) и «Красавица степей» (1931) в образах стремительно скачущего на быстроногом буланом коне Сурэнху и красавицы джигитки, Д. Нацагдорж показал пробуждение монгольской нации и молодость свободного народа. «Просторна же моя Монголия! Как много у нас прекрасных скакунов! Мчишься верхом на коне и чувствуешь, как волна счастья приливает к сердцу» с восхищением восклицает Д. Нацагдорж в последнем рассказе.

Изображенная в этих рассказах картина является символом того, что старое уйдет, монголы покончат с отсталостью, перед ними откроется светлый путь, по которому они пойдут вперед со скоростью легендарного коня. Д. Нацагдорж анализирует и обобщает отдельные явления действительности, открывает их сущность и внутреннюю логику, показывает обязательный результат развития. Писатель воспевает новое, побеждающее в борьбе также и в таких поэтических картинах как «Зимняя стужа и жар любви», «Мрачные скалы», «Мелодия», «Воскресный день весной» и другие.

В его произведениях изображены яркие картины родной природы, особенности жизни народа, своеобразное отношение монгольских тружеников к жизни, неповторимые черты национального характера, находящие отклик в самых глубинах души людей. В то же время «каждый из рассказов единственный в своем роде и не только по содержанию, но и по стилю, манере писателя»,[18] — пишет советский монголовед Г. И. Михайлов.

Д. Нацагдорж — подлинно народный поэт и писатель. В его творчестве воспевается все прекрасное и достойное, чем гордится наш народ, клеймится все скверное и презренное.

IV

Д. Нацагдорж написал ряд пьес, в которых с исключительной глубиной показал общественные противоречия, характеры героев. Монгольский народ в произведениях Д. Нацагдоржа не подчиняется слепо суровым обстоятельствам, а борется за лучшую долю. Писатель показал разложение и вырож-

[16] Из рассказа «Чудеса культуры» (1930).

[17] Рассказ «Ветер на рассвете и удары песта» (1931).

[18] Г. И. Михайлов, Очерк истории современной монгольской литературы (Москва 1955), стр. 85.

дение класса феодалов, его реакционную сущность. Одновременно Нацагдорж восхищался справедливостью, гуманизмом, духовной красотой простых людей.

Д. Нацагдорж показывает трагическую судьбу арата[19] дореволюционной Монголии в музыкальных драмах «Среди трех печальных холмов» (1934) и «Большая барышня» (1935), рисует гротескные образы иностранных захватчиков в комедии «Это не Я» (1934), изображает героические характеры революционеров, в пьесах «Монгольский народный прославленный герой» (1934) и «Таинственное сокровище» (1930 г.).

Музыкальная драма «Среди трех печальных холмов» сыграла особенно большую роль в зарождении и развитии новой монгольской драматургии. Перед читателями развертывается в драме обычная любовная коллизия — молодой охотник, его невеста и жестокий феодал. Главная героиня Нансалма — не хочет жить на коленях, а умирает стоя, отстаивая свое человеческое достоинство и право на счастье. Ей противопоставлены князь Балган, считающий, что титул, богатство и могущество дают ему право на любую несправедливость, и в то же время, безвольный и ничтожный, и его наложница Хоролма, убежденная, что знатность и серебро сильнее любви, проповедующая что не стоит бороться против силы. Таково истинное лицо феодального общества, интересы которого защищает буддизм, проповедующий, что всякое желание — источник мучения человека.

Дочь бедного арата встает против существующих в мире порядков:

Нет цены любви настоящей —
Всех сокровищ она дороже,
Но найти ее в этом мире,
Говорят, нелегкое дело.[20]

В этих словах выражается чистота и верность Нансалмы своему чувству. Поэтому она и не склоняется душой в борьбе.

Автор сумел, по словам народной артистки Ичинхорло, в образе Нансалмы воплотить лучшие качества монгольской женщины.

Д. Нацагдорж показывает общественные противоречия не как надуманные столкновения доброго и злого, а как закономерные явления жизни и ее борьбы. Он соедает полнокровные характеры живых людей, борющихся, любящих, страдающих. Именно в этом причина долголетия и неувядающей молодости его произведений.

[19] На эту тему он написал «Неоконченную повесть» «Ненанизанный жемчуг» (1934). Первые две главы печатались в 5-ом номере литературного журнала «Цог» (1966).

[20] «Среди трех печальных холмов.» Перевод А. Титовича в книге Д. Нацагдорж. «Избранное» (Москва 1956), стр. 115.

V

Писатель, скончавшийся в возрасте 31 года, всего лишь за семь лет своей творческой деятельности сумел создать свои оригинальные и самобытные произведения во всех видах новой монгольской литературы: в поэзии, прозе и драматургии.

Д. Нацагдорж в своих произведениях изображал современную действительность во всей ее многообразии и многогранности. Глубокая мысль, реалистический показ, точные наблюдения, гармония художественности — вот главные характерные черты творчества Д. Нацагдоржа.

Оно оказало сильное влияние на развитие современной монгольской литературы, особенно на современную поэзию в целом, на короткие рассказы и песенную драму в частности.

Д. Нацадорж жил и творил в тесной связи с жизнью родного народа. Богатое народное творчество и прогрессивные традиции монгольской литературы — это неисчерпаемый источник творчества Д. Нацагдоржа. Он активно изучал и творчески овладел опытом русской классической, советской литературы и немецкой прогрессивной литературы.[21] Благодаря всему этому он внес своим самобытным и калоритным творчеством достойный вклад в мировую литературу.

Его имя близко и дорого не только всему монгольскому народу, но и многочисленным зарубежным читателям. Произведения Д. Нацагдоржа изданы в Советском Союзе, Болгарии, Венгрии, Вьетнаме, Германии, Китае, Корее, Польше, Чехословакии, Англии, Америке, Бирме, Индии, Японии. Они донесли до многих стран и народов мысли и думы тружеников Монголии, пламень сердца монгольского писателя.

[21] «He studied in Germany, and his sojourn there must have had some kind of influence upon him. And the author of these lines knows that Natsagdorǰ was a great admierer of Gerhard Hauptmann, Keller and Wassermann.» N. Poppe, *CAJ*. Vol. XI, No. 2 (1966), p. 158.

ZWEI NEUE PREISGEDICHTE ZU EHREN ABRAHAMS AUS BAGDAD

FORTSETZUNG DER KAUFMANN-GENISA

VON

A. SCHEIBER

Von Abraham b. N. . . aus Bagdad, der um 1000 lebte, haben wir nur aus den zu seinen Ehren geschriebenen Gedichten Kenntnis. Und doch musste er ein grosser Mann gewesen sein. Er nahm einen hohen Posten im Hofe des Kalifen ein. Er war ein Heerführer. Er blieb aber auch der Patron des jüdischen Gemeinwesens. Es wird ihm als Verdienst angerechnet, dass die Akademie in Sura aufs neue eröffnet wurde. Wir wissen von seinem Palast und darin von seiner Synagoge, deren Kantor Nachum Al-Baradâni war. Dieser galt — nachdem er diese Privatsynagoge verlassen hatte[1] und seine alten Fachgenossen ihm hinweggestorben waren — als der beste Kantor des Landes.[2] So charakterisiert ihn sein Jugendfreund, der Gaon Haj. Dem Namen nach kennen wir die Mitglieder seiner Familie und seiner Umgebung.

Diese Gedichte sind alle mit derselben Schrift, in selbem Stile geschrieben und sind mit ähnlichen Akrosticha versehen. Ihr Verfasser ist wahrscheinlich sein Sekretär Abraham Hakohen. Zulay glaubte den Ton der Schule des Saʿadja aus ihnen herauszuhören.[3] Diese Gedichte — einst Stücke eines einzigen Heftes — sind in verschiedene Bibliotheken der Welt: Cambridge (T. S. 8. J. 1.),[4] London (Br. M. Or. 5554 B. fol. 20.)[5] und Budapest (MS. Kaufmann. No. 148.)[6] zerstreut.

[1] S. Spiegel: *Sefarad* XV (1955), p. 316; H. Z. Hirschberg: *Eretz-Israel* V (1958), p. 216.

[2] S. Abramson: *Tarbiz* XXXI (1961/62), pp. 201—202, 208; במרכזים ובתפוצות בתקופת הגאונים (Jerusalem 1965), p. 91.

[3] M. Zulay: *Zion* XVIII (1953) pp. 13—14; *Ha-Askolah Ha-Paytanit shel Rav Saʿadya Gaon* (Jerusalem 1964), p. 177.

[4] S. Schechter, *Saadyana* (Cambridge 1903), pp. 63—74.

[5] A. Marmorstein: *JQR.* N. S. VI (1915/16), pp. 157—158; J. Mann: *ibid.*, IX (1918/19), pp. 153—160.

[6] A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* III (1953), pp. 107—133; *Zion* XVIII (1953), pp. 6—13; J. Schirmann: *Kirjath Sepher* XXX (1954/55), pp. 108, 421; S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents* (Paris — The Hague 1964), p. 39.

Im Sommer 1964 wurde mir in London die Freude zuteil, in der Gaster-Sammlung aus diesem Diwan (Br. M. Or. 10. 594[2]) ein neueres Blatt entdeckt zu haben, welches das Ende eines Gedichtes und den Anfang wie die grössere Hälfte eines anderen enthält.

Das Akrostichon des I. ist: רבנו אברהם שבח סגלה ועוז הגול]ה יחי[

Das Akrostichon des II. ist: [רבנו אברהם שבח סגל]ה ועוז הגולה יחי

Das I. Gedicht, mit dem Schlussreim נים, spricht davon, welcher allgemeiner Verehrung sich unser Held erfreut (Zeile 7), wie er seine Feinde beschämt (Zeile 15). Es erwähnt seine Söhne (Zeilen 19—22), seinen Bruder (Zeile 23), seine Verwandten, seine Diener (Zeile 24), seine Umgebung, die in seinem Hause wohnt, oder seine Hilfe geniesst (Zeile 25).

Das II. Gedicht mit dem Schlussreim יה, vergleicht den besagten Abraham mit dem Wein, der Seinesgleichen weder in Babylonien noch in Palästina hat (Zeilen 18—19: „לא נמצא כמהו בבבל ואבד ובארץ ישראל הרצויה"). Die Gelehrten seiner Zeit schöpfen aus ihm (Zeile 35). Verstehen wir die letzten zwei Strophen richtig, so wünscht der Dichter, er möge die babylonische und ägyptische Diaspora weiter bauen, doch nunmehr — samt seiner Familie — nach Palästina ziehen (Zeilen 41—46).

Obgleich wir über seinen Namen und seine Person nicht mehr erfahren,[7] sind diese zwei Fragmente dennoch sehr wertvoll, nicht nur von bibliographischem Gesichtspunkt, weil sie bisher bekannte Stücke ergänzen, sondern auch — besonders das zweite — wegen ihrer literarischen Bedeutung.[8]

Nun geben wir den Text und seine Photokopie. In den Noten sind die Handschrift von Cambridge durch ש (Schechter), die von London durch מ (Mann) und die von Budapest durch ק (Kaufmann) gezeichnet.

[7] Er war vielleicht ein Mitglied jener Familie Netîra, die von der Zeit Sa'adjas an — neben den Bne Aaron — die vornehmste war in den Augen der Bagdader Gemeinde und des Hofes des Kalifen. Wahrscheinlich war er der Sohn Netîras II, der Enkel Sahls und Urenkel Netîras I. Einen seiner Söhne nannte er Sahl nach seinem Grossvater. Im Palast seines Grossvaters befand sich eine private Synagoge (A. Harkary: *Berliner-Festschrift* [Frankfurt a/M. 1903], pp. 37, 40), hier wurde auch zu seiner Zeit gebetet. Mit den Mitgliedern der Familie befasst sich die folgende Literatur: A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* II (Oxford 1895), p. 78; S. Fraenkel: *JQR* XVII (1905), pp. 386—388; I. Friedländer: *ibid.*, pp. 747—761; W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam* (London 1937), pp. 34—44; D. S. Sassoon, *A History of the Jews in Baghdad* (Letchworth 1949), p. 31; S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* III (Philadelphia 1960), pp. 152—154, 303—304; G. Vajda im Sammelwerk *Baġdād* (Leiden 1962), p. 390; S. D. Goitein: *Eretz-Israel* VII (1964), pp. 83—84; A. Scheiber: *Zion* XXX (1965), pp. 123—127; S. Abramson, במרכזים ובתפוצות בתקופת הגאונים (Jerusalem 1965), pp. 39, 98.

[8] J. Schirmann, *Kirjath Sepher* XLII (1966/67), p. 391.

MS. Br. Museum Or. 10594[2]

I

[1a] אל הולך ביושר יועץ לעשות בושר
[עשר יעשר] ודאי מעשר

ומזהב[י]ם מתוקני[ם]

אל יקב העדות הוקם לישע ופדות
אהבו [אביו] בידידות

ולמדו דברי תחכמוני[ם]

אל חומל על כל ואהוב ומכו[ב]ד לכל
מבו[קש] כתירוש באשכל

אשר בו נפשות מז[נים]

אל יש[ר] ותמים עושה חסד ורחמים
שומר [מ]ח[נות] שוכן מרומים

הנטועים בדרבונים

שלום להשפיע ואור להופיע
רסן להתקף ויישע להקף
ועז להלביש וצרי[ם ל]הוביש
ובנים להפריח ואשה להריח
והון להעתיק ופה להמתיק

1 אל] כלומר אל האיש. הולך] משלי יד, ב. 4 יקב] כנוי לאיש המפיץ תורה ברבים.
6 תחכמוני[ם]] שמ׳ ב׳ כג, ח. 8 מבוקש] יש׳ סה, ח. 9 מז[נים]] יר׳ ה, ח. 12 הנטועים] קה׳ יב, יא. 13 ואור] איוב לז, טו. 15 ועז] יש׳ נא, ט. וצרי[ם ל]הוביש] תה׳ פו, יז.
17 והון] משלי ח, יח. ופה] איוב ב, יב.

ותורה להבין וחטא להלבין וכתר ברכה ומרפא וארוכה

וכל ההצלחות וההבטחות המתוחות וגו ולביוי דמהוללים אשר הם כנטיעים מגודלים

ישמרם אל אלים ויפארם במקהלים וישימם כשתולים וישתם לעד צוהלים

ויושיבם כאהלים ויפלס להם מעגלים וישפיר להם חבלים וישב להם גורלים

ויגן עליהם ברחמים כלולים ובטללי שלום יהו מטללים

ולאחיו הנכבד בסגולים יצרהו עורך מזלים

ולכל קרוביו ומשרתיו העומדים לפניו ושומעים את חכמתו ולנלוים עליו

ולמסתופפים בביתו ומסתוכבים בצאלו

נצח

II

אחרת מפוארת

רוחי חזקי מה לך תִּנְעַשְׁתִי לבשי עזך כמו ערב ושתי

קחי מין הטוב ושתי

כי הן כוסך ממנו רְוָיָה

18 ותורה]תה׳ קיט, לד. וחטא] יש׳ א, יח. 19 ההצלחות] בכ״י החצלחות (בטעות). המהוללים] מ 159, 12. כנטיעים] תה׳ קמד, יב. 20 אלים] = אלהים. כשתולים] תה׳ צב, יד. 21 כאהלים]במ׳ כד, ו. ויפלס] משלי ה, כא. וישפיר] תה׳ טו, ז. 23 בסגולים] תא לישראל, עי׳ בן יהודה ח׳, עמ׳ 3949. 24 ושומעים] מל׳ א׳ ה, יד. 25 ולמסתופפים] תה׳ סד, יא. עי׳ ש 69, 1. ומסתוכבים] ש 69, 16. בצאלי] איוב מ, כא—כב.

2 לבשי] יש׳ נב, א. 3 מין הטוב] שה״ש ז, י. 4 רויה] תה׳ כג, ה.

בֹּרא יי בעֵינו הָאוֹדֶם כְּבָראוֹ מאורות במעונו מקדם
וישק כרמו היים משֶׁדֶם
לכן שותהו לבו חיה

נֹועם טעם וכח צהול בְּיֵינוֹ זה צבור וקְהֻיל
בישע מְסוֹךְ בששון מָהֻיל
להפיג מנפש כל דְּוָיה

[1b] [וֹתשיש ותשמח] בו הנפש ורֵוַח בוֹ תסיר כל טפש
סופו [תשׂחט]ו בלי שֶׁמֶר וַעֶפֶשׁ
אשר כמוהו לא נהיה

[אֹורו] נוצץ בְּסוֹחֶרֶת וָשַׁיִשׁ ולהוד אוֹרוֹ אוֹרוּ בנֵי עַיִשׁ
[יְ]שַׁבֵּר שותהו מתלעות ליש
ויך אתו מכה טריה

[בֹּש]פת יָפיוֹ כל מלך נלכד באוצר אֵל נָצור ולֹא בִכְלִי וָכַד
לא נמצא כמהו בְּבַבֵּל וְאַכַּד
ובארץ ישראל הרצויה

5 בעינו האודם] יח׳ כח, יג. מאורות] בר׳ א, טו. 6 משדם] כמו שדמה (דב׳ לב, לב). סדור רס״ג, שכג, שורה 1: „כרמי שדם״. 8 צהול] כך מתוקן על הגליון. בראשונה היה כתוב: „צוהל״ (בטעות). וקהול] הוו האחרונה ממעל לשורה. 9 בששון] יש׳ יב, ג. מהול] כמו סבא = יין (יש׳ א, כב). לפי הֶס פירושו שכר, עי׳ מאמרו ב MGWJ, כרך LXXVIII, 1934, עמ׳ 6—9. 11 ורוח בו] יש בו רוח שהנפש תסיר מעצמה בל טפש. טפש] כמו טפשות, עי׳ סדור רס״ג, קפח, שורה 49: „בלבי אל יהי טפש״. 12 [תשחט]ו] נראה קצהו של האות „ט״. שמר] עי׳ סדור רס״ג, שכ, שורה 1: „בלענת שמר מזקק״. ועפש] פירושו רקבון, קלקול, עי׳ סדור רס״ג, קפח, שורה 49: „בחובי אל יהי עפש״. 14 בסוחרת] אסתר א, ו. בני עיש] כמו הכוכבים, איוב לח, לב: „ועיש על בניה תנחם״. עי׳ שירי שלמה בן יהודה אבן גבירול. הוצ׳ ביאליק—רבניצקי. כרק א׳. ברלין, תרפ״ד, עמ׳ 154, מס׳ פ: „עת האדמה שאלה אורו יקח בני עיש לערבון״. 15 מתלעות ליש] יואל א, ו: „ומתלעות לביא״. 16 מכה טריה] יש׳ א, ו. 19 הרצויה]תה׳ קב, טו.

20 רֵיחו הטוב הנו לא נמר כי שומר הכל אותו שמר
אלהינו צוה ויי אמר
לתת עליו שמלת חן עטויה

הֵמלך אשר תש[תו ע]סים בהיכלו ישמח בו וישיעו
הוא באמת היין העסים אשר לו
25 התהילה ראויה

מֵה טוב ריחך וטעמך היין נעמת ללב נחמדת לעין
מה נבזה למולך כל יין
כי תוספת לך עליהם גלויה

שֵׁירָךְ הֵיטַבְתִּי כשירֵי אחי אֹצֶם מתוק לנפש מרפא לעצם
30 כי שמך נקרא עלינו בעוצם
רבנו נזרנו עז הדחויה

בֵּך אהגה כי איקץ ואישן כי טובו דודיך מיין ישן
וקט[ר]ת חסדיך כתימרות עשן
עוֹלָה ולשמי חוג נחויה

35 חֵכמי דוריך שָׁתו מִגְמָעֶיךָ אשרי רואיך ואשרי שומעיך
ישמח לבך ישישו מעיך
כי חכמת אלים בָּמוֹ חבויה

20 לא מר] יר׳ מח, יא. 21 צוה]תה׳ לג, ט. 22 עטויה] שם, קד, ב. 26 ריחך] יר׳ מח, יא; עי׳ מ 158, 25. 28 כי תוספת] פירושו: לך היתרון מכל הגדולים בעיני הכליף. 29 היטבתי] יש׳ כג, טז. אחי אצם] ז. א. דוד, עי׳ דבה״י א׳ ב, טו: „א ם הששי דויד השבעי״. מתוק לנפש] משלי טז,כד. 30 שמך נקרא] יר׳ יד, ט; עי׳ ק I ,9: „ועליו תמיד יקרא שמך״. 31 הדחויה] זו ישראל. עי׳ ק II, 48: „סורה דחויה גלויה ונעזבה״. 32 כי טובו] שה״ש א, ב. 33 כתימרות עשן] שה״ש ג, ו. 34 ולשמי חוג] איוב כב, יד. 35 מגמעיך] גמע כמו גמיעה, גמיאה, גמייה. עי׳ ש 68, 15: „הלא חסד יוסף עצמיו גמאו״; ק I, 25: „ומלך אחרי מלך עצתך יגמא״. 36 ישמח לבך] תה׳ טז, ח. 37 כי חכמת אלים] מל׳ א׳ ג, כח.

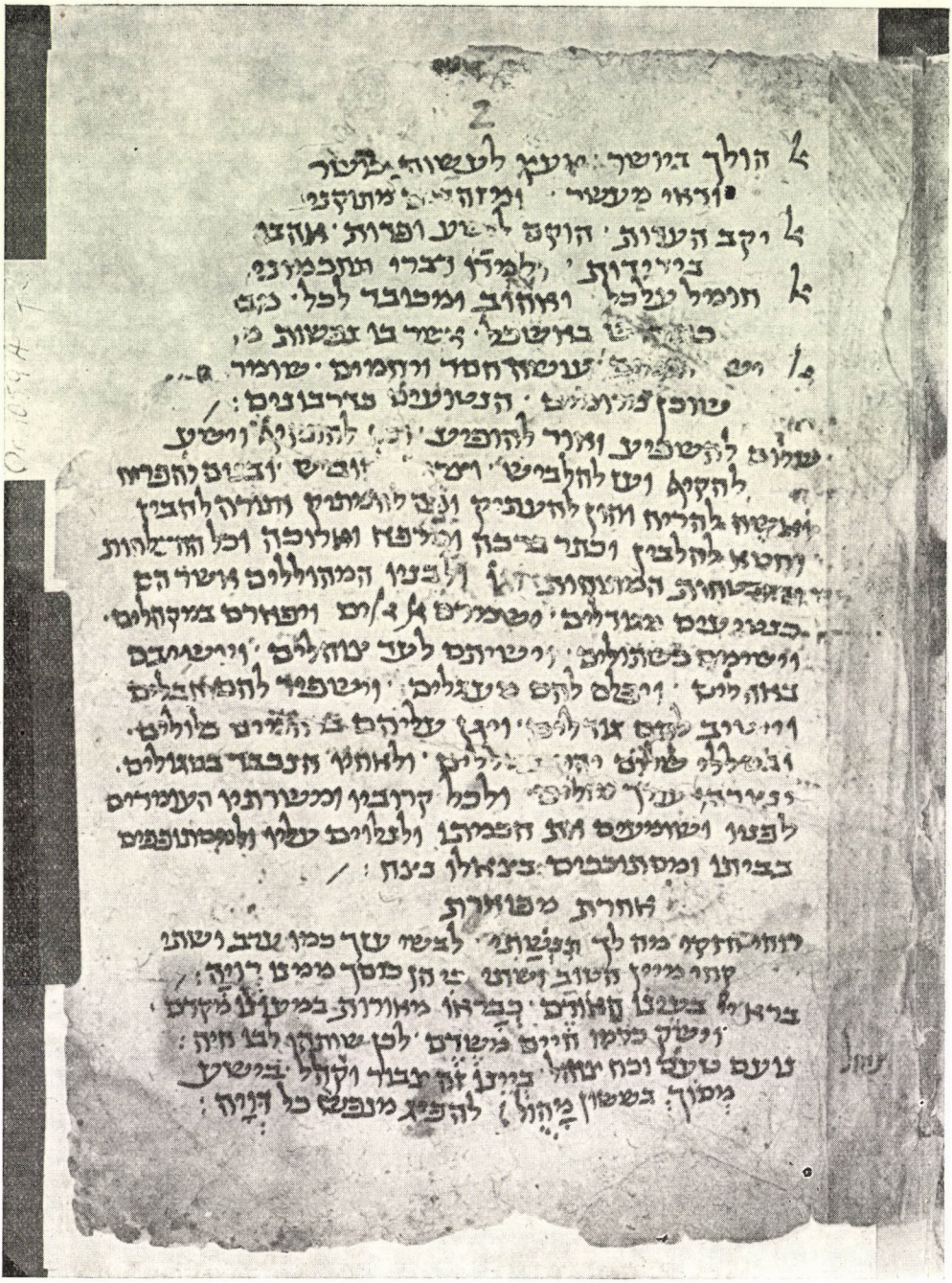
סֹוגָר כל שער כי פותחו דלתיך סגר כל גדול לנכח גדולתך
הַם כל נדיב כי עשירית מֵי דִלְיָתֶיךָ
כְּכִפְלֵי נדבותם מנויה

גֹּולַת אשור עילם ופתרוס שׁוּבִי ובְנִי כי אין מי יהרס
עלי נא במשפחותיך כְּסִיעֲהָא וְקֵרוס
בְּשָׂרַיִךְ כישוע נחמיה שריה

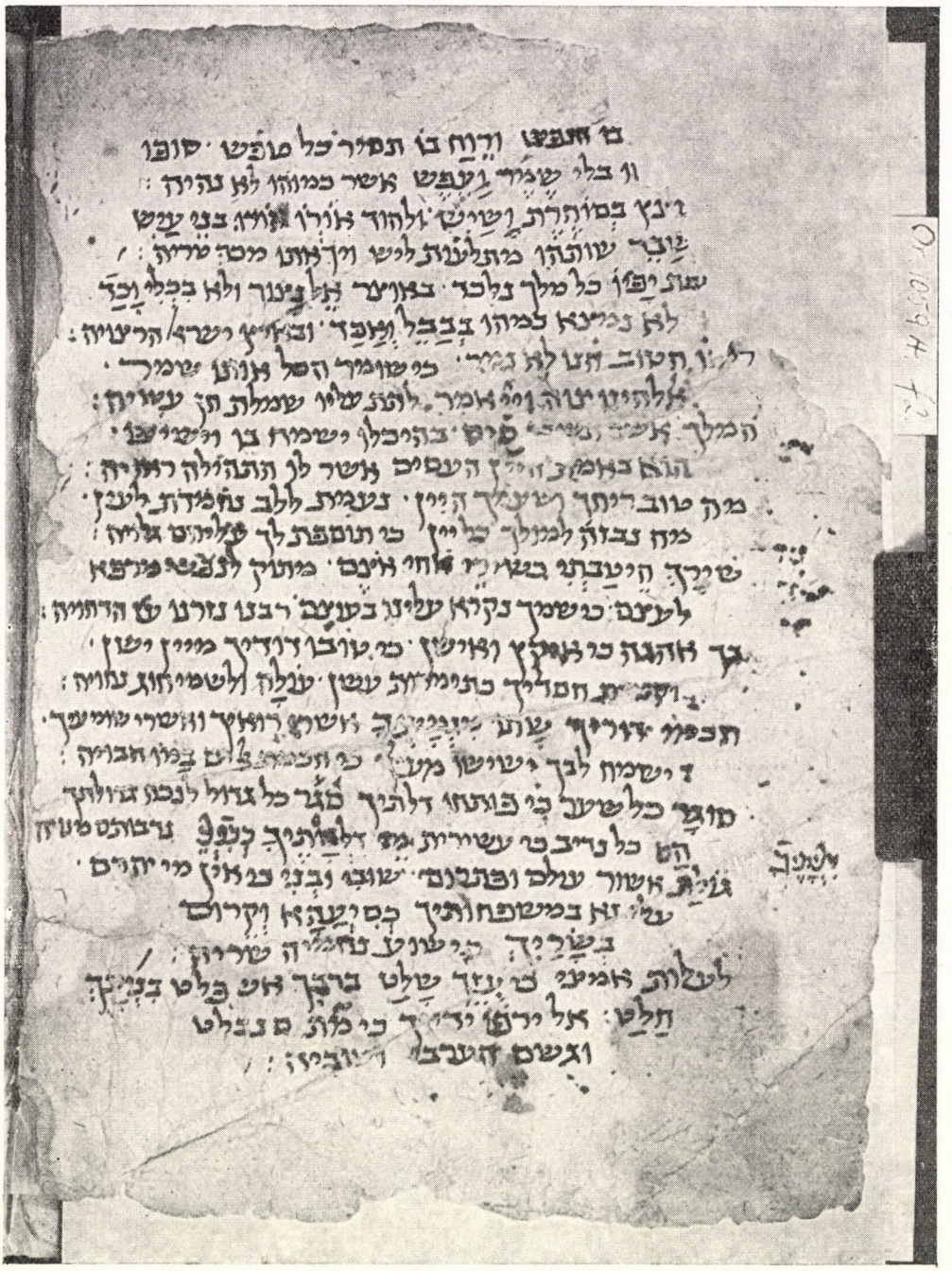
לֹעלות אמצי כי עֻזֵּךְ שָׁלַט ברבָך אני פלט בִּנְיָנֵךְ חַלַט
אל ירפו ידייך כי מת סנבלט
וגשם הערבי וטוביה

[הֹ] . . . . . .

38 סוגר כל שער] עי׳ ש 69, 27: „דלתיך עוד רבנו לא יסגרו". 39 דליתיך] כך תוקן על הגליון· בראשונה היה כתוב „דליותיך" (בטעות). עי׳ אצל שב"צ דוראן: „כי דליתני אתה בכחך זאת הדלייה והעלייה הנוראה חלף העלייה שהיה מעלה אותי הרשע על העץ" (בן-יהודה, ב׳, עמ׳ 945). 41 גולת] יש׳ יא,יא. כלומר גולת בבל ומצרים. שובי ובני] מוסב על ה„עשירית" שבשורה 39. יהרס] יר׳ כד, ו. 42 כסיעהא וקרוס] עזרא ב, מד. 43 כישוע נחמיה שריה] נחמיה יב, א. שמות עולי בבל. 44 חלט] לחלוטין, לצמיתות. 45 אל ירפו] דבה"י ב׳ טו, ז. 45—46 סנבלט וגשם הערבי וטוביה] נח׳ ב, יט. המשורר אולי מרמז על אויבי אברהם שמתו כבר בארץ ישראל.



MS. Br. Museum Or. 10. 594², p. 1a



MS. Br. Museum Or. 10. 594², p. 1b

CRITICA

S. N. SEN, *A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics.* Part I: *Manuscripts, Texts, Translations and Studies.* National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi 1966, 258. p.

The ancient Indian culture can be characterized not only by the existence of significant literary works and established religious systems affecting large territories, but by the prosperity of different social and natural sciences, too. The views of descriptive grammar applied in Pāṇini's unsurpassed work inspires modern linguistics; many original thoughts and effective methods of the medical sciences, psychology, law, military sciences, philosophy and even of sociology originated in ancient India. Especially great achievements have been made in the fields of astronomy and mathematics. It is widely known that the modern — so called Arabic — numerals and the employment of the positional value of numerals and of the zero originated in Indian thought.

It is easy to understand that the works written on the history of sciences in India could fill a whole library due to the efforts of both the Indologists and the representatives of other sciences. Commentaries upon the great original astronomical and mathematical works were written even in ancient times (these commentaries themselves often have documentary value today), besides they were discussed later on outside India, too, when their results were disseminated by Buddhism and the Arabs.

Since the 18th century also the European research workers showed increasing interest in the history of science in India. Great scientists like J. S. Bailly, J. Bentley, H. Colebrooke, J. B. Biot, later on the Indian S. B. Dikshit and G. R. Kaye have laid down the foundations for elaborating the history of Indian astronomy and mathematics more thoroughly than at any time before them.

This book which had been edited by S. N. Sen (who won the Rabindra Memorial Prize in 1955/56 and the Narsingdas Prize in 1957 with his previous work on the history of sciences) with the research assistance of A. K. Bag and S. Rajeshwar Sarma and was recently published in the series of the National Commission for the Compilation of History of Sciences in India maintained by the National Institute of Sciences of India considerably contributes to such a general work.

It makes accessible the primary sources by systematizing 480 authors, about a thousand works, their places of occurrence, Indian commentaries, modern editions and the studies concerning them in a clearly arranged form.

Of course the collection cannot be considered complete in any respect. For instance, it contains only the *Bṛhajjātaka*, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and *Pañcasiddhāntikā* from the great astronomer Varâhamihira, but the *Laghujātaka*, *Yogayātrā* and *Tikkaṇikā* are missing, although they were published also in a modern edition and are included in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Leip-

zig, 1891, 1896, 1903) which had been utilized by S. N. Sen, not to mention the less known *Samāsaṁhitā* and *Vaṭakaṇikā*.

Only one essay is mentioned from G. Thibaut's works, we miss especially his *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik* published in the series *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (III. Bd. 9 Heft, Strassburg 1899). Concerning the list of books consulted one could continue to enumerate the missing works but the significance of such a bibliography can be measured by what is included in it not by what is omitted from it. It would be useful if the authors worked out in detail the places of occurrence of the old Indian commentaries, too.

These wishes can be fulfilled in the planned 2nd and 3rd volumes of the book. According to the plans the 2nd volume will include the works on astronomers and mathematicians in India and the 3rd will deal with the contemporary studies on the subject in question.

We hope they won't be delayed for too long now, meanwhile the investigators of ancient Indian culture can avail themselves of the published 1st volume.

G. Bethlenfalvy

Vedaśāstrasaṁgrahaḥ, an Anthology of the Vedas and Śāstras. Edited by VISHVA BANDHU. *Sāhityaratnakośaḥ* Part I, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi 1966, 381 p.

It is not customary in the history of sciences to record the compilation of anthologies, chrestomathies; the latest results of the investigations are rarely published in literary collections. Nevertheless we have to attach a great importance to the large-scale undertaking of the Sahitya Akademi which introduces the Sanskrit literature in a significant anthology of seven volumes entitled *Sāhityaratnakośaḥ*.

The role of O. Boehtlingk's *Sanskrit Chrestomathie* shows exactly what an anthology can mean for the indology. Boehtlingk has established in it a work of abiding value similar to his lexicological activity and textual criticism. Since 1848 his *Chrestomathie* has played a decisive role in forming the thinking of Indologist generations.

The new anthology of the Sahitya Akademi represents the results and literary views of Indology in India. Three volumes have been published till now, the *Puranetihasa Sangraha* from the epic works and puranās edited by S. K. De and R. G. Hazra; the *Bauddha Sangraha* by Nalinaksha Dutta from the Buddhist literature and the *Abhilekha Sangraha* by B. Ch. Chhabra from the edicts. The intended 1st volume entitled *Vedaśāstrasaṁgrahaḥ* has been recently published.

The book comprises the whole Vedic literature — taking this designation in the widest sense. Its comprehensiveness is the main characteristic of the anthology, one can hardly find a collection in this field similarly variagated.

The anthology contains 81 hymns — each of them important — from the *Rigveda*, representing all the main types (mythological, philosophical, offering-hymns, legends). We find 41 hymns from the *Atharvaveda* and although it is sufficient to become acquainted with the work, it is a pity that the famous «Frog-song» (VII. 103) is missing.

The *Brāhmaṇas* are represented extensively, doing justice to their significance. Beside the main parts of significance regarding of the history of religion and civilisation the legends are the most valuable parts of these works from a literary point of view; for instance the oldest variant of the Deluge-legend from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* on page 224. On the other hand we miss the poetical story of Purūravas and Urvaśī narrating and explaining the 95th hymn in Maṇḍala X. of the *Rigveda* (*Vedaśāstrasaṁgrahaḥ* p. 76) in greater detail.

Taking into consideration the modest proportion of the *Āraṇyakas* it is a good thing from another aspect that the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* occupy 37 pages; in fact they are the oldest and most valuable upaniṣads.

The next part contains the supplements attached to the proper Veda. Vishva Bandhu selects boldly and successfully the grammatical, philosophical, political and astronomical works, he gives a clear idea of the many-sidedness and highly developed state of the Vedic civilisation.

We agree with him in reading Patañjali's commentaries instead of Pāṇini's concise and very difficult texts. The passages from Varāhamihira's scientific treatise written in an artistic prose greatly increase the value of the work (in ancient India scientific works were written in a highly artistic manner).

The quantity of philosophical texts may seem exaggerated for the non-Indian reader. We do not understand why the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* was omitted, which had considerably influenced the emergence of the social relations and morals in India and it occupies an important place in the general history of law.

In its contents the *Bhagavadgītā* differs from the homogeneous material of the anthology; although the philosophy of the *vedānta* is also represented in it this wonderful poem must be regarded as a piece of epic literature.

We should like to point out two things concerning the editional work. Partly we do not feel justified the division of the material in two parts according to verse and prose. On the other hand, it would have been useful to attach abundant notes to the texts whether in the European or in the traditional Indian form of word-explanations. It would help the readers who are in need of improving their Sanskrit knowledge, the more so as the work could be usefully employed in teaching, too.

Finally, I have to emphasize that this anthology — when reaching its complete form — will have the distinctive task of renewing our notions of ancient India. This is guaranteed by the activity of the Sahitya Akademi to which we are grateful for the publication of these volumes, too.

G. Bethlenfalvy

Монгол ардын аман зохиолын дээж: Studia Folclorica, Tomus III. Fasciculus 4, Ulaanbaatar 1967, 263 p.

Dieses von M. Gaadamba und D. Cêrênsodnom zusammengestellte, auch in seiner äusseren Form repräsentative ausgestattete Büchlein dürfen wir als die neueste Veröffentlichung der Schriftenreihe *Studia Folclorica* begrüssen. Das Buch enthält eine reiche Auswahl der mongolischen Dichtung und wurde von den Verfassern in erster Linie für Studenten der Hochschulen und Universitäten zusammengestellt. Den bedeutendsten Teil des Bandes bilden die in Kategorien geteilten Volkslieder. Die Verfasser unterscheiden dem Inhalt nach vier Kategorien der mongolischen Volkslieder. Der Versuch selbst ist interessant, da eine solche Kategorisierung der mongolischen Volkslieder bisher ja fasst nie unternommen wurde. A. Mostaert (*Textes oraux ordos*) und N. Poppe (*Kolchoznaja Poêzija burjat-mongolov*) hatten sich zwar mit dieser Frage beschäftigt, aber sie haben die Aufteilung nur an einem gegebenen Material und nicht an der Gesamtheit der bis dahin gesammelten Volkslieder durchgeführt.

Neuestens versuchte Rinčensambuu in seinem Werk *Mongol ardyn duuny tòròl zùjl* in der Reihe *Studia Mongolica* (Tomus I. Fasciculus 26) die Kategorisierung der mongolischen Volkslieder. Seine Studie verdient jede Anerkennung, da sie trotz ihrer Fehler von bahnbrechender Bedeutung ist. Der Hauptfehler dieser Untersuchung besteht darin, dass hier zwei verschiedene Gesichtspunkte der Aufteilung, nämlich Inhalt und Gattung, durcheinandergebracht werden. *Magtal* oder *magtó dú* ist keine inhaltliche Kategorie, trotzdem kommt es hier vor, usw.

Im besprochenen Werk ist die Kategorisierung viel gedrängter, als in dem von Rinčensambuu, das neun Hauptkategorien unterscheidet. Aber infolge der Zusammendrängung fallen einige wesentlichen Kategorien ganz weg, bzw. sind sie nur spärlich vertreten. Es fehlen die eine bedeutende Gruppe der Volkslieder repräsentierenden

buddhistischen Lieder, sowie jene volkslieder, die an den dem Buddhismus vorangehenden schwarzen Glauben des Schamanismus erinnern. Zur selben Zeit kommen solche Kategorien vor, die bei Rinčensambuu fehlen, z. B. die Kategorie des Arbeitsliedes, die bisher auf mongolischem Gebiet unbekannt war. Zwar waren Lieder bekannt, die die Arbeit lobten oder sie spöttisch beschimpften, aber solche, die bei der Ausführung der Arbeit als einer physischen Betätigung eine Rolle gespielt hätten, waren nicht vorhanden. Auf S. 35. finden wir ein echtes Arbeitslied, das die Aufgabe hatte, die Arbeit der Schäfer zu erleichtern. Ein anderes wichtiges Resultat ist, dass die Verfasser in der Kategorie der Liebeslieder, da die Lieder keinen abschreibenden Charakter haben, auf Grund der Stimmungelemente irgendeine Kategorisierung versucht haben (trauriges Liebeslied usw.). Wir finden ein sehr reiches Material hinsichtlich des täglichen Lebens, und ausserdem enthält der Band erfreulicherweise in grosser Zahl auch Kinderreime. Dagegen ist es aber sehr zu bedauern dass die aussergewöhnlich reiche mongolische Heldenepik insgesamt nur sechs Seiten bekam. Es ist wahr, dass die wichtigsten mongolischen Heldenlieder einzeln schon alle erschienen sind, aber im Rahmen des Bandes hätten sie, schon aus Gründen der Proportion, mehr Platz und grösseren Umfang verdient. Was aber die weitere Ordnung des Aufbaus anbelangt ist es ganz und gar verfehlt die Folklore nach einem chronologischen Grundsatz in zwei Teile zu trennen. So haben wir unvermeidlich den Eindruck als ob zwischen der heutigen Volksdichtung und jener aus früheren Zeiten irgendeine Unterbrechung der Kontinuität eingetreten, bzw. zwischen der Folklore der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart irgendeine grosse Kluft enstanden wäre. Wir sehen den Zusammenhang und die Kontinuität zwischen den alten, sogenannten historischen Liedern die die gesellschaftliche Unzufriedenheit ausdrücken und den Liedern der sozialistischen Revolution nicht. Des weiteren lässt sich an dem Band auch bemängeln, dass er auf dem ausserordentlich reichen Dschingis-Sagenkreis kein einziges Stück bietet.

Trotz allem ist das Werk von grossem Wert; es spiegelt die Stoffkenntnis und den Sachverstand der Zusammensteller treu wider. Unserer Ansicht nach wird das besprochene Werk nicht nur den Studenten, denen es empfohlen wurde, sondern auch den Erforschern der mongolischen Volksdichtung viel Freude bereiten.

L. Lőrincz

D. S. Loewinger—B. D. Weinryb, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau*. Wiesbaden 1965, 8°, pp. XIII + 303. (Publication of the Leo Baeck Institute).

Der Grund zum Handschriftenarchiv des 1854 errichteten Jüdisch-Theologischen Seminars in Breslau wurde durch die Sammlung des Triester Bibliophilen Leon Vita Saraval (1771—1851) gelegt. Diese Sammlung enthielt 69 Handschriften. Unter den späteren Erwerbungen ragen hervor 36 Stücke aus dem Nachlass B. Beers und zahlreiche als Geschenke R. Kirchheims. Im Laufe der Zeit vermehrten sie sich beträchtlich.

In Druck gab bisher nur B. Zuckermanns Katalog Aufklärung über diese Handschriften (*Katalog der Seminar-Bibliothek*: *Jahresbericht des Jüd.-Theol. Seminars*. 1870. 1876[2]). Die Verfasser des vorliegenden Katalogs haben noch als Hörer des Seminars 1926/27 die Neukatalogisierung der Handschriften übernommen und hergestellt. Damals waren 364 Handschriften im Institut, später stieg diese Zahl auf 405.

Das Handschriftenarchiv und der Katalog haben eine romantische Nachgeschichte. Das Institut wurde 1938 eingestellt, seine Bibliothek raubte die Gestapo: einen Teil derselben überlieferte sie in ein Institut der «Judenwissenschaft», der andere verblieb im Besitz der Gestapo. Als die Sowjetarmee Silesien befreite, fand sie in

Kłodzko (Glatz) in den Kellern der Gestapo und auf einer Zuggarnitur viele hebräische Manuskripte und hebräische Bücher, darunter mehrere aus dem Seminar in Breslau. Was sich hier befand, geriet in den Besitz des polnischen Staates, der es im Jüdisch-Historischen Institut von Warschau plazierte. Das Übrige ging spurlos verloren, oder wurde in öffentliche und Privatsammlungen in aller Welt verschlagen.

Dem einen Verfasser, B. Weinryb, gelang es, ein Exemplar des Katalogs aus Nazi-Deutschland zu retten, und der Mitverfasser, S. Lőwinger, schrieb ihn ab in Budapest. Ich erinnere mich noch, wie ängstlich er dieses wichtige Werk während der deutschen Besetzung verbarg. Auf Grund der beiden Kopien gelang es ihnen nun, es herauszugeben. Schon früher einmal gaben sie eine Kostprobe daraus: *Jiddische Handschriften in Breslau*: *MZsSz.* LIII (1936), pp. 68—76.

Der mit grosser Sachkenntnis und mustergültiger Gründlichkeit verfertigte Katalog ist eine Bereicherung der hebräischen Handschriftenwissenschaft. Dank gebührt dafür den zwei namhaften und verdienstlichen Gelehrten.

Zum Zeichen unseres aufmerksamen Lesens möchten wir einige Bemerkungen zum Werke hinzufügen.

1. *Ergänzungen.*

P. 5. No. 6. Den Sinn der Wendung עד שיעלה המיר בסולם im Kolophon der hebräischen Handschriften ist es mir gelungen, klar zu machen: Folia Ethnographica. I (1949), pp. 99—101. Ihre unrichtige Erklärung taucht noch immer auf, z. B. H. Striedl—L. Tetzner—E. Róth, *Hebräische Handschriften.* II. (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 327.

P. 32. No. 38, fol. 240 a: Bücherverzeichnis. Es würde sich lohnen, dieses in seiner Gänze zu veröffentlichen. Das Exzerpte zeigt, dass es sehr wichtig ist (No. 34: תשובות המינין; No. 69: תשובות וישאלות לגאונים בקלף).

P. 35. No. 45. Diese Aruch-Handschrift borgte der Dichter Johann Arany für A. Kohut aus (Gergely Pál, *Arany János és az Akadémia* [Budapest 1957], p. 72.).

P. 95. No. 176. «Varianten zu Scheriras Brief.» Wir möchten über ihn und seinen Ursprung gerne mehr wissen. Auch Josef b. Jakob Habavli begann ihn zu kopieren, was bisher nicht beachtet wurde: MS. Cambridge, T.—S. 8. D 1[1].

P. 125. No. 194, fol. 390b. Fastengebet, als am 21. Siwan 1321 die Leiter der römischen Gemeinde sich in den königlichen Hof begaben. Derselbe Text ist im 1481 in Pesaro vollendeten Machsor (MS. Kaufmann. A. 380/I. pp. 73a—75a) vorhanden.

P. 173. No. 246. Die polemische Schrift des Jakob b. Reuben wurde von J. Rosenthal herausgegeben. (Jerusalem 1963).

P. 181. No. 254. Die apologetische Schrift des Leo Modena erschien in Druck: מגן וחרב. Ed. S. Simonsohn. (Jerusalem 1960).

P. 181. No. 255. Die Streitschrift des Salmon b. Jeruchim wurde von I. Davidson herausgegeben. (New York 1934).

P. 213. No. 299. Das Werk des Jedaja Penini בחב התנצלות ist auch in einer Handschrift der Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest vorhanden, die aus der Sammlung des Lelio della Torre daher gelangt ist.

P. 214. No. 300[6]. Von demselben Verfasser ist die Arbeit בחינת עולם gleichfalls in dem obigen Band zu finden.

P. 214. No. 300[8]. Von demselben Verfasser ist die Arbeit בקשת המי"ן ebenfalls in dem obigen Band zu finden.

2. *Ungarische Beziehungen.*

Der Band bietet ein überraschend reiches Material zur Geschichte und Literatur der ungarischen Judenschaft.

Da gibt es einige Quellen zur literarischen Tätigkeit der Rabbiner in Rechnitz (Nos. 63, 69, 120). Von den Schriften des Pressburger Meir Barbi befinden sich hier zwei (No. 73, fol. 32b; No. 130, fol. 51a), und von den Arbeiten des Pressburger Dajjan David Kittsee eine (No. 73, fol. 57b; No. 113, fol. 13b.). Hier ist das Exemplar vom Testament des Pressburger Rabbiners Mosche Sofer, das 1840 in Verpelét abgeschrieben worden ist (No. 348.). Auch der Name Eisenstadt taucht wiederholterweise auf (No. 104, fol. 58a, 59b;

No. 311, fol. 5a). Hier waren die Responsen des Rabbiners von Altofen Mosche Münz, abgeschrieben von seinem Sohne Nachum (No. 130.), wie auch eine Lehre des Rabbiners von Zsámbék Reuben Rakonitz (No. 130, fol. 55a). Hier wurden die Seminarpredigten von Alexander Kohut (No. 380.) und die Handschrift seines Werkes: Die jüdische Angelologie (No. 397.) aufbewahrt. Zwei Kodexe waren ursprünglich im Besitze von David Kaufmann (Nos. 199, 312.).

In den letzten Jahren erschienen zwei Werke über das Seminar in Breslau, dieses grosse Erziehungsinstitut und ein Zentrum der jüdischen Wissenschaft. Das eine ist seiner Geschichte gewidmet — *Das Breslauer Seminar*. Herausgegeben von G. Kisch (Tübingen 1963.) —, das andere (das vorliegende) Werk zeigt uns sein einstiges Handschriftenarchiv. Beide sind auch Denkmäler eines bedeutenden, vernichteten, nie mehr wiedererweckten Instituts, dessen segensreiche Wirkung sich in unserer Wissenschaft bis auf den heutigen Tag fühlbar macht.

A. Scheiber

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INDEX

HILDA ECSEDY, Trade-and-War Relations between the Turks and China in the Second Half of the 6th Century 131
J. KÁLDY-NAGY, The Administration of the *Ṣanǰāq* Registrations in Hungary 181
L. BESE, On Khalkha Preverbs 225
С. ЛУВСАНВАНДАН (Улаанбаатар), О некоторых особенностях творчества Д. Нацагдоржа (1906—1937) 237
A. SCHEIBER, Zwei neue Preisgedichte zu Ehren Abrahams aus Bagdad 249

Critica

S. N. Sen, A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics (G. Bethlenfalvy) — Vedaśāstrasaṁgrahaḥ, an Anthology of the Vedas and Śāstras. Ed. by *Vishva Bandhu* (G. Bethlenfalvy) — Монгол ардын аман зохиолын дээж (L. Lőrincz) — *D. S. Loewinger—B. D. Weinryb*, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau (A. Scheiber) 259

E. SCHÜTZ

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TOMUS XXI FASCICULUS 3

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NOTES SUR LE LEXIQUE SINO-TIBÉTAIN DE TOUEN-HOUANG EN ÉCRITURE TIBÉTAINE

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

Il y a vingt ans que deux éminents savants, le tibétisant F. W. Thomas et le sinologue L. Giles ont publié un document sino-tibétain important qui provient de la bibliothèque médiévale de Touen-houang.[1] Ainsi qu'ils l'ont montré, il s'agissait d'un opuscule, datant des T'ang, plus exactement du IXe siècle, destiné à des personnes tibétaines, civiles et militaires, voyageant dans un pays de langue chinoise. L'opuscule comprenait, en écriture tibétaine, les expressions et mots chinois les plus importants pour se faire comprendre auprès de la population chinoise.

L'ouvrage même ne nous est pas parvenu, nous ne disposons que de deux copies fragmentaires; du moins c'est ce que nous laissent supposer les passages parallèles des deux fragments. Le premier, le ms. A, est mutilé et au début et à la fin, néanmoins ce qui en est resté se trouve dans un assez bon était; ce fragment ne contient pas moins de 154 numéros. L'autre, le ms. B n'est visiblement que la fin d'un manuscrit d'une longueur inconnue, étant donné qu'il est terminé par une déchirure; cette fois on ne peut compter que quelque 60 numéros, là encore les n°s 51—60 sont figurés par de simples mots tibétains sans équivalents chinois.

Sur les 60 n^{os} du ms. B, 24 seulement se retrouvent dans le ms. A, dont 5 n'ont pas d'équivalents chinois. On peut donc se demander si nous avons affaire réellement à des copies d'un seul et même manuscrit ou bien s'il faut compter avec un modèle qu'on a copié, selon les besoins, soit sous une forme abrégée supprimant les n^{os} jugés inutiles, soit sous une forme élargie, augmentée de certains numéros choisis pour l'occasion.

Tels quels, les deux fragments constituent des documents précieux qui nous fournissent de nouvelles précisions sur le tibétain et le chinois parlés du IXe siècle. Il va vans dire que ce sont surtout les renseignements offerts sur le chinois parlé de cette époque qui méritent une attention particulière. Or

[1] F. W. Thomas—L. Giles, *A Tibeto-Chinese Word-and-Phrase Book*: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, XII (1948), pp. 753—769, pl. 12.

ces renseignements peuvent être confrontés très utilement avec ceux des textes chinois des T'ang rédigés en langue parlée. Mais pour voir ce que nos documents peuvent nous apporter à la recherche de l'histoire du chinois parlé, il faut d'abord établir le sens exact des mots tibétains qui interprètent les mots chinois; ensuite, il faut retrouver les caractères chinois correspondants qui nous permettent d'interpréter avec sûreté la transcription tibétaine des mots chinois en question.

L'interprétation des mots tibétains nous est grandement facilitée par le nombre considérable des documents tibétains provenant de la même époque et du même milieu, c'est dire que nos documents ne sont pas exempts de certaines difficultés sémantiques; en effet, dans quelques cas, l'interprétation des termes tibétains ne va pas de soi. Il est intéressant de constater que, dans d'autres cas, l'interprétation des mots chinois par le tibétain est simplifiée par le fait que, dans les deux manuscrits, on tombe assez souvent sur des groupes sémantiques cohérants, composés de deux à six ou sept numéros, parfois même de plus de dix numéros A titre d'exemple, rappelons: armement, harnachement (A 15—26), noms de métaux (A 28—30), commandants militaires (A 38—40), punitions (A 41—45), armement (A 62—68), armée (A 91—95), temps (A 117—128, 125—128), faune (A 133—138); armement, harnachement (B 1—13), membres du corps (B 31—37), armement (B 51—55); etc.

Dans la tâche qui consiste à identifier les mots chinois en transcription tibétaine avec les caractères chinois respectifs, nous sommes guidés, non seulement par l'ancien chinois du *Ts'ie-yun*, mais par le chinois des T'ang, aujourd'hui assez bien connu, du moins dans ses grandes lignes. Les transcriptions tibétaines datant de l'époque des T'ang fournissent des renseignements particulièrement utiles sur cet état de la langue chinoise.

Évidemment, le travail méritoire de F. W. Thomas et de L. Giles offre bon nombre d'identifications impeccables qui forment d'ores et déjà une base solide pour les recherches futures. Il n'en reste pas moins que certaines de leurs identifications sont sujettes à caution, voire inadmissibles. Dans ce qui suit, je tâcherai d'aborder quelques problèmes que posent les équivalences contestées, sans chercher à dissimuler que je ne suis pas arrivé au bout de toutes les difficultés.

Dans le présent travail, j'ai abondamment puisé aux sources lexicographiques des Ming et des Ts'ing.

A 10 tib *'ol | ba |* «flax, clover, lucerne?» ~ chin. *lo'u | : čï || ~* 綠菜 *lou-ts'ai* «green vegetables». Avant *čï*, le copiste a écrit par erreur un *r* qu'il a ensuite biffé d'un trait.

L'interprétation du mot tibétain n'est pas satisfaisante. F. W. Thomas s'est appuyé sur tib. *'ol* «name of a grass; grass, herbe» (Csoma, 172a), «clover, trefoil, viz. snail-clover, medic *(Medicago)*» (Jaeschke, 503b), «high growing

kind of clover or lucerne» (Ramsay), «the flax plant; clover; lucerne» (Das, 1121a), «nom d'herbe» (Desgodins, 901a). D'après B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 218, le mot *'ol* «Medicago sativa» n'est connu qu'au Ladakh où il est probablement d'origine iranienne; d'après lui il est inconnu au Tibet proprement dit.[2] En outre rien ne garantit que *'ol* «clover, etc». ait jamais eu une variante *'ol-ba*.

[2] Pour des raisons phonétiques, les éditeurs devaient *a priori* écarter le nom chinois de la luzerne qui est 目宿 *mou-sou* (Mathews, p. 645, n° 4597; les deux caractères s'écrivent aujourd'hui avec la clé 140). L'histoire du mot chinois est intéressante. Le chin. *mou-sou*, ach. *mi̯uk-si̯uk*, a été emprunté par le tibétain sous la forme *bug-sug* «birdsfoot-trefoil, Melilotus» (Jaeschke, 369a; considéré comme un mot de Ladakh), «luzerne» (Desgodins, 567b; terme vulgaire, usité dans l'Est). Ni Csoma, ni Das n'ont recueilli ce mot dans leurs dictionnaires et, actuellement je n'en ai pas de recoupements dans les textes tibétains. Cependant, ce terme doit être assez ancien en tibétain ainsi que l'a montré B. Laufer, *Loan-words in Tibetan*, dans *T'oung Pao* XVII, 1916, p. 500, n° 206. Il est vrai que Laufer s'est contenté de ranger *bug-sug* parmi les «anciens» éléments chinois du tibétain, mais aujourd'hui nous sommes à même de préciser davantage la date de l'emprunt: c'est la seconde moitié de l'époque des T'ang. Il est notoire que dans les transcriptions étrangères du chinois des T'ang, dès le IXe siècle, les initiales nasales apparaissent, dans certaines conditions, sous un aspect oral. C'est ce que nous affirment aussi les transcriptions tibétaines; voir H. Maspero, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, dans *BEFEO* XX, 1920, pp. 32—36; Luo Charngpeir, *The Northwestern Dialects of Tarng and Five Dynasties* (Academia Sinica. The National Research Institute of History and Philology. Monographs. Series A, No. 12, Shanghai 1933), pp. 24, 29—30; B. Csongor, *Chinese in the Uigur Script of the T'ang-Period: Acta Orient. Hung.* II, pp. 89—91. Ceci revient à dire que pour le chinois du Nord-Ouest, au IXe siècle, il faut poser *^{m}*bi̯uɣ-si̯uɣ* ce qui supposerait, en transcription tibétaine, une forme *'bug-sug*. L'absence du *'a-čhuṅ* précédant le signe *b* dans les recoupements cités plus haut s'explique aisément: les formes reproduites par Jaeschke et Desgodins reposent sur la prononciation vivante de deux dialectes tibétains qui n'ont gardé, dans leur prononciation, aucun souvenir de l'ancien *'a-čhuṅ*. En fin de compte, chin. *mou-sou* est, à son tour, un terme étranger au chinois. Selon B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago 1919), pp. 208—219, la luzerne appartient au nombre des plantes que Tchang K'ien aurait rapportées de son fameux voyage fait dans l'Ouest sur l'ordre de l'empereur Wou des Han. Aussi son nom, *mou-sou*, serait-il emprunté à un dialecte iranien de Ferghana. Le chin. *mou-sou*, toujours d'après B. Laufer, supposerait une prononciation **bug-sug* pour les Han reproduisant une forme iranienne **buksuk* ou **buxsux*, éventuellement **buxsuk* (*op. cit.*, p. 212). En ce qui concerne la forme iranienne, Laufer s'est rallié à l'hypothèse mise en avant par W. Tomaschek, *Pamir-Dialekte*, dans *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1880, p. 792, qui a cherché à rapprocher le chin. *mou-sou* de *būso* «alfala» du dialecte Ghilaki, mot dont l'histoire est d'ailleurs inconnue. La petite monographie que B. Laufer a consacrée à la luzerne est d'une richesse d'informations exceptionnelle et elle gardera sa valeur, mais le côté linguistique demande une révision. A supposer que l'histoire de la luzerne appartienne au fond authentique de la tradition sur Tchang K'ien (on sait que cette tradition a été faussée plus tard par la légende) et que chin. *mou-sou* remonte en effet au IIe siècle avant notre ère, la restitution **bug-sug* proposée par Laufer est hors de cause, car elle dénonce nettement une prononciation des T'ang. Pour les Han, c'est l'initiale *m-* seule qui est admissible; cf. chin. arch. **mi̯ōk-* **si̯ōk* (B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, n° 1036a, et n° 1029a).

Comme le n° précédent est un nom d'oiseau, on est tenté de songer ici encore à un nom d'oiseau. Et en effet, on a en tibétain *'ol-pa* «vulture» (Jaeschke, 503a, avec un point d'interrogation, d'après Schmidt) «a species of kite numerous in Tibet» (Das, 1121a), enfin, *Wou-t'i 'ol-ba*, correspondant à chin. 鵂鷹 *yao-ying*, et à mong. *eliy-e* (III, 4130); *Sseu-t'i*, XXX, 29a. Dans *Tsang Han yu-houei*, I, 358, le tib. *'ol-ba* est interprété par *bya ne-le* (cf. *ne-le* «mouse-hawk, a species of large hawk or vulture, differing from *go-ba*, frequently to be met with in Kullu, but not in Ladakh», d'après Schmidt, Jaeschke, 306a), et traduit par chin. 鷹 *ying*. Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, dans son dictionnaire tibéto-mongol, p. 493b, interprète tib. *'ol-pa* par mong. *'e-le'e* [= *elē*, *eliy-e*], et *sa-ra šu-pu* [*sar* ŠUBU]; cf. encore *Zla-ba'i 'od- snaṅ*, 180b, tib. *'ol-ba*, mong. *sar*, *eliy-e* (*sar* «oiseau de proie qui prend les faisans, les lièvres, etc.», Kow. II, 1328b). Enfin dans le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna, II, p. 806, *'ol-ba* est considéré comme le synonyme du *ne-le*; le tib. *'ol-ba* est interprété ici-même en mongol: *eliye inu quladu-dur adali*: *yekeken*: *qota yačayan-dur ger-ün idesi erin nisümüi* «milan, ressemblant au *quladu*, il est assez grand, il voltige dans les villages et dans les hameaux pour chercher de la nourriture (autour) des maisons». Le mong. *quladu sibayun* désigne «la buse, busard, cassard (falco buteo)», correspondant au tib. *'ol-ba gro-gro* (Kow. II, 924; la leçon *qulatu* de Kow. est reprise par Lessing, p. 984); il s'agit bien du même oiseau dans l'*Histoire secrète*, § 111, III 18b (*quladu*, sans glose; cf. Haenisch, p. 71). Le mong. *eliy-e*, très bien connu au sens de «milan (Milvus govinda)», dans les lexiques sino-mongols des Ming, est traduit tantôt par *yao-ying* (mong. *heli'e*, *Wou-pi-tche*, 12a), tantôt par 鳶 *yuan* (*hele'e*, *Houa-yi yi-yu* de 1389, I, f. 7a); cf. P. Pelliot, *Les mots à h initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 213.[3]

Evidemment, aucun de ces termes chinois ne peut entrer en ligne de compte dans le cas présent. Il va de soi que la restitution du mot chinois proposée par les éditeurs n'est pas acceptable non plus. Le chin. 綠菜 *lou-ts'ai*, outre certaines difficultés sémantiques, a l'inconvénient de répondre à ach. *l̥iwok-ts'âi* ce qui ne se laisse pas concilier avec *lo'u-ǒi*, offert par le lexique.

C'est bien un autre mot, moins usité, qu'il faut mettre en parallèle avec le tib. *'ol-ba*: c'est 鴟 *tch'e* «milan», synonyme de *yuan*; voir Giles[2], p. 245, n° 1980, Mathews, p. 142, n° 1031, *Ts'eu yuan*, s. v. Il faut, bien entendu, supposer une variante populaire du même mot sous la forme de 老鴟 *lao-tch'e*, en nous reclamant de l'analogie de *lao-yao-ying* «the kite (*Milvus govinda*)», voir Giles, p. 856, n° 6783. Or, la forme *lao-tch'e* n'est pas portée à nos grands dictionnaires, mais elle est attestée dans certains vocabulaires sino-étrangers. En effet, c'est cette même forme *lao-tch'e* qui traduit le mong. *heliye* dans le

[3] En tout état de cause, le tib. *'ol-ba* «black horse» (Jaeschke, 503a), «nom d'animal» (Desgodins, 901a) n'a pas à intervenir dans l'affaire.

Tche-yuan yi-yu, lexique sino-mongol du XIIIe siècle (éd. Ishida Mikinosuke, dans *Tōyō gaku sōhen* I, p. 18, n°33; le premier caractère, dans le mot mongol, est altéré).

En outre, dans le 本草綱目 *Pen-ts'ao kang-mou* de 李時珍 *Li Che-tchen* des Ming, ch. 49, p. 19, on lit à propos de cet oiseau: 鴟卽俗呼老鴟者.

Chin. 老鴟 *lao-tch'e* «milan», ach. *lâu-ťśʻi* ne présente pas de difficulté en face du *lo'u-či* du transcripteur tibétain.

A 17 tib. *mde'u*. «small arrow» ~ chin. *cen*. [*seg*], id.; **B 1** *mde'u.la*: «small arrow» ~ chin. *cen.c*[*o*]*g*, id. ~ 箭矢 *tsien-che*. La leçon [*seg*] proposée par les éditeurs n'est justifiée par rien; cette partie du ms. A étant mutilée, on n'y voit que les restes assez vagues du premier signe du mot (et la partie gauche du signe *o*) que je lis *c*[*og*], avant tout sur l'autorité du ms. B qui porte *cog*, avec un *o* bien net.

La traduction «small arrow» est indéfendable. Il est vrai que l'étymologie du mot permettrait cette interprétation, en partant de *mda'* «flèche» > *mde'u* «petite flèche», donc uń diminutif, comme *rta* «cheval» > *rte'u* «poulain», etc.[4] Mais dans le cas présent «petite flèche» vaut pour «pointe de flèche»: *mde'u* «the pointed iron of an arrow» (Csoma, 145a), «arrow-head» (Jaeschke, 273b), «pointe de flèche» (Desgodins, 517b), «the pointed arrow-head made of steel in Tibet and Mongolia; the arrow-head is made of various designs, some with three points, others like a miniature pick-axe» (Das, 675). Le *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 93b, Sumatiratna I, 1089 et le *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 39a, traduisent d'ailleurs même le mot *mde'u* par mong. *sumun-u temür* «pointe de flèche» (Kow. II, 1404, «le fer pointu d'une flèche»).[5] Dans la lexicographie

[4] Sur le suffixe diminutif *u*, voir G. Uray, *A Tibetan Diminutive Suffixe*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* II (1952), pp. 183—220, surtout pp. 186, 197—198.

[5] *Mde'u*, attesté dans les documents tibétains du Turkestan Chinois, pose un autre problème. Parmi les documents de Mazar Tāgh, on lit *mde:'u.thuṅ.gi.gžu.gčhig* «bow for short arrows, two» (*TTD* II, 440, 23) et *mde'u.thuṅ.gi.gž*[*u*]*.gñis* «bows for short arrows, two» (*TTD* II, 440, 30), enfin *mde'u thuṅ.mkhan* «short-arrow man» (*TTD* II, 440, 23). Certes, *mde'u thuṅ* est un terme technique dont le sens exact nous échappe, mais il y a des chances que, dans le cas présent, la traduction de Thomas soit bonne. Nous sommes toujours mal informés sur l'ancienne terminologie militaire des Tibétains, mais la lexicographie polyglotte des Ts'ing nous fournit cette fois encore quelques analogies intéressantes. On trouve en effect dans le *Wou-t'i* I, 1055, le terme *mde'u riṅ-ma*, ma. *yolmin jan* «Pfeil mit rundem Kopf» (Gabelentz, 83b; chez Hauer le mot *yolmin* et les expressions composées avec ce mot manquent): «продолговатое острее стрелы, сверху круглое, а внизу плоское с 4 остреями и 4 дырочкамы в головке, насаживаемое на древко к без железного кольца; подевалка, снурок для нанизываниия» (Zakharov, 343a), mong. *urtu boruγ-a* «une longue flèche de bois avec le bouton en os» (Kow. I. 467a), turc *uzun gez*. (Cf. aussi *Sseu-t'i*, IC 12a.) Le *mde'u riṅ-ma* appartient à un groupe spécial de flèches caractérisées par un bouton en os, situé entre la pointe et le bois de la flèche. Ce bouton s'appelle en tib. *mde'u ril-ma* «pointe de flèche à bouton» (expression non en-

polyglotte des Ts'ing nous avons en outre *mde'u-med mda'* «flèche sans fer» (*Sseu-t'i* IX, 13b).[6]

Aussi l'équivalence chinoise, adaptée à la prétendue traduction du mot tibétain, est-elle inacceptable. Sans compter l'insuffisance sémantique, elle se heurte à des difficultés d'ordre phonétique; 箭矢 *tsien-che*, ach. *tsi̯ăn-śi*, offrirait, dans son second élément, une correspondance bien imparfaite pour la voyelle, encore qu'elle laisserait inexpliquée la finale *-g* de la transcription tibétaine.

La transcription *cen-cog* repose en réalité sur 箭鏃 *tsien-tsou* «iron or metal barbs for arrows» (Mathews, p. 121, n° 875) qui remonte à ach. *tsien-tsuk*.

A 18 tib. *rgyus.pa* | «sinew» ~ chin. *ke'u* || (lire *kin*); **B 4** tib. *rgyus.pa.* ~ chin. *kin.*||. Dans ce n° et le suivant, c'est le ms. B qui offre les équivalences correctes; dans le ms. A, le copiste a confondu les sens chinois. L'erreur a été signalée et corrigée par les éditeurs, qui par contre, ont interverti, par inadvertance, les deux numéros: dans le ms A, la ligne 4 commence par *spyin* | *kin* || et ce n'est qu'ensuite qu'on lit *rgyus.pa* | *ke'u* ||.

«Sinew», interprétation du tib. *rgyus-pa*, proposée par Thomas, est au fond parfaite; c'est en effet le sens primitif du mot: «a fibre, filament, sinew»

registrée dans les grands dictionnaires; cf. *ril*, *ril-ma* «ball, globule», Das 1185a); ma. *ǰan* «ein statt der Spitze am Pfeil befestigter Knopf» (Gabelentz, 47b), «Pfeil mit knöchernem Knopf an der Spitze» (Hauer 521) «костяная головка стрелы, издающая свист при полете» (Zakharov, 956a); mong. *boruγ-a* «bouton en corne au bout d'une flèche» (Kow. II, 1214b); turc *söngäk bulčungluq bašaq* «pointe de flèche à bouton en os». La question de ces flèches a été discutée par K. U.—Kőhalmi, *Über die pfeifenden Pfeile der innerasiatischen Reiternomaden*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* III (1953), 45—71, surtout pp. 50—54. Il est curieux de voir qu'une autre espèce de flèche porte également le nom de *mde'u riṅ-ma* (*Wou-t'i* I, 1059; *Sseu-t'i*, IX 12b). Celle-ci est appelée en ma. *maǰan* «eine Art kurzer Pfeil» (Gabelentz, 143b), «eine Art Pfeil mit grossem Kopf und kurzen Seitenspitzen» (Hauer, 634), mong. *moriči qar-a* «espèce de flèche» (Kow. III, 2048b), turc *qïsqa pilik oq*. Une autre flèche de la même catégorie s'appelle (*ibid.*), en tib. *so-lon mda' riṅ* «flèche longue des Solon»; en ma. *solon maǰan* «langer Solonen-Pfeil» (Hauer, 813); mong. *solon moriči qar-a*; turc *kältä oq* (*ibid.*). Dans le dernier recoupement tibétain, *mda' riṅ* vaut évidemment pour *mde'u riṅ-ma* ce qui revient à dire que nous avons affaire, dans les deux cas à des expressions ellyptiques qui veulent dire «flèche ayant une telle ou telle pointe». Dans ce sens la traduction «flèche courte» proposée par Thomas pour *mde'u thuṅ* est irréprochable, même si le sens primitif du terme devait être «flèche ayant une pointe courte». On sait que certaines flèches exigeaient des arcs spéciaux. Les Tibétains, eux aussi, devaient se servir de divers arcs. Il est bien probable que le *mde'u thuṅ-gi gžu* «arc pour flèches courtes» différait des arcs (*gžu*) autrement non spécifiés; enfin, les *Li.gž*[*u*].[*y*]*aṅ* «light Khotan bows» (*TLTD* II, 442, 30) en représentaient une espèce différente. Voir encore B. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 151, note 3.

[6] F. W. Thomas a interprété *mde'u* par «a small arrow» même dans *TLTD* III, 1955, p. 146.

(Csoma, 245), «the fine threads or fibres of which animal muscle, plants etc. are composed» (Jeaschke, 113a), «fibres, nerfs» (Desgodins, 237b); «sinews, tendons» (Das, 319a). Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que dans ce groupe de termes se rapportant à l'arc et à la flèche, il faut lui attribuer un sens spécial, celui du «nerf pour affermir l'arc». Cette acception du *rgyus* est confirmée par la lexicographie polyglotte des Ts'ing où nous avons (cf *Wou-t'i* I, 1087, *Sseu-t'i* IX, 17b, etc.) tib. *rgyus-pa glon*; ma. *sube maqtambi* (*sube maqta-* «die Sehne am Bogen befestigen», Hauer, 819; «attacher le nerf à l'arc, par derrière, par le dos, pour plus d'élasticité», Zacharov, 639); mong. *sirbüsü orkimui* (*sirbüsü orki-* «mettre les nerfs à l'arc», Kow. II, 1532a). En tib. *rgyus-pa* signifie «un nerf qui sert à raffermir l'arc à tirer»: tib. *rgyus-pa dkris*, mong. *sililekü*: *inu numu-yi üker-ün sili-ber küliyesülen boyun batulaqu* «lier avec un nerf, c'est-à-dire lier fortement l'arc en l'enveloppant avec un nerf de boeuf» (Sumatiratna I, p. 462). Le tib. *rgyus-pa dkri* est encore interprété par le mong. *sirbüsü boyu-* «mettre des nerfs aux deux bouts de l'arc pour le rendre plus fort» (Kow. II, 1532a). L'arc consolidé de cette manière s'appelle en tib. *gžu dkris*, en mong. *siligegsen numu*: *sirbüsün-iyer küligsen bolyoγsan numu* (Sumatiratna II, 717; mong. *siliglegsen numun* «arc environné de cordes de boyaux», Kow. II, 1494b).[7]

Dans les sources lexicographiques sino-tibétaines (*Si-fan yi-yu*, d'après le ms. de Budapest, I, 16a; *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei* I, 78; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien* 181b) *rgyus-pa* est traduit par 筋 *kin*, ach, *kiən* dont *kin* est une transcription tibétaine des plus régulières.

A 19 tib. *spyin* | «gum, glue» ~ chin. *kin* || (lire *ke'u*); **B 3** tib. *spyin.la.*, id. ~ chin. *kin* ~ 糊 *hou*, id.

Le tib. *spyin* même dans ses nuances, ne soulève aucun problème sémantique, c'est bien «colle, gomme». Cependant, si *spyin* est rangé parmi les termes concernant la flèche et l'arc, ce n'est point un effet du hasard. La glue est une matière indispensable à la préparation de la flèche et de l'arc. La lexicographie polyglotte des Ts'ing, source tardive mais précieuse par sa richesse d'information sur la terminologie militaire tibétaine dont une partie remonte à une haute époque, nous fournit une fois de plus quelques renseignements sur l'emploi de la glue. En effet, ces dictionnaires ont recueilli les expressions suivantes: *spyin sbyor* (à propos de l'arc; *Wou-t'i* I, 1089, *Sseu-t'i*

[7] Le terme *rgyus* se lit dans le passage de la *Chronique* tibétaine de Paris que voici: *khab-kyis ni ma phug-na | rgyus-gyis ni re myi spugs | rgyus-kyis ni ma draṅs-na | | kom-ce ñid myi 'Jo |*, d'après la traduction de Bacot: «Mais si l'aiguille n'avait percé, Le fil seul ne l'aurait pas pu. Si le fil ne l'avait tirée, la fourrure ne serait pas belle» (*DTT*, pp. 108, 143). Malgré la difficulté que présente *kom-rce* (*kom-ce*) il est à peu près sûr qu'il s'agit là du «fil», plus exactement du «fil de nerf» dont le pelletier (et non pas le tanneur) se sert pour coudre la peau.

IX, 18a), *spyin ldug* (à propos de la flèche, *Wou-t'i* I, 1104; *Sseu-t'i* IX, 20b). Or, *spyin sbyor* répond à mong. *bilta-* «mettre de la colle sur un arc, sur une flèche; etc.; coller» (Kow. II, 1145a). Le sens de *spyin ldug* est rendu assez sommairement par mong. *čingle-* «emboîter (une flèche)»; le mandchou est, en ce cas, plus précis: *čingne-* «die Pfeilspitze an den Schaft leimen» (Hauer, 150).

Le restitution chinoise en 糊 *hou* est toutefois hors de cause (ach. *γuo*); il faut poser 膠 *kiao* «glue; gum» (Mathews, p. 94, n° 697), ach. *kau*; *ke'u* en est une transcription tibétaine normale. Cf. *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei* I, 236; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 513b.

A 20 tib. *smyug*: *ma* | «reed» ~ chin. *bug* || id.; **B 5** tib. *smyug.ma* ~ chin. [*b*]*ug* ~ 滿 *p'ou*. Dans le ms. A on lit, pour le mot chinois, nettement *čug* et non pas *bug*. Dans le ms. B, le premier signe du même mot n'est pas distinct, j'y vois sans trop d'hésitation [*č*]*ug*.[8]

Le mot *smyug-ma*, avec les variantes *smyig-ma*, *sñug-ma*, etc. signifie en tibétain: «bambou; roseau; jonc». Le même terme est bien connu, en même temps, comme nom de matière du bois de flèche; cf. *myug-mda'* «an arrow of reed or bamboo» (Das, 672b, s.v. *mda'*), *smyug-mda'* «an arrow of reed (Jaeschke, 272a); dans les dialectes, voir amdowa ^{x}*ñig-dā* «flèche en bambou» (G. Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo*, Roma 1958, p. 123). Autrefois ce mot devait aussi désigner, par extension, le bois de flèche en général (fait évidemment de bois de bambou). C'est certainement le sens de «bois de flèche» que porte *smyug* dans le passage suivant de la *Chronique* tibétaine de Paris: *pho-ma'i ni broṅ bkum-ba* | *lho-šiṅ ni smyug-mo rgyal* | *lčags-kyis ni dral-na* | *smyug-gis ni re myi pugs* | (*DTT*, p. 108, ch. IV, *in fine*).[9]

[8] Dans les manuscrits d'une cursive rapide, la confusion entre *b* et *č* n'est en effet pas sans exemples; cf. M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, Paris 1950, p. VI.

[9] D'après la traduction de J. Bacot, *DTT*, p. 143: «Les yaks sauvages qu'on tuait, mâles et femelles, Succombaient au bambou du sud, Mais sans le fer qui déchirait, Le bambou n'eût pas percé seul.» Bacot a bien vu que ce passage du chant de Žaṅ-snaṅ est à prendre au figuré; cf. *loc. laud.*, note 1: «Le roi est le fer de lance et l'aiguille, le favori le bambou et le fil». Mais je crois qu'on peut serrer ce langage métaphorique de plus près, car ses éléments composants sont bien concrets. Or, l'interprétation «bambou du sud» pour *lho-šiṅ ni smyug-mo* n'est pas très satisfaisante, car elle laisse sans traduction le mot *šiṅ*. Dans le cas présent je ne vois pas d'autre possibilité que d'attribuer à *šiṅ* le sens de «bois (mort)» et de voir dans *lho-šiṅ* une espèce d'arbre. Nos grands dictionnaires ignorent le nom *lho-šiṅ*, mais le *Wou-t'i* III, 4024 (cf. *Sseu-t'i* XXIX, 8a) offre tib. *lho-sdoṅ*; ma. *anaχôn moo* «eine Art Baum» (Gabelentz, 11a), «der in Südchina wachsende *Nanmu*-baum, *Machilus nanmu Hems b.*, dessen Holz zu Schnitzereien verarbeitet wird» (Hauer, 49), «cèdre chinois; selon d'autres le cyprès chinois» (Zacharov, 11b); mong. *narin aǧaru modu*; turc *aq čäčäk*; chin. 楠木 *nan-mou* «an even-grained, yellowish fine wood used for furniture; commonly known as cedar. The *Machilus nanmu*. Commun in W. China» (Mathews, p. 647, n° 4622). Il faut faire observer que *sdoṅ-po*, *sdoṅ* «tronc;

Il va de soi que ce n'est point 滿 *p'ou* «a kind of rush from which mats, bags, etc. are made» (Mathews, p. 744, n° 5392), ach. *b'uo* qui est visé par le transcripteur chinois, mais 竹 *tchou* «bambou», ach. *t'i̯uk*. Pour le rapprochement tib. *smyug-ma* ~ chin. 竹子 *tchou* [*tseu*], voir *Si-fan yi-yu* II, 5a; *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei* I, 302; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 666b.

A 21 tib. *stan* «seat, rug» ~ chin. *'bye* || *'-ab*: *čan* (*čhan*?) || ~ [位]炕 [*wei-*] *k'ang* «heated brick bed». Sur la photocopie agrandie du ms. on voit au lieu de *'-ab*, d'abord un *'a-čhuṅ*, ensuite un signe corrigé qui doit être un *b*, ensuite encore un *'a-čhuṅ*, on lit donc *'ba'*. Enfin, la leçon *čan* paraît tout à fait certaine et la leçon *čhan* est hors de cause. **B 7** tib. *stan.la* | , chin. *'phye*:

tige» de nos dictionnaires est interprété par le *Wou-t'i* III, 4018 (*Sseu-t'i* XXIX, 7a), par ma. *moo*, mong. *modu*, turc *daraχt*, chin. 樹 *chou* «arbre»; cf. encore tib. *sdoṅ-pa*, chin. *chou*, *Si-fan yi-yu* II, 5a; tib. *sdoṅ-po* (*Tsang Han ts'eu-houei* I, 200); tib. de Ts'ing-hai *ddoqvwo*, id. (*Ngan-to Tsang-yu* I, 112); tangout *tun(g)o* (Széchenyi, III, 360). Enfin, *smyuṅ-mo*, dans ce passage, il n'est question ni de «bambou» ni de «roseau», mais il faut l'interpréter comme «bois de flèche». Il en est de même de *lčags*, cette fois encore la matière sert à désigner l'objet même; cf. *lčags-mda'* «an iron arrow; steel-pointed arrow» (Das, 398a). Sans toucher au reste de la traduction quelque peu libre de J. Bacot, j'entends le passage comme suit: «Les yaks sauvages qu'on tuait, mâles et femelles, Succombaient à la flèche de cèdre, Mais c'est le fer de la flèche qui déchirait. Le bois de flèche n'eût pas percé seul". — Dans un autre passage de la *Chronique* on lit le mot *myuṅ-bu* que J. Bacot traduit également par «bambou». Voici le passage en question qui relate la dispute de *Seṅ-go myi čhen* et de *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad*: *khyo- 'da's* || *dmag-po 'oṅ-ṅam myi 'jaṅs-pa go* || *sgye-'u* (Bacot *kye'u*) *naṅ-du myuṅ-bu bčug-pa-daṅ mchuṅs šes-bya-na* | (paroles de *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad*); ensuite: ... *kho-bo sṅan sgye-'u naṅ-du žugs kyaṅ ma žugs* (Bacot *zugs*) | *rce-mo pyir ma byuṅ-ba yaṅ bden-no* || *kho-bo sṅon sgye-'u naṅ-du žugs-su zin-na* || *rce-mo-bas ya-ba phan-čhad pyuṅ-ste soṅ zin-no* (réponse de *Seṅ-go myi čhen*). Traduction de Bacot: «O grand héros! serais-tu général? C'est insensé. Tu es comme bambou en sac» ... «je n'ai pas encore été mis en sac et, en effet, la pointe n'est pas sortie. Mais si j'avais été mis en sac, la pointe, et même jusqu'à la tige, aurait percé». Si l'on admet la traduction de Bacot, on ne comprend guère «la pointe» du «bambou», surtout l'expression «la pointe, et même jusqu'à la tige». Mais il est évident que *myuṅ-bu* n'a rien à voir avec le «bambou» et il faut y voir la forme archaïque de *sñuṅ-bu* «awl, pricker, punch» (Das, 505b; Jaeschke, 199b), «alène» (Desgodins, 396a). La forme *myuṅ-bu* qui a abouti à *ñuṅ-bu* dans les dialectes, a été recueillie par Kowalewski, II, 1478, à propos du mong. *sibüge* «alène, perçoir, vilebrequin»; sous la forme *smyuṅ-bu*, mong. *šübüge*, il est attesté dans *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 93b. Par ailleurs, l'expression «alène en sac», employée ici dans les deux sens péjoratif et amélioratif, n'est pas inconnue dans le langage figuré d'Extrême-Orient. A titre d'exemple je me réfère à un passage du *Tchyep kăi mong e* (sur cet ouvrage, voir mes remarques dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII, 207, 228) qui peut servir en quelque sorte pour interpréter les paroles de *Seṅ-go myi-čhen*: *erdem bui abasu qabtayan-u dotoyadu sibügen-dür adali: aliba yaǰar-tur kürčü odbasu erke ügei üǰügür yarumui* «Si l'on possède la vertu, semblablement à un alène (qui se trouve) dans le sachet, — si l'on se rend quelque part — sa pointe sortira infailliblement». La même expression se trouve reproduite encore en chinois et en coréen; quant à son origine, il m'est actuellement difficile de la préciser avec certitude.

'ba' | *čan* (*čhan*). Cette fois *'phye*, leçon du premier mot chinois doit être remplacée par *'bye*; le *b* est ici encore corrigé. Le dernier mot est à lire incontestablement *čan*.

Le sens «seat, rug» adopté par F. W. Thomas pour tib. *stan* est en effet assez général: «mat, a thing spread on the ground to sit on, a carpet» (Csoma, 325a), «mat, carpet, esp. a carpet for sitting on, also a cushion» (Jaeschke, 220a), «a seat, mat anything to sit upon» (Das, 546b), «natte, tapis, coussin» (Desgodins, 428b); *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 32a, tib. *stan*, mong. *debisker* «tout ce qu'on met dessous; tapis, matelas, coussin, carreau sur lesquels on s'assied; siège» (Kow, III, 1701b); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 49b, tib. *stan*, mong. *debisker*; *Ye-šes rdo-rǰe*, p. 225a, tib. *stan*, mong. *deb-se-ger*; Sumatiratna, 878, tib. *stan ni gdan*, mong. *debisker*.

C'était certainement faire fausse route que de chercher la solution dans cette direction. Dans ces conditions il n'est pas surprenant que la transcription *'byi 'ba' čan* ne se laisse ramener ni du point de vue sémantique, ni par son phonétisme à chin. 位炕 *wei-k'ang*, ach. *jwi-kʻâng*.

Or, il faut signaler que tib. *stan* a encore une acception bien moins générale qui peut nous fournir l'interprétation du terme chinois de notre lexique. Déjà Jaeschke, 220b, a indiqué pour ce mot le sens subsidiaire «saddle-cloth». C'est bien le même mot qui revient dans *bon-stan*, expression que A. H. Francke, *MSFOu* XV, Ière partie, p. IV, 6, a traduite par «Eseltuch», mais que B. Laufer, dans *WZKM* XV (1901), p. 96, a corrigée, à juste titre, en «Satteldecke eines Esels». Le mot revient encore dans une expression qui nous regarde ici de très près: le *Si-fan-kouan yi-yu* nous offre *ta-tan* cl. *rta-stan* «saddle-pad» (Nishida, p. 164: 455; les leçons *ta-dan* et *rta-sdan* sont indéfendables. Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, dans son dictionnaire tibéto-mongol, p. 225a, signale pour tib. *stan*, entre autres, le sens mongol *tho-hom*; pour ce dernier cf. mong. *toqum* «feutre qu'on met sous la selle des chevaux, tapis sur lequel on met la selle» (Kow. III, 1799b). Et nous avons *stan*, toujours au même sens, dans l'expression *srab sga stan chaṅ-po* «a complete riding-gear», recueilli par Das, p. 1287, s. v. *srab*. Pour terminer, nous nous contenterons de rappeler le recoupement suivant incorporé au *Wou-t'i* III, 4394 (*Sseu-t'i* XXXXI, 81a): tib. *stan-'gebs*; ma. *yôbčimbi* «den Packsattel auf Lasttiere legen» (Hauer, 392), «satteln» (Gabelentz, 84b); mong. *yubčimui* «mettre une chabraque, une housse sur le dos de quelque animal; bâter» (Kow. II, 1026a), turc *ičimäkläidü*, chin. 搭屜 *ta-t'i*.

Etymologiquement tib. *stan* est à rattacher à *stad* «to load, to put on, to lay on»; cf. Jaeschke—Francke—Simon, *Tibetan Grammar* (Berlin 1929), p. 121.[10]

[10] L'interprétation de la transcription tibétaine se heurte à des difficultés, aussi n'ai-je qu'une solution provisoire à proposer. Il n'est guère douteux que l'équivalent chinois du tib. *stan* «feutre qu'on met sous la selle des chevaux» soit composé de deux

A 23 tib. *goṅ.* [*thag*] «upper rope» ~ chin. *phan. huṅ* | «string, cord»; **B 10** *goṅ.thag.la* | ~ chin. *phan.h*[*uṅ*] ~ [ ] 紘 *hong.* Dans le ms. B, le second élément du mot chinois est à lire *hu*[*ṅ*].

La traduction du tib. *goṅ-thag* par «upper rope» est au fond correcte, cependant, cette traduction plutôt étymologique ne permet pas de saisir le vrai sens du mot; c'est ce qui a d'ailleurs empêché les éditeurs de proposer, pour le mot chinois, une restitution tant soit peu satisfaisante.

Les n°s 21—24 du lexique offrent des termes de harnachement. Cette fois il s'agit du «poitrail» qui, étymologiquement est en effet un «upper rope», une «courroie supérieure». Csoma, Jaeschke et Das sont muets à son sujet, mais Desgodins, dans son dictionnaire, p. 156b, a recueilli *goṅ-thag* au sens de «courrois de poitrail».[11] Le terme *goṅ-thag* a été recueilli dans le *Si-fan-kouan yi-yu* où il est interprété par chin. 攀胸 *p'an-hiong* «poitrail» (Nishida, p. 164: 464; l'interprétation «reins» n'est pas exacte).

En outre, Desgodins, p. 767a, nous a indiqué un synonyme de *goṅ-thag.* C'est *goṅ-rmed,* mis en parallèle, dans *Wou-t'i* I, 1140, avec les mots suivants: ma. *ulkume* «Brustriemen am Pferdegeschirr» (Gabelentz 213);[12] mong. *kömül-*

éléments; il doit s'agir du *ma-tchan* invoqué par Kow. à propos du mong. *toqum.* Or le premier élément du composé chinois est sans aucun doute *ma* «cheval» qui figure par ailleurs dans *ma-ts'ieou* (cf. *infra,* A 24) et dans *ma-jou* «seat of a saddle; saddle-pad» (Mathews, p. 609, n° 4310: 53). Le second élément doit être 氈 *tchan* «felt; coarse fabrics used for rugs, carpets, wrappers, etc.» (Mathews, p. 14, n° 135); le chin. 鞔 *tch'an* «a saddlepad; trappings» (Mathews, p. 17, n° 168), recueilli, entre autres, par le *Si-fan-kouan yi-yu* (Nishida, p. 164: 456) est hors de cause pour des raisons phonétiques (cf. ach. *tśʿi̯äm*). Le chin. 馬氈 *ma-tchan,* ach. *ma-tśi̯än* répond parfaitement au *'ba'-čan* de la transcription tibétaine. La difficulté proprement dite réside dans le fait que pour *'bye,* après *stan,* je ne vois pas de restitution évidente. Tout ce qu'on peut affirmer c'est qu'il s'agit d'un mot chinois et qu'il y a des chances de retrouver le même mot encore dans B 8 et, éventuellement dans B 50. Ne pourrait-on pas supposer qu'il s'agit là d'un mot chinois remplissant la même fonction que le tib. *la,* par exemple dans *mdun-rce la*?

[11] Dans la lexicographie polyglotte des Ts'ing, le tib. *goṅ-thag* est toujours considéré comme un terme de harnachement, mais il est interprété un peu autrement: ma. *aq̄ta uše* «Satteldecke» (Gabelentz, 7b), «auf dem Sattel befestigter Gurt» (Hauer, 29), «courroie, sous-ventrière en cuir à travers la selle» (Zacharov, 20a), mong. *olongčor sur* «sangle ou courroie qui sert à fixer l'arc au brancard» (Kow. I, 403a); turc *ängär-ning aχtasi*; cf. *Wou-t'i* I, 1131; *Sseu-t'i,* IX, 25b; *San-ho pien-lan,* II, 44b. La traduction de Gabelentz est sûrement erronée, celle de Hauer est correcte mais un peu vague, par contre Kowalewski et Zakharov ont bien interprété les mots mongol et mandchou. Il s'agit d'une espèce de sous-ventrière antérieure, les termes proprement dits pour «sangle» sont: ma. *olon,* mong. *olong,* tib. *sṅa-glo,* turc *ulang* (sic), chin. 肚帶 *tou-tai*; cf. *Wou-t'i,* I. 1132; *Sseu-t'i,* IX, 25b; Sur les noms altaïques de la sangle, voir P. Pelliot, *Les formes avec et sans q-* (*k-*) *initial en turc et en mongol,* dans *T'oung Pao* XXXVII, 1944, pp. 81—83.

[12] Hauer, p. 958, interprète ma. *ulkuma, ulkume* comme «am Halse des Reittiers hängender Schmuck aus rotem Rosshaar». Evidemment, c'est là un sens secondaire du mot. Tōru Haneda, *Manwa jiten,* p. 448b, indique *p'an-hiong* en guise d'équivalent chinois du ma. *ulkume.*

dürge «poitrail de la selle» (Kow. III, 2612a), turc *kämäldürük*, chin. *p'an-hiong* (cf. encore *Sseu-t'i* IX, 27b). Ce recoupement interéssant nous fournit en même temps la clé du *phan-huṅ* de notre lexique: chin. 攀胸 *p'an-hiong*, ach. *p'wan-χi̯wong* répond en effet parfaitement à la transcription tibétaine *phan-huṅ*.

Pour la même correspondance des mots mandchou, mongol et chinois, voir encore *San-ho pien-lan* III, 58b, *San-ho lei-pien* II, 10b, *Vocabulaire polyglotte de Budapest* I, 37a; pour les mots mongols et chinois, *Tche-yuan yi-yu* des Yuan, éd. Ishida Mikinosuke, dans *Tōyō gaku sōhen* I (Osaka 1934), p. 13, n° 127, *Histoire secrète des Mongols* § 80 (éd. Ye Tö-houei, II, 15a), *Lou-long sai-lio*, éd. Ishida Mikinosuke, dans *Mōko gaku* II, 142b (le premier caractère, dans le mot mongol, est altéré).

A 24 tib. *smy[a]d* ~ chin. *'ba'.ce'u* | ; **B 11** tib. *s[myad].la* | ~ chin. *'ba'.ce'u* ||. Pour le ms. A, F. W. Thomas a adopté la leçon *smy[a]d* où le timbre de la voyelle est censé être incertain. En effet, au-dessus du mot le papier est déchiré et, s'il y avait là un signe de voyelle suscrit, il n'est plus visible. En principe, on peut donc compter non seulement avec la voyelle *a*, mais encore avec *o* et *i*, voire même avec *e*; pour ma part, j'ai opté pour cette dernière leçon. Quant au ms. B, Thomas n'a su discerner là que le premier signe *s* qu'il a complété, sur la foi du ms. A, en *s[myad]*. Dans ce dernier cas, je vois d'abord une rayure, ensuite, un peu plus bas que d'habitude, les tracées *smy-*, la finale du mot me reste toutefois illisible; enfin il me paraît possible de distinguer, au-dessus du mot, un trait qui rappelle le signe de la voyelle *e*.

Dans ces conditions, il est compréhensible que les éditeurs aient refusé de traduire le mot tibétain et, à plus forte raison, d'identifier le mot chinois en transcription tibétaine. Mais si l'on tient compte du fait que les n^{os} précédents sont consacrés à des termes de harnachement, on est en droit d'attendre là encore un terme du même ordre.

En considérant les termes de cette catégorie, on doit adopter la leçon *smyed* qui n'est autre chose que la forme ancienne du bien connu *sñed* «the crupper attached to a saddle» (Jaeschke, 200a; Das, 507a). Le mot parait toutefois régional et il remonte, en dernière analyse, à l'autorité de I. J. Schmidt qui, à son tour, l'a puissé dans sa source principale, la lexicographie polyglotte des Ts'ing. On a en effet dans le *Wou-t'i* I, 1140, tib. *sñed* avec les équivalents suivants: ma. *qôdarχa* «Schwanzriemen des Sattels» (Hauer, 606), mong. *qudurγ-a* «croupière» (Kow. II, 919a), turc *qoyušqun*, chin. 鞦 *ts'ieou* «a crupper» (Mathews, p. 176, n° 1231). Cf. encore *Sseu-t'i* IX, 27b. Le rapprochement *smyed* ~ *sñed* est des plus réguliers: *my-* > *ñ-* est un phénomène plutôt dialectal, mais il est bien attesté même en tibétain classique.[13]

[13] A. Csoma de Kőrös, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (Calcutta 1834), p. 6; I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache* (St. Pbg. 1834), p. 13; Ph. Éd. Foucaux,

Cependant, il est assez curieux de voir que l'histoire de l'ancien *smyed* a suivi, en même temps, une autre voie d'évolution, celle de la dépalatalisation de l'initiale, comme, par exemple, dans *myi* «homme» > *mi*, *mye* «feu» > *me*, etc. C'est ainsi que s'explique le tib. *rmed* «a thong reaching to the saddle from a horse's tail» (Csoma, 257a), «crupper attached to a saddle (Jaeschke, 425a; Das, 986b), «croupière» (Desgodins, 767a). Le *Si-fan-kouan yi-yu* nous offre *ta-met* (cl. *rta-rmed*) «croupière» traduit par chin. 鞦 *ts'ieou* (Nishida, p. 164: 454). Le préfixe suscrit *r-*, en face de *s-*, ne fait pas de difficulté, on n'a qu'à considérer les formes alternatives *rmed-pa* «to ask» ~ *smed-pa*, id. (Jaeschke, *ibid.*) Toujours est-il que l'ancienne initiale palatale s'est maintenue, même dans cette variante, dans certains dialectes archaïques: amdowa ^{x}*ñel'* «croupière», golok ^{x}*ñid*; d'après G. Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo*, p. 123, «L'amdowa et le golok correspondent à l'ancien tib. *rmyed*».

Tib. *rmed* est traduit également par chin. *ts'ieou*, dans *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei*, I, 300; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 660b.

«Croupière», le sens de *smyed* une fois acquis, la restitution du mot chinois s'offre toute seule: 馬鞦 *ma-ts'ieou*, ach. *ma-ts'i̯əu* dont *'ba'-ce'u* est, sous les T'ang une transcription tibétaine à tous points de vue normale.

A 28 tib. *ra.gan.* «brass» ~ chin. *tho'u* (*the'u*?): *šeg* ~ 調錫 *t'iao-si* «blended tin»; **B 40** [*ra*].*gan.* ~ *tho'u.šeg* ||. Dans le ms. A on lit nettement *the'u*, la leçon *tho'u* est de toute façon hors de cause. Quant au ms. B, là encore on voit bien distinctement *ra.gan. the'u.šeg* ||.

L'interprétation du tib. *ra-gan* ne se prête à aucune discussion, c'est bien «cuivre jaune, laiton» (Csoma, 229b; Jaeschke, 520a; Das, 1159b; Desgodins, 928b). Pour son emploi dans l'ancien tibétain, voir Thomas, *TLTD* II, 408 (sur les «lettres de laiton») et M. Lalou, *Revendications des fonctionnaires du Tibet au VIII*^{e} *siècle*, dans *Journ. As.* CCXLIII, 1955, p. 203.

Cependant, la restitution du mot chinois, proposée par Giles est inadmissible: outre la différence sémantique qui sépare les mots tibétain et chinois l'un de l'autre, le côté phonétique du rapprochement est aussi faible. En effet, 錫調 *t'iao-si* répond à ach. *d'ieu-siek* et *the'u-šeg* en tant que transcription du mot chinois s'explique mal, surtout en raison de l'initiale *š* qui reste indéfendable.

Les difficultés disparaissent si l'on rattache la transcription *the'u-šeg* à 鍮石 *t'eou-che* «laiton», mot aujourd'hui rare, mais très en vogue sous les T'ang; cf. *Ts'eu-yuan*, *K'ang-hi tseu-tien*, s. v. Giles, p. 1417, n° 11445, a recueili

Grammaire de la langue tibétaine (Paris 1858), p. 8.; A. Desgodins, *Essai de grammaire tibétaine pour le langage parlé* (Hongkong 1899), p. 16; Jaeschke, *Tibetan Grammar* (Berlin—Leipzig 1929), pp. 7, 10; G. Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo* (Roma 1958), pp. 7, 25; A. Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica* (Budapest 1966), pp. 123—125.

le mot 鍮 *t'eou*: «A rich ore, known as | 石 and brought from Persia, supposed to be (1) an ore of gold and copper; or (2) bronze = Turkish *tūj* or *tūeh* [lire *tūch*]». B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 511—515, a montré que l'interprétation de Giles repose sur une suite d'erreurs, et le sens du *t'eou-che* est simplement «laiton». Par ailleurs, Laufer, *loc. laud.*, a repris brièvement l'histoire du mot en chinois; d'après lui non seulement le laiton est venu de Perse en Chine, mais aussi son nom est d'origine iranienne, à la rigueur moyenne persane.[14]

Il n'est pas pour surprendre que *t'eou-che* (le car. *t'eou* s'écrit parfois avec la clé 112) se rencontre aussi dans le nom chinois des «lettres de laiton». cf. P. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa, une controverse sur le quiétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, I (Paris 1952), pp. 284—286.

Cf. encore Bagchi, *Deux lexiques*, pp. 25a, 280.

Enfin *the'u-šeg* fournit une transcription parfaite pour 鍮石 *t'eou-che*, ach. *tʿə̯u-ź̯iäk*.

A 41 tib. *sgrogla* «strap» ~ chin. *ban* || ~ 綁 *pang*. La transcription *sgrog.la* n'est pas exacte, *la* est souscrit, ajouté au signe *g*.

«Strap» tout en étant une interprétation authentique du tibétain *sgrog*, rend très imparfaitement le sens requis dans le cas présent où nous nous attendons, ainsi qu'au n° suivant, à un terme exprimant un moyen de punition. Et en effet, nos sources lexicographiques sont, sous ce rapport, fort instructives. En voici les recoupements les plus importants: *sgrog(s)* «a cord, rope, band, bandage, fillet; fetters, chains» (Csoma, 319a); «cord, rope, for tying, fettering; fetters» (Jaeschke, 122a); «strap»; (Das, 337b; c'est la source de Thomas); *sgrog-tu 'ǰug-pa* «mettre aux fers, enchaîner» (Desgodins, 225a); *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 17b, tib. *sgrog*, mong. *čider* (cf. mong. *čidür* «entraves qu'on met aux chevaux; chaîne de fer qu'on met aux pieds des criminels», Kow. III, 2157b); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 28a, tib. *sgrog*, mong. *čidür*; Sumatiratna, *op. cit.*, 491, tib. *sgrog*, mong *čidür*, *tušaγ-a* (cf. ord. *ᴅu̯šā* «entrave à deux bracelets servant à entraver les deux jambes de devant, abot; fer qu'on met aux pieds d'un prisonnier; pièces transversales qui relient les pieds d'une chaise», Mostaert, I, 166a.

Il s'ensuit que nous sommes en droit d'attribuer cette fois au tib. *sgrog* le sens «liens (qu'on met aux pieds des criminels)».

Pour ce qui est de la transcription tibétaine *ban*, elle ne se laisse pas ramener, pour des raisons phonétiques, au chin. 綁 *pang*, ach. *pwâng*. Il s'agit sûrement du chin. 絆 *pan*, «a fetter, a loop, a catch» (Mathews, p. 675,

[14] Cf. encore Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963), pp. 256—257, 339. Malgré l'argumentation de Laufer, l'origine iranienne du nom chinois reste douteuse.

n° 4877), ach. *puân'*. L'initiale aberrante de la transcription tibétaine n'est pas sans exemples.

Pour la correspondance sémantique des termes tibétain et chinois, voir *Wou-t'i* III, 4450; *Sseu-t'i* XXXII, 92b.

A 49 tib. *žiṅ.pa* | «farmer» ~ chin. *čaṅ.ten.žin* || 耕田人 *keng t'ien jen.*

Le tib. *žiṅ-pa* «husbandman» (Csoma, 162a), «husbandman, farmer» (Jaeschke, 475b; Das, 1070b), «fermier» (Desgodins, 848a), «paysan» (Parfionovič 429) est bien attesté dans les textes anciens; cf. F. W. Thomas, *TLTD* II, 325; «the actual cultivator was called *žiṅ-pa* (Sk. *karṣaka*)», voir encore *TLTD* III, 174.

Quant à la restitution chinoise, le premier caractère proposé par Giles ne peut être accepté, parce que 耕 *keng*, ach. *kɒng* est inconciliable avec la transcription tibétaine *čaṅ*. Ce caractère doit être substitué par 莊 *tchouang*. *Tchouang-t'ien-jen* «laboureur, paysan», expression de la langue parlée des T'ang est aujourd'hui insolite, je ne connais que 莊稼人 *tchouang-kia-jen* «paysan» (L. Wieger, *Chinois parlé*[3], p. 1130b; Giles, «farmers; peasants», p. 344, n° 2753); mais cf. 莊田 *tchouang-t'ien* «a farmstead» (Mathews, p. 205, n° 1450; *Ts'eu-yuan*, s. v.; *Ts'eu-hai*, s. v.).

La transcription tibétaine *čaṅ-ten-žin* rend assez bien le chin. 莊田人 *tchouang-t'ien-jen*, ach. *ʦi̯ang-d'ien-ńźi̯ĕn*. Il faut toutefois faire remarquer que *tchouang* n'est passé dans la catégorie des mots à *ho-k'eou* qu'à partir du moyen mandarin; même en ancien mandarin il appartenait aux mots au *k'ai-k'eou* (cf. Ligeti, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* VI, p. 29, note 321). Sous ce rapport il est intéressant de voir que le même mot, comme le premier élément d'un composé emprunté au mongol et au mandchou, apparaît dans ces langues sous ses deux aspects différents. Il s'agit du chin. 莊頭 (*tchouang-t'eou*), ma *ǰangturi* «Dorfhaupt, Dorfschulze, Gemeindevorsteher. Später *toqson-i da*» (Hauer, 523), mong. *ǰongtur* «le chef d'un village» (Kow. III, 2373 b). Or la forme mongole repose sur la prononciation *tchouang*, en revanche la forme mandchour remonte à *ʦi̯ang*. Il va de soi que dans ce dernier cas l'on ne peut pas voir une erreur, mais une approximation, assez commune dans les anciens éléments chinois du mandchou.[15]

[15] Pour la finale *-ang*, en face de *-uang*, on peut citer encore *čhaṅ-ce* «fenêtre» qui est un emprunt fait au chin. 窗 *tch'ouang* «a window, a shutter» (Mathews, p. 207, n° 1461), ach. *ʦ'ɑ̊ng*. L'emprunt date également des T'ang, époque à laquelle la finale *-ɑ̊ng* apparaît, après une initiale affriquée, dans les transcriptions tibétaines, comme *-waṅ*; cf. B. Csongor, *Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script from Tun-huang*; *Acta Orient. Hung.* X, p. 131, n°s 483, 484. Le terme *čhang-ce* «fenêtre» est recuillie dans le *Si-fan yi-yu* I, 19a. Ce dernier vocabulaire sino-tibétain datant des Ming comprend encore d'autres emprunts faits au chinois des T'ang: *chug* «petit bambou» (I, 17a) < chin. 簇 *ts'ou*, ach. *ʦ'uk*; *čog-ce* «table» < chin. 桌子 *tcho-tseu*, ach. *ʈɑ̊k-tsi*; etc.

A 50 tib. *pho.reṅ*. «castrated man» ~ chin. *tan.žin.han* (*hwan*?) || ~ 閹 (ou 騬) 人刑 *yen* (ou *touen*) *jen hing* «punishment of castration».

L'interprétation du terme tibétain n'est pas satisfaisante. Telle qu'elle est l'expression est ignorée du tibétain classique et en conséquence elle n'est pas portée à nos dictionnaires.

Cependant, le premier élément de l'expression ne fait aucune difficulté: *pho* «a male, masculine» (Csoma, 85b), «a man, opp. to woman, male» (Jaeschke, 345a), «male, paternal; a male; and occasionally, a father (not however commonly)» (Das, 827a), «mâle, homme» (Desgodins, 630b). Le terme est ancien, il est déjà signalé dans le *Sin T'ang chou*, CCXVI, 1a: 丈夫曰普 «l'homme (mâle) est appelé [en tibétain] *p'ou*» (cf. B. Laufer, dans *T'oung Pao* XV, 1914, p. 102, note 2); la transcription *p'ou*, ach. *p'uo* représente sans faute le tib. *pho*. Pour les textes anciens, voir Thomas, *TLTD* III, 155 et *Ancient folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet*, p. 176a, etc.

Quant au second élément, *raṅ*, c'est plus difficile à expliquer. J'avoue ne pas voir comment Thomas est arrivé à interpréter ce mot par «castrated», Dans le tibétain classique, dans cette acception, on a bien *rlig-pa 'byin-pa* (*'phyid-pa*) «to castrate», *rlig-phyuṅ*, *rlig-med* «castrated» (Jaeschke, 537b) d'une part, de l'autre *reṅ-ba* veut dire «to be stiff, hard, rigid», *reṅs-pa* «solid, coagulated, stiff, hard» (Jaeschke, 535a). Dans l'ancien tibétain on ne trouve rien non plus qui pourrait soutenir l'interprétation proposée par Thomas.

Or, ce mot énigmatique doit être rattaché en dernière analyse au bien connu *raṅ* «soi-même, qui est de soi», terme offrant, dans certains composés des variantes phonétiques et des nuances sémantiques remarquables. En voici quelques exemples: *raṅ-bu* «single, alone; a single life» (Csoma, 230b); Jaeschke, (523a; Das, 1164b); *raṅ-pu* «unique = *gčig-pu*» (Das, 1191a). L'autre groupe de mots que voici nous intéresse de plus près: *reṅs-po* «alone, single» (Das, 1191a), *raṅ-po* «an unmarried man» (Csoma, 230b; Jaeschke 523a), «a celibate, an unmarried man» (Das, 1164a); *raṅ-pho* «homme seul, célibataire» (Desgodins, 931a); *raṅ-po* «célibataire» (Parfionovič 472). Enfin on notera les recoupements suivants: *pho-raṅ* «an unmarried man» (Csoma, 230b; Jaeschke, 523a), *pho-raṅ*, *pho-hraṅ* (Tibet Central), id. (Jaeschke, 345b), *pho-raṅ* «a celibate, unmarried man» (Das, 1164a), *pho-raṅ* «célibataire» (Desgodins, 631a), *po-raṅ* «un célibataire» (J. Bacot, *Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, Paris 1928, p. 100). Dans les dictionnaires polyglottes rangés par matière entre les mots «veuve» et «orphelin», on lit: tib. *pho-reṅs* «homme seul», ma. *emxun* «allein (stehend), einsam, vereinsamt» (Hauer, 246), mong. *yayčayar* «seul, un seul, solitaire» (Kow., II, 1006a), turc *yalyuz* «seul», chin. 獨 *tou* «only, single; alone; solitary» (Mathews, p. 947, n° 6512); cf. *Wou-t'i*, I, 1185; *Sseu-t'i* X, 36a. Le *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, f. 74a, offre *pho-hreṅ* et *pho-reṅs*, interprété par mong. *er-e yayča* «homme seul, solitaire».

Il ne peut faire donc aucun doute que *pho-reṅ* de notre lexique doive signifier «un célibataire».

A partir de cette interprétation on peut restituer le mot chinois sans difficulté, c'est 單身漢 *tan-chen han* «a bachelor» (Giles, p. 1313, n° 1060; Mathews, p. 864, n° 6030), ach. *tân-śi̯ĕn-χân*.

A 51 tib. *mo.reṅ*. «castrated woman» ~ chin. *tan.žin.pu.žin* || 閹人夫人 *yen jen fou jen*. L. Giles, sans doute peu satisfait de l'interprétation assez singulière, a ajouté, en note, à sa restitution chinoise: «A better reading would be 閹人不人 *yen jen pu jen* 'a castrated man is not a man'».

Il est évident, sans autre argumentation, qu'il faut voir là une expression parallèle à celle offerte au n° précédent et qu'elle doit avoir le sens de «femme seule, non mariée».

Et en effet, c'est le sens que nous suggèrent les recoupements suivants: tib. *mo* «a female» (Csoma, 134a), «woman, female» (Jaeschke, 419a; Das, 974a). «femme» (Desgodins, 756b); *raṅ-mo* «an unmarried woman» (Csoma, 230b; Jaeschke, 523a), «a woman herself or that has not taken a husband but lives spinster» (Das, 1165b), «femme seule, non mariée» (Desgodins, 931b); *mo-raṅ* «an unmarried woman» (Csoma, 230b), «a woman herself, etc.» (Das, 1165b); *mo-raṅ-mo* «a woman that never married, an old maid» (Csoma, 134a), *mo-raṅ(-mo)* «single, unmarried woman» (Jaeschke, 419a), *mo-raṅ-ma* «femme non mariée, seule» (Desgodins, 756b); *mo-raṅ* «femme seule (non mariée)», *mo-reṅs*, *mo-hreṅs* «femme seule» (Parfionovič, 382—383). Cette fois la forme *mo-reṅ*, variante de *mo-raṅ*, est signalée par Das, p. 975a, au sens de «l. single, unmarried woman; 2. a poor, destitute female, one who did not get a husband». La même forme est aussi attestée dans les anciens textes de Touen-houang: *sṅon dge-sloṅ bam kim-keṅ-la | bran-mo šig-za 'bye'u-ce mo-reṅ gčig | mu-mo yam-yam daṅ | bu-mo lu-lu daṅ | hva-za che'i-byin daṅ | spyir mo-reṅ bži žig mčhis-pa-las* etc. (cf. M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, Paris 1950, p. 54, n° 1079.

L'équivalent chinois doit être restitué en 單身婦人 *tan-chen fou-jen*, ach. *tân-śi̯ĕn bʿi̯ə̯u-ńźi̯ĕn*.

A 53 tib. *gar.phyid* | «where suffice» ~ chin. *do'u* | *''a* | *na.li*: *ya* || ~ 投那裹啊 *t'eou na li a* «where suitable?» Sur la photocopie agrandie je vois, pour le tibétain, *gar. phyin* | ; le petit cercle au milieu du signe *n* est quelque peu effacé, ce qui rend ce signe semblable à un *d*.

L'expression tibétaine ainsi corrigée s'explique sans difficulté. Tib. *gar* «whither? to what place?» (Csoma, 17b); whither, whereto, where» (Jaeschke, 67a); «whither, where» (Das, 216a); «où», *gar ro* «où vas-tu?» (Desgodins,

146b); *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 11b, tib. *gar*, mong. *gamiγ-a* «où, là où; où?» (Kow. II, 804a). Tib. *phyin-pa* «to go, walk, travel, to arrive at» (Csoma, 88a); «1 to come, to get to, advance, arrive; 2. to go, to proceed» (Jaeschke, 350b); «1. set out; 2. to reach, come to, arrive at» (Das, 836b); «aller, arriver, parvenir» (Desgodins, 638a); *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 49b, tib. *phyin*, mong. *kürkü* «atteindre, arriver, parvenir; 2. suffire, être suffisant» (Kow. III, 2653b); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 75b, tib. *phyin*, mong. *kürkü*, *kürügsen*; Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, *op. cit.*, p. 351, tib. *phyin*, mong. *hur-hu*; dans les textes tibétains anciens: *phyin(d)* «be gone, come, arrive» (Thomas, *TLTD* III, 156b).

La transcription tibétaine doit être rétablie en 到阿那裏 *tao a-na-li* «où allez-vous, où vas-tu?». Un seul mot demande à être expliqué, c'est 到 *tao* «to arrive at; to reach; to attain to; to go to» (Mathews, p. 880, n° 6133), ach. *tâu*; dans la transcription, l'initiale sonore est aberrante, mais elle est attestée aussi ailleurs. La transcription *ya* est un élément de la langue vulgaire, il n'a pas de caractère chinois proprement dit.

Pour l'équivalence sémantique des termes tibétain et chinois, voir *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei* I, 251 (tib. *hoyind-pa*, chin. *tao*); *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 534a (tib. *phyin-pa*, chin. *tao*).

A 56 tib. *zin.nam.ma.zin.* «received or not received» ~ chin. *le'u*: *''am*: *pu.le'u* || ~ 留還不留 *lieou houan pou lieou?* «keep or not keep».

L'interprétation du mot tibétain adoptée par Thomas est très tentante. Le tib. *zin* «received», recommandé par sa forme, doit être rattaché au *'jin-pa* «to take, seize, hold, keep, buy; comprehend, understand» (Csoma, 221b); «1. to take hold of, to seize, grasp; 2. to get, receive, obtain; 3. to occupy, to take possession» (Jaeschke, 464-465; Das, 1053b); «tenir, embrasser, contenir, être affecté» (Desgodins, 833a); cf. encore *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 75a, tib. *zin*, mong. *bariγsan*, p. 70, tib. *'jin*, mong. *bariqu* «rendre, saisir, tenir, etc.» (Kow. II, 1899).

Mais si l'on se rend compte de la divergence qui sépare l'interprétation du mot tibétain et le chinois restitué, ce qui a d'ailleurs fait hésiter dans leur interprétation les savants éditeurs, l'on ne peut pas ne pas songer à un autre mot, homophone du précédent: *zin-pa* «to draw near to an end, to be at an end, to be finished, exhausted, consumed» (Jaeschke, 487b); «to terminate, to be at the end, to conclude, be exhausted, be consumed; to be finished, terminated» (Das, 1094b); «manquant, dépensé, fini» (Desgodins, 868b).

En ce qui concerne l'équivalent chinois, 留 *lieou* «to detain; to entertain; to keep; to put by» (Mathews, p. 588, n° 4083), ach. *liə̯u*, donnerait *li'u* en transcription tibétaine. Vu les difficultés phonétique et surtout sémantique, nous avons opté pour 了 *leao* «to complete, to finish» (Mathews, p. 575, n° 3958), ach. *lieu*.

La transcription tibétaine *''am*, sous cet aspect plus ou moins tibétain, représente ici encore un élément vulgaire du chinois parlé qu'il serait difficile d'associer à un caractère chinois fixe.[16]

Bref, le chinois est à restituer: 了[阿]不了 *leao* [*a*] *pou leao*, ach. *lieu* [a^m] *pu lieu* «est-il terminé?».

A 57 tib. *mñe'*. «tan, rub» ~ chin. *ǯi'u.'a* || ~ 揉擦 *jeou-ts'a*.

Tib. *mñe* doit signifier ici en effet «tanner, corroyer». Le sens primitif du verbe reste toutefois «rendre mou, molle» d'où le sens secondaire: «ramollir la peau en la frottant entre les mains». Cf. *mñe(-ba)* «to tan, to rub», *mñed-pa* «1. to rub between the hands or feet; 2. to tan, to curry, dress; 3. to coax»; *mñen-(-pa)* «flexible, pliable, supple, soft» (Das, pp. 495, 496); voir Jaeschke—Francke—Simon, *Tibetan grammar*, pp. 120—121.

Quant à la restitution du mot chinois, la transcription tibétaine *ǯi'u* vaut bien pour chin. 揉 *jeou*, ach. *ńźi̯ə̯u'* (pour le ton, voir *Grammata Serica Recensa*, p. 284, n° 1105b), par contre 擦 *ts'a*, ach. *ʦʂ'at* n'est pour rien dans l'affaire; la transcription *'a* désigne tout simplement le ton et la pause.

Pour l'équivalence sémantique des mots tibétain et chinois, voir *Wou-t'i* II, 3315; *Sseu-t'i* XXIV, 88b; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 320a.

A 58 tib. *drub.zin.nam* | «sewn or not» ~ chin. *phuṅ*: *ya*: *pu* | *phuṅ* || ~ 縫或不縫 *fong houo pou fong*.

Le sens «cousu» du tib. *drub* est suffisamment assuré dans nos sources: *'drub-pa* «to sew, stitch, join together» (Csoma, 201a); «1. to sew; 2. embroider» (Jaeschke, 283b; Das, 697b); «coudre» (Desgodins, 532b); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ* 61a, tib. *'drub*, mong. *oyuqu* «coudre» (Kow. I, 423b), *sidekü* (cf. ord. *šiɒe-*

[16] Dans le tibétain classique l'interrogation est exprimée par la particule d'alternative et d'interrogation *'am* (ou par un pronom ou un adjectif interrogatif): *yin-nam* «est-il?», *za-'am* «mange-t-il?»; cf. Marcelle Lalou, *Manuel élémentaire du tibétain classique* (Paris 1950), pp. 36—37. L'interrogation s'exprime de la même façon dans les dialectes actuels: *du-gē* «se trouve-t-il?». *naŋ-nē* «avez-vous donné?», *yö-daŋ* «êtes-vous?» (Roerich — Tse-trung Lopsang Phuntsok, *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan*, 1957, pp. 72—73; *yód-da* «est-il?» (Jaeschke, *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 88). Dans notre lexique l'interrogation est rarement exprimée d'après cette formule; on a toutefois *drub-zin-nam* «est-il cousu?» (A 58). Le plus souvent, cette formule d'interrogation est élargie: le verbe en question est répété sous sa forme négative: *zin-nam ma zin* «est-il terminé?» (A 56), *khom-mam myi khom* «pouvez-vous?» (A 59), *lagsam myi lags* «est-il en ordre?» (A 81), *na-'am myi na* «êtes-vous malade?» (A 97), *sos-sam ma sos* «avez-vous récupéré votre santé?» (A 98), *gnaṅ-ṅam myi gnaṅ* «permettez-vous?» (A 113). Cette construction d'interrogation (emphatique) est bien attestée dans les anciens textes: *rñil-tam ma rñil* «s'est-elle écroulée?», *chig-gam ma chig* «est-elle brûlée par le feu?», *skams-sam ma skams* «est-il desséché?», etc. (Bacot—Thomas—Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, pp. 97. 123). Dans la langue classique cette tournure est bien moins souvent attestée; on a: *de sñam-du bsams-sam ma bsams* «pensez-vous cela?»(Lalou, *Grammaire*, p. 37).

«faufiler, piquer (les coussins d'un bât de chameau», Mostaert II, 613a); Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, p. 286b, tib. *'drub-pa*, mong. *'o-yo-hu, ši-de-hu*; Sumatiratna, 1115, tib. *'drub-pa*, mong. *oyoqu*. Selon Das, *loc.laud.*, *'drub-pa* appartient au vocabulaire de la langue ancienne. Et en effet, on a dans *Li-ši'i gur-khaṅ* 12b et *Li-ši'i me-tog* 23b, tib. *'drub-pa ni 'chem-pa*, mong. *oyumui inu oyuqu*; pour les anciens textes, voir Thomas, *TLTD* III, 144b.

En outre, dans l'expression tibétaine, *zin* mérite une attention particulière: c'est un auxiliaire du parfait défini avec aspect achevé; cf. J. Bacot, *Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa, avec leurs commentaires* (Paris 1928), p. 104. Dans les textes anciens cet auxilaire paraît plutôt rare, cf. F. W. Thomas, *TLTD* II, 377, III, 98.

Quant à la restitution chinoise 或 *houo*, ach. *γwək*, pour *ya*, n'est pas à retenir; *ya* est, cette fois encore, un élément de la langue vulgaire, sans caractère chinois fixe.

A 60 tib. *su.'dod.* «who wishes?» ~ chin. *''a.šu.yoṅ* | ~ 阿孰願 *a chou yuan*.

La restitution de l'expression chinoise proposée par L. Giles demande quelques précisions.

La caractère 孰 *chou*, dans *''a-šu* doit être remplacé par 誰 *chouei, chei*, non seulement pour des raisons d'ordre phonétique (孰 *chou*, répond à ach. *źi̯uk*), mais aussi parce que 誰 *chouei*, considéré aujourd'hui comme caractère vulgaire et moderne, figure déjà dans les textes de la langue parlée sous les T'ang; cf. H. Maspero, *Sur quelques textes de chinois parlé*, dans *BEFEO* XIV, n° 4, pp. 24—25. Chin. *chouei*, ach. *źwi* (Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, 575u) a donné dans le dialecte chinois de notre lexique régulièrement *šu* (en face de *šui* d'autres dialectes).

La transcription *yoṅ* ne peut être ramenée à 願 *yuan*, ach. *ngi̯wɒn*; pour ce dernier caractère on attendrait, en transcription tibétaine, une initiale *'g-* et, entre autres, une finale franchement *-n*. *Yoṅ* doit être rapproché doute de 用 *yong*, ach. *i̯wong*.

A 61 tib. *gar.bžag* «where put?» ~ chin. *''a na.li: phaṅ. čag* || ~ 阿那裹放擱 *a na li fang ko*.

Tib. *gar* «où?» et chin *''a-nali* répondant l'un à l'autre ne posent aucun problème. Par contre, il convient d'insister sur le fait que *bžag* est le passé du verbe *'ǰog-pa* «to put, to place; to depose; to lay up, to keep; to lay aside» (Jaeschke, 179a). Il vaut mieux donc traduire l'expression par «où est-il placé?» ou encore «où l'as tu placé? où l'avez-vous placé?».

Aussi la restitution *phaṅ-čag* en 放擱 *fang-ko* n'est-elle pas satisfaisante. *Ko*, ach. *kâk*, pour des raisons phonétiques, ne peut être nullement rattaché à *čag*. La transcription tibétaine *čag* doit être rattachée à 著 (着 sa variante

vulgaire) *tcho*, ach. *d'i̯ak*; pour ce dernier mot, voir L. Wieger, *Chinois parlé*[3], p. 59; H. Maspero, *Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé*, pp. 20—21.

La transcription *phaṅ* répond parfaitement à chin. 放 *fang*, ach. *pi̯wang*. Pour l'équivalence sémantique des mots tibétain et chinois, je n'ai pour le moment qu'un témoignage indirect: le tib. *'jog-pa* est traduit par mong. *talbimui* (*Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 40b) et ce dernier par chin. 放 *fang* (*Mong Han tseu-tien*, II, 166).

A 63 tib. *khrab.ma* || «cuirass» ~ chin. *kab:šin* || ~ 甲心 *kia sin* «armour heart»; **B 51** tib. *khrab.ma* | (sans équivalent chinois).

Le mot tibétain est recueilli dans les grands dictionnaires du tibétain classique sous la forme *khrab* «a shield, buckler» (Csoma, 14b), «shield, buckler; coat of mail; acc. to oral communication the word in the first instance denotes 'scale (scale of a fish)' and secondly 'coat of mail'» (Jaeschke, 49b); «shield; buckler; coat of mail» (Das, 169a); «cuirasse, cotte de mailles, écailles de poissons» (Desgodins, 115a). Cf. *Wou-t'i*, I, 1037, tib. *khrab*; ma. *uq̄sin* «Harnisch, Kürass, Panzer» (Hauer, 952); mong. *quyaγ* «cotte de mailles, cuirasse» (Kow. II, 945b); turc *quyaq*, id.; chin. 甲 *kia*, id.

La forme *khrab-ma* n'est signalée que par Csoma et Desgodins, sans attribuer, toutefois, à cette variante aucune nuance sémantique. Cependant, *khrab-ma* devait désigner une espèce quelconque de cotte de mailles, c'est du moins ce que nous laisse supposer son équivalent chinois, *kab-šin*, en transcription tibétaine. *Kab* est bien chin. 甲 *kia*, ach. *kap*, mais il est non moins certain que *šin* ne peut avoir de commun avec chin. 心 *sin*, ach. *si̯əm*.

Das, *loc. laud.*, nous fournit des informations intéressantes sur les cottes de mailles de son temps: «The coat of mail used in Tibet and Bhutan is generally made of iron rings or thin disks resembling the scales of fisch netted together. Two kinds of *khrab* are known in Tibet; one is called *a-luṅ-gi khrab*, which is made of iron rings or scales; *byaṅ-bu'i khrab*, that made of thin plates of iron foils. There are accounts of coats of mail made of silver and gold for the use of kings. The common quilted cloth armour used in Mongolia and China is called *sriṅ bal khrab*. In Mongolia it is called *dāsa*.» Plus loin, il mentionne *khrab byin lus kheb* «a coat of mail for covering the whole body.»

Quant aux cottes de mailles dans l'ancien Tibet, sous les T'ang, P. Demiéville, dans *Le concile de Lhasa* I, pp. 373—76, a soumis à une critique judicieuse les recherches modernes sur cette question importante. Le problème est trop complexe pour le discuter ici, car la matière, la technique, la destination des cottes de mailles (pour les chevaux; pour les hommes, pour protéger certaines parties du corps) et enfin leur origine (tibétaine, chinoise ou iranienne) posent autant de problèmes. Ce n'est guère un effet du hasard que dans les anciens textes tibétains nous ayons affaire à toute une série de termes concernant

l'armure: *khrab-ma, rgya-khrab, go-ča* (*-cha*), *ya-lad, žub-čan* (*-čhen*), *rkaṅ-bkris*, etc.; cf. F. W. Thomas, *TLTD* II, 425, etc.[17]

Aussi les dictionnaires polyglottes des Ts'ing offrent-ils plus d'une expression rentrant dans cette catégorie. Pour le moment nous nous contenterons d'en rappeler une seule, celle qui donnera la solution de la transcription *kab-šin* de notre lexique: ma. *yaχari uqsin* «Panzerhemd» (Hauer, 329), mong. *degelei quyaγ* «cuirasse qui n'a point de bras, et qui n'est que pour le corps» (Kow. III, 1740b), turc *pätχ-i nimčä quyaq*; tib. *khrab-thuṅ* «armure courte», chin. 甲身 *kia-chen*.

Chin. *kia-chen*, ach. *kap-śi̯ĕn* explique en effet parfaitement la transcription tibétaine *kab-šin*.

A 74 tib. *sbraṅ. ma.* «bee» ~ chin. *bun.ce* || ~ 蜂子 *fong-tseu*.

A première vue et l'interprétation du terme tibétain et la restitution du mot chinois est très engageante. Pour tib. *sbraṅ-ma* nos dictionnaires offrent en effet le sens adopté par Thomas: «bee» (Csoma, 343b; Jaeschke, 407a); «the honey-bee» (Das, 942b), «abeille» (Desgodins, 734b). Bien plus, dans *Tsang Han ts'eu-houei*, I, 280, tib. *sbraṅ-ma* est interprété par tib. *buṅ-ba* «abeille» et par chin. 密蜂 *mi-fong*, id.[18]

Cependant, chin. 蜂 *fong*, ach. *pʿi̯wong* ne peut être rapproché de la transcription *bun*, car ni la finale, ni l'initiale de ce dernier ne permettent ce rapprochement.

Or, on constatera que *sbraṅ-ma* est bien connu aussi dans une autre acception. Nous avons: *sbraṅ-ma* «a fly» (Csoma, 343b); «fly and similar insects without a sting» (Jaeschke, 407a); *Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho*, 57a, tib. *sbraṅ-ma*, mong. *simuγul* (cf. *simuγul, simaγul* «moucheron, mouche, petits insectes ailés», tib. *sbraṅ-ma*, Kow. II, 1505); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 88a, tib. *sbraṅ-ma*, mong. *simuγul*; Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, 400b, tib. *sbraṅ-ma*, mong. *šu-mu-la* (= *šumul, simuγul*), *pa-tha-ga-na* (cf. mong. *bataγana* «moucheron, cousin», Kow. II, 1068a).

Evidemment, *sbraṅ-ma* «moustique; mouche» exige un autre rapprochement: 蚊子 *wen-tseu* «a mosquito, a gnat» (Mathews, p. 1060. n° 7134), ach. *mi̯uən-tsi*, et c'est ce dernier mot que rend avec précision la transcription *bun-ce*.

Il faut faire remarquer que dans les dictionnaires polyglottes des Ts'ing, le mong. *bataγana*, avec ma. *yalman* «Stechmücke, Moskito» (Hauer, 333), tib. *sbraṅ-po mčhu-riṅ* (n'est pas porté aux grands dictionnaires), turc *paša* (cf. pers. *pašša* «a gnat», Steingass, 253b), répond au chin. 蚊子 *wen-tseu*.

[17] Cf. encore E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 260–262, 340–341.

[18] Pour le tibétain oriental on a *braŋ-ma* «bee», traduit par chin. *fong*, id.; Minoru Gō, *An Eastern Tibetan Dictionary* (Okoyama 1954), p. 101: 1412.

Cf. *Wou-t'i* III, 4526; *Sseu-t'i* XXXII, 107a; *San-ho lei-pien*, IV, 52b; *Vocabulaire polyglotte de Budapest*, II, 84b; *Mong Han tseu-tien* I, 102a.

A 78 tib. *ǰi.ltar.bya* | «how to be done» ~ chin. *zim. šiṅ. zo* || ~ 怎生做 *tsen-cheng tso.*

Le tibétain ne pose pas de problème. *ǰi-ltar bya* est à traduire «comment faire?», plus exactement «comment ferez-vous?», «comment feras-tu?».

La transcription *zim-šiṅ* vaut en effet pour 怎生 *tsen-cheng*, ach. **tsi̯ăm-ʂɐng. Tsen-cheng*, au sens de «comment?», «de quelle manière?» est bien connu dans la langue parlée des Yuan et des Ming; cf. E. Haenisch, *Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi, die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, dans *Abhandlungen d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss.*, XLI (Leipzig 1931), Nr. IV, pp. 89—90.

La transcription *zo* n'est certainement pas pour 作 *tso*, ach. *tsâk*, figuré *cag, zag, chag* dans les transcriptions tibétaines des T'ang (cf. B. Csongor, *Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script from Tun-huang*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* X, p. 137; n° 775). Une fois de plus, nous sommes en présence d'une forme «vulgaire». La forme *zo* repose sur une prononciation **tsuo* ou **dzʿuo*, et en effet, le *K'ang-hi tseu-tien*, s. v., offre pour ce caractère, entre autres, le *fan-ts'ie* 總古 donc ach. *ʿtsuo*; cette prononciation, sous la forme moderne *tsou*, est aussi signalée par Giles, p. 1466, n° 11, 849. Cf. encore n° A 114.

A 93 tib. *do.čig.* «at present (this year)» ~ chin. *kim.nen* || ~ 今年 *kin nien.*

Cette expression est complètement inconnue du tibétain classique. Son premier élément est évidemment identique à *do* «ce, cet cette»; cf. *do-žag* «aujourd'hui», *do-nub* «ce soir» (Csoma, 61b; Jaeschke, 256b; Das, 640b; Desgodins, 489b). Néanmoins, l'ancienne expression a survécu dans certains dialectes cf. sifan *to-tsek* «cette année» (D'Ollone, p. 32, n° 218), amdowa *dovdsugf*, id. (*Ngan-to Tsang-yu* I, 77, n° 206), etc.

Les anciens textes ont *do-čig, do-čhig* et *do-gčhig* que Thomas, *TLTD* III, 144, a interprété uniformément par «at present». En soi l'interprétation «à présent» n'est pas impossible étymologiquement, et du moins dans une partie des documents en question c'est en effet le sens qu'il faut attribuer à ce terme; d'autres documents sont malheureusement trop fragmentaires pour qu'on puisse établir son sens avec certitude. Mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que dans quelques documents nous devons aussi compter avec le sens «cette année». Ainsi, par exemple, dans *do.gčhig.dbyard. Pe.'u.rce. rcig.du. mčhid.chun.čhad . . .*» «At present, since in the summer I came to build *Pe'u-rce . . .* sent» (Thomas, *TLTD* II, pp. 222—223), je préfère traduire *do-gčhig dbyard* par «l'été de cette année».

La restitution de la transcription tibétaine *kim-nen* en chin. 今年 *kin nien*, ach. *ki̯əm nien* ne demande aucune explication.

A 94 tib. *saṅ.phod.* «next year» ~ chin. *meṅ.nen.* || ~ 明年 *ming nien.*

En tibétain classique on a *saṅ-phod*, plus fréquemment *saṅ-lo* «next year» (Jaeschke, 571a; Das, 1264b), *saṅ-phud* (Desgodins, 1012a); *Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ*, 123b, tib. *saṅ-lo* et *saṅ-phod*, mong. *qoyitu ǰil*, id.[19] Le *Si-fan yi-yu* (I, 9a) et le *Si-fan-kouan yi-yu* (Nishida, p. 156: 226) ne connaissent que *saṅ-lo*, traduit par chinois *ming nien*. Quant aux formes dialectales, cf. sifan *sompeu, song gni* (Pé), D'Ollone, p. 133, n° 219.

Le premier élément du composé tibétain s'explique par *saṅ* «to-morrow» (Csoma, 293b; Jaeschke, 571a; Das, 1254b), «le temps qui va arriver (vulg.)» (Desgodins, 1012a).

Pour le moment je n'ai pas de recoupements en ancien tibétain pour *saṅ-phod*, on notera cependant *deṅ-saṅ* que Thomas, *TLTD* II, 184 et III, 144 a traduit par «still at present»». Toutefois F. W. Thomas a repris l'interprétation du *deṅ-saṅ* et dans son *Ancient folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet* (Berlin 1957), p. 157, il a substitué son ancienne traduction par «to-day (and) to-morrow = perpetually», cette dernière traduction est évidemment impeccable. Par ailleurs, la même expression revient à plusieurs reprises sous les formes *de-riṅ saṅ* et *di-riṅ saṅ*. Cf. F. W. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 170 et, dernièrement, R. E. Emmeric, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* p. 131 (*deṅ-saṅ* «today and tomorrow»).

La transcription tibétaine *meṅ-nen* répond à chin. 明年 *ming-nien*, ach. *miwɒng-nien*. Pour *ming-nien*, traduction chinoise du tib. *saṅ-phod*, voir *Wou-t'i*, I, 104 et *Sseu-t'i* I, 20a; *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, 904a.

A 95 tib. *gže:phod.* | «year after next» ~ chin. *ho'u* | *nen.* ~ 後年 *heou-nien.*

L'expression *gže-phod* «dans deux ans, l'année qui suivera l'année prochaine» de notre lexique est très intéressante, car elle ne figure pas dans les grands dictionnaires du tibétain classique, aussi ne s'est-elle pas rencontrée jusqu'ici autant que je le sache, dans les textes anciens. Cependant, elle est authentique et a été recueillie, sous la forme légèrement différente de *gži-phod*, dans les dictionnaires polyglottes des Ts'ing; cf. *Wou-t'i*, I, 105 et *Sseu-t'i* I, 20a; Sumatiratna II, 713.

En outre, dans les mêmes dictionnaires, tib. *gži-phod* est traduit par chin. 後年 *heou-nien*, id., répondant à ach. *yə̨u-nien*; *ho'u-nen* de notre lexique en est une transcription absolument régulière.

[19] Dans le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna, II, 1138, tib. *saṅ-phod* est interprété par *saṅ-lo* et les deux expressions sont traduites, en mongol, par *qoyitu ǰil*.

NOTES ON A CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEM IN THE OLD TIBETAN CHRONICLE

BY

G. URAY

1. Recurring in studies of early Tibetan history and cultural history is the problem whether certain passages of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* refer to *Khri Sroṅ-brcan,* alias *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* or *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan.*

The dilemma is presented by the fact that the order of paragraphs 10—12 (VIII, 1—3)[1] is contradictory to their texts. Paragraph 10 (VIII, 1) contains the praise of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*'s reign and a short estimation of the military campaings carried out during it (*Chr.*:.366—397 = *DTH*:114.11—115.26; tsl. by Bacot, *DTH*:152.21—155.3)[2]. Paragraph 11 (VIII, 2) begins with the for-

[1] The large extant fragment of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (Bibliothèque National MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. 1287) consists of 16 paragraphs, and the manuscript does not indicate any units of form higher than those. Bacot's method of constructing chapters out of one, two and three paragraphs is quite arbitrary, and I believe, greatly respossible that the problems concerning the succession of the paragraphs have, so far, not been solved satisfactorily. I shall, therefore, talk only about paragraphs. I refer, in brackets (with Roman numbers to the «chapters» and with Arab numbers to the paragraphs within the «chapters»), to Bacot's division only in order to make the identification easier.

[2] The abbreviations used in my study are the following:

Ann. I = *The Royal Annals of Tibet*, version I: Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. 1288 = no. provisoire 252, lines 1—53 + India Office Library MS, Stein Collection, Ch. 79, viii, 7, lines 54—307; quoted from microfilms of the original, by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, India Office Library, London, and Miss A. F. Thompson.

Chr. = *The Old Tibetan Chronicle*: Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. 1287 = no. provisoire 250, lines 1—536; quoted from the microfilm of the original, by the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Dp. ja = *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba*'s *Dam-pa'i čhos-kyi 'khor-los bsgyur-ba-rnams-kyi byuṅ-ba gsal-bar byed-pa Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston žes bya-ba'i legs-par bšad-pa* (written from 1545 to 1565), chapter *ja*; quoted from two variants:

X = xylographic edition; cited from the microfilm of the copy of the Gandan Têgčinlên Monastery in Ulanbaatar, by the courtesy of the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Most Ven. Abbot Gombožav and Prof. Š. Bira; and from the unfortunately greatly retouched facsimile edition of Lokesh Chandra, *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston of Dpaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag,* pt. 4 : *Śata-Piṭaka Series* 9 (4), New Delhi 1962.

mula *rgyal 'dĭ-'i riṅ-la* «during the time of this king», and tells about the conflict between the unnamed Tibetan sovereign and the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king *Lĭg Myi-rhya*/*Lig Myĭ-rhya* and about the defeat of the latter (*Chr.*:.398—432 = *DTH* :115.27—117.14; tsl. by Bacot and Toussaint, *DTH*:155.4—158.26). Paragraph 12 (VIII, 3) also begins with the formula *rgyal 'dĭ-'i riṅ-la*, repeats the sentence of the previous paragraph on the defeat of *Lĭg Myi-rhya*, then describes the celebration of the victory where, suprisingly, the ritual chants are performed not by *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan* and his Great Councillor, but by *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* and (*Mgar*) *Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*, and finally, the description of the celebration ends with the praise of the reign of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* ~ *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* (*Chr.*:.433—455 = *DTH*:117.15—118.24; tsl. by Bacot and Toussaint, *DTH*:158.27—161.18).

2. Bacot, editor of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* took note of this problem already, and he ventured to two different explanations.

In his introduction to the *Chronicle*, Bacot writes: «La chronique, d'abord fabuleuse, remonte au roi Dri-gum, . . ., et se développe, mais avec de considérables solutions de continuité, jusqu'au règne de Khri-sroṅ lde-brcan inclusivement. La relation de celui-ci comporte une confusion formelle avec le règne de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, et ce retour en arrière sert, en quelque sorte, de transition aux deux derniers chapitres, lesquels affèrent au règne de Khri-'dus-sroṅ, déjà partiellement décrit» (*DTH*, p. 93).

In his notes to the translation of paragraph 12 (VIII, 3), because of the succession of the paragraphs and the repeated formula *rgyal 'dĭ-'i riṅ-la*, he finds, however, that paragraphs 10—12 (VIII, 1—3) refer completely to the age of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan* (*DTH*, p. 160, n. 5). His explanation of the unexpected occurrence of the names of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* ~ *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* and *(Mgar) Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* is that «dans l'exaltation du succès et l'excitation du

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R = Richardson MS, quoted from the microfilm of the original, by courtesy of Mr. H. E. Richardson, St. Andrews, and Prof. R. A. Stein, Paris.

DTH = J. Bacot—F. W. Thomas—Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* : *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études* LI, Paris 1940—1946.

RgyBon = *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas*, written by *Khyuṅ-po Blo-gros-rgyal-mchan* and *Khyuṅ-po Rgyal-ba-thod-dkar* in 1439; quoted from the edition of S. Ch. Das, *rGyal Rab Bon kyi Jung-nas*, Calcutta 1915.

For the mode of reference to sources and the transcription of the peculiarities of Old Tibetan script and spelling see *Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960), pp. 32—33, n. 7. — As for the symbols of text criticism, 〈 〉 includes letters or parts of text omitted by the scribe and replaced by the publisher of the text or the author of the present article, whereas { } indicates letters or parts of text incorrectly inserted by the scribe which, in the opinion of the publisher of the text or the author of the present article, should be disregarded.

festin, le roi [i.e. *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*] n'entend pas identifier lui-même et son ministre avec ces prédécesseurs illustre⟨s⟩» (*DTH*, p. 159, n. 1). In his forming this opinion it must have played a part that Bacot recognized the identity of *Lĭg Myi-rhya* with *Lig Mi-rgya*, the last *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king mentioned in the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas* (*DTH*, p. 117, n. 1 and p. 181, n. 1), and he borrowed the information of the Bon chronicle from Petech who regarded *Lig Mi-rgya yab* as *Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan*'s contemporary (*A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* [*Indian Tibet*], Calcutta 1939, p. 52, n. 8).

With some alterations A. Róna-Tas adopts and expounds Bacot's second explanation. According to him, too, there is no doubt that all the three paragraphs regard *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan* who, during the celebration, identifies himself and his councillor with their predecessors. But the identification, Róna-Tas argues, is not simply due to the ecstasy of the feast, but a ritual act: «it expresses the mythical identity of ancestor and progeny, of the royal family». He traces back to this identification the historian's tradition which attributes the various results of the reign of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan*, above all the introduction of Buddhism, to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*. (Review of G. Schulemann's *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, in *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII [1958], pp. 322—324.)

R. A. Miller also supports the explanation of Róna-Tas in his criticism of the traditions concerning the introduction of writing and the grammars of *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa* (*Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and His Grammatical Treatises* : *JAOS* LXXXIII [1963], pp. 488—489 and n. 38; *Notes on the «Relazione» of Ippolito Desideri, S. J.* : *MS* XXII [1963], pp. 452—454).

H. Satō approaches the problem of paragraphs 11—12 (VIII, 2—3) from a new angle. He identifies *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ*, one of the main characters of the conflict with *Lĭg Myi-rhya*, with that *Spug Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ* who is mentioned in the account of the year 653 of the *Royal Annals*. In his interpretation *Spug* in both texts plays the part of the supreme commander of the military campaign against *Žaṅ-žuṅ*, and consequently he fixes the date of both the conflict and the campaign after the death of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*, attributing the description of the celebration and the following royal eulogy to *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*. Thus, according to Satō, paragraphs 11—12 (VIII, 2—3) of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* deal with events taking place partly after *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*'s death and partly during his reign, and were put into «Chapter VIII» treating *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*'s reign, that is, to the place succeeding paragraph 10, by mistake. (*Koḍai Chibetto-shi kenkyū* I, Kyōtō 1958, p. 208, cf. also p. 245; for the translation of the relevant parts of the work I am indebted to Miss Hilda Ecsedy.)

Mention must be made, finally, of two short remarks by V. A. Bogoslovskij revealing that he relates both the history of the conflict with *Lĭg Myi-rhya* and the royal eulogy, that is, the entirety of chapters 11—12 (VIII, 2—3), to the age of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* (*Очерк истории тибетского народа*,

Moscow 1962, p. 82, n. 25 and p. 169 and n. 150). Unfortunately, he does not offer his reasons for forming an opinion different from those of his predecessors, although, as it will be seen, he is the only one who guessed the right solution.

The date of the overthrow of the Žaṅ-žuṅ Kingdom

3. The key to the chronological problems of paragraphs 11—12 (VIII, 2—3) is the date of the clash with *Lĭg Myi-rhya* and of the overthrow of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* kingdom, which, in turn, cannot be established unless clearing up the identity and age of the characters in paragraph 11 (VIII, 2).

We have unfortunately no positive evidence upon which to identify three out of the five characters of paragraph 11 (VIII, 2). The name of the Tibetan sovereign is missing, throughout the paragraph he is mentioned only by the denotations *rgyal* «King», *Lde-bu* «Son of the *Lde*s»[3], *dral* «the brother», *bcan-po dral* «the Mighty One, the brother», *bcan-po* «the Mighty One» and *rje* «Lord» (*Chr.*:.398, .401, .404, .406, .424—426, .428, .430, .432 = *DTH*:115.27, .33, :116.2, .5—6, :117.1—3, .5—7, .11, .13; tsl.:155.4, .11, .18, .22—23, :158.12—14, .16, .18, .21—22, .25). Princess (*bcan-mo*) *Sad-mar-kar*, sister of the sovereign and the second wife of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king (*Chr.*:.399 = *DTH*:115.28, tsl.: 155.5), and also *Šud-ke-za Rcal-thĭṅ/-tiṅ-šags*, the first wife of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king (*Chr.*: .399—400 = *DTH*: 115.29—31, tsl.: 155.7—9) are not known from any other sources.

Thus the examination must be limited to no more than two characters. These are *Lĭg Myi-rhya*|*Lig Myĭ-rhya*, the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king (*Chr.*: .399—400, .402, .430—433 = *DTH*: 115.29—32, .35, :117.11, .14, .16; tsl.: 155.6—8, .10, .14, :158.23, .26, .28—29) and *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ*, shortly *Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ* and *Rmaṅ-čuṅ* (*Chr.*:.402—403, .405, .424, .427 = *DTH*:115.36, .38, :116.3, :117.1, .6; tsl.:155.14—15, .17, .20, :158.11, .18).

[3] Bacot already realized that the term *Lde-bu* referred to the Tibetan sovereign (*DTH*, p. 155, n. 2.). This, in fact, is a variant of the title *Lde-sras*, which later — perhaps under Buddhist influence — was ousted by the title *lha-sras* ≲ Skt. *devaputra*. The late tradition traces this change of tittles back to the age of the mythical kings: the mothers of the eight kings known as *Lde* were *lha-mo* „goddesses" and *klu-mo* „snake-goddesses", and *de-phyir Lha-sras Lde-sras čes-par grags*| |*'baṅs-daṅ gñen-bsres man-čhad Lde-sras bžag* |*de-yi dod-tu* (*R*: *dad-du*) *Lha sras bcan-po zer* (*Dp. ʒa X*:9a.7—b.1 ~ *R*:12b.6) «therefore (the king) was called 'the Son of the Gods, Son of the *Lde*s', (but) later the subjects and the relations on the female line dropped the 'son of the *Lde*s' and said 'the Son of the Gods, the Mighty One' instead» (cf. R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*: *Collection «Sigma»* 1, Paris 1962, p. 30). The passage in question of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* nevertheless proves that, also in historical times, the title *Lde-bu/Lde-sras* was still in usage.

4. The identification of *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ* with *Spug Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ* mentioned in the account of the year 653 of the *Royal Annals*, as suggested by Satō (*op. cit.*, p. 208), is correct. The names in fact conform completely, in all three elements, and the differences can be explained easily. The *brcan/rcan* and the *čuṅ/čhuṅ* are common spelling varieties, whereas the *rma/rmaṅ* difference is the result of a simple misspelling. The identification is further supported by the fact that *Spug* in both sources is mentioned in connection with *Žaṅ-žuṅ*.

I cannot, however, agree with Satō's opinion of the role of *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ* ~ *Spug Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ* and with his dating of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* military campaign. According to Satō, as has been mentioned above, *Spug* plays the part of the supreme commander of the campaign in both sources, which then puts the date of the campaign after the death of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*. In reality the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* speaks only of the activity of *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ* as an envoy, and no mention is made of his taking part in the campaign at all (see esp. *Chr.*:.402—407, .424—429 = *DTH* :115.36—116.7, :117.1—9; tsl.:155.14—24, :158.11—20), even though his doing so is a more or less probable supposition. Similarly, what the report of 653 of the *Royal Annals* says is not *Spug*'s commandership, but that *Žaṅ-žuṅ-yul-gyĭ mṅan-du Spug Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ bčhug* (*Ann. I*:.24 = *DTH*:13—.20—21) «to *mṅan* of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* country *Spug Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ* has been appointed». Researches of the last two decades have revealed that the *mṅans* were economic officials (G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* : *SOR* I, Rome 1950, p. 79, n. 43; H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A. D.* 821—822 *from the Inscription at Lhasa* : *Prize Publication Fund* XIX, London 1952, p. 77—78, n. 8; Fang-kuei Li, *The Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821—822* : *TP* XLIV [1956], p. 74; V. A. Bogoslovskij, *О налоговых терминах в тибетских документах VII—IX вв.: Китай, Япония, К семидесятилетию академика Н. И. Конрада*, Moscow 1961, pp. 60—63, and *Очерк истории тибетского народа*, pp. 159—165).

In my opinion the information of the *Royal Annals* proves in fact that in 653 there was already a consolidated Tibetan administration functioning in the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* country, that is, the independent, or rather semiindependent *Žaṅ-žuṅ* kingdom of *Lĭg Myi-rhya* had been, by then, a thing of the past for some time.

5. *Lĭg Myi-rhya* can be identified not only with the *Lig Mi-rgya* of the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas* (*RgyBon*:48.4) realized already by Bacot (*DTH*, p. 117, n. 1 and p. 181, n. 1), but also with *Li Mig-skya*, the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king mentioned in *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (*Dp. ja X*:33b.5 ~ *R*:47b.3).

The deviations of the late forms *Lig Mi-rgya* and *Li Mig-skya* from the original *Lĭg Myi-rhya*/*Lig Myĭ-rhya* can be well explained. The *mi* is a regular late phonetic and spelling form, as opposed to the earlier *myi*. The clusters and ligatures *rgy* and **rky* (> *sky*) substitute the foreign *rhy*. The *Li Mig-skya* form is partly a consequence of text corruption by the metathesis of letters and partly of a prefix change *r-* > *s-* of orthographical character, in which in all probability folk-etymology also had a part, *mig-skya* meaning «light-gray-eyed». Finally it is to be noted that the word *yab* «father» standing after the name *Lig Mi-rgya* in the Bon chronicle is, on the evidence of the other sources, only an epithet and not an organic part of the name as B. Laufer thought (*Über ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bonpo* : *TP*, ser. ii, II [1901], p. 26; cf. also Petech, *loc. cit.*; but correctly: Bacot, *DTH*, p. 117, n. 1).

6. From the two late data, that of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* is chronologically completely explicit, since it tells that one of the wives of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* was *Žaṅ-žuṅ-gi rgyal-po Li⟨g⟩ Mi{g}-skya'i sras-mo Žaṅ-žuṅ-bz̄a'*[4] *Li Thig-dman* «the daughter of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king *Li⟨g⟩ Mi{g}-skya*, the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* lady *Li Thig-dman* (*Dp. ǰa X*:33b.5 ~ *R*:47b.3).

This information is corroborated not only by a whole line of late chronicles, which, without names, also mention the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* wife of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* (G. Tucci, *The Wives of Sroṅ btsan sgam po* : *Oriens Extremus* IX [1962], p. 122), but also by paragraph 11 (VIII, 2) of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* itself. This paragraph reports that the Tibetan princess *Sad-mar-kar* married *Lĭg Myi-rhya*, but the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king did not consummate the marriage, which served for the Tibetans as a pretext for the subversion of *Lĭg myi-rhya*'s reign and the annexion of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* country. The story is introduced with this sentence: *rgyal 'dĭ-'i riṅ-la*| |*Žaṅ-žuṅ Lde-bu*| |*gñen-gyĭ yaṅ do*[5] | |*'thab-kyĭ yaṅ skal-te* (*Chr.* :.398 = *DTH* :115.27—28) «During the time of this king, *Žaṅ-žuṅ* and the Son of the *Lde*s (i.e. the Tibetan sovereign) were a pair in relationship by marriage, and shared their lot in battles».[6] According to this, there was a double, dynastic marriage, but paragraph 11 mentions only the Tibetan wife of *Lĭg Myi-rhya*, whereas the memory of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* wife of the Tibetan king was preserved by the tradition about the wives of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*.

Thus the data of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the late sources, first of all the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, mutually supplement and corroborate each other

[4] *R*: *bza'*.

[5] *DTH*: *ṅo*.

[6] Bacot's translation: «Sous ce même roi, le Žaṅ-žuṅ et le fils de Lde devinrent alliés. Après une lutte heureuse, . . .» (*DTH*: 155. 4—5). There are two basic errors in this translation. Firstly, the words *yaṅ do* remained untranslated because the erroneous reading *yaṅ ṅo* did not make sense. Secondly, Bacot did not recognize that the structures *gñen-gyĭ yaṅ do* and *'thab-kyĭ yaṅ skal* — were parallel to each other.

proving, at the same time, that the *rgyal 'dï* «this king» of paragraph 11 of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* is not *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan,* but *Khri Sroṅ-brcan,* alias *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po.*

7. The information of the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas* about *Lig Mi--rgya* must be examined within a larger context.

(*RgyBon*:48.1) *gñis-pa Khri-sroṅ-gi riṅ-la nub-chul bži-ste|*

(.2) *dus gaṅ-gi che nub-pa| yul gaṅ-du nub-pa| rgyal-gšen gaṅ-gi riṅ-la ⟨nub-pa| chul⟩ bon gaṅ* (.3) *nub-pa'o|| daṅ-po ni: — che lo lṅa-bču-pa'i dus-su nub-ste| dus-chigs 'og-nas ston-no||*

(.4) *gñis-pa yul ni Bod-daṅ Žaṅ-žuṅ gñis-kar nub-ste| Bod-kyi rgyal-pos Žaṅ-žuṅ* (.5) *bon skyoṅ-ba'i rgyal-po Lig Mi-rgya yab ṅan-thabs-kyis bkroṅs-te Žaṅ-žuṅ Bod-kyi mṅa'-'og-* (.6) *tu bčug| bon-kyi bstan-pa bsnubs-pa'i lo-rgyus Žaṅ-žuṅ sñan-rgyud-nas bšad-pa ltar-ro||*

(7.) *gsum-pa rgyal-gšen Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan de'i sku 'cho-ba'i gšen ni Khri-sñan Rgyal-čhuṅ-daṅ|* (.8) *gžan bla-ma ni Khyuṅ-po Gyer-zla Med-pa bžugs-pa'i dus yin-par Phur-ba'i 'grel-čhen-nas bšad-* (.9) *do|| yaṅ Sña-li-šu Stag-riṅ-gi sku ⟨'⟩ch⟨o-ba⟩'i tha-ma bla-ma Gran-pa'i sku-riṅ-ṅo||*

«The four (questions about the) second decline (of the Bon) during the time of *Khri-sroṅ* (i.e. *Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan*): the time during which it declined; the country in which it declined; the king and the *gšen* during whose time ⟨it declined; the way,⟩ in which the Bon declined — 1. (As for) the time: it declined in fifty years' time; the periods will be shown hereafter.

«2. As for the country, it declined both in Tibet and *Žaṅ-žuṅ* (since) the father *Lig Mi-rgya,* the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king protecting the Bon was in a vicious way murdered by the Tibetan king and *Žaṅ-žuṅ* was subjugated to Tibetan rule. (This is) the history of the oppression of the Bon doctrine, as said by the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* oral traditions.

«3. (As for) the king and the *gšen,* it is said by the *Phur-ba'i 'grel-čhen* that it was during the time when *Khri Sron-lde'u-bcan,* his healing *gšen Khri-sñan Rgyal-čhuṅ* and further the lama *Khyuṅ-po Gyer-zla Med-pa* lived. Moreover (it is said that it was) the time of *Gran-pa,* the last healing lama of *Sña-li-šu Stag-riṅ.*»

In the cited passage the correlation of the individual motives is chronologically ambiguous. Petech — who, in his time, had only Laufer's short abridgement at his disposal — had every reason to believe that the Bon chronicle puts the death of *Lig Mi-rgya* and also the annexion of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* to the time of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan* (Petech, *loc. cit.*; cf. Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—26). This interpretation cannot, even in the knowledge of the complete text, be dismissed, but, beside it, another one may also be suggested, according to which the murder of *Lig Mi-rgya* and the conquest of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* are only the antecedents of the decline taking place during the time of *Khri-sroṅ,* since it

was the subjugation of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* that created the conditions of the later oppression of the Bon, not only in Tibet, but also in its own native land.

In my opinion, however, the decisive factor is not the context of the chronicle but the text of the individual quotations. Thanks to the authors' exact indication of the sources it can be established that the passage dealing with *Lig Mi-rgya*'s death comes from a different source than the others, and it does not contain the name of *Khri-sroṅ|Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan,* but speaks only of *Bod-kyi rgyal-po* «the king of Tibet».

Thus the significance of the passage treating the conquest of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* is in that it preserved the local oral tradition about the subjugation of the country and the death of her last king, but it does not offer any kind of evidence as to the dating of the events.

8. The final conclusion is that the quarrel between *Lĭg Myi-rhya* and and the Tibetan king and the annexation of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* must be put to the time of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan,* that is, *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po,* firstly because king *Lĭg Myi-rhya,* according to the information concerning *Spug Gyim-brcan Rmaṅ-čuṅ|Gyĭm-rcan Rma-čhuṅ,* fell before 653, and secondly, because the independent data of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the late chronicles support each other in that *Lĭg Myi-rhya|Li⟨g⟩ Mi{g}-skya* and *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* were brothers-in-law on two sides, and the quarrel broke out in connection with this very fact. The *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas* does not conflict with this dating, since its information about the death of *Lig Mi-rgya* is, from the chronological point of view, indifferent.

There is only one plausible solution after all this, namely, that *Lĭg Myi-rhya* is identical with that *Lĭg Sña-šur* who, according to the *Royal Annals,* was defeated by the Tibetans about 644, and the two names are two differently shortened variants of the same, fuller royal name (titulature). This conclusion is supported by the last sentence of paragraph 11 (VIII, 2) of the Old Tibetan Chronicle, and especially by the beginning of paragraph 12 (VIII, 3) which shows such an extensive textual agreement with the passage of the year 644 of the *Royal Annals* that their common origin is quite apparent: . . . || *Lĭg Myi-rhya-'ĭ*[7] *srid brlag-go* | | (New paragraph) ~ |.|*rgyal 'dĭ-'i riṅ-la*| |. . . | |*Žaṅ-žuṅ-gĭ rgyal-po Lĭg Myi-rhya*[8]⟨*-'i*⟩ *srid brlag-ste* | | *Žaṅ-žuṅ thams-čhad 'baṅs-su bkug-go* (*Chr.* :.432—434 = *DTH* :117.14—17) «. . . the power of *Lĭg Myi-rhya* was overthrown. (New paragraph) During the time of this king . . ., the power of the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king *Lĭg Myi-rhya* having been overthrown, the whole *Žaṅ-žuṅ* was bent to subjection» ~ *de-nas lo gsum-na|bcan-po Khrĭ Sroṅ-rcan-gyĭ riṅ-la'|Lĭg Sña-šur brlag-ste Žaṅ-žuṅ thaṁs-čad 'baṅsu bkug-ste mṅa'o* (*Ann.*

[7] *DTH*: *rhya'i* (one syllable).
[8] *DTH*: *dhya*; cf. p. 117, n. 1.

I:.13—14 = *DTH*:13.5—6) «Three years after this (i.e. after the arrival in Tibet of the imperial princess *Mun-čhaṅ* = *Wên-ch'eng*), during the time of the Mighty One *Khrĭ Sroṅ-rcan, Lĭg Sña-šur* having been overthrown, the whole *Žaṅ-žuṅ* having been bent to subjection was taken possession of».

Observations to the interpretation of the description of the feast and the royal eulogy

9. The new dating of the conquest of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* leaves no doubt about the fact that also paragraph 12 (VIII, 3) speaks of *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* and not *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*, since the celebration is held, *explicite verbis*, on the occasion of the victory over *Lĭg Myi-rhya*, and the eulogy follows the description of the celebration almost organically.

It will not be totally profitless, however, to have a look at the passages of paragraph 12 (VIII, 3) in which the king and his councillor are called by their names. The text of these passages is the following:

'Uṅ-gĭ rĭes-la | |bcan-po rĭes 'baṅs-dgyes skyems-ston-mo gsol-te|[9] *bcan-po Khri Sroṅ-brcan-gyis mgur blaṅs-pa | |*

kye rĭe-'i nĭ mchan-ba 'di | |
Khrĭ-'i nĭ Sroṅ-brcan žig | |
blon-gyĭ ni myiṅ-ba 'dĭ | |
Stoṅ-rcan ni Yul-zuṅ žĭg | |
. . . . . .| |

mgur de žes gsuṅs-so | | mgur-gyi lan | |blon Stoṅ-rcan-gyis gsol-pa| . . . |klu de žes blaṅs-so | |bla-na rĭe sgam-na |Khrĭ Sroṅ-brcan |'og-na blon 'jaṅs-na Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ | . . . | |Bod-kyi čhos-kyi gžuṅ bzaṅ-po kun| |bcan-po Khri Sroṅ-brcan-gyi riṅ-las byuṅ-ṅo|myi yoṅs-kyis bka'-drin dran[10]*-žiṅ chor-bas | |Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po žes mchan gsol-to* (*Chr.* :.434—436, .439—440, .446, .454—455 = *DTH* :117.17—21, .28—29, :118.6—7, .21—24).

«After this (i.e. after the defeat of *Lĭg Myi-rhya* and the conquest of *Žaṅ-žuṅ*), a drinking feast was held, to rejoice the subjects, by the Mighty One, the lord. The chant said by the Mighty One *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*:

'Oh, the name of the lord is this:
Khrĭ-'i Sroṅ-brcan
The name of the councillor is this:
Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ.
. . . . . .'

[9] *DTH*: two *šads*

[10] In the manuscript the *dran* is inserted additionally, under the line.

Thus the chant was recited. The reply to the chant given by Councillor *Ston-rcan*: '. . .' Thus the chant was recited. Above, as a lord of deep insight (there was) *Khrĭ Sroṅ-brcan*, below, as a wise councillor, *Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*. All the good foundations of the Tibetan customs appeared from the time of the Mighty One *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*. (Therefore) he received from all the people remembering his benefactions the name *Sroṅ-brcan* of Deep Insight (*Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*).»

The quotation proves beyond doubt that not only the ritual chant of the king, but all the narrative passages of the text refer to the king and his councillor by the names *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* and (*Mgar*) *Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*. Consequently, those explanations according to which *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*, in his chant, identifies himself and his councillor with their predecessors are disproved by the very wording of paragraph 12 (VIII, 3) itself.

Changes in the succession of the pharagraphs in the second half of the Old Tibetan Chronicle

10. In possession of the results of the above examinations it is worth while to make the order of the paragraphs the subject of a global inspection. In connection with this, attention must be called to a highly significant statement of Bacot, neglected even by himself, namely, that not only the accounts of the ages of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan* and *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* are intermingled, but some of the paragraphs concerning the age of *Khri 'Dus-sroṅ* are also not in their proper place, and that all these chronological irregularities are, in a way, related to each other (*DTH*, p. 93; cf. above, § 2).

It is not difficult to realize that the whole chronological confusion was created by the fact that the text was left to us with two groups of paragraphs interchanged, whereas their original order followed the chronological succession of the sovereigns. This original order is shown in the table below.

11. After these, it is very useful to examine the attachment of the sheets constituting the roll. I had, unfortunately, no opportunity to inspect the original manuscript, but the places of the attachments are, also on the microfilm, or rather on the enlargement made of it, clearly visible.

In most cases the letters extend over, or on the contrary break at the edges of the sheets, which means that in these cases the sheets had been glued to each other before the lower sheet was written on. This method was followed in general when the text of a paragraph went on from one sheet to the other (*Chr.*:.33—34, .100—101, .135—136, .170—171, .241—242, .315—316, .421—422, .461—462, .501—502), and in only one case where the new sheet marks also the beginning of a new paragraph (*Chr.*:.481—482).

There are, on the other hand, two cases where the upper sheet covers the vowel signs written above the the top line of the lower sheet, and only

The paragraphs		Subject	The reign
Place			
original	present		
*6.	6. (VI. 1.)	Beginning of the reign of *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*	*Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*, alias *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* (629?—649)
*7.	7. (VI. 2.)	The history of *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* (part II)	
*8.	11. (VIII. 2.)	The quarrel between the Tibetan king and *Lǐg Myi-rhya*	
*9.	12. (VIII. 3.)	The celebration of the victory over *Lǐg Myi-rhya*; the eulogy of *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*	
*10.	13. (IX. 1.)	The song of *'Dus-sroṅ* about the disloyalty of *Mgar*	*Khri 'Dus-sroṅ* (676—704)
*11.	14. (IX. 2.)	*Khe-rgad Rgyal-to-re Mdo-snaṅ*'s song about the *Čog-ro* wife of *Khri 'Dus-sroṅ* and the reply of the woman	
*12.	15. (X. 1.)	*Mgar Khri-'brǐṅ Bcan-brod*'s victory at *Stag-la Rgya-dur*	
*13.	16. (X. 2.)	The flight of *Mgar Maṅ-po-rǰe Stag-rcan* and *Pa-chab Rgyal-to-re* to China	
*14.	8. (VII. 1.)	Eulogy of *Khri 'Dus-sroṅ*	
*15.	9. (VII. 2.)	The reign of *Khri Lde-gcug-brcan*	*Khri Lde-gcug-brcan* (704—754)
*16.	10. (VIII. 1.)	The reign of *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*	*Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan* (755—79?)

occasionally are the covered parts of these signs adjusted on the upper sheet. Consequently, in these two cases the sheets were attached to each other after having been written on.[11] These attachments can be found above the first lines of the present paragraph 8 (VII, 1) and paragraph 11 (VIII, 2) (*Chr.*:.328, .398), that is, exactly where the chronological breaches occur.

Thus the ultimate conclusion is that the chronological problems of the second half of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* were caused by the wrong order in which, after the transcription of the extant copy, two parts of the roll had been attached to each other. The correct order is: paragraphs 1—7 (I—VI, 2), 11—16 (VIII, 2—X, 2), 8—10 (VII, 1—VIII, 1).

[11] In three cases, before paragraphs 1 and 2, and also inside paragraph 5, we have no criteria upon whith to decide the time of the attachment (*Chr.*:.1, 62—63, .284—285).

THE ROLE OF *R* IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN SPOKEN TIBETAN DIALECTS

BY

R. K. SPRIGG (London)

I. *y*-like, *w*-like, and *r*-like syllable features

In his analysis of the monosyllable in Hunanese J. R. Firth suggested that *y*-like and *w*-like elements might be regarded, like tone, as features of the syllable as a whole.[1] Among his reasons for treating them as syllable features was the fact that it is rare for either of these two elements to be represented twice in the same syllable, i.e. in the syllable final as well as in the syllable initial, and vice versa. A similarly syntagmatic approach may simplify accounts of the development of *r* sounds in contemporary spoken Tibetan dialects from *r* sounds and other types of sound in earlier stages of the language, as indicated by the orthographic forms of Written Tibetan.[2]

[1] J. R. Firth and B. B. Rogers, *The structure of the Chinese monosyllable in a Hunanese dialect* (*Changsha*): *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* VIII, 4 (1937), 1059—60, 1066, 1073—4, republished in J. R. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics 1934—1951*: *OUP* 1957, 76—91.

[2] In this article the term «*r* sound» is used to cover several phonetically different types of consonant, both voiced and voiceless: (a), an alveolar fricative, in (i), the Lhasa dialect (L.) in all circumstances (examples 2, 5, 10, 12); (ii), Golok (G.) when preceding or following alveolar occlusion ([ɻtr-], ex. 7; [ɻtr-, (*C*)tɻ-], etc., exx. 2, 10—12); (iii) Khapalu Balti (B. (K.)), Skardu Balti (B. (S.)), and Balti generally (B.), when following syllable-initial occlusion except [*st*-], e.g. [*kɻ*-, *tɻ*-, *br*-] (ex. 10); (b), an alveolar roll, commonly one-tap, in (i), Golok, in all other circumstances, e.g. syllable-initial ([*r*-, *rC*-, *ɻC*-]) and syllable-final ([-*r*]), (exx. 2—6, 8, 12); (ii), both Khapalu and Skardu Balti, in all other circumstances except when following [*st*-], e.g. syllable-initial ([*r*-, *rC*-, *ɻC*-]) and syllable-final ([-*r*]), (exx. 2—4, 6); (c), a post-dental roll, in Balti, following a dental plosive ([*str*-]), (example 10).

All three types of *r* are symbolized by [*r*] when voiced and by [*ɻ*] when voiceless; [*C*] symbolizes any appropriate consonant, [*N*] a homorganic nasal. [*t*] and [*d*] symbolize alveolars when preceding [*r*/*ɻ*] except in the sequence [*str*-]; in [*str*-] the symbol [*t*], and in all other circumstances both [*t*] and [*d*], symbolize dentals.

In Skardu Balti there is also a contrasting sequence [*tr*] in which the plosive is not alveolar but dental, and the [*r*] is a post-dental roll, e.g. [*truk*] «six» (cf. *drug*), [*tris*] «ask» (imperative) (cf. *'dris*), [*dra*] «same» (cf. *'dra*), [*dre*] «devil» (cf. *'dre*); but there are no such examples in this article (such examples correspond in initial to the symbols *dr* of Tibetan orthography; the corresponding Khapalu-Balti features are alveolarity with fricative [*r*], cf. a, iii above).

II. Distribution of syllable-initial and syllable-final *r* and of *r* sounds corresponding to *r*

Thus, out of 1,209 entries in Jäschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* that contain *r* in the syllable initial, only eleven also have *r* in the syllable final;[3] and these eleven can be considered unusual on one or other of four grounds: they are either (a) contractions of disyllabic forms, (b) examples of what Jäschke calls the terminative case, and therefore of two lexical items, one of which is *-r*, (c) alternatives to an orthographic form containing some other prefix, *d*, *b*, or *s*, or (d) onomatopoeic;[4] and two of the eleven, *rnar* and *rcar*, are both contractions and examples of the terminative:

1. *r* in both syllable initial and syllable final, *rCVr*

   a. contractions (3)
   rdor for *rdo-rǰe*; (i) name of a monastery in Tibet, (ii) in *lag-rdor* and *phyag-rdor*, «Holder of the Sceptre» (*rdo-rǰe*)
   rnar for *rna-bar* «to the ear»
   rcar for *rca-bar* «near to» (*rca-ba* «root», «lower end»)

   b. terminative (3)
   rgyar «in extent»
   rer «to each»
   srar «severely» [?] from *sra* «firm»

   c. alternative to *dC-*, *bC-*, or *sC-* (4)
   rgur dgur, *rgur*, or *sgur* «crooked», «stoop»
   rdar bdar, *rdar* [sic, for *brdar*] «rub», «grind», e.g. *brdar-ša*, *rca-brdar gčod-pa* «examine closely»
   rdor sdor, *rdor* «seasoning», «spice»
   rnur snur-ba «shift»; cf. *brnu(r)-ba*

   d. onomatopoeic (1)
   rmur rmur-ba «gnarl [sic] and bite each other».

[3] H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 1881, re-printed London 1934. The orthographic forms of Written Tibetan are in italic fount; *C* summarizes all consonant letters appropriate to the environment in question.

[4] The alternation of the prefix *r* with *d*, *b*, or *s* in (c) may be due to the fact that there is no longer any phonetic distinction in the reading-style pronunciation of Written Tibetan corresponding to this orthographic distinction (apart from a few examples, restricted to medial position, in which *b* is distinguished from the others by labiality); the scribe has, therefore, nothing but his memory to guide him in his choice of prefix.

Where such modern spoken dialects as Balti, Golok, and Lhasa have a *r* sound ([*r*, *ɾ*]) corresponding to *r* in a Written-Tibetan orthographic form, this sound is, accordingly, confined to either syllable initial or syllable final;[5] e.g.

2. Written-Tibetan *r* and [*r*, *ɾ*] in the modern spoken dialects

a.	*rk-*	*rku*	B. [*ɾku*] steal
b.	*rg-*	*rgun*	B. [*rgun*] grape
c.	*rṅ-*	*rṅa*	B. [*ɾŋa*] reap
d.	*rǰ-*	*rǰes-la* later	B. [*rd̑zes(la)*] in three days' time
		rǰe/brǰes[6]	G. [*rd̑ʑe:/βd̑ʑi:*] exchange
e.	*rñ-*	*rñid*	B. (K.) [*ɾŋɪt*] wrinkle
		rñiṅ-ma	G. [*ɾ/rŋã:(ma)*] old
f.	*rt-*	*rta*	B., G. [*ɾta*] horse
g.	*rd-*	*rduṅ/brduṅs*	B. (K.) [*rduŋ*] hit
			G. [*rdɔŋ/βdɔŋ*] hit
h.	*rn-*	no G. examples; B. [*sn-*], e.g. [*sna:*] *rna-ba* ear	
i.	*rb-*	no B. or G. examples	
j.	*rm-*	*rma*	B. [*ɾma(kha)*] sore
			G. [*ɾ/rma*] sore
k.	*rc-*	*rced-mo*	B. [*ɾtsenɔ*] game
			G. [*ɾtsi:mo*] game
l.	*rj-*	*rjiṅ*	B. [*rdziŋ*] pond
m.	*rl-*	*rluṅ*	G. [*rlɔ̃(:)*] air
n.	*br-*	*brag*	B. [*braq*], G. [*ptrak*], L. [*tɾà:*] rock
o.	*r-*	*ri*	B. [*ri*], G. [*rə*], L. [*rì*] hill

[5] My Balti, Golok, and Lhasa material I owe to the following informants: (Lhasa) Rinzin Wangpo (*rigs-'jin dbaṅ-po*) (R.), a Lhasa-born Tibetan, Research Assistant in Tibetan at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1948—9; (Balti) for the Skardu dialect, the prestige dialect of Baltistan, Zakir Hussain Baltistani (Z.), a student and radio announcer, and for the Khapalu dialect, Abdul Karim, a watchman, both at Rawalpindi, West Pakistan, November, 1964—March, 1965; (Golok) Dodrup Rimpoche (*rdo-grub rin-po če*), a lama, at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim May, 1965. It was not possible to check my material in the actual dialect area in which each was spoken; but a visit to Gyantse, in the Tsang province of Tibet, where there were a number of Lhasa-dialect-speakers, in April-May, 1950, substantiated my Lhasa-dialect material. — Golok is, perhaps, not to be regarded as a dialect; cf. G. de Roerich, *Les Goloks et leur caractère ethnique*: *XVe Congrès International d'Anthropologie Préhistorique* (1931), Paris 1933, 741.

[6] Consonant-final verbs are regularly cited with both present and past forms: the past form sometimes seems more useful in dialect comparison than the present.

p. *-r* *'bar* B. [*bar*], G. [*mbar*] L. [*bàr(ə)*] burn
'byar B. [*bjar*], G. [*m(b)dʑ́ar*], L. [*dʑ́àr(ə)*] stick.[7]

III. *r* sound corresponding to *d*, *s*, etc.

In Balti and Golok, however, a syllable-initial *r* sound sometimes corresponds not to the Written-Tibetan prefix *r* but to some other prefix, especially *d* or *s*; e.g.

3. Written-Tibetan prefixes *d s*, and [*r, ɻ*] in the modern spoken dialects

dk-	*dka'*	B. [*ɻka*] difficulty
dg-	*dgos*	B. [*rgɔs*] need
		G. [*rgo*] need
dṅ-	*dṅul*	G. [*rŋi:*] silver
dp-	*dpe* model	B. [*ɻpe*] imitation
db-	*dbus* middle	B. [*rbus*] [middle pillar of house][8]
	dbugs	G. [*rvuk*] breath
dm-	*dmag*	B. [*ɻmaq*] army, crowd
sk-	*skra* hair	B. [*ɻka(lo)*] plait
	ske	G. [*ɻkje*] neck
sg-	*sgo-po*	B. [*rgo*] body
	sgaṅ	G. [*rgã:*] projecting hill, spur
sṅ-	*sṅa*	G. [*ɻŋa*] early
sñ-	*sñugs*	B. [*ɻŋjɔx*] habit
st-	*stoṅ*	G. [*ɻtɔŋ*] thousand
sd-	*sdug*	B. [*rduk*] handsome
	sdod/bsdad	G. [*rdɔd/βdəd*] sit
sn-	none; cf. B. [sn-], e.g. [*snamsul*] *sna-mchul* nose	
sp-	*sprod/sprad* ask, set	B. [*ɻpət*] debate, argue
	spyaṅ-ki	G. [*rfʌŋ(kə)*] wolf

[7] In the Lhasa dialect a syllable-final *r* sound corresponding to *-r* occurs only when the verb is combined with the nominalizing particle *ba*, e.g. *'bar-ba* «burning», or the past-tense particle *ba*, e.g. *'bar-ba-red* «it burnt», for both of which a phonetic spelling *ra* is sometimes used in writing down the Lhasa dialect as spoken. — The grave accent indicates that the lexical item in question belongs to the Lhasa dialect's lower tone classification, cf. R. K. Sprigg, *Verbal phrases in Lhasa Tibetan*, I: *BSOAS* XVI, 1 (1954), 142, n. 1. It has, in consequence, the lower of the two distinctive pitch levels in most environments, but commonly the higher when occurring as the second syllable of a disyllabic noun, e.g. *me-'bar*, cf. *The tonal system of Tibetan (Lhasa dialect) and the nominal phrase*: *BSOAS* XVII, 1 (1955), 147—8, 152—3.

[8] Z. preferred [*ʁbus*] and [*ʁbul*] respectively, with uvular friction initially.

sb-	*sbrul*	G. [*rbul*] snake[8]
		G. [*rvi:*] snake
sm-	*smraṅ* speech	B. [*ɾmã:*] discussion
	sman	G. [*ɾmən*] medicine
sc-	none	
sl-	no examples; cf. B. [*l̥ts-*], G. [*l̥-*], e.g. [*l̥tsap*], [*l̥ɔp*] *slob/bslabs* teach	

Where, however, Balti already has a syllable-final [*r*], this representation of the *r* feature in the syllable final appears either to have prevented the development of a *r* sound in the syllable initial, or to have suppressed it; e.g.

4. Written-Tibetan *dCVr*; Balti [*ɾ̥CVr*][9]

dkar	B. [*kar*] white, not *[*ɾ̥kar*]
dṅar	B. [*ŋar*] gentle, tasteless. not *[*ɾ̥ŋar*]
dmar	B. [*mar*] red, not *[*ɾ̥mar*].

Two other Balti lexical items that one might expect to have [*r*] initially have not suppressed it but seem to have developed another sound instead:

dbyar	B. [*zbjar*] summer, not *[*rbjar*]
dbu/lbu-ba	B. [(*ka*)*zbur*] foam, not *[-*rbur*];

on the analogy of [*rbus*] «central pillar of the house» (*dbus* «middle», «midst», «centre») one would expect *[*rbjar*] (or *[*ʁbjar*]) and *[(*ka*)*ʁbur*] (or *[(*ka*)*rbur*]).[10]

In the available material the only exceptions to the generalization that [*r*] in the syllable final suppresses [*r*] or [*ɾ*] in the syllable initial, or substitutes some other sound for it, are single Golok and Lhasa examples, in which the «r» feature is represented in both syllable initial and syllable final:

5. Golok [*rCVr*] and Lhasa [*rVr*]

spar/sbar-mo	G. (reading style)	[*rvar(mo)*] fist, paw
ral-ba torn	L.	[*rɛ̀rə, rɛ̀:bə*] get torn.

[9] Cancelling a phonetic symbol, with a stroke, is not meant to symbolize some new and exotic category of sound but merely indicates that the sound that one might, by analogy, have expected to find is not present.

[10] Z. preferred initial uvularity: [*ʁbjar*], [*ʁbus*]. There is not initial [*lb-*] in Balti though there are [*ld-*], [*ldz-*], and [*ldž*]; e.g. [*ldaq*]«lick», [*ldza:*] «month», [*ldžit*] «weight» (cf. *ldag/bldags, zla-ba, l̥jid-pa*). Comparisons of one dialect with another and with Written-Tibetan orthography were made very much easier for me through the kindness of A. F. C. Read, author of *Balti Grammar* (London 1934), who kindly allowed me to make a copy of the surviving half of his typescript Balti-English dictionary.

It should, however, be noted that (i) the Lhasa example differs from the examples at (4) above in that its final [*r*] corresponds not to *-r* but to *-l*;[11] and (ii) the Golok colloquial form [*xwara*], which corresponds to the reading-style form [*rvarmo*], does not contravene the generalization.

IV. Syllable-initial *r* sounds, and *r* elsewhere in the syllable initial

Just as it is rare for the *r* feature to be represented in both syllable initial and syllable final in Golok and Lhasa Tibetan, and impossible in Balti, so, too, is it rare for the *r* feature to be represented twice in the syllable initial; indeed it is impossble in Lhasa and in Balti. Where a *r* sound has developed initially in the syllable from some sound presumed not to have been a *r*, the *r* feature seems to have ceased to be represented by a *r* sound elsewhere in the syllable initial; e.g.

6. *dCr-*, *bCr-*, *sCr-*, and *bsCr-*, and [*ɻCɾ-*, *rCɾ-*]

dkr-	*dkrog*	B. [*ɻkɔq*] churn, not *[*ɻkrɔq*]
dgr-	*dgra*	B. [*rga*] enemy, not *[*rgra*]
dbr-	*dbrab*	B. [*rbʌp* (*tšətpa*)] be very quick at, not *[*rbrʌp*]; see *'brab/brab*, catch suddenly, snatch away
	dbri	B. [*rbi*] write; see *'bri/bris*
bkr-	*bkras*	B. [*ɻkəs*(*tšen*)] skilful (*bkras* = adorned, decorated)
bgr-	*bgrad*	B. [*rgət*] face (an enemy), (*bgrad* = stare, gape)
skr-	*skra* hair	B. [*ɻka*(*lo*)] plait, [*ɻka*(*za:t*)] woman with falling hair, *skra-zad*
	skraṅ/skraṅs	B. [*ɻkã:*] swell
bskr-	*skrod/bskrad*	B. [*ɻkət*] loose for grazing (*skrod/bskrad* = expel, drive out
sgr-	*sgrol/bsgral*	B. [*ɻkul*] row
	sgrig/bsgrigs	B. [*rgjik*] fit together, mend
	sgrim/bsgrims	B. [*ɻkjim*] mix (*sgrim/bsgrims* = force, or twist, together

[11] In verbs there is a regular correspondence of syllable-final [*r*] in the Lhasa dialect with syllable-final *l* of the orthography when the following syllable is either of the two particles *ba* (cf. note 7); but in this instance my informant R. preferred the alternative form [*rɛ̀:bə*] to [*rɛ̀rə*], perhaps in order to avoid having two instances of [*r*] in such close proximity.

	sgril/bsgril	B. [*ɾkjil*] roll around (*sgril/bsgril* = wind or wrap round, roll up
spr-	*spraṅ-po*	G. [*ɾfaŋɔ*] beggar
	sprod/sprad	B. [*ɾpət(pa)*] dialogue, debate, quarrel (*sprod/sprad* = make meet, propose, explain)
	sprin	G. [*rfɯn*] cloud
	spre	G. [*r/ɾfi:*] monkey
	sprug	B. [*ɾpuk*] shake off
	sprul	B. [*ɾpul*] untie and shake (*sprul* = juggle, transform, re-incarnate)
sbr-	*sbra*	G. [*rβa*] tent
	sbrag/sbrags	B. [*rbaq*] pile up, chorus (*sbrag/sbrags* = lay alongside)
	sbrul	B. [*rbul*] snake[12]
		G. [*rβi:*] snake
smr-	*smraṅ* speech	B. [*ɾmã:*] mention, discussion, claim.

These twenty-three examples are all that can be found in the available material; they are probably exhaustive for Balti but not for Golok. Not all of them have the same degree of acceptability: the Balti forms [*rbi*] «write» and [*rbʌp*] «quick at», for example, have been associated with orthographic forms *dbri* and *dbrab* respectively; but it must be admitted that, though Jäschke does indeed give these two forms, he does so without citations or grammatical classification, with nothing more, in fact, than a reference to *'bri/bris* and *'brab/brab*.[13]

It must also be admitted that the *r* feature is represented twice in a number of Golok examples; they correspond to Written-Tibetan *sr-*; e.g.

7. *sr-* and Golok [*ɾCr-*]

sr-	*sras*	G. [*ɾtri:*] son
	srid	G. [*ɾtrət*] existence
	srin-bu	G. [*ɾtr̊ənbə*] worm
	srol	G. [*ɾtrɔl*] custom.

It may be that these forms are examples of an intermediate stage between e.g. **[stri:]* (*sras*) and **[ɾti:]* or **[tri:]* (cf. L. [*trɛ:*], but more usually [*sɛ:*]), **[strin]* (*srin*) and **[ɾtin]* or **[trin]* (cf. B. [*strin*] «insect»), and **[strit]* and **[ɾtit]* or **[trit]* (cf. B. [*strit*] «territory»).

[12] Z. preferred [*ʁbul*].

[13] On the analogy of such verb forms in *dby-* as *dbye, dbyuṅ*, and *dbyi*, which Jäschke treats as actual or possible future forms of *'byed/phye* «open», *'byin/phyuṅ* «draw out», and *'phyi/phyi* «late» respectively, these forms in *dbr-* are also, perhaps, to be regarded as future, though Jäschke does not give them a grammatical classification.

V. Past-tense forms of Golok *r*-feature verbs

The past tense of at least some Golok verbs is indicated by syllable-initial bilabial friction ([Φ, β]); e.g. [*Φsət*] *bsad* «killed», [*Φɾak*] *bsreg* «burned»; in the case of *r*-feature verbs a *r* sound seems not to co-exist in the syllable initial with the labial friction, and the *r*-feature is not, therefore, represented in these forms by a *r* sound; e.g.

8. Golok present [*ɾC-, rC-*], but past [*Φ C-, β C-*]

present		past
[*ɾtɔn*]	*ston* show	[*Φtan*] *bstan* showed
[*rdɔt*]	*sdod* stay	[*βdat*] *bsdad* stayed
[*rdɔŋ*]	*rduṅ* strike	[*βdɔŋ*] *brduṅs* struck
[*ɾkjon*]	*skyon* mount	[*Φkjon*] *bskyon* mounted
[*rdʑ̌e:*]	*rǰe* change	[*βdʑ̌i:*] *brǰes* changed.[14]

Since *ra-mgo* (*rt-, rl-*), *la-mgo* (*lt-*), and *sa-mgo* (*sñ-*) seem to correspond to the Golok *r* feature, the following verbs, only the past forms of which are exemplified in the available material, may be added to the examples just given:[15]

9. Golok past [*Φ C-, β C-*], [ʔ] present [*ɾC-, rC-*]

present		past	
rtog	examine	G. [*Φtʌk*]	*brtags* examined
rlog	overthrow	G. [*βəlak*]	*brlags* overthrew
lta	look	G. [*Φti:*]	*bltas* looked
ltam(s)	fill	G. [*Φtam*]	*bltams* filled
sñuṅ	is ill	G. [*Φɲuŋ*]	*bsñuṅs* was ill.

Even though the verb forms listed at (8) have no *r* sound in the past-tense forms given there, but only in the present-tense forms, there would seem to be advantages in applying the prosodic classification *r*-feature to all five lexical items concerned regardless of the absence of [*ɾ/r*] from the past-tense forms. In that case the phonetic exponents of the *r* feature will contain a *r* sound in the present-tense form, and will consist of the sequences [*ɾt-*,

[14] These examples recall de Kőrös's observation: 'with any of the surmounting letters - - - (*r, l, s*) - - - [*b*] is sounded *b*, those letters being then silent' (Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, *Grammar of the Tibetan language*, Calcutta 1834, 4).

[15] A Golok syllable-initial [*r*] or [*ɾ*] has been shown to correspond to *ra-mgo* and *sa-mgo* in the examples at (8) above; for *la-mgo* cf. [*rŋa*] *lṅa* «five», [*ɾ(ʂ̊)tʂ̊ʌg*] *lčags* «iron», [*(Φʂ̊a:n)(ɾ)fak*] *spyan-lpags* «eyelid», [*rβ/va*] *lba-ba* «goitre».

rd-, *ɾk-*, *rdʑ-*]; but in the past-tense forms the exponents of *r* will not contain a *r* sound, and will consist of the sequences [*Φt-*, *βd-*, *Φk-*, *βdʑ-*]. That is to say, the *r* feature does not have a *r* sound as part of its exponency in all circumstances: provided that the verbs shown at (8) and (9) have a *r* sound in their present-tense form, that sound can perfectly well be dispensed with in their past-tense forms.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the orthographic symbols corresponding to the *r* feature, the prefixes *r*, *l*, and *s*, are to be found in both present-tense and past-tense forms; they thus support the phonological analysis proposed here for these verbs: they are just as much *r*-feature in these past-tense forms as in their present-tense; only the exponents are different.

VI. Post-consonantal *r* sounds in the syllable initial, and homorganic plosives

In section IV a more prominent role has been suggested for syllable-initial *r* sounds at the expense of *r* sounds presumed to have formerly occurred at a later, and post-consonantal ([*rCr-*]), place in the initial part of the syllable; but these post-consonantal *r* sounds also appear to have played an important though different role. They seem to have given rise, in Khapalu Balti, Skardu Balti, Golok, and Lhasa Tibetan alike, but in different degrees and in different environments, to plosives of the same alveolar or dental localization as themselves; e.g.

10. *Cr-*, and [*tɾ-*, *dr-*, *Ctr-*] in Balti, Golok, and Lhasa

khr-	*khrims*	B. (K.) [*kɾim*],		
		B. (S.) [*tɾim*],	G. [*tɾim*],	L. [*tɾim*] law
gr-	*groṅ*	B. (K.) [*grɔ̃:*],		
		B. (S.) [*drɔ̃:*],	G. [*trɔ̃:-*],	L. [*tɾɔ̃:-*] village
spr-	*sprul-sku*		G. [*ftrɯl-*],	L. [*try:-*] incarnation
phr-	*phru(g)-gu*	B. [*pɾu:*]	G. [*ptɾəg-*],	L. [*tɾu:g-*] young
	khyi-phrug			L. [*-ptru:*] puppy
br-	*bra-bo*	B. [*bro:*]	G. [*ptra-*],	L. [*tɾà-*] buckwheat
sr-	*srin*	B. [*strin*]	G. [*ɾtrən-*],	L. [*sim-*] insect, worm.

If the phonetic forms in which there is a [*t*] or [*d*], symbolizing alveolar occlusion (but dental in [*str-*]), be compared with each corresponding orthographic form and with each corresponding phonetic form that does not contain

[*t*] or [*d*], grounds will emerge for treating the alveolar or dental occlusion as a junction feature, of the same place of articulation as the following *r* sound.[16]

The resulting alveolar plosives can be used to account for an anomaly in Golok whereby the initial nasal of such examples as the following is not of the same (alveolar) localization as the following affricate:

11. *'phr-* and *'br-*, and Golok [*mtʂ-*, *mdr-*]

'phr-	*'phraṅ*	G. [*mtʂɑ̃:*] path
	'phreṅ-ba	G. [*mtʂaŋa*] rosary
'br-	*'bras*	G. [*mdri:*] rice
	'bri/bris	G. [*mdrə/ptrə:*] write
	'brug	G. [*mdruk*][17] dragon
	'brum	G. [*mdrəm*] berry.

In these examples one would expect [*ntʂ-*] (*'phr-*) and [*ndr-*] (*'br-*); for, apart from these examples, the orthographic prefix ' (*'a chuṅ*) regularly corresponds to a homorganic nasal in those spoken dialects in which it corresponds to a nasal at all; e.g.

12. *'C-*, and Golok and Lhasa [*NC-*] ([*N*] = homorganic nasal)

		G.	L.	
'kh-	[*ŋkhɔr-*]	*'khor-lo* watch	[*-ŋgwɔ:*]	*lo-'khor* calendar
'khy-	[*ŋkʲak*]	*'khyag*(*s*) feel cold	[*-ŋgja*]	*sku-'khyag* feeling cold
'khr-	[*-ntrək*]	*dmag-'khrug* hostilities	[*-ndry:*]	*nor-'khrul* mistake
'g-			[*-ŋgà*]	*gnad-'gag* importance
'gy-			[*-ŋgjù:*]	*gsar-'gyur* news
'gr-	[*ŋgjo*]	*'gro* go	[*-ndrù*]	*chu-'gro* drain
'čh-	[*ɲtʂham*]	*'čham* dance		
'ǰ-	[*ɲdʐa*]	*'ǰa'* rainbow	[*-ɲdʐàm*]	*drod-'ǰam* lukewarm
'th-	[*nthɔŋ*]	*'thuṅ* drink		
'd-	[*ndɔd-*]	*'dod-mo* wish	[*-ndɖ:*]	*mtho-'dod* ambition
'dr-	[*-ndra*]	*sku-'dra* image	[*-ndrə*]	*sku-'dra* image
'ph-	[*-mphɛŋ-*]	*mda'-'ben-gyi* of the target	[*-mba:*]	*rca-'phar* pulse-beat

[16] For the different types of *r* sound see note 2.

For a detailed account of the phonetic processes involved see R. K. Sprigg, *A tibeti mássalhangzókapcsolatok fonetikai problémái*: *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. Osztályának Közleményei* (trans. A. Róna-Tas) (in print).

[17] The (rounded) vowel in this example is thought to be due to the influence of the Lhasa dialect, in which the research in Golok was conducted; other Golok examples containing a vowel corresponding to orthographic *u*, e.g. the following example, *'brum*, suggest that non-rounding and centralization ([ə]) would be the appropriate features here.

'phr-				
'b-	[*mbar*]	*'bar* burn	[*-ndry:*]	*čho-'phrul* magical trick
'by-	[*m(b)ʤ̑ar*]	*'byar* get stuck	[*-mbà:*]	*me-'bar* blaze
'br-			[*-ɲʤ̑ɔ:*]	*phyag-'byor* obtaining
'j-			[*-ndrùm*]	*lha-'brum* small-pox
'g-	*'ga'* several B. [*-ŋga*] people		[*-nzùm*]	*žal-'jum* smile
'd-	*'da'* exceed B. [*-nda*] people		(with numerals) (*mi-*)	
			(with numerals) (*mi-*).	

It seems reasonable to suppose that the irregularity in the Golok examples corresponding to *'phr-* and *'br-*, [*mtr̥-*, *mdr-*], labial nasality where one would expect homorganic, and therefore alveolar, nasality, might be due to the «r» sound: that earlier syllable initials *[*mpr̥-*] and *[*mdr-*], in which the nasal is both labial and homorganic, gave rise to an alveolar plosive (*[*mptr̥-*, *mbdr-*]), which, with subsequent nasalization of, or simply loss of, the labial stop, resulted in [*mtr̥-*] and [*mdr-*]. This supposition is supported by an alternation in the pronunciation of the Golok palatal-initial form [*m(b)ʤ̑ar*] *'byor/'byar* «get stuck» (examples 12, *'by-*), with and without a labial stop ([b]), and, accordingly, with homorganic alternating with non-homorganic nasality.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TUN-HUANG COLLECTIONS

BY

A. RÓNA—TAS

In a recently published catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang[1] my interest was aroused by a little fragment (No 765, Ch 73, VII frag. B 14) on which De La Vallée Poussin writes: «A fragment cut from a sheet of western paper, with a faint embossed stamp ФАБРИКИ ТАМКИНА». The four lines in *dbu-čan* are too fragmentary to identify the text but fortunately on the *verso* we read: *žes-pa 'di ni 'Ja-ya pandi-tas gsuṅs-so.* It seems very likely that the text refers to the Oirat 'Ja-ya pandita Nam-mkha'i rgya-mcho or Oγtaryuy-yin dalai (1599—1662)[2] and not to the Khalkha 'Ja-ya pandita Blo-bzaṅ phrin-las (born in 1642).[3] The fragment pertains very probably to the Tibetan version of his biography written by Ratnabhadra about 1690.[4]

The most important source for the history of Russian papermills, the book of Uchastkina[5] does not mention the factory of Tamkin, but we know that the first water-mark used on paper was made in 1744 and the blind stamps used on paper were applied only from the beginning of the 19th century onwards.[6] So the fragment cannot be dated earlier than the first decades of the 19th century.

[1] Louis De La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang* with an appendix on the Chinese manuscripts by Kazuo Enoki, Oxford University Press 1962. *Cf.* also my review in *Magyar Könyvszemle* LXXX (1964), pp. 103—105.

[2] On his life see his biography, the Khalkha version of which was republished by Rinčen in 1959: Ratnabhadra, *Rabjamba Cay-a bandida-yin tuyuǰi saran-u gerel kemekü ene metü bolai* : *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, Tomus V, Fasc. 2, Ulan Bator. The most important parts of this biography were also reproduced and commented by Damdinsürüng in his *Mongγol uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰayun bilig orusibai*: *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* etc. (Ulan Bator 1959), pp. 320—326. See note 4.

[3] On the date of his birth and on his literary activity see A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura* (Moscow 1962), pp. 118—119.

[4] The biography was originally written in Oirat. On the history of this important work see the review of G. Kara in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* X (1960), pp. 310—312.

[5] Z. V. Uchastkina, *A History of Russian Hand Paper-mills and their Watermarks* (Hilversium 1962).

[6] S. A. Kletikov, *Stempeljnaja markirovka bumagi* in *Bumažnaja promyšlennostj* (1966), 1, pp. 29—30.

We have to set this fact in contrast with the generally accepted opinion that the famous cave-library of Tun-huang was walled up in 1035.

The date of the closing of the cave and thus the chronology of its inventory is based on reasons put forward by Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot who discovered the cave and brought to Europe a part of the documents found in it. The date 1035 figures already in one of Pelliot's letters written on the 26th March 1908 from the spot to Senart[7] Pelliot states: «Il est donc évident que la niche a été murée dans la première moitié du XIe siècle, et probablement à l'époque de la conquête Si-hia qui eut lieu vers 1035». After his return to Paris he made reports to the French Academy[8] and read a paper in the Comité de l'Asie Française. In this latter paper he stressed: «Et tout cela était antérieur au XIe siècle. En l'an 1035, des envahisseurs étaient venus de l'Est, et hâtivement les moines avaient empilé livres et peintures dans une cachette dont ils avaient muré, crépi, orné l'ouverture.»[9] In the same time — independently from Pelliot — Stein expressed basically the same view.[10] The most compelling argument produced by both Pelliot and Stein was that they had not found Tangut (Si-hia) material in the cave. This was corroborated by the fact that during the first investigation they found documents and fragments datable not later than the end of the 10th century.

Later on, however, some documents came to light which could be dated later than 1035. Sir Denison Ross discovered an Uygur text in the Stein collection which he succeeded to date to 1350, and Pelliot mentions a Taoist text which was printed during the reign of Emperor Kuang Hsü (1875—1908).[11] Thus our text is not the only one which can be safely dated after 1035.

How curious it may be, the truth is that the famous cave was very probably closed about 1035 and yet there are documents deriving undoubtedly from the cave and are undoubtedly later than 1035.

The solution of the puzzle seems to be a simple one. I have to admit that the most important clues for the solution were already referred to by Ross[12] — possibly based on information obtained from Pelliot — and discussed by Stein himself.[13] But the conclusions have not been drawn and therefore it may not be unnecessary to recall briefly the story of the discovery.

[7] P. Pelliot, *Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou* : *BEFEO* VIII (1908), p. 506.

[8] *Rapport de M. Paul Pelliot sur sa Mission au Turkestan chinois* (1906—1909): *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1910 jan-févr. pp. 58—68, reprinted in *BEFEO* X (1910), pp. 655—660.

[9] Pelliot, P., *Trois ans dans la Haute Asie*: *Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie Française*, janv. 1910, p. 14.

[10] *Explorations in Central Asia*: *Geographical Journal* 1909 July—Sept., p. 42.

[11] *BEFEO* VIII (1908), p. 506.

[12] E. D. Ross, *The caves of the Thousand Buddhas*: *JRAS* 1913, pp. 434—436.

[13] *Serindia* Vol. II. (Oxford 1921), especially on p. 829.

The news about the caves and paintings of Tun-huang came to Stein from the famous Hungarian geographer and geologist Lajos Loczy who, as a member of the Hungarian Asia-expedition led by count Béla Széchenyi, visited Tun-huang in 1879. He reported in 1902 to his countryman Aurel Stein that the finds in Tun-huang were probably of high importance for the history and the history of art of Central Asia. He, however, had no knowledge of the cave in which the famous hidden library was later found. Stein visited Tun-huang on his second expedition to Innermost Asia, in 1907. The story of the discovery is related in detail in Stein's Serindia Vol. II, Chapters xxi and xxii, so it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Only one fact has to be mentioned because it provides the key to the story: *when Stein arrived to Tun-huang the cave had already been open for eight years.*

Stein himself admits that he noticed that in the cave on the top of bundles some books lay in mixed confusion.[14] The reason for this was that the Taoist monk Wang, who had discovered the cave-library when he and his workers were restoring a temple cell had thought this cave the safest one and brought here some books likely to be valuable to him from other caves. The temple in front of the cave-library was frequented by pilgrims who themselves could throw votive texts in the cave. Stein had no knowledge of what belonged to the original stock of the library and what was brought there after 1899, the date of Wang's discovery.

Pelliot's attention was called to the caves by the descriptions of Prževalski, Kreitner and Bonin. While he was in Urumchi he got rumours about the finds, especially about the old manuscripts and Stein's visit. He went immediately to the spot and arrived there early in February 1908. There was no evidence available that what was given to Pelliot pertained to the original inventory or to other caves and only later transferred to the hidden cave. Pelliot himself mentions two other caves which he dated to the 13th and 14th centuries.[15]

In 1911 Japanese scholars visited the cave, in 1914 Stein was there for the second time and in the same year Sergej Oldenburg reached Tun-huang. The material was later ordered by the Chinese authorities to be transferred to Peking, but some part of the collection was lost or stolen on the way and was later sold to travellers.

The story of the discovery of the cave makes it clear that the second argument used for fixing the date of the closing of the cave has to be given up. There are documents found in the library which are assignable to dates after 1035. Thus the first argument remains, *i.e.* the fact that no Tangut text

[14] *Serindia* II, p. 829.

[15] *BEFEO* VIII (1908), p. 529 we find a reference to a later letter by Pelliot, in which he reported the discovery of two caves in which he had found manuscripts and xylographs from the 13th and 14th centuries.

was discovered in the cave. This is a strong argument but a negative one. What would have happened if Wang had found a Tangut text somewhere in the neighbourhood and had put it among the books of the original library? Or what is the value of the proof that he did not?

If one examines the texts of the Tun-huang library there can be no doubt that the major part of them is earlier than the first half of the 11th century. For a variety of paleographical, orthographical, linguistic and other philological reasons, and the analysis of the contents of the Chinese, Tibetan, Uygur and other texts, as well as the evidence of archeology all lead us to the conclusion that the bulk of the material must be earlier than the 11th century. But in the individual cases we have to use internal evidence to decide whether the document in question pertained to the original library or was transferred to it later. The sole fact that a document is from the famous library of Tun-huang is not reason enough to date in *ante 1035*. To call attention to this important point was the only aim of this paper.

LES RECUEILS *RO-SGRUṅ* TIBÉTAINS CONTENANT 21 CONTES

PAR

L. LŐRINCZ

En 1964 le professeur Damdinsürên a publié une édition de texte du recueil *Ro-sgruṅ* contenant une version tibétaine de 21 contes, inconnue jusqu'à ce jour.[1] Grâce aux recherches de Damdinsürên nous savions déjà qu'il existe des versions tibétaines de 21 contes,[2] tout comme nous savions que des versions de 13 contes étaient assez nombreuses au Tibet (c'est à partir de celles-ci qu'on avait traduit les versions mongoles de 13 contes), toutefois aucune version mongole de 21 contes n'avait encore été découverte.

Le recueil tibétain de 21 contes comprend une brève invocation suivie des contes énumérés ci-dessous. L'auteur compte le récit-cadre parmis les contes, de sorte que le conte succédant au récit-cadre porte le numéro deux.

1.

Récit cadre: *Spraṅ-po Zla-ba grags-pa-la rgyal-po'i mchan gsol-ba'i le'u-ste daṅ-pa'o* (Premier conte, le mendiant *Zla-ba grags-pa* est revêtu du titre de roi)[3]

1. Le fils du roi, le fils du ministre et le fils du mendiant font serment de piller un nid de chouca.
2. Le fils du roi et le fils du ministre trahissent leur serment, le fils du mendiant tient sa parole.
3. Le nid est habité par un ermite qui se prend d'amitié pour le garçon à l'esprit ferme.

[1] C. Damdinsürüng, *Töbed-mongγol Siditü kegür-ün üliger qoyaduγar debter, (Tibetan and Mongolian Tales of Vetala)*: *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, Tomus II, Ulaanbaatar 1964.

[2] C. Damdinsürên, *O tibetskich i mongoljskich rukopisjach «Rasskazov Vetaly»*, Ulan-Bator 1963: *Doklady Mongoljskoj Delegacii na XXVI Kongresse Vostokovedov.*

[3] Les titres cités sont pris dans le recueil mentionné. La majeure partie des contes y figure sous deux titres dont l'un précède le conte tandis que l'autre, qui est une explication plus ample du premier ou alors simplement sa répétition, se trouve à la fin. Ce second titre est indiqué dans la note. Le premier et le dernier conte n'ont qu'un seul titre.

4. Il le rend riche, puis lui commande d'aller chercher le cadavre ensorcelé moyennant lequel l'ermite peut extraire de l'or des montagnes.
5. Le garçon fait un voeu de silence et se met en route pour aller chercher le cadavre.

Conte de type inconnu, n'existant pas dans le catalogue Aarne-Thompson.

2.

Bu-mo De-ñid-'bum skye-ba bstan-pa'i le'u žugs[4] (Chapitre racontant les réincarnations de la fille *De-ñid-'bum*)

1. La main de la princesse *De-ñid-'bum* appartiendra à celui qui réussit à la faire parler.
2. Le prince et son ministre s'y essaient sans succès.
3. Le fils du mendiant agace une vieille femme qui trahit le moyen de faire parler la jeune fille.
4. La jeune fille se souvient de ses vies antérieures qu'elle a vécues sous la forme d'animaux. Des hommes ont tué son mari et ses enfants, c'est pourquoi elle ne parle pas.
5. Le fils du mendiant prétend avoir été son mari dans les réincarnations précédantes, et obtient sa main. Éventuellement une variante éloignée du type Aarne-Thompson 898 III/b (The Prince's Wooing).

3.

Bu-mos rgyal-po ši-yul-nas blaṅs-pa'i le'u žugs[5] (Histoire de la jeune fille qui ramena le roi du pays des morts)

1. Le prince est contraint d'épouser une femme qu'il n'a pas choisie, il en meurt.
2. Après sa mort il revient voir son ancienne amante et l'emmène dans les écuries royales.
3. La fille y met au monde un enfant, les deux sont recueillis par la mère du roi.
4. Le prince fait des rares apparitions, mais retourne toujours dans le pays des morts.
5. Son amante se met en route pour la terre des démons dans le but de leur ravir le coeur du roi.
6. Ayant vaincu toutes les épreuves, elle réussit à ressusciter le roi.

[4] *Bu-mo De-ñid-'bum skye-ba dran-pa'i le'u-ste gñis-pa'o.* (La fille *De-ñid-'bum* qui a su se souvenir de ses réincarnations antérieures — le deuxième chapitre.)

[5] Les deux titres sont identiques.

[6] Les deux titres sont identiques.

Peut être classé dans le groupe Aarne-Thompson 365 (The Dead-Bridegroom Carries of his Bride (Lenore).

4.

Rgyal-po khyi sprul-gyis čhuṅ-ma bcal-ba'i le'u žugs.[6] (Histoire du roi qui chercha une femme sous la forme d'un chien)

1. Le roi se transforme en chien pour éprouver la vertu des trois filles d'une vieille femme.
2. Il les épouse tour à tour, mais au cours des épreuves seule la cadette s'avère intelligente.
3. Le chien fait semblant d'avoir péri, sa femme le pleure.
4. Le roi reprend sa forme humaine, sa femme devient reine.

Le conte appartient au type Aarne-Thompson 425A (The Monster (Animal) as Bridegroom (Cupid and Psyche).

5.

Choṅ-dpon Spraṅ-ma zer-čhuṅ-gi bsod-nams-kyis rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u žugs[7] (Comment le marchand *Spraṅ-ma zer-čhuṅ* occupa, grâce à sa vertu, le trône)

1. Le marchand surprend le roi en train de cuire des pogatches et «devine» combien il en a cuit.
2. Il surprend des brigands, recouvre le cheval, les ânes et la pierre précieuse qu'on a volés au roi.
3. Dans son ivresse le marchand trahit qu'il n'est pas omniscient, sa femme le dénonce au roi.
4. Le roi le soumet à des épreuves que le marchand soutient à l'aide de hasards; il monte sur le trône.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 1641 (Doctor Know-All).

6.

Gžal-chad ri-ba'i khris rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment [le prince] a obtenu à l'aide de son couteau précieux le trône du roi)[8]

[7] *Bsod-nams stobs-kyis rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u lṅa-pa'o.* (Par la force de sa vertu il a occupé le trône royal — le cinquième chapitre.)

[8] *Phyag-rdor-la sñen-pa skyel-ba'i yon-tan-gyis khri bzaṅ-po žal-chad ri-bas dran-te rgyal-bus rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u-ste drug-pa'o.* (*Phyag-rdor* ayant exécuté sa méditation en honneur (de *Vaǰrapāni*) la vertu de celui-ci permit au prince de se procurer le couteau magique-merveilleux et d'occuper le trône royal — c'est le sixième chapitre.)

1. Le prince se procure un couteau magique.
2. La princesse habitée par le démon exige jour par jour un sacrifice humain.
3. Le couteau tue par lui-même les démons à corps de serpents.
4. Le prince épouse la jeune fille.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 590 I (An Enchanted Castle).

7.

Khye'u rjun mi šes-kyis rjun-skad čig kyaṅ mi gtaṅ-bar mthar-bskyal-ba'i le'u žugs (Histoire du garçon véridique qui n'a jamais menti et qui est resté ferme)[9]

1. Deux rois font un pari pour savoir si le gardien de chevaux véridique peut être amené à mentir.
2. La fille d'un des rois commence par le séduire, ensuite, simulant une maladie, incite le garçon de tuer le cheval favori du roi pour la faire guérir.
3. Le garçon habille un tas de pierres en roi et essai de lui mentir, à chaque mensonge le tas s'écroule.
4. Le garçon avoue avoir tué le cheval, le roi lui donne sa fille en mariage.

Conte de type inconnu dans le catalogue Aarne-Thompson. Pour le motif du mensonge voir Stith Thompson, Motif-index of Folk-Literature Copenhagen 1955—58. H. 200—299.

8.

Rgyal-po tho-čo'i blon-po rig-pa-čan-gyis ǰo-mo daṅ rgyal-sa rgya-gar Glaṅ-po-gšon-nas rcal-ba'i le'u žugs (Comment le sage ministre acquit pour le roi sot le trône du pays *Glaṅ-po-gšoṅ* et comment il lui trouva une femme)[10]

1. Sur le conseil de son ministre du roi se promène au bord de la mer, une très belle fille surgit de l'eau.
2. Questionnée par le roi la fille répond par des signes.
3. Le roi déchiffre les signes, ils apprennent où elle habite.
4. La fille donne au roi une boisson qui lui ravit la mémoire afin qu'il ne puisse pas retourner dans son pays.
5. Le ministre interchange les boissons, la princesse s'enivre, le roi et le ministre l'enlèvent.
6. Elle devient la femme du roi.

[9] *Bu rig-pa'i khye'u čhuṅ rjun mi šes-kyis rjun-skad gčig kyaṅ ma gtaṅ-bar mthar-skyal-bas rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u bdun-pa'o.* (Le garçon sage et véridique ne prononça jamais de mensonge, par sa constance il prit possession trône royal — le septième chapitre).

[10] Les deux titres sont identiques.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 516 (The Sign Language of the Princess).

9.

Bu-mo Slaṅ-ṅa slaṅ-čhun srin-mo'i kha-nas thar-te rgyal-srid bzuṅ-ba'i le'u bžugs-so (Voici l'histoire de la fille Slaṅ-ṅa slaṅ-chuṅ qui s'échappa de la gorge du démon et obtint le trône)[11]

1. Un démon tue le père, puis, ayant pris la figure du père, il tue aussi les filles.
2. La fille cadette donne à manger à un chien, le chien reconnaissant la sauve.
3. An cours de sa fuite la fille arrive au palais d'une poule.
4. Lors d'un concours de beauté elle apprend que son mari est un homme transformé en poule, elle jette la peau de la poule au feu.
5. A cause de la destruction de la peau, le mari tombe entre les mains des démons.
6. Le dieu *Rta-mgrin* transformé en cheval sauve le garçon des griffes des démons et l'aide à obtenir le trône.

Le conte est une variante du type Aarne-Thompson 425A (The Monster (Animal) as Bridegroom: Cupid and Psyche).

10.

Bu-mo So-kha 'di-li sman-čaṅ šes rtas srin-mo'i lag-nas bral-te rgyal-srid spraḍ-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment la fille *So-kha 'di-li sman-čaṅ* échappa à l'aide du cheval fée au démon et obtint le trôṅe)[12]

1. Un démon veut épouser la fille d'un vieil homme, mais il est éconduit ne pouvant pas deviner la nom de la fille.
2. Il engage le renard, le renard réussit à l'apprendre, le dit au démon, les parents donnent leur fille au démon.
3. Un cheval fée apprend à la jeune fille que son fiancée est un démon.
4. La dernière chambre du palais du démon ne doit pas être ouverte, la jeune fille l'ouvre et y trouve les cadavres des épouses précédantes du démon.
5. La fille s'enfuit sous un déguisement, devient la servante puis la femme d'un roi.

[11] *Bu-mo Slaṅ-ṅa slaṅ-čhuṅ che sṅon yi-dam sgrub-pa'i yon-tan che 'di-la smin--nas srin-mo'i kha-nas thar-te brag-phug skya-ba bcan lag-nas rgyal-bu lon-te rgyal-srid bzuṅ-ba'i le'u-ste dgu-pa'o.* (La fille *Slaṅ-ṅa slaṅ-čhuṅ* parce qu'elle avait vénéré dans sa vie antérieure l'esprit protecteur et qu'elle en avait recueilli le fruit dans cette incarnation, fut délivrée de la gorge du démon, en outre elle sauva le prince des griffes du démon de l'antre et obtint le trône — neuvième chapitre.)

6. Le roi est absent, sa femme met au monde un merveilleux garçon, le démon échange la lettre écrite au roi.
7. En conséquence de la fausse lettre le femme et l'enfant tombent entre les mains du démon.
8. Le cheval fée les sauve, les rend riches, le roi les retrouve.

Le conte est fort compliqué et difficile à déterminer. Le 1er motif est inconnu, le 2e: Aa-Th. 545 (The Cat as Helper), ou 545B (Puss in Boots or the helpful fox). Motifs 3—5: Aa-Th. 314 (The Youth Transformed to a Horse). Motif 6: inconnu. Motifs 7—8: Combinaison de Aa-Th. IV. (The Substituted Bride) et 930 III (Uriah Letter).

11.

Srin-mo ma-smad-kyis mi'i bu-mor (!) *mgo bslus-gtaṅ-kyaṅ mthar "a-ma de ye-šes-kyi mkha'-'gro-ma yin-pas ṅan-lan 'ǰal-žiṅ rgyal-po'i ǰo-mo thob-pa'i le'u žugs* (Comment bien que la mère démon et sa fille aient enjôlé la fille, la mère de celle-ci, étant une fée sage, les a punies comme elles le méritaient et fit reine de sa fille)[13]

1. Une fille sotte tue sa mère sur le conseil des démons et devient leur servante.
2. Sa mère renaît sous forme d'une vache, elle aide sa fille, les démons la tuent.
3. La mère et la fille démon vont s'amuser, la servante doit casser de l'orge et de la graine de moutarde.
4. Au lieu de la fille c'est sa mère reincarnée sous forme d'oiseau qui fait le travail; la fille déguisée se rend au bal, le roi s'éprend d'elle.
4. Le roi ordonne que tout le monde introduise son pied dans le *seau* perdu par la fille.
6. Seul le pied de la fille y a de la place, le roi la reconnaît et en fait sa femme.
7. La fille démon tue l'épouse et prend sa forme.
8. L'épouse sous forme d'oiseau apprend au roi la vérité et fait tuer l'épouse démon.
9. La femme renaît (ressuscite).

Le conte entre dans le type Aarne-Thompson 510 (Cinderella and Cap o' Rushes). La fin s'écarte de la fin habituelle, elle renferme peut-être des motifs du type Aarne-Thompson 432 (The Prince as Bird).

[12] Les deux titres sont identiques.
[13] Les deux titres sont identiques.

12.

Choń-ba lam-nor rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment le marchand ambulant obtint le trône)[14]

1. Le fils d'un homme riche devient marchand, il s'acquiert un couteau magique.
2. Il passe la nuit dans le palais des revenants, parmi des cadavres.
3. Les revenants le hantent sous la forme de singes, le couteau les met en fuite.
4. Les habitants du pays l'élèvent sur le trône devenu vacant.

Variante du type I Aarne-Thompson 590 (An Enchanted Castle).

13.

Bsod-nams-čan bsam-pa rnam-pa dag-pas rgyal-sa thob-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment le pur et le vertueux obtint le trône)[15]

1. Un lac est hanté par des démons qui exigent des sacrifices humains.
2. Le garçon pauvre et le prince les tuent, ils vomissent de l'or et des pierres précieuses.
3. Dans un autre pays le prince est élu roi par l'éléphant sacré.
4. Le garçon pauvre est trompé et chassé par des femmes vendant du vin. En errant dans le monde il entre en possession d'objets magiques.
5. Il punit les femmes et est élu roi.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 518 (Devils Giants Fight over Magic Objects).

14.

Čaṅ-šes-rtas drin-lan gžal-ba'i le'u žugs (Comment le cheval fée s'est montré reconnaissant pour les bienfaits)[16]

1. Le garçon incite la soeur cadette à tuer son ainée qui entrave leur mariage.
2. La cadette envoie sa soeur chez les démons, mais celle-ci parvient à triompher d'eux.

[14] Les deux titres sont identiques.

[15] Les deux titres sont identiques.

[16] *Der che-sṅon-gyi drin-lan 'ǰal-ba'i rta-pho des srin-mo bran-du bkol che-sṅon srog-lan 'ded-pa'i sriṅ-mo'i kha-nas thar-te mkhar-gži nor-phyugs mṅa-'og daṅ bčas-pa čaṅ-šes-rtas drin-lan gžal-ba'i le'u-ste bču-bži-ba'o.* (En récompense de ses bienfaits dans sa vie antérieure, aidée par le cheval-fée, elle asservit les démons, et traquée à cause des dettes de sa vie antérieure, elle échappa à sa soeur cadette et grâce à ses bienfaits le cheval fée lui donna son palais, sa fortune et ses sujets — le quatorzième chapitre.)

3. Elle l'envoie au fond de la mer, essaie de la tuer elle-même, l'ainée s'échappe, la cadette meurt.
4. L'esprit de la cadette poursuit l'ainée qui jette des objets magiques derrière elle (peigne, chapelet, miroir) et réussit à s'échapper.
5. Le cheval fée la rend riche, elle est épousée par un roi.

La première moitié du conte appartient au type Aarne-Thompson 315 (The Faithless Sister), la fin est une variante de 313 III (The Flight).

15.

Che-sṅon bsod-nams bsags-nas stag daṅ dug-sbrul wa mi-za-mkhan rgya-dmag btul-nas rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment celui qui dans sa vie antérieure a rassemblé des vertus, réussit à vaincre le tigre, le serpent venimeux, le chacal qui mangeait de la chair humaine et l'armée chinoise)[17]

1. Le tisserand voleur échoue par hasard sur le dos du tigre en fuite.
2. Le serpent venimeux qui l'attaque et le tigre périssent, le tisserand s'évade et épouse une princesse.
3. En état d'ivresse il raconte comment ont péri les animaux (qu'on avait cru morts de sa main), sa femme le dénonce au roi.
4. Le roi le fait soumettre à des épreuves.
5. Il triomphe dans toutes les épreuves (chacal antropophage, armée chinoise) et obtient le trône.

Identique au n° 5: Aarne-Thompson 1641 (Doctor Know-all).

16.

Sman Sa-le-nag khug-pa'i le'u žugs (Comment fut ravie la fille *Sa-le-nag*)[18]

1. Un garçon pauvre refuse de devenir l'amant de la reine, c'est pourquoi il doit ravir la fille du roi des démons.
2. Dans sa vie précédante le garçon avait été le mari de la fille du roi des démons qui consent à l'épouser à nouveau.

[17] *Der thags-khan pho-reṅ-mo che-sṅon bsod-nams bsags-pas stag mi-zan dug-sbrul wa mi-zan-rnams gdul-nas rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u-ste bčo (!)-lṅa-ba'o.* (Le tisserand solitaire ayant amassé des vertus dans sa vie antérieure, tua le tigre, le serpent venimeux anthrophopage, le chacal antrophophage et monta sur le trône royal — quinzième chapitre.)

[18] *Der Dbu-rgyan Padma daṅ Ye-šes mcho-rgyal gñis-kyi skye-ba sṅa-ma bsod-nams-čan-du 'khruṅs-pa'i le'u-ste bču-drug-pa'o.* (*Dbu-rgyan Padma et Ye-šes mcho-rgyal* se sont réincarnés vertueux dans une vie antérieure — seixième chapitre.)

3. Le roi des démons le soumet à différentes épreuves que le garçon surmonte à l'aide de la princesse.
4. Ils rentrent dans le pays du garçon, la méchante reine meurt, le garçon et la princesse montent sur le trône.

Le conte est apparenté au type Aarne-Thompson 313 (The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight).

17.

Mo-ston phag-mgo-čan-gyis srin-mo bza'-cho btul-ba'i le'u žugs (Comment le devin possédant une tête de cochon triompha du couple de démons)[19]

1. Un homme sot perd sa fortune, trouve par hasard la pierre précieuse perdue par le roi, il s'acquiert une renommée d'omniscient.
2. Il découvre par hasard les démons qui hantent le roi.
3. Il surprend leur conversation, apprend comment ils peuvent être mis à mort.
4. Il fait tuer les démons, le roi le comble de richesses.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 1641 (Doctor Know-All).

18.

Bu-mo bsod-nams-čan skyes-pa'i le'u bžugs-so (Histoire de la naissance de la fille vertueuse)[20]

1. Une pauvre femme chasse sa fille qui a donné leur nourriture à un bouddha ambulant.
2. La jeune fille trouve asile dans le couvent du bouddha.
3. Les lotos poussent sur les traces de la jeune fille, elle est demandée en mariage par un roi.
4. Le roi veut faire visite à sa belle-mère.
5. Bouddha pour aider la jeune fille, fait un miracle, le roi est reçu par une belle-mère riche.

Conte de type inconnu.

[19] *Ston-pa dbu-gcug-gyi phag-mgo-čan-gyis rgyal-(-po'i) rgyud-čhad-la khad-pa'i sku-srog blus-pa'i srin-mo bza'-cho btul-ba'i le'u bču-bdun-pa'o.* (Le vénérable devin [se servant d'une tête de] cochon sauva la vie au roi et tua le couple de démons qui en voulaient à sa vie.)

[20] Les deux titres sont identiques.

19.

Rmi-lam zas-su za-ba rmi-lam-mkhan-gyi le'u bžugs (Histoire de l'homme qui a changé ses rèves en nourriture)[21]

1. Le roi fait mettre le garçon en prison parce que celui-ci ne veut pas lui conter son rève.
2. Dans la prison deux corneilles lui apprennent ce qu'il doit faire pour que son rève se réalise (les deux corneilles sont Bouddha et Tāra).
3. Il obtient la main de la fille du roi des dragons, elle le suit sous la forme d'un chien.
4. Le mari brûle la peau du chien; le roi jette son dévolu sur la femme.
5. Il soumet le mari à des épreuves que celui-ci surmonte à l'aide du roi des dragons.
6. Il monte sur le trône.

Le conte est né d'une combinaison du type Aarne-Thompson 725 (The Dream) et 425 (The Search for the Lost Husband).

20.

Klu-sgrub-kyi bstan-bčos-las Phyag-rdor 'Od-zer-čan-ma'i khruṅs-rab 'jam-gliṅ bde-la bkod-pa'i le'u bžugs (De la chronique de *Klu-sgrub*: Comment dans une ancienne réincarnation *Phyag-rdor* et *'Od-zer-čan-ma* ont apporté de la joie au monde)[22]

1. Une sorcière tue la reine et devient reine elle-même.
2. Elle envoie son beau-fils dans le pays des démons pour en ramener la princesse des démons.
3. Le prince sauve la vie au roi des dragons qui lui aide à exécuter sa tâche.
4. La princesse démon avait été dans une vie précédante la femme du prince, elle l'épouse à nouveau.
5. Le roi des démons le soumet à des épreuves que le prince surmonte à l'aide de la princesse.
6. Ils retournent dans le pays du prince, la reine sorcière est enlevée par les démons, le prince et la princesse règnent.

Identique au conte n° 16.

[21] *Rmi-lam zas-su za-ba des rmi-lam 'things-nas rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u-ste bču-dgu-pa'o* (Il changea ses rêves en nourriture et réalisant son rêve il occupa le trône royal — c'est le dix-neuvième chapitre.)

[22] *Phyag-rdor 'Od-zer-čan-ma'i 'khruṅs-rab lha srin-sde brgyad bran-du bkol-nas 'jam-gliṅ bde-la bkod-pa'i le'u-ste ñi-šu-ba'o.* (*Phyag-rdor* et *'Od-zer-čan-ma* dans une ancienne réincarnation asservirent les huit armées des dieux et des démons et apportèrent de la joie au monde — vingtième chapitre.

21.

Klu-sgrub-kyi bstan-čhos-las rgyal-bu Don-grub skul-byed-kyi rtogs-brǰod Bde--spyod bzaṅ-po'i bka'-ba byas-pa'i le'u žugs (De la chronique de *Klu-sgrub*: histoire pour l'enseignement de *Don-grub skul-byed* et l'histoire du fait commis par *Bde-spyod bzaṅ-po*)[23]

1. Une marâtre veut assurer le trône pour ses propres enfants, prétextant une maladie, elle en veut à la vie de son beau-fils.
2. Les deux enfants s'enfuient ensemble, le cadet disparaît, l'aîné est élevé par un ermite.
3. Le garçon est sacrifié aux dragons vivant dans le lac, mais les filles des dragons le laissent courir.
4. Le roi lui donne sa fille en mariage, son frère réapparaît.
5. La marâtre se repent de son méfait, le prince lui pardonne.

Variante du type Aarne-Thompson 765 (The Mother who Wants to Kill her Children).

Au lieu d'un colophon l'ouvrage s'achève par quelques lignes de bons voeux. A la fin du dernier conte le prince ramène le cadavre à l'ermite qui transforme à son aide des montagnes en or. On n'a pas la moindre indication concernant la personne qui a mis au point le recueil, aussi peu que de l'endroit et de l'époque de la mise au point.

Dans les recueils contenant 21 contes et les recueils contenant 13 on ne trouve que 5 contes identiques:

1. *Bu-mos rgyal-po ši-yul-nas blaṅs-pa'i le'u-ste.* (conte n° 3 des recueils de 21); *Bu-mo sniṅ-'jin-gyi le'u-ste* (conte n° 9 des recueils de 13).
2. *Bu-mo Slaṅ-ṅa slaṅ-čhuṅ srin-mo'i kha-nas thar-re rgyal-srid bzuṅ-ba'i le'u-ste* (conte n° 9 des recueils de 21); *Bya-šubs-čan-gyi le'u-ste*) conte n° 7 des recueils de 13).
3. *Bsod-nams-čan bsam-pa rnam-pa dag-pas rgyal-sa thob-pa'i le'u-ste* (conte n° 13 des recueils de 21); *Rgyal-po dpon-gyog gñis-kyi le'u-ste* (conte n° 2 des recueils de 13).
4. *Mo-ston phag-mgo-čan-gyis srin-mo bza'-cho btul-ba'i le'u-ste* (conte n° 17 des recueils de 21); *Mo-ston phag-mgo-čan-gyi le'u-ste* (conte n° 4 des recueils de 13).
5. *Klu-sgrub-kyi bstan-čhos-las rgyal-bu Don-grub skul-byed-kyi rtogs brǰod Bde-spyod bzaṅ-po'i bka'-ba byas-pa'i le'u-ste* (conte n° 21 des recueils de 21); *Ñi-ma'i 'od spun-gyi le'u-ste* (conte n° 4 des recueils de 13).

[23] Le conte n'a qu'un titre.

Les contes contenus dans les deux recueils offrent des différences considérables.[24] Ce qu'ils ont en commun c'est l'existence d'un récit-cadre à sujet différent, mais ayant un héros identique, à savoir *Nagarjuna* et le prince *Bde-spyod bzaṅ-po,* ainsi que la conséquence qui découle du récit-cadre: le prince doit ramener le cadavre ensorcelé.

Les deux premiers contes identiques sont n° 3 du recueil de 21 et n° 9 du recueil de 13 contes. Voyons maintenant les différences présentées par ces contes. L'histoire raconte que le prince est contraint d'épouser une femme qu'il n'a pas choisie. Il sent que ce mariage forcé lui couterait sa vie, et demande conseil à son amante. L'amante lui conseille d'épouser la jeune fille. C'est ainsi que débute le conte du recueil de 21. Le conte du recueil de 13 n'en est qu'une faible copie. Le prince y meurt sans aucune raison apparente, et on n'apprend que plus tard qu'il n'a pas aimé sa femme. La mort n'y survient pas en conséquence d'un mariage malheureux, mais constitue un motif indépendant, mal déterminé. Dans la variante A l'amante, par son mauvais conseil, devient involontairement la cause de la mort du prince. La suite n'est donc pas uniquement une conséquence de son amour, mais aussi le désir de réparer sa faute. Ce motif du remord est absent de la variante B. Par la suite les choses se passent à peu près de la même façon, sauf que le conte du recueil de 21 est beaucoup plus riche en scènes artistiques, comme par exemple celle où la jeune fille devenue reine vole la ceinture du roi revenant et la cache sous l'oreiller de l'enfant. Ensuite elle ne le rend pas au roi en prétextant que si elle voulait l'extraire de dessous de la tête de l'enfant, celui-ci se réveillerait et commencerait à pleurer. Dans la variante du recueil de 13 contes on ne trouve à cet endroit que ceci: *Gal-te bden-na rgyal-po'i ka-ča žig chags-gyis zer.* «Si c'était vrai, procure-toi un objet du roi — dit-il». Les plus grandes divergences sont offertes par la partie racontant les obstacles que la femme rencontre sur sa route vers la terre des démons. Voici les obstacles énumérés par la variante A: source limpide — source souillée; stupa propre — stupa sale; vieil homme sans alène; vieille femme sans pince de viande; garçons se querellant; chèvres se battant; chiens se battant. Dans la variante B on a un vieil homme en fer, des soldats armés, des béliers qui se doguent, des diables gardant la porte. Dans la variante A les couples se querellent toujours pour un objet convoité qu'ils n'arrivent pas à partager. La femme leur en donne encore un, et le problème est ainsi résolu. Dans la variante B par contre, les béliers se battent sans aucune raison et il suffit d'un peu de foin pour qu'ils cessent de le faire. Le motif est bien entendu calqué sur le motif des chèvres de la variante A, mais la véritable raison de la dispute manque dans cette variante.

[24] Pour les versions de 13 voir L. Lőrincz, *Les «Contes du cadavre ensorcelé»* (*Ro-sgruṅ*) *dans la littérature et el folklore tibétains*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVIII (1965), pp. 305—316.

On constate donc sans peine que c'est le conte du recueil de 21 qui est l'original, celui y correspondant dans le recueil de 13 en est une variante raccourcie, simplifiée et moins intéressante. L'auteur de recueil de 13 contes a pris son conte dans une autre source que l'auteur du recueil de 21, à savoir dans le folklore. Le caractère folklorique ressort des raccourcissement, ainsi que des changements opérés dans le récit des obstacles. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est clair que le conte du recueil de 13 est secondaire par rapport au conte du recueil de 21, c'est une variante folklorique plus terne, qui a fini par devenir littéraire.

Les deux contes identiques sont n° 9 du recueil de 21 et n° 7 du recueil de 13.

En analysant le conte on a vite fait de découvrir qu'il s'agit en fait d'une des légendes, d'un des bienfaits du dieu Rta-mgrin.[25] Le dieu à la tête de cheval punit la jeune fille qui, au cours d'une de ses réincarnations a osé douter de sa force et de sa puissance. En conséquence de la punition la jeune fille perd sa famille, et n'échappe elle-même à la mort que parce que le dieu se tient pour satisfait. La sottise de la jeune fille lui vaut plus tard des malheurs, elle perd son mari qui est ravi par des revenants. En désespoir de cause elle allume une veilleuse devant l'image du dieu *Rta-mgrin*, elle ne cesse de le prier et de l'invoquer des nuits entières. Le dieu a enfin pitié d'elle, il apparaît et promet à la femme de sauver son mari des démons. Il se transforme en cheval fée et réussit dans son entreprise. Le figure principal du récit, à côté de la jeune fille, est donc *Rta-mgrin*, l'histoire de la jeune fille et du coq ne sert que de cadre aux faits et gestes du dieu. Le conte d'inspire visiblement de son culte.

En ce qui concerne la variante du recueil de 13 contes, la différence essentielle qu'elle présente est l'absence de la figure de *Rta-mgrin*, autrement dit l'essentiel du conte original. Ce qui en reste est l'histoire d'une femme et son mari au corps de coq, une conte relevant du type de conte Amor et Psyche. Entré dans le folklore, le conte original a perdu ses caractèristiques essentielles, il n'en est resté qu'un simple histoire, sans caractère cultuel, telle que le conte d'Amor et Psyche. En dehors de l'absence de la figure du dieu, on relève encore un certain nombre d'autres différences. La variante A est écrite dans un beau style littéraire, tandis que dans la variante B il n'y a aucune belle image poétique, aucune description, sa forme simple indique qu'elle a été notée d'après le récit de quelqu'un qui ne se souvenait plus très bien de la variante littéraire lue ou entendue.

Les contes identiques suivants des deux recueils sont n° 13 du recueil de 21 et n° 2 du recueil de 13.

Le conte n° 2 est secondaire, il constitue la variante folklorique du précédant. Voici les divergences les plus importantes: *a)* divergences entre les

[25] *Hayagrīva.*

éléments du conte: dans la variante du recueil de 21 on a trois objets magiques, un bonnet, une botte et une musette satisfaisant à tous les désirs. Dans la variante du recueil de 13 la musette (qui n'a pas non plus eu de fonction dans la variante littéraire) est absente; *b)* changement dans l'ordre des éléments du conte: dans la variante littéraire le prince est élu roi, le fils de l'homme pauvre continue son chemin tout seul, et en cours de route il entre en possession de divers objets magiques. Dans la variante folklorique, les deux garçons se procurent d'abord les objets magiques et sont ensuite élus roi et ministre. Le motif de la rencontre avec les vendeusse de vin n'est pas tout à fait le même. Dans la première variante elle a lieu après dans la variante folklorique avant qu'ils aient été élus roi et ministre; *c)* la variante folklorique s'enrichit d'un nouveau motif: après avoir été élu roi, le prince épouse une femme qui est l'amante d'un jeune dieu. Le ministre les sépare à l'aide de son bonnet magique, et peu s'en faut qu'il ne tue le dieu dissimulé dans un oiseau.

La construction des deux contes est la suivante:

recueil de 21 contes	recueil de 13 contes
1. Ils tuent les démons	1. Ils tuent les démons
2. Élection de roi	2. Vendeuses de vin
3. Vendeuses de vin	3. Ils se procurent des objets magiques
4. Ils se procurent des objets magiques	4. Élection
5. Punition des vendeuses de vin	5. Démasquage de l'amant de la reine
	6. Punition des vendeuses de vin

Le conte du recueil de 13 contes est la variante folklorique du conte du recueil de 21 contes; il est enrichi d'un élément étranger, et de ce fait il est devenu plus long. Par ailleurs, son style est beaucoup plus simple, moins coloré que celui de la variante littéraire, tout comme dans le cas des autres deux contes que nous renonçons à analyser ici.

Dans ce qui précède nous avons examiné deux versions appelées littéraires du *Ro-sgruṅ*. Il nous reste à résumer nos constatations. Les deux recueils ne sont pas identiques quant à leur contenu, il existe en tout cinq contes qui se retrouvent dans tous les deux. En soumettant ces cinq contes à une analyse serrée, nous avons pu nous rendre compte que les cinq contes du recueils de 13 sont les variantes folkloriques des contes correspondants du recueil de 21. Que le recueil soit néanmoins considéré comme une recueil littéraire, s'explique par le fait que l'on ne connaît pas l'origine exacte des autres contes du recueil, de sorte qu'il est impossible de déterminer si les contes en question sont littéraires ou s'il sont les variantes folkloriques de contes littéraires. Tant que cette question ne sera pas tranchée, le recueil de 13 contes doit être traité parmi les recueils littéraires, sous la réserve qu'il s'agit d'un recueil littéraire qui contient aussi des contes fokloriques. Il n'existe d'ailleurs pas de recueil *Ro-sgruṅ* qui

soit purement littéraire, car même la version de 21 contes contient quelques contes fokloriques. La version de 21 contes est en tout cas plus littéraire, plus artistiques que la version de 13 contes. L'auteur du recueil de 21 contes a indiqué dans l'invocation la listes des oeuvres littéraires dans lesquelles il a pris les différents contes. Ces contes représentent un niveau artistique beaucoup plus élevé que les contes correspondants de l'autre version. Mais au-delà de la question de leurs rapports, les deux versions nous offrent des traits assez curieux. Dans les recueils de 13 contes, les 13 contes sont entièrement différents les uns des autres et jusqu'à leur type. En revanche on trouve dans le recueil de 21 contes des morceaux présentant une telle ressemblance qu'on s'étonne de ce que les auteurs ne s'en soient pas rendu compte. Vu que des contes en question ne sont ni plus intéressants ni plus beaux que les autres, on ne voit pas du tout pourquoi on a estimé nécessaire de faire entrer dans le recueil des récits plus ou moins identiques. Dans ce qui suit nous allons donner un résumé un peu plus détaillé de deux contes identiques du recueil de 21 contes.

Conte n° 12

Il y avait une fois dans un pays un puissant roi qui avait dans sa Cour un homme riche et son fils unique. Père et fils possédaient une grande fortune. Le fils rencontra un jour des marchands qui se préparaient à se rendre à l'étranger. Le fils résolut de devenir marchand à son tour, et alla communiquer sa décision à ses parents. Les parents commencèrent par lui refuser ce qu'il demandait mais voyant son obstination, ils finirent par céder. Le garçon se met en route avec les marchands. Un jour il ne se réveille pas et les autres continuent leur chemin sans lui. Son hôte le console, et pour le protéger des dangers du voyage solitaire, il lui fait cadeau d'un couteau magique. Il ne doit pas se séparer du couteau, lequel, en cas de besoin, ne demande même pas à être dégainé, mais vient se placer de par soi-même dans la main. On peut vaincre avec lui tous les ennemis, les

Conte n° 6

Il y avait une fois deux princes qui étaient frères. L'un était intelligent, l'autre sot. Le prince intelligent adressait chaque nuit des prières au dieu Vajrapāni en demandant que le dieu lui envoyât le couteau magique. Il y avait dans le pays un homme qui cette année là n'avait pas récolté de blé, de sorte qu'il offrit au roi à la place du blé un couteau magique, tout en lui contant que cet échange lui avait été suggéré en rève par une voix. Le couteau fait comprendre au roi qu'il doit se mettre en route.

Le roi rencontre chemin faisant des hommes dont trois avaient été tirés aux sort et devaient être offerts en pâture aux démons habitant le palais. La princesse habitant le palais était hanté par un démon et elle se nourrissait de chair humaine. Dans la grande salle, il trouve la princesse morte entourée de morts. Le garçon y passe la nuit. Au milieu de la nuit deux

dieux et les diables. Le garçon arrive dans une ville où le palais royal semble désert, ses portes sont grandes ouvertes. Entrant dans le palais il passe près de chevaux et de vaches morts ou en train de mourir. Dans la grande salle, entourés de ministres morts, il trouve le roi et la reine morts sur le trône. Le garçon dine dans la salle et s'y couche pour dormir. Au milieu de la nuit des singes en vêtements ornés de cranes dansent autour de lui, puis se couchent pour dormir. A l'aube le couteau sort de sa gaine et chasse les singes. Le lendemain le couteau réussit derechef à chasser les monstres. Le surlendemain deux sages arrivent dans le palais et racontent son histoire. Le roi et les ministres ont été tués par des revenants auxquels ils n'avaient pas offert un certain cadeau. Les habitants du pays, apprenant qu'il a chassé les revenants, élèvent le garçon au trône. Les marchands revenus rencontrent leur ancien compagnon devenu roi. Le roi du pays voisin dont il était auparavant sujet est informé de sa richesse et lui donne sa fille. Il fait venir ses parents, ainsi que l'homme qui lui avait offert le couteau magique.

serpents rampent du nez de la princesse, le couteau sort de sa gaine et il les met à mort.

Le roi fait savoir au peuple que les démons sont morts, la princesse est ranimée, elle épouse le roi. Les sacrifices humains ayant cessé, le roi règne en paix sur les deux pays.

A l'époque de la récolte, le couteau assure à son ancien propriétaire une abondance de blé.

Les différences relevées entre les deux contes, bien que peu importantes n'en donnent pas moins une image du caractère de chacun. Le conte *b* est plus vraisemblable, la trame en est plus logique, les événements plus cohérents, l'ensemble est plus littéraire que la version *a*. Dans la version *a* la manière dont le héros se procure le couteau est moins vraisemblable, moins logique que dans la version *b*. Il est absolument invraisemblable que le marchand se voie gratifié d'un tel cadeau, puisque personne ne se sépare de son propre gré d'un tel objet magique. Selon la variante, *b*, le roi *échange* le couteau ce qui ne lui réussit que grâce à l'aide du dieu Vajrapāni. Les deux contes s'écartent aussi en ce qui concerne le motif du palais maudit et la princesse

morte. L'explication de la variante *a* est loin d'être claire. On en apprend que le palais a été maudit par un démon protecteur dont un désir n'a pas été exaucé par le roi et la reine. Par contre il n'est pas clair si les singes paraissant la nuit sont les sujets ou les aides du démon protecteur ou de simples démons. De même on ne comprend pas très bien la façon dont le palais est délivré de l'enchantement. La variante *b* par contre offre une explication très claire: la princesse est habitée par un démon qui exige des sacrifices humains. Les traces de ce motif se retrouvent d'ailleurs aussi dans l'autre version, notamment lorsqu'il s'agit des sujets morts. En effets ces morts sont les victimes à moitié dévorés des démons, mais ayant perdu leur signification originale, leur apparition dans la variante *a* est superflue. Ce qui vient d'être dit nous permet de conclure que c'est la variante *b* (*Gžal-vhad ri-ba'i khris rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u-ste*) qui est le conte littéraire original, et la variante *a* (*Chon-pa lam-nor rgyal-sa zin-pa'i le'u-ste*) un version secondaire, à beaucoup de points de vue viciée. Etant donné que les divergences intéressent en partie non seulement l'interprétation, mais les éléments et les motifs du texte, elles ne sont pas simplement le résultat de la corruption du texte, mais ont des causes plus profondes. La variante *a* est la variante folklorique du conte *b* que l'auteur du recueil n'a pas reconnue et qu'il a insérée comme un morceau indépendant dans son oeuvre. La simplification du contenu, l'élimination des personnages et des notions plus complexes, par ex. celle du dieu Vajrapāni militent également en faveur du caractère folklorique. Le recueil contient donc à la fois le conte littéraire et sa variante foklorique. Il n'est, bien entendu, nullement certain que la variante foklorique ait été également entregistrée par l'auteur du recueil, d'autant plus que parmi les sources énumérées dans l'invocation il n'y a aucune allusion à ce que l'auteur ait enregistré lui-même quelque chose. La variante folklorique existait déjà avant la mis au point du *Ro-sgruń* l'auteur l'a choisie pour son recueil, mais à cause de sa forme altérée, il n'a pas reconnu qu'il s'agissait du conte n° 12, que c'était la variante folklorique de ce dernier).

Les contes 5 et 15 du recueil présentent également des ressemblances, bien que les différences soient apparemment grandes. Cependant si l'on ne considère que le sujet proprement dit, on constate que les divergences ne caractérisent que certains éléments du conte; l'ordre des événements, la trame des deux contes sont identiques, tous les deux rentrent dans le type Aarne-Thompson 1641 (Doctor Know-All). Il vaut la peine d'être mentionné qu'il y a dans le recueil un troisième conte relevant du même genre (*Mo-ston phag-mgo-čan-gyis srin-mo bza'-cho btul-ba'i le'u-ste*, Comment le devin possédant une tête de cochon a vaincu le couple de démons, n° 17), mais ce conte diffère sensiblement des deux précédants avec lesquels il ne présente qu'une ressemblance typologique. La ressemblance entre les deux contes examinés plus haut est également d'ordre typologique, mais non seulement ils relèvent du même

type, mais aussi participent au même sous-groupe. Dans le note n° 5, le marchand «devine» le nombre des gâteaux, il récupère, grâce à un hasard, des chevaux, des ânes et une pierre précieuse pour le roi. Dans le conte n° 15, on lui attribue pas contre la mise à mort du tigre et du serpent venimeux autrement dit dans les deux contes c'est le *concours des hasards* qui prêtent au personnage un caractère de véritable héros. Les éléments du hasard sont différents, mais les conséquences sont les mêmes. Du fait des événènements dûs au hasard le personnage principal obtient la main de la fille du roi, mais il ne devient pas roi, au contraire le roi voudrait l'éloigner ensemble avec sa fille, parce qu'il craint cet homme trop sage. C'est ici que survient le conflit; notre homme s'enivre, et en état d'ivresse il avoue à la fille du roi, sa femme, que tout ce qui lui a été attribué n'est qu'un effet du hasard. La femme le dénonce au roi qui, voulant s'assurer de ce que son gendre est effectivement un héros, lui impose des épreuves. Dans le conte n° 5, il ne doit satisfaire qu'à une seule, découvrir notamment ce que le ministre tient dans la main. Dans le conte n° 15, il doit mettre à mort le chacal anthropophage et vaincre l'armée des Chinois. Dans tous les deux contes c'est le hasard qui lui vient en aide. Il devine que le ministre a dans sa main une mouche, et il réussit à vaincre le chacal et l'armée chinoise. Dans la seconde partie des contes, nous avons affaire à d'autres éléments du hasard, mais aboutissant à des résultats identiques: le roi, convaincu de la sagesse et du courage de son gendre, lui cède le trône, pour s'adonner lui-même, retiré loin du monde, à la contemplation bouddhique et à l'observation de la doctrine. Les éléments susmentionnés des deux contes différant sensiblement les uns des autres, le lecteur ou l'auditeur superficiel peut aisément avoir l'impression qu'il s'agit là de deux contes entièrement différents. L'auteur du recueil devait avoir la même impression, si bien qu'il fit entrer les deux dans son recueil. Dans le cas des deux contes précédents (n° 6 et n° 12), on a réussi à constater que l'un est un conte littéraire, tandis que l'autre en est la variante folklorique. Pour les deux contes présents on ne peut pas faire une délimitation de ce genre. La seul chose qui soit certaine c'est que les deux contes appartiennent au même type et ce qui plus est, au même sous-groupe, mais on doit renoncer à déterminer lequel est l'original et lequel le secondaire. Il semble en tout cas que la trame originale ait été complétée par des éléments de hasard et d'épreuves pris à différentes sources. L'élément du chacal se tuant lui-même dans le conte n° 15 remonte au *Pañca-tantra* indien. La formation des variantes est donnée; il existe une trame donnée aux différents endroits de laquelle on intègre n'importe combien d'éléments pris à différentes sources qui donnent ensuite des variantes plus ou moins divergentes, mais relevant du même type.

Les contes n° 20 et n° 16 du recueil présentent également beaucoup de ressemblance. N° 20 est la variante littéraire, puisque l'auteur indique dans ce cas — il ne le fait que deux fois dans le recueil — l'ouvrage auquel il a pris

l'histoire. C'est une des oeuvres du philosophe Nāgārjuna. Les personnages sont des figures connues de la mythologie, l'histoire même typiquement bouddhique. Au début du conte deux sorcières (ou revenants) en veulent à la vie du prince qui a beaucoup fait pour la propagation du bouddhisme en conséquence de quoi tout le monde s'est converti au bouddhisme et personne ne sacrifiait aux sorcières. A la fin du conte, lorsque le prince (*Phyag-rdor*) a rempli sa tâche et a ramené la fille du roi des démon *'Od-zer čan-ma*, les démons eux-mêmes adoptent le bouddhisme et cessent de manger de la chair humaine et de boire du sang. Le conte n° 16, quoique également de caractère bouddhique, s'écarte quelque peu de ce schéma. Il en manque le motif du prince propagateur du bouddhisme et par conséquent celui de la vengeance des sorcières. Il est remplacé par le motif très répandu de la femme de Potiphar: un des sujets du roi refuse de devenir l'amant de la reine et s'attire ainsi la haine et la vengance de la femme éprise. La suite des deux contes est la même: la reine simule une maladie, et pour guérir demande que le héros s'en aille avec le roi sur la terre des démons et en ramène la fille du roi des démons, *Sa-la sgron-ma*. Dans le conte n° 16, le nom de la princesse est *Sa-le-nag*, c'est-à-dire à peu près le même. Dans la variante littéraire, le prince en route vers le pays des démons sauve la vie au rois des dragons qui, sous forme d'un serpent, est engage dans une lutte de vie et de mort, avec *Varuṇa*, le dieu des mers. Le roi des dragons sauvé montre au prince le chemin. Dans le conte n° 16 ce motif est remplacé par un motif moins intéressant, plus terne: le prince apprend le chemin par un des serviteurs du roi des dragons. Dans tous les deux contes la princesse reconnait dans le personnage principal l'homme qui était son mari dans sa vie antérieure et décide de l'épouser. Le roi des démons soumet le garçon à des épreuves dont les détails sont différents dans les deux histoires. A l'aide de la princesse le garçon les surmonte toutes. Le conte n° 16 ne présente ensuite qu'un seul motif intéressant: sur un plateau aride du Tibet la princesse commence à prier, et par la force de la prière bouddhique la terre devient fertile, eux-mêmes entrent en possession d'un palais et d'autres richesses. Le roi tibétain adopte le garçon comme son fils, la méchante reine se tue. La variante n° 20 est moins simple. Le prince, après avoir satisfait aux désirs du roi des démons, doit aller chercher la princesse sur la terre des Trente-trois Dieux. En cours de route il doit résister aux tentations des filles de coquille, de corail, d'or et de perle. Ayant surmonté toutes les difficultés, le prince se met en route avec la princesse. Rentré à la maison, il doit fournir encore un effort (construire un palais en fer sur la montagne), puis il démasque la méchante reine, et devient roi lui-même. Beaucoup de ces motifs sont absents du conte n° 16, la variante est plus pauvre et plus simple. Dans le cas de ces deux contes on est en présence du même phénomène que dans le cas des contes n° 6 et n° 12. Un des contes, en l'occurence n° 20 est littéraire, l'autre, n° 16 en est la variante folklorique. L'auteur du recueil

n'a pas reconnu l'identité des deux, il les a admis dans le volume comme deux contes différents.

En dehors des contes identiques, on trouve un grand nombre d'éléments et de motifs identiques dans le recueil. Cette identité n'est qu'un preuve complémentaire de la popularité des contes. En voici quelques-uns:

1. *Le cheval-fée démembré.* Dans le conte n° 11 du recueil un cheval fée non seulement sauve la jeune fille des démons, mais il la rend riche en lui ordonnant de la démembrer, une fois qu'il est mort, et de disposer ses morceaux dans un ordre déterminé. Au cours de la nuit les morceaux se transforment en des choses utiles: une montagne, un champ de blé, un palais, des sujets. Du coeur du cheval fée il naît un cheval tout pareil à lui, c'est-à-dire que le cheval se réengendre lui même. Dans le conte n° 14, on rencontre, dans des conditions différentes, le même cheval fée. La jeune fille est poursuivie par un spectre, le cheval la sauve, puis il meurt le soir, mais de ses morceaux dépécés il se forme le matin des choses précieuses. Dans le conte n° 11 la même fonction échoit à une vache. De ses morceaux le cendrillon reçoit une robe, des bottes et des joyaux.

2. *Des dragons exigent des sacrifices humaines.*

Un lac est hanté de démons qui mangent quiconque s'approche du lac. Les hommes leur sacrifient chaque années deux êtres afin de pouvoir tranquillement puiser de l'eau dans le lac. (Conte n° 13.) Dans le conte n° 21 les dragons vivant dans le lac exigent que les hommes leur offrent des garçons nés dans l'année du dragon.

3. *Rencontre avec le mari de l'incarnation précédante.*

Lors de l'analyse des contes n° 6 et n° 12 nous avons traité en détail de ce motif. La reine reconnaît dans le héros celui qui dans sa réincarnation antérieure était son mari, et elle consent à l'épouser de nouveau. Dans le conte n° 2, ce motif est quelque peu modifié: la princesse se souvient en général de ses réincarnations, mais non de la personne qui était son mari. Le héros apprend ce qui est arrivé à la jeune fille dans sa vie précédante, et il lui fait croire qu'elle avait été sa femme. La jeune fille lui croit et accepte d'être épousée.

4. *Simulation d'une maladie.*

Un motif fréquent est la simulation d'une maladie destinée à contraindre le mari à une action qui lui répugne. Dans les deux contes mentionnés (n° 16, 20) nous nous sommes aussi occupé de ce motif en détail. Dans le conte n° 7, le femme demande à son époux de tuer pour elle le cheval favori du roi. Le mari, craint que la femme ne meurt si elle ne reçoit pas ce qu'elle demande, il s'exécute et déclenche ainsi le conflit.

Après avoir examiné les recueils de 21 contes en les comparant aux recueils de 13 contes, nous nous proposons maintenant à tirer quelques conclusions d'ordre général à propos de recueils *Ro-sgruṅ*. Il est évident que parmi les recueils tibétains ce sont ceux contenant 21 contes qui constituent la ver-

sion littéraire puisque dans l'invocation du recueil, l'auteur énumère les ouvrages littéraires dans lesquels il a puisé ses matériaux. Néanmoins le recueil contient des contes folkloriques, voire même deux variantes, la variante littéraire et la variante folklorique du même conte. Dans les recueils de 13 contes on trouve également des contes folkloriques, mais ce qui caractérise chacune des versions c'est que leur forme est figée, leur contenu stéréotypé et que leur nombre s'est accru par les copies qui en ont été exécutées, de sorte qu'à l'heure actuelle le recueil de 13 peut également être considéré comme une version littéraire. En ce qui concerne la date de leur naissance, le recueil de 21 contes est vraisemblablement le plus ancien, et a servi de modèle au recueil de 13 contes. En dehors de ces versions on connaît encore un recueil de caractère folklorique contenant 16 contes et des contes folkloriques séparés.[26] Voilà les conclusions qui peuvent être tirées des recueils tibétains du «Cadavre ensorcelé» actuellement connus.

[26] Voir la note 24.

NOTES ON A LIST OF THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE KANJUR

BY

B. D. BADARAEV (Ulan Ude)

The subject of our notes is a short anonymous manuscript entitled: *Rgyal-ba'i Bka'-'gyur rin-po-čhe'i po-ti'i graṅs bžugs* («*List of the Volumes of the Precious Kanjur of the Victorious*») extending only two pages. It begins with a 10 line stanza, then 7 stanzas follow containing 8 lines each with 9 syllables per line. The work is ended by a short colophone. It is written with black Chinese ink on Russian paper containing six lines on each side. The original of the present manuscript in Tibetan language can be found at the Bandido Hambo Lama J. D. Gomboev Chairman of the Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR.

Apparently this manuscript was established on the basis of the materials of the «*dkar-čhag*» catalogues of the *Kanjur* which are even more rare bibliographically than the complete set of the volumes of the *Kanjur*.

Its significance lies in the fact that it contributes to the comparative examination of the structural components of the *Kanjur* in the various editions each of them providing something new as compared to the previous one. (Cf. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Tibetan Tripitaka*: *HJAS*, Vol. 9 (1946), pp. 53—62.) For the *Kanjur* as a structural and compositional unit was formed gradually in Tibet. The opinion that Budon Rinčen-dub (*Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub* 1290—1364) gave a final system of classification of the constituent parts of the *Kanjur* and of the *Tanjur* is only relatively true, as all the following editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* differ from the preceding ones concerning their composition and structure. The above mentioned manuscript shows that the various editions of the Kanjur differ from each other in number of volumes, in arrangement of these or other sections, and even in the existence or lack of these or other whole sections.

Text

Rgyal-ba'i Bka'-'gyur rin-po-čhe'i po-ti'i graṅs bžugs ||
Rǐe-bcun Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa'i sku-riṅ-la |
Goṅ-ma Tā-Miṅ Gyuṅ-lo čhen-po-yis |

Ci-na'i yul-du Bka'-'gyur rin-po-čhe'i |
zaṅs-dpar bžeṅs-pa dpar-gyi thog-ma byuṅ |
Rgyud-'bum ñer-bži Yum-'bum bču-bži daṅ |
Ñi-khri bži daṅ Khri-brgyad-stoṅ gsum-ste |
Šer-khri Brgyad-stoṅ Šer-phyin sna-chogs gsum |
re-re Dkon-brcegs Phal-čhen drug-drug yin |
Mdo-maṅ so-gñis 'Dul-ba bču-gsum-mo |
khyon-bsdom brgya-lṅa mčhal-dpar žes-su grags |

yaṅ-na Rgyal-dbaṅ lṅa-ba čhen-po'i dus |
Goṅ-ma Bde-skyed Rgyal-pos bžeṅs mchal-dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-drug daṅ |
Ñi-khri bži daṅ Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa gsum |
Šer-khri Šer-phyin sna-chogs Brgyad-stoṅ-pa |
re-re Dkon-brcegs Phal-čhen drug-drug-ste |
Mdo-maṅ so-gñis Rgyud-'bum ñer-gñis-so |
Dus-'grel gčig-la khyon brgya-drug yin-no |

Sku-'bum žva-dmar drug-pa'i sku-riṅ-la |
Bsod-nams rab-brtan bžeṅs-pa'i Li-thaṅ-dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-drug daṅ |
Ñi-khri bži daṅ Khri-brgyad-stoṅ gsum-ste |
Brgyad-stoṅ gčig daṅ Šes-rab khri-ba gčig |
Šer-phyin sna-chogs gčig-ste Mdo-maṅ ni |
so-gñis Dkon Phal drug-drug Rgyud ñer-bži |
Dus-'grel gčig-ste khyon brgya-brgyad yin-no ||

Čo-ni Grags-pa-bšad-sgrub sku-che'i dus |
Dmag-zor mgon-pos bžeṅs-pa'i Čo-ni dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-drug daṅ |
Ñi-khri bži daṅKhri brgyad-stoṅ-pa gsum |
Šes-khri Brgyad-stoṅ Šer-phyin sna-chogs gsum |
re-re Dkon Phal drug-drug Mdo-Myaṅ-bčas |
so-gñis Rgyud-'bum ñer-bži Gzuṅs-bsdus gčig |
khyon bsdom 'di ni brgya daṅ bdun-po yin ||

Rgyal-dbaṅ bdun-pa Bskal-bzaṅ rgya-mcho'i riṅ |
Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas bžeṅs-pa'i Snar-thaṅ-dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-gñis daṅ |
Ñi-khri Khri-brgyad gsum-gsum Šer-khri gčig |
Brgyad-stoṅ-pa daṅ Sna-chogs šer re-re |
Dkon-brcegs Phal-čhen drug-drug Mdo sum-bču |

Myaṅ-'das gñis daṅ Rgyud-'bum ñer-gñis-so |
Kha-skoṅ gčig daṅ khyon brgya gčig yin-no |

Si-tu paṇ-čhen sku-che-riṅ-po'i dus |
Bstan-pa Che-riṅ bžeṅs-pa'i Sde-dge dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-gñis daṅ |
Ñi-khri gsum daṅ Khri-brgyad gsum Šer-khri |
Brgyad-stoṇ Šer-phyin sna-chogs re-re-la |
Dkon-brcegs drug daṅ Phal-čhen bži Mdo-maṅ |
so-gñis Rgyud-'bum ñer-gñis Dus-'grel gñis |
khyon-bsdoms 'di ni brgya tham mchal-dpar-ro |

Paṇ-čhen Bstan-pa'i ñi-ma'i sku-che'i riṅ |
Šiṅ-gza' paṇṭi-tas bžeṅs Ra-skye'i dpar |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-gñis daṅ |
Ñi-khri gsum daṅ Khri brgyad-stoṅ-pa gsum |
Šer-khri Šer-phyin sna-chogs Brgyad-stoṅ-pa |
re-re Dkon-brcegs drug daṅ Phal-čhen bži |
Mdo-maṅ so-gñis Rgyud-'bum ñi-šu-gsum |
Dus gñis Gzuṅs gñis khyon bsdoms brgya-gsum-mo |

Rǐe-bcun Dam-pa sku 'phreṅ brgyad-pa'i riṅ |
Khal-kha sde-bži las-khur-rnams-kyis bžeṅs |
'Dul-ba bču-gsum Yum-'bum bču-gñis daṅ |
Ñi-khri gsum daṅ Khri brgyad-stoṅ-pa gsum |
Šer-khri Šer-phyin sna-chogs Brgyad-stoṅ-pa |
re-re Dkon-brcegs drug daṅ Phal-čhen bži |
Mdo-maṅ so-gsum Rgyud-'bum ñi-šu-gsum |
Dus gčig Gzuṅs gñis brgya-gsum khu-re dpar ||

gžan-yaṅ Rgya-nag dpar rñiṅ thig-'phreṅ brgyad-pa-daṅ thig-'phreṅ dgu-ma gñis daṅ mchal-dpar žes Khal-kha Bstan-dar Sṅags-ram-pas gsuṅs | Khams-Čha-mdo-la Bka'-'gyur dpar sar sgrub yod čes bla-ma'i žal-nas thos-kyaṅ dkar-čhag daṅ po-ti'i graṅs da-lta ma mthoṅ-pa yin-pas phyis-su 'di-rnams gsal-nas briṡ-par žu ||

Translation

List of the Volumes of the Precious *Kanjur* of the Victorious

During the life of the Venerable Lobsan-Dagba[1] under the auspices of a certain *Goṅ-ma Tā-miṅ Gyuṅ-lo čhen-po*[2] the so called «copper edition»[3] of the

Precious *Kanjur* was established in China[4] which was in general the very first edition.[5] [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *Rgyud-'bum*[6] ..... 24 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum*[7] ..... 14 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri*[8] ..... 4 volumes
4. *Khri-brgyad-stoṅ*[9] ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šer-khri*[10] ..... 1 volume
6. *Brgyad-stoṅ*[11] ..... 1 volume
7. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs*[12] ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šer-khri, Brgyad-stoṅ, Šer-phyin sna-chogs*; the three, 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs*[13] ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen*[14] ..... 6 volumes, [more exactly: *Dkon-brcegs* and *Phal-čhen*, 1 volume each];

10. *Mdo-maṅ*[15] ..... 32 volumes
11. *'Dul-ba*[16] ..... 13 volumes, 105 volumes in all. This edition has become known as the «red (or cinnabar) edition».[17]

In the days of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama[18] under the auspices of a certain *Goṅ-ma Bde-skyid Rgyal-po*[19] the so called «red [or cinnabar] edition»[20] [*mchal-dpar*] of the *Kanjur* was also established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 16 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 4 volumes
4. *Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šer-khri* ..... 1 volume
6. *Šer-pyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume
7. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šer-khri* and *Šer-pyin sna-chogs*, 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs* ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen* ..... 6 volumes, [more exactly: *Dkon-brcegs* and *Phal-čhen*, 6 volumes each];

10. *Mdo-maṅ* ..... 32 volumes
11. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 22 volumes
12. *Dus-'grel* ..... 1 volume, 106 volumes in all.

During the life of *Sku-'bum žva-dmar*[21] under the auspices of a certain *Bsod-nams rab-brtan*[22] the so called «Li-thaṅ edition»[23] [*Li-thaṅ dpar'*] of the *Kanjur* was established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 16 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 4 volumes
4. *Khri-brgyad-stoṅ* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Brgyad-stoṅ* ..... 1 volume
6. *Šes-rab khri* ..... 1 volume
7. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume
8. *Mdo-maṅ* ..... 32 volumes
9. *Dkon*[24] ..... 6 volumes
10. *Phal*[25] ..... 6 volumes, [more exactly: Dkon and Phal, 6 volumes each];

11. *Rgyud* ..... 24 volumes
12. *Dus-'grel*[26] ..... 1 volume, [in this edition] 108 volumes in all.

During the lifetime of Čoni Dagba-šaddub[27] [*Čo-ni Grags-pa-bšad-sgrub*] under the auspices of a certain Magsor-gombo[28] [*Dmag-zor mgon-po*] the so called «Čoni edition»[29] [*Čo-ni dpar*] of the *Kanjur* was established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 16 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 4 volumes
4. *Khri brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šes khri* ..... 1 volume
6. *Brgyad-stoṅ* ..... 1 volume
7. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šes-khri, Brgyad-stoṅ* and *Šer-phyin sna-chogs*, the three, 1 volume each];
8. *Dkon*[30] ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal*[31] ..... 6 volumes, more exactly: *Dkon, Phal,* 6 [volumes] each;

10. *Mdo* together with *Myaṅ*[32] ..... 32 volumes
11. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 24 volumes
12. *Gzuṅs-bsdus* ..... 1 volume, there are 107 [volumes in it altogether].

In the period of the 7th Dalai Lama Galsan-ǰamco[33] [*Rgyal-dbaṅ bdun-pa Bskal-bzaṅ rgya-mcho*] under the auspices of Sodnam Dobǰay[34] [*Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas*] the so called «Narthang edition»[35] [*Snar-thaṅ dpar*] of the *Kanjur* was established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order:]

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 12 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 3 volumes
4. *Khri-brgyad* ..... 3 volumes, [more exactly: *Ñi-khri, Khri-brgyad,* 3 volumes each];

5. *Šer-khri* ..... 1 volume
6. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 1 volume
7. *Sna-chogs šer* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa* and *Sna-chogs šer,* 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs* ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen* ..... 6 volumes, [more exactly: *Dkon-brcegs, Phal-čhen,* 6 volumes each];

10. *Mdo* ..... 30 volumes
11. *Myaṅ-'das* ..... 2 volumes
12. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 12 volumes. [Besides] there is a «Complementary» [*Kha-skoṅ*] volume, there are altogether 101 volumes [in this edition].

During the life of Si-tu pančen[36] [*Si-tu paṅ-čhen*] under the auspices of Damba-Cerin[37] [*Bstan-pa che-riṅ*] the «Der-ge edition» [*Sde-dge dpar*][38] of the *Kanjur* was established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 12 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 3 volumes
4. *Khri-brgyad* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šer-khri* ..... 1 volume
6. *Brgyad-stoṅ* ..... 1 volume
7. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šer-khri, Brgyad-stoṅ, Šer-phyin sna-chogs,* 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs* ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen* ..... 4 volumes
10. *Mdo-maṅ* ..... 32 volumes
11. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 22 volumes
12. *Dus-'grel* ..... 2 volumes. There are exactly 100 volumes [in this edition] altogether [printed from tables with painted] red cinnabar.[39]

During the lifetime of Pančen Dambi-ñima [*Paṇ-čhen Bstan-pa'i ñi-ma*][40] under the auspices of Šiṅsā pandita[41] [*Šiṅ-gza' paṇḍita*] the «Raja edition»[42] [*Ra-skya'i dpar*] of the *Kanjur* was established. [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 12 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 3 volumes
4. *Khri brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šer-khri* ..... 1 voluje
6. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume
7. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šer-khri, Šer-phyin sna-chogs, Brgyad-stoṅ-pa,* 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs* ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen* ..... 4 volumes
10. *Mdo-maṅ* ..... 32 volumes
11. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 23 volumes
12. *Dus*[43] ..... 2 volumes
13. *Gzuṅs*[44] ..... 2 volumes, 103 volumes in all.

When the 8th Reborn of the [Urga] Jebcun Damba[45] [qutuγtu] lived the so called «Khu-re edition»[46] [*Khu-re dpar*] of the *Kanjur* was established at the request of the official personalities of the four aimaks of Khalkha.[47] [The volumes are arranged in it in the following order]:

1. *'Dul-ba* ..... 13 volumes
2. *Yum-'bum* ..... 12 volumes
3. *Ñi-khri* ..... 3 volumes
4. *Khri brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 3 volumes
5. *Šer-khri* ..... 1 volume
6. *Šer-phyin sna-chogs* ..... 1 volume
7. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa* ..... 1 volume, [more exactly: *Šer-khri, Šer-phyin sna-chogs, Brgyad-stoṅ-pa,* 1 volume each];

8. *Dkon-brcegs* ..... 6 volumes
9. *Phal-čhen* ..... 4 volumes
10. *Mdo-maṅ* ..... 33 volumes
11. *Rgyud-'bum* ..... 23 volumes
12. *Dus* ..... 1 volume
13. *Gzuṅs* ..... 2 volumes. The Urga edition [of the *Kanjur*] consists of 103 volumes in all.

Besides, according to the Dandar-Agramba in Khalkha[48] there are two more Chinese editions of the *Kanjur*, the one containing eight lines [on each side of the paper], the other nine lines, [*Rgya-nag dpar rñiṅ thig-'phreṅ brgyad-pa*[49] *daṅ thig-'phreṅ dgu-ma*[50] *gñis*]; and an edition [printed with painted] red cinnabar[51] [*daṅ mchal-dpar*]. We have also heard from the mouth of the Lama that in [the locality] Čamdo of [the province] Kham[52] (*Khams-Čha-mdo-la*) a new edition of the *Kanjur* has been established. But considering that in the given time the Garčag [*Dkar-čhag*] and the number of the volumes of these editions of the *Kanjur* were not known to us, therefore we have to clear up these facts, and to write them later.

Notes to the translation

[1] *Rǰe-bcun Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa*, «the Reverend Lobsan-dagba», otherwise: Conkaba Lobsan-dagba, 1357—1419.

2. *Goṅ-ma Tā-miṅ Gyuṅ-lo*, lit. «Emperor of the Great Ming Dynasty Yung-lo», reigned from 1402 till 1424.

[3] *zaṅs-dpar*, «copper edition». The given edition is said by the lamas to have been cut on copper sheets not like the unique set of the *Kanjur* in Ulan Bator carried out of Tibet in 1804 by the 4th J̌ebcun-Damba-qutuγtu Lobsan-tubden-vančug (1775—1813) the letters of which are cast from pure gold and soldered to copper sheets. When and where the «copper edition» of the *Kanjur* was published is unknown. But considering that the given edition was ordered by the Ming Emperor Yung-lo in the 8th year of his reign (i.e. in 1410) it is possible that the «copper edition» of the *Kanjur* and the «edition of Yung-lo» is one and the same. Nevertheless it appears by the comparison that

a) according to our text the «copper edition» of the *Kanjur* consists of 105 volumes,

b) according to H. Schulemann the «edition of Yung-lo» consists of 108 volumes and was published in 1411,

c) the *Kanjur* discussed by H. Schulemann (*Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, pp. 120—124) consists of 108 volumes, while the succession of the Sections in it does not correspond either to the «copper edition» of the *Kanjur* nor to the «Peking edition» (published in 1737) belonging to the Ōtani University (Japan); for example:

Parts of the *Kanjur* discussed by H. Schulemann in the following order	Number of volumes	Number of individual works
1. *'Dul-ba, Vinaya*	16 vol.	
2. *Šer-phyin, Prajñāpāramitā*	24 vol.	
3. *Sans-rgyas phal-po-čhe, Buddhāvataṃsaka*	6 vol.	
4. *Dkon-brcegs, Ratnakūta*	6 vol.	
5. *Mdo, Sūtra*	32 vol.	
6. *Rgyud, Tantra*	24 vol.	
Sum total:	108 *volumes*	

Parts of the «Peking edition» in 1737 belonging to the Ōtani University	Number of volumes	Number of individual works
1. *Rgyud, Tantra*	25 vol.	729 units
2. *Šer-phyin, Prajñāpāramitā*	24 vol.	30 un.
3. *Dkon-brcegs, Ratnakūta*	6 vol.	1 un.
4. *Phal-čhen, Avataṃsaka*	6 vol.	1 un.
5. *Mdo sna-chogs, Sūtrānta*	32 vol.	268 un.
6. *'Dul-ba, Vinaya*	13 vol.	26 un.
7. *Dkar-čhag, Sūci-lipi*	1 vol.	— un.
Sum total:	107 vol.	1055 units

So the comparison of the two tables shows that the «Peking edition» of the *Kanjur* discussed by H. Schulemann is not the «Peking edition» published in 1737, still less the «copper edition» identified by us with the «edition of Yung-lo» (1410). Perhaps H. Schulemann discussed another «Peking edition» of the *Kanjur* in his book «*Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*». This seems likely all the more, because the *Kanjur* in Tibetan language was published four times in Peking. To avoid any confusion it is indispensable to distinguish these editions, as follows:

Presumably the first Peking edition of the *Kanjur* in Tibetan language is the «edition of Yung-lo» in 1410, or the «copper edition», further: «the first Peking edition of the *Kanjur* in 1410»;

The second Peking edition known as the «edition of Wan-li» in 1605, further: «the second Peking edition of the *Kanjur* in 1605»;

The third Peking edition accomplished in 1684 during the reign of k'ang-hsi (1662—1723), further: «the third Peking edition of the *Kanjur* in 1684»;

The fourth Peking edition published in 1737 during the reign of Th'ien-Lun (1736—1796), further: «the fourth Peking edition of the *Kanjur* in 1737».

[4] *Ci-na'i yul-du*, lit. «in the country of the Cinas, where the word: Ci-na, Cina is borrowed from the Sanskrit *cīna*.

[5] *dpar-gyi thog-ma byuń*, lit. «the very first publication (of the xilograph *Kanjur* in Tibetan language)». The question of the first xilograph edition of the *Kanjur* in Tibetan language is unsettled. (see: G. Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*: *HJAS*, Vol. 12, 1949, pp. 478—496.)

However, the «copper edition» or «the first Peking edition in 1410» of the *Kanjur* is considered among the lamas to have been the first xilograph edition and this is the first manuscript set of the *Kanjur* in Tibetan language compiled in Gyantse (*Ggyal-rce*) and entitled «*Bka'-'gyur Rgyal-rce them-spoń-* [∼ *dpań*]*-ma*»-«*Forbidden* [*to carry out*] *through the threshold*». Inspite of this interdiction it was presented to the Mongols in the 1770-ies according to Gombojab, the Hambo-Lama of Buddhists in the Mongolian People's Republic. At present this copy of the Kanjur is in Ulan Bator.

[6] *Rgyud-'bum*, lit. «a hundred thousand Tantras», «the Section of the Tantras» — the fact that the «Section of the Tantras» is set on the first place in the «copper edition» or «first Peking edition in 1410» of the *Kanjur* is a peculiarity of the given edition and also of the fourth Peking edition in 1737.

[7] *Yum-'bum*, lit. «a hundred thousand Yums», «the Section of the Yums», *Mātrikā*. The Section *Prajñāpāramitā* begins in accordance with the «hundred thousand Yums».

[8] *Ñi-khri*, lit. «twenty thousand», *Wiṃśati-sāhasrikā*» i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā* set in 20 thousand ślokas.

[9] *Khri-brgyad-stoṅ*, lit. «eighteen thousand», *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*» i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā* set in 18 thousand ślokas.

[10] *Šer-khri*, short for *Šes-rab khri-ba*, lit. «ten thousand», *Daśasāhasrikā*, i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā* set in 10 thousand ślokas.

[11] *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa*, lit. «eight thousand», *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā* set in 8 thousand ślokas.

[12] *Šer-phyin sna-chogs*, lit. «the totality of the *Prajñāpāraṃitā*».

[13] *Dkon-brcegs*, short for *Dkon-mčhog brcegs-pa*, *lit.* «the heap of treasures», *Ratnakūta.*

[14] *Phal-čhen*, short for *Saṅs-rgyas phal-po-če*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

[15] *Mdo-maṅ*, *sūtra.*

[16] *'Dul-ba*, lit. «pacifying», *Vinaya*, i.e. the discipline of the community of the monks.

As can be seen from our tables the Section *Vinaya* consists of 13 volumes in every edition proving the strict structure of the given Section. The investigations of M. Hofinger, P. Demiéville and others have made it clear that exactly one hundred years after the Buddha Sakyamuṇi's submergence into Nirvāṇa, the Synod of the Buddhists assembled in Vaišālī, where 700 Buddhist monks have established the right interpretation of the *Vinaya.* [see: M. Hofinger, *Etude sur le concile de Vaiśālī*: *Bibliothèque du Museon* 20 (Louvain 1946). p. 300; P. Demiéville, *A propos du concile de Vaiśālī*: *T'oung Pao* XL, (1954) pp. 239—296.]

[17] *mchal-dpar*, lit. «red (or cinnabar) edition». This is the usual name of the «copper edition» or «first Peking edition in 1410» of the *Kanjur.*

[18] *Rgyal-dbaṅ lňa-pa čhen-po*, lit. «the Great Fifth Dalai-Lama», where the expression *Rgyal-dbaṅ* (in Mongolian *Ilagugsan-u erke-tü*), lit. «havig the right of the Victorious» is the exact equivalent of the widely known title «Dalai-Lama». The lama mentioned here is the famous Fifth Dalai-Lama Agvan-Lobsaṇ-ǰamco J̌igmed-goča tubdan-langco, (Ňag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ rgya-mcho 'J̌ig-med go-čha thub-bstan laṅ-cho 1617—1682).

[19] *Goṅ-ma Bde-skyid Rgyal-po* (Gongma Deǰid-J̌albo), the protector of the «red edition» of the *Kanjur.* It is possible that the person so entitled is Desrid-Sanǰay-ǰamco (*Bde-skyed Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho*), as in the catalogue of the *Tanjur* compiled by the Fifth Dalai-Lama and entitled *'J̌ig-rten gsum-gyi bde-skyed pad-chal-'byed ñin-byed* we find the expression «*bde-skyed*» showing certain connections between the title of the protector of the given edition of the *Kanjur* and that of the catalogue compiled by the Fifth Dalai-Lama under the auspices of the famous regent of Tibet Desrid Sanǰay-ǰamco (*Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho*, 1653—1703). Presumably Gongma Deǰid J̌albo (*Goṅ-ma Bde-skyid Rgyal-po*) and Desrid Sanǰay-ǰamco (*Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho*) are one and the same person — the protector both of the *Kanjur* and of the catalogue. (see also the note 20.)

[20] *mchal-dpar*, «red (or cinnabar) edition» of the *Kanjur.* The possibility of an edition of the *Kanjur* in Narthung (perhaps together with the *Tanjur*) is pointed out by the fact that — according to A. I. Vostrikov — the catalogue of the *Peking Tanjur* entitled *Bsan-bčos 'gyur-ro-čog-gi dkar-čhag 'ǰig-rten gsum-gyi bde-skyid pad-čhal bžad-pa'i ñin-byed* in 1724 was compiled on the basis of the catalogue entitled *'J̌ig-rten gsum-gyi bde-skyid pad-chal-'byed-pa'i ñin-byed* dated from 1688 and compiled by the Fifth Dalai-Lama Agvan-Lobsan-ǰamco J̌igmed-goča tubdan-langco. The date 1688 is considered by A. I. Vostrikov the usual falsification of Desrid Sanǰay-ǰamco who had concealed the death of the Fifth Dalai-Lama in 1682. Besides S. Yamaguchi remarks that the Peking editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* in 1724 and 1737 were established on the Narthang edition of the

set of the *Tripitaka*. All these indirectly indicate that a threefold edition of the Kanjur had been pur together in Narthang, between 1312—1320, 1680—1688 and 1730—1732, respectively. (see: G. Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*: *HJAS*, Vol. 12 (1949), also the essay of Kenneth K. S. Chen on the Tibetan *Tripitaka*, where he declares the Narthang *Kanjur* between 1312—1320 to be a xilograph, not a manuscript.)

[21] *Sku-'bum žva-dmar drug-pa*, lit. «the Sixth (of the Reborns) Red-capped from the monastery in Kumbum». This person is not known to us.

[22] *Bsod-nams rab-brtan*, Sodnom-radban, the protector of the Li-thaṅ edition of the *Kanjur*. He is not known to us.

[23] *Li-thaṅ dpar*, lit. «the Li-thaṅ (xilograph) edition [of the *Kanjur*]». We did not succeed in collecting enough information concerning this edition.

The Li-thaṅ edition is discussed by H. Schulemann, S. Yamaguchi and G. Tucci but A. I. Vostrikov does not even mention it. Besides S. Yamaguchi indicates that the Li-thaṅ edition of the *Kanjur* must date from a later time than the third Peking edition in 1684, but its exact date is unknown (see: H. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, p. 128; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*, pp. 477—496.).

[24] *Dkon*, «the rarest» — a rare abbreviation, due to the rhythm, for the name of the Section *Dkon-mčhog brcegs-pa*, *Ratnakūta*, in everyday usage gončog jegba.

[25] *Phal*, a rare abridgement for the name of the Section *Saṅs-rgyas phal-po-če*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

[26] *Dus-'grel*, short for *Dus-'khor 'grel-bšad*, *Kālacakra-vṛtti*.

[27] *Čo-ni Grags-pa bšad-sgrub*, Čoni Dagba-šaddub, 1675–1784, the author of a Gsuṅ-'bum — collected works in 11 volumes — known as the founder of the monastery in Čo-ne (see: A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaya istoričeskaya literatura*, pp. 245—246, 289.).

[28] *Dmag-zor mgon-po*, Magsor-gombo, the protector of the Čo-ne edition of the *Kanjur*.

[29] *Čo-ni dpar*, the «Čo-ne (xilograph) edition». The Čo-ne edition of the *Kanjur* seems to have been published earlier than that of the *Tanjur*. It becomes clear from a rapid glance over the catalogue of the Čo-ne edition of the *Tanjur* given by A. I. Vostrikov that the Čo-ne edition of the *Tanjur* was begun in 1753 and finished in 1773 the catalogue of it having been completed in the same year. The catalogue was compiled by the Second J̌amyan-šadba Gončog-ǰigmed-vanbo (*Dkon-mčhog 'ǰig-med dbaṅ-po*, 1728—1791), while Čoni Dagba-šaddub during whose reign the Čo-ne edition of the *Kanjur* was registered had died in 1748.

[30] *Dkon*, short for *Dkon-mčhog brcegs*-pa, *Ratnakūta*.

[31] *Phal*, short for *Saṅs-rgyas phal-po-če*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

[32] *Mdo-Myaṅ-bčas*, short for *Mdo-sde daṅ Mya-ṅan-las 'das-pa čhen-po'i mdo daṅ-bčas-pa*, lit. «the Section of the Sūtras including the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*».

As is known the Section of the Sūtras begins with the *Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra* (*Bskal--bzaṅ-po-pa mdo*) about the thousand Buddhas of the happy kalpa or era. It is followed by the *Lalitavistara-sūtra* (*Rgya-čher rol-pa*), the *Sandhinirmocāna-sūtra* (*Dgoṅs-pa nes-par 'grel-ba' i mdo*), the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (*Laṅ-kar gžegs-pa'i mdo*), the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka--sūtra* (*Dam-pa'i čhos pad-dkar-pa'i mdo*), the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* (*Bde-ba-čan-gyi bkod-pa'i mdo*) and the *Karaṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra* (*Za-ma-tog bkod-pa'i mdo*) and only after them the *Mahā-pari-nirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Mya-ṅan-las 'das-pa čhen-po'i mdo*) follows telling the withdrawal of Buddha Sākyamuni from this world to Nirvāṇa. As it can be seen from the text and the tables the *Mahāpārinirvāṇa*-sūtra forms an independent structural component in some editions of the *Kanjur*, while here it is included in the Section of the Sūtras.

[33] *Rgyal-dbaṅ bdun-pa Bskal-bzaṅ rgya-mcho*, the Seventh Dalai-Lama Galsan-ǰamco, 1708—1757.

[34] *Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas* or his full name *Mi-dbaṅ Pho-lha-pa Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas*, Sodnam-dobǰay or Mivang Polhaba Sodnam-dobǰay, a famous regent of Tibet, he reigned between 1728—1748. He was the main protector of the Narthang edition of the *Kanjur*.

[35] *Snar-thaṅ dpar*, «Narthang xilograph edition». As Vostrikov points out this edition «was completed in an exceptionally short time — in one and a half years from 26th of 8th month of the iron-dog year (1730) to 26th of 1st month of the water-mouse year (1732). Owing to this it has got the name «Magic vehicle» (*Rdzu-'phrul šiṅ-rta*). A. Vostrikov gives also a short description of the contents of the Catalogue of the given edition (see: A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaya istoričeskaya literatura*, pp. 128., 318.).

[36] *Si-tu paṇ-čhen*, Situ-pančen, more accurately *Si-tu Gcug-lag Čhos-kyi snaṅ-ba*, Situ Cuglag Čoyǰi-nangba, born in 1700. Situ-pančen is the author of the catalogue of the Der-ge edition of the *Kanjur* and also of the most competent Tibetan grammar under the short title «*Situi Sumdak*» (*Si-tu'i sum-rtags*).

[37] *Bstan-pa Che-riṅ*, Damba-cering born in 1668, prince of Der-ge and the customer of the Der-ge edition of the *Kanjur* realised 1729—1733.

[38] *Sde-dge dpar*, «Der-ge (xilograph) edition» completed in 1733 together with the catalogue of it entitled *Bde-bar gšegs-pa'i bka' gaṅs-čan-gyi brdas-daṅs-pa'i phyi-mo'i chogs ǰi-sñed-pa bar-du bsgrubs-pa'i chul-las ñe-bar brcams-pa'i gtam-bzaṅ-po blo-ldan mos-ba'i kunda-yons-su kha-byed-ba'i zla-'od gžon-nu'i 'khri-šiṅ*, p. 171. Its author was the Si-tu paṇ-čen. For the contents see: A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaya istoričeskaya literatura*, pp. 127—128.

[39] *mchal-dpar-ro*, «was published in (painted) red cinnabar». M. I. Vorobjeva-Desjatovskaja reports that «there are two variants of the Der-ge edition of the *Kanjur* in the collection of the Institute, a red one and a black one. The red one is printed far better and more accurately. However, the quality of the paper causes some difficulties in the reading as the paint could not be laid smoothly because of the rough surface. The black edition is in a worse print.» (M. I. Vorobjeva-Desjatovskaja, *Tibetskie perevody Tripitaki i ich izdanija v sobranii ksilografov Leningradskogo otdelenija Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR: «Dalnyj Vostok»*, Moskva 1961, p. 228).

[40] *Paṇ-čhen Bstan-pa'i ñi-ma*, Pančen-Dambi-ñima, otherwise: the Seventh Pančen-lama Lobsan Dambi-ñima Čogle-namǰal (*Blo-bzaṅ Bstan-pa'i ñi-ma Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal*, 1781—1854).

[41] *Šiṅ-gza' paṇ-ţi-ta*, Šingsa-pandita, the protector of the «Raǰa edition» of the *Kanjur*. His person is not known to us but C. Dordž gives his full name as *Šiṅ-gza' paṇ-ţi-ta Blo-bzaṅ Dar-rgyas rgya-mcho*, Singsā-pandita Lobsan Darǰay-ǰamco amongst the esteemed personalities invited to Mongolia in his age.

Besides the second component in the word «*šingsā*» in Tibetan must be written with the prefix *b-* not with *g-* (see: C. Dordž, *Tüvd hêl bičigt suralcach dêvtêr*, Ulaanbaatar 1961, p. 123.).

[42] *Ra-skya*, Raǰa, in Mongolian *Boro yamata*, a well-known place in north-eastern Tibet, where the *Kanjur* has been published. The date of the publication is unknown.

[43] *Dus*, short for *Dus-'khor 'grel-bšad, Kālacakra-vṛtti*.

[44] *Gzuṅs*, short for *Gzuṅs-'dus*, lit. «the collection of mantras and dhāraṇī».

[45] *Rǰe-bcun Dam-pa sku-'phreṅ brgyad-pa*, «the Eighth Reborn J̌eb-cun Damba-(qutuγtu)» namely: *Sku-'phreṅ brgyad-pa ṅag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ čhos-kyi ñi-ma bstan-'ǰin dbaṅ-phyug*, «the Eighth Reborn Agvan-Lobsan Čoyǰi-ñima dancin-vančuk, his everyday name Agvan-Lobsan, 1869—1924, the main supporter and managing editor of the Urga

edition of the *Kanjur*. See the catalogue of the Urga edition of the *Kanjur* entitled *Skye-ba lňa-pa'i sgra-dbyaňs*, pp. 10a—b, 1910.

[46] *Khu-re dpar* (in Mongolian: *chürêê bar*), otherwise: «the Urga (xylograph) edition», its individual volumes are in the Buddhist temple in Ivolga (USSR).

The catalogue of the Urga edition of the *Kanjur* has the following title: *Bde-bar gsegs-pa'i Bka'-bsgyur ro-čog bar-du bžeňs-pa'i dkar-čhag dge-mchan-'bum-phrag-phyogs-mthar-'phel-bar-byed-pa'i Skye-ba lňa-pa'i sgra-dbyaňs žes-bya-ba.* It consists of 77 pages but having no colophon it is incomplete. The date of the compilation of the catalogue is 1910, its short everyday name is: *Skye-ba lňa-pa'i sgra-dbyaňs*, «The euphony of the well-wound conch»; The expression *Skye-ba lňa-pa*, «having born the fith time» means «well-wound conch».

The catalogue consists of two parts: a short historical introduction and the catalogue proper. The first part is divided into four chapters:

1. The short history of the rising of the *Kanjur* in Tibet,
2. The spreading of Buddhism in Khalkha,
3. How the given (Urga) edition of the *Kanjur* was completed,
4. Peroration and blessing.

It is followed by the proper catalogue of the works included in the given edition.

[47] *Khal-kha sde-bži las-khur-rnams*, «the official personalities of the four aimaks of Khalkha». Obviously the expression *las-khur-rnams* (where *las* – «work, activity, karma» and *khur* — «load on, having load on (himself)» and *rnams* — particle of Plural) means the same as «*khalkhyn dörvön ajmgiyn haad*» in Mongolian — «the princes of the Four aimaks of Khalkha».

Khal-kha sde-bži, «the Four aimaks of Khalkha» namely: 1. *Tüšetü-khan aimak*; 2. *Čečen-khan aimak*; 3. *Jasaytu-khan aimak*; 4. *Sayin-noyan-khan aimak*. [see: J. Sambuu *Šašin ba lam naryn asuudald*, Ulaanbaatar 1961, p. 63; also: Š. Bira, *O «Zolotoj knige» Š. Damdina*: *Studia Historica* VI, fasc. 1 (Ulaanbaatar 1964), pp. 43—52.]

[48] *Khal-kha Bstan-dar Sňags-ram-pa*, Dandar Agramba of Khalkha, 1835—1915 (see: A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moskva 1962, p. 150; also: Č. Žugder, *Iz istorii obščestvenno-političeskoj i filosofskoj mysli v Mongolii v XIX veke*: *Filosofskie nauki*, 1966 N° 2, p 79.)

[49] *Rgya-nag dpar-rñiň thig-'phreň-brgyad*, «the old Chinese (xilograph) edition (of the *Kanjur*) in eight lines (on each side of the pages of the xilograph)». Obviously this is the fourth Peking edition of the *Kanjur* of 1737.

[50] *Rgya-nag dpar-rñiň thig-phreň-dgu-ma*, «the old (or ancient) Chinese (xilograph edition (of the *Kanjur*) in nine lines (on each side of the pages of the xilograph)». This is either the third Peking edition of 1684 or the second Peking edition of 1605.

[51] *mchal-dpar*, «red (or cinnabar) edition». We do not know which «red edition» is meant here.

[52] *Khams Čhe-mdo-la bka'-'gyur dpar [g]sar sgrub-yod*, «a new (xilograph) edition of the *Kanjur* comes into being in Čamdo (in the province) Kham». The Čamdo edition is known by H. Schulemann, G. Tucci, etc. (see: H. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, Leipzig 1958, p. 120; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*: *HJAS*, vol. 12, pp. 477—496.)

CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHERS' VIEWS ON BARBARIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS (14—16TH C.)

BY

MARY FERENCZY

Around 1345 in the History Office 脫脫 *T'o-t'o*, 歐陽玄 *Ou-yang Hsüan* and others edited three official historical works (正史 *cheng shih*), the 宋史 *Sung shih*, 遼史 *Liao shih* and 金史 *Chin shih* recording the history of the *Sung* period and those of the *Sung*, *Liao* and *Chin* dynasties respectively. The *Sung shih* was subsequently several times revised and its material reconstructed.[1] The revisions are of a later origin, their source material departs from that of the original only in few cases, thus their value as a source is rather low. They are, however, worth attention, because the comparison of the original work and some parts of the revisions may provide us with interesting information concerning the historical conception, the manner of construction of both the original work and the revisions, which is important for a modern valuation and analysis of their values as sources. This article attempts to present one single example concerning only the problem of the contemporary evaluation of the Chinese-Barbarian relations.

The revision the 宋史新編 *Sung shih hsin-pien* used for our comparison was compiled in the 16th century by 柯維騏 *K'o Wei-ch'i*.[2] When reselecting and rearranging the material – besides other important alterations – he reconsidered the views of the authors of the *Sung shih* on the relations of the people and nations in the *Sung* period, that is their views on Barbarian and Chinese relations. Both the original and the revised views are dogmatically laid down in the introductions of the corresponding parts from the *Sung shih* and *Sung shih hsin-pien* alike, in the prefaces to the chapters on the Barbarians.

[1] More details about this in 四庫全書總目提要 *Szŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* II. pp. 1008—1010; 金毓黻 Chin Yü-fu, 中國史學史 *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih*, *Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan*, Shanghai 1957. pp. 106—111.; 范文瀾 Fan Wen-lan, 正史考略 *Cheng-shih k'ao-lioh*, Peip'ing 1931. pp. 214—241.

[2] *K'o Wei-ch'i* comes from a scholar family from Fuchien. He became *chin-shih* in 1523. He held this office for a short period and retired because of illness. Beside many other works he worked on the *Sung shih hsin-pien* for twenty years. Cf. *Ming shih* 287. *chüan* 5.b—6.b. The description of his work see *Szŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* II. pp. 1109—1110.

The translation of the two prefaces reads as follows:

Sung shih 485. *chüan* 1.a—2.a.[3]

«A long time ago *T'ang* dynasty assumed power after the *Sui* dynasty, the *Sui* took the power over from the *Chou* and *Ch'i* dynasties and this goes back to the *Yüan Wei* dynasty. Those regions of the old north-western territories, however, to which the *Han* and *Chin* calenders could not be forwarded [as a token of recognition of Chinese rule] could not be reached this time either, although delegates were sent from both sides and the tribute and the present also arrived from time to time, but nothing else happened.

After the «virtue» of the *T'ang* dynasty had declined, the tribute from the distant regions (荒服 *huang-fu*) was no longer received. The Five Dynasties succeeded each other on the throne, the net of the law got entangled of itself, and when the distant peoples demanded morality, there was nobody whom they could follow.

The founder of the *Sung* dynasty received the heavenly mandate and then all the countries were united and peace and harmony ruled all over the world.

From [countries] like *Kao-li* [*Korye*] and *Po-hai* in the East, although they were separated from us by the land of *Liao* they came to us sailing on the sea from far away and without fear they wandered through the land and seas. From the West that is from *T'ien-chu* [*India*], *Yü-tien* [*Khotan*], the *Hui-hu* [*Uigurs*], the *Ta-shih* [*Arabs*], *Kao-ch'ang* [*Turfan*], *Chiu-tz'ŭ* [*Kucha*] and *Fu-lin* [*Byzantium*], although the land of *Liao* and *Hsia*-[*kuo*] stretched between them [and the *Sung* empire] the «gift-baskets» still arrived and the quartermasters were kept occupied. The 党項 *Tang-hsiangs*[4] and the tribes of 唃厮囉 *Ku-szŭ-lo*, 董氈 *Tung-chan* and 瞎征 *Hsia-chêng* from 吐蕃 *T'u-fan*[5] had to fight with the military forces of *Hsia-kuo*. The feared virtue of the *Sung*-house spread

[3] The translation relies upon the text of the *Po-na* Edition, besides the facsimile of the Palace Edition from the *Ch'ien-lung* period was accessible. (Published by *Chung-hua shu-chü*).

[4] Since *Tang-hsiang* is the Chinese name of the Tangutans it seems remarkable that the country of *Hsi-hsia* (the land of the Tangutans) and the tribes of *Tang-hsiang* occur separately, and as each others' enemies at that. In the barbarian chapters of the *Sung shih* besides the *Hsi-hsia chuan* (485—486. *chüan*) *Tang-hsiang chuan* (491. *chüan* 12. a—24. b.) can be found as well. Even a superficial comparison between the material of the two chapters leads us to conclude that this alleged duality seemed to preserve the memory of the fights of some Tangutan tribes from times previous to the consolidation of the Tangutan state, when the nationalities were not dependent on central power yet. The sentence in the text of the preface contrasting the tribes of *Tang-hsiang* and the country of *Hsi-hsia* seems to refer to this period and to these fights.

[5] This term originating from the *T'ang* period and indicating the name of Tibet does not mean Central-Tibet in the barbarian chapters of the *Sung shih* but refers to country of the Tibetan population living on the territories of the today's Chinghai and Kansu provinces. *Ku-szŭ-lo* is the ruler of *T'u-fan* in the first half of the 11th century. His res-

already over their land too and they gained their help from time to time. [From the land of] *Chiao-chih, Chan-ch'êng* [*Champa*], *Chên-la,* 蒲甘[6] *P'u-kan* and *Ta-li* and from all the Barbarians of the coastal area ever since that 劉鋹 *Liu Ch'ang*[7] and 陳洪進 *Ch'ên Hung-chin*[8] came and surrendered, the tributes were continuously and regularly received.

The *Sung* dynasty treated them so that they took their road, increasing their population, did not even register their tributes and lent them its glorious name, and did not burden them with harrasments and humiliation.[9] When they came, they were not held up, when they left, they were not pursued. But as the frontiers were adjoining, infiltrations nevertheless occured from time to time. When orders were given for punitive expeditions, having surrendered, [the Barbarians] were left in their place and troops were not [stationed there] permanently. The method of the ancient rulers was to treat distant peoples leniently, could anything be added to this?

After the dynasty had moved southward, the connections between the northern desert and the south-eastern regions were severed. In the western frontier towns there were still some officials left in order to keep up relations from afar and to give positions and orders, till the downfall of *Sung* and then all this came to an end.

At the beginning of the *Sung* era the *Ju-chên*s often brought famous horses in tribute. At other times, regaining strength, they got into conflicts with *Liao* and 阿疎 *A-shu*[10] their revolting subject demanded everything back which then had carried away. At that time the orders of the *Sung* dynasty were recognized yet and they regarded keeping up good relations with them as

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idence was called in Chinese 宗哥城 *Tsung-ko-ch'êng* (probably near *Hsining*). Cf. *Sung shih, T'u-fan chuan* (*492. chüan*) 11. b—14.b. *Tung-chan* was the successor of *Ku-szŭ-lo*. Cf. *Sung shih, T'u-fan chuan* (492. *chüan*) 14. b—17.a. *Hsia-chêng*: the ruler of *T'u-fan* on the turn of the 11—12th centuries. Cf. *Sung shih, T'u-fan chuan* (492. *chüan*) 18. a—19. b.

[6] In the text there is an incorrect spelling 耳 *êrh*, the correct form (甘 *kan*) can be found in *Sung shih* 489. *chüan* 11. b.

[7] The ruler of *Nan Han* after the success of the *Sung* dynasty surrendered to the *Sung*s. For details see *Sung shih* 481. *chüan* 1.a.—12.a.

[8] A general from *Min*, he surrendered under the reign of *Sung T'ai-tsung*. See *Sung shih* 483. *chüan* 13. b—17. b.

[9] Instead of 縟 *ju* occuring in the text read 辱 *ju*.

[10] *Ju-chen* tribal leader, who on account of tribal conflicts fled to the *Liao* empire in 1112. He was accepted and supported by the Kitan court, this led to difficulties between the strenghtening *Ju-chen* might and the Kitans in the following years. This matter was mentioned too among the nominal casus belli of the war that finally led to the fall of the Kitan empire. Our text avoids to admit that the *Liao* empire was destroyed by the *Ju-chen*s at the beginning of the 12th century by the help of this allusion. Cf. K. A. Wittfogel —Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society Liao*, Philadelphia, 1949. pp. 422 and 595.

important. But then they broke the treaty concluded at the sea-shore and caused very great danger. Thus the *Sung* rulers were greatly humiliated, but did it not all happen because of the faults [of the *Sung* rulers] themselves?

At an earlier date in the old history of the *Sung* dynasty (宋舊史 *Sung chiu shih*) there was a capital on the *Ju-chens* (女眞傳 *Ju-chen chuan*). [From the present work] we had to omit this part in accordance with the truth because the *Chin shih* was already completed at imperial orders. But we took into consideration that as long as the *Chin* state was independent, the opposition of *Hsia-kuo* [i.e. its independence] was not permanent, therefore we left it [the history of *Hsia-kuo*] as it had been reported by the ancient historiographers.[11]»

Sung shih hsin-pien 192. *chüan*.[12]

«In the countries of the Barbarians, outside our frontiers the customs of the tribes are not the same as those of the Chinese, therefore those [regions] were called *huang-fu*[13] by the ancient kings. While there were no troubles within and without the borders of the empire the tax-collectors collected the tributes every now and then and hardly any inroads occurred. And when unexpectedly the bows were bent and the arrow-heads rang out then there were skirmishes, but the hard accessibility of the mountains and valleys was enough for us to defend ourselves. And if inspite of all this deceits or violence took place all this resulted from the inherent characteristics [of the Barbarians].

Although when *Shao-k'ang* raised the *Hsia* house, the music and the dances were all performed[14] and when *Wu-wang* founded the *Chou* house, arrow-

[11] In the original, 夏國雖偪鄉不常而視金有間故仍舊史所錄存焉. On its interpretation see *Chin shih* 134. *chüan*. 13. a. 遼金宋三國偪鄉無常視三國之勢彊弱以爲異同焉. In the text of the *Sung shih* of the Palace Edition we find 卿 *ch'ing* instead of 鄉 *hsiang*.

[12] The translation relies upon the *Sung hsih hsin-pien* 200 *chüan*, ed. by 大光書局 *Ta-kuang shu-chü*, Shanghai 1936.

[13] The expression with the traditional meaning of «distant region» (it occurs in the above cited text of the *Sung shih* in this sense) is an actual reference here to the traditional geographical classification of the *Shu ching*. Cf. J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics III. The Shoo King*, Hong Kong 1960.[2] p. 147. where its translation is *the wild domain*.

[14] In the court of *Shao-k'ang*, the ruler who once again brought prosperity to the *Hsia* dynasty, it were probably Barbarians (having arrived from afar) who introduced and offered their music and dances. The strong inner logic of the text suggests such an interpretation of this very short allusion (that is, that we should look for a meaning parallel to the content of the next sentence). This tentative solution seems to be justified by another parallel text displaying the actual existence of the legendary tradition on the above mentioned matter. See 王先謙 Wang Hsien-ch'ien, 後漢書集解 *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*, Peking 1959.[2]IV. p. 3095. 85. *chüan*: 東夷傳 *Tung I chuan*, 自少康已後世服王化遂賓于王門獻其樂舞, further the commentaries of 李賢 Li Hsien on this sentence, that quotes from parts of the Bamboo Chronicles today not known from elsewhere. 竹書紀年曰后發卽位元年諸夷賓於王門諸夷內舞.

head stones were presented.[15] Master 歐陽 *Ou-yang*[16] still said: «Be the government good still it is not certain that [the Barbarians] will surrender, but even if the government is bad it is not sure either that [the Barbarians] will not come [to surrender]. Is it possible at all to establish a constant rule for this?»

From the end of the *T'ang* era and under the reign of the Five Dynasties when the «virtue» declined and the might [of the dynasty] did not put fear [in the world] any more then the frontier towns were laid waste, the region of 幽 *Yu* 燕 and *Yen*[17] were destroyed and lost. China was indeed in a truly pitiable condition.

When the *Sung* house rose *T'ai-tsu* and *T'ai-tsung* cut down the usurpers thus laying the foundations of the universal peace. At the time the Kitans [merely] sent letters asking for peace, whereas the people of 夏州 *Hsia-chou* murdered and used violence in order to serve the causes [of their own] kingdom. [Inspite of this the delegates from regions] like the land of the *Ju-chens*, *Kao-li* [*Korye*], *Po-hai* in the East, *Chiao-chih*, *Chan-ch'êng* [*Champa*], *Po-ni* [*Borneo*] *Chên-la*, *P'u-kan* and 三佛齊 *San-fu-ch'i* in the South, *T'ien-chu* [*India*], *Yü-tien* [*Khotan*], the land of the *Hui-hus* [*Uigurs*] and the *Ta-shihs* [*Arabs*], *Kao-ch'ang* [*Turfan*], *Sha-chou* and *Chiu-tz'ŭ* [*Kucha*] in the West although some of these were separated from the empire by the sea and others by the desert, nevertheless they all wandered through the lands and seas without fear and came to the court touching ground with their foreheads and offered their hoarded treasures, the treasury was not empty for one month. The *Tang-hsiangs* and the tribes of *Ku-szŭ-lo*, *Tung-chan* and *Hsia-chêng* from *T'u-fan* were conflicting to the people from *Hsia-chou* but neither their revolt nor their surrender was permanent. And those who finally showed repentance were supported [by the empire] from time to time. When they happened to arrive they were entertained at bankets and given presents, ranks and decrees in order to be taken into imperial grace. When they happened to revolt, punitive expeditions were conducted against them, but in case of surrender they were left there in peace and troops were not [stationed there] permanently. The method of the ancient kings was to treat distant peoples leniently: what else could have been added to this by the *Sung* [rulers]?

With the passing of several generations the warriors and horsemen [of the *Sung* empire] were slayed by the Tangutans, its money taken by the Kitans

[15] Reference to the 50—52. and 66—69. passages of the chapter entitled 禹貢 *Yü kung* from the *Shu ching*. See. J. Legge. op. cit. pp. 115. and 121.

[16] Since the author fails to mention first names I have been unable to identify the person of the excellent historiographer in question. The conservative spirit of the text and the strongly orthodox (i.e. anti-barbarian) interpretation of the cited, seemingly heterodox statement seems to point to the historical conception of *Ou-yang Hsiu*.

[17] The region of Peking and its wider surroundings. This territory was conquered by the Kitans in the first half of the 10th Century. Cf. K. A. Wittfogel op. cit. pp. 575—576.

and its territories seised by the *Ju-chens*, and then the Mongols continuing this rose and destroyed the *Sung* empire. An unmeasurable change followed. What a confusion there arose! A great disaster befell upon China because they resisted the Great Policy and nothing happened as it used to under *T'ai-tsu* and *T'ai-tsung*.

There is no need to talk about the Mongols. The behaviour of the Kitans and *Ju-chens* was similar to that of the Tangutans, how could they be ranged with the *Sung* dynasty in the compilation of the historical works! According tu *Li* [*-chi*] the greatest rank among the Barbarians is a mere 子 *tzu*[18] this, to be sure is an expression of contempt. According to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* inside [the frontiers] there is China and outside there are the Barbarians and our territories are established accordingly. Now, if we respect the rule of the *Sung* dynasty, *Liao* and *Chin* should be considered abroad and discussed similarly to the Tangutans. There is no need of further explaining the meaning of this.»

The conception and construction of the two texts are parallel, both beginning with a historical retrospection, continuing with a more detailed description of the Chinese-Barbarian relations in the *Sung* period and ending with historiographical and methodological observations. These frames, however, are filled with different contents.

The *Sung shih hsien-pien* begins the historical retrospection with remarks of an entirely general nature on the relation of the Chinese and Barbarians and traces the problem back to ancient times. Immediately here in the first few sentences he finds opportunity to make allusions to the undisputable authority of one of the canonical books (he quotes the *Shu ching*, cf. Note 13). He hastens to state that the corruption or difficulties of the relations have their cause in the «inherent characteristics of the Barbarians». It is only now that he expounds the actual antecedents from the historical traditions regarded by him as being of decisive importance. He indicates with two data referring to the period of the *Hsia* dynasty and the *Chou* era that the Barbarians surrendered to China as early as that. (Cf. Notes 14. and 15.)

The *Sung shih* allows very little time for discussing the preceding events as opposed to the previously mentioned text and begins *in medias res* although he is in no hurry to evaluate the events. He begins his description with remarks on the *T'ang* period and he asserts that the relations of the *T'ang* empire and the distant peoples were free from special problems or greater troubles.[19]

[18] Reference to the II/9. passage of the chapter entitled 曲禮 *Ch'ü li* from the *Li chi*. See. S. Couvreur, *Mémoires sur les bienséances et les cérémonies*. Paris 1950. I. p. 90.

[19] It may not be incidental that this text otherwise failing to pay much attention to investigating the ancestors and predecessors (i. e. the historical continuity) goes straight back to a dynasty of barbarian origin the *Yüan Wei* (*T'o-pa*) house at the brief enumeration of the predecessors of the *T'ang dynasty*.

In the following both authors investigate the dissolution and confusion at the time of the Five Dynasties. The sentences about the decline of the «virtue» of the dynasty refer after all to internal troubles, this among others is regarded by them as the very cause of the more and more passive foreign relations of China. Thus the succession of the *Sung* dynasty is similarly justified in both cases. Their views on the activity of the neighbouring peoples under the Five Dynasties, however, do not conform to each other. «There was nobody to show them the way of virtue» the writer of the *Sung shih* asserts closely in the words of tradition but still somewhat ambiguously, whereas the writer of the *Sung shih hsin-pien* definitely condemns the Barbarians for their invasions and robberies, moreover, reporting the destruction of *Yu* and *Yen* he expressively blames the Kitans. (Cf. Note 17.)

The two writers thus agree in the *Sung* dynasty put on the throne by heavenly mandate. They also agree in taking partly historical partly geographical aspects into consideration in their further discussions.

The *Sung shih* enumerates the names of the countries having contracts with China, roughly in geographical order. The names of eastern (actually north-eastern), western (among them we find both legendary distant and, from actual allies and fights, well-known smaller and bigger nearer regions) and southern countries, with allusions even to the pacified southern territories are crowded together. The foreign policy of the *Sung* empire is represented as reasonably tolerant, that is, not basically feeble, but attractive from the Barbarians' point of view. In the short introduction of the role of the *Liao* and *Chin* states (according to his conception they are not real Barbarian countries, several official historical works appeared emphasizing their greatness) he carefully avoids the analysis of the actual conflict. E.g. we do not learn the reasons why the *Sung* dynasty moved southward.[20] Mentioning the downfall of the dynasty on the other hand he calls attention to the *Sung* rulers' responsibility.

The historical events of the *Sung shih hsin-pien* are assessed and grouped in another way. First he mentions the problems belonging to the initial period of the reign of the *Sung* dynasty. At the beginning the difficulties were caused by the independent policy of *Liao* and *Hsi-hsia* (the people of *Hsia-chou* in his work) and by their striving for independence. The following analysis of the other countries (both eastern and distant southern and western ones) and some trouble-making tribes is in its main features roughly corresponding to the

[20] Further examples: The contrast between *Sung* and *Liao* is not mentioned in the text (we are led to infer it only from the allusions of the earlier geographical enumeration); the clash of *Chin* and *Liao* i. d. the destruction of *Liao* is indicated only indirectly (cf. Note 10.). Finally the antagonism of *Sung* and *Chin* that was not mentioned at the description of the dynasty's move to the South serves here as an evidence for the humiliation of the *Sung* rulers as if the Mongols had not played an active part in the events at the end of the *Sung* period.

parallel parts of the *Sung shih*. We regard the discussion of the differences between the two geographical enumeration as being outside our present task. The essence of the foreign policy of the *Sung* dynasty is summed up similarly to the former text and similar emphasis is laid on its tolerant and reasonable character. While in this respect he agrees with his predecessor (here the two texts literally coincide in some places) in the following he deviates from him all the more. The Kitans, Tangutans, *Ju-chen*s and Mongols are considered as Barbarians, foreigners and intruding conquerors alike. Their destructive activities are described and he regards them as one of the fundamental reasons of the downfall of the *Sung* dynasty and the destruction and immeasurable changes that followed it in China.

The conclusions of both prefaces make fragmentary but still remarkable observations on the historiographical methods of the above discussed views. The task which the authors set themselves is defined above all as being of an editorial nature.

The compilers of the *Sung shih* selected material from the works of the ancient historiographers for several historical works of equal rank and referring to one and the same period.[21]

K'o Wei-ch'i on the other hand makes it clear and documents it with canonical quotations that a historiographer may record *one* period and only in *one* official historical work since only *one single* legitimate dynasty can exist at a given time. Since in the *Sung* period, outside the China of the *Sung* dynasty everybody else is a Barbarian, the description of the various other countries and their histories can be accomplished only within the frames of the longer or

[21] The *Yüan shih* fixes the date of the accomplishment of the *Chin shih* a year prior to that of the *Sung shih* (1344. and 1345). The *Liao shih*, not mentioned in the text, must have been accomplished in the same year as the *Chin shih*. Cf. *Yüan shih* 41. *chüan* 7.a.—7.b. and *Hsin Yüan shih* 24. *chüan* 4. b and 5. a. A significant observation is cited by Fan Wen-lan from a for me unknown edition of the *Yüan shih* (op. cit. p. 214.), on the development of the plans for the three *cheng shih*s and on the order of their preparation: (According to the biography of *T'o-k'o-t'o*:) «When the chronological scope [of the single works] has not been determined, yet some wanted to have a chronological history of the *Sung* period made (世紀 *she chi*), and miscellaneous notes on the *Liao* and *Chin* dynasties (載記 *tsai chi*); others on the other hand demanded — since the *Liao* empire had been founded earlier than the *Sung* empire — that the history of the *Liao* and *Chin* empires should present the history of the Northern Dynasties (北史 *Pei shih*), from the *Sung* era it schould be the period from Emperor *T'ai-tsu* [960—975] to the *Ching-k'ang* era [1126] that is to be discussed in the history of the *Sung* dynasty (*Sung shih*) and from the events subsequent to the *Chien-yen* period [1127—1130] the history of the Southern *Sung* dynasty should be prepared (*Nan Sung shih*). They were all arguing for a long time without taking any decision. Finally under *Shun-ti* [1333—1367] imperial orders were given to record the histories of both *Sung*, *Liao* and *Chin* dynasties alike in separate works.» For interpretation of the terms *she chi* and *tsai chi* see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kan-wa jiten*, Tokyo 1960. I. p. 269. and X. p. 1016.

shorter chapters of the *Sung shih*. He reselected and rearranged the material, this is actually determined to be one of the main purposes of his ten years' efforts in his discussion so severely condemning the views of the *T'o-t'o*s.

Although neither of the above discussed texts contains actual historical material, thus both are without any value as sources, still, despite their abstract characters, they reveal much about the nature of the selection and arrangement of the material and some elements of the historical conception of the authors and about their views concerning the *Sung* period and their claims as historiographers.

Each author is an excellent scholar, this being shown not only by their courtly positions, high degrees but also by the careful composition, logical construction, inner order and rich material of both texts. Their historical world view is based upon traditional Confucian ideas. In the description of the *Sung shih* e.g. the dynasty rules by heavenly mandate, the decline of its virtues leads to the break-down of the order of the world and conversely, even distant peoples long for the supreme authority of the dynasty, the center of the events is always the imperial court etc. A considerable part of the statements criticized by *K'o Wei-ch'i* who qoutes the holy books fits into this Confucian chain of thought. E.g. when *T'o-t'o* blamed the declining *Sung* dynasty in order to justify the rise of the Mongols, he acted entirely in accord with the orthodox tradition: he explained to the reader according to the old recipe of the victorious conqueror or rebel founding a new dynasty that the heavenly mandate was won by the new ruling house.

At the same time the conception of *T'o-t'o* is considerably motivated by the fact that he appreciates all those who served as examples or predecessors for the Mongols. This is the reason why the first place is given to the *Liao* and *Chin* dynasties.[22] On the evidence of what we have said so far it is clear however, that these features do not in the least alter the case that the authors (compilers) of the *Sung shih* were the historiographers of the *lawfully ruling Yüan* dynasty that approached the history of China and the neighbouring peoples no longer from the Barbarian's point of view but examined and presented the events from the «center».

K'o Wei-ch'i tried to devastate this conception built on the tradition by the authority of the tradition (that of the canonical books). In his own way he disputed the significance, role and justification of a world outside the supremacy of the lawful dynasty. Supported by arguments taken from the canons he deprived the previleged Barbarians of their previleged positions, he refused them their right for an independent policy presenting their subordinate situa-

[22] He is probably influenced by his attempts to express and justify the inner order of the empire. This can be detected in the text where he regards the Tangutans as the *first* Barbarians.

tion ever since ancient times and he even disputed their very ability of striving for good from them, because according to his idea only bad Barbarians can exist.[23] In his conception he tried to follow the earlier variations of the historical works as faithfully as possible in accordance with his original purpose, (where he had no objections against the text of the *Sung shih* he used it literally) but he made efforts to deprive it from step to step of its original content and special elements. In his work he attempted at the «debarbarisation» of Chinese history. The result of this effort that was certainly not unique and served directly the interests of the dynasties and suited the taste of the court under the *Ming* emperors reminds us essentially of those of the other trend but the differences are perhaps enough to call attention to the importance of a careful examination of the value of the sources.

[23] It is by all means closely related with this conception and historiographical attitude that the scholars of the *Ch'ing* period had not the best opinion of the work of *K'o Wei-ch'i*; it was considered a work of secondary quality in the *Szŭ-k'u ch'üan shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (II. p. 1110.).

IDENTICAL STORIES IN THE TWENTY-FIVE TALES OF THE VETĀLA AND IN THE OCEAN OF STORY

BY

SUSAN L. NÁDASDI

The extant Sanskrit treatments of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* are usually regarded as independent versions, although this is not justified by the differences in their contents and structures. Two of the four best-known versions are to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva and in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, whereas the other two are those constructed by Śivadāsa and Jambhaladatta.

The collection of Śivadāsa reconstructed from several manuscript variants by H. Uhle[1] was produced according to Hertel not long before 1487[2] and that of Jambhaladatta even later, according to I. Serebrjakov,[3] in the 16th century. Although the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* is no more than a few chapters of one lambaka in the enormous encyclopedic collections of Somadeva and Kṣemendra, these two contemporary works are of a decisive importance in the examination of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, since, coming from the 11th century, they contain the oldest known *vetāla*-stories. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the stories of the vetāla occupy *taraṅgas* 75—79 of the XIIth *lambaka* (*śaśiprabhā*). They are not related to the main plot about king Udayana and his son Naravāhanadatta, but to the *Daśakumāracarita* cycle of tales built into it. Vikramakeśarin, the seventh of the ten princes accompanying Mṛgāṅkadatta on the journey, cures a brāhmaṇa of a snake-bite and receives from him power over the vetālas in return. Since, however, Vikramakeśarin does not realize the greatness of this power, the brāhmaṇa tells him the story how, with the help of a vetāla, king Trivikramasena became the ruler of the vidyādharas. Vikramakeśarin re-tells this story when he meets Mṛgāṅkadatta.

From among the collections of stories incorporated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* is the only one which has a few stories reappearing

[1] H. Uhle, *Die Vetālapañcaviṅçatikā in den Recensionen des Çivadāsa und eines Ungenannten.* (Hgg. von —.): *AKM* VIII (1884) No. 1 (1881) pp. XXX + 236.

[2] J. Hertel, *Śivadāsas Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*: *Streitberg Festgabe*, Leipzig 1924, pp. 135 ff.

[3] I. Serebrjakov, *Dvadcatj pjatj rasskazov vetaly*, Moskva 1958, p. 10.

also outside the collection in the various lambakas and taraṅgas. The tales repeated are the following:

Somadeva

Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā	*Kathāsaritsāgara*
1) Frame tale	t. 38, śloka 47—72
2) story 4	t. 53. śl. 86—193
3) story 9	t. 52, śl. 92—105
4) story 15	t. 7.
5) story 16	t. 22.
6) story 17	t. 15.
	t. 33, śl. 62—66.

It is quite remarkable that while the frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* and also five out of its 24 tales are repeated at other places of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* hardly any tales, outside these vetāla-stories, exist in two variants in the book. I cannot agree with Mańkowski[4] who concludes from the fact that the order of only the first five lambakas of Somadeva's work conforms to that of Kṣemendra that Somadeva changed the construction of the collection on which both works were based, and the repetitions are due to careless compilation. In order to challenge his opinion I must now examine why the stories of this very collection forming an independent unit appear twice, since the other repeated stories do not belong to collections.[5]

The frame tale of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* can be found also outside the cycle, in the story about king Vikramāditya and the courtesan (t. 38, sl. 42—47). This king Vikramāditya lived in Pāṭaliputra. In alliance with kings Hayapati and Gajapati he attacked Narasiṃha, the king of Paratiṣṭhāṇa, and was defeated by him. After the military defeat he humiliated his enemy with the help of Madanamālā, a courtesan. Vikramāditya paid her services with one of the treasures received from Prapañcabuddhi. The story which faithfully follows the details of the frame tale of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* is told here in the first person by him to Buddhivara inqiring after the origin of the treasures. But the ascetic give the king not a fruit but a box. The most significant difference, however, concerns the ending. While in the frame tale the evil intent of the ascetic is revealed only after the 24th story of the vetāla, and the name Kṣāntiśīla «patience-virtued» does not betray his real character, here

[4] L. von Mańkowski, *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣemendras Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung VII.

[5] The character of the animal fables of the *Pañcatantra* is alien to that of the vidyādhara-stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, therefore they do not appear at other places of the latter.

Vikramāditya is immediately informed by Viṣṇu of the schemes of the ascetic whose name (Prapañcabuddhi «perfidious») itself indicates malevolence. King Vikramāditya goes to the graveyard and the end of the story is that the king, at the order of Viṣṇu, kills the ascetic. In this tale the entire vetāla element is absent.

According to Carnac Temple the vetāla belief is one of the motives of non-Indian origin.[6] In his opinion it was current in the south-Russian plains and was carried to Indian territory by the immigrating Aryans. In the Indian tales, however, the vetāla element appears much later. The frame tale of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* which includes the vetāla element came into being therefore by the later addition of the latter to the tale of the 38th taraṅga which, with the help of this element, was transformed into a frame story.

Although in the frame stories of the different versions the king appears under various names (he is Trivikramasena or resp. Vikramāditya in taraṅga 38 at Somadeva, Vikramasena at Śivadāsa, Vikramakeśarin and resp. Vikramāditya at Jambhaladatta), in each case he is identified with Vikramāditya.[7]

In my opinion the frame tale, as well as the vetāla-stories recognized in taraṅgas 7, 15, 22, 33, 52 and 53, had already been in the antecedent of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* when the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* was incorporated. They were such well-known, popular stories which, although they did not, in their original

[6] The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Vol. I, London 1924, p. XXV.

[7] Vikramāditya appears three times in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, twice — in taraṅga 38 under the name Vikramāditya and in taranga 75 as Trivikramasena — as a tale-character, and once as a historical personality, in lambaka XVIII which is regarded by J. S. Speyer as a later addition to the work (J. S. Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*: *Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde* VIII, No. 5 (Amsterdam 1908). This lambaka is entirely occupied by a long cycle of stories about a Vikramāditya king of Ujjayinī parts of which may be compared to the events written in the Rājataraṅgiṇī in connection with the famous sovereign of Ujjayinī, the father of Śilāditya (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* III 125—285). According to my opinion the talecharacters and the historical personality are identical and they merely appear to be different characters owing to the two contrasting manners of representation. While Somadeva and the authors of the various revisions used, as sources for characterizing the figures of the tales, legends preserving only a few features of the king's character, his ingenuity and boldness, the author in the other case turned to sources or historical traditions of greater authenticity which had preserved also the actual deeds of the king. This view seems to be highly probable if we consider the opinions concerning the development of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the coming into being of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The authors and editors of the versions assumed between the appearance of the two works lived in various ages, at various territories had diffferent educations and were familiar with different tale materials and written works. They extended their recensions according to their subjective tastes. Bearing in mind J. S. Speyer's opinion according to which lambaka XVIII is a later addition, the three above-mentioned stories can be attributed to authors of different *Bṛhatkathā*-versions.

form, suit the purposes followed in the compilation of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* — that is, to give opportunities for the king to moralize at the end of these stories of various plots, genres and religious points and connected to each other by the frame tale, or, in a debated case, to decide the summoning of the vetala — but which, being very popular, were reconstructed and adapted to their role by the author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*. A good example of this is the 4th tale of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* which reappears in the 53rd taraṅga (ślokas 86—193). Beside a few unimportant disagreements — the plot takes place not in Śobhāvatī, but in Vikramapura, and the sovereign is not Śūdraka, but Vikramatuṅga — there are two significant differences in the two, basically identical tales. In the 53rd taraṅga Bhūmi, lamenting over the approaching destiny of his master, tells a short story about Suprabhā. Adapting the tale to the vetāla-stories the author dismissed this irrelevant episode. The second difference is due to the diverse reasons prompting the telling of the two identical tales. In the 53rd taranga the story is told by Gonukha to Naravāhanadatta with a different purpose, as a moral fable about the good servant and faithful subject, in order to win the king's confidence for Pralambabāhu who came from Dekkan to offer his services to the king. In this variant Vikramatuṅga does not plan selfsacrifice, since the character of the story cited as an example is Viravara the faithful subject, and the purpose of the story is to emphasize his devotion to his master. On the other hand, the variant among the vetāla-stories had to offer an opportunity to Trivikramasena to decide who is the greater hero, which explains the turn that on seeing the deed of his subject the king also becomes ready to sacrifice himself.[8] This tale reveals that the story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was consciously built into the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* by the author who made two significant changes: he left out the irrelevant details and transformed the end of the story in accordance with the spirit of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*. Since now the two stories were less similar to each other, the compiler left both in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* even after incorporating the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* into it.

[8] The Vīravara-story is used by J. S. Speyer in his dating of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the ancestor of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and on the basis of the word «dināra» occurring in it he establishes the IInd—IIIrd centuries as the post quem of the work. The Jīmutavāhana-story treated in the following also supports J. S. Speyer's statement according to which the *Bṛhatkathā* was created during a period of Indian history when Buddhism still had a joint influence upon Hindu sprituality with Shivaism and other local religions and theosophies. It would be, nevertheless, a great mistake to conclude from this that it concerns the whole of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* and that it was contained already by the first version of the *Bṛhatkathā*. This merely indicates that the above-mentioned two stories belonging to the basic material of the *Bṛhatkathā* can, however, be placed among the oldest tales of also the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* and with the latter they were again incorporated into the *Kathā*. The repetition of the other tales also began with that particular version the editor of which firstly included the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* compiled by himself or by someone else.

The 9th story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* about princess Anaṅgarati's four suitors of four different castes puts a question to which, in the knowledge of the social rules, the *śāstras*, there is only one answer. Which one of the four suitors — Pañcaphuṭṭika, the Śūdra, Bhāṣājña, the Vaiśya, Khaḍgadhara, the Kṣatriya and Jīvadatta, the Brāhmaṇa — is worthy of the girl? On the basis of the marriage rules concerning the castes, Trivikramasena decides in favour of Khaḍgadhara, who belongs to the same caste as the princess. Another remark of the king criticising Jīvadatta's deeds unworthy of his caste (resurrecting the dead) also deserves attention:

yo 'pi vipras tritīyo'tra, tenāpi patitena kim
sva karma pracyutenendrajālinā vīramāninā?
(t. 84, śl. 37)[9]

The plot of this story constitutes only a part in the *vidyādhara*-story of the 52nd taraṅga told by Gomukha, by which the minister wants to demonstrate that the miraculous case of Aśokamālā seeking refuge with Naravāhanadatta is not unique. In her vidyādharī-existence, Anaṅgarati had rejected her suitors out of pride, therefore she was re-born on Earth as a mortal. Rejecting her four mortal suitors, one of whom, Jīvadatta is also a vidyādhara born on Earth because of a curse, she leaves several more men until she finds the man she had rejected as a vidyādharī and, when she bears a son to him, the curse is lifted. In contrast to the solution based on social rules and the critical tone of the 9th story of the vetāla, Gomukha's tale is full of the motives of the vidyādhara-stories characteristic of the entire *Kathāsaritsāgara*. This popular vidyādhara-story had to be revised by the author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* and built, after transforming it, into the collection.

In the case of the 15th story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* and the Mālyavān-story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in which he explains to Kāṇabhūti the origin of Puṣpadanta's name (Kathāpitha. t. 7) it is less obvious to see the variants of the same tale, since the story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* is only a motive in the long *Kathāsaritsāgara*-tale. Mūladeva (or resp. Pañcaśikha) asks the king to guard Manaḥsvāmin (or resp. Devadatta), a man disguised as a girl whom he introduces as his daughter-in-law, then, smuggling him out, he «finds his son» and demands for him the lost «daughter-in-law» instead of whom the king is compelled to give his own daughter.

[9] P. Durgaprasad — K. P. Parab, *The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadevabhatta*, Bombay 1889, p. 489. In English translation: «And as for the third, the Brāhman, who fancies himself s ch a hero, of what worth is he, as he is a sorcerer, and degraded by abandoning the duties of his caste.» (See C. H. Tawney, *The Kathā Sarit Sāgara or Ocean of the Streams of Story*, II, Calcutta 1884, p. 277.)

The 9th story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, the Anaṅgarati-tale, is only a smaller (introductory) part in the one told by Gomukha, whereas certain motives of Jīmūtavāhana's story (the 16th of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*) are extensive episodes when told, in taraṅga 22, by *Yaugandharāyaṇa*; e.g. Garuḍa's slaugter of the snakes is also motivated by the story about the debate between the two wives of Kaśyapa, Kadrū and Vinatā. What fits the proportions of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* would be out of place in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*. Therefore the extensive, verbose *Kathāsaritsāgara*-versions were in each case cut shorter by the author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*.

Thus to the authors of the later versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* the repetition of these tales did not seem superfluous, because their being told with different purposes justified their being repeated, even if their main plots conformed to each other.

The repetition of the 17th story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, however, must have had different reasons. King Devasana, at the advice of the astrologers — who are afraid that a beautiful wife would distract his attention from governing — rejects Unmādinī, the daughter of a merchant, and marries her off to one of his chieftains (or ministers). Later, having seen her, he is yearning for her, but proves his constancy by dying rather than taking another man's wife. The story is repeated as a topical moral fable in taraṅgas 15 and 33. Collated with those written in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Book IV) about king Durlabha-Pratāpāditya II, the story seems to be a historical legend. Durlabha falls in love with Narendraprabhā, the wife of Noṇa, a rich merchant. The husband, seeing the king's agony, offers her to him. After some hesitation (IV. 29) the king accepts the offer (IV. 37). The story was taken into the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* — in which the kings are models of virtue — with improved morals and an edifying note.

The final conclusion of what has been said above is that the author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* combined his collection from popular tales familiar to him some of which, because of their very popularity, had already been contained by the *Bṛhatkathā*. Thus the author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* was well-acquainted with the *Bṛhatkathā* from which he actually selected part of his material, and to which later his own collection was added. The compiler of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, because of the above-mentioned changes, found each of these tale-variants interesting, and so he left them in the collection in both forms. The repetitions therefore are not the results of his careless editorship. We hope that the discussion of these few tales offers some insight and will be a modest contribution to the examination of the stratification of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

DEVINETTES TATARES DE BULGARIE

PAR

E. MÁNDOKY

Dès le XIIIe siècle et jusqu'au XVIe la Dobroudja vit presque continuellement arriver des Tatars du territoire voisin de la Horde d'Or. Un groupe plus important de Tatars venant de Crimée s'y établit en 1783, lorsque celle-ci fut annexée à la Russie.[1] La majorité des habitants tatars de la Dobroudja actuelle descend toutefois des Tatars qui avaient émigré ou qui s'étaient enfuis de la Crimée, du Sud de la Russie et de la steppe Nogaï, après la guerre russo-turque de 1829 et en particulier après la guerre de Crimée de 1854.[2]

La plupart des Tatars, environ 21 mille, vivent dans la Dobroudja annexée à la Roumanie, aux environs de Constantsa et de Tulcea,[3] un petit nombre (5 à 6 mille à peu près) dans quelques localités de la Dobroudja bulgare, surtout dans la ville de Tolboukine (Pazardjik) et ses environs, à Deliorman et dans des petits villages disseminés au bord du Danube.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps les Tatars de la Dobroudja n'avaient pas d'écoles nationalitaires, les enfants ne fréquentaient que des écoles mahométaines, de langue turque, roumaine et bulgare. Récemment toutefois des tentatives ont été faites en Roumaine en vue d'introduire dans les écoles générales et moyennes l'enseignement de la langue tatare. A cette fin il fallait avant tout mettre au point un alphabet reposant sur le système des lettres roumaines pour la langue littéraire tatare de la Dobroudja.[4] Les élèves des

[1] Müstecib Ülküsal, *Dobruca ve Türkler*. Ankara 1966, pp. 19—23.

[2] Pour la bibiliographie détaillée de Dobroudja voir: J. Blaskovics, *Dobruca Tatarlarının Halk Türküleri*: Németh-Armağanı. Ankara 1962, pp. 69—70; M. Ülküsal, *op. cit.* pp. 242—3.

[3] Le nombre des Tatars en Roumanie était en 1959 de 20574: *Anuarul Statistic al R.P.R. 1959, Direcţia Gererală de Statistică.*

[4] Nağı Ali Ahmet Ğafer — Vladimir Drimba, *Quelques problèmes relatifs au développement culturel de la population tatare de Roumanie*: *Studia et Acta Orientalia* I. Bucarest, 1958, pp. 339—343.; Vl. Drimba, *L'alphabet de la langue tatare parlée en Roumanie*: *Mélanges linguistiques publiés à l'occasion du VIIIe Congrès international des linguistes à Oslo, du 5 au 9 août 1957*: Éditions de l'Académie de la R. P. Roumaine. Bucurest 1957, pp. 257—267.

écoles générales reçurent des livres scolaires de langue tatare écrits avec les caractères de ce nouvel alphabet.

M. Vl. Drimba a divisé les dialectes tatars de la Dobroudja, selon leur origine et leurs particularités, en trois dialectes: 1. dialecte du Nord de la Crimée (de la steppe) qui est le parler le plus répandu; 2. dialecte du Sud de la Crimée parlé notamment à Pazardjik (Tolboukine) en Bulgarie; 3. dialecte tatar courant à Siliştea en Roumanie.[5]

Le folklore tatar de Dobroudja en particulier la poésie populaire est très riche, puisque là les Tatars vivent en unités ethniques fermées, assez importantes en ce qui concerne le nombre des habitants, à la différence de la Bulgarie où les groupes tatars sont disséminés et peu nombreux. Il y a peu de localités où l'on compte 100 à 200 familles, et beaucoup où les quelques familles tatares se perdent au milieu d'une population turque beaucoup plus nombreuse. Aussi la poésie populaire a-t-elle bien moins de possibilités de se développer en Bulgarie que chez les Tatars de Roumanie. La poésie populaire tatare n'a pas fait jusqu'à présent l'objet d'une enquête systématique. Les seuls ouvrages publiés sont des recueils de matériaux réunis occasionnellement, des échantillons de la langue tatare de Dobroudja.[6]

En septembre 1966 j'ai eu l'occasion de passer quelques jours en Dobroudja (Bulgarie), aux environs de Tolboukine, ainsi que dans les localités de Kavarna et Baltchik, dans le but d'y étudier la langue tatare et de réunir des matériaux de poésie populaire. En août 1967 je suis retourné en Bulgarie, cette fois-ci dans un village nommé Vetovo, à 40 km au sud-est de Russé. Parmi les habitants de Vetovo il y a à peu près 120 familles tatares qui vivent, relativement séparées des Turcs et des Bulgares dans le quartier dit «tatar» (*tatar maallesı*). Le village possède deux djami, un fréquenté uniquement par les Tatars (*tatar ǰāmısı*) et un autre desservant la population turque.

Il n'existe en Bulgarie que bien peu de localités telles que Vetovo où les Tatars constituent un groupe ethnique relativement important et en même temps fermé, et c'est uniquement dans ces communautés-là que la tradition populaire a conservé des spécimens caractéristiques de la poésie populaire

[5] Vl. Drimba, *Dialectul tat din Dobrogea: Fonetica şi Dialectologie* III. Bucureşti 1960, pp. 67—150.

[6] De la Dobroudja roumaine: Saadet Is'haki, *Čora Batïr. Eine Legende in dobrudschatatarischer Mundart.* Kraków 1935; Sebát Húsein, *Notes sur le folklore musical des Tatars de Dobroudja*: *Studia et Acta Orientalia* I. Bucurest 1958, pp. 259—264.; J. Blaskovics, *op. cit.: Németh-Armağanı.* Ankara 1962, pp. 69—77.; Wł. Zajączkowski, *Tatarische Volkslieder aus Dobrudscha*: *Folia Orientalia* IV. Kraków 1963., pp. 105—142. De Bulgarie: I. Kúnos, *A dunai tatárok nyelvéről* (Sur la langue des Tatars du Danube): KSz. V. Budapest, 1904., pp. 297—304; Suzanne Kakuk, *Poésie populaire tatare récueillie par I. Kúnos*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVI (1963), pp. 95—97; Mefkûre Mollova et Emil Boev turcologues de Sofia ont également recueilli des matériaux dialectaux tatars, mais ces matériaux n'ont pas encore été publiés.

tatare. La communauté tatare de Vetovo possède une riche tradition populaire. Elle cultive presque toutes les branches de la poésie qui, tout comme leur langue, n'a pas été sans subir l'influence du turc. A côté de morceaux populaires tatars authentiques on y trouve un certain nombre de contes, chansons, devinettes etc. qu'ils ont entendus des Turcs ou appris à l'école et traduits en tatar.

La langue parlée à Vetovo est pour l'essentiel identique au dialecte du tatar de Dobroudja qui se fonde sur le dialecte nordique du tatar de Crimée (*šól tılı*)[7] C'est là un dialecte mixte qui depuis une centaine d'années subit l'influence incessante du turc osmanli.

Voici quelques particularités phonétiques de la langue tatare de Vetovo qui se reflètent aussi dans nos matériaux:

1. **i* > *ı* : *ıšı* «intérieur», *bırınǰı* «premier», *yešıl* «vert», *ùyın* «sa maison»; devant *y* cependant *i* ne subit pas de vélarisation: *ǰiylek* «fraise», *kiyınır* «il s'habille», *òttiy* «comme la bile».[8]
2. **ö* > *ò*: *dòrt* «quatre», *kòlek* «chemise», *kòprù* «pont».[9]
3. **ü* > *ù*· *ùyde* «dans la maison», *ùysek* «haut», *tùz* «plan, lisse», *yùklùk* «armoire, coffre».
4. **y*- > *ǰ*-: *ǰer* «terre, place», *ǰemıš* «fruit», *ǰùre* «il marche, il va», *ǰarïlïr* «il se fend», *ǰolda* «sur la route», *ǰïlan* «serpent».[10]
5. **č* > *š*: *šamïr* «boue», *ıšı* «intérieur», *alšaqtan* «d'en bas», *ayaš* «arbre, bois», *qarïlyaš* «hirondelle».[11]
6. *x* > *q*: *taqta* «planche, bois», *taqtasïz* «sans planche».[12]
7. *h* > Ø: *apta* «semaine», *laana* «chou».[12]
8. *f* > *p*: *qartop* «pomme de terre», *apta* «semaine».[12]
9. L'assimilation labiale n'est pas régulière, mais tout à fait sporadique. Dans les formes munies de désinences, de morphèmes, de signes, dans la 2e, 3e syllabe etc. *u*/*ù* ~ *ï*/*ı* : *ùyın* «sa maison», *boyï* «sa figure», *ùstı* «partie supérieure de quelque chose», *soyï* «son espèce», *ùšınǰısı* ~ *ùšùnǰısı* «le troisième», *dòrdınǰısı* ~ *dòrdùnǰısı* «le quatrième»; mais: *ùstùne* «dessus», *ùyùmùzde* «dans notre maison».[13]

[7] Sur la langue tatare de Crimée voir: А. Н. Самойлович, *Опыт краткой крымско-татарской грамматики.* Петроград 1916; Gerhard Doerfer, *Das Krimtatarische*: PhTF I. Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 369—290; Э. В. Севортян, *Крымско-татарский язык: Языки народов СССР.* Том II. Тюркские языки. Москва 1966, pp. 234—259.

[8] Cf. Drimba, *L'alphabet . . .*, p. 259.

[9] Cf. Drimba, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Doerfer, *op.cit.*, p. 375, Kúnos, *op.cit.*, p. 297.

[10] Cf. Doerfer, *op.cit.*, p. 379; Kúnos, *op.cit.*, p. 298; Wł. Zajączkowski, *op.cit.*, p. 206.

[11] Cf. Doerfer, *op.cit.*, p. 379; Kúnos, *op.cit.*, p. 298; Wł. Zajączkowski, *op.cit.*, p. 206.

[12] Cl. Wł. Zajączkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[13] Cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

Les devinettes qui suivent m'ont été communiquées par des habitants tatars de Vetovo, notamment: Zekerya Sabătov (68 ans), Hasan Saliev (54 ans) Ibrahim Saliev (50 ans), Ramadan Ahmedov (44 ans), Ahmed Nasufov (25 ans), Davut Hasanov (26 ans), Yakup Akifov (26 ans), Zera Akifova (16 ans), Fahri Saitov (23 ans), Refik Fazilov (24 ans) à qui je tiens à exprimer ici mes remerciements. Je profite également de l'occasion pour dire toute la gratitude que j'éprouve à l'égard de Kadir Zeynulla Meydinov, professeur à Vetovo qui m'a fourni des indications précieuses concernant la vie et les conditions de la communauté tatare.

tapmašalar (devinettes)

1. *alaman ayaq, altïn tayaq,*
ǰuwursam yetıšemem, ǰalaŋ ayaq.
(*kȯlge*)

Pied errant, bâton en or
si je cours, je ne peux
pas le rejoindre nu-pied.
(ombre)

2. *alsaǰïq dallï,*
ǰemıšı ballï.
(*ǰiylek*)[14]

Branche basse, fruit mielleux.
(fraise)

3. *alšaǰïq tatar,*
tȯbesında sımıt satar.
(*mantar*)[15]

Tatar de petite taille,
vend des bretzel sur sa tête.
(champignon)

4. *alšaǰïq terek*
anama kerek.
(*ȯreke*)

Basse tige, nécessaire à ma mêre.
(rouet)

5. *alšaqtan qar ǰawar.*
(*elek*)[16]

Il neige de pas très haut (d'un endroit peu élevé).
(tamis)

6. *altïn tastan su tamlay,*
men sùrtemen o tamlay.
(*sùmùk*)

L'eau dégoutte d'un plat d'or
je l'essuie, elle dégoutte toujours.
(morve)

[14] Sa variante: *alšaǰïq dallï,* | *ǰemıšı tatlï.* A branche basse, à fruit doux.
Cf. Lutfullah Sami Akalın, *Erzurum Bilmeceleri.* Istanbul 1954, p. 30: *Alçacıh dallı* | *Yemesi ballı.* (*Çilek*) A branche basse et met mielleux. (fraise)

[15] On en connaît aussi une version plus courte: *alšaǰïq tatar sımıt satar.* Il s'agit probablement d'une devinette turque, cf. Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 30: *Alçacıh Tatar* | *Tepesinde simit satar.* (*Mantar*)

[16] Cf. Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 30: *Alçahdan gar yağar.* (*Elek*)

7. *aq üyümnıŋ qapïsï yoq.*
(ǰïmïrtqa)[17]

Ma maison blanche n'a pas de porte.
(oeuf)

8. *arqasïna üyın alïp ǰüre.*
(sümüklü böǰek)

Il marche avec sa maison sur le dos.
(escargot)

9. *aršïn dïr boyï, yešıl dır soyï,*
aq tïr qanï, su dïr ǰanï.
(salata)

Sa grandeur est d'un arsi (aune), son espèce est verte, son sang est blanc, son âme est eau.
(salade)

10. *astï qona, üstı tekne.*
(qaplïbaqa)

Il est assis au fond, le toit est carapace.
(tortue)

11. *astï terı, üstı terı,*
ıšında de tatlï tarï.
(ınǰır)[18]

Sa partie inférieure est en peau, sa partie supérieure est en peau, au-dedans il y a du millet doux.
(figue)

12. *astï taqta, üstı taqta,*
ıšında bır zalım soqta.
(qïliš)[19]

Sa partie inférieure est en bois, sa partie supérieure est en bois, à l'intérieur (il y a un) étudiant cruel.
(épée)

13. *ašalïr ıšı, atïlïr tïšï,*
sert qabïq man sarïlïr,
taš man ursaŋ ǰarïlïr.
(ǰewez)

L'intérieur en est mangé, l'extérieur en est jeté, recouvert d'une écorce dure, si on le frappe avec une pierre, se fend.
(noix)

14. *atatay matatay,*
ınǰe bellı qaratay.
(qïrmïsqa)

atatay-matatay, poulain noir à taile mince.
(fourmi)

[17] Cf. La devinette correspondante du Codex Cumanicus: Andreas Tietze, *The Koman Riddles and Turkic Folklore*: University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 8, Los Angeles 1966, p. 27—30.

[18] Cf. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme. VII Theil: Die Mundarten der Krim.* Saint-Pétersbourg 1896, p. 374.

[19] Cf. Radloff, op. cit., 372.

15. *attan ùysek, kepekten alšaq.*
(eyer)

Plus haut qu'un cheval,
plus petit qu'un chien.
(selle)

16. *awludan atladï,*
qomšïya ǰïmïrtladï.
(qabaq)

Il a sauté de la cour et
a pondu des oeufs au voisin.
(citrouille)

17. *ayaqsïz, qolsïz, kólek kiyer.*
(tòšek)[20]

Sans pied, sans bras, il
porte une chemise.
(matelas)

18. *ayaqsïz, qolsïz qapï ašar.*
(ǰel)[21]

Sans pied, sans bras, il
ouvre la porte.
(vent)

19. *bı̣r aršïn dïr boyï, ekı̣ aršïn dïr saqalï.*
(ǰùǰe)

Pas plus grand qu'une aune,
sa barbe mesure deux aunes.
(nain)

20. *bı̣r atïm bar, qïrq ǰerı̣nden ǰaralï.*
(ǰaŋïrïq)

J'ai un cheval blessé à
mille endroits.
(billot pour couper le bois)

21. *bı̣r atïm bar, qïrq araba toban ašadï.*
(senek)

J'ai un cheval, qui a mangé
40 chariots de paille.
(fourche)

22. *beš ayaqardaš awlu òre.*
(šorap iyneleri̇)

Cinq frères entourent
une cour.
(aiguille à tricoter des bas)

23. *bı̣r sùrùm bar:*
on ekı̣ aqquš, ellı̣ ekı̣ ana qaz,
ùš yùz altmïš beš bala qaz.
sen bunlarya ǰewab yaz!
(ǰïl, ǰïldaqï, aylar, aptalar, kùnler)

J'ai un troupeau: douze
cygnes, cinqante-deux oies
trois-cent-soixante-cinq oisillons,
écris-en la solution!
(l'année, les mois, les semaines,
les jours)

[20] Cf. G. Szentkatolnai Bálint, *Kazáni-tatár nyelvtanulmányok.* (Etudes lingustiques du tatar de Kazan). Budapest 1877, p. 5.

[21] Cf. avec cette devinette balkar: *Qolsuz, butsuz ešik ačχan. J̌el.* (Sans bras, sans pied, ouvrant la porte. Vent): *Материалы и исследования по балкарской диалектологии, лексике и фольклору.* Под ред. А. Ю. Бозиева. Нальчик 1962., p. 72; La devinette no. 30 de notre article en est une variante.

24. *bı̣r terek bar dört dallï,*
bı̣rı̣nǰı̣ dal yešerte,
ekı̣nǰı̣ ǰemı̣š bere,
üšünǰı̣sı̣ soldïra,
dördünǰı̣sı̣ toŋdïra.
(*ilk yaz, yaz, küz, qïš*)

Il est un arbre à quatre branches,
une branche est verte,
la deuxième donne des fruits,
la troisième les dessèche
la quatrième les fait geler.
(printemps, été, automne, hiver)

25. *bı̣r üyde mı̣ŋ tešı̣k bar.*
(*elek*)[22]

Il y a mille trous sur une maison.
(tamis)

26. *bı̣z bı̣z bı̣z edı̣k,*
otuz ekı̣ qïz edı̣k,
taq-tašïqqa ǰayïldïq,
tan atqanda ǰoyulduq.
(*ay man yïldïzlar*)

Nous, nous, nous étions
trente-deux filles,
nous nous répandions et
lorsque l'aube pointait
nous nous évanouissions.
(la lune et les étoiles)

27. *dört ayaqardaš bı̣r kölek kiyer.*
(*ǰewez*)

Quatre frères mettent une chemise.
(noix)

28. *dört ayaqardaš bı̣r quyuya oq atar.*
(*sïyïrnïŋ emšeklerị*)[23]

Quatre frères tirent
leurs flèches dans un puit.
(le pis de la vache)

29. *dere, töbe, tüz keter.*
bı̣r qïnalï qïz keter.
(*ay*)[24]

Elle parcourt vallée,
colline, plaine, cette
fille teinte au henné.
(lune)

30. *elsı̣z, ayaqsïz qapï ašar.*
(*ǰel*)

N'a ni main, ni pied et
ouvre (néammoins) la porte.
(vent)

31. *ı̣šı̣ ǰan, tïšï ǰam.*
(*ǰïmïrtqa*)[25]

Son intérieur est âme, son
extérieur verre.
(oeuf)

[22] Cf. avec son équivalent Balkar: *Материалы . . .*, p. 119; *Малкъар нарт сёзле.* Нальчик 1965, p. 203.

[23] Cf. Bálint, *op. cit.*, p. 6: *Dürt tatar ber töškä mîltîk atar. Sîyîr sauîu.* Quatre Tatars tirent au même endroit. Traite de la vache.

[24] Cf. Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 64: *Dere tepe düz gider | Bir gınalı gız gider.* (*Ay*).

[25] Cf. Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 87: *İçi can dışı cam.* (*Yumurta*).

32. *ǰer astïnda ǰiyren at,*
terıṣı bar yedı qat.
soyarsïn da torarsïn,
torayanda ǰïlarsïn.
(*soγan*)

Cheval jaune sous la terre,
il a sept couches de peau
tu l'écorches et tu le découpes
et en le découpant tu pleures.
(oignon)

33. *ǰer astïnda maylï qayïš.*
(*ǰïlan*)[26]

Ceinture grasse sous la terre.
(serpent)

34. *ǰer astïnda maylï qolaš.*
(*ǰïlan*)

Brioche grasse sous la terre.
(serpent)

35. *ǰer astïnda šıpšelı tawuq oturur.*
(*qartop*)

Une poule assise sous la terre
(pomme de terre)

36. *ǰolda jürer, ašïγïr,*
bır ǰortar, bır ǰuwurïr,
dȯrt tāne kȯz, dȯrt qulaq,
alayï ǰïγïrma man dȯrt tïrnaq.
(*at man atlï*)

Sur la route il marche, il se hâte,
tantôt il presse le pas, tantôt il court,
quatre yeux, quatre oreilles,
le tout (ensemble) 24 ongles
(cheval et cavalier)

37. *keldıler aqaylar baltasïz,*
saldïlar kȯprü taqtasïz.
(*qïš, buz*)

Des vieillards sont venus sans hache
ils ont construit un point sans bois.
(hiver, glace)

38. *kewdesı bar, bašï bar,*
bır ayaq üstı turar,
qat qat ta kȯlegı bar,
alayïn kiyıp turar.
(*laana*)

Il a un tronc, une tête,
se tient sur une jambe,
il a beaucoup de couches et aussi une chemise,
revêt tout ce qu'il possède et se tient (comme cela).
(chou)

39. *kıškene üynıŋ ışında beš bala oturur.*
(*beš barmaq*)

Dans une petite maison
habitent cinq enfants.
(les cinq doigts)

40. *kȯk ayγïr ǰatïp semırır.*
(*qawun*)[27]

Un étalon bleu (vert)
engraisse (en position) couchée
(melon)

[26] Cf. Tietze, *op. cit.*, pp. 86—88; *Материалы* . . . 43, 71; *Малкъар* . . . , p. 204; Tadeusz Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie.* Kraków 1919, p. 31, 53; Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 109; S. Kakuk, *Die türkische Mundart von Küstendil und Mihailovgrad*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XI (1961), p. 343; J. Németh, *Die Türken von Vidin*, Budapest 1965 (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* X) p. 274.

[27] Cf. Tietze, op. cit., pp. 71—72.

41. *men ketemen, o kete,*
para para ịz yasay.
(*baston*)

Je marche, il marche,
fait des empreintes (de la grandeur)
d'une pièce d'argent.
(bâton)

42. *men turarman, o keter.*
(*ses*)

Je suis debout, lui il s'en va.
(voix)

43. *mịnareden attïm, sïnmadï,*
suya attïm, sïndï.
(*ḱāt*)

Je l'ai jeté (du haut) du
minaret, il ne s'est pas abimé,
je l'ai jeté à l'eau, il s'est abimé.
(papier)

44. *özü bar, kölgesị yoq.*
(*quyu*)

(Lui) il existe, son ombre n'existe pas.
(puit)

45. *pịšịrseŋ aš bolur,*
pịšịrmeseŋ quš bolur.
(*ǰïmïrtqa*)[28]

Si tu le cuis, il peut devenir aliment,
si tu ne le cuis pas, il peut devenir
oiseau.
(oeuf)

46. *qara kepeknị nalladïm,*
pazarǰïqqa ǰolladïm.
(*tịren*)[29]

J'ai ferré le chien noir,
je l'ai envoyé à Pazardik.
(train)

47. *qara tawuq dalda dïr,*
dal qïrïldï, ǰerde dịr.
(*zeytịn*)[30]

La poule noire est sur la branche
la branche est cassée, elle est par terre.
(olive)

48. *qasabasï bar, kịšịlerị yoq,*
tawlarï bar, yoq ayašlarï,
balqanlarï bar, tašlarï yoq,
deŋịzlerị bar, sularï yoq.
(*qarta*)

Il a des villes, (mais) pas d'hommes,
il a des montagnes, (mais) pas d'arbres,
il a des chaînes de montagnes, (mais)
pas de pierres
Il a des mers, elles n'ont pas d'eau.
(carte géographique)

49. *qat qat qatlanšïq,*
qatlamadan app-ašïq.
(*laana*)[31]

Il a beaucoup de couches, mais
il est plus ouvert que la galette.
(chou)

[28] Cf. З. Ҳусаинова, *Ўзбек топишмоқлари,* Тошкент 1966, p. 68: „*Пиширсанг ош бўлур,* | *Пиширмасанг қуш бўлур*" (*Тухум*).

[29] Cf. Akalın, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *Gara iti nalladım* | *İstanbul'a yolladım.* (*Tiren*).

[30] Cf. Akalın, op. cit., p. 74: *Gara tavuh daldadır* | *Dal gırıldı yerdedir.* (*Zeytin*).

[31] Cf. Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

50. *qat qat tonlu, aršïn boylu.*
(laana)[32]

Il a des vêtements stratifiés
sa taille est d'une aune.
(chou)

51. *sazlïqta iyt urur.*
(baqa)[33]

Dans les roseaux
un chien aboie.
(grenouille)

52. *suγa kɨrse bɨr bolur,*
sudan šïqsa mɨŋ bolur.
(at quyruγu)[34]

S'il va dans l'eau, il devient un
s'il sort de l'eau il devient. mille.
(la queue du cheval)

53. *šašaq astïnda ǰatar,*
šamïrdan yuwa yasar.
(qarïlγaš)

Couché sous la grappe
il fait un nid de boue.
(hirondelle)

54. *tapmašamnïŋ tabï yoq,*
qašïγïmnïŋ sabï yoq.
(qulaq)

Ma devinette n'a pas de *tap*
ma cuiller n'a pas de manche.
(oreille)

55. *taqtasïz, demɨrsɨz,*
sularnïŋ üstüne
kɨm köprü qura?
(qïš)

Sans bois (planche), sans fer,
qui est-ce qui construit un pont sur les eaux?
(l'hiver)

56. *Tawdan kelɨr tašlarday,*
eyerlengen atlarday.
(su)[35]

Il vient de la montagne comme les pierres,
comme des chevaux sellés.
(eau)

57. *tȯbesɨ aran, astï boran.*
(elek men un)

Dessus une cour paisible,
dessous une tempête.
(tamis et farine)

58. *tüz uwada tay ǰuwurur.*
(oqlaw)

Dans la plaine court un poulain.
(rouleau)

[32] Cf. balkar: *Материалы . . .*, p. 72; *Qat-qat tonlu, qarïš boylu. (kapusta)*

[33] Cf. usbegh: Ҳусаинова, *op. cit.*, p. 63: *„Сассиқ кўлда ит ҳурар". (Бақа).*

[34] Cf. karatchai: *Sūγa kirsé bir bolà, sūdán čïqsa miŋ bolà. (Át-qujrùq)*: Pröhle, *Karatschaische Studien*: *KSz* X (1909), p. 236; balkar: *Suuγa kirse, ming boladï, | Suudan čïqsa, | Bir boladï, || At quyruq |: Материалы . . .*, p. 56; *Suuγa kirse — bir bola, suudan čïqsa — ming bola. (At quyruγu)*: *Малкъар . . .*, p. 206.

[35] Cf. Radloff, op. cit., p. 371; S. Kakuk, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

59. *ùy qadar ùysek, yem yešıl ıpek,*
tatlï bal qadar, òttiy tıl ǰayar.
(ǰewez men teregı)

Grand comme la maison,
très vert, soyeux, doux,
comme le miel, il brûle la
langue comme le fiel.
(la noix et le noyer)

60. *ùy tòbeden attïm, sïnmadï,*
suya attïm, sïndï.
(ǩāt)[36]

Je l'ai jeté du toit de la maison
il ne s'est pas décomposé,
je l'ai jeté à l'eau, il s'est décomposé.
(papier)

61. *ùyùmùzde bır duwar bar,*
keše bïzïlïr, kündüz yasalïr.
(yùklùk)

Dans notre maison il y a un mur
le soir on le détruit,
le jour on le répare.
(armoire, coffre)

62. *yazda kiyınır, qïšta soyïnïr,*
ǰemıšın el alïr,
yaprayïn ǰel alïr.
(ayaš)

En été il s'habille, en hiver il jaunit,
on cueille ses fruits, le vent emporte
ses feuilles.
(arbre)

[36] Cf. la devinette no. 43.

MARCELLE LALOU

(1890—1967)

It is always a sad duty to bid farwell to a person who has left so deep impressions in the world remaining behind. The more difficult it is to pay one's last respects to somebody who has erected a life-work out of clear-cut bricks of excellent scientific results. But the most difficult for all for one is to write the obituary of a scholar who worked in a field so close to one's own as Mlle Marcelle Lalou did.

All of us who knew her scholarly career have always taken great interest in the works coming from her pen. She worked in close cooperation with such scholars as Pelliot, Przyluski, Bacot and she had an important role in maintaining the great fame of the Parisian school of Tibetology after the death of her colleagues. In 1927, as a former pupil of Sylvain Levy and Jaques Bacot, she wrote her diplome-work on the iconography of the painted materials (*paṭa*) in the *Mañjuśrīmulakalpa*.[1] Iconography was also later a field of her special interest.[2] Coming into close contact with Tibetan texts she was one of the first scholars to devote thorough attention to the Tibetan version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*[3] and lately had much to say about the Tun-huang versions of the same work.[4] Working in the rich *Fonds* of the Bibliothèque Nationale she gave indispensable tools into our hands. Her *Catalogue* on the *Mdo-mań* section[5] is a work of reference we use every day and we similarly turn frequently to her *Repertoire* to Cordier's Tanjur-catalogue.[6] But the most important help for those who are interested in Tibetan philology, history, linguistics, and paleography are the three volumes of the *Inventaire*[7] of the Tun-huang collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Only those who worked with these highly important but extremly difficult texts can truly esteem the work accomplished by Mlle Marcelle Lalou.

Being familiar with the Old Tibetan texts working with them daily as she did through a lifetime, she chose some of the most interesting specimens and presented them with scholarly modesty and clear terseness. Little fragments and lengthy texts equally gave her the opportunity to discover important facts of the early history of Tibetan Buddhism.[8]

[1] Cf. Iconographie des étoffes peintes (*paṭa*) dans le *Mañjuśrīmulakalpa*: *Buddhica* I. ser.VI (1930), 116 p.

[2] Notes sur la décoration des monastères bouddhiques à propos d'un livre récent de M. Goloubew: *Revue des Arts Asiatiques V* pp. 183-185, Mythologie indienne et peintures de Hautes-Asie I. Le dieu bouddhique de la Fortune: *Art. As.* 1946, pp. 97—111, Trois aspects de la peinture bouddhique: *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* III (1935), pp. 245—261 etc.

[3] La version tibétaine des *Prajñāpāramitā*: *JA* 1929, pp. 87—102.

[4] Les manuscrits tibétains des grandes *Prajñāpāramitā* trouvés à Touen-houang: *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo*, Kyoto University 1954, pp. 259—261.

[5] Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale. IVe partie, I. Les *mdo-mań*, Paris 1931.

[6] Répertoire du Tanjur d'après le catalogue de P. Cordier, Paris 1933.

[7] Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds Pelliot tibétain I—III, Paris 1939—1961.

[8] Notes de mythologie bouddhique. 2. Les *Rgyud-sum-pa* manuscrits de Touen-houang: *HJAS* III (1938), pp. 128—156, Document tibétain sur l'expansion du *Dhyāna* chinois: *JA* 1939, pp. 505—523. Four notes on *Vajrapāṇi*: *Adyar Library Bulletin* XX (1956) pp. 287—293. A la recherche du *Vidyādharapiṭaka*. Le cycle du *Subāhukapari-pṛcchā-tantra*: *Studies in Indology and Buddhology*, 1955, pp. 68—72. Preface to F. A. Bischoff, *Ārya mahābala-nāma-*

Looking deeper than the surface of the world of canonical Buddhism, she discovered the everyday life, the world of popular beliefs, the changing kaleidoscope of folk-religion.[9] She knew the great value of the early Bon-texts and published one of their most interesting piece.[10] Folk-medicine,[11] the beliefs of the ways of death[12] the theme of the bisexual deities[13] are only some of the topics to which she brought her exceptional erudition.

Her book on the religions of Tibet[14] gives everybody interested a usefull introduction into the study of the religious life of the Land of Snow.

Being a par excellence philologue she was devoted to all questions necessary to the interpretation of the old Tibetan texts. She discussed problems of the old tibelan language[15] dealt with the most ancient rolls found in Tun-huang[16] and published an interesting text on the early Buddhist library of the time of king Khri-sroṅ Lde-bcan.[17] The historians of the social structure of the old Tibetan society also received valuable source materials placed at their disposal by M[lle] Lalou.[18]

She was engaged in teaching, the least spectacular part of scientific activity where efforts and results are written only into the memory of pupils and it is left to chance whether they fall through or are retained in the sieve of the followers' mind. But judging from the success of her pupils her long work as *Directeur d'études* on the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études* was really very fruitful. She kept improving her Manual of Classical Tibetan[19] and this work has became a useful aid in the teaching of Tibetan in universities all over the world.

From the beginning she shared the work and later the responsibility of editing of the famous *Bibliographie Bouddhique*.[20] From the 3rd volume she signed it together with J. Przyluski and from 1949 she had to undertake the task of the edition singlehanded. This series gives more than its title suggests. Everybody working on the various problems connected with the countries, languages and cultures of the Buddhist world can find a useful aid and a scholarly documentation in the 32 volumes hitherto published. And this is due in no small measure to the organising ability, wide-ranging interest and indefatiguable work of M[lle] Lalou.

As the editor of the *Journal Asiatique*, between the years 1950 and 1966, she made great efforts to keep the profile of this journal in its former sharp.

She was chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

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mahāyānasūtra (Paris 1956) pp. IX—XII.Sutra du bodhisattva „Roi de la loi": *JA* 1961, pp. 321—332, La version tibétaine du *Ratnakuta*. Contribution à la bibliographie du Kanjur: *JA* 1927, pp. 233—259, Un traité de magie bouddhique: *Études d'orientalisme publ. par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris 1932, pp. 303—322 and many other items.

[9] Notes à propos d'une amulette de Touen-houang: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* IV (1936), pp. 135—149, Documents de Touen-houang. I. Deux prières de caravaniers tibétains, II. Croix tournantes, III. Écriture tibétaine verticale: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* VIII (1947), pp. 217—226, with Przyluski, Récits populaires et contes bouddhiques: *JA* 1936, pp. 177—191 etc.

[10] Rituel *bon-po* des funérailles royales (Fonds Pelliot tibétain 1042), JA 1952 pp. 339—361.

[11] Le culte des Naga et la thérapeutique: *JA* 1935, pp. 1—19, Texte médical tibétain: *JA* 1941—1942, pp. 209—211.

[12] Les chemins du mort dans les croyances de Haute-Asie: *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1949, pp. 42—118, Le thème des dieux bisexuels et celui des plantes herbacées dans les légendes de la Race solaire: *BEFEO* XLIV, pp. 577—580.

[14] Les religions du Tibet, Paris 1957.

[15] Tibétain ancien *Bod/Bon*: *JA* 1953, pp. 275—276. Together with J. Przyluski: Le *da drag* tibétain: *BSOS* VII (1953), pp. 87—89.

[16] Cf. also her Littérature tibétaine in: *Histoire des littératures*, Paris 1955, pp. 1119—1139.

[17] Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi *Khri-sroṅ Lde-bcan*: *JA* 1953, pp. 313—353.

[18] Fiefs, poisons et guérisseurs. Manuscrits de Haute Asie conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (fonds Pelliot) *JA* 1958 : 2, pp. 157—201, Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VIIIe siècle: *JA* 1955, pp. 171—212.

[19] Manuel élémentaire de tibétain classique. Méthode empirique, Paris 1950.

[20] The first three volumes appeared as parts of the second series of *Buddhica* in 1930, 1931 and 1933 respectivelly. Here Lalou was secretary to the *Comité de patronage*. From volume III (1934) the serial became independent.

Hungarian Tibetologuists owe special thanks to her helpfulness. With her always obliging readiness on several occasions she made it possible for us to use by microfilm the Tibetan original texts of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Our collaboration was also marked by the fact that she presented one of her papers in our journal.[21]

Loosing in her a good scholar we are all convinced that her memory will be immortalized by her works.

A. Róna-Tas

[21] Notes d'onomastique *'Aža*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV (1962), 207–209.

CRITICA

A. W. Macdonald, *Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine* I., Paris 1967, 309 p.

Dieses seit langem vermisste Buch von hohem Niveau ist, in Paris, aus der Feder eines fachkundigen Kenners der tibetischen Literatur herausgekommen. Es gibt wenig Literatur auf der Welt, die derart mystifiziert wird und die man trotz der Forschungen von Jahrhunderten so wenig kennt, wie die tibetische Literatur. Charakteristisch ist es, dass selbst bis zum heutigen Tage kein gründliches Buch moderner Anschauung über die tibetische Literaturgeschichte erschienen ist, welches die originalen tibetischen literarischen Werke umfasst und einen ausführlichen Überblick über die Geschichte dieser wenig bekannten Literatur bietet. Ein Teil der tibetischen Literatur, der quantitativ grössere, die aus dem Sanskrit übertragene kanonische Literatur, ist uns ziemlich gut bekannt, die Literatur der vorbuddhistischen Zeit und die Volksliteratur im Zeitalter des Buddhismus beanspruchen aber noch viele Untersuchungen, bis wir von gründlichen Kenntnissen auf diesem Gebiet Rechenschaft werden ablegen können. Um in den Besitz dieser gründlichen Kenntnisse zu gelangen, gilt es diese bis jetzt in Dunkel gehüllte Literatur zu erschliessen, herauszugeben, kurz: die Forscher mit diesem reichhaltigen Material bekanntzumachen. Über die einfache Besprechung hinaus müssen die Varianten der einzelnen literarischen Werke, ihre Zusammenhänge, ihr Ursprung, der Zeitpunkt ihrer Entstehung, usw. erschlossen werden. Diese grosse Arbeit, besser gesagt, einen Teil dieser Arbeit, nahm Macdonald in Angriff, als er begann, ein namhaftes Werk der sogenannten Volksliteratur von Tibet, «Die Märchen der verzauberten Leiche» zu bearbeiten. An dieser Stelle möchte ich eine Bemerkung machen: meiner Ansicht nach ist die Benennung Volksliteratur (oder Folklore) in bezug auf das Ganze des *Ro-sgruṅ* unrichtig. (*Ro-sgruṅ* wird ungenau oft als Werk der tibetischen Folklore erwähnt.) Die Sammlung enthält natürlich Folklore-Varianten aber auch literarische Versionen, die in Holz geschnitten, gedruckt und so verbreitet wurden. So etwas wird heute Buch genannt. Das sind aber keineswegs Werke der «Volksliteratur», sondern literarische Werke im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes. Diese Werke gehörten nicht zu den heiligen Büchern der Kirche, ihnen kam eine unterhaltende Rolle unter dem Volk zu, sie hatten die Funktion des modernen Romans, insofern sind sie ohne Zweifel volkstümlich. Diese literarischen Werke haben auch Folklore-Versionen, die, vom ursprünglichen Werk gelöst, unter dem Einfluss der Einbildungskraft des Volkes im Verhältnis zu den literarischen Versionen Änderungen erfuhren. Ihre Erforschung aber, in erster Linie wegen der Armut des angesammelten Materials, ist eine Aufgabe der Zukunft. Die Sammlung ist indischen Ursprungs, aber nicht identisch mit der indischen *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, sie wurde lediglich nach ihrem Muster zusammengestellt. Sie

weichen so sehr voneinander ab, dass sogar die Rahmenerzählung im Tibetischen wesentlich von der im Indischen abweicht. Warum das Werk nicht ins Tibetische übersetzt wurde, darauf können wir heute noch keine Antwort geben. Ebensowenig können wir beantworten weshalb die grossen indischen Märchensammlungen nie in übersetzter Form nach Tibet gelangt sind, weshalb für die Tibeter nur das Muster wesentlich war, das dann mit originalem tibetischem Inhalt gefüllt wurde. Die Neuverfassung wiederholt sich auch auf der nächsten Station der Verbreitung der Sammlung, in der Mongolei, wo nur ein Teil aus der Übersetzung aus dem Tibetischen besteht, im übrigen wird der tibetische Rahmen mit mongolischen Märchen ausgefüllt. Neben der Untersuchung der tibetischen Versionen darf weder die Untersuchung der mongolischen Versionen vernachlässigt werden, noch die der literarischen Versionen, noch die der Folklore-Versionen. Von besonders grosser Bedeutung ist die Analyse des tibetischen Einflusses in den mongolischen Folklore-Varianten, z. B. B. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaja okraina Kitaja* . . . (Peterburg 1893); N. Badmaev, *Sbornik kalmyckich skazok* (Astrachen 1899); G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückische Sprachproben, (Helsingfors 1902); A. I. Sadaev, *Burjat—mongol aradaj ontochnuud* (Ulan-udê 1950) usw., um nur die wichtigsten zu erwähnen.

Macdonald vermittelt in der Einleitung seines Buches einen wertvollen Rückblick auf die Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Frage, er behandelt ausführlich die bisherigen Ergebnisse der Forschungen, indem er alle bedeutenden Persönlichkeiten anführt die sich mit der Sammlung *Ro-sgruṅ* befasst haben. Die Einleitung selbst zeugt von einer grossen Materialkenntnis, die durch die Fussnoten der Textübersetzung noch bestätigt wird. Der zweite Teil des Buches wird vom Text der 18 Märchen enthaltenden Sammlung und der Übersetzung eingenommen. Die Übersetzung, die mit grosser philologischer Präzision, durch den Vergleich der Varianten angefertigt wurde, wird — unserer Auffassung nach — nicht nur den Forschern der tibetischen Literatur, sondern auch der allgemeinen Märchenforschung mit interessanten Neuheiten dienen können. Nach dem Erscheinen des ersten Bandes warten wir auf den zweiten in der Hoffnung, dass er, über die Textausgabe hinaus, auch das Verhältnis der verschiedenen tibetischen Versionen behandeln wird.

L. Lőrincz

MANFRED TAUBE, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. Teil 1—4, XVI + VIII Taf., + 1926 p. *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Wolfgang VOIGT, Bd. XI, Franz Steiner Verl. (Wiesbaden 1966)

Until the present time the revelation and the knowledge of the ancient Tibetan literature — («literature» used here in the widest sense of the word) has been less successful than that of the Indian, Chinese or Japanese. This was caused partly by outside circumstances like isolation, hard access, unfavourable conditions of storing etc. but the main problem lay in the difficulty to find one's way about the enormous mass of works.

Besides the studies of the Tibetan traditions relating to their own past the exploration and listing up of the accessible Tibetan books and manuscripts has been of a great help. That is why the catalogues have become the main supports of the investigations and here lies the significance of M. Taube's catalogue (further: THB), too.

In the beginning the attention of Tibetologists was absorbed mostly in the Tibetan Buddhist canon, the Kanjur and Tanjur. Catalogues of several editions have been compiled and there was a possibility to compare the texts.

The canonic literature takes an important place also in the THB; the first 718 serial numbers cover canonic works and the author acquaints us with the xylograph

volumes of the Snar-thaṅ Kanjur of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin on pages 1150—52. As M. Taube says in the foreword (pp. XIII.) he consideres it superfluous to enumerate the works one by one, as we are in possession of usable catalogues in this domain. Although it is really one of the best worked out parts of Tibetan literature, his not giving a more detailed information is a pity, because there are obscure spots even here.

For example one cannot form a clear picture of the contents of the Snar-thaṅ edition in spite of the fact, that a detailed catalogue by Csoma de Kőrös and some informative works (I. J. Schmidt—O. Boehtlingk, *Verzeichnis* . . . pp. 81—83; or B. Sakurabe—E. Teramoto, *A Comparative Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka Kyoto*, 1929/32) have been published. According to Mochizuki (*Harvard Journal*, IX, 1945, p. 56) the copies attainable in Japan consist of 100 volumes (without index) and so does the Schmidt-Boehtlingk copy in Leningrad and the one described by Csoma de Kőrös. The *Dkon-brcegs* part (read erroneously in THB to *Dkon-brceṭ* probably owing to the usual abbreviation of *gs*) takes the 41—46th places among the volumes by Csoma de Kőrös; the 39—44th ones in the Schmidt—Boehtlingk's and the 35—40ieth in the Berlin xylograph. It would be useful to know where the surplus of 7 volumes in the Berlin xylograph derived from.

Till now, however, a manuscript redaction standing near to the Peking edition (cf. L. Ligeti, *Tibeti források Közép-Ázsia történetéhez, Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, I. Ergänzungsbd., 1936, pp. 85) has been known as Berlin Kanjur, the minute catalogue of which was published by H. Beck in 1914. Very likely this copy has got into Marburg or Tübingen after the World War II and it will be mentioned in the later volumes of the THB, therefore M. Taube does not mention it here.

There are only 31 original Tibetan works in the Tibetan Buddhist canon according to Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub, the remaining 99% being translations. The enormous number of original works covering every part of the Tibetan culture that had come into being in the Tibetan monasteries did not find its way to the Buddhist canon. Attempts have been made to elaborate the literature of certain special fields like history, religion, medicine etc. (See. A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moskva 1962; G. Tucci, *A Brief History of Tibetan Religious Literature from the XIIth to the Beginning of the XVIIIth Century*: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 94—138), but the fields where this work has not been carried out are more numerous and a detailed summary covering the whole literature could not be made either.

One can imagine how significant works were shut up from investigations if one thinks of the works known only by title. It is enough here to point out the Bon canon, of which — apart from a few parts — only the index is known (Lokesh Chandra — Lopon Tenzin Namdak, *Catalogue of the Bon-po Kanjur and Tanjur*: *Indo-Asian Studies*, 2, New Delhi 1965).

The real significance of M. Taube's catalogue lies in the very fact, that ist contributes substantially to the lessening of the number of white spots in our knowledge of the extracanonic literature.

As to the richness of contents only the *Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai 1953) can hold a candle to it. The material of the Japanese catalogue has been collected in Tibet by Tada, former lecturer of the Tohoku University. Tada has spent the greater part of his time in the Se-ra monastery lying at some miles from Lhasa, which was established in the time of Bcoṅ-kha-pa and ever since it has become one of the five main centres of the Dge-lugs-pa sect. The Japanese catalogue contains the works of the high priests and leading scholars of the Dge-lugs-pa sect that are considered important and made the subject of intensive studies.

The core of the catalogue of the manuscripts in Germany is the collection bought

in Peking by E. Haenisch in 1929 for the then Preußische — today Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. This collection probably includes all the proofs of the wood-blocks of that monastery and some works from other monasteries in Peking.

The Sung-chu-szu monastery was established by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in place of a repository of sacred scripts dating from the Ming dynasty. The books produced here during the 17th—19th centuries also represent the Dge-lugs-pa sect but a very peculiar, Chinese-Mongolian variety of it. The two materials are worth comparing.

The fact that the basis of both catalogues is formed of *gsuṅ-'bum*s, collections already systematized according to local traditions makes the work easier. The *gsuṅ-'bum*s have a special interest for the investigators, as — being so to say the «critical editions» of the leading scholars' works — they shed a light on the history of Tibetan literature. The most significant Tibetan bibliographist, Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma Ňag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ also paid great attention to the *gsuṅ-'bum*s, he lists and reviews sixty collections of this kind in his work *Bka'-dams-pa daṅ dge-lugs-pa'i bla-ma rags rim-gyi gsuṅ-'bum mchan-to* (Taube 2845). His list does not include either the Bon *gsuṅ-'bum*s (See: Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*), nor the works not closely concerned with the two sects mentioned in the title as e.g. the very important *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*.

Having elaborated the material in Germany M. Taube conduced considerably to the knowledge of the *gsuṅ-'bum*s. To mention only the seven *gsuṅ-'bum*s not yet elaborated which are introduced in the new catalogue.

The collection of Lčaṅ-skya Qutuγtu Rol-pa'i Rdo-rje consisting of 7 volumes especially distinguishes itself. This high priest who was playing such an important role in the political and religious life of his age displayed also a wide literary activity and gave quasi the encyclopaedia of all the knowledge considered essential. His influence on the later development of the Tibeto-Mongolian lamaism was very great, now it will be easier to size it up in details The works included in the *gsuṅ-'bum*, however, do not give a whole picture of his activity. There were a lot of works written or compiled by other authors under his directions that do not appear here, like — among many others — the famous pantheon published by Oldenburg and Grünwedel that has played such a significant role in the studies on Buddhist iconography.

From among the authors of the *gsuṅ-'bum*s the first and second Thu'u-bkvan qutuγtu, Dga-ldan Širegetü qutuγtu, A-kyā qutuγtu or Rva-sgreṅ Ačitu nom-un qan Blo-bzaṅ ye-šes bstan-pa rab-rgyas appearing also in the edition of the Se-ra monastery have lived in Peking and were closely associated with the Manchu court. The Thu'u-bkvan Ňag-dbaṅ čhos-kyi rgya-mcho for instance paid a visit to the Paṇ-čhen lama as the delegate of the Emperor. (His brief biography can be found in *Hor-čhos-'byuṅ*, pp. 177—182).

Almost all of them had close connections with the Mongolian church, too. Dga-ldan Širegetü Blo-bzaṅ bstan-pa'i ñi-ma (see: *Hor-čhos-'byuṅ*, pp. 171—177) contributed to the publication of the Mongolian *Tanǰur* and the A-kyā qutuγtu Blo-bzaṅ bstan-pa'i rgyal-mchan — being an expert in the «different tongues» (W. Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 142) took part in the Mongolian translations.

There is an interesting connection between the Manchu imperial court and Sumatimaṇiprajñā, the author of the *gsuṅ-'bum* on pages 1130—32 of the catalogue. He lived on Khalkha territory in the Sayin Noyan aimak (according to the old partitioning,) in the neighbourhood of the present Bayan-hongor (see: W. Heissig, *op. cit.* map 702).

Pozdneev mentions in his *Očerki byta buddijskich monastyrej i buddijskogo duchovenstva v Mongolii* (Sankt Peterburg 1887, pp. 234—35) that in 1756 disturbances broke out in North-West Mongolia against

the Chinese rule. Then the Emperor Ch'ien--lung established the dignity *Chiṅs su cug--thu no-mun-han* (= the Very Deeply Respectable Prince of the Holy Doctrine) for *Čulun-banǰur* in appreciation of his services rendered in the pacification, presented him with the Golden Seal and made him Khubilgan. If this rank had really been established at that time, its first owner, Čulun-banǰur was identical with Sumatimaṇi--prajñā. Considering his services one can understand the great honour of publishing his collected works. In this case the date *me-mo-glaṅ* given in the first work of the *gsuṅ-'bum* (No. 1260) represents indeed the year 1756 belonging to the 13th cycle (which has only been supposed by M. Taube).

Jaya-paṇḍita Blo-bzaṅ 'phrin-las was born also in Khalkha. He used to be confused with the «Oirat» Jaya-pandita but from the Oirat Jaya-pandita's bibliography written by Ratnabhadra it turns out that his name is Nam-mkha'i rgya-mcho (cf. *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* vol. V, fasc. 2; also: K. Sagaster, *Subud Erike*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 30). He is the author of the well-known *thob-yig* which, however, is not included in the *gsuṅ-'bum*. He studied in Bkra-šis-lhun-po (there is a misprint on page 1128 of the THB relating to this), he was the pupil of the 4th and 5th Paṇ-čhen lamas.

The Nomči Erdeni Mergen Mkhan-po Blo-bzaṅ šes-rab ñi-ma, who had worked on Üǰümüčin territory, came of the clan of Činggis qaγan. The collection of his works in two volumes has got into Berlin also from Peking.

We can find also in M. Taube's catalogue the Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma *gsuṅ-'bum*. Instead of G. Tucci's date of 1729 (*op. cit.* pp. 149) M. Taube indicates 1719 as the year of its establishment on the basis of the autobiography included in the collection. The biography written by Dkon-mčhog 'ǰigs-med also confirms this fact. According to it Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma was born in the *sa-mo-phag* year of the 12th cycle, that is in 1719 (cf. Vostrikov, *op. cit*, p. 157).

Besides the *gsuṅ-'bum* editions of the great high priests, M. Taube has elaborated in his book some other interesting collections, too. On pages 1137—1144 of the catalogue we find the concordances of four *Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha* editions containing about 180 works, the origin of which goes back to Tārānātha. Three printed variations were published in Peking (1691, 1729, 1731), the fourth one is a manuscript. Collating them sheds a light to the «philologic» methods of the editors.

In the Peking material one can find a lot of other collections of various length containing mostly sacrificial hymns, prayers and texts applied in the every day usage of lamaist cult.

In accordance with the basic structural principle of the catalogue the works of these collections were divided into separate groups corresponding to their contents. Such a grouping of the extracanonical literature serves our attention in itself because it affords numerous examples of the genres. We find 65 types inside of five greater units (Esoterischer Buddhismus — 1716 works; Vinaya-Exegese — 193 works; Wissenschaften — 103 works; Geschichte und Ortsbeschreibungen — 164 works; Lieder — 25).

Let us give an example: the chapter «Gebete und Gelübde» of the «Esoterischer Buddhismus» consists of the following types: *Smon-lam*; *Gsol-'debs*; *Bla-brgyud--gsol-'debs*; *Myur-'byon-gsol-'debs*; *Žabs--brtan-gsol-'debs*; *Bsṅo-ba*; *Bka'-bsgo*, *Rǰes--gnaṅ*; and *Bsruṅ-ba u. ä.*

The given material contributes mostly to the studies on the cult and religious concepts of Esoteric Buddhism and of so called «folk Buddhism». The *śabda-vidyā*, the *cikitsā-vidyā* and the *gaṇita-vidyā* or the historical literature are less represented, although we find a number of important works among these, too.

As regarding the formal questions the general principles of the construction of the catalogue have been determined by the editor (see: W. Voigt, *Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften: Westdt. Bibliothek, Jahresbericht* 1957—58, pp. 71—76.)

The outward description of the books (size, make-up, extent, origin, etc.) is exemplary. To settle the exact title is not always easy because the same work can occur with different title on the front-page, in the colophon or in the initiation. M. Taube gives all variants.

After the formal description and the title follows the survey of the contents. Then follow certain parts of the initiation and the colophon containing some important data in Tibetan. The author does not translate either the title, nor the text of the colophon. This would have enlarged the book, but would have made its use more easy for non-Tibetologists. W. Heissig in his above mentioned work gives translations in most of the cases. The Kanjur catalogue of H. Beck and the catalogue of O. Boehtlingk—I. J. Schmidt were widely used by the researchers of Buddhism also because of their translations.

At the end he occasionally gives the literature on the subject. From amongst the catalogues he refers most of all to the above mentioned Japanese work. References to the work of G. Cybikov, *Spisok tibetskim izdanijam, privezennym Gombožapom Cybikovym v 1902 g. i požertvovannym muzeju imperatorskim Russkim Geograficeskim Obscestvom*, Sanktpetersburg 1904, are missing though it elaborates also many extracanonical works. R. O. Meisezahl's catalogue (*Tribus*, 1957) deals with the Tibetan manuscripts and prints of the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart — this material probably will take place in the following volumes of the THB.

There are references to text editions and to the more important literature on the subject — of course totality is not the goal of a work of this type.

The last 143 pages contain indexes — this can serve as an example for every catalogue in the future. Besides the indexes of all the occurring names, the titles of the works (Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit), and the classification numbers, the list of Tibetan an Chinese marginal marks can also be found — this is often a great help.

At last we can make the conclusion that M. Taube's excellent catalogue will be a valuable aid to the investigations on Tibetology.

G. Bethlenfalvy

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INDEX

L. Ligeti, Notes sur le lexique sino-tibétain de Touen-houang en écriture tibétaine 265
G. Uray, Notes on a Chronological Problem in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* 289
R. K. Sprigg (London), The Role of *r* in the Development of the Modern Spoken Tibetan Dialects 301
A. Róna-Tas, A Brief Note on the Chronology of the Tun-huang Collections 313
L. Lőrincz, Les recueils *Ro-sgruṅ* tibétains contenant 21 contes 317
B. D. Badaraev (Ulan Ude), Notes on a List of the Various Editions of the Kanjur 339
Mary Ferenczy, Chinese Historiographers' Views on Barbarian-Chinese Relations (14—16th c.) 353
Susan L. Nádasdi, Identical Stories in the Twenty-five Tales of the Vetāla and in the Ocean of Story 363
E. Mándoky, Devinettes tatares de Bulgarie 369
A. Róna-Tas, Marcelle Lalou (1890—1967) 381

Critica:

A. W. Macdonald, Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine I (L. Lőrincz) — *M. Taube*, Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 1—4 (G. Bethlenfalvy) 385

Bibliographia 391

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Г. Хазаи—П. Циме (Берлин): Фрагмент уйгурского ксилографа одного из введений к *Vajracchedikāsūtra* 3
А. Бодроглигети: Тюркский словарь неизвестного автора из Iṣfahān 3
Л. Лигети: Сино-уйгурские документы Учреждения письменного перевода в минской династии 3
Л. Какоши: Имхотеп и Аменхотеп сын Хапу, как покровители умерших 3
Хильда Эчеди: Военно-торговые связи древних тюрков с Китаем во второй половине VI-го века 4
Й. Кальди-Надь: Администрация санджакской налоговой регистрации в Венгрии 4
Л. Бэшэ: Глагольные приставки в халхаском языке 4
С. Лувсанвандан (Улаанбаатар): О некоторых особенностях творчества Д. Нацагдоржа (1906—1937) 5
А. Шейбер: Еще два панегирика в честь Авраама багдадского 5
Л. Лигети: Замечания к дуньхуанскому китайско-тибетскому словарю 5
Г. Ураи: Замечания к одной из хронологических проблем Древнетибетской Хроники 5
Р. К. Спригг (Лондон): Роль звука *r* в развитии современных тибетских говоров 6
А. Рона-Таш: Краткое замечание к хронологии дуньхуанских рукописей 6
Л. Лёринц: Тибетские сборники *Ro-sgruń*, содержащие 21 сказку 6
Б. Д. Бадараев (Улан Удэ): Заметка о томах Ганджура 6
Мария Ференци: Китайские историки об отношениях Китая с соседними народами (XIV—XVI вв.) 7
Жужа Л. Надашди: Родственные мотивы в «Двадцатипяти сказках Веталы» и в сборнике «Океан сказочных рек» 7
Е. Мандоки: Татарские загадки из Болгарии 7

Г. Хазаи—П. Циме (Берлин): Фрагмент уйгурского ксилографа одного из введений к *Vajracchedikāsūtra*, стр. 1—14.

Печатающийся здесь фрагмент находится в берлинском собрании Turfan-Sammlung и представляет собой вариант перевода с китайского языка введения к *Vajracchedikāsūtra*. В статье приводится факсимилье фрагмента, транскрипция и перевод текста, снабженный примечаниями. В конце публикации помощен индекс содержащий 180 слов, и грамматически обработанный индекс аффиксов глаголов и имен существительных.

А. Бодроглигети: Тюркский словарь неизвестного автора из Iṣfahān, стр. 15—43.

В собрании Боргезе ватиканской библиотеки среди лексикографических работ Кармелитского ордена хранится этот трехязычный словарь, содержащий примерно 9500 словарных статей, который в каталоге Е. Росси (E. Rossi, *Elenco* . . .) значится под номером Borg. Pers. No. 14.

Тюркская часть этого латино-персидско-тюркского словря представляет ценный материал для ознакомления с историей огузских языков. Она отражает такой азерский диалект, в котором еще сохранились остатки древнетюркских долгих гласных. Весь этот материал автор статьи обрабатывает с диалектологической, орфографической, фонетической и морфологической точек зрения, затем в алфавитном порядке дает тюркские слова и их значение.

Л. Лигети: Спно-уйгурские документы Учреждения письменного перевода в минской династии, стр. 45—108.

Продолжение и окончание одноименной работы автора, первая часть которой была опубликована в XX томе нашего журнала на стр. 253—310.

Л. Какоши: Имхотеп и Аменхотеп сын Хапу, как покровители умерших, стр. 109—117.

Автор статьи рассматривает часть папируса, где описывается ритуал бальзамирования. Автор указывает на то, что Имхотеп и Аменхотеп не являются богами загробного мира и для роли их, как покровителей умерших, надо искать другое объяснение. В вере египтян в загробную жизнь большое значение имела всегда та тайная наука, те знания, которые давали умершим возможность избежать опасности, подстерегающей их в потустороннем мире, и расположить к себе богов. Имхотеп и Аменхотеп стали покровителями умерших как мудрецы, и поэтому умершие старались приблизиться к ним. Превращение

умершего в мудреца является важным элементом и веры греков в загробную жизнь, греки также с большим благоговением относились к гробнице мудреца Петосириса в Туна-эль-Гебеле.

Хильда Эчеди: Военно-торговые связи древник тюрков с Китаем во второй половине VI-го века, стр. 131—180.

Китайские — и другие — источники писали о разных народах конных кочевников следующим образом: «Они от природы жестокие и насильственные, хорошо умеют ездить верхом на лошади, стрелять из лука, алчные и жадные, и живут грабежом и расхищением.» Племена древнего тюркского государства, которые часто тревожили своими атаками окраины Китая, дали повод для такой суммарной — и односторонней — характеристике. Гораздо меньшее значение придавали в Китае менее бурным посещениям тюрков и особенностям их даров и их требований в этих случаях. Изучение событий VI-го века показывает, что тырки — несмотря на некоторые настоящие разбойничьи набеги — регулярно пользовались своим военным преимуществом для вынуждения обмена «даров»: ходового товара, шелка за своих коней и скота. Но этот своеобразный товарообмен был выгодным обычно только для одной стороны: для тюрков; он был менее выгодным или вообще не выгодным для Китая, и если бы и оказался полезным, то по политическим причинам он был нежелательным для чиновничества императорского двора. Таким образом война стала необходимой для хозяйства древних тюрков и других конных кочевников, но не просто в форме грабежа, а в форме набега для захвата новых рынков.

Й. Кальди-Надь: Администрация санджакской налоговой регистрации в Венгрии, стр. 181—223.

Изучая турецкую налоговую регистрацию в Венгрии мы рассмотрели историю ее образования, методы проведения и роль ее в финансовой администрации, чтобы ближе познакомиться с ее историческими источниками.

Лутфи-паша в начале 1540-х годов писал, что регистрацию налогов надо производить через каждые 30 лет; то же самое предписывал и великий визирь Кеманкеш Мустафа-паша сто лет спустя. Как выяснилось в процессе нашего исследования эти предписания не соблюдались ни в XVI, ни в XIII столетиях; в XVI столетии потому, что турецкая административная организация была еще настолько динамична, что, как только этого требовала необходимость, (рост или понижение производственных сил), издавался приказ о регистрации и притом не через 30 лет, а часто даже через каждые 10 лет. В XVII ст. потому не соблюдался вышеуказанных срок, что администрация приходящей в упадок империи уже настолько ослабела, что новую регистрацию не могли провести не только за 10, но даже и за 30 лет.

Сопоставляя турецкую налоговую регистрацию, сохранившуюся в будайском эялет мы установили, что в XVII столетии новой регистрации уже не проводили, а просто вновь переписывали ранее имевшиеся данные. Таким образом, сообщение данных налоговой регистрации время от времени менялось, но, если принимать во внимание именно причины, вызвавшие эти изменения, то полученные исторические данные статистики могут оказать большую помощь в вопросе размеров развития турецкого господства в Венгрии.

Л. Бешэ: Глагольные приставки в халхаском языке, стр. 225—235.

Автор статьи обсуждает вопросы т. н. глагольной приставки типа *нэвт* 'насквозь', *бут* 'в дребезги', халха-монгольского языка. Статья является продолжением прежней

статьи о глагольной приставке в бурятском языке (см. Acta Orient. Hung., XIX (1966), стр. 217—244). В этом смысле описания будут служить автору основой для сравнительного анализа глагольной приставки всех монгольских языков. В то же время статью можно еще считать более удобным описанием глагольной приставки монгольского типа.

С. Лувсанвандан (Улаанбаатар): О некоторых особенностях творчества Д. Нацагдоржа (1906—1937), стр. 237—248.

Статья на русском языке.

А. Шейбер: Еще два панегирика в честь Авраама багдадского, стр. 249—257.

Авраам б. Н. . . жил примерно в 1000 г. в Багдаде. До нас дошли панегирики, написанные в его честь одним и тем же автором и тем же письмом. Стихотворения находятся в Кембридже, в Британском Музее и в собрании гениз будапештского наследия Кауфмана. Текст последних был найден и опубликован уже ранее автором настоящей статьи (Acta Orient. Hung. III., (1953), 107—133). Сейчас автор обнаружил еще два стихотворения этой рукописи в собрании Гастера (Or. 10.594[2]), хранящемся в британском Музее. Автор предполагает, что Авраам был сыном Натира II, т. е. потомком одной из самых знатнейших семей багдадских евреев.

Л. Лигети: Замечания к дуньхуанскому китайско-тибетскому словарю, стр. 265—288.

В средневековой библиотеке дуньхуанской пещеры был найден фрагмент двух копий китайско-тибетского словаря, относящегося к IX столетию. Словарь предназначался для штатских и военных официальных лиц, желавших совершать поездки по территории с китайским населением и содержал самые необходимые и важные употреблявшиеся в поездке китайские слова и выражения в тибетской транскрипции и толковании. Особенно большого внимания заслуживает китаьский языковый материал в тибетской транскрипции, так как он является очень ценным источником китайского разговорного языка времен Тан (T'ang).

Эти два фрагмента опубликованы тибетологом Ф. В. Томас и китаеведом Л. Гилс (*Tibeto-Chinese Word-and-Phrase Book*: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Stud.* XII, 753—769). Два известных ориенталиста в этой совместной работе во многих случаях дали правильные объяснения, их безупречное толкование может послужить прочным исходным пунктом для дальнейшего исследования истории разговорного китайского языка. Однако, трактование одной строки, данное вышеупомянутыми авторами, оспорно, вернее по различным причинам авторы даже не пытались дать соответствующих объяснений.

Автор настоящей статьи делает попытку осветить некоторую часть проблематичмых вопросов.

Г. Ураи: Замечания к одной из хронологических проблем Древнетибетской Хроники, стр. 289—299.

В абзаце 10 Древнетибетской Хроники (в издании Bacot, гл. VIII, абзац 1) говорится о *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*, затем абзац 11 (VIII, 2) и абзац 12 (VIII. 3) начинаются формулой: «во времена этого правителя», но в абзаце 12 все же фигурирует имя правителя *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*. Эти следующие один за другим тексты пробовали объяснять различным образом, например, так, что на торжестве, описанном в абзаце 12 должен был бы упоминаться *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*, который, однако, по культу отожествляет себя со своим предшественником. Автор настоящей статьи доказывает, что жанжунский правитель *Lźg Myi-rhya* был зятем *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* и тождествен побежденному около 644 г. *Lźg*

Sña-šur, таким образом абзац 12, по всей вероятности, относится к *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*. Хронологическая же путаница произошла только вследствие ошибочной подклейки дошедших до нас частей рукописи.

Р. К. Спригг (Лондон): Роль звука *r* в развитии современных тибетских говоров. тр. 301—311.

Автор статьи рассматривает звуки *r* в говорах Лхасы, Голок, Кхапалу Балти, Скарду Балти, среди которых находит до некоторой степени фонетически различные типы, как альвеолярный фрикатив, смычный, раскатистые согласные, и. т. д. в сонорном и глухом варианте. Автор сравнивает современные разговорные формы формами древнего тибетского письменного языка и показывает каким изменениям они подверглись в структуре слогов.

А. Рона-Таш: Краткое замечание к хронологии дуньхуанских рукописей, стр. 313—316.

Автор настоящей статьи устанавливает, что один из дуньхуанских фрагментов, хранящихся в Лондоне, представляет собой жизнеописание 'Jaya pandita (1599—1662) и в связи с этим ставит вопрос о хронологии рукописей, найденных в знаменитой дуньхуанской пещере.

Автор статьи определяет, что — как на это уже указывал и Денисон Росс — Аурель Штейн нашел пещеру открытой, и туда из других мест дуньхуанских пещерных монастырей позднее перенесли рукописи. Поэтому в европейское собрание дуньхуанских рукописей попали и такие произведения, которые относятся к более позднему периоду, чем 1035 г., т. е. год первого закрытия пещеры, установленный Пельо и другими.

Хотя выводы настоящей статьи и не приводят к «сдвигам» с точки зрения принятой до сих пор хронологии, все же они обращают внимание на то, что каждую дуньхуанскую рукопись надо датировать отдельно и что известная дата 1035 г. касается не всех произведений в целом, а только большинства их.

Л. Лёринц: Тибетские сборники *Ro-sgruṅ*, содержащие 21 сказку, стр. 317—337.

Изучая найденные и изданные в последнее время сборники *Ro-sgruṅ*, автор в настоящей статье рассматривает сборники, содержащие 21 сказку. Автор устанавливает, что этот сборник является литературно обработанным вариантом (в противоположность сборнику с 13 сказками) так как в начале сборника автор перечисляет те собрания, которыми он воспользовался при составлении своего труда. В сборник, однако, попали и фольклорные сказки, а одна литературная сказка фигурирует даже вместе с ее фольклорным вариантом. Среди тибетских вариантов сборник с 21 сказкой составлен вероятно раньше, а с 13 сказами — позднее и по тому же образцу. Автор статьи обращает внимание на несколько мотивов сказок, повторяющихся во всех таких сборниках, как, например, изрезанный на куски и вновь оживший крылатый конь, требующий человеческих жертв дракон, встреча с мужем из прошлой жизни, симуляция болезни и др. Статья заканчивается определением общих черт сборников, содержащих различное количество сказок.

Б. Д. Бадараев (Улан Удэ): Заметка о томах Ганджура, стр. 339—351.

Предметом заметки служит краткая анонимная рукопись, озаглавленная «Перечень томов Драгоценного Ганджура Победителя». Эта рукопись создана, по видимому, на основании материалов «Гарчаков» — каталогов «Ганджура». Значение ее заключается в том, что она дает материал для сравнительного рассмотрения структурных компонентов

«Ганджура» различных изданий, каждое из которых представляет что-то новое по сравнению с предыдущим. Ибо «Ганджур», как композиционное и структурное целое, формировался на тибетской почве не сразу, а постепенно. Приведенная рукопись показывает, что различные издания «Ганджура» отличались друг от друга количеством томов, порядком размещения в них тех или иных разделов и даже наличием или отсуствованием тех или иных целых разделов.

Мария Ференци: Китайские историки об отношениях Китая с соседними народами (XIV—XVI вв.), стр. 353—362.

На основании сравнения двух небольших своеобразных исторических источников автор статьи делает попытку обрисовать некоторые черты исторических воззрений составителей Сун ши времен Юань и эпохи Мин, полагая что знакомство с ними может быть также полезным в работе над критикой источников. В статье дается филологический перевод введения к главам, относящимся к варварским народам в Сун ши и соответствующей части Сун ши синь-бянь затем по пунктам сопоставляются как части, содержащие описание исторических предпосылок и исторических условий эпохи Сун, так и части, включающие технические примечания.

В результате сравнения автор настоящей статьи приходит к следующим наблюдениям: мировоззрение авторов (или групп авторов) обоих работ, представление их об истории основаны на конфуцианских традициях, но в то время, как более ранные авторы стараются доказать законность династии Юань, прославляют идеалы «варварских народов» и геройство их предков, историк эпохи Мин — также во имя традиций — стремится подорвать авторитет своего предшественника и «деварваризировать» китайскую историю.

Жужа Л. Надашди: Родственные мотивы в «Двадцатипяти сказках Веталы» и в сборнике «Океан сказочных рек», стр. 363—368.

Автор настоящей статьи рассматривает несколько сказок из большого сборника *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* и сходные с ними сказки из другого места сборнка, представляющего отдельную часть. Сборник *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* составлен автором из известных народных сказок, некоторые из них, однако, — именно в связи с их популярностью — находятся и в *Bṛhatkathā*. Автор *Vetālapñcaviṃśatikā* был хорошо знаком со сборником *Bṛhatkathā*, из которого выбрал часть материала для своего труда, последний, однако, позднее был включен в *Bṛhatkathā*.

Составитель *Kathāsaritsāgara*, считая интересной каждую отдельную сказку с точки зрения внесенных в них изменений, оставил в большом сборнике оба варианта, таким образом, двойные повторения сказок в этом сборнике нельзя считать результатом невнимательности составителя.

Е. Мандоки: Татарские загадки из Болгарии, стр. 369—379.

Татары, живущие теперь на Добрудже и в ее окрестностях, являются потомками татар, эмигрировавших или убежавших с полуострова Крым и соседних ногайских степей после русско-турецкой (в 1829-ом году) и крымской (в 1854-ом году) войн. Их подавляющее большинство живет на Добрудже в Румынии — в окрестностях городов Констанца и Тулча — в относительно заключенном, разобщенном народном единстве. Они насчитывают около 21 тысячи человек. Их меньшая часть — около 5—6-и тысячи татар — живет на болгарской Добрудже, в городе Пазарджик (ныне Толбухин), на территориях, вдоль берега Дуная и в некоторых поместьях Делиормана.

Добруджские татары обладают народной поэзией, базирующейся на богатом народном предании. Особенно развит фольклор татар, живущих на румынской Добрудже. Еще не началось систематическое собрание фольклорного материала, произведения такого рода, изданные до сих пор, являются большей частью публикациями текстов, предназначенными для демонстрации добруджско-татарского языка. (И. Кунош, С. Ис'хаки, С. Хусеин, Й. Блашкович, Вл. Зайончковски).

Автор публикует 62 загадки, собранные во время пребывания в селе Ветово — в августе 1967-го года. В селе Ветово, находящемся на юго-востоке от Русы, в 40-а километрах от нее отдельном квартале его живет около 120-ти татарских семей.

Татарский диалект села Ветово является идентичным диалектом добруджско-татарского языка, названного Вл. Дримбой на основе его происхождения и его особенностей — северо-крымским (*šȯl tı̣lı̣*) диалектом.

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