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B. CSONGOR, K. CZEGLÉDY, G. KARA, J. NÉMETH, S. TELEGDI

REDIGIT
L. LIGETI

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UNE ANCIENNE INTERPOLATION DANS L'*ALTAN TOBČI*

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

Dans ses parties empruntées à l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, l'*Altan tobči* d'Oulanbator, chronique mongole de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin, offre parfois un texte plus long que l'*Histoire secrète*. Quelques cas de ces divergences ont déjà été signalés et, en partie, discutés.[1] Aujourd'hui je voudrais attirer l'attention sur un passage similaire de l'*Altan tobči* qui, outre la rédaction plus développée, comprend un nom intéressant, jusqu'ici méconnu et ignoré sous sa forme complète dans l'*Histoire secrète*.

Le manuscrit d'Oulanbator (f. 9a), dans le corps du § 46, s'exprime ainsi: *Qačiγun-u köbegün Adarka-dai neretü bülüge: aq-a degüü ǰayura ende tende keleǰü ǰenggügči* [glose: *olgiyan ügülegči*] *-yin tula: omoγ ǰayura aduruγči bui: Muqur-sayurin terigüten: Adarkin omoγ-tan bolba: Adarkin-u ebüges tere bülüge*.[2]

Le même passage est libellé dans le texte actuel de l'*Histoire secrète* sous la forme suivante: *Qači'un-nu kö'ün Adarkidai neretü büle'e aqa de'ü ǰa'ura adaruqči tula Adargin oboqtan bolba* (éd. Ye Tö-houei, I 28a, § 46).

L'interprétation du texte même de l'*Histoire secrète* n'était pas dépourvue de difficultés, vu que *adaruqči*, nom verbal de *adar-*, non attesté en mongol écrit, s'expliquait mal en même temps que sa glose chinoise 間諜 *kien-tie* était ambiguë. Aussi les premières traductions du passage en question divergeaient.

[1] P. Pelliot, *Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*: *T'oung Pao* 1930, pp. 199—202. P. Pelliot, *Deux lacunes dans le texte mongol actuel de l'Histoire secrètes des Mongols*: *Mélanges Asiatiques* [=*Journal Asiatique*] année 1940—1941, pp. 1—18.

[2] S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie. Mongoljskaja chronika 1240 g. pod nazvaniem Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyan. Juanj čao bi ši*, Mongoljskij obydennyj izbornik. Tom I (Moskva—Leningrad 1941), p. 325. Kozin reproduit ce texte avec trois «émendations»: *Adarkidai* pour *Adarka-dai*, *yenggükü* pour *yenggügči* ou *ǰenggügči* et, dans la glose, *ögületü* pour *ögülegči* ou *ügülegči*. L'édition imprimée d'Oulanbator rend notre texte au fond inchangé à l'exception du mot *degüü* qui figure sous son ancienne orthographe *degü*. Cf. *Altan Tobči, a Brief History of the Mongols by bLo-bzaṅ bsTan-'jin*, with a Critical Introduction by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert (Cambridge, Mass. 1952). *Scripta Mongolica* I: texte mongol I, p. 18.

elles assez sensiblement les unes des autres. Erich Haenisch, tout en maintenant *adaluqči*, mauvaise lecture de la transcription chinoise reproduite aussi bien par Ye Tö-houei que par Palladius, a traduit «Zwischenträger», S. A. Kozin et P. Pelliot ont proposé d'interpréter *adaruqči*, forme émendée de *adaluqči*, respectivement comme «provocateur de querelles» et «disputeur».

A. Mostaert qui a repris la question dans son étude magistrale intitulée «Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*», *HJAS* XV (1952), pp. 299—302, a montré que *kien-tie* devait avoir le sens de «médire, calomnier dans le but de désunir des personnes qui vivent en bonne entente». Et voici comment ce savant a rendu le passage en question du § 46: «Le fils de *Qači'un* avait nom *Adarkidai*. Parce qu'il répandit des calomnies parmi les frères aînés et les frères cadets, [ses descendants] eurent *Adargin* comme nom de clan».

En effet, la définition du sens du verbe *adar-* proposée par A. Mostaert est exacte. Elle est exacte même pour les quelques mots employées parallèlement avec *adar-* (avec *adaruqči*, *adarqan* et *adarta-*): *södür-* (avec *södürge* et *södürte-*), *ǰenggü-* (avec *ǰenggügči*), *olgi-*, enfin *qob*. Ce sont en effet des synonymes ou des mots de sens voisin, seulement il ne faut pas perdre de vue que nous avons affaire là à un groupe de mots dont le sens va de «calomnier (inciter, etc.)» jusqu'à «désunir (séparer, etc.)», deux pôles du sens attribué au verbe *adar-*. Cela revient à dire que les traductions mises en avant par Haenisch, Kozin et Pelliot sont moins inconciliables avec les faits que nous ne l'avons admis jusqu'ici.[3]

[3] Aux §§ 164 et 177 de l'*Histoire secrète*, le verbe *adarta-* (avec *adarqan*) réapparaît combiné avec *södürte-* (et *södürgen*). Cette fois les mots *adarta-* (*adarda-*) et *adarqan* ne sont pas glosés en chinois; toutefois la version continue se sert, pour les rendre, de 離 間 *li-kien* «to sow discord among relatives» (Mathews), «Zwietracht stiften» (Rüdenberg). Le parallélisme entre les deux membres de la phrase est à tel point évident (*südütü moqai* ~ *ara'atu moqai*, etc.) qu'il est à supposer que *adarta-* (*adarda-*) et *adarqan* d'une part, *södürte-* et *södürgen* de l'autre signifient à peu près la même chose. Et en effet, le verbe *södürte-* est glosé par 挑 唆 *t'iao-seou* qui veut dire «to incite to quarrel» (Giles), «to stir up, to make mischief» (Mathews), «schüren, Zwietracht stiften» (Rüdenberg); en un mot rien ne nous permet de nous fixer sur le sens primitif «exciter (excitation)» jusqu'ici proposé. Le most *södür-* et ses dérivés ne sont pas recueillis dans les grands dictionnaires (Kowalewski, Lessing), mais ils sont attestés en oïrate où nous avons: oïr. lit. *södörmöq* «polisson, espiègle; celui qui se plait à contredire, disputeur, querelleur» (A. Pozdneev *Kalmycko-russkij slovarj*, StPbg. 1911, p. 136); kalm. D *södɣ-* «sich widersetzen, zanken, sich nicht fügen wollen», *södɣməg*, *södɣmēn* D «frech, unverschämt; widerspenstig, zanked» (G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 333a; la forme mong. lit. *södüre-*, citée ici-même, n'est qu'une restitution théorique). Un autre synonyme de *adar-*, de nuance nouvelle, nous est fourni par l'*Altan tobči* d'Oulanbator, dans le passage cité du § 46. C'est *ǰenggügči*, nom d'agent tiré du verbe *ǰenggü-*, lu avec une initiale *y-* par Kozin, sans doute sur l'autorité du dictionnaire de Kowalewski (III, 2310: *yenggegün*, *yenggün* «injure, gronderie, blâme», *yenggün üge* «mot injurieux, injure, gronderie»). Le verbe est attesté, entre

Pour revenir au passage tiré de l'*Altan tobči*, il faut le traduire comme suit: «Le fils de *Qači'un* s'appelait *Adarka-dai*, parce qu'il tenait des propos calomniateurs parmi les frères aînés et les frères cadets un peu partout, dans le clan il était un calomniateur. *Muqur-sayurin* et autres étaient du clan *Adarkin*. Les ancêtres des *Adarkin* étaient ceux-là».

Sans m'arrêter pour le moment au reste du texte qui paraissait d'ailleurs à A. Mostaert «très corrompu», je tiens à insister sur le nom, mentionné à côté du fondateur éponyme du clan *Adarkin*. Or ce nom était celui du chef des *Adarkin* qui joua un role important au temps de Gengis khan comme un de ses partisans les plus fidèles. Le nom apparaît dans le manuscrit de l'*Altan tobči* sous une forme estropiée, reproduite sans changement et par l'édition imprimée d'Oulanbator et par Kozin; heureusement on peut en dégager le nom authentique sans difficulté. En effet, on n'a qu'à rappeler la confusions qui, dans les anciens manuscrits se produisit si souvent sous la plume des copistes, entre les signes *s* et *q* à l'état initial. Le fait a été signalé à propos du

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autres, dans Hs: § 160 (*ulkin ǰingkün ügüleye*), § 246 (*ǰinggügü-yin tula*); les deux passages ont été discutés par A. Mostaert, *HJAS* XV, 299—300. Dans les deux cas le mot mongo- est glosé par 讒譖 *tch'an-tchen* «calomnier». Le mong. *ǰengü-* est rendu dans les vocabulaire, polyglottes des Ts'ing par tib. *stiṅ-ba* «to rebuke, scold, abuse» (Jäschke, p. 221). L'expression *ǰenggün ügüle-* revient encore chez Sayang-sečen (passage invoqué par Mostaert) interprétée par I. J. Schmidt comme «verleumderischerweise berichten» (p. 175). Son équivalent mandchou *ǰaqanabume gisurexengge* (éd. E. Haenisch, p. 75) où *ǰaqanabu-* «Zwietracht stiften»; E. Hauer, p. 515) répond, selon les dictionnaires sino-mandchous (T. Haneda, *Manwa jiten*, p. 239) au chin. 離間 *li-kien*, même sens (cf. supra). Un autre synonyme nous est offert dans l'expression *ulkin ǰinggün ügüle-* citée plus haut où *ulkin* est évidemment une fausse leçon pour *olgin*. Ajoutons que *ǰenggügči* (Hs § 46) est glosé, dans l'*Altan tobči*, par *olgiyan ügülegči* et *olgin* (Hs § 160) par *qayačayul-un*. (Pour ce dernier, voir mong. Kow. II, 740, *qayačayul-* «séparer, éloigner», *ebtü qoyorundu qob keleǰü qayačayul-* «au moyen de la calomnie jeter la discorde parmi les amis».) Or, *olgi-* «médire, calomnier. blâmer, reprendre, blasphémer» est bien attesté en mong. lit. (Kow. I, 409); cf. encore *olgiyči* «qui blâme, qui blasphème, calomniateur, blasphémateur» *olgiyan* «médisance, calomnie, blasphème», *olgiyan-i ögüle-* «médire, calomnier» (*ibid.*). En tant que dérivé, *olgiyan* < **olyiyan* est évidemment identique à *södürgen* et à *adaryan*. Dans les dialectes actuels le mot ne paraît guère être connu, du moins il n'est relevé qu'en ordos: *olgōn ùge* «faut bruit, nouvelle dont on ne connaît pas la provenance; le mot *olgōn* s'emploie aussi au sens de manoeuvres cachées tendant à embrouiller une affaire» (Most. II, 509). — Enfin, le mot *qob*, glose de l'*Altan tobči*, est, cette fois, bien attesté en mongol: mong. lit. *qob* «calomnie», *qob üges* «calomnie, invective, injure», *qob kele-* «calomnier, noircir» (Kow. II, 887); oïr. lit. *χoв* «calomnie, chicane, délation; potin» (Pozdn. 91); kalm. *χoв*, *χow* «Verleumdung, Nachrede» (Ramst. 181); ord. *χoв* «calomnie; mal dit de quelqu'un et qu'on lui redit» (Most. I, 347); khal. *chov* «potin; calomnie» (Luv. 527); bour. *χob* «potin» (Čer. 571). On a en outre en turc: tél., léb., alt., sag., koïb. *qop* «die Verleumdung» (Radl. II, 650); yak. *χob*, id. (Böhtl. 86); ces mots turcs sont empruntés au mongol.

manuscrit de l'*Altan tobči* par Kozin.[4] Un exemple fameux nous est donné par la transcription chinoise de l'*Histoire secrète* où nous avons *Sem-Sečüle* pour *Sam-Qačula*; le transcripteur chinois, une fois de plus, a rendu servilement ce que lui suggérait le manuscrit mongol en écriture ouigoure, qu'il avait sous les yeux.[5]

Si l'on tient encore compte de ce que le copiste de l'*Altan tobči* confond constamment les signes *i* et *a* (*Tödegin* pour *Tödegen*, etc.) on comprend aisément la leçon *sayurin* qui en outre se trouve recommandée par le nom commun *sayurin* «place pour s'asseoir, siège; domicile, demeure, logement; résidence; etc.» (Kow. II, 1300).

Il s'ensuit que le nom du chef des *Adarkin* doit être restitué en *Muqur-Qayuran*. A vrai dire, ce personnage, sous le même nom, nous est bien connu grâce aux sources historiques de l'époque mongole.

Dans la description des tribus et des clans, Rašīdu-'d-Dīn nous relate ce qui suit sur la tribu des *Hadarkin* (qui ne sont autres que nos *Adarkin*): «Au temps de Gengis khan [=*Čingīz χān*] leur chef était *Muqur-Qauran* [*Mwqr-qwr'n*]. Le mot *qauran* signifie [quelqu'un] ayant un caractère dur (*durušt*) comme une lime et puisque dans lui cette nature existait réellement on lui donna ce nom. Il commandait la chiliade des *Hadarkin*, et était l'un des commandants de l'aile droite. A ce moment-là la plupart de cette armée se trouvait au *Dašt-i Qibčāq*, avec *Noqai*. Lorsque *Noqai* et ses enfants voulurent se révolter, [leurs terres] furent ravagées. Actuellement dans leur empire beaucoup d'eux sont dispersés. *Bügüri* qui se trouvait ici [=en Iran] était le neveu de *Muqur-Qauran*.[6]

[4] S. A. Kozin *Sokrovennoe skazanie*, p. 21. Toutefois l'exemple invoqué par Kozin n'est pas convaincant, car le prétendu *sočiǰu* n'existe pas, le ms (f. 18a) porte en réalité *qwčyčy* qui doit être lu *qoǰiǰi*, c'est ce que l'édition d'Oulanbator a adopté (voir éd. A. Mostaert I, 38). D'ailleurs *qoǰiǰi* [=*qoǰiǰi*] répond au *qo'oǰiǰu'u* de l'*Histoire secrète* (II 13a § 79). En revanche Kozin lit *Kilχu mören* (p. 342) alors que le ms (f. 26a) porte *Silqu müren* ainsi que l'édition d'Oulabator (Mostaert I, 56); cette fois il s'agit du *Kilqo müren* de l'*Histoire secrète* (III 6a § 105).

[5] P. Pelliot—L. Hambis *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan. Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*. Traduit et annoté. Tome I (Leiden 1951), pp. 53—55.

[6] Texte persan: N. N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisej*. Istorija mongolov, sočinenie Rašid-eddina. Vvedenie: O tureckich i mongoljskich plemenach: *Trudy Vostočnogo Otdel. Imp. Arch. Obščestva* VII (St. Pbg.1861) [=Berezin I], p. 266. Traduction russe: L. A. Chetagurov (redakcija i primečanija A. A. Semenova), *Rašid-ed-din, Sbornik letopisej*. Tom I, kniga pervaja (Moskva—Leningrad 1952), p. 190. Cf. encore F. Erdmann, *Temudschin der Unerschütterliche* (Leipzig 1862), p. 224. *Bügüri*, leçon adoptée par Berezin, reste incertain. *Bukuraj* de Chetagurov (*loc. laud.*) et *Bukuri* de Smirnova (voir *infra*) sont des formes impossibles pour un nom turco-mongol orthographié *bwkr'y*, *nwkr'y*, *bwkwry*, *nwkry*, etc. Le pers. *durušt* signifie «rough, hard thick; fierce, wild, fell, morose, stern, oppressive, rugged, unequal; notched (sword); disproportionate, hairy»

L'interprétation du nom offert par l'historien persan paraît à première vue très engageante, en effet, un sobriquet de cette nature n'aurait rien de surprenant. Cependant cette interprétation appelle des réserves, car on attendrait un renvoi au nom proprement dit du porteur du sobriquet. Il n'en est rien. En réalité nous sommes en présence d'une des nombreuses étymologies populaires de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn qui toutefois ont le mérite, ainsi que je l'ai montré ailleurs, de s'appuyer sur des mots authentiques.[7]

Dans ce cas nous avons affaire à deux mots mongols authentiques: *muqur* ou *moqor* et *qa'uran*.

Quant au premier élément du nom, on a en effet un nom, déverbal, dont le vocalisme flotte entre *o* et *u* dans les documents les plus anciens jusque dans les dialectes actuels. Mais en voici les recoupements les plus importants.

Mong. lit. *moqor, muqur* «1. mousse, émoussé, rond, dont on a coupé les angles pour l'arrondir; sans corne, qui n'a qu'un bout de corne; sans bout, sans extrémités, sans suite, sans issue; 2. cassé, estropié, mutilé; 3. fig. stupide, hébété» (Kow. III, 2034); *muqur* «blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless, tailless, bobtailed, amputated, maimed, rounded (as number); dead-end; blind (figuratively)» (Lessing 553); *moqo-* «1. s'émousser; 2. être fatigué, épuisé; n'avoir plus de force; 3. être réduit aux dernières extrémités» (Kow. III, 2032); *moqo-, muqu-* «to be blunt or dull; to get tired, weaken, exhaust one's strength» (Lessing 544; 553).

L'*Histoire secrète* a *muqular* «hornlos, ungehornt, Stumpfhorn» (Haenisch 111), *muqutqa-* et *moqotqa-* «abschneiden, zur Erschöpfung bringen» (Haenisch 110, 111); Houa-yi yi-yu *moqodaq* «qui n'est pointu, qui n'est pas aigu, qui ne coupe pas» (Lewicki 60), «stumpf (gemacht)» (Haenisch, p. 31, n° 816; opposé à *qurča* «pointu, aigu, tranchant»); Lou-long sai-lio *moqodaq* «émoussé» (éd. Ishida, p. 133b). Muqaddimat al-adab *moqadaq* «émoussé», *moγolčaq* «rond» (Poppe 238).

Oïr. lit. *muχu-* «s'émousser», *muχudχa-*, id. (Pozdneev 238), *moγolzuur* «sans cornes» (*op. cit.*, p. 235); kalm. Ö, D *muχ^{u}r, muχɣ* «stumpf, ohne Schneide; an der Spitze abgebrochen; Abschluss» (Ramstedt 268), *moχɣ* «stumpf, mit

(Steingass p. 512); «1. rugueux, dur au toucher, raboteux, épais; 2. dur de manière, épais, sans façons, disproportionné, grossier» (Desmaisons I, p. 877). Chetagurov a rendu ce mot par «сварливый; querelleur, acariatre» et «нудный; ennuyeux, fastidieux, assommant, sciant, rasant». Smirnova s'est fixée sur «нудный» Erdmann (p. 643) a, correctement, «derb». Les traducteurs ont adopté, pour *sūhān*, le sens de «пила; scie», alors qu'il s'agit ici certainement d'une «lime»: «a file for iron or wood» (Steingass 710), «lime» (Desmaisons II, 306). Pour l'étymologie cf. pers. *sūhān-i rūḥ* «quelqu'un dont la société n'est pas agréable, qui vous scie» (Desmaisons II, 306); voir encore Vullers II, 353; Haim II, 136; Junker—Alevi, 439.

[7] A ce sujet voir mes remarques dans *AOH* XVII, 1964, pp. 345—346.

runden Enden» (p. 264), *moχā*, D *moχā* «stumpf (zB. Messer)» (p. 263), D *mokā* «stumpf, nicht scharf, ohne Schneide» (p. 264), *muχ*^{u}- «stumpf werden, nicht scharf genug sein» (p. 268); üj. O, khu. *mɵχɵr* «épointé, émoussé; la partie inférieure ou extrême» (Kara: *AOH* XVI, 27; $ɵ < u$); ord. *mu̯χu̯r* «obtus, émoussé; fond, cul-de-sac, la partie extrême, limite» (Mostaert II, 471), *mu̯χu̯l-* et *moχol-* «être obtus, émousser; mettre à quia» (II, p. 474); mgr. *mu̯gu̯r* «en cul-de-sac, déconcerté» (De Smedt—Mostaert 244), *moɣorɒur* «mousse, émoussé, sans pointe, sans cornes, sans nattes» (p. 239); khal. *muchar* et *mochoo-* (Luvsandêndêv pp. 243, 250); bour. *muchar* et *mochoo-* Čeremisov pp. 321, 318).

Ma. *muχôri* [=*muχuri*] «abgerundet, rundgemacht, abgeschnitten, gleichgemacht» et *moχolo* «hornloser Ochs» (Hauer 672, 662).[8]

Le second membre du nom rappelle en effet le mot mongol signifiant «lime».

On a en mong. lit. *qaɣurai, qaurai* «une grosse lime, une râpe» (Kow. II, 746, 717), «file, rasp» (Lessing 910).

Le mot est attesté dans les vocabulaires en écriture arabe. Ainsi on trouve chez Ibn Muhannā *qūrā* «lime» (éd. d'Istanboul, p. 221; Poppe le transcrit, dans MA p. 444, *qa'ūra*[*i*], mais cette leçon n'est guère défendable). Muqaddimat al-adab offre *qaurai* (Poppe, p. 313, lit *qūrai*).

Il convient de tenir compte encore des formes actuelles suivantes: oïr. lit. *χuurai* (Pozdneev 99), oïr. dial. *χōrā* (Kara: *AOH* VIII, 144), kalm. *χŭrā*, *χŭrɛ̄* «Feile» (Ramstedt 204); ord. *χu̯rā* «lime» (Mostaert I, 371); üj. *χōrɛ̄* «lime» (Kara: *AOH* XVI, 23); darkh. *χūrā*, id. (Sanžeev 50); khal. *chuuraj* «lime» (Luvsandêndêv 570); bour. *chuuraj*, id. (Čeremisov 597), bour. NU *kūrē*, T, Kh, S *χūrai*, T *χurē* (Castrén 117).

Emprunt au mongol: hazara B, Dj, Dz, G, O, T *qaurai, qaurɛi* «lime mordante» (de mon enquête faite en Afghanistan).[9]

Muqur-Qaɣuran, sous la forme de *Muqur-Qa'uran*, chef des *Hadarkin* est mentionné par Rašīdu-'d-Dīn encore trois fois.

[8] G. Doerfer, TMEN I, pp. 509—510, discute encore une série de mots turcs tongous, finno-ougriens et samoyèdes rattachés au terme mongol. M. Doerfer croit pouvoir éliminer, pour ce nom, la forme *muqur*, mais son argumentation n'est pas concluante.

[10] G. Doerfer, TMEN I, pp. 428—429. En tant que nom commun, *qa'uran* évidemment n'est pas une variante du *qa'urai* comme le veut Pelliot (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan* I, 57), mais Doerfer en n'admettant aucun rapport phonétique entre les deux formes est trop catégorique. *Qa'uran* figure dans un nom d'homme et aujourd'hui on est encore mal informé sur les anciens noms de personne mongols. Mais on doit signaler dès maintenant les noms *Ögele-čerbi* avec les variantes *Ögelei-čerbi* et *Ögelen-čerbi* ou *Ča'urqa* avec les variantes *Ča'urqai* et *Ča'urqan*. J'ai signalé une finale *-n* (et qui n'a rien à voir avec le suffixe du pluriel *-n* en moyen mongol), présente dans les noms joutchen et khitan; cf. L. Ligeti, *Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la langue sien-pi*, dans *Mongolian Studies* (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* XIV, Budapest 1970), p. 308.

D'abord nous le rencontrons parmi les chefs des treize enclos.

Après la rupture qui eut lieu entre Gengis khan et J̌amuqa, à la suite d'un vol de chevaux, J̌amuqa, à la tête d'une coalition de 13 tribus, avec une armée de trois *tümen*, vint attaquer Gengis khan. Ce dernier opposa à son *anda* d'hier une armée de trois *tümen*, composée de 13 enclos (*harban qurban güre'et*). Cet événement est sommairement annoncé par l'*Histoire secrète* (§ 129).[10]

Rašīdu-'d-Dīn s'y arrête longuement, bien plus, il énumère en détail les treize enclos de Gengis khan, avec tous les clans et les personnages en vue qui ont participé à cette action, dans les cadres des enclos en question.

Or, c'est le troisième enclos qui, ici nous regarde de plus près. Nous y lisons ce qui suit.

«Troisième [enclos]: *Bultaču-bahādur*, du clan de *Qačulai*, frère aîné de *Qabul χān* appartenant aux . . ., qui sont une branche des *Kereit*, avec la tribu des *Hadarkin* qui avaient à leur tête *Muqur-Qauran*, des *Nirun*; *Bügüri*, qui était au *Ḫorāsān*, descendait de son clan. Ensuite, la tribu des *Qōralās* des *Dürlügin*, leur chef était *Čaurqa*».[11]

[10] L'*Histoire secrète* (§ 120) nous donne une autre liste qui comprend les noms de ceux qui se sont ralliés au parti de Gengis khan lorsque, après le refroidissement de leur amitié, J̌amuqa et Gengis khan se sont séparés. Cette fois il ne s'agit que de groupes de fidèles, au nombre de 21, qui, à l'exception des *Ba'arin*, ne formaient pas des enclos (*güre'en*). Voici ces groupes d'associés, d'après leurs clans: 1 *ǰalayir*, 2 *tarqut*, 3 *čangši'ut*, *baya'ut*, 4 *barulas*, 5 *manggut*, 6 *arulat*, 7 *uriyangqan*, 8 *besüt*, 9 *suldus*, 10 *ǰalayir*, 11 *qongqotan*, 12 *sükeken*, 13 *ne'ü*, 14 *olqunu'ut*, 15 *qorolas*, 16 *dörben*, 17 *ikires*, 18 *noyakin*, 19 *oronar*, 20 *barulas*, 21 *ba'arin*. On voit bien que les groupes 1 et 10 appartiennent à la même tribu *ǰalayir* de même que les groupes 4 et 20 se sont détachés tous les deux des *Barulas*, pour se joindre à Gengis khan. Rien ne prouve que le groupe 15 composé des *Qorolas* (voir *infra*) comprenait dès cette époque les *Adarkin* et, avec eux, *Muqur-Qa'uran*.

[11] Texte persan: I. N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisej. Istorija mongolov, sočinenie Rašid-Eddina*. Istorija Čingiz-chana do vosšetvija ego na prestol: *Trudy Vost. Otdel. Imp. Arch. Obščestva* XIII [=Berezin, II], pp. 151—152. Traduction russe: O. I. Smirnova (commentaires par B. I. Pankratov et O. I. Smirnova, directeur A. A. Semenov), *Rašid-ed-Din, Sbornik letopisej*. Tom I, kniga vtoraja (Moskva—Leningrad 1952), p. 87. Cf. encore. F. Erdmann, *Temudschin der Unerschütterliche*, pp. 261, 577—582. *Bultaču-bahādur* n'est autre que *Bültečü-ba'atur* de l'*Histoire secrète* (§ 48). *Bültečü* est une fois de plus une fausse leçon des transcripteurs chinois qui ignoraient la prononciation correcte de certains noms. Les mss consultés par Berezin offrent, en partie, des variantes qui suggèrent une forme *Sam-Qačulai*, mais la leçon *Sam-Qačiun*, est maintenue aussi par Smirnova. A *Sam-Qačulai* de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn on peut opposer *Sem-Sečüle* de l'*Histoire secrète* (§ 48); cette dernière est, ici encore, une fausse leçon des transcripteurs chinois qui doit être ramenée à *Sam-Qačula*. L'*Altan tobči* de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin (f. 9b) porte *Qam-Qačula*, l'édition imprimée d'Oulanbator a la même forme; évidemment il faut lire dans les deux cas *Sam-Qačula* (sur l'erreur possible $s : q$, voir plus haut). Cf. encore P. Pelliot—L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan* I, pp. 53—55. Quant au nom de la branche

La liste des treize enclos de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn est reprise par le *Cheng-wou Ts'in-tcheng lou*. Elle y apparait toutefois sous une forme brouillée et le nombre des «corps» remplaçant les «enclos» ne dépasse pas la dizaine. Aussi le «corps» de *Bultaču-bahādur* est-il le deuxième de la liste et il renferme les enclos 3 et 4 de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn. Le texte persan est ainsi concu:

«Le fils de *Sam-Qačulai*, nommé *Bultaču-bādur*, [appartenant aux] *Tübū*[*t*] des *Ge*[*re*]*yit*; *Muqur-Qauran* et autres conduisant les *Adargin*; *Čaquran* [conduisant] les *Qorula*[*s*] et autres tribus; ainsi que *Dereng*, fils de *Surqadu*[*?*]*-noyan*, conduisant les *Qoritai* et les *Budaqa*[*t*] formèrent un corps».[12]

La deuxième mention du nom du chef des *Hadarkin* se trouve dans le récit des événements précédant la bataille de *Qalqalǰit*. On y lit que sur l'instigation de *Senggün* (*Senggüm* de l'*Histoire secrète*) une coalition se forme contre Gengis khan à laquelle participent, entre autres, *Daritai-otčigin*, *Altan*, *Qučar*, *Tayar-Qulaqai* de la tribu des Mangut et «*Muqur-Quaran*, chef de la tribu *Hadarkin* des *Nirun*».[13] Le nom de *Muqur-Qauran* figurant parmi les ennemis de Gengis khan est peut-être surprenant, mais pas autrement insolite en ces temps mouvementés.

En tout cas, ce ne devait être qu'un intermède passager, car notre héros se trouve finalement (et c'est la troisième mention) parmi les chiliarches de Gengis khan.

Son contingent était rangé à l'aile droite de l'armée, comme le 18e des 23 régiments. L'aile droite comptait d'ailleurs, sous le commandement de *Bōrči-noyan* (avec *Boroγul-noyan* comme adjoint) 38 000 soldats.

Voici ce que nous dit l'historien persan à ce propos: «Régiment de *Muqur-Qauran* [*mwqwr qwr'n*] (qui est) de la tribu *Hadarkin* [*hdrkyn*], branche *Qiyat* [*qy't*] de la tribu *Nirun* [*nyrwn*]. Le sens de *qauran* est «lime» (*sōhān*). Parce que son caractère était dur (*durušt*), on lui donna ce nom. Sa stature était très haute. *Bügüri* était son petit-fils».[14]

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des *Kereit*, tous les mss présentent à cet endroit une lacune que Berezin a remplie, arbitrairement, par *J̌irqin* (choisi au hasard parmi les noms des clans des *Kereit*). Smirnova s'est contentée de traduire ici «une branche». Le ms devait porter *Töbewüt*, voir *infra*.

[12] P. Pelliot—L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* I, pp. 36, 53—64 (notes 12—20). Il reste peu de choses à ajouter aux savants commentaires de Pelliot. Néanmoins je crois que l'expression mongole *Kereyid-ün Töbegüd* > *Kereyidün Töbewüt* a passé telle quelle (avec le génitif mongol) dans le texte persan et de là, sous une forme légèrement estropiée: *gereyidün tübūt*, a été emprunté par le *Cheng-wou Ts'in-tcheng lou*.

[13] Texte persan: Berezin II, p. 208 (*Mwqwr qwr'n*); traduction russe de Smirnova, p. 123. Cf. encore Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 283—284.

[14] Texte persan: Berezin III, pp. 203—204; traduction russe de Smirnova, p. 269. Cf. encore Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 449, 643.

L'*Histoire secrète* (§ 202), dans la liste des chiliarches nommés par Gengis khan, nous donne son nom sous la forme abrégée de *Qa'uran*; il est le 70e des 95 chiliarches.[15]

Il apert de ce qui précède que *Muqur-Qayuran*, chef des *Adarkin*, recueilli dans l'*Altan tobči* est un nom authenthique et répond bien à *Muqur-Qauran* attesté par Rašīdu-'d-Dīn et par le *Ts'in-tcheng lou*, et à *Qa'uran* de l'*Histoire secrète*.

Reste à savoir si nous sommes en présence d'une interpolation insérée dans l'*Altan tobči* ou bien du vestige d'une rédaction plus complète que celle que les transcripteurs de la fin du XIVe siècle avaient à leur disposition. La question a déjà été posée par P. Pelliot et il a admis les deux possibilités. Pour ma part je crois que dans le cas présent nous avons affaire à une interpolation, à une de ces interpolations qui se ramènent à des sources très anciennes.

A ce propos j'insisterai toutefois sur le fait surprenant que les additions ici discutées de l'*Altan tobči* proviennent des paragraphes consacrés à la généalogie des chefs des grands clans, ancêtres de Gengis khan.

Ainsi l'*Altan tobči* a permis à Pelliot de préciser qu'au § 47 *Ambaqai* [*qayan*] n'est pas le frère, mais le fils de *Senggüm-bilge* et que la mère de *Belgütei*, au § 60, s'appelle *Süǰigil eke* et qu'au § 50 il faut compter avec une interpolation très ancienne concernant les cinq fils de *Bartan-bayatur*, nés de son épouse *Süǰigil-üǰin*.[16]

Dans les paragraphes généalogiques je signalerai encore deux passages du même ordre.

Au § 45, le nom de *Qabiči* est mentionné sous sa forme complète (*Barim-sigir-a-tu Qabiči-bayatur*) comme au § 43. Il a un fils nommé *Bekir-bayatur*, dont il n'est pas question dans l'*Histoire secrète*. Il était le père de *Menen-tudun* (ce nom apparaît dans l'*Altan tobči* sous la forme estropiée *Maq-a-tudun*). *Menen-tudun* a épousé *Nomalun toryun*, mère de ses sept enfants.[17]

[15] S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* I, p. 158. Kozin, dans sa traduction a numéroté les noms des chiliarches. Cf. encore L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols: Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* I, Budapest 1971, p. 171.

[16] Voir *supra*, note 1. Quant au passage altéré du § 144, le texte de l'*Altan tobči* comprend sans aucun doute l'ancienne tradition authentique du texte de l'*Histoire secrète* (f. 42a) *Onan-u činaǰi eteged Olqud-turay-tur čerigüd-iyen ǰasaǰu qadqulduy-a kemen ǰasan bayiǰuyui*. Toutefois le nom de lieu *Olqud-turay* reste à identifier, aussi sa leçon est elle douteuse, surtout dans son premier élément (*Olqunud* ? *Ulyud* ?, etc.); pour *turay*, cf. turc *turay*, *turuy* «lieu de franchise, refuge (dans les montagnes)» (DTS 587).

[17] Sur le nom *Barim-ši'iratu Qabiči*, deuxième enfant de *Tumbina-χān*, selon Rašīdu-'d-Dīn (d'après l'*Histoire secrète* § 43 il était le fils de *Bodončar*), voir: texte persan, Berezin II, 44; traduction russe de Smirnova 29. Le nom est fortement altéré, Smirnova a adopté *Barim-Šir-Buka-Buǰu* ce qui peut être ramené sans difficulté à *Barim-šīratu-Qabiču*. D'après Rašīdu-'d-Dīn, *Dutum-Menen* (*Menen-tudun* de l'*Histoire secrète*) avait

Au § 48, selon l'*Altan tobči*, le fils de *Bultaču-bayatur* s'appelait *Mergen-sečen*, or ce nom est une fois de plus supprimé dans l'*Histoire secrète*.[18]

Enfin notons que dans l'*Altan tobči* quelques noms sont énumérés dans un ordre interverti. Nous y lisons *Sam-Qačula Qabul qayan* (§ 48) en face de *Qabul qayan Sem-Sečüle* de l'*Histoire secrète* et, dans le même paragraphe, on a *Tödögen Qadayan* en face de *Qada'an Tödö'en otčigin* de l'*Histoire secrète*.[19]

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pour épouse *Monolun* (*Nomolun* de l'*Histoire secrète*), la mère de ses neuf enfants; cf. texte persan: Berezin II, p. 25; traduction russe de Smirnova, p. 18. L'historien persan est muet au sujet de *Bekir-bayatur*. Il est curieux de voir que, d'après l'*Histoire secrète* § 46, *Nomolun eke* était la mère de *Qaidu*, épouse de *Qači-külüg*.

[18] Rašīdu-'d-Dīn est muet au sujet de *Mergen-sečen*, fils de *Bultaču ba'atur*. Il est notoire que la généalogie offerte par Rašīdu-'d-Dīn diffère sur bien des points et sensiblement, de celle de l'*Histoire secrète*, il y a lieu de rappeler que chez lui, le fils de *Sam-Qačulai* s'appelle *Adar-mergen* nom qui rappelle celui du fils de *Bultaču-ba'atur*. Cf. texte persan: Berezin II, 45; traduction russe de Smirnova, p. 30.

[19] S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* I, p. 158. Kozin, dans sa traduction a numéroté les noms de chiliarches. Rappelons toutefois qu'au § 51 l'*Altan tobči* aussi donne bien *Qadayan Tödegen*.

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THE NARRATIVE OF LEGISLATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE MKHAS-PA'I DGA'-STON

THE ORIGINS OF THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING SROṄ-BRCAN SGAM-PO AS FIRST LEGISLATOR AND ORGANIZER OF TIBET

BY

G. URAY

1. It was R. A. Stein who has noticed that the section on the early Tibetan laws and state of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (in the following: *Section on Law and State)* displays certain common features in the subject-matter and terminology with the account of 654 in the *Royal Annals*. Analyzing the state organization presented in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, he writes as follows: «le célèbre Gar Tongtsen Yulzung, gouvernait le Tibet (Bod), . . . D'un côté il y avait les guerriers *(rgod)*, organisés en soixante et un 'groupes de mille' *(stong-sde)* . . . De l'autre côté on trouvait les corvéables *(gyung* ou *kheng)*: c'était 'le peuple qui travaille', organisé en 'groupes d'hommes' . . . Une chronique de Touen-houang nous signale, en effet, qu'en 654 le grand ministre Tongsten procéda à un recensement en vue d'une grande organisation en 'fonctions'. Pour cela il divisa le peuple en militaires *(rgod)* et en corvéables *(gyung)*» *(La civilisation tibétaine*: *Collection «Sigma»* 1, Paris 1962, p. 85)[1].

Taking Stein's important observation as a starting point, we may go further in establishing significant and profound textual and thematical correspondences between the *Section on Law and State* — particularly the introductory *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* — and the *Royal Annals*. These correspondences enable us not only to evaluate the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* from the point of view of source criticism, but also to revise the millenial tradition concerning king *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* as legislator and organizer of state, and thereby to elucidate an important problem of early Tibetan history.

[1] The interpretation put forward by Stein for the accounts of 654 in the *Royal Annals*, and particularly for the terms *rgod* and *g-yuṅ* has aroused J. Filliozat's disapproval (*Travaux récents sur l'histoire du Tibet*: *JA* CCL (1962), p. 630), R. A. Stein, however, succeeded in defending his view (*Deux notules d'histoire ancienne du Tibet* : *JA* CCLI (1963), pp. 327—330), and his interpretation can be corroborated by further arguments too (G. Uray, *À propos du tibétain r g o d - g - y u ṅ* : *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris 1971,pp. 553—556). Otherwise, I cannot agree with his interpretation of the word *mkhos/khos/khod* as «fonction»; for this see below, note 3.

Before starting my investigations proper, I should like to express my thanks to those who helped me with my research in one way or another. Miss Hilda Ecsedy controlled the data which I have taken from translations, in the original Chinese sources, and gathered some new data from other Chinese sources hitherto untranslated. Mr. E. Földi has helped me with determining the co-ordinates of geographical places. The India Office Library and its librarian S. C. Sutton (London), the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), the G. N. Roerich Library of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow), the State Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Prof. B. Širêndêv, Chairman of the Academy (Ulan Bator), the Gandan Têgčinlên monastery and the Most Ven. Abbot Gombožav (Ulan Bator), the British Museum Library (London), the Oriental Department of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest), Mr. H. E. Richardson (St. Andrews, Fife) and Prof. Stein (Paris) have made my research work possible by permitting the use of Tibetan MSS and xylographs in their possession or in the possession of the institutions led by them and by placing photographs and microfilms at my disposal. The late Miss Prof. M. Lalou (Paris), Miss A. F. Thompson (London), Mr. V. A. Bogoslovskij and Mrs. N. Ju. Lubockaja (Moscow), Prof. Š. Bira and Ž. Coloo (Ulan Bator), Ing. L. Bikszády (Budapest/Ulan Bator), the microfilm departments of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library (Budapest) gave indispensable assistance with the use of the MSS, in obtaining the microfilms and making enlargements of them.

Abbreviations

AFL = F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet* : *Abh. d. Dtsch. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, Kl. f. Spr., Lit. u. Kunst*, Jg. 1952, Nr. 3, Berlin 1957.

AHEL = 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.

Ann. = the *Royal Annals of Tibet*, with the versions:

— I = Bibliothèque Nationale MS, *FPT 1288 = prov. 252*, lines 1—53 + India Office Library MS, *Ch. 79 viii 7*, lines 54—307; quoted from the microfilm of the original.

— II, 1 = British Museum MS, *Or. 8212 (187)*, lines 1—11 (inversely at the beginning of the MS) + 12—61 (in the middle of the MS); quoted from the microfilm of the original.

ARC = *Atlas of the Republic of China*, editor-in-chief Chang Chi-Yun, II—III, Taiwan 1960—1961.

'AŽAnn. = the *Annals of the 'A-ža Khaganate*, fragments of the accounts of the years 705—714: India Office Library MS, Stein Collection, vol. 69, fol. 84, lines 1—55;

quoted from the photoprint of the original (cf. L. Petech, *Nugae Tibeticae* : *RSO* XXXI (1956), pp. 291—293 and Uray, *LFTR*, p. 208).

BA = G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* I—II : *RASB Monograph Series* VII, Calcutta 1949 and 1953.

Bk. Dg. = "O(-rg)yan-gliṅ-pa—Kun-dga'-chuł-khrims («discoverers»), *Bka'-thaṅ sde lṅa* (1347, with additions from 1386—1393), *Dga'-ldan Phun-chogs-gliṅ* edition (1675), vols. *ka—ča*; quoted from the microfilm of the India Office Library Xyl., Lhasa expedition, J. 16.

BstSbyM K = Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma Ňag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ (1719—1805), *Bstan-pa'i sbyin-bdag byuṅ-chul-gyi miṅ-gi graṅs*, in *Gsuṅ-'bum, Kun-bde-gliṅ* edition, vol. *'a*; quoted from the copy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Department.

BuČh. = Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub (1290—1364), *Bde-bar gšegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed čhos-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas-gsuṅ-rab Rin-po-čhe'i mjod ces bya-ba* (1322) : *Thams-čad mkhyen-pa Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub-kyi gsuṅ-'bum*, vol. *ya*; quoted from the microfilm of the Roerich Library Xyl., nr. 106.

Ch. . . . = MS from the Chi'en-fo-tung at Tunhuang: India Office Library, Stein Collection, No. *Ch. . . .*; — *Ch. fr. 61* is quoted from the microfilm of the original, the other MSS are quoted from the editions or facsimiles indicated in the relevant part of my paper; cf. also *Ann. I* and *ChrFr.*:2.

ČhJSg. = Bsod-nams-rce-mo (1142—1182), *Čhos-la 'jug-pa'i sgo žes bya-ba'i bstan-bčos* (1167), in *Sa-skya-pa'i bka'-'bum, Sde-dge* edition (18th century), vol. *ṅa*:263a—317a; quoted from the facsimile edition *CWMS* II, pp. 318/3—345/3.

Chr. = *Old Tibetan Chronicle*: Bibliothèque Nationale MS *FPT 1287* = *prov. 250*, 16 paragraphs, lines 1—536; quoted from the microfilm of the original.

ChrFr. = *Chronicle Fragments from Tunhuang*, two unnumbered folios from the MS of a chronicle from the age of the Old Kingdom (cf. n. 91 below):

—:1 = Bibliothèque Nationale MS, *FPT 1144*; quoted from the microfilm of the original.

—:2 = India Office Library MS, *Ch. xvii 2*; quoted from the facsimile ed. by Thomas, *TLTD* III, pl. ii.

Conf. 1967/68 = *Rapports sur les conférences de l'année scolaire 1967—1968, Histoire et philogogie tibétaines, Conférences de* Mme Ariane Macdonald : *École pratique des Hautes Études, IVe section, Sciences hist. et philol., Annuaire* 1968—1969 (1969), pp. 527—535.

CPTA = M. Lalou, *Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien* : *JA* CCLIII (1965), pp. 189—215 + table.

CT = R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine* : *Collection «Sigma»* 1, Paris 1962.

CWMS = Bsod nams rgya mtsho (compiler), *The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism* I—XV : *Bibliotheca Tibetica* I 1—15, Tokyo 1968—1969.

DNHAT = R. A. Stein, *Deux notules d'histoire ancienne du Tibet* : *JA* CCLI (1963), pp. 327—335.

Dp. ja = Rje Dpa'-bo sprul-sku Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba 'jin-pa (1504—1566), *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* (1545—1565), vol. *ja*, in several variants:

— *X* = *Lho-brag Gnas-kyi gžis-kha* edition, quoted from the microfilm of the copy the Gandan Têgčinlên Monastery and the facsimile edition of Lokesh Chandra, *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston of Dpaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag*, Pt. 4 : *Śata-Piṭaka Series* IX 4, New Delhi 1962.

— *XC* = «variants», in fact inadmissible and sometimes even erroneous retouches in Chandra's edition.

— *R* = Richardson MS, quoted from the microfilm of the original.

DpLǰ. = Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-šes dpal-'byor (1704—1788), *'Phaqs-yul Rgya-nag čhen-po Bod-daṅ Sog-yul-du dam-pa'i čhos byuṅ-chul Dpag-sam ljon-bzaṅ žes bya-ba* (1748), in two editions:

— *W* = *Gsuṅ-'bum*, edition of Wusuto (or Köke Qota?), vol. *ña*, quoted from the microfilm of the copy of the Gandan Têgčinlên monastery. (For the place of publication cf. J. W. de Jong, *Sum-pa mkhan-po (1704—1788) and His Works* : *HJAS* XXVII (1967), pp. 210—211.)

— *D* = S. C. Das, *Pag Sam Jon Zang* I—II, Calcutta 1908.

DSṅ. K = 'Gos locāba Yid-bzaṅ-rce-ba Gžon-nu-dpal (1392—1481), *Deb-gter sṅon-po* (1476—1478), *Lha-sa-Kun-bde-gliṅ* edition (end of the 18th century), vols. *ka—ba*; quoted from the copy of the State Library in Ulan Bator. (Since there is no microfilm at my disposal, I can quote from the original only those passages that I copied in 1965 in Ulan Bator, otherwise I shall refer only to the translation of Roerich, *BA*.)

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.

FHT = G. Uray, *The Four Horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960), pp. 31—57.

FPT . . . = MS from Tunhuang: Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. . . .; — *FPT 1093, 1166* and *1174* are quoted from the microfilms of the originals, the other MSS from the descriptions, quotations and data of Lalou, *CPTA* and *Inv.* I—III, and Ariane Macdonald, *Conf. 1967/68*; cf. also *Ann. I, Chr., ChrFr*:1, *Gen.*

— *. . .* = *prov. . . .* = the earlier, provisional number of the MS used also in the literature; see *Ann. I, Chr., Gen.*

FT = H. E. Richardson, *A Fragment from Tun Huang* : *Bull. of Tibetology* II 3 (1965), pp. 33—38.

GAT = L. Petech, *Glosse agli Annali di Tun-huang* : *RSO* XLII (1967), pp. 241—279.

Gen. = the so-called *Tunhuang Geneaology* being, in all probability, a separate part of the MS of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*: Bibliothèque Nationale MS, *FPT 1286* = *prov. 249*, 4 paragraphs, lines 1—69.

GragsBRgy = Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan (1147—1216), *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs*, in *Sa-skya-pa'i bka'-'bum, Sde-dge* edition (18th century), vol. *ta*: 196b.6—200a.2; quoted from the copy of the State Library in Ulan Bator, and the facsimile edition *CWMS* IV, p. 295/1—296/4.

HAT = P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, [éd. par L. Hambis] : *Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot* V, Paris 1961.

HBB II = E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism (Chos ḥbyuṅ) by Bu ston* II, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* : *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus* 19, Heidelberg 1932.

HD = 'Chal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, *Hu-lan-deb-ther* (1346, with additions from after 1368; cf. A. Macdonald, *PLRBY*, pp. 79—88, 153); in two variants:

— *G* = Gangtok edition: *Deb-ther dmar-po, The Red Annals* I *(Tibetan Text)*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim 1961.

— *D* = the readings of the original Densapa MS according to Inaba—Satō, *HTCN*.

HOWS = H. E. Richardson, *How Old Was Srong Brtsan Sgam Po?* : *Bull. of Tibetology* II 1 (1965), pp. 5—8.

HTCN = Inaba Sh.—Satō H., *Hūran teputeru Chibetto nendai-ki*, Kyōto 1964.

IMW = *The International Map of the World*, Scale 1 : 1,000,000; sheet NH 44, *Mānasarowar*, Printed by the Army Map Service, 1967; sheet NI 47, *The Sources of Huang Ho*, Printed by the War Office and Air Ministry, 1961; sheet NJ 47, *Ch'ing Hai*, Printed by the Army Map Service, 1964.

Inv. = M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain)* I—III, Paris 1939, 1950, 1961.

ITCC = E. Haarh, *The Identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan «King» Who Died in 804 AD* : *Acta Orient.* XXV (Copenhagen 1960), pp. 121—170.

LdRgy. F = *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (middle of the 17th century, with appendices from 1834, 1842, 1886 and 1910); edition of A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* II, *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles*, ed. with foreword by F. W. Thomas : *Archaeological Survey of India* L, Calcutta 1926, pp. 17—59.

LFTR = G. Uray, *Die Lehnfürstentümer des tibetischen Reiches im VII.—IX. Jahrhundert* : *Trudy Dvadcatj pjatogo Meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* V, Moscow 1963, pp. 205—210.

MBk. B = *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*, «discovered» by Grub-thob Dṅos-grub (12th century) and mṅa'-bdag Ñaṅ (or Myaṅ) Ral(-pa-čan) Ñi-ma-'od-zer (1136—1204; but containing also 14—16th centuries additions); *'Bras-spuṅs* edition in two vols. without a common title: vol. *"e*: *Maṇi-bka'-'bum glegs-bam daṅ-po thugs-rǰ⟨e⟩ čhen-po saṅs-rgyas staṅ-rca'i l⟨o⟩-rgyus čh⟨e⟩n-m⟨o⟩*, and vol. *waṁ*: *Čhos skyoṅ-ba'i rgyal-po Sroṅ-bcan rgam-po'i bka'-'bum-las smad-kyi čha žal-gdams-kyi bskor-pa*; quoted from the microfilm of the Roerich Library Xyls., nrs. 150 and 80.

MGHP = A. Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, completed and ed. by L. Petech : *SOR* XVI, Roma 1958.

Mi. . . . = MS from Mīrān Fort: India Office Library, Stein Collection, no. *MI.* (or *M. I.*) . . .; quoted from *TLTD* II and IV.

MkhyDS = 'Jam-dbyaṅs-mkhyen-brce'i dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i rgyal-mchan (shortly: Mkhyen-brce; 1820—1892), *Dbus-Gcaṅ-gi gnas-rten-rags-rim-gyi mchan-byaṅ mdor bsdus Dad-pa'i sa-boṅ žes-bya-ba*:

— *Sd* = *Sde-dge* edition; quote from *MGHP*, pp. 1—33.

— *T* = the readings of the Tucci MS according to *MGHP*, footnotes of pp. 1—33.

MT. . . . = MS from Mazār-Tāgh: India Office Library, Stein Collection, no. *M. Tāgh . . .*; quoted from *TLTD* IV.

NTETR = H. E. Richardson, *Names and Titles in Early Tibetan Records* : *Bull. of Tibetology* IV 1 (1967), pp. 5—20.

OITN = V. A. Bogoslovskij, *Očerk istorii tibetskogo naroda (Stanovlenie klassovogo obščestva)*, Moscow 1962.

PLRBY = Ariane Macdonald, *Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-chaṅ* : *JA* CCLI (1963), pp. 53—159.

PRN = G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* : *Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture* 1 : *SOR* X 1, Roma 1956.

QGTB = H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* : *Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit.*, Jg. 1950, Nr. 4, Mainz—Wiesbaden 1950.

RgyGsM = Sa-skya-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mchan (1312—1375), *Rgyal-rabs-rnams-kyi byuṅ-chul gsal-ba'i me-loṅ čhos-'byuṅ* (1373; date proposed by Mrs. Ariane Macdonald in *Rapports sur les conférences de l'année scolaire 1964—1965* : *École pratique des*

Hautes Études, IVe section, Annuaire 1965—1966 (1965), p. 434); in two editions:

— *Sd* = *Sde-dge* edition (1740-s; cf. A. Macdonald, *Conf. 1967/68*, p. 529); quoted from the copy of the State Library in Ulan Bator.

— *K* = *Lha-sa-'Phrul-snaṅ* edition (1478); quoted from B. I. Kuznetsov, *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long (The Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies)* : *Scripta Tibetana* I, Leiden 1966.

SkRdor. = Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan's (798?—815) inscription on the *rdo-riṅ* of the *Skar-čuṅ* chapel, now *Saṅs-rgyas-dgon-pa*, near *Ra-ma-sgaṅ*; quoted from *TTK*, pp. 104—108.

TAMST = R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Légendes, classifications et histoire*, Paris 1959; and reprint in the series *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* XV, Paris 1961.

TLTD = F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* I—IV (pt. IV ed. by E. Conze) : *Oriental Translation Fund* n. s. XXXII, XXXVII, XL, XLI, London 1935, 1951, 1955, 1963.

TTK = G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* : *SOR* I, Roma 1950.

VDL = the Vth Dalai Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mcho (1617—1682), *Gaṅs-čan-yul-gyi sa-la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris-kyi rgyal-blon-gco-bor brǰod-pa'i deb-ther| |Rjogs-ldan-gžon-nu'i dga'-ston Dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyaṅs žes bya-ba* (1643), in two editions:

— *L* = *Thams-čad mkhyen-pa lṅa-pa čhen-po'i gsuṅ-'bum, Lha-sa-Po-ta-la* edition, vol. *ja*; quoted from the microfilm of the Roerich Library Xyl., no. 127 or 182.

— *P* = *Pe-čin* (Peking) edition, *Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khaṅ*, 1957.

VTHT = G. Tucci, *The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition* : *India Antiqua, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel*, Leyden 1947, pp. 309—322.

YD = E. Haarh, *The Yar-luṅ Dynasty*, Copenhagen 1969.

ŽRdor.:E, :S, :N = the inscription of the *rdo-riṅ* in the district *Žol* of Lhasa (763 or the years following); East, South and North faces; quoted from *AHEL*, pp. 1—34.

Symbols of text criticism

[ ] Reconstruction of letters or passages entirely missing or illegible in the original owing to physical damage.

⌜ ⌝ Partial reconstruction of letters or passages only partly missing or illegible in the original owing to physical damage.

⟨ ⟩ Reconstruction of letters or passages omitted by the scribe.

{ } Letters or passages erroneously inserted by the scribe, not to be cosidered.

( ) Letters omitted from abbreviations.

( ) Pagination and number of lines; inserted remarks, emendations and addenda of the communicator of the text; — in the text-quotations of the foot-notes it serves for indicating variants and erroneous informations, too.

— A letter or a vertical ligature in the original text missing or illegible owing to physical damage, but not reconstructed (in every case in [ ] or ⌜ ⌝ according to the sense).

. . .] Passage of an indefinite length in the beginning of the original missing, owing to physical damage.

[. . .] The same as above in the middle of the original text.

[. . . The same in the end of the original.

. . . A part of text omitted by me in quotations.

I. The structure of the Section on Law and State in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston

2. The *Section on Law and State* can be found in the chapter on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s reign in the volume *ʒa* of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*. It is divided into an introduction and the presentation of 6 codes, and it comprises among others 19 catalogues *(Dp. ʒa X*:18b.1—22b.7 ~ *R*:25b.2—32a.6).[2]

In its present form the section seemingly constitutes an organic unit, but Tucci and Stein have already pointed to the inner chronological contradictions of the section. They have established that the section — judging by the context of the chronicle and the introductory narrative — describes the laws and state of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s age, but the persons and institutions mentioned in the catalogues are mainly from *Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan*'s age *(PRN*, pp. 75—76; *CT*, pp. 20, 28, 85).

Similarly, certain contradictions in the structure of the section bear evidence of a later compilation and re-organization of the material.

3. The *Section on Law and State* is divided into verses written with normal letters alternating with verses written in small letters, which differ from each other not only formally, but in their function and relation to their sources. The verses in normal letters belong to the basic text of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, they develop the train of thought of the work as a whole, and the details of the laws which were judged the most essential by *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba* are narrated in them. The passages in small letters supplement the basic text by giving the less important details. It can rightly be assumed on the basis of the exactness of *Dpa'-bo*'s quotations that apart from certain joining, introductory and closing formulae and inserted explanatory glosses, the passages in small letters closely reproduce the text of the sources used. On the other hand, the actual text of the verses in normal letters had to be composed by *Dpa'-bo* himself. Even if he did nothing else but take out sentences from the sources quoted in small letters and put them in verse, or give a summary in verse before or after certain quotations in small letters, certain anachronistic technical terms and motifs alien to the utilized source could easily slip into the verses. So the division into passages in normal and small letters can often facilitate the recognition and dating of text-alterations and interpolations.

But really wide-ranging and profound conclusions can be drawn mainly from the thematical structure of the *Section on Law and State* which is prac-

[2] There is also mention of legislation in an earlier passage of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (*Dp. ʒa X*:18a.5—6 ~ *R*:25a.6—b.1). This passage is almost literally identical with the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* (*RgyGsM Sd*:32b.6—33a.1 ~ *K*:61.33—62.5), and certainly originates from it (cf. below, pp. 56—58, n. 120).

tically independent of external division; so first of all this structure must be examined. The hierarchy of the units will be demonstrated by decimal numbers and a stepped arrangement of the passages. In the decimal classification the figure 0 (zero) is the sign of introductions, while letter *z* designates the final formulae, independently of the fact whether they refer to the introduction, resp. final formula of a higher or lower text-unit. The contents of single passages will regularly be given in the form of titles or extracts consisting of a few sentences, but in certain cases a full translation will be given in quotation marks. If the higher units have neither titles nor introductory formulae, they will be given titles in square brackets. The genre of single passages will be designated by versal letters placed between brackets: N = narrative or a passage of narrative character linking two parts together; C = catalogue or list; L = = extract of text of law.

0. [Introduction]
0.1 The king decides to grant law to Tibet, informs his subjects about this and gives reasons for his act; he composes six great codes (N).
0.2 [A survey of Tibet's six institutions (C)]:
0.21 «First of all *(thog-mar)*, Tibet was divided into five big horns,
0.22 «eighteen shares of power of the regions were determined,
0.23 «sixty one thousand-districts of the savage *(rgod)* were divided,
0.24 «the 'groups of men' of the tame *(g-yuṅ)*: the *kheṅs* and second-*kheṅs* were divided,
0.25 «the three uncles together with the councillor holds the assembly of the Centre,
0.26 «the three divisions of the heroes defend watch-posts of the marches,
0.2*z* «— these are called 'the six institutions *(khos drug)* of Tibet'»[3].

[3] *Thog-mar Bod-yul ru-čhen lṅa-ru phye* (*R*: *čhe*)| |
yul- gyi dbaṅ-ris rnam-pa bčo-brgyad (*R*: *bčo(brg)yad*) *bčad*| |
rgod-kyi stoṅ-sde drug-bču-rca gčig phye| |
g-yuṅ-gi mi-sde kheṅ-daṅ yaṅ-kheṅ 'byed| |
žaṅ gsum blon-bčas dbus-kyi 'dun-sa 'jiṅ| |
dpa'-sde gsum-gyis mtha'-yi so-kha sruṅ| |
de-la Bod-kyi khos drug žes-su grags |
(*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.4—5 ~ *R*:25b.6—26a.1)

Several attempts have been made to interpret the term *khos/khod* in the *Section on Law and State* and its equivalent *mkhos* in the *Royal Annals*. Thomas and Bacot who knew only the data for *mkhos* from the *Royal Annals* which had a rather homogeneous context, connected *mkhos* with the verb *'gas* «to be cleft or split, to chap, to crack, to break or burst asunder», or with the verb *sko* «to appoint, to charge a person» and *bkod* «to establish». Accordingly they sometimes translated the expression *mkhos bgyis* as «defeated» (Thomas, *Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* I : *JRAS* 1927

:55.4 cf. also :54.19—22), sometimes «levied, were levied, a levy was made» (Thomas, *TLTD* II:5.4, .20, :7.11, :268.6; *DTH*:62.11—12, .26—27), sometimes «fit l'inspection, firent une inspection, inspecta, eut lieu l'inspection» (Bacot, *DTH*:32.9, :33.20, :34.7, :38.18, :40.5—6, :44.1, .13, :47.8, :49.2—3, :51.11, .20, :52.9; cf. also p. 32, n. 6 and p. 37, n. 7). Besides, they convey the suggestion that *mkhos* can be connected to the words *mkho-ba* «necessary» and *'khos* «value» (Thomas, *DTH*:67.21—25; *TLTD* III:21.25—28). Occurences of varied context which are necessary for a safe interpratation became known only after the *Section on Law and State* had been discovered. Basing his interpretation on these occurences, Tucci has rightly established the meaning of the word as «institution, administration, settlement of the state» (*PRN*, p. 76, n. 1; p. 88; p. 90 and n. 1; pp. 105—106). R. A. Stein, on the other hand, has recently attributed the meaning «fonction» to *mkhos/khos/khod* — without any arguments (*CT*, p. 85; *DNHAT*, p. 327). Petech considers the interpretation «fonction» as inadequate, and upholds Tucci's interpretation (*GAT*, p. 249, n. 1). I join Petech's view, because — though the interpretation «fonction» enables as pleasant translation in some places, it is generally irreconcilable with the context. E.g. governing principles, insignia of rank, seals, moral qualities, military symbols and codes were ranked among the thirty six *khos* (*Dp. ǰa X*:21a.3 ~ *R*:29b.3—4; cf. *PRN*:88.1—7 and below p. 20, *s. v.* 1.20) which could hardly be called «functions», but more likely «institutions» in the juridical sense of the word; whereas the meaning «institution, administration, settlement of the state» results in a good translation in every passage of the *Royal Annals* and the *Section on Law and State*. Besides, as I have pointed out in one of my former papers, a noun *mkhos/khos/khod* meaning «institution, administration, settlement of the state» fits well into the word-group of the verbs *sko* : pf. *bskos* «to settle, establish, assign, appoint», *'god* : pf. *bkod* «to design, found, establish, put, fix, rule, govern» and *'khod* «to sit down, to dwell, to be put, established» where *mkhos* had already been ranked by Thomas and Bacot too (Uray, *FHT*, p. 39—40, n. 15).

I do not define the contents of «the six institutions of Tibet and the beginning of their catalogue respectively, in the same way as Tucci and R. A. Stein. According to Tucci «6 B o d k' o s, institutions, administration: three ž a ṅ along with the b l o n took hold of the assembly, (ą d u n s a) of dBus; three d p a' s d e protected the boundaries» (*PRN*, p. 90), but unfortunately he fails to inform us as to which of the ranks, assemblies, divisions, and boundaries was regarded and how it was counted to result in six institutions. Stein's view is essentially the same as Tucci's: «les trois *žaṅ* avec l e u r (s) ministre(s) tiennent réunion au centre; les trois 'divisions guerrières' protègent les frontières; c'est ce qu'on apelle les six *khos* (. . .) du Tibet» (*TAMST*, p. 14, n. 36; spacing by me — U. G.); — «on distingue six 'fonctions' (*khos*) divisées en deux parties selon une opposition entre centre culturel et frontières. Trois ministres s'occupaient de l'assemblée au centre . . . De l'autre coté, trois 'groupes de guerriers' montaient la garde aux frontières» (*CT*, p. 85). So Stein endeavours to surmount the numerical difficulties by regarding the *blon* as subordinate to and dependent on the three *žaṅ*, consequently they do not belong to the six institutions. But this calculation is conrradicted by the detailed catalogue on the three *žaṅ* and *blon* that is to be found in the catalogue-cycle of the six institutions. According to this the *blon* «councillor» is not subordinate to, but coordinate with the three *žaṅ* «uncles»: *stod-na 'Pro* (recte and *XC*: *'Bro*, *R*: *'Gro*) *smad-na Mčhims bar-na Sna-nam blon-po Sbas* (*R*: *Sras*) *-rnams-la žaṅ gsum blon-daṅ bži žes* (Gloss:) *sku-žaṅ-daṅ blon-čhen-gyi bya-ba byed-to* (*R*: *do*) (*Dp. ǰa X*:20b.4 ~ *R*:28b.2) «Above *'Bro*, below *Mčhims*, in the middle *Sna-nam* and the councillor *Sbas* (are) the three uncles, four with the councillor. So (it is said). (Gloss:) They discharge the duties of the *sku-žaṅ* ('His Majesty's maternal uncle') and the great councillor (cf. *PRN*:87.2—5; *sku-žaṅ* occuring in the text is a rank in the *Sa-skya-pa* period, so the gloss must be dated after the middle

0.3 The six codes (C).
1. [The first code]
1.0 [Its enactment]
1.01 «Having explained the governing and institutions from the first (code called) *Khri-rce-'bum-bžer*, the king gave commands to the councillors one by one» and appointed five administrative chiefs *(khos-dpon)* and settled their residence (N + C).
1.02 *Mgar* (the administrative chief of Tibet) arranges the administration of Tibet with the help of *Dar-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe* and *Mčhims Mań-bžer Nan-pa* (N).
1.1 [The first group of institutions: the six institutions and others]
1.11 The boundaries of the horns (C)
1.12 The shares of power of the countries (C).
1.13 The thousand-districts of the savage (C).
1.14 The commanders, horses, flags, etc. of the horns (C).
1.15 The «groups of men» of the tame (C).
1.16 The four kings satisfying all demands (C).
1.17 The three uncles and the councillor (C).
1.18 The three divisions of the heroes (C).
1.19 The seven chiefs (C).
1.2 [The second group of the istitutions: the thirty six institutions and others]
1.20 [A survey of Tibet's thirty six institutions (C)]:
1.201 «Further, the six great principles,

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of the 13th century, cf. Uray, Review of D. S. Ruegg's *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX (1967), p. 384). The opinion that the catalogue surveying the six institutions extends only to the closing formula and the two sentences which precede it, cannot be upheld owing to the inaccordance of numbers. But the solution is quite obvious, as the beginning of the catalogue is unambiguously marked by the adverb *thog-mar* «at first», and from the *thog-mar* as far as the summarizing closing formula, the text falls into six separate parts or sentences and each sentence speaks of a single category of basic institutions of the state organization. This seems to be in perfect accordance with the designation «six institutions».

Besides, a mention should be made here of the expression *žań-gsum-blon-bži* occurring twice in the *Blon-po-bka'i thań-yig* (*Bk. Dg. ča*:7a.2 = *QGTB*:347.29, *YD*:235.7; *Bk. Dg. ča*:39a.3), which has already been connected with the catalogue of the six institutions by R. A. Stein (*TAMST*, p. 14, n. 36). The expression is generally interpreted as «the three *žań* and the four *blon*» (Hoffmann, *QGTB*:248.17; R.-A. Stein, *TAMST*:11.25—26 and *CT*:104.7—8), but even the idea has come up «qu'on doive retrouver le nombre douze en multipliant les trois 'oncles maternels' par les quatre 'ministres'» (*TAMST* :14.4—6 and n. 36). But only E. Haarh's translation «the three *Žań*, four with the *bLon*» (*YD*:235.7, cf. also: :280.12) can be accepted, as the *žań-gsum-blon-bži* is obviously a shortened, compound variant of the fuller phrase *žań gsum blon-dań bži* preserved in the catalogue of the uncles and the councillor.

1.202 «the six insignia of rank,
1.203 «the six seals,
1.204 «the six qualities,
1.205 «the six symbols of the heroes,
1.206 «and the six codes in addition
1.20*z* «— (these are) the so-called thirty six institutions of Tibet».
1.21 The six great principles (C).
1.22 The insignia of rank (C).
1.23 The six seals (C).
1.24 The six qualities (C).
1.25 The six symbols of the heroes (C).
1.26 The nine major councillors (C).
1.*z* — «These constitute the first of the six codes, entitled *Khri-rce-'bum-bžer*».
2. The second code (L).
3. The third code (L), and within its scope
3.9 various other laws, among them the «sixteen pure great human moral rules and particularly the law forbidding the ten sins (L).
4. The fourth code (L).
5. The fifth code (L).
6. The sixth code (L).

4. This survey makes evident that 14 catalogues, i.e. the majority of the catalogues in the *Section on Law and State* originate from an earlier double cycle of catalogues having a closed structure. This cycle which might have presented the six and thirty-six institutions can be reconstructed as follows:

I. The six institutions of Tibet

A) Introductory survey (in the present structure 0.2)
B) Specification:
1. The boundaries of the horns (1.11)
2. The shares of power of the countries (1.12)
3. The thousand-districts of the savage (1.13)
4. The «groups of men» of the tame (1.15)
5. The three uncles and the councillor (1.17)
6. The three divisions of the heroes (1.18)

II. The thirty six institutions of Tibet

A) Introductory survey (1.20)
B) Specification:
1. The six great principles (1.21)

2. The insignia of rank (1.22)
3. The six seals (1.23)
4. The six qualities (1.24)
5. The six symbols of the heroes (1.25)
6. The six codes (0.3)

The catalogues of the commanders, horses, flags, etc. of the horns (1.14), and those of the four kings satisfying all demands (1.16), the seven chiefs (1.19), and the nine major councillors (1.26) obviously did not belong to the cycle of catalogues on the six and thirty six institutions. As the former four catalogues treat different ranks, it is possible, though cannot be proved, that they have their origin — entirely or partly — in another cycle of catalogues.

Among the excerpts and texts of law at the end of the *Section*, the different laws mentioned and enumerated within the scope of the excerpt of the third code (3.9) are evidently later interpolations. (For «the law of the sixteen pure great human moral rules and particularly the law forbidding the ten sins» see below pp. 50—59, §§ 22—24, esp. § 24).

The excerpts of the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth code (2.—6.) make up an organically coherent unit, only their relation to the double cycle of catalogues and the original form of the excerpt of the first code is not quite clear. It is presumed that originally the double cycle was the excerpt of the first law — as is noticeable in the present structure — but it may equally well be imagined that originally the survey of the laws was part of the last catalogue of the double cycle, that of the list of the six codes.

It can easily be recognized that the introduction of the whole *Section* and that of the excerpt of the first law (0. and 1.0) essentially constitute a single coherent and closed narrative of the establishment of Tibet's first laws and state organization (in the following: *Narrative of Legislation and Organization)*. But the continuity of the narrative was broken by the fact that single catalogues of the double cycle were interpolated into the narrative, and the context was adjusted to the interpolated catalogue. Thus it is evident that the *Survey of The Six Institutions* (0.2) and the *List of the Six Codes* (0.3) were inserted only by later redactors between the passage on legislation (0.1) and the passage on appointments (1.01). Consequently, the reference to the first code at the beginning of the passage treating the appointment of the administrative chiefs (1.01) and number «six» of the codes at the end of the passage on legislation (0.1) were embedded in the text of the narrative owing to the insertion of the catalogues. As the sentence referring to the laws as numbering six, and the *Survey of the Six Institutions* can be found in a passage in verse written with normal letters, it is evident that the transfer of the catalogues and the modifications resulting from this removal must be entirely attributed to the redaction of *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba.*

So the original structure of the *Narrative* can be reconstructed as follows: *A)* the king decides to grant laws to the country, informs his subjects about the decision and composes a great code (at present: 0.1); *B)* then the king appoints five administrative chiefs and settles their residences (1.01); *C)* at last *Mgar* arranges the administration of Tibet with the help of *Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rje* and *Mčhims Maṅ-bžer Ňan-pa* (1.02).

5. On the basis of the structural analysis the following direct antecedents of the section can be established which are wholly or partly independent of one another: *a)* the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*; *b)* the double cycle of catalogues on Tibet's six and thirty six institutions, and excerpt from the six codes; *c)* four catalogues mainly about different ranks; *d)* laws which originally did not belong to the six codes: the law of the sixteen great human moral norms and that forbidding the ten sins, etc.

In the following I shall deal practically only with the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*, as passages corresponding with the *Royal Annals* can be found in this section, and I should like to treat the catalogues and excerpts of law in further works.

II. The Narrative of Legislation and Organization and the accounts of the years 654 and 655 of the Royal Annals

6. The text of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization (Dp. ǰa X*:18b.1—19a.6 ~ *R*:25b.2—26b.4) will be given without either the interpolations mentioned above (§ 4, p. 22), or the passage speaking of the appointment of administrative chiefs and their residences which will be treated separately (see below chapter III, pp. 32—46). Passages and persons of the Royal Annals from the years 654 and 655 will be designated by °. . .°, while expressions and person-names to be treated in § 7 will be designated by *. . .*.

(*X*:18b.1[4]) *de-nas rgyal*[5]*-pos Bod-'baṅs kun bsdus-te*| |
lugs-gñis-bka'-khrims čhen-po bča'-bar bžed| |[6]

rgyal[7]*-pos lo bžir mchams mjad-nas yi-ge-la sogs-pa'i rig-gnas sbyaṅs-pas 'baṅs-rnams na-re* (.2) *rgyal*[8]*-po lo bžir pho-braṅ*[9]*-nas phyir mi 'byon-pa glen-pa čig*[10] *yod-par 'dug* | *Bod bde-ba blon-po-rnams*[11]*-kyis byas zer-ba gsan-pas ṅa-la glen-par brci-na Bod mi thul dgoṅs-ste 'baṅs-rnams bsags-nas ṅa 'pho-bskyas*[12] *ma*

[4] Within the text I shall give the page and line number of only the xylograph (*X*).
[5] *R*: *(rg)yal*.
[6] From here on in small letters both in *X* and R.
[7] *R*: *(rg)yal*.

byas-par pho-braṅ[13] *gčig-na 'dug-na 'baṅs-rnams bde-ba* (.3) *yin-ste rgyal*[14]*-po glen-par 'dug | rgyal*[15]*-khams bde-ba blon-pos byas zer-bar 'dug-pa de ma yin |*[16] *blon-po ṅas bsgo-ba yin |*[17] *da ni ṅas*[18] *rgyal*[19]*-khrims čhen-po bča' dgos| sṅon yaṅ khrims med-pas rgyal-phran-rnams*[20] *so-sor 'khyar-ba yin| da-duṅ khrims med-na ñes*[21]*-byed dar*[22]*-žiṅ ṅa'i* (.4) *'baṅs-rnams sdug-sṅal*[23]*-bar 'gyur-bas khrims bča'-bar bya'o gsuṅ*[24]*-nas bčas*[25] *skad |*[26]

°*bka'-yi khrims-yig*° *čhen-po*[27] *rnam-drug mjad| |*
. . . . . .[28]

· . . (:19a.1) . . . °*Mgar* (*Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ*)*-gyis*° *Bod-kyi* °*khod*° *bča'-ba'i phyir rde-'u*[29]*-daṅ šiṅ-bu gcigs-su gsol-ste* **byaṅ-bu** *mjo-* (.2) *khal drug ldaṅ-bar bris-pas* **byaṅ**-*khram ma thebs-par 'khrugs*[30]*-nas 'Phan-yul-***Dar-rgyal**[31]*-na byis-pa* **Maṅ-po-rje** *bya-ba 'phrul*[32] *čhe-bar thos-nas blon-po bžis chol-du phyin-pas ne-siṅ čhen-po gčig-gi mthar byis-pa-daṅ phrad | na 'di'i gžuṅ gčod-tam mtha' bskor* (.3) *dris-pas dal-na gžuṅ čhod riṅs*[33]*-na mtha' bskor*[34] *zer | blon-po bžis gžuṅ bčad-pas 'dam-du chud-nas yun-riṅ 'gor | byis-pa de-la pha-ma gar soṅ*[35] *dris-pas pha gtam chol-du soṅ ma mig chol-du soṅ zer| dar čig-na phas*[36]

[8] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[9] *R*: *pho(b)r(a)ṅ.*
[10] *R*: *gčig.*
[11] *R*: *rnaṁs*
[12] *R*: *bskyes.*
[13] *R*: *groṅ* (recte: *pho(b)r(a)ṅ*).
[14] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[15] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[16–17] Missing in *R*.
[18] *R*: *ṅag.*
[19] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[20] *R*: *(rg)yal-gran-rnaṁs.*
[21] *R*: *ñal.*
[22] *R*: *daṅ.*
[23] *R*: *bsṅal.*
[24] *R*: *gsuṅs.*
[25] *R*: *bčal.*
[26] From here in normal letters in *X*, but *R* continues to use smaller letters.
[27] *R*: *mo.*
[28] From here in smaller letters again in *X*, too.
[29] *R*: *rdi'u.*
[30] *R*: *'khrug.*
[31] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[32] *R*: *'khrul.*
[33] *R*: *riṅ.*
[34] *R*: *skor.*
[35] *R*: *seṅ.*

čhaṅ khyer mas me khyer byuṅ (.4) *skad| byis-pa de khrid-nas °khod šom°*[37] *bčug-pas kyaṅ ma °šoms°*[38]*| *Dar-rgyal*[39] *Maṅ-po-rǰes Mčhims Maṅ-bžer*[40] *Ñan-pa* bya-ba mjaṅs-par thos-nas blo rku-ba'i phyir ri-la čhaṅ sbas| ša-skam chva-čhu byugs*[41]*-pa khyer-nas *Mčhims* lug-rji'i*[42] *res byed-pa'i phyi-na*[43] (.5) *yar phyin-ste Bod-kyi °khod° *Dar-rgyal*[44] *Maṅ-po-rǰes* °bšom°*[45] *skad-na °šoms°*[46]*-sam byas-pas rcom*[47]*-pa des mi °šoms°*[48]*| ṅa min-pa °šoms°*[49]*-pa med-ste ṅa mi °šom°*[50] *zer| ša-skam byin-pas kha skom*[51]*-ste da-lta skom ster-ba byuṅ-na či zer ñan-par byas-nas čhaṅ-gis*[52] *gzir bčug-* (.6) *nas dris*[53]*-pas ru-mchams 'byed-pa| yul bgod-pa | °rgod-g-yuṅ°-gi sde °'byed°-pa-sogs žib-par smras-nas kho gñid-tu*[54] *btaṅ-nas bros-ste kho zer-ba bžin °Mgar°-daṅ *Dar-rgyal*°*[55]*-°gyis bšams° skad |*

«(:18b.1) Then having gathered all the Tibetan subjects, the king determined to compose the great law of the two (legal) systems.[56]

[36] *R*: *phal.*
[37] *R*: *šog.*
[38] *R*: *šog.*
[39] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[40] *R*: *Mčhim Dmaṅ-bžer.*
[41] *R*: *byug.*
[42] *R*: *Mčhim lug-rje'i.*
[43] *R*: *phyin.*
[44] *R*: *(rg)yal.*
[45] *R*: *bšog.*
[46] *R*: *šogs.*
[47] *R*: *rcon.*
[48] *R*: *šog.*
[49] *R*: *šogs.*
[50] *R*: *šog.*
[51] *R*: *rkom.*
[52] *R*: *gi.*
[53] *R*: *bris.*
[54] *R*: *du.*
[55] *R*: *(rg)yal.*

[56] *Lugs-gñis* (∼Mong. *qoyar yosun*) «the two (legal) systems» or *khrims-gñis* (∼Mong. *qoyar ǰasaγ*) «the two laws» means a political system created in Tibet by *Qubilai*'s and *'Phags-pa*'s concordat of 1260. This system was based on the equal value of ecclesiastical and monarchic rules; cf. L. S. Pučkovskij, *Mongoljskaja feodaljnaja istoriografija XIII—XVII vv.* : *Učenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija AN SSSR* VI (1953), p. 155; P. Ratchnevsky, *Die mongolischen Großkhane und die buddhistische Kirche* : *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig 1954, p. 493 and n. 37; D. S. Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che* : *SOR* XXXIV, Roma 1966, p. 6, n.; N. C. Sinha, *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity*, Calcutta 1969, pp. 57—74, esp. p. 66 and pp. 72—74, n. 24—26. *Lugs-gñis* must have been interpolated into the *Narrative* by *Dpa'-bo*, as this word occurs only in the introductory summary in verse of the *Narrative*.

After withdrawing (literally: drawing a line round himself) for four years and studying writing and other sciences, the king kept hearing his subjects say: (.2) 'The king who has not come out of the palace for four years, has become insane, and Tibet will be happy through the councillors'. 'If I am considered insane, I shall not convert Tibet' — he thought, and gathered his subjects. 'When I was staying in one of my palaces without changing my place, the subjects were happy. (.3) It is said that the king has become insane and the kingdom is happy through the councillors, (but) it is not so. The councillors are instructed by me. Now, I have to compose the great royal laws. Previously, there were no laws, and the petty kings erred separately. If there were no law now, sin would spread, and my (.4) subjects would suffer. Therefore I shall compose laws' — he said, and composed them. (So it is) said.

He made six great °law-books°.

. . . . . .

(:19a.1) °*Mgar* (*Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ*)° has obtained small stones and wooden plates for the documents in order to create the °administration° of Tibet. When the *tablets* of six *mjo* loads (.2) were all written, but the incisions of the *tablets* were not yet carved, there was confusion. As they had heard of a child called **Maṅ-po-rǰe** in **Dar-rgyal* of *'Phan-yul* who had great magic power, four councillors set out in search of him. At the edge of a great alpine meadow they met a child. 'Shall we take a short cut across the middle of this meadow or shall we walk round its edge?' — (.3) they asked. 'If (you want to go) slowly, take a short cut across the middle of it, if (you want to go) for a long time, walk round the edge' — he answered. The four councillors took a short cut across the middle, they got into a bog, and tarried for a long time. 'Where have your father and mother gone?' — they asked the boy. 'My father has gone to fetch speech, my mother has gone to fetch eyes' — he answered. His father soon appeared bringing beer, and his mother bringing fire. (.4) Thus it is said. They took the child with them and began to °arrange the administration°, but they did not °arrange° it. As **Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rǰe** has heard that there was a wise (man) called **Mčhims Maṅ-bžer Nan-pa**, he has hidden beer on a mountain, and brought dried meat, salty water and tallow (there), in order to steel his thoughts. **Mčhims* has gone up when the shepherds were changing (pasture). (.5) 'People say that **Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rǰe** °arranges the administration° of Tibet. Does he °arrange° it?' — they said (to him). 'By starting it he does not °arrange° it (yet)'. Without me there is no °arrangement°, and I do not °arrange° it' — he answered. Having been given dried meat, his mouth got dry. Now they watched him for what he would speak, when the awakened thirst came. After he had been made drunk with beer, (.6) he was interrogated, and then he narrated in detail the drawing of

the boundaries of the horns, the settlement of the countries, the °division° of the groups of °the savage and the tame° etc. When they left him a sleep, he escaped. °*Mgar*° and **Dar-rgyal** °arranged° (everything) according to what he had narrated. It is said so.»

The correspondent passages of the *Royal Annals* in the accounts of the years 654—655 (*Ann.* I:.27—30 = *DTH*:13.23—29) are as follows:

(.27) *ć*|:|*stagǐ lo-la bab-ste*| . . . |*blon-čhe* °(*Mgar*) *Stoṅ-rcan* (*Yul-zuṅ*)-*gyis*°|*Moṅ-pu-Sral-'joṅ*[57]*-du'* (.28) *bsduste*|°*rgod-g-yuṅ dbye*°-*žiṅ*[58]|°*mkho-šam*° (= *mkhos-šam*[58a]) *čhen-pho bgyǐ-ba'ǐ rcis-mgo bgyǐ-bar lo gčhǐg*|

(.29) *ć*|:|*yos-bu-'ǐ*[59] *lo-la bab-ste'*||[60] . . .|*blon-čhe Stoṅ-rcan-gyǐs*|*'Gor-tǐr* | |°*bka'*| (.30) *-grǐms-gyǐ yi-ge*° *brǐs-phar lo gčhig*|

«Arriving at the year of Tiger (654) . . . (The assembly) having been assembled by great councillor °(*Mgar*) *Stoṅ-rcan* (*Yul-zuṅ*)° in *Sral-'joṅ* of *Moṅ-pu*, the head (i.e. the preparatory stage) of the census for performing the °division of the savage and the tame°, and (for performing) the great °administrative arrangement° was made. So one year (passed).

Arriving at the year of Hare (655) . . . The °law-book° was written by great councillor *Stoṅ-rcan* in *'Gor-tǐ*. So one year (passed).»

7. The terms and personal names of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* designated by *. . .* have parallels in other passages of the *Royal Annals* and the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* itself, and in the catalogue of councillors of the *Blon-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig*.

The material background of the terms *byaṅ-bu* «tablet» and *byaṅ-khram* «the notches of the tables» are clarified by the account of the year 743 in the *Royal Annals* which has fortunately come down to us in both versions. The texts of the account concerning the tablets are the following in the two vertions: *dbyar-'dun Breṅ-du bsduste*[61]|*pha-los-gyǐ* **byaṅ-bu** *bor*|*dgun . . .* | *Skyǐ-Rnamsu rgod-g-yuṅ-gyǐ pha-los čen-po bkug* (*Ann. I*:.293—295 = *DTH* :26.18—20) «The summer assembly having been assembled in *Breṅ*, *the tablets* of the *pha-los* were laid down. In winter . . . The great *pha-los* of the savage and the tame was convoked in *Rnams* of *Skyǐ*[62]» ~ . . .] *bsduste*|*Bod-*

[57] *DTH*: *mjoṅ*.

[58] *DTH*: *šiṅ*.

[58a] For the ellipsis of *-s* in Old Tibetan see J. Terjék, *Fragments of the Tibetan Sutra of «The Wise and the Fool» from Tun-huang* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969) and reprint in the *Budapest Oriental Studies* 3 (1970), pp. 293—294 and p. 311, n. 21—23. Among his examples we must draw attention especially to those where *-s* has elided in a position before *š-*: *žu-šig* in the Tun-huang fragment ~ *žus-šig* in the canonical editions of the *'Jaṅs-blun* (*FPT 943*:23b = ed. Terjék, *op. cit.*:325.9 and n. 350; cf. also p. 311, n. 22).

[59] *DTH*: *bu'i*.

[60] *DTH*: only one *šad*.

[61] *DTH*: *bžuste*.

yul-gy⌜i⌝ pha-los-gy⌜i⌝ mg⌜o⌝ mjad|...|dgun-'dun bl[o]n-č[e] Čuṅ-bzaṅ-gy[i]s Rnam-su bsduste|pha-los bgyis-par lo čïg (*Ann. II, 1*:.1—2 = *DTH* :55.2—5) «...] having been assembled, the head (i.e. preparatory stage) of Tibet's *pha-los* was made, ... The winter assembly having been assembled by great councillor *Čuṅ-bzaṅ* in *Rnams*[63], the *pha-los* was performed. So one year (passed)». So the *pha-los* census[64] — and obviously other censuses too —

[62–63] *Skyï-Rnams* which is also mentioned in the *Royal Annals* as the scene of the winter assembly of 711 (*Ann. I*:.181 = *DTH*:20.32), can by no means be interpreted as «les gens de Skyi», or «the *Skyi* people» (Bacot, *DTH*:43.4; Róna-Tas, Review of *AFL*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), p. 324). According to the correspondence *Skyï-Rnams* ~ *Rnams* in the two versions of the account of 743, we certainly have to do with a compound place-name where the facultative first component denotes the broader surroundings of the place in question. Consequently *Skyï-Rnams* ~ *Rnams* is a place in *Skyi* (already correctly in Petech, *GAT*, p. 242). As *Skyi* is identical with the valley of *Skyï/Skyid-čhu*, i.e. the environs of Lhasa (Róna-Tas, Review of *AFL*, pp. 321—325; Uray, *FHT*, p. 32, n. 4; Petech, *loc. cit.*; I should like to return to this question in another of my works now in preparation), the *Skyï-Rnams* ~ *Rnams* of the royal period can justly be identified with the valley *Rnams* (*MkhyDS T* = *MGHP*, p. 29, n. 9) ~ *Snam* (*Sd*:26a = *MGHP* :29.16—18, tsl. :72.3—6) of *Mkhyen-brce*'s itinerary, and the settlement «Nam» ~ 納木 *Na-mu* of the maps lying on the right bank of *Skyid-čhu*, about 40 km SW of Lhasa, 29°27′ N. Lat., 90°54′ E. Long. (Ferrari—Petech, *MGHP*, p. 165, n. 666—667; *ARC* II, map A 7/2).

[64] The term *pha-los* has been interpreted in several ways. Referring to rather obscure phonetic analogies, Thomas has explained it as a variant of *pha(r)-logs* «the other side, opposite side» (*TLTD* III:22.11 and vocabulary, p. 154b; *DTH*:67.2—5), and translated it as «revolted, disaffection» (*TLTD* II:6.35, *DTH*:62.3, .6). In some instances Bacot, like Thomas, translates it as «les révoltés», «de mutins», «les dissidents» (*DTH* :33.23, :43.4—5, :45.10), but in some other cases he does not give its translation and considers its meaning unknown (:50.3, :51.25—26 and n. 8). Tucci suggests the interpretation «census» (*PRN*, p. 86, n. 1), which was also accepted by Stein (*DNHAT*, p. 328).

Beside the above-quoted sentences of the two versions of the 743 account, the term *pha-los* crops up in the following places: *'dun-ma Duṅs-gyï Stag-cal-du bsduste|mun-magï rkaṅ-ton bgyïs|pha-los bkug-par lo gčig* (673 winter, *Ann. I*:.58—59 = *DTH*:15.10—11) «the assembly having been assembled in *Stag-cal* of *Duṅs*, the *rkaṅ-ton* of the *mun-mag* was performed; the *pha-los* was convoked. So one year (passed)»; — *Skyï-Rnamsu 'bon Da-rgyal Bcan-zuṅ-daṅ|blon {blon} čhen-pho Khrï-gzigs-gyïs bsduste|pha-los maṅ-pho bkug* (711 winter, *Ann. I*:181—182 = *DTH*:20.32—34) «(the assembly) having been assembled by the nephew *Da-rgyal Bcan-zuṅ* and the great councillor *Khrï-gzigs* in *Rnams* of *Skyï*, a *pha-los* of great numbers was convoked»; — *dgun-'dun* (*DTH*: *'duṅ*) *Chaṅ-baṅ-snar žaṅ Bcan-to-re-daṅ|blon Khrï-sum-rje bsduste|Žaṅ-žuṅ-daṅ Mard-kyï pha-los bkug* (719 winter, *Ann. I*:.212—213 = *DTH*:22.11—13) «the winter assembly having been assembled in *Chaṅ-baṅ-sna* by the uncle *Bcan-to-re* and the councillor *Khrï-sum-rje*, the *pha-los* of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* and *Mard* was convoked»; — *'A-ža'ï pha-los bgyïs* (734 winter, *Ann.* I:.269—270 = *DTH*:25.13, *TLTD* II:6.34) «the *pha-los* of the *'A-ža*s was performed». — The term *pha-los* also occurs in an unpublished Tunhuang document (*FPT 1093*:.13), but unfortunately the text is fragmentary to such an extent that this occurrence cannot be considered when interpreting the term.

were arranged in two turns. In the first assembly «the head of the *pha-los* was made», which meant that the tablets for the census were preliminarily laid down. Then at the next assembly they came to the performing of the *pha-los* itself, and to the cutting of notches in the tablets (otherwise for *khram* «notch, tally» see A. Róna-Tas, *Tally-stick and Divination-dice in the Iconography of Lha-mo*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VI (1956), pp. 163—170).

We can find data concerning *Dar-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe*, a protagonist of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* in the accounts of the years 653 and 659 in the *Royal Annals*. In 653 **Da-rgyal Mań-po-rǰes** *žiń-gyǐ phyiń-ril bgyǐs* (*Ann. I*:.24 = *DTH*:13.18—19) «the *phyiń-ril* of the fields was performed by **Da-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe***». In 659 *blon-če Stoń-rcan 'A-ža-yul-na mčhǐste*[65] **Da-rgyal Mań-po-rǰes*|*Mcho-nag Stoń-rur*|*Rgya Se'u Den-pań-dań*|*nol-thabs bgyǐste*|**Da-rgyal** *gyań gum-žiń*[66] *brgyad-khrǐ stoń-la rdugs-phar lo gčig* (*Ann. I*:.36—38 = *DTH*:14.10—13). «Great councillor *Stoń-rcan* has stayed in the *'A-ža* country. At *Mcho-nag Stoń-ru*[67] a battle

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On the basis of the evidence of the occurrences we can establish the following: The passages are obviously about large-scale registrations, moreover it also appears from the regular use of the predicate *bkug* «was convoked», and the constant winter term of the arrangement that the registrations took place in the presence of the participants themselves. But the texts are too homogeneous to enable us to clarify the exact meaning of the term *pha-los* itself. Besides «census» and «recensement» proposed by Tucci and Stein resp., we may also consider «survey», moreover on the basis of an analysis according to the components a more specialized meaning should also be born in mind: «certification, verification of the fathers» (*los* = *bden-pa* «true»; *los yin* = *ńes-par yin* «to be certain, true, sure, firm»; Čhos-kyi grags-pa, *Brda-dag miń-chig gsal-ba* [2nd ed.], Pe-čin [= Peking] 1957, p. 871b) → «registration or review of the heads of the families».

[65] *DTH*: *mčhi ste*.

[66] *DTH*: *šiń*.

[67] Bacot's interpretation, *DTH*:32.1 is «à *Stoń-ru* du Lac Noir», similarly Petech *GAT*:258.19: «a sToń-ru del mTs'o-nag», but on the basis of the meanings of the components it is more probable that the *Stoń-ru* is an attribute of *Mcho-nag*, and they form a single geographical name: «Black Lake of Thousand Horns (i.e. bays)». It can hardly be identified, as in the main field of operations in the 650—670 Tibeto-Chinese fights, in the north-eastern parts of the present province Ch'ing-hai, there are at least two stagnant waters called by the Mongol inhabitants *Qara nayur* «Black lake»: «Hara Nor»/«Hara Nuur» ~ Chinese 哈拉湖 *Ha-la hu* NW of lake Kukunor, between 38°13′ and 22′ N. Lat. and 97°30′ and 52′ E. Long. (*ARC* II, map A 1, □ J 3; III, map D 35, □ E1; *IMW* NJ 47); «Kara Nor»/«Qara Nor» ~ Chinese *Ha-la hu* S-SW of lake Kukunor, between 99°24′ and 31′ E. Long., and 35°2′ and 7′ N. Lat. (*ARC* III, map D 35, □ F 3; *IMW* NI 47; evidently this lake is registered in the chapter on the hydronyms of Kukunor province in Ch'ien-lung's hexaglot geographical dictionary: Manchu *Xara nuur* ~ Chinese 哈喇淖爾 *Ha-la nao-ɛrh* ~ Mongolian *Qar-a nayur* ~ Tibetan *Ha-ra no'ur* ~ Oirat *Xara nour* ~ Turki *Xara nur*; cf. *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih*, 2nd redaction, Tōyō Bunko xylograph, XVI:25a—b = ed. K. Enoki (Tokyo 1962—1964), facs. II, pp. 997—998, transcription III*B*, p. 265, no. 2203).

was fought[68] by **Da-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe** with the Chinese *Se'u Den-pań*,[69] even (or: although?) the **Da-rgyal** died, and (or: but?) the eighty thousand (people) were defeated (and reduced) to one thousand.[70] So one year (passed)». It can be established from other evid ence that *Da-rgyal/Dar-rgyal* was a title, namely that of the king of the vassal state *Dags-po* (Uray, *LFTR*, pp. 206—207).

Data concerning *Mčhims Mań-bžer Nan-pa*, another person in the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* are preserved only in sources of a later date. In the short section on *Mań-sroń* (i.e. *Khri Mań-slon Mań-rcan*) in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* we can read as follows: *bcun-mo 'Bro-bza' Khri-⟨ma-⟩lod*[71] *khab-tu bžes | Mgar Stoń-bcan Yul-sruń-dań Mčhims Mań-gñer-gyis blon-po byas* (*Dp. ǰa X*:69.b6 ~ *R*:95b.3—4) «queen *Khri-⟨ma-⟩lod*, the *'Bro* lady, was taken into the house (of the king as wife); the councillors were *Mgar Stoń-bcan Yul-sruń* and *Mčhims Mań-gñer*». This passage, though it can be found in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, obviously preserves a tradition entirely independ-

[68] Bacot, *DTH*:32.1 translates *nol-thabs bgyiste* as «traita», while Tucci, *VTHT* :319.23 interprets it as «fought», Petech, *GAT*:258.18—19 as «fece battaglia». The translation «traita» would not be impossible if regarded in itself (cf. *nol* «to agree, to come to terms», Jäschke, *Dict.*[3], p. 308a), but the compound *nol-thabs* also occurs in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* undoubtedly with the meaning «battle, combat» — as it is acknowledged even by Bacot: *dmag-phon 'Bro Ram-šags | |bka' scal-nas|brag-rcer nol-thabs bkye-ba-'i* (*DTH*: *ba'i*) *che | |'J̌ań mań-po bkum-nas* (*Chr.*:.393—394 = *DTH*:115.21—22) «Ram-śags, de 'Bro, fut désigné comme général. Lors d'un combat en haut d'un rocher, il tua beaucoup de Śańs [recte: 'J̌ań]» (*DTH*:154.23—24). So there is no doubt that, as Tucci and Petech also suggest, *nol-thabs* in the account of the year 659 must be translated as «battle», as the following sentences speak of military losses. The only problem is how to explain the first part of the compound linguistically. According to Bacot, *DTH*, p. 154, n. 9 in the quoted part of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, *nol* evidently stands for *snol*. A similar interpretation of *nol-thabs* of the *Royal Annals* is given by Tucci, *loc. cit.* and Petech, *GAT*, p. 258, n. 3. I do not think this explanation is too convincing, because forms without the prefix *s-* occur in both sources, and according to my observations the prefix *s-* is never omitted in the MSS of either the *Chronicle* or the *Annals*. In my opinion, the first component of *nol-thabs* is the unprefixed intransitive verb *nol* meaning not only «to agree, to come to terms» (Jäschke, *Dict.*[3], p. 308a), but also «to stand at war, to struggle», similar to the prefixed transitive derivative *snol* which means both «to unite, join, put together» and «to wrestle, scuffle, fight» (*op. cit.*, p. 320b).

[69] Pelliot (*DTH*, p. 32, n. 2) has the view that we are perhaps dealing with Su Ting-fang (A. D. 593—667) in charge of Tibetan affairs, but this identification — as Petech has pointed out — involves considerable difficulties (*GAT*, pp. 258—260).

[70] Bacot, *DTH*, p. 32, n. 3, thinks that the defeat of the *'A-žas* is mentioned here, but this interpretation automatically becomes invalid if we accept the corrected interpretation of *nol-thabs* treated above n. 68. According to Tucci, *VTHT*:319.24, and Petech, *GAT*:258.20, the sentence is about the defeat of the Chinese, but the text can also refer to the Tibetan army. — It must be mentioned that in Tucci's oponion (*VTHT*, p. 319; *TTK*, p. 28 and p. 80, n. 61) a passage of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loń* (*RgyGsM Sd* :95b.3—4 ~ *K*:187.13—17; tsl. Tucci, *TTK*:25.12—17) also speaks of the battle in 659.

[71] *XC* and *R*: *loń*.

ent of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*. Its authenticity is beyond doubt, as queen *'Bro'-za Khri-/Khrĭ-ma-lod Khrĭ-steń* is well-known as *Mań-slon Mań-rcan*'s wife, and later in 700—712, during their son's and grandson's reign, as the regent of Tibet from the so-called *Tun-huang Genealogy* and the *Royal Annals* (*Gen.*:64—65 = *DTH*:82.26—27, tsl.:88.23—24; *Ann. I*:.134—191 = *DTH*:18.27—21.10, tsl. :39.16—43.24). Similarly the great councillorship of *Mgar Stoń-rcan Yul-zuń* under *Mań-slon* can be attested in the *Royal Annals* (see below § 10). Further data can be found in the catalogue of councillors, in the *Blon-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig* where among the councillors from the *Mčhims* clan a certain *Mar-bžer Ṅan-pa-po* is mentioned (*Bk. Dg. ča*:7b .5—6). The identity of *Mčhims Mań-bžer Ṅan-pa* ~ *Mčhims Mań-gñer* ~ ~ (*Mčhims*) *Mar-bžer Ṅan-pa-po* is evident because *ṅ* ~ *r*, *ž* ~ *ñ* are similar letters which are not infrequently confused. The difference of the prefixes *b* ~ *g* can be clearly explained by orthographic rules, and the pleonastic formant *-po* was added to the name for metrical reasons.

8. From the comparison of the texts (§ 6) and the analyzed data (§ 7) the following conclusions can be drawn:

a) Both the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* and the accounts of the years 654—655 in the *Royal Annals* speak of two important state acts. The one is the creation of certain code(s), the other is an administrative organization in which the inhabitants were divided into «savage» and «tame» people.

b) According to the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization Mgar* (*Stoń-bcan Yul-bzuń*) began the administrative organization alone by *byaṅ-bu . . . bris* «writing the tablets». Similarly, according to the account of 654 in the *Royal Annals* great councillor (*Mgar*) *Stoń-rcan* (*Yul-zuń*) led the assembly which did the «head», i.e. preparation of census for administrative arrangement. According to the evidence of the account of 743 in the *Royal Annals* this preparation meant that *byaṅ-bu bor* «tablets were laid down».

c) According to the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* beside *Mgar, Dar-rgyal Mań-po-rže* and *Mčhims Mań-bžer Ṅan-pa* played important roles in the final period of the arrangement. The account of the final period has unfortunately been omitted from the extant excerpt of the *Royal Annals*, but it can be proved partly on the basis of the excerpt of the *Royal Annals*, partly on the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* and *Blon-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig* that *Da-rgyal Mań-po-rže* was an outstanding figure about the years of the administrative arrangement (653—659), while *Mčhims Mań-gñer* ~ (*Mčhims*) *Mar-bžer Ṅan-pa-po* was the councillor of king *Mań-sroń* (i.e. *Khri Mań-slon Mań-rcan*, 650—676) and partner in the councillorship of *Mgar Stoń-bcan Yul-sruń*.

d) A textual agreement can be observed between the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* and the account of the years 654—655 in the *Royal Annals*. This agreement is rather considerable if we regard the lengths of the accounts: *bka'-yi khrims-yig* ~ *bka'grĭms-gyĭ yi-ge*; *Mgar-gyis . . . khod bča', khod šom, khod . . . bšom, šoms, šom, Mgar . . .-gyis bšams* ~ *Stoṅ-rcan-gyis . . . mkho⟨s⟩-šam čhen-pho bgyĭ*; *rgod-g-yuṅ-gi sde 'byed* ~ *rgod-g-yuṅ dbye*.

e) It follows from what has been said so far that the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* goes back ultimately to a fuller form of the accounts of 654—655 in the *Royal Annals* than the present excerpts display. This means that it yields authentic, reliable data concerning the arrangement of administration which are otherwise unknown from the sources of the royal period that have come down to us.

f) But the authentic data are evidently reported in the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* within the scope of false chronology and false events: the administrative arrangement and legislation is shifted from the beginning of *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*'s reign into the period of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*; the order of succession of the administrative arrangement and legislation is inverted; the king himself is referred to as the creator of the laws; the legislation and the administrative arrangement is narrated in a fictitious story constructed of motifs from folk-tales[72]; *Maṅ-po-rŕje*, king of Dags-po who executed important administrative measures even before the administrative arrangement, is presented as an unknown child of miraculous fame while councillor *Mčhims Maṅ-bžer Ńan-pa* appears as a shepherd.

III. The List of the Administrative Chiefs in the Narrative of Legislation and Organization

9. Having examined the passages on the legislation and administrative arrangement I shall now turn to the central part of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* which contains the passage on the appointment of the administrative chiefs or — as it will be referred to in the following — the *List of the Administrative Chiefs* (*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.6—19a.1 ~ *R*:26a.3—4). Its text and translation is as follows:

(*X*:18b.6) *rgyal*[73]*-pos blon-po-* (.7) *rnams*[74] *so-sor bkas bsgos-te Bod-kyi khos-dpon Mgar Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ* | *Žaṅ-žuṅ-gi khos-dpon Khyuṅ-po Pun*[75]

[72] For the answers of the child *Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rŕje* cf. A. Aarne—S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, 2nd revision: *FF Communications* LXXV, No. 184, Helsinki 1961, types nr. 921, 921A, 921B etc.

[73] *R*: *(rg)yal.*

[74] *R*: *rnaṁs.*

[75] *R*: *bun.*

Zuṅ-ce | ⌜*S*⌝*um*[76]*-pa'i khos-dpon Hor.bya.žu.riṅ.po* |*čhibs-kyi khod-dp*⌜*o*⌝*n*[77] *Dbas*[78] *Bcan-bzaṅ Dpal-legs*| *Mthoṅ-kyhab-kyi khod*[79]*-dpon Čog-ro Rgyal*[80]*-mchan* (:19a.1) ∾| | *G-yaṅ-goṅ-rnams*[81] *bskos* | *Skyi-šod-Šo-ma*[82]*-ra*| *Khyuṅ-luṅ-Rṅul-mkhar* | *Nam*[83]*.ra.ža.don.gram.pa.chal* | *Ri-bo-G-ya'-dmar-rnams*[84]*-su bčas*[85] *skad*|

«Having given commands to the councillors one by one, the king has appointed *Mgar Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ* to the administrative chief of Tibet, *Khyuṅ-po Pun Zuṅ-ce* to the administrative chief of *Žaṅ-žuṅ*, *Hor.bya.žu.riṅ.po* to the administrative chief of the *Sum-pa*s, *Dbas Bcan-bzaṅ Dpal-legs* to the administrative chief of His Majesty's horses (i.e. the royal stud and/or postal-service), *Čog-ro Rgyal-mchan G-yaṅ-goṅ* to the administrative chief of the *Mthoṅ-khyab*s and transferred (them) to *Šo-ma-ra* in *Skyi-šod*, *Khyuṅ-luṅ-Rṅul-mkhar*, *Nam.ra.ža.don.gram.pa.chal*, *Ri-bo-G-ya'-dmar*. (So it is) said.»

10. Among the persons mentioned in the list, the administrative chief of Tibet is well-known from various sources, but something must be said about the chronology of his career. The form of his name in old orthography is *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*, with later orthography *Mgar*/*'Gar Stoṅ*/*Sroṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ*/*-bzuṅs*/*-sruṅ*/*-bsruṅ*, in Chinese transcription it reads as *Nieh* (corrupt: *Hsieh*, *Chu*) {*Lu*} *Tung-tsan* (Old Chinese *Ngi̯ät* {*Luk*} *Tung-tsan*), in brief *Lu Tung-tsan* (for the Chinese forms see R. A. Stein, *DNHAT*, pp. 330—333).

The earliest authentic mention of him is in connection with the marriage in 641 of king *Khri Sroṅ-rcan* (i.e. *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*) and the imperial princess Wêng-ch'êng (in Tibetan *Mun-čhaṅ koṅ-čo* < Old Chinese *Mi̯uen-źi̯äng kung-tśi̯u*) in the *Royal Annals* (*Ann. I*:.11—12 = *DTH*:13.2—3, tsl.:29.2—3)[86] and

[76] *XC* (retouch): *sum*; *R*: *sug*.
[77] *XC* (retouch) and *R*: *dpon*.
[78] *R*: *dbal*.
[79] *R*: *'khos*.
[80] *R*: *(rg)yal*.
[81] *R*: *G-yar-koṅ-rnaṁs*.
[82] *XC*: *šom*.
[83] *R*: *nag*.
[84] *R*: *rnaṁs*.
[85] *R*: *bčal*.
[86] A minor chronological problem must be raised, in connection with the account of this marriage in the *Royal Annals*. The account can be found in the introductory part of the *Annals* in which, before the first current record in 650, the events of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s reign were summed up from direct memory, and the date of single events were determined by the number of years that had passed since the preceding event. The chronology of the last three paragraphs of the introductory part is the following: 1. *Mun-čhaṅ*'s arrival, the death of the king of *Bal-po* and his successor's coming to the throne,

in the Chinese sources (*HAT*:4.30—36, :83.20—26; S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources*: *JRAS* n. s. XII (1880:444.30—36). According to the *Hsin T'ang-shu* he was already *ta-lun* at that time (Po-na ed., ccxvi B, p. 1510a, Miss Hilda Ecsedy's kind information; cf. *HAT*:83.22—23), which is partly a translation, partly a transcription of the Tibetan title *blon-*

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the great plague of yaks (*Ann. I*:.11—12 = *DTH*:13.2—4, tsl.:29.2—5); 2. three years later: the overthrow of *Lǐg Sña-šur* (*Ann. I*:.13—14 = *DTH*:13.5—6, tsl. :29.5—8); 3. six years later: *Khrǐ Sroṅ-rcan*'s death (*Ann. I*:.15—16 = *DTH*:13.7—8, tsl. :29.8—10); — then follows the first current record from the year of Dog (650 A.D. more exactly from Spring 650 till Spring 651): the place of *Khrǐ Sroṅ-rcan*'s catafalque and *Khrǐ Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*'s residence (*Ann.I*:.17—18 = *DTH*:13.9—11, tsl. :30.1—4). Regarding the given numbers as the number of «years passed» and drawing on the data of the Chinese sources, Richardson has set up the following absolute chronology: *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s death: the end of 649 A.D. or rather the beginning of 650; the revolt of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* (correctly: the overthrow of *Lǐg Sña-šur*): c. 644 A.D.; the arrival of the Chinese princess: 641 A.D. (*HOWS*, pp. 5—6). But in Tibet «current years» are in use, i.e. each calendar year, even if not full, is regarded as a complete year. Most probably this method of counting was also applied in the introductory part of the *Royal Annals*, as the meaning of the expressions *de-nas lo gsum-na* and *de-nas lo drug-na*' (*Ann. I*:.13, 15 = *DTH* :13.5, .7) is not quite «Alors trois années passèrent» and «Ensuite six années passèrent» (Bacot, *DTH*:29.5—6, .8), but rather «then in the third year» and «then in the sixth year». (The early Old-Tibetan language does not seem to have known ordinal numerals distinguished from the cardinal numerals by the suffix *-pa*, as in the Buddhist translations at the end of the 8th c. and at the beginning of the 9th c. Sanskrit ordinals were rendered by cardinals without suffixes, and the suffix *-pa* was inserted into the translations only in course of the Great Revision after 814: Skt. *dvitīyam* ~ unrevised *gñisu* ~ revised *gñis-pa*; Skt.*caturviṃśatimaḥ* ~ unrevised *ñi-šu-rca-bži'o* ~ revised *ñi-šu-rca-bži-pa'o*; unrevised *le'u-ste bču-gñis-so*; N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* I, Uppsala 1957:54.16, .22, :175.26, .36—37, :178.32 and commentaries :56.10—15, :176.7—9). Accordingly the chronology must be corrected as follows: *Khrǐ Sroṅ-rcan*'s death: 649 (649/650), *Lǐg Sña-šur*'s overthrow: 644 (644/645), *Mun-čhaṅ*'s arrival: 642 (642/643). But this chronology is not seemingly in accordance with the data of the Chinese sources, because according to the latter princess Wên-ch'êng set out for Tibet in March 641, as the imperial order which commanded Wang Tao-tsung, the head of the office of ceremonies to accompany the princess to the Tibetans, was issued on the day *ting-ch'ou* of the first month of the 15th year of Chêng-kuan, i.e. on the 2nd March 641; and according to the context the departure took place immediately after the issue of the order (Liu Hsü, *Chiu T'ang-shu*, Po-na ed., iii, p. 36*b*; Szŭ-ma Kuang, *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien*, ed. Peking 1956, vii, year 641 A.D.; Miss Hilda Ecsedy's kind information). Thus a difference of a whole year can be observed between the data of the *Royal Annals* and the Chinese sources. In judging this difference one must take into account that the data of the two different sources do not refer exactly to the same event. According to the Chinese sources the princess was received by the king at the Sino-Tibetan border, and the marriage ceremonies took place there too (*HAT*:4.40—5.3, :83.27—31). On the other hand, the *Royal Annals* report that *[b]caṅ-mo Mun-čhaṅ koṅ-* (*k⌜o⌝* crossed out) *-čo|Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ-gyǐs spyan draṅste Bod-yul-du gšegso* (*Ann. I*:.11—12 = *DTH*:13.2—3) «Led by *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* (so without

če/blon čhen-po «Great Councillor» (cf. *HAT*:1.31—32, :79.21—24)[87]. The great councillorship of *(Mgar) Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* at a slightly later date can be attested in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. He appears in the description of the celebration of the victory over the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king *Lïg Myi-rhya* (i.e. *Lïg Sña-šur*) in 644/645. Though he is referred to as a simple *blon* «councillor», his function is undoubtedly that of the councillor of the highest rank (*Chr.*:433—446 = *DTH*:117.15—118.7, tsl.:158.27—160.24)[88].

Concerning his further career we are informed in the *Catalogue of the Great Councillors* in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* that *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* was dismissed owing to his old age, but after his successor *'O-ma-lde Lod-bcan* had been executed short time afterwards with charge of disloyalty, *Stoṅ-rcan* returned to the rank of great councillor which held until his death (*Chr.*:.101—104 = *DTH*:101.35—38, tsl.:131.12—17). In the catalogue six years are given for the period of his second great councillorship (*lo drug bgyis | -nas*; *Chr.*:.103—104 = *DTH*:101.38, tsl. :131.17), which was rightly rejected as being false by Bogoslovskij, as in the *Royal Annals Stoṅ-rcan* appears as great councillor from 652 until his death in 663 (sic!) without a break (*Istoričeskie korni «Skazanija o ženitjbe tibetskogo carja Songcên-gampo na kitajskoj princesse Vênj-čên» KSINA* 85 (1964), p. 27). But the record of the *Catalogue of the Great Councillors* can easily be emended: *Stoṅ-rcan* is mentioned in the *Royal Annals* from 652 until 667 (and not 663), i.e. he appears in the accounts of sixteen years (*Ann. I*:.21—48 = *DTH*:13.15—14.31, tsl. :30.8—32.22). This means that the ex-

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the king!) imperial princess queen *Mun-čhaṅ* (so already after the marriage!) arrived at *Bod-yul* (Tibet proper, cf. Richardson, *HOWS*, p. 6)». Thus the difference of a year can derive from the fact that the queen had spent long time in the retinue of the king, in NE. But it can also derive from the fact that when the events of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s age were recorded in the *Royal Annals* at a later date from memory, the space of time between single events could be given only approximately. One can even imagine that while making the excerpt of the *Royal Annals* an account of a middle year was omitted.

[87] Similarly Miss Hilda Ecsedy has kindly informed me that in the passages on Wên-ch'êng's marriage in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* Lu Tung-tsan is supplied with the title *hsiang*, which was used in the T'ang period as an unofficial, archaizing title of the chief minister and ministers of higher rank. So Lu Tung-tsan is said to be an official of high rank in all the Chinese sources, but his office is given exactly only in the *Hsin T'ang-shu*.

[88] For the chronology of the 11th and 12th paragraph of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (= chap. VIII, para. 2—3 in Bacot's edition), i.e. the sections containing the antecedents of the campaign against *Lïg Myi-rhya*, the description of the triumphal feast and the royal eulogy, and furthermore the identification of *Lïg Myi-rhya* with *Lïg Sña-šur* see G. Uray, *Notes on a Chronological Problem in the Old Tibetan Chronicle* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXI (1968), pp. 289—299; Ariane Macdonald, *Conf. 1967/68* (1969), pp. 533—534; L. Petech, *La struttura del ms. Tib. Pelliot 1287* : *RSO* XLIII (1969), pp. 253—256 (all three of us have come to the same conclusions, except in single details, simultaneously and independently of one another).

pression *lo drug* «six years» of the catalogue must be considered as simple scribal error and emended to *lo* ⟨*bču-*⟩*drug* «six⟨teen⟩ years»[89].

Finally, we can summarize *Mgar Stoń-rcan Yul-zuń*'s career in chronological order as follows: in 641 he was already great councillor, later, at the end of *Khri Sroń-rcan*'s reign or perhaps immediately after the king's death he was dismissed, but after the fall of his successor he occupied his former office again in 652, and remained until his death in 667.

11. *Khyuń-po Pun Zuń-ce,* the name of the administrative chief of *Žańžuń* is evidently a corrupt form of the name of *Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ce* who was an outstanding figure in the age of the kings *Slon-bcan Rluń-nam* (alias *Gnam-ri Slon-mchan*) and *Khri Sroń-rcan,* conqueror of the northern parts of *Žań-žuń*. His doings are treated several times in the sources (*Chr.*:.93—101, .198—229, .307—327 = *DTH*:101.21—35, :106.19—107.35, :111.14—112.17, tsl. :130.24—131.11, :139.12—141.26, :147.25—149.6; *ChrFr.*:2 = *TLTD* II:53.6—35, tsl. :53.36—54.29; *FPT 1047*, as quoted by Mrs. A. Macdonald, *Conf. 1967/68*, p. 534), but I shall deal here only with those containing something remarkable from the biographical or chronological point of view.

The *Catalogue of the Great Councillors* in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* informs us that *Khyuń-po* was great councillor, and the sequence of the great councillors preceding and following him was the following: *Myań Mań-po-rǰe Žańsnań, Mgar Mań-žam Sum-snań, Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ce, Mgar Stoń-rcan Yul-zuń, 'O-ma-lde Lod-bcan* (*Chr.*:.83—102 = *DTH*:101.5—36, tsl. :130.8—131.14). The accusation and death of great councillor *Myań Mań-po-rǰe Žańsnań* must be put at the beginning of the thirties of the 7th century according to the introduction of the *Royal Annals*[90], while at the beginning of 641 *Mgar*

[89] Essentially the same is repeated in the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, but according to the counting of the «years passed»: *Mań-sroń Mań-bcan . . .*| *blon-po Mgar-gyis grogs byas-nas rgyal-srid lo bčo-lňar bskyaňs*| *de-nas blon-po Mgar* (*D*: *'Gar*) *'das* (*HD G*:9b.3—4 = *HTCN*:53.9—11 + p. 68, n. 150) «*Mań-sroń Mań-bcan . . .* Assisted by councillor *Mgar* he has practised the royal power for fifteen years, then councillor *Mgar* died» (the same text was incorporated in the *Deb-gter snoń-po*; see tsl. *BA I*:49.23—26). This passage can be found in the chapter on the Chinese dynasties and the Tibeto-Chinese relations. This chapter is based on Tibetan translations of Chinese sources (*Rgya nag-po'i yig-chań*; *HD G*:6a.4 = *HTCN*:46.2), but certain Tibetan traditions are also contained in it.

[90] Richardson (*HOWS*, pp. 6—7) puts the fall of *Myań Mań-po-rǰe Žań-snań* in c. 632/633. On the one hand, his date is based on the fact that after the second paragraph which speaks of the fall of the great councillor *Myań*, the 3rd paragraph narrates *Khri Sroń-rcan*'s northern campaign which can be dated at about 635/636 according to the Chinese sources. On the other hand, Richardson tries to support his datation by supposing that events are registered in the first five damaged paragraphs (*Ann. I*:.1—12 = *FT* :34.27—35.5 + *DTH*:13.2—4; reconstruction: *FT*:36.1—16, tsl.: *FT*:38.13—26 + *DTH* :29.2—5) in intervals of three and six years similar to the last two undamaged paragraphs

Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ was already the great councillor according to the *Hsin T'ang-shu*. Consequently, the great councillorship of *Mgar Maṅ-žam Sum-snaṅ* can be placed in the middle of the 630's, and that of *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* at the end of this decade, at the latest in 640.

In the *Biography of Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce*, — a complete version of which has come down to us in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (*Chr.*:.198—203 + .315—327 = *DTH*:106.19—28 + :111.26—112.17, tsl. :139.12—20 + :148.8—149.6), and a detail of an older version is preserved in the London folio of the *Chronicle Fragments from Tunhuang*[91] (*ChrFr.*:2a.1—b.6 = *TLTD* II:53.21—35 + .6—20, tsl. :54.14—29 + :53.36—54.13, facs. III, pl. iiB + A), —

(*Ann. I*:.13—16 = *DTH*:13.5—8, tsl. :29.5—10). But Richardson's supposition is not backed by solid arguments, so I think it seems more justifiable to accept a looser chronology in dating the events described in the first five paragraphs of the introduction of the *Royal Annals*.

[91] By the *Chronicle Fragments of Tunhuang* I mean two folios without pagination both of which originate — in my opinion — from the same *poṭhī*. The first or Paris folio is the hitherto unpublished MS *FPT 1144* (for its description see Lalou, *Inv.* II:69.12—16), the second or London folio is the MS *Ch. xvii 2* which has been published by Thomas (*TLTD* II, pp. 53—56, facs. III, pl. ii). Drawing on Lalou's and Thomas' descriptions, as well as on my own observations of the microfilm placed at my disposal by the Bibliothèque Nationale and of the facsimile edited by Thomas, I was able to establish the following agreements between the two folios pointing to their common origin: *a)* the size of the two folios is essentially identical, the Paris folio is 27 × 7,5 cm, the London folio is c. 26 × 7,5 cm; *b)* in both folios c. 1,3 cm left and c. 0,2 cm below from their centres there is a circular hole 0,6 cm in diameter, which served for stitching the leaves, but is not circled as usual. (According to Lalou's description, in the Paris folio there are two holes, but the other hole lying c. 4 cm left from the middle is small and has an irregular form, consequently it could not have been made for the binding string, but is simply a defect in the paper); *c)* the outlines of the two folios display several common features which might have come into being owing to common wear and tear, or to common damage of the two folios; *d)* in both fragments wavy rulings drawn free hand can be observed which are scrupulously followed by the writing; *e)* the script of the two folios reveals the same hand; it is especially characteristic that the double *cheg* partly or totally merges into the *šad* following it, so it often shows a form like ཻ or ཻ in both folios.

The Paris folio which is more seriously damaged and in some places completely illegible contains a detail of a narrative. After a monologue or dialogue it speaks of the arrest of *bcan-po Khri Stag-bu* (*Sña-gzigs*, the grandfather of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan* ~ *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*), by *'Ol-god*, lord of *Yar-'brog*, then his extradition to *Klu-dur* (or *-ṅur*), king of *Lho-brag*, and his imprisonment there, finally the narrative mentions the wife of the *bcan-po*, *[']Ol-god-za Stoṅ-[cun]* (*'Bro-gar*) (*ChrFr.*:1b.3—5, cf. *Inv.* II:69.12—14).

This fragment is very remarkable, because to my knowledge king *Stag-bu*'s imprisonment is otherwise mentioned only in a late *Bon-po* ecclesiastical history, the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas* written by *Khyuṅ-po Blo-gros-rgyal-mchan* and *Khyuṅ-po Rgyal ba-thod-dkar* in 1439 (ed. S. Ch. Das, *rGyal Rab Bon kyi Jung-nas*, Calcutta 1915). Narrating the story of *Stag-bu*'s imprisonment on the basis of an unknown source entitled

Bsgrag-byaṅ, this work considerably deviates from the *Chronicle Fragments*: (:43.6) . . . || *khyad-par-du yaṅ rgyal Stag-gu* (.7) *Gñan-gzig des rgyal-phran bču-gñis mṅa'-ris bsdus-pas*| *yaṅ Lho-brag-gi rgyal-po* (.8) *Phan-ra-rǰe bya-ba 'dul-ba'i dmag khyer-bas*| *Lho-brag-pa rgyal-nas*| *Gñan-gzig bcon-du* (.9) *bzuṅ-ba-la*| *sku-gšen Khri-ne-khod rju-'phrul-daṅ bčas-te byon-pas*| *b{r}con-sruṅ-rnams* (.10) *brgyal*| *lčags-sgroggri-sa* (recte: *-sgrog gris*) *bčad*| *bcon-nas bton*| *čhibs-pa-la bskyon-te bros-pas* (.11) *thar-to*| *gšen khoṅ-raṅ duṅ-gi bya-rgod gčig-tu sprul-nas byon*| *rgyal-pos gšen-la* (.12) *bstod-pa*:—

(.13) *man-ṅag-luṅ-daṅ ldan-pa'i gšen-po Khri-ne-khod*|
(.14) *mthu-stobs-ldan-pas snaṅ-srid bran-du 'khol*|
(.15) *rju-'phrul-ldan-pas lčags-thag gri-yis bčad*|
(.16) *thugs-rǰe če-bas khri-mun-doṅ-nas bton*|
(.17) *Gšen-rab bon-gyi sku-la phyag 'chal-lo*||
(.18) *yun-du Gšen-rab bla-mar bkur-bar bya*|

(.19) *žes bstod-nas nan phyag gus-pa-daṅ bčas-te žabs-'og-tu 'jul-bas*| *gšen-po rgyal-sar* (.20) *byuṅ-nas*| *rgyal-po de'i riṅ-la rgyal-sa yaṅ bon-pos bzuṅ-ste Khyuṅ-po Ra-saṅ Khri-ne-khod-kyis* (.21) *bzuṅ-ba lags-so* «(:43.6) . . . And especially, (.7) the twelve petty kings were assembled by king *Stag-gu Gñan-gzig* in his dominion. When an army was led to subdue the king of *Lho-brag* (.8) named *Phan-ra-rǰe* and (the king) of *Lho-brag* won, *Gñan-gzig* was (.9) put in prison. (Then) *Khri-ne-khod*, His Majesty's *gšen* who had magic power, appeared, the prison guards (.10) were defeated, the iron fetters was cut by a knife, (the king) was released from prison, and mounting a horse he escaped, so (.11) he was liberated. After changing into (the form of) a conch eagle, the *gšen* himself went away. The *gšen* was praised by the king:

(.13) Who possesses advice and instruction, the *gšen-po Khri-ne-khod*,
(.14) As he possesses power, he humiliates (and makes) the visible world his servant.
(.15) As he possesses magic power, the iron chain was cut by knife,
(.16) As he is of great compassion, I was released from the pit of the dungeon.
(.17) Homage to the Bon-Body of *Gšen-rab*,
(.18) *Gšen-rab* will be venerated as a teacher for ever.

(.19) Having praised him so, (the king) prostrated before his feet with reverence. As the *gšen-po* got to the throne, (.20) in the time of this king, the throne was occupied by a *bon-po*, it was (.21) occupied by *Khyuṅ-po Ra-saṅ Khri-ne-khod.*» Here we have a brilliant example of the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas* preserving traditions of the royal age — even if in considerably changed forms — that otherwise have not come down to us in either other well-known works of the historiography after the 10th century, or even in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

As far as the London folio of the *Chronicle Fragments* is concerned, it was established by Prof. L. Ligeti in his university lectures in 1955/56, then independently of him by Li Fang-kuei (*Tibetan g l o - b a -' d r i n g : Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*, Copenhagen 1959, p. 56, n. 3), and recently by Mrs. A. Macdonald (*Conf. 1967/68*, p. 533) that its text (which has been preserved in a much better condition than the Paris folio) is essentially identical with the *Biography of Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* and with certain passages of the *Catalogue of the Great Councillors* in *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. Besides they

observed that the page regarded by Thomas as the verso of the folio is in reality its recto and vica versa.

Beside the fundamental identity numerous deviations can also be pointed out in the Biography of *Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ce* in the *Chronicle Fragments* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. On the basis of these deviations the relation of the two versions can be exactly defined. First of all an essential thematical difference is that the conquest of North-*Žań-žuń* is only mentioned in the version of the *Chronicle Fragments*. Especially important is the structural difference between the two versions. In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* the parts of the *Biography* with their action in the age of *Slon-bcan* (*Gnam-ri Slon-mchan*) and *Khri Sroń-brcan/-rcan* (*Sroń-brcan sgam-po*) are separated into the second narrative of the 4th paragraph (= chap. IV in Bacot's edition) and into the 7th paragraph (= chap. VI, para. 2 in Bacot's edition), though the original connexion of the two parts is clearly shown even in this stucture by their common stylistic peculiarities, notably the formula *Zu-ce glo-ba ñe-'o/ñe'o* «*Zu-ce* (was) loyal» which recurs at the end of each detail (*Chr.*:.199, .202, .203, .315—316 = *DTH*:106.22, .27, .28, :111.28 ~ *ChrFr.*:2a.1—4 = *TLTD* II:53.21, .25, .28—29, facs. III, pl. iiB). On the other hand, the two parts of the *Biography* in the *Chronicle Fragments* constitute a single closed narrative because the part on *Khri Sroń-rcan*'s age is preceded by unmistakable remnants of the part on *Sloń-bcan*'s age . . .] | ˈ⌜ž⌝ (*TLTD*: *d[e]'i*) *bka'-gros-la gtogs⌜t⌝e Zu-ce glo-ba ñe'o* ↰ |*'uń-gi 'o⌜g-d⌝u||bcan-po [Khri] ⌜Sro⌝ń-rcan-gyi riń-la | Myań Žań-snań glo-ba rĭńs-pa Zu-ces dku 'pel-te* | | . . . (*ChrFr.*:2a.1—2 = *TLTD* II:53.21—24, facs. III, pl. iiB) «. . .] joining the council [. . .], *Zu-ce* was loyal. Then in the Mighty One *[Khri] Sroń-rcan*'s time intrigues were woven by *Zu-ce* against the disloyal *Myań Žań-snań*, . . .» ~ (4th paragraph) . . . | | *Ziń-po-rǐe* ⟨*-'i*⟩ *srid brlag-pa-'ĭ* (*DTH*: *pa'i*) *blo-la'* | *gthogs-te* | | *Zu-ce glo-ba ñe-'o* | | . . . (7th paragraph) ⌒ |: |*'uń-gĭ*{*-'i*} *'og-du*| |*Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ces*| |*Myań Žań-snań bcan-po-la glo-ba rińs-pa*| |{*Zu-ces* (*DTH*: *ce sa*)} *dku' bel-te*| | . . . (*Chr.*:.202—203 + .315 = *DTH*:106.27—28 + :111.26—27) «Joining the idea concerning the overthrow of *Ziń-po-rǐe*'s power, *Zu-ce* was loyal. . . . Then by *Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ce* intrigues were woven {by *Zu-ce*} against *Myań Žań-snań* who was disloyal to the Mighty One».

The evidence of structural differences is nicely complemented by the deviations and mistakes in the text. I shall mention only a few of them in the following: 1. In the sentence of the *Chronicle Fragments* which speaks of the decoying of *Myań Žań-snań* the adverbial phrase *bcan-po [Khri] ⌜Sro⌝ń-rcan-gyi riń-la* is used, because the preceding sentence referred to *Slon-bcan*'s age; on the other hand, this adverbial phrase was omitted in the *Chronicle*, because in this work the preceding part also dealt with *Khri Sroń-rcan*'s age. 2. In the *Chronicle Fragments* the agent of the sentence speaking of the decoying is only *Zu-ces*, i.e. the instrumental case of the short form of the name, because in this work *Khyuń-po*'s biography was continuously narrated; on the other hand, in the *Chrońicle* at the beginning of the sentence, *Khyuń-po Spuń-sad Zu-ces*, i.e. the instrumental case of the full name was inserted as an agent, thereby indicating the change from *Myań Mań-po-rǐe Žań-snań*'s biography to the second part of *Khyuń-po*'s biography. 3. In the *Chronicle*, even the original agent, *Zu-ces* which now became unneccessary, was left in its place with the new agent. This error clearly proves that the version of the *Biography* in the Chronicle is secondary both in its structure and its text as compared with the version in the *Chronicle Fragments*.

All in all the two folios referred to as *Chronicle Fragments of Tunhuang* are remnants of an historical work, the redaction of which is older and in several respects wider ranging than the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, moreover it must have been one of the direct sources of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

the events of *Khyuṅ-po*'s life are presented in the following chronological order: under *Slon-bcan*'s reign he conquered *Rcaṅ-bod* and afterwards the king granted it to him[92], he then executed *Moṅ Sṅon-po* for disloyalty, and finally supported the plan of the campaign against *Ziṅ-po-rǰe*. Under *Khri Sroṅ-rcan* he turned down great councillor *Myaṅ* (*Maṅ-po-rǰe*) *Žaṅ-snaṅ*, then having defeated the prince of *To-yo-čhas-la* put the whole of North-*Žaṅ-žuṅ* into the king's hands. Finally, having been dismissed because of old age, he tried to entrap *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*, but he was detected and committed suicide.

Important data are contained in the Tunhuang divination text *FPT 1047* hitherto unpublished. According to Mrs. A. Macdonald's preliminary report, the first part of this divination text was compiled in connection with the campaign of 643/644 (in my opinion it was rather 644/645; cf. above n. 86) against the *Žaṅ-žuṅ* king *Lig Myi-rhya*, i.e. *Lig Sña-šur*. We may learn from it that *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* vindicated the right of leading the Tibetan army which had set out to attack *Lig Myi-rya*, consequently he was still alive at the beginning of the campaign (*Conf. 1967/68*, p. 534).

All in all the main stages of *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce*'s life can be summarized as follows: In the 610s and 620es under *Slon-bcan Rluṅ-nam*, alias *Gnam-ri Slon-mchan* he played an important role in the internal life and campaigns of the *Yar-luṅ* principality which was becomming the Tibetan kingdom. At the beginning of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s, i.e. *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s reign, in the early 630s *Khyuṅ-po*'s intrigues led to the fall of great councillor *Myaṅ Maṅ-po-rǰe Žaṅ-snaṅ*. At the end of the same decade *Khyuṅ-po* became great councillor, then in 640/641 at the latest he was dismissed, but in about 644/45 he was still alive. Some time between 644/645 and 649, after his attempt on the king's life foiled, he committed suicide.

[92] The passage on the conquest and grant of *Rcaṅ-bod* in the *Biography* was well and instructively analyzed by Bogoslovskij, but he erroneously dated these events to the time of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s reign and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce*'s great councillorship (*OITN*, pp. 88—89). The *Rcaṅ-bod* passage can be found in the 4th paragraph of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* which deals with *Slon-bcan/Gnam-ri Slon-mchan*'s age, and the passage expressly attributes the grant to *Slon-bcan*: *bcan-po Slon-bcan-gyǐs*| |*Rcaṅ-bod-khyim ñi-grǐ* | |*Zu-ce glo-ba ñe-ba-'i bya-dga'r scal-to* (*Chr.*:200 = *DTH*:106.22—24) «*Zu-ce* was granted the twenty thousand houses (i.e. families) of *Rcaṅ-bod* by the Mighty One *Slon-bcan* in return for his loyalty». The same manifests itself in *Khyuṅ-po*'s words in his old age addressed to king *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*: *sṅon bcan-po-'i* (*DTH*: *po'i*) *yab Gnamrǐ* (*DTH*: *Gnam ri*) *-'i riṅ-la* | |*bdagǐs Rcaṅ-bod 'baṅs-su bkug-pa lta žig* (*Chr.*:.319 = *DTH*:111.35—112.1) «Behold *Rcaṅ-bod* which previously, in the age of the Mighty One's majestic father *Gnamrǐ* was bent to subject by me» [in the corresponding part in the *Chronicle Fragments from Tunhuang* the name of *Rcaṅ-bod* is missing: *sṅun* (*TLTD*: *spun*) *yab Gnam-rǐ'i riṅ-la* | |*bdag-gis 'baṅsu bkug-pa lta-žig* (*ChrFr.*:2b.2 = *TLTD* II:53.10—11, facs. III, pl. iiA) «behold it which previously, in the age of the majestic father *Gnam-rǐ* was bent to subject by me»].

Finally it should be particularly emphasized that *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* who, according to the *List of the Administrative Chiefs*, was the administrative chief of *Žaṅ-Žuṅ*, is mentioned twice in the old sources in connection with *Žaṅ-zuṅ*. He took part in the preparations of the campaign of c. 644/45 against *Lig Myi-rhya* claiming to have led the army, and also conquered *To-yo-čhas-la* together with the whole North-*Žaṅ-Žuṅ* at a date which cannot be precisely determined.

12. The question arises, whether we can place *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*'s and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce*'s service as administrative chiefs chronologically into the data of their careers and those of the history of Tibet and *Žaṅ-žuṅ* between 630 and 649.

Here, we must first of all think of the years subsequent to the conquest of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* in c. 644/645. It is possible that *Khyuṅ-po* succeeded in obtaining the leadership — not of the whole army setting out against *Lig Myi-rhya* — but of at least the column attacking North-*Žaṅ-žuṅ*, and after the campaign he gained the office of the administrative chief over the whole conquered land, while the administration of Tibet proper was under the direct leadership of *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* as great councillor.

However obvious it may seem, this dating to the years after 644/645 has certain difficulties. It is rather improbable that *Khyuṅ-po* was entrusted with the command of a greater army after his dismissal from the office of the great councillor, as everything points to the fact that his successor, *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* was his mortal foe. *Khyuṅ-po* became great councillor after action had been taken against a great councillor from the *Mgar* clan, which ended with his suicide (*Chr.*:.87—94 = *DTH*:101.12—22, tsl. :130.15—24), and finally it was *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* who drove *Khyuṅ-po* to suicide by detecting his real or alleged disloyalty (*Chr.*:.93—96, .321—323 = *DTH* :101.21—26, :112.4—9, tsl. :130.24—131.1, :148.24—28 ~ *ChrFr.*:2b.5—6 = *TLTD* II:53.16—20, facs. III, pl. iiA).

We should also take into account another alternative, according to which *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* were administrative chiefs before *Khyuṅ-po*'s great councillorship, i.e. in the middle of the thirties of the 7th century. At that time *Khyuṅ-po* must have been the administrative chief of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* only in a restrictive sense, inasmuch as he represented Tibetan power beside the semi-sovereign ruler of *Žaṅ-žuṅ*, and he must have led the campaign against North-*Žaṅ-žuṅ* in this capacity.

This second interpretation is corroborated perhaps by a datum from the *Catalogue of the Principalities* which has come down to us in numerous versions. In this catalogue it is stated that the two councillors of *Lig Sña-šur* «Lord of *Žaṅ-žuṅ-Dar-pa* ~ *Dar-ma*» or of *yul Čhab-gyi ya-bgo* «the country of the Upper Reaches of the Rivers» (i.e. *Žaṅ-žuṅ*) were *Khyuṅ-po ra-saṅs-rǰe* and

(*Stoṅ.lom.ma.ce* (*Gen.*:.7 = *DTH*:80.4—5) ~ *Khyuṅ-po ra-saṅs-rǰe* and *Stoṅ. lam.rma.rce* (*FPT 1290, list* 1, see *CPTA*, p. 204) ~ *Khyuṅ-po* and *ra-rcaṅ-rǰe* (*FPT 1060*, see *CPTA*, p. 204). As *ra-saṅs-rǰe* seems to be a title of councillors (cf. but Petech, *GAT*, pp. 272—273), presumably in *Žaṅ-žuṅ*, it is possible that *Khyuṅ-po ra-saṅs-rǰe* and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* stand for one and the same person, representing in one person the offices of the Tibetan administrative chief of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* and the first councillor of the local ruler.

A final solution for dating the time when *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ* and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* were the administrative chiefs can be rendered only after publishing the divination text *FPT 1047* or by emergence of new sources. But even so we can establish that *Mgar*'s and *Khyuṅ-po*'s offices as administrative chiefs can be placed among the dates of their careers and contemporary history.

13. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in identifying the three subsequent administrative chiefs, but even the names themselves are highly illuminating.

Hor.bya.žu.riṅ.po, the name of the administrative chief of the *Sum-pa*s differs both from the Old-Tibetan and from later Tibetan names. Thus, despite the fact that the tribal name *Hor* (< *Ho-yo-hor*) «Uigur, Turk, Mongol» and the adjective *riṅ-po* «long, high, tall» can clearly be recognized, I am inclined to suppose that this is the Tibetan folk-etymological form of an original *Sum-pa* name consisting perhaps of three elements.

Dbas Bcan-bzaṅ Dpal-legs and *Čog-ro Rgyal-mchan G-yaṅ-goṅ*, the names of the administrative chiefs of «His Majesty's horses» and the *Mthoṅ-khyab*s clearly show an Old Tibetan character. *Dbas* (in original orthography *Dba's*) and *Čog-ro* are well-known clan-names of the royal period. *Bcan-bzaṅ*, *Dpal-legs* and *Rgyal-mchan* can be corroborated as Old Tibetan individual names occurring in the sources of the 8th to 10th centuries, while *G-yaṅ-goṅ* (in original orthography: **Yaṅ-goṅ*) is proved by Old Tibetan individual names beginning with *Yaṅ-* and those ending in *-goṅ*/*-koṅ*/*-khoṅ*[93].

[93] For *Bcan-bzaṅ* cf. *Bde-blon žaṅ Bcan-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1163*:A = *Inv.* II:73.15); *naṅ-rǰe-po žaṅ Bcan-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1159*:A, *1244*:A = *Inv.* II:72.17, :91.1); *naṅ-rǰe-po blon Bcan-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1145, 1152, 1155*:A, *1166*:A, *1205*:A, *1214, 1235*:B, *1585*:B, *1662*:B, *2117* = *Inv.* II:69.17, :71.1, .23—24, :74.4, :82.5—6, :84.14—15, :89.4, III:92.20, :120.10, :204.1); *ǰo-bo Bca*⌜*n-b*⌝*zaṅ* (*Mi. ii 005*:B.1 = *TLTD* II:353.29); and also the unidentified data *blon Bcan-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1713*:B, *2129, 2145*:.2, .5 = *Inv.* III:130.3, :206.12—13, :209.1, .6) and *Bcan-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1547*:B = *Inv.* III:82.24);— cf. also Richardson, *NTETR* :15.6.

For *Dpal-legs* cf. *Khaṅ Dpal-legs*, shortly *Dpal-legs*, copyist in *Ša-ču* (*FPT 1329* :498, *1336*:khi, *1341-1, 1344*:4, *1345*:''na, *1406*:79b, *1409*:87b, 97b, *1419*:112a, *1485*:B = *Inv.* III:20.18, :24.29, :28.23—24, :29.29, :30.17, :47.2, .16, .18, :50.29, :68.4); *Čaṅ Dpal-legs*, copyist in *Ša-ču* (*FPT 1338*:125, *1372, 1412*:117b, *1415*: 131b, :140b, *1452* = *Inv.* III:26.17, :37.15, :48.10, :49.5, .7, :60.27); *stag* ⌜*Pa-cha*(?)⌝*b* (*TLTD*: *Stag.* ⌜*chab*?⌝)*Dpal-*

14. *Skyi-šod-Šo-ma-ra*, which according to its first place in the enumeration was the residence of Tibet's administrative chief, is identical with *Skyĭ-Šo-ma-ra* of the *Royal Annals*, the scene of the winter assemblies of Tibet proper in 729, 731 and 744 (*Ann. I*:.254, .260, .298 ~ *Ann. II, 1*:.3 = *DTH* :24.21—22, .32—33, :26.25—27, :55.6—8, tsl. :48.23—24, :49.7—8, :52.7—9, :62.9—11; cf. Uray, *FHT*, p. 32, n. 4, and Petech, *GAT*, p. 242 and n. 5). According to the evidence of the anterior constituent *Skyĭ-/Skyĭ-šod* it lay in the valley of the *Skyi-/Skyid-čhu* flowing near Lhasa (cf. above, p. 28, n. 62—63). We are able to localize it more exactly as in a passage of the *Debgter snoṅ-po* a place called *Stod-luṅs-Šo-ma-ra* is mentioned in connection with events at the beginning of the 12th century (*BA* II:729.1). As *Stod-luṅs* is the well-known valley of a tributary of the *Skyi-/Skyid-čhu*, the identity of *Skyĭ-Šo-ma-ra/Skyi-šod-Šo-ma-ra* and *Stod-luṅs-Šo-ma-ra* is obvious, so the place must be located in the lowest reaches of the *Stod-luṅs* valley, at the edge of the *Skyi-čhu* valley, 10—20 km W-SW of Lhasa.

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legs (*Mi. viii 46* = *TLTD* II:166.30, facs. III, pl. xviii, fig. 5); *stag Dpal-legs* (*Mi. viii 8* = *TLTD* IV, index, p. 62a).

For *Rgyal-mchan/-chan/-can* cf. *Sna-nam žaṅ Rgyal-chan Lha-snaṅ*, Great Councillor (*Chr.*:.115 = *DTH*:102.17); *Rgyal-chan Snaṅ-grags* (*Chr.*:.488 = *DTH*:120.17); *žaṅ Rgyal-can* (*'AŽAnn.*:.15 = *TLTD* II:9.3, facs. III, pl. i, fig. 1); *blon Rgyal-mchan* (*MT c iii 0047* = *TLTD* IV, index, p. 49a); *bande Rgyal-mchan* (*Mi. vii 80* = *TLTD* IV, p. 49a); *Rgyal-can* (*Mi. xxxiv 1* = *TLTD* IV, p. 49a); — cf. also Richardson, *NTETR*:15.1.

Individual names beginning with *Yaṅ*: *Čog-kru Yaṅ-legs* (*FPT 1312*:23 = *Inv.* III:14.19); *Rlaṅ Yaṅ-zigs* (*FPT 1312*:5b = *Inv.* III:13.4); *Soṅ Yaṅ-brtan* (*FPT 1337* :khṅa, ṅna = *Inv.* III:25.28—29, :26.3); *naṅ-rje-po blon Yaṅ-bžer* (*FPT 1333* = *Inv.* III:23.3); *blon Yaṅ-bzaṅ* (*FPT 1546* = *Inv.* III:82.19).

There are a number of names ending in *-goṅ/-koṅ/-khoṅ*, therefore I shall quote a few examples only for the variant with *-g-* and for the *-g-/-k-/-kh-* alternation: *Ṅan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-goṅ*, shortly *Ṅan-lam Klu-khoṅ*, *blon Stag-sgra Klu-khoṅ*, *Klu-khoṅ*, great councillor of the interior, later great councillor (*Chr.*:.114 = *DTH*:102.16; *ŽRdor.*:E.1—2, :S.3, .14, .20, .22, .53, .58, .72, :N.1, .7, .31, .35, .38, .43, .66 = *AHEL*:14.6—7, :16.22, .33, :17.6, .8, :18.12, .17, :19.4, :26.27, .33, :27.22, .26, :28.2, .7, :29.4); *D⟨i⟩ṅ Klu-goṅ* and *Dīṅ Klu-goṅ* (*FPT 1174*:A = *Inv.* II:75.23); *Rag-ši Klu'-goṅ* (*FPT 1307*:37b = *Inv.* III:9.26); *Raṅ-ke Klu-goṅ* (*Ch. 86 ii*:B.4 = *TLTD* II:339.14); cf. Richardson *NTETR* :15.11; — *Ches-poṅ Tre-goṅ*, shortly *žaṅ Tre-goṅ* (*Ann. I*:.194, .301 = *DTH*:21.16—17, :26.31—32); cf. Uray, *The Offices of the bruṅ-pas and Great mṅans and the Territorial, Division of Central Tibet in the Early 8th Century* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV (1962), p. 356 and n. 6—8, and Richardson, *NTETR*:15.35; — *Čog-ro Rma-goṅ* (*Ann. I*:.301 = *DTH* :26.32); — *'Drag Žaṅ-goṅ/-koṅ*, shortly *Žaṅ-koṅ*, copyist (*FPT 1505, 1552*:B, *1880*:B, *2055*:B = *Inv.* III:72.15, :84.15, :160.15, :191.15); — (*Ṅan-lam*) *Zla-goṅ/-khoṅ* (*ŽRdor.* :N.13, .17, .21, .27, .36, .39, .50, .55, .58, .66 = *AHEL*:27.4, .8, .12, .18, .27, :28.3, .14, .19, .22, :29.4); *Gšen Zla-goṅ* (*FPT 1837*:B = *Inv.* III:152.16); *Zla-goṅ* (*Mi. xl 002—3* = *TLTD* IV, index, p. 73b); cf. Richardson, *NTETR*:15.26; — *Khe'u Bzaṅ-goṅ* (*Ch. 86 ii* :A.9, .01 = *TLTD* II:45.28, .34); *Bzaṅ-koṅ* (*Ch. fr. 61*:B.1 = *TLTD* II:50.17); cf. Richardson, *NTETR*:15.26—27.

Khyuń-luń-Rńul-mkhar which according to the *List* was the residence of the administrative chief of *Žań-žuń*, is known in the forms *mkhar Khyuń-luń*, *Khyuń-luń-Rńul-mkhar* and *mkhar Khyuń-luń-Dńul-mkhar* as the royal capital of *Žań-žuń* or *yul Čhab-gyi ya-bgo* «the country of the Upper Reaches of the Rivers» from the 11th paragraph of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and from a version of the *Catalogue of the Principalities* too (*Chr.*:.402—403, .408 = *DTH*:115.36—37, :116.8[94]; *FPT 1060*, cited in Lalou, *CPTA*, p. 204; cf. also *Ch. xix 004*:17a.4—5 = *AFL*:145.44—45; Tucci, *PRN*, pp. 29, 74, 76 [n. 1], 107). At the same time the *Chronicle* helps us with the localization of the castle, because it narrates the route of an envoy sent with a message by *Sroń-brcan sgam-po* to his sister, princess *Sad-mar-kar*, wife of the *Žań-žuń* king *Lĭg Myi-rhya*: *mkhar Khyuń-luń-du mčhis-na* | |*bcan-mo myi bžugs-te* | |*čhab-ña-la rol-žiń*| |*mcho Ma-pań-du gšegs-nas*| | *Rmań-čuń Ma-pań-du mčhiste* (*Chr.*: :.402—404 = *DTH*:115.36—116.1) «When he arrived at the castle of *Khyuń-luń*, the princess did not stay (there). As she went Lake *Ma-pań* for fishing, *Rmań-čun* (the envoy) went to *Ma-pań* (too)». So the castle can be located in the broader vicinity of Lake *Ma-pań* (other variants: *Ma-phań*/*Ma-pham*), i.e. Lake Mānasarowar. Thus a source before the 10th century proves the traditional identification of the ancient *Žan-žuń* capital with the ruins of *Mńul-mkhar* castle rising above the village *Khyuń-luń* to the West of Lake Mānasarowar, on the left bank of the Upper-Sutlej, at 31°03′ N. Lat and 80°34′ E. Long. (Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milano 1937, pp. 134—137, quoted in Hoffmann, *QGTB*, p. 213 and n. 3—5, and Tucci, *PRN*, p. 29 and n. 1; *ARC* II, map A 4, □ C 4: «Kyung-Lung» ~ 拱隆 *Kung-lung*)[95].

[94] Bacot's reading as *rdul mkhar* and his translation «un châteaux poudreux» (*DTH* :116.8 and :155.26) is erroneous.

[95] The location of *Žań-žuń* in the 7th to 9th centuries has become a vexed question during the last fifteen years. According to the earlier, generally accepted view, *Žań-žuń* of the 7th to 9th centuries was approximately identical with the mediaeval *Žań-žuń*, consequently it must have lied in West-Tibet, in the Mānasarowar—Kailāsa—Upper-Sutlej region. On the other hand, recent opinions emphasize that *Žań-žuń* of the 7th to 9th centuries contained West-Tibet as well as North-Tibet, thus stretching as far as East-Tibet (Tucci, *PRN*, pp. 71—75, 92—105; R. A. Stein, *TAMST*, pp. 51—54). Most recently even the centre of *Žań-žuń* was located in N-NE of Central Tibet, in the vicinity of the mountain pass «Shang-shung-la» (30°57′ N.Lat. and 91°35′ E. Long.) i.e. in the Eastern fringe of the North-Tibetan lake district and the river-head of the *Nag-čhu* (Upper-Salween) (Chang Kun, *On Zhang-zhung : Studies Presented to Tung Tso-pin on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Taipei 1960, pp. 137—154, inaccessible to me; Petech, *GAT*, pp 252—253). This latter view was rejected by Mrs. A. Macdonald (*Conf. 1967/68*, p. 534) As her lectures were published only in the form of a short report, her arguments and views concerning certain problematic details were not revealed, but on the basis of my own investigations, I can only agree with her opinion. Here, of course, I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of *Žań-žuń*'s e x t e n s i o n in the 7th to 9th centuries because this ramifying problem can be clarified in its entirety only within the scope of a broader

I cannot identify the last three geographical places, the residences of the administrative chiefs of the *Sum-pa*s, «His Majesty's horses» and the *Mthoṅ-khyab*s : *Nam.ra.ža.don.gram.pa.chal* and *Ri-bo-G-ya'-dmar*. Moreover, the division of the third and fourth names is not quite clear (their probable division is *Nam-ra-Ža-don* and *Gram-pa-chal*).

15. Here I have to stop analyzing the data of the *List of the Administrative Chiefs*. I shall treat the administrative division presented in the *List* only in my work on the historical geography of Ancient Tibet because this involves the clarification of numerous and far-reaching historical-geographical and state-historical questions. But I think that the analyses done so far yield sufficient ground for a satisfying source-critical evaluation of the list.

The main issues of the analyses and the conclusions drawn from them are as follows:

a) Mgar Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ (with original orthography *Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ*) and *Khyuṅ-po Pun Zuṅ-ce* (correctly *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce*) who appear in the *List* as the administrative chiefs of Tibet proper and *Žaṅ-žuṅ* resp. are authentic historical personages, outstanding statesmen of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s (i.e. *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s) age. Moreover *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* is twice mentioned even in the old sources, in connection with *Žaṅ-žuṅ*. Similarly, *Skyi-šod-Šo-ma-ra* (originally *Skyĭ-Šo-ma-ra*) and *Khyuṅ-luṅ-Rṅul-mkhar* which were the capitals of Tibet proper and *Žaṅ-žuṅ* according to the *List*, are authentic places in the early royal period near Lhasa, and in the central parts of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* resp.

b) Mgar Stoṅ-rcan Yul-zuṅ and *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* as administrative chiefs at the same time, can fairly confidently be placed among the dates of their careers and the contemporary history, either after 644/645 or rather in the middle of the thirties of the 7th century.

c) I have not succeeded in identifying the administrative chiefs and capitals of the *Sum-pa*s, the royal studs and the *Mthoṅ-khyab*s either in the sources from the royal period or in the later sources, but the presumably foreign character of the *Sum-pa* chief's name and the obvious Old Tibetan form of the other two chiefs' names unambiguously prove the great age of the data.

d) Lastly, the data of the *List of the Administrative Chiefs* fit well into the data of the contemporary records referring to *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s (i.e. *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s) age and the chronicles of the royal period, moreover, they cannot be deduced from later traditions. So the *List*, despite the evident cor-

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historical-geographical context, which will constitute the subject-matter of my book in preparation. But one thing must be emphasized here: the well-founded identification of the royal capital of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* proves even in itself that the c e n t r e of old *Žaṅ-žuṅ* lay in West-Tibet, and not in the river-head of the *Nag-čhu*.

ruptions of the text and the later orthographies, can be regarded as a contemporary document which authentically depicts the administrative organization of the 630—640-ies.

IV. The Formation of the Narrative of Legislation and Organization

16. The most essential deviation of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* from its main source, the *Royal Annals* is that the legislation and administrative organization which had taken place in *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*'s time according to the *Annals*, was transferred into *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s age in the *Narrative*.

This transfer of the legislation and administrative organization is in perfect accordance with the official Tibetan view of history in the 8th—10th centuries which permitted mentioning *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan* only in the royal genealogy and the lists of reigns while otherwise silently passing over the events of his reign without comment.

The deliberate disregard of *Maṅ-slon* in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* has already been pointed out by Bogoslovskij. He has given essentially satisfactory reasons for explaining this disregard: «While concentrating all his attention on the reign of the 'strong' *bcan-po*s, at the same time the author of the chronicle conceals the activity of other 'weak' *bcan-po*s, as e.g. *Maṅ-sroṅ Maṅ-bcan* during whose reign all the power in the country was held by the aristocratic *Mgar* clan.»[96]

The same tendency can be observed in *Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan*'s inscription made on the occasion of the foundation of the *Skar-čuṅ* chapel at the beginning of the 9th century. In this inscription the king — similar to his father, *Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan*'s edicts and inscriptions, but in a more talkative way — enumerates the temples founded fictitiously and actually by his predecessors. In the enumeration every monarch is present beginning with *Khri Sroṅ-brcan* (i.e. *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*), only *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*, as well as the elder brother and direct predecessor of the king setting up the inscription, *Mu-ne-brcan* who ruled only for one and a half years, are missing (*SkRdor.*:.4—18 = *TTK*:104.19—105.11, tsl. :14.15—29).

Thus the concealment of *Maṅ-slon*'s reign does not originate from the individual view of the author of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, but it was the ideological answer of the royal power to the autocracy of the *Mgar* clan from 652/

[96] «Сосредоточив все свое внимание на правлениях 'сильных' цэн-по, автор хроники в то же время замалчивает деятельнось других, 'слабых' цэн-по, такого, например, как Манг-сонг-манг-цэн, в правление которого вся власть в стране находилась в руках аристократического рода Гар» (*OITN*, p. 9).

653 till 698/699, i.e. from the third year of *Mań-slon*'s reign till *'Dus-sroń*'s putsch. It was a manifestation of the efforts to restrict the power of the great councillor.

But the negative evaluation refers primarily to *Mań-slon*'s reign as the nadir of the royal power, while it is only partially valid for the personal and historical role of great councillor *Mgar Stoń-rcan Yul-zuń* who established the hegemony of the *Mgar*s. Naturally enough, together with *Mań-slon*'s reign, the most outstanding period of *Mgar Stoń-rcan Yul-zuń*'s career was also consigned to oblivion (cf. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)*, Calcutta 1939, p. 56), but as *Khri Sroń-rcan*'s great councillor, *Mgar* continued to be present in the traditions (*Chr.*:.321—323, .435—436, .440—447 = *DTH*:112.5—8, :117.18—21, :117.28—118.8, tsl. :148.24—27, :159.2—6, :159.23—160.26; *ChrFr.*:2b.5—6 = *TLTD* II:53.17—20, facs. III, pl. iiA), moreover later on in the *Sroń-bcan sgam-po* legends of the Buddhist historiography the role of *Mgar* has increased.

17. Having learned the reasons and aims of the transfer of legislation and administrative organization, we may clearly understand several details of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* which do not derive from the *Royal Annals*. The tendentiousness of the king's words is unambiguous when he rejects the «hearsays» according to which the country is governed by the councillors and not by the king himself: *rgyal-po glen-par 'dug | rgyal-khams bde-ba blon-pos byas zer-bar 'dug-pa de ma yin |blon-po ña̲s bsgo-ba yin*[97] (*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.3 ~ *R*:25b.4—5) «It is said that the king has become insane and the kingdom is happy through the councillors, (but) it is not so. The councillors are instructed by me». Similarly, the king's role is increased and that of *Mgar* is decreased in the *Narrative* by the statement that the laws created by *Mgar* are ascribed to the monarch himself. The story of the administrative organization made up of authentic data and folk-tale motifs as well, also has the purpose of decreasing *Mgar*'s role: *Mgar* is not able to cope with his task, so first he takes advantage of a child's help, finally he learns the solution from a shepherd.

These elements treated so far prove that the prototype of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* was written at a time when the struggle against the «hearsays», i.e. the original traditions was necessary, consequently the *Narrative* can be dated to the first half of the 8th century.

This date can be corroborated and even defined more precisely to c. 715/718 for a further reason. It is known that *'bon Da-rgyal Bcan-zuń*, last

[97] The last sentence is missing in *R*. Otherwise for the readings of *R* see above, p. 24, n. 14—17.

king of *Dags-po* is mentioned last in the winter of 714/715 and his country became the possession of the *Mčhims*, the maternal clan of king *Khri Lde-gcug-brcan* in 715/718 (Uray, *LFTR*, pp. 206—207). Before the fall, or at least unstable position of *Bcan-zuń* it could hardly have been written that his grandfather, *Dar-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe* could cope with the task of administrative organisation only after «stealing the thoughts» (*blo rku-ba*) of *Mčhims Mań-bžer Ńan-pa* (*Dp. ǰa X*:19a.4 ~ *R*:26b.1). This presentation is much more feasible after the shake or fall of the *Dags-po* king, at the time of the triumph of the *Mčhims*.

18. Naturally enough, the prototype of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* written c. in 715/718 and its preserved version from the 16th century, are not identical with each other, but essential deviations cannot be found either. The prototype must have contained the data and expressions that can be deduced in the *Royal Annals* (the arrangement of the administrative organization in two instances, the persons of *Mgar*, *Dar-rgyal Mań-po-rǰe* and *Mčhims Mań-bžer Ńan-pa*, the terms and phrases *bka'-yi khrims-yig*, *byań-bu*, *byań-khram*, *khod šom|bšom|bšams*, *rgod-g-yuń-gi sde 'byed*, and other data referring to further details of the administrative organization); on the other hand, it must have contained the tendentious moments that enabled us to date the *Narrative* (the transfer of the dates of the legislation and administrative organization, the part of the king's speech in which he repudiates the «hearsays», the legislation accomplished personally by the king, the change of the roles of the persons by utilizing folk-tale motifs). The *List of the Administrative Chiefs* must have also been in the prototype because, though it had no direct connection with the actual political aims of the *Narrative*, it originally referred to the state-organization of *Sroń-bcan sgam-po*'s age, so it might have been apt for connecting it with the history of the administrative organization.

But two Buddhist motifs in the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* certainly originate from a later redaction finished between c. 900/1000 and 1167. These motifs are the king's intention to convert Tibet and the reference to the karmic consequence of the sins. In 715/718, at the time of the formation of the prototype, Buddhism was spread sporadically at the most in Tibet, so there must have been no considerable social demand for adjusting the historical traditions to Buddhism. As was stated by E. Haarh, during *Khri Sroń-lde-brcan*'s reign, towards the end of the 8th century *Šes-rab-go-čha* (*Prajñāvarman*) was the first to attempt to explain the origins of the Tibetans, based on Buddhist or rather only Indian concepts. But the elaboration of an all-embracing picture of Tibetan history in the Buddhist principles was begun only by *Ldan-ma-rce-mań* and his fellow-monks during *Khri Lde-sroń-brcan*'s reign,

at the beginning of the 9th century, and their work was accomplished by the historiographers of the Buddhist restoration, after 1000 A.D. (*YD*, pp. 80—81, 83—84, 159, 176—177, 193; cf. also *ITCC*, pp. 147—148, 155—156.) Accordingly, the *terminus post quem* of the Buddhist redaction of the *Narrative* can be put at c. 900 or rather 1000. As for the *terminus ante quem*, the date 1167 is unambiguously corroborated by the equivalences of thought and text between the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* and the narrative *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* of *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*, on the one hand, and between the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* and the ecclesiastical history *Čhos-la 'ǰug-pa'i sgo* written by *Bsod-nams-rce-mo* in 1167, on the other hand. These equivalences will be treated in detail below (§§ 22—23) in another context.

Further interpolations were incorporated into the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* in 1545/1565, when *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba* inserted the *Narrative* into the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*. This time the following parts were introduced into the text of the *Narrative*: the two introductory verses on legislation with the term *lugs-gñis* of the *Sa-skya-pa* period (see above, p. 25, n. 56), and the *Survey of the Six Institutions* and the *List of the Six Codes* from the double cycle of catalogues of the six and thirty-six institutions. The latter interpolations brought about the adjustment of the accompanying parts of the text (see above, § 4, pp. 21—23).

19. The formation of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* can be summarized as follows:

a) The prototype of the *Narrative* was written in c. 715/718 in the spirit of the political-ideological reaction against the *Mgar*-hegemony and the royal efforts to restrict the power of the great councillor, and partly according to the interest of the *Mčhims*, the maternal clan of the then king.

b) In the prototype of the *Narrative* a version of the accounts of 654 and 655 in the *Royal Annals*, longer than their preserved excerpts, and a current list of ranks referring to the 630—640-ies were used; but the legislation and the administrative organization was transferred to *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s age from *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*'s age, and the roles of *Mgar* and *Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rǰe* were decreased in accordance with the actual political tendencies.

c) During the eight centuries of the history of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* new elements were added to the text, first due to a Buddhist redaction between 900/1000 and 1167, then due to the compilation of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*. Inspite of these clearly distinguishable elements, all the essential moments of the preserved version of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* can be deduced from the prototype written in c. 715/718.

V. The Narrative of Legislation and Organization: the source of the traditions concerning Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po as legislator and organizer

20. Now, there is one question left to clarify: what is the relation of the *Narrative* to the passages that can be found almost without exception in every *rgyal-rabs*, *čhos-'byuṅ* and historical *gter-ma* which also attribute the creation of Tibet's first laws and state-organization to *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*.

21. The oldest extant passage which attributes legislation to *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*, is the royal eulogy in the 12th paragraph (at Bacot chap. VIII, para. 3) of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* compiled after the middle of the 9th century. It has long been discussed as to which king is meant in this eulogy and generally in the 11th and 12th paragraphs, but the latest researches have solved the question unambiguously in favour of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*, alias *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* (cf. above, p. 35, n. 88).

The laws are mentioned in the eulogy only cursorily as one of the numerous achievements of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s reign: *Bod-kyi gcug-lag-bka'-grims čhed-po-daṅ| . . . -la scogs-pa | |*[98]*Bod-kyi čhos-kyi gžuṅ bzaṅ-po kun| |bcan-po Khri Sroṅ-brcan-gyi riṅ-las byuṅ-ṅo* (*Chr.*:.452—454 = *DTH*:118.17—23). «The great erudite laws of Tibet and . . . etc. (so) all the good foundations of the Tibetan customs have appeared from the Mighty One *Khri Sroṅ-brcan*'s time onwards».

It is important that the expression *bka'-grims čhed-po* has its equivalents only in the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*: *bka'-khrims čhen-po, rgyal-khrims čhen-po, bka'-yi khrims-yig čhen-po* (*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.1, .3, .4 ~ *R*:25b.3, .5, .6).

22. The filiation of the passages on *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s legislation in the chronicles and *gter-ma*s compiled after the *phyi-dar* «late spread», i.e. the Buddhist restoration[99] can be elucidated by the narrative entitled *Khrims*

[98] *DTH*: only one *šad*.

[99] In my investigations I could not consult the *Bka'-čhems ka-khol-ma* ascribed to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, which was «discovered» in the middle of the 11th century and has played a decisive role in the formation of the traditions concerning the king (for this work see A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura* : *Bibliotheca Buddhica* XXXII, Moscow 1962, pp. 25—29 and pp. 161—163, n. 65—76). Furthermore, several important *čhos-'byuṅ*s of the 15th—17th centuries were inaccessible to me, such as *Śrībhūtibhadra*'s *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-chaṅ Mkhas-pa dga'-byed čhen-mo* of 1434 (for this work see A. Macdonald, *PLRBY*; but a passage of the work will be treated briefly below, § 26, pp. 64—65 on the basis of the excerpt of R. A. Stein, *CT*, p. 32), *'Brug-pa Padma dkar-po*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ Bstan-pa'i padma rgyas-pa'i ñin-byed* of 1580, *Stag-luṅ-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal*'s

bčas-pa'i mjad-pa «The Deed of Composing the Law» in the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*. This narrative can be found in one of the two *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*-biographies, notably in the *Čhos-skyoṅ-ba'i rgyal-po Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po'i mjad-pa rnam-thar-gyi skor* «The deeds of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, the king protecting the religion: a biographical section», i.e. the 4th chapter of the *Mdo-skor* «Section of the Sūtras» of the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*. According to Mrs. Ariane Macdonald's recent investigations, both *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*-biographies were incoroporated into the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum* only between 1376 and 1565, but the biographies themselves are not necessarily as late, moreover essential elements of the legends utilized in them can be pointed out from the end of the 12th century (*Conf. 1967/68*, pp. 529—530 and esp. p. 532; for the entirety and structure of the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum* see *ibid.*, pp. 527—532; cf. also Vostrikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—47).

Apart from the introductory and final sentences, the narrative *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* is an oration in which the necessity of legislation is expounded by the king, then the four fundamental laws and the sixteen moral rules are proclaimed (*MBk. B "e*:190a.2—b.5; cf. also the facs. in H. Iwai, *The 17-Article Constitution of Crown Prince Shōtoku : Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library)* XX (1961), pl. i). I shall give its text without the list of the ten sins and the sixteen moral rules. Passages identical with the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* will be indicated by ° . . . .° while those having correspondences only in other chronicle- and *gter-ma*-passages will be designated by * . . . . * and •. . . . .•.

(:190a.2) || || *de-nas rgyal-. pos °Bod°-khams °čhos-la bcud°-pa'i phyir *dge-ba bču'i* mdo-*la brten*-nas °khrims* (.3) *bčas°-te| °sṅon°-gyi dus-na Bod-kyi yul 'dir °rgyal-phran° bču-gñis-kyis khrims bčas-pa mi dge-bar soṅ-nas Bod-yul-du bde-ba ma byuṅ-ba yin-no| |ṅa ni čhos skyoṅ-ba'i rgyal-po yin-pas Bod-khams thams-čad dge-ba-la 'god-par bya'o| |* (.4) *čhos-°khrims med-na mi dge-ba'i° dbaṅ-du gyur-nas °sdug-bsṅal°-gyi rgyu 'ba'-žig-la spyad-pas | 'bras-bu *ṅan-soṅ gsum*-du skye-bar °'gyur°-ro| |mi dge-ba bču ni . . .* (.5) *. . . | |mdor-na mi dge-ba bču-po de ṅa'i bka'-* (.6) *daṅ 'khor-du gtogs-pa-rnams-kyis spaṅs šig |•bsad•-na stoṅ 'dod-do| |•brkus•-na rgyal-* (recte *brgyad-*) *'ǰal dṅos dgu*

Čhos-'byuṅ Ṅo-mchar-rgya-mcho of 1609, and the *Bstan-pa'i rgya-mchor 'ǰug-pa'i gru-čhen* begun by *Nor-pa Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub* and finished by *bya-bral Saṅs-rgyas-phun-chogs* in 1692 (for these cf. Vostrikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94—95 and p. 266, n. 433—438; Macdonald, *PLRBY*, pp. 154—155, 157). Mention must be made here that I could not find accounts either on the legislation or state-organization in *'Phags-pa bla-ma Blo-gros-rgyal-mchan*'s *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs* of 1275 which contains merely genealogical and chronological data (*Sa-skya-pa'i bka'-'bum, Sde-dge* edition, vol. *ba*:360b.4—361b.4 = *CWMS* VII, p. 286/2—4; tsl. Tucci, *VTHT*:315.23—316.30) and in *paṇ-čhen Bsod-nams-grags-pa*'s *Deb-ther dmar-po'i deb gsar-ma* of 1538 (facsimile edition by Lokesh Chandra, *The Red Annals (recensio nova from an incomplete manuscript in the library of Rai Bahadur T. D. Densapa, Gangtok, Sikkim)*, New Delhi 1968), while in *Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan*'s *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs* only the state-organization is treated (see below, § 25, p. 60).

'dod-do| |•*'dod-log spyod*•*-na rin 'dod-do*| |*brjun smras-na mna' sgog-go žes rca-ba bži'i °khrims bčas°-so*| |*gžan yaṅ ṅa'i bka'-* (b.1) *'baṅs-su gtogs-pa-rnams-kyis . . .* (.4) *. . . -par bya'o žes bka' scal-žiṅ*| *de-ltar* •*mi-čhos gcaṅ-ma bču-drug-gis khrims*•*-kyi gži bzuṅ-nas*| °*bka'-khrims*°*-la nan-tan čher* °*mjad-do*| | *khrims bčas-* (.5) *pa'i mjad-pa'o* || ||

«(:190a.2) Then, in order to °lead° the realm of °Tibet to the religion°, the king *leant upon* the axiom of *the ten virtues* (and) °composed laws°, (.3) and (said:) 'As °previously° the laws composed by the twelve °petty kings° here in the country of Tibet were sinful (literally: without virtue), no felicity has come into the country of Tibet. As I am a king protecting the religion, I must lead the whole realm of Tibet to the virtues. (.4) °If there were no° religious °law°, one would fall into the power of °sin° (literally: non-virtue), one would perpetuate only the causes of °suffering°, and its fruits °would° be the birth for *the three damnations*. The ten sins are: . . . (.5) . . . . Briefly, those belonging to my command (.6) and to my retinue, have to avoid the ten sins ! If one •murders•, a fine is demanded; if one •thieves•, eight (fold) damages (and the object) itself (as the) ninth are demanded; if one •commits lechery•, earnest money is demanded; if one bears false witness, let him swear an oath — I have °composed° such four fundamental °laws°. Furthermore, those belonging to my command (b.1) and to my subjects are obliged to . . . (.4) . . .'. So he gave order, and thereby having seized the fundamentals of •law by the sixteen pure human moral rules•, he °made the law° very carefully. (This was) (.5) the Deed of Composing the Law.»

There is no difficulty in recognizing that a considerable proportion of the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* is identical in its train of thought, and sometimes even in its use of words with some details of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* which are here repeated: *ṅa-la glen-par brci-na °Bod° mi °thul° dgoṅs-ste . . .* | *da ni ṅas °rgyal-khrims° čhen-po °bča'° dgos* | °*sṅon° yaṅ °khrims med°-pas °rgyal-phran°-rnams so-sor 'khyar-ba yin*| *da-du °khrims-med-na ñes°-byed dar-žiṅ ṅa'i 'baṅs-rnams °sdug-sṅal-bar 'gyur°-bas °khrims bča'°-bar bya'o gsuṅ-nas °bčas° skad*| °*bka'-yi khrims°-yig čhen-po rnam-drug °mjad°* (*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.2—4 ∼ *R*:25b.4—6[100]) «'If I am considered insane, I shall not °convert Tibet'°, — he thought, and . . . ' . . . Now, I have to °compose° the great °royal laws. Previously, there were no laws°, and °the petty kings° erred separately. °If there were no law° now, °sin° would spread, and my subjects °would suffer°. Therefore I shall °compose laws°' — he said, and °composed° them'. So it is said. He °made° six great °law-books°.»

According to the evidence of the comparison the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* originates from the passage on legislation of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* in its Buddhist redaction, and in its present form it deviates

[100] For the apparatus of these passages see above, nn. 18—27.

from its source in three essential aspects: 1. The lengthy passages that lost their actuality and in the *Narrative* were meant to prove the king's role as organizer of the state and legislator, were completely omitted from the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*. 2. The Buddhist elements of the text were considerably increased: The interpolations of Buddhist spirit in the *Narrative* only mentioned the role the laws intended to play in the conversion of Tibet and the karmic consequences of sins, but all these are treated in a much more detailed way in the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*, and the laws are related with the principle of the ten virtues — which is very important from the viewpoint of the filiations. 3. A rather lengthy passage on the four fundamental laws and the sixteen moral rules were inserted in the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*.

23. If we turn our attention to other historical works written after the *phyi-dar*, it is evident that their passages on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation, in one way or another, are closely connected with the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* of the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*.

The early works, notably *Bsod-nams-rce-mo*'s *Čhos-la 'ǰug-pa'i sgo* of 1167, *Bu-ston*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ* of 1322 and the *Rgyal-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig* «discovered» by *"O-rgyan-gliṅ-pa* in 1347, contain passages on the legislation which — according to the evidence of their motifs and uses of word — evidently go back to the first part of the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* and ultimately to the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*, but they have nothing to say either about the four fundamental laws, or the sixteen moral rules: **dge-ba bču*-las brcams-te °khrims bčas°* (*ČhǰSg.*:312b.2 = facs. *CWMS* II, p. 343/2) «proceeding from *the ten virtues*, °laws were composed°»; — *de'i che Bod-'baṅs-kyis rgyal-po-la gše-ba gsan-nas *dge-ba bču'i* °khrims bčas°-te* (*BuČh.*:124a.5) «As at that time the Tibetan subjects obeyed the king (only) to chiding, °laws° *according to the ten virtues* °were composed°» (translated partly in a different way by Obermiller, *HBB* II:184.7—9); — **dge-ba bču*-daṅ sbyar-te thaṅ-°khrims-bčas°* (*Bk. Dg. kha*:20b.2) «joined to *the ten virtues*, °laws° (declared by a) decree °were composed°».

As far as later works are concerned, motifs and phrases from the beginning of the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* are still present in them, but the sixteen moral rules are always mentioned or enumerated too, moreover in the *Deb-gter sṅon-po* even the four fundamental laws are quoted. So in *'Chal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rǰe*'s *Hu-lan-deb-ther* of 1346 we can read: *Bod-'baṅs-la *dge-ba bču'i* °khrims bčas° •mi-čhos gcaṅ-ma bču-drug•-gi srol bcugs* (*HD G*:17a.1—2 = *HTCN*:93.7—8) «For the Tibetan subjects °laws° *according to the ten virtues* °were composed°, the practice of •the sixteen pure human moral rules• was introduced»; — in *'Gos locāba Gžon-nu-dpal*'s *Deb-gter sṅon-po* of 1476—1478: •*gsod*•-pa-daṅ •*brku*•-ba-daṅ •*byi byed*•-pa-rnams-la čhad-pa-daṅ bčas-pa'i °khrims° legs-par °bčas°* | *'baṅs-rnams-la'aṅ yi-ge-daṅ* | •*mi-čhos-bču-drug*•-

la sogs-pa'i čhos-lugs legs-par b⌜s⌝labs-te (*DSń. K ka*:20b.5) «a law prescribing punishment for •murder• and •theft• and •committing adultery•, °was° well °composed°, (and) the writing and •the sixteen human moral rules• and other religious prescriptions were well taught to the subjects»(cf. Roerich's translation, *BA I*:40.15—18); — in the chronicle of the 5th Dalai Lama of 1643: **dge-ba bču'i khrims*-kyi steń-du . . . -pa-ste| •mi-čhos gcań-ma bču-drug-gi khrims•| bcan-pos phyag-rgyas btab-ste* (*VDL L*:16a.3, .5 ~ *P*:30.18—19, :31.6—7) «beyond *the laws according to the ten virtues*, •the law of the sixteen pure human moral rules•, (notably) . . . were supplied with the seal by the Mighty One» (the moment of sealing probably originates from the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loń*, cf. below, p. 58); — in *Sum-pa mkhan-po*'s *Dpag-sam ljon-bzań* of 1748: *de'i che rgyal-blon-gyis °Bod°-'bańs-rnams dam-pa'i °čhos-la bkod° čhed-du *dge-bču*-dań| . . . -te •mi-yi čhos||*[101] *gcań-ma*[102] *bču-drug• čes-bya-la| |*[103] *gnas-pa'i skyes-bu ya-rabs yin| |*[104] *žes-pa-ltar-*gyi khrims*-bzań yań bcugs*[105] (*DpLj. W*:109a.4—6 ~ *D* II:167.19, .24—26) «at that time good *laws* were introduced by the king and the councillors, in order to °lead° the°Tibetan° subjects to the excellent °religion°, according to which (the laws) the men steady in *the ten virtues* and the so-called •sixteen pure human moral rules•, (notably) . . . should be noblemen»; — and in *Kloń-rdol bla-ma*'s *Bstan-pa'i sbyin-bdag byuń-chul-gyi miń-gi grańs: rgyal-po Sroń-bcan-gyis •mi-čhos gcań-ma bču-drug-gi• °khrims bčas°-pa'i bču-drug ni gań že-na| . . . de-ltar khrims-kyi zol-gyis dam-pa'i čhos *dge-bču* chań-bar mjad-pas *ńan-soń gsum*-gyi sgo bčad mtho-ris-dań thar-pa'i lam yańs-por byas-so| |smras-pa* (*BstSbyM K*:7a.1, .4—5) «If (it is asked) so: What are the sixteen (points) of °the law° •of the sixteen pure human moral rules• °composed° by king *Sroń-bcan sgam-po*? . . . As in this way *the ten virtues* of the excellent religion were completed by the trick of law, the gates of *the three damnations* were closed, the way of paradise and liberation was widened. (So it) is said.»

I shall deal with the passages concerning *Sroń-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation of *Sa-skya-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mchan*'s *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loń* of 1373 in a somewhat more detailed way. As the title of the chapter would suggest in principle one of the main themes of the whole of chapter 10 of the work ought to be the legislaton: *blon-po Thon*[106]*-mis Rgya-gar-nas yi-ge bsgyur-ba-las|*[107] *rgyal-pos *dge-ba bču'i* °khrims bčas°*[108]*-pa'i le'u-ste bču-pa'o* (*RgyGsM Sd*

[101] *D*: only one *šad*.
[102] *D* inserts two *šad*s.
[103] *D*: only one *šad*.
[104] *D*: only one *šad*.
[105] *D*: *bcugs*.
[106] *K*: *mthon*.
[107] *K*: two *šad*s.
[108] *K*: *'čhas*.

:34a.4 ~ *K*:64.19—20). «The tenth chapter according to which, after the writing had been introduced from India by councillor *Thon-mi*, °laws° *according to the ten virtues* °were composed° by the king». But in fact, the legislation itself is not treated in most parts of the chapter, it is only casually referred to in one way or another. Thus, the introduction of writing is said to be necessary among other things, because *čhos-*dge-ba bču-la brten**[109]*-pa'i °rgyal-khrims 'ča'*°[110]*-ba| . . . -la|*[111] *Bod-na yi-ge med-pas* (*Sd.*:29b.6 ~ *K*:56.2, .4). «For °composing the royal laws° *leaning on the ten virtues* of the religion . . . there is no writing in Tibet», and (*Sd.*:30a.4 ~ *K*:56.24—25):

> **dge-ba bču-yi**[112] *°rgyal-khrims bča'*°[113]*-ba-la| |*
> *bdag-gi yul-na yi-ge'i srol med-pas| |*
> «For °composing the royal laws° *according to the ten virtues*,
> the practice of writing is missing in my country.»

At the end of the chapter, in the praise of the king's reign there are verses as follows (*Sd.*:33b.1—2, :34a.2, .3—4 ~ *K*:63.4, :64.10, .14, .17):

> *čhos-kyi °bka'-khrims mjad°-pas 'bańs-rnams bka'-la ñan| |*
> «as °laws° according to the religion °were made°, the subjects obeyed
> the orders»;
> *dga'-bde-skyid-pa'i °bka'-khrims mjad°-pa'i che| |*
> «in the time of °making the laws° of joy, happiness and welfare»;
> **dge-ba bču-la* bstun*[114]*-pa'i °rgyal-khrims bčas°| |*
> «°royal laws° agreeing *with the ten virtues* °were composed°»;
> **dge-bču'i* °rgyal-khrims° mkha'-la ñi-zla bžin| |*
> «°the royal laws° *according to the ten virtues* are like the sun and the
> moon in the sky».

The account proper on the legislation consists of only six lines. Its text reads as follows (the detail treating the laws is omitted): *rgyal-pos bka' scal-pa-bžin| *dge-ba bču'i* °khrims bča°-ba-ste*[115]*| . . -pa-la sogs-te|*[116] **dge-ba bču-la* dpe byas-nas| Bod-khrims ñi-šu| Skyi-šod*[116a]*| Šo-ma-ra-ru gtan-la phab-ste*[117]*| rje-blon kun-gyi*[118] *phyag-rgyas btab*[119]*-ste* (*RgyGsM Sd.*:33a.1, a.6—b.1 ~ *K*:62.4—5,

[109] *K*: *rten.*
[110] *K*: *'ča.*
[111] *K*: two *šads.*
[112] *K*: *bču'i.*
[113] *K*: *'ča.*
[114] *K*: *stun.*
[115] *K*: *'ča-ba-te.*
[116] *K*: *-lasogs-te.*
[116a] *D*: *Skyi-šod* in smaller letters, *K*: *Kyi-šod* in *dbu-med.*
[117] *K*: *Šo-mar-ru bstan-la phab-te.*
[118] *K*: *gyis.*
[119] *K*: *gtab.*

.28—30) «Following the orders received from the king, °the laws° *according to the ten virtues* °were composed°, (notably) ... and others, and (these) twenty Tibetan laws the pattern of which were *the ten virtues*, were arranged in *Šo-ma-ra* of *Skyi-šod*, and they were supplied with the seals of the ruler and all the councillors».[120] This account deviates from other chron-

[120] This account of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* is preceded by three passages, one of which can seemingly be related to the legislation in the given context, and the three passages together throw light on the origin of a short passage on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation preceding the *Section on Law and State* in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*.

The first of the three passages speaks of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s three hundred councillors (*RgyGsM Sd.*:32a.6—b.4 ~ *K*:61.6—26), and according to an inserted gloss: *phyi-naṅ-bar gsum-gyi blon-po 'di-rnams-kyi miṅ Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo-nas bsdus* (*Sd.*:32a.6 ~ *K* :61.7—8) «The names of these three (sorts of) councillors of the exterior, interior and middle have been put together out of the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*» (this is probably *Ldan-ma-rce-maṅ*'s *Rgyal-po'i dkar-čhag Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*, for which see Haarh, *ITCC*, p. 148 and *YD*, p. 159).

The passage on the three hundred councillors is immediately followed by the *Catalgue of the Goods of the Four Quarters*: *šar Rgya-daṅ| Mi-ñag-gi yul-nas bzo-* (*K*: *gzo-*) *daṅ rcis-kyi dpe blaṅs| lho-phyogs Rgya-gar-gyi yul-nas dam-pa-čhos-kyi sgra bsgyur| nub-phyogs Svog-* (*K*: *Sog-*) *-po-daṅ| Bal-po'i yul-nas zas-nor-loṅs-spyod-kyi gter mjad* (recte and *K*: *'jed*)| *byaṅ-phyogs Hor-daṅ Yu-* (*K*: *Yi-*) *ge-ra'i yul-nas k h r i m s -daṅ las-kyi dpe blaṅ* (*K*: *blaṅs*) | *mdor-na phyogs bži-la dbaṅ bsgyur-šiṅ* (*K*: *žiṅ*) *loṅs-spyod-nas| 'Jam-gliṅ phyed-kyi kha-lo sgyur-ba'i* (*K*: *bsgyur-pa'i*) *rgyal-po mjad-do* (*Sd.*:32b.4—6 ~ *K* :61.27—33) «From the East, from the countries of China and *Mi-ñag* (Hsihsia) the books on (or example of) handicraft and astrology were taken. From the southern quarter, from the country of India the words of the excellent religion were translated. From the western qarter, from the countries of *Sog-po* (Sogdiana) and *Bal-po* (Nepal or possibly Khotan; cf. A. Macdonald, *PLRBY*, pp. 112—115, n. 32) the store of property, and wealth was gained. From the northern quarter, from the countries of *Hor* (Mongols) and *Yu-ge-ra* (Uighurs) the books (or example) of the l a w s and on everyday activity were taken. In brief, as power was practised over, and benefit was gained from the four quarters (*Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*) was a king turning the prow (i.e. governing) of half Jambudvīpa». — Within the scope of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*, the interpretation seems admittable that there is a certain connection between the legislation and the taking away of the codes from *Hor* and *Yu-ge-ra* (or taking their laws as examples), as both before, and after the *Catalogue of the Goods of the Four Quarters* the legislation is mentioned several times. Whatever was meant by *Bsod-nams-rgyal-mchan* himself cannot be decided, but it is obvious that originally the *Catalogue* was entirely independent of the traditions concerning *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation. R.-A. Stein has already established that the *Catalogue* is only a version of the epical cliché of the Four Kings of the World (*Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris 1959, p. 257, nr. XXII), which from the end of the 3rd century onwards can be traced in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire as far as China, and since the beginning of the ninth century it has also been present in several versions in Tibet (*ibid.*, pp. 241—314, esp. pp. 252—262; cf. also Ariane Macdonald, *Note sur la diffusion de la «théorie des quatre Fils du Ciel» au Tibet* : *JA* CCL (1962), pp. 531—548). The *Catalogue of the Goods of the Four Quarters* itself obviously cannot originate earlier than the *Sa-skya-pa* period when really *Hor-khrims* «Mongolian laws» were in force in Tibet. (cf. below, § 24).

The third passage is attached to the catalogue without transition. I shall quote it together with the first sentence of the passage on the legislation: *Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa* (*K*: *Mthon-mi Sam-bho-ṭa*) | Thod-luˈṅ(?)ˀ- (*K*: -lur-) Rag-pa| *Mgar Sraṅ-* (*K*: *'Gar Sroṅ-*) *bcan Yul-bzuṅ* (*K*: *-bzuṅs*) | Stod-luṅ- (*K*: -luṅs-) Ram-pa-ba| *'Bri Se-ru Goṅ-ston*| 'Bri-khuṅ-ba (*K*: -pa)| *Ñaṅ Khri-bzaṅ* (*K*: *-bzaṅs*)| Ñaṅ-ser-ba| *Yaṅ-ston-la sogs-* (*K*: *-lasogs-*) *pa blon-po brgya tham-* (*K*: *rgya them-*) *pas bar-gyi khod sñoms*| *rgyal-pos bkaˈ scal-pa-bžin*| *dge-ba bčuˈi khrims bčaˈ-ba-ste* (*K*: *'cha-ba-te*) (*Sd*:32b.6—33a.1 ~ *K*:61.33—62.5) «The intermediate surfaces (i.e. the social differences) were levelled by *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa* from *Thod-luṅ-Rag*, *Mgar Sraṅ*(!)*-bcan Yul-bzuṅ* from *Stod-luṅ-Ram-pa*, *'Bri Se-ru Guṅ-Ston* from *'Bri-khuṅ*, *Ñaṅ Khri-bzaṅ Yaṅ-ston* from *Ñaṅ-ser* and others, a hundred councillors (altogether). Following the orders received from the king laws according to the ten virtues were composed». This passage preserves a tradition which can be traced back at least to the end of the royal period, as the levelling of social differences under *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s reign is already mentioned in his eulogy in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*: *'baṅs mgo nag-po yaṅ mtho-dman nï bsñams* (*DTH*: *sñams*) (*Chr.*:.448—449 = *DTH*:118.11) «and the black-headed subjects of higher and lower rank were levelled».

All three passages are also present in the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston*, but in verse, not in prose (*Dp. ǰa X*:18a.1—6 ~ *R*:25a.1—b.1). Apart from the minor textual deviations resulting from the formal difference, they are almost identical with the versions in the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baˈi me-loṅ*.

That is why the question can be raised: from which source did *Dpaˈ-bo* take over the three passages, from the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*, as was stated by R.-A. Stein in connetion with the version of the *Catalogue of the Goods of the Four Quarters* in the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston* (*op. cit.*, p. 258, nr. XXV*b*), or from the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baˈi me-loṅ*?

If only the text of the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston* is regarded, everything seems to favour the acceptance of the borrowing from the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*. The three passages constitute a closed section in the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston*, which is apparently separated from the surrounding context consisting of capital letters and enneasyllabic verses by its typography of small letters and heptasyllabic verses, and furthermore the closing formula *žes bšad-to* «it is said so». Besides, the first line of the section reads as follows: *de yaṅ* (*R*: *de-la*) *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo-las* (*Dp. ǰa X*:18a.1 ~ *R*:25a.1) «And this (is taken) from the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*». In the given circumstances it can rightly be understood as referring to the whole section.

But we can arrive at another conclusion, if we also take into account the text of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baˈi me-loṅ*. This chronicle also refers to the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*, but, as we have seen (this note, above, p. 56), only the names of the three hundred councillors in the first passage, are expressly originated from them. It is evident that the d i r e c t source of the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston* is not the *Thaṅ-yig čhen-mo*, but the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baˈi me-loṅ*. *Dpaˈ-bo* has put the main text of the three passages of the *Rgyal-rabs* into heptasyllabic verses, and as he has given the section only as notes of small letter, he was obliged to omit the explanatory glosses of the names, and to fit the mention of the source into the verses of the section; and to do so was possible by a deceptive abridgment of the reference to the source.

Now, the mention of the laws (or legislation) at the end of the passage on the levelling of social differences in the *Mkhas-paˈi dgaˈ-ston* has received an unambiguous clarification. In this passage, besides the equalization the «moving» of the laws is also attributed to the councillors (*Dp. ǰa X*:18a.5—6 ~ *R*:25a.6—b.1):

mkhas-pa Thon-mi Sambho- (*R*: *Sam-bho-*) *dra*| |
Mgar-gyi Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ-daṅ | |

icles in three motifs partly really, partly seemingly. One of these motifs is that the king did not enact the laws by himself, but he let them make, and set his seal on them; I could not find the explanation and source of this interpretation. The other motif is that the first quarter of the passage on the laws is filled with sentences which speak of the king's governing methods and his different administrative and cultural activities, and have nothing to say about legal orders or rules of behaviour in the broadest sense. These sentences display features parallel with the royal eulogies of different chronicles, especially with the *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*-eulogy of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. Accordingly, they can be traced back to the *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*-eulogy of an older chronicle, and were falsely incorporated in the passage of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* on the laws (otherwise in the final analysis, one of the sentences belongs to the traditions concerning the state-organization, see below, p. 63). At length, the third discerning motif is number 20 of the laws. The «twenty Tibetan laws» are evidently the sum of the «four fundamental laws» and the «sixteen pure human moral rules», all the more so, because in the enumeration of the laws proper one can really find both the fundamental laws and the moral rules. Consequently the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* has preserved essentially the same traditions on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation as other contemporary and later chronicles have.

24. It is conspicuous how definitely the two groups of the passages on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation can even be separated from the chronological point of view. The latest passage in which neither the sixteen human moral rules, nor the four fundamental laws occur, is the *Rgyal-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig*,

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'Bri- (*R*: *'Gri-*) *yi Si-* (*R*: *Se-*) *ru Guṅ-ston-daṅ*| |
Ñaṅ-gi Khri-bzaṅ Yaṅ-ston-ste (*R*: *sde*)| |
med-thabs med-pa'i blon-po bži| |
de-la sogs-pa'i (*XC*: *pha'i*) *blon-po brgyas* (*R*: *b(rg)ya*)| |
bar-gyi khod-sñom k h r i m s gñis skyod (*R*: *skyoṅ*)| |

«By the wise *Thon-mi Sambho-dra*, (and)
Stoṅ-bcan Yul-bzuṅ of *Mgar*, and
Si-ru Guṅ-ston of *'Bri*, and
Khri-bzaṅ Yaṅ-ston of *Ñaṅ*,
the four not unexperienced councillors
and by others, one hundred councillors (altogether),
both the levelling of the intermediate surfaces, and the l a w s were moved».

As we know the source of the section of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, there can hardly be any doubt that here, beside the passage of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* on the levelling, *Dpa'-bo* has to some extent drawn on the subsequent account on the legislation too, presumably in order to fill the verse.

«discovered» in 1347. On the other hand, the sixteen moral rules are first mentioned in the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* of 1346, and the earliest mention of the four fundamental laws can be found in the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* of 1373, where it is placed just before the sixteen moral rules.

The emergence of new elements occurs in a period when three new codes were composed, and historical *gter-ma*s were discovered in great numbers.

One of the codes is ascribed to *ta'i si-tu Byaṅ-čhub-rgyal-mchan*, myriarch of *Phag-mo-gru*, lord of *Dbus* from 1349, and of the whole of Central Tibet from 1354, in whose service numerous historical *gter-ma*s were «discovered». His codification is regarded by Tibetan historiography as the renovation of the ancient Tibetan kings' legal practice instead of the Mongolian laws (*VDL L*:80a.6—b.4 ~ *P*:186.8—187.6; cf. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949, I, p. 37*a*; L. Petech, *Tibet*, in *Geschichte Mittelasiens : Handbuch der Orientalistik* I 5 v, Leiden—Köln 1966, p. 331). His code — with modifications by the 5th Dalai Lama and *sde-srid "A-bar Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mcho* — was in use until recently (Tucci and Petech, *loci cit.*), together with the «Sixteen Laws» (i.e. the «pure human moral rules») which were even written in the chief officials' registers as governing principles (D. Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, London 1932, pp. 192—193, as quoted by Iwai, *op. cit.*, pp. 52—53).

Similarly, it is worth while dealing with the code of *Chal*, as it was compiled in the myriarchy which was governed by *Kun-dga'-rdo-rǰe*, the author of the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, and *Byaṅ-čhub-rgyal-mchan*'s rival. Perhaps the author of this code was *Kun-dga'-rdo-rǰe* himself. (Tucci, *loc. cit.*).

Though the texts of the codes of the 14th century were not at my disposal, the chronological and other circumstances clearly show that the «sixteen pure human moral rules» and the «four fundamental laws» attributed to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, were compiled in order to justify the code of *Chal* and/or that of *ta'i si-tu Byaṅ-čhub-rgyal-mchan* in the historical and ideological respect. This process in its details must have been the following: for the justification of the code of *Chal* the sixteen moral rules were compiled in or somewhat before 1346, which in turn are mentioned in the section of the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*; *Byaṅ-čhub-rgyal-mchan* took the moral rules from his rival, and having supplemented them with the four fundamental laws, made them the basis of his codification. As the moral rules and the fundamental laws were expressions and products of the real needs of the ruling classes, and their authenticities were supported by both authorities rivalling each other, these apocryphal laws and rules were unreservedly incorporated in the passages on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, in the contemporary and later chronicles. Moreover, when between 1376 and 1565 the narratives of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s *rnam-thar*s were incorporated in the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*, a lengthy passage on the four fundamental laws and the sixteen moral rules were also interpolated in the narrative *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*.

25. While *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation is reported in almost every chronicle and historical *gter-ma*, his activity as organizer of the state is mentioned only in a part of the chronicles of the 12th—14th centuries.

At the turn of the 12th—13th centuries, *Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan* writes in his *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs* as follows: *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po'i riṅ-la . . . °mkhos° čhen-po °drug° mjad skad* (*GragsBRgy*:199b.2 = facs. *CWMS* IV, p. 296/3) «In *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s time . . . the °six° great °institutions° were made, (it is) said». Strangely enough, this chronicle does not speak of the legislation.

In the 14th century the organization of the state is mentioned in *Bu-ston*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ* and *Kun-dge'rdo-rje*'s *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, the texts of the two sources are identical, but the contexts are different. The identity of texts is true not only for the account on state-organization, but also for the catalogue on the conquests during *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s reign: *°Bod ru bži stoṅ-sder phye°|lho-nas Glo*[121]*-daṅ Mon|nub-nas Žaṅ-žuṅ|byaṅ-nas Hor|šar rcva*[122]*-mi*[123]*- šiṅ-mi-rnams mṅa'-'og-tu čhug-go* (*BuČh.*:124b.7) ∼ *. . . mṅa'-'og-tu bsdus* (*HD G*:17a.2 = *HTCN*:93.8—11 + p. 106, n. 90—91). «°Tibet was divided into four horns and thousand-districts° (or Tibet, the Four Horns were divided into thousand-districts). In the south, the *Glo(-bo)*s and the *Mon*s, in the west the *Žaṅ-žuṅ*s, in the north the *Hor*s, in the east the grass-men (and) the tree-men (i.e. the peoples of the pastures and the forests) were led ∼ gathered under the rule (of the king)». In the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, these passages can be found in the main text of the section on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, directly after the passage on the legislation (*HD G*:17a.1—2; for the text see above, § 23, p. 53). On the other hand, in *Bu-ston*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ* the main text of the section on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* speaks only of the legislation (*BuČh.*:124a.5, see above, § 23, p. 53), while the passages on state-organization and conquests can be found towards the end of the section, in notes written in small letters, together with the following passage: *dguṅ-lo brgyad-ču-rca gñis sa-mo-bya-la 'das-so* (*BuČh.*:124b.7) «in his eighty-second heavenly year, in (the year of) Earth-Female-Bird (i.e. 649 A.D.) (the king) departed» (in Obermiller's translation, *HBB* II, p. 185, the whole part written in small letters is missing). *Bu-ston* also treats the king's death in the main text, essentially in the same manner (*BuČh.*:124b.7—125a.2; tsl. Obermiller, *HBB* II:185.20—29), but in the note the indication of the year of the death clearly agrees with that in the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, where the final sentence of the section on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* reads as follows: *dguṅ-lo brgyad-ču-rca gñis-pa*[124] *sa-mo-bya'i lo-la yab-yum gsum raṅ-byon thugs-rje čhen-po'i thugs-khar thim-mo* (*HD G*:17a.4 = *HTCN*:93.16—18 + p. 106, n. 95) «in his eighty-second heavenly year, in the

[121] *HD D*: *blo*.
[122] *HD D*: *rca*.
[123] *HD G* inserts a *šad*.
[124] *D*: *brgyad-bču-rca 2-pa*.

year of the Earth-Female-Bird, the father and the mothers, the three of them (i.e. the king and his two wives) melt into the heart of the Self-Existent Great Compassionate One». The notes of the chronicles written with small letters are usually explanatory glosses, deviations and specifications interrupting the train of thought of the main text, or are quotations from works representing traditions which deviate from the main text; but they can also be interpolations inserted after the writing of the work. Thus, in the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* the genealogy of the Mongol dynasty concludes with mentioning the succession to the throne of the last Yüan emperor, *Tho-gan-the-mur* (*Toγan-temür*) in 1333, and the first four periods of his reign (*HD G*:14b.9—15a.1 = *HTCN*: 80.26—81.2), i.e. the genealogy ends with the year in which the chronicle was finished. But after this a note written in small letters, or in brackets in the Gangtok-edition resp. (*HDG*:15a.1—9 = *HTCN*:81.2—82.2) traces the history of the Mongol rulers till the fall of the Yüan-dynasty in 1368 (for more details see A. Macdonald, *PLRBY*, p. 88 and p. 136, n. 152—153; a further analogy *ibid.*, p. 88—89). On the evidence of what has been said so far it is obvious that the passages on the state-organization, conquests and *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s death did not get from *Bu-ston*'s earlier *Čhos-'byuṅ* into the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, but just the contrary, they were incorporated in *Bu-ston*'s work as later supplements from the *Deb-ther*. Considering the well-known personal contacts of the two authors, it seems justifiable that the supplement was added to the work by *Bu-ston* himself.

The passages on the state-organization of *Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan*, *Bu-ston* and the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* undoubtedly display certain correspondences with the following passages of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*: *Mgar-gyis °Bod°-kyi °khod° bča'-ba'i phyir . . . °khod° šom bčug-pas . . . °Bod°-kyi °khod° Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rǰes bšom . . . °ru°-mchams °'byed°-pa| yul bgod-pa | rgod-g-yuṅ-gi °sde 'byed°-pa-sogs žib-par smras-nas . . .* (*Dp. ǰa X*:19a.1, .4—6 ~ *R*:26a.4, b.1—3[125]) «*Mgar*, in order to create the °administration° of Tibet . . . they began to arrange °administration° . . . *Dar-rgyal Maṅ-po-rǰe* arranges the °administration° of Tibet . . . he narrated in detail the °drawing° of the boundaries of °the horns°, the settlement of the countries, the °division of the groups° of the savage and the tame, etc.».

But there are more lengthy and exact correspondences with the *Survey of the Six Institutions*. The *Survey* can be found in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, within the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization*, but originally — as can be establihsed on the evidence of the structure of the *Section on Law and State* — it introduced and summarized the first part of the double catalogue-cycle on the six and thirty-six institutions, which reflects the circumstances

[125] For the readings of *R* see above, p. 25, n. 37, 44—45.

at the end of the 8th century (see above, §§ 2—5, pp. 17—23, esp. pp. 17—18, 21—22). Now, the following passages from the *Survey* are interesting for us (*Dp. ǰa X*:18b.4—5 ~ *R*:25b.6—26a.1)[126]:

thog-mar °Bod°-yul °ru°-čhen °ṅa -ru phye°| |

. . . . . .

rgod-kyi °stoṅ-sde° drug-bču-rca gčig °phye°| |

. . . . . .

de-la Bod-kyi °khos drug° žes-su grags |

«First of all, °Tibet was divided into f i v e° big °horns°,

. . . . . .

sixty-one °thousand-districts° of the savage °were divided°,

. . . . . .

— these are called °the six institutions° of Tibet».

Generally, there is no need to comment upon the presented correspondences, only one deviation needs to be mentioned here: in the *Hu-lan deb-ther* and in *Bu-ston*'s work only four horns are mentioned, whilst in the *Survey* five horns are referred to. This deviation can be easily explained. Until 763 at least, five horns were known in the administrative and military organization of the Tibetan Empire. These horns were divided into the *Ru Bži* «Four Horns» constituting Tibet proper, and into the *Sum-ru/Sum-pa'i ru* «Horn of the *Sum-pa*s», with its full name *Yan-lag-Gsum-pa'i ru* (recte: *Yaṅ-lag-Sum-pa'i ru*) «Second Supplementary Horn[127] of the *Sum-pa*s» which belonged to the province *Mdo-smad* (Uray, *FHT*, pp. 49—51). The verse on the horns in the *Survey of the Six Institutions* is a summary of the catalogue of the boundaries of the horns, and this list really speaks of five horns (*Dp. ǰa X*:19a.6—b.2 ~ *R*:26b.4—27a.2; cf. *PRN*, pp. 77—79). But after the collapse of the old kingdom, the Horn of the *Sum-pa*s and together with it the five horns were sank into oblivion, but the names of the horns of Tibet proper have been preserved in everyday usage for four or five hundred years and in the literature up to the present day as names of regions, while the appellation *Ru Bži* «Four Horns»

[126] For the full text of the *Survey* and the readings of *R* see above, p. 18, n. 3.

[127] Previously, I explained this name erroneously (*FHT*, pp. 43—44), basing my suggestion on the corrupt form of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (*Dp. ǰa X*:19b.2 ~ *R*:27a.1—2). My emendation and new interpretation will be backed up in my monography on the historical geography of ancient Tibet.

has become the epitheton ornans and a synonim of the name *Bod/Bod-yul/Bod-khams* «Tibet» in the literature and folk-poetry (*FHT*, pp. 34—35, n. 9 and p. 49). Therefore, in the course of the tradition of the accounts on the administrative organization, it was practically unavoidable to diminish the five horns to four.

26. Even if not in full details, at least in brief, I shall treat two related sources, notably the passage on the state of *Gña'-khri bcan-po*, the legendary ancestor of the royal dynasty, in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* compiled in the middle of the 17th century, and the passage on the deeds of the last of the Seven Sages in *Śrībhūtibhadra*'s *Rgya-bod-kyi yig-chaṅ Mkhas-pa dga'-byed čhen-mo* of 1434.

The introductory and final part of the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* runs as follows: *sku-sruṅ-sde bžis sku sruṅs | rgod-ldod-sde* (recte: *rgod-stoṅ-sde*) {*mi*} *bži-bču-rca bžis ni phyi'i dgra 'dul | g-yur-ldod-sde* (recte: *g-yuṅ-stoṅ-sde*) *bži-bču-rca bži ni naṅ-gi čha⟨d⟩-kha sñoms | . . . | rje'i bka'-khrims ni gaṅs-la ñi-ma šar-ba-daṅ 'dra* (*LdRgy. F*:29.5—6, .10—11) «His Majesty's body is protected by the four groups of body-guards. The external enemies are defeated by the forty-four thousand-districts of the savage. The internal services are managed by the forty-four thousand-districts of the tame. . . . The ruler's laws are similar to the sun rising over the glacier».

This passage was noticed by R. A. Stein who thought that the organization described here is the same as that in the *Section on Law and State* of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, consequently it can be related to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s time, and was erroneously inserted into the section on *Gña'-khri bcan-po* (*TAMST*, p. 14, n. 36).

No doubt the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state was formerly related to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*. It is shown by the fact that in the section of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* on *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* there is no mention of the legislation and state-organization, though at least the former is treated in almost every chronicle. But the former relation of the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* is corroborated even more clearly by the following agreement: *sku-sruṅ-sde bžis sku sruṅs* (*LdRgy. F*:29.5) «His Majesty's body is protected by the four groups of body-guards» ~ *sku-bsruṅ*[128] *sde bžir spyad* (*RgyGsM Sd.*:33a.1—2 ~ *K*:62.7) «the body-guards were put into four groups». The last sentence stands in the passage of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* that is placed at the beginning of the review of the twenty laws, but in fact it is the remnant of an old *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*-eulogy put there erroneously (see above, p. 58). Consequently the description of the state in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* originally joined the *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*-eulogy of the old unknown chronicle that was one of the indirect or direct sources of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*.

[128] *K*: *bsruṅs*.

The sentence concerning the laws in the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state is so poor in terms that the origin of the data cannot be detected with any certainty. At any rate, the term *bka'-khrims* occurs in the *Narrative of Legislation*, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*, so in this respect the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* does not deviate from the early forms of the traditions concerning legislation.

As for the accounts concerning various institutions in the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state, these institutions really occur in the *Section on Law and State*, but deviations which cannot be neglected are also present. Among these the difference between the numbers of the thousand-districts is highly instructive. In the *Section on Law and State*, more precisely in the *Survey of the Six Institutions* and the *List of the Thousand-Districts* sixty-one thousand-districts of the savage, notably 50 thousand-districts, 7 little thousand-districts, and 4 thousand-districts of the body-guards are mentioned (*Dp. ǰa. X*:18b.4—5, :19b.6—20a.4 ~ *R*:25b.6, :27a.5—b.6; cf. Tucci, *PRN*, pp. 81—84); on the other hand, in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* only four groups of body-guards and 44 thousand-districts of the savage, altogether 48 units, are referred to. This number is not a scribal error, but — as I shall point out in detail in my work in preparation — it can also be ascertained from other sources, and corresponds to the situation prior to the re-organization of 743. In other words, the passage of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state describes a form of the state-organization in the royal period which was in use in the first three-four decades of the 8th century, moreover perhaps already in the second half of the 7th century, but it could not be older than the great administrative organization of 654.

As far as the passage on the seventh sage in the *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-chaṅ* (Gangtok MS, fol. 110a—111a) is concerned, without the original, unfortunately I can quote only R. A. Stein's excerpt: «Sous le roi suivant [i.e. *Khri Ldesroṅ-brcan*?], le septième sage aurait institué les 'gardiens' des quatre orients (aux frontières) pour le service du roi, il aurait organisé les guerriers *(rgod)* en 'groupes de mille' *(stong-sde)* pour monter la garde aux frontières. A l'intérieur du royaume, il obligea par la loi les 'faibles' serfs à subvenir aux besoins du roi et les organisa aussi en groupes de mille» (*CT*, p. 32). I should point out that the expression «(aux frontières)» does not go back to the text of the *Yig-chaṅ*, but is — according to the evidence of the brackets — R. A. Stein's insertion supplementing the meaning of the sentence. In my opinion this interpretation is not justifiable, because the «guardians of the four quarters at the king's service» evidently mean the *Sku-sruṅ šar-phyogs*[129]*-pa*, the *Sku-sruṅ byaṅ-phyogs-pa*, the *Sku-sruṅ nub-phyogs-pa* and the *Sku-sruṅ lho-phyogs-pa*, i.e. the «Body Guard of the Eastern (resp. Northern, Western and Southern)

[129] *R*: *phyoṭ*.

Quarter» mentioned in the *List of the Thousand-Districts* of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*(*Dp.ǰa. X*:19b.6—20a.2∼*R*:27.a6—27b.3; cf. *PRN*:81.24, :82.14,.30,:83.11).

All in all, the similarity between the passage on the seventh sage and that on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state is so striking that their common origin seems very probable. However, to take a definite standpoint it would be necessary to know the original text and broader context of the passage on the seventh sage, and at least to ascertain whether the number of the thousand-districts in this passage differs or not from that in the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state.

27. On the basis of what has been said so far, the sources and formation of the traditions concerning *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* as legislator and organizer of state, as well as the place of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* among the other sources can be determined as follows:

a) The fundamental source of the traditions concerning *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s legislation is the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* or a revision of it from the 11th—12th centuries: the original, uninterpolated form of the narrative *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*. The brief mention of the king's laws in the *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*-eulogy of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* go back to the *Narrative* itself. Motifs and expressions originating directly or indirectly from the original parts of the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* can be attested in the passages on legislation of each post-*phyi-dar* chronicle scrutinized in this paper, notably the *Čhos-la 'ǰug-pa'i sgo*, *Bu-ston*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ*, the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, the *Rgyal-po-bka'i thaṅ-yig*, the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*, the *Deb-gter sṅon-po*, the 5th Dalai Lama's chronicle, the *Dpag-sam ljon-bzaṅ*, and *Kloṅ-rdol*'s work. Only the sentence speaking of *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s (but originally *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s) laws in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* fails to contain any typical motif or expression which would unambigously prove the origin of the data from the *Narrative* or the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa*, but other features yielding the faintest hint to other sources are equally missing in this work.

b) In the traditions subsequent to 1346 the «sixteen pure human moral rules» and the «four fundamental laws», i.e. the «twenty Tibetan laws» gained an important role. These laws were composed and attributed to *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* in order to justify the codifications of *Chal* and of *ta'i si-tu Byaṅ-čhub-rgyal-mchan* from the historical and ideological point of view, and have found their ways into almost every chronicle written after 1346: the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*, the *Deb-gter sṅon-po*, the chronicle of the 5th Dalai Lama, the *Dpag-sam ljon-bzaṅ*, and *Kloṅ-rdol*'s work. Furthermore, they were interpolated into the excerpts of law originating from the late royal period which can be found in the *Section on Law and State* of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, moreover they were incorporated into the only known version of the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* which got into the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum* in the course of the enlargements in 1376—1565.

c) The *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* has not and could not play role in the formation of the rather vague traditions concerning *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s state organization, as the tendentious history of the adminis-rative organization had lost its actuality by the end of the royal period.

d) An earlier source of the passages on state-organization is a catalogue (or cycle of catalogues), in which the state-organization of the beginning of the 8th century (or perhaps the second half of the 7th century) was described, and which was already attached to the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* in the time of the formation of the *Narrative*. This catalogue is the source of the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, and of a short data in the passage on the «twenty Tibetan laws» in the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*. Presumably the passage on the seventh sage in the *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-chaṅ* similarly goes back to this catalogue.

e) Another, later source of the traditions concerning state-organization is the double catalogue-cycle presenting the state-organization of the end of the 8th century which already occupied the place of the older catalogue in the traditions concerning *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* at the end of the royal period, but at the latest in the 12th century. This double cycle is preserved in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, while the *Survey of the Six Institutions* introducing and summarizing the first cycle is the source of the short accounts on state-organization in *Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan*'s *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs* and the *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, and of the additional insertion in *Bu-ston*'s *Čhos-'byuṅ*.

VI. Conclusions

28. The task of my paper was to evaluate critically the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* preserved in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, and generally the traditions concerning *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* as legislator and organizer of state, and draw the historical conclusions.

A) Concerning the sources of the various passages on the legislation and state-organization, the circumstances of their formation and the proces of development of the traditions, my chief results are as follows:

1. The prototype of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* was compiled in c. 715/718 from the accounts of 654—655 of the *Royal Annals*, the *List of the Administrative Chiefs* of the 630—640-ies and folk-tale motifs. The legislation and state-organization was transferred from *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan*'s age to *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s time, and the legislation was attributed to the person of *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*.

2. In c. 900/1000—1167 the *Narrative* underwent two subsequent redactions of Buddhist spirit: in the first only two Buddhist motifs were interpolated, and this version — together with further interpolations by *Dpa'-bo*

Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba — got into the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*; in the second the text of the *Narrative* was considerably revised, the result of which was the formation of the narrative *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* which has come down to us — enlarged with lengthy interpolations in the 14th—16th centuries — in the *Maṇi-bka'-'bum*.

3. Probably already at the time of the formation of the *Narrative*, a catalogue (or cycle of catalogues) presenting the contemporary state-organization was attached to it; later on, this catalogue was substituted with the double catalogue-cycle presenting the six and thirty-six institutions of the end of the 8th century.

4. The passages on *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po*'s legislation and state-organization in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and later works, furthermore the passage on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (and probably the passage on the seventh sage in the *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-chaṅ Mkhas-pa dga'-byed čhen-mo*) ultimately go back to the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* or its revised version: the *Khrims bčas-pa'i mjad-pa* and/or one of the two catalogue-cycles attached to the *Narrative*; while the «sixteen pure human moral rules» and the «four fundamental laws» which are attributed to *Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po* in the works subsequent to 1346, were compiled in connection with the codifications of the middle of the 14th century.

B) The source-value of the *Narrative of Legislation and Organization* and the other investigated passages can be determined as follows:

1. The Narrative and the other passages contain no single data which originaly and authentically present *Sroṅ-brcan-sgam-po*'s activities as legislator and organizer of the state.

2. Nevertheless the *Narrative* and other passages are significant sources of the Tibetan history of the royal period and to some extent of the Middle Ages: *a)* The *List of the Administrative Chiefs* in the *Narrative* is an authentic document originating from the 630—640-ies, moreover it is the only extant document of the territorial division of the Tibetan Empire under *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*. *b)* On the basis of the part of the *Narrative* on the administrative organization we can reconstruct several moments of the original records of the *Royal Annals* of the years 654 and 655 which were omitted from the extant excerpt of Tun-huang. *c)* Regarding its entirety (but naturally disregarding the interpolations of the redaction in c. 900/1000—1167 and that of *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba*), the *Narrative* is a valuable document on the fights for power in the 710s. *d)* In the passage of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* on *Gña'-khri bcan-po*'s state (and probably in the passage of the *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-chaṅ* on the seventh sage too) a catalogue or rather the excerpt of a catalogue-cycle describing the state-organization of the early 8th century (and perhaps of the late 7th century) has been preserved, though its text is rather corrupt unfortunately. Finally,

e) the recognition of the «sixteen pure human moral rules» and the «four fundamental laws» as forgeries, yield valuable contributions to the investigation of the codifications of the 14th century.

C) The historical consequences of the source critical scrutiny is that we must state that there was no codification and deliberate administrative organization under *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, alias *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*; this took place only under *Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan* in 654—655.

This statement is corroborated also by a hitherto unmentioned circumstance, the negative evidence of the *Royal Annals*. The damaged introductory section of the first version (*Ann. I*:.1—16 = *FT*:34.27—35.5 + *DTH*:13.2—8) comprises the whole period of *Khri Sroṅ-rcan*'s reign. In this section not only the preserved parts of the text fail to mention a legislation or administrative organization, but the missing parts of the lines could not speak of them either, because apart from a few words, their reconstruction is quite sure (Richardson, *FT*, pp. 35—38; Petech, *GAT*, pp. 254—255).

In spite of the deliberate forgeries and errors, the traditions are not far off the historical truth, as the administrative organization and codification executed shortly after *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*'s death and later attributed to him, are but the last stages of the development during his reign.

Addition

This paper had been at the press for a long time when Mrs. Ariane Macdonald's new work of basic importance from the point of Old Tibetan studies was published (*Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290; Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris 1971, pp. 190—391). Here, among others, the author gives a detailed analysis and documentation of those statements which she had published earlier (*Conf. 1967/68*) and to which I could refer in my paper, but she deals with several other questions as well, that belong to the subject of my present work. Of her work I have to mention primarily the following places: pp. 317—319: the phrase *mkhos bšamste* in the unpublished MS *FPT 1290* and its relation to the term *mkho-šam čhen-pho* in the Royal Annals (cf. above, p. 27 and § 8*d*); pp. 190, 219—220, 259—261, 268, 271, 277—280, 289—291, 309—312, 315: the chronology of the 11th and 12th paragraphs of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and the identification of *Lig Myi-rhya/-rya* with *Lig sña-šur* (cf. above, n. 88 and § 21, also my earlier work quoted in n. 88); pp. 229, 238—239, 249—254, 277—280, 286, 289—291, 309—311: the chronology of the career of *Khyuṅ-po Spuṅ-sad Zu-ce* (cf. above, §§ 11—12); pp. 251—252, 334: the relations of the two versions of the *Biography of Khyuṅ-po* (cf. above, n. 91); pp. 261—263: the location of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* (cf. above, § 14 and esp. n. 95); pp. 376—378, 383, and p. 376, n. 620: the legislation of *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po* in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and later historiography (cf. above, §§ 21—24, 27—28). In most cases our results are identical or differ only to an extent that is justifyed by the different aspects of our studies. But in a few cases there are significant differences as well to which I shall return at another occasion.

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THE SOGDIAN INSCRIPTION OF BUGUT REVISED*

BY

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1. In 1956 the Mongol archeologist C. Doržsürên discovered a burial complex dating from the time of the ancient Turks (6th—8th century) in the province of Archangaj of the Mongolian People's Republic, about 10 km to the West of Bugut, in the valley of the Chanuj-gol river. On the top of a low rectangular earthen mound (35 by 16 by 0.5 meters) was erected a stone kurgan (diameter 10 m, height 0.7 m), to the South-East of which stood a stele made of brownish sandstone. Further away, beyond the border of the mound, there was a row of more than 270 balbals. The stele was placed on the back of a stone tortoise which was found at a depth of 3 m, whereas the stele was lying about buried in earth so that only the upper part jutted out. After the stele had been unearthened, it measured 1.98 m in height, 0.2 m in thickness and, at the base, 0.7 m in width. All the four side walls of the stele were covered with inscriptions. The right upper part was broken. C. Doržsürên also discovered the foundations of six wooden pillars that had been supporting a roof above the stele, and fragments of grey tiles, slightly calcined. The kurgan did not seem to be worth excavating since there was a predatory funnel in the mound. The stele and the tortoise were removed from the site and placed in the Archangaj regional museum in Cêcêrlêg.[1] In 1969 the burial complex of Bugut was investigated by S. Kljaštornyj, member of the Soviet-Mongolian archeological expedition, and in the next year further investigations were carried out by V. Livšic in the same expedition, during which two other small fragments of the stele were detected.

In 1968 academician B. Rinchen published the photocopies of some lines from the inscription on one of the wide sides of the stele. The text, severely distorted by retouch, was defined in this publication as an Uighur inscription ([33], p. 75). In the same year S. Kljaštornyj had an opportunity to study the stele in Cêcêrlêg, he measured and photographed it. On the basis of his photos,

* Cf. S. G. Kljaštornyj, V. A. Livšic, *Согдийская надпись из Бугута* in: *Страны и народы Востока*, t. X, Moskva 1971, pp. 121—146.

[1] The circumstances of the discovery are given according to the verbal information of C. Doržsürên.

V. Livšic established that the cursive inscription carved on one of the two wide sides and on the two narrow sides of the stele is Sogdian. In 1969 S. Kljaštornyj once more studied the stele, rephotographed it and took squeeze mouldings. Next year the stele was examined by V. Livšic. (The authors are most grateful to Ch. Luvsanbaldan, G. Sùchbaatar and M. Šinêchùù, research workers of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, for their help in this work.)

In this paper the side walls of the stele will be designated as B1 — left lateral side, B2 — «front» side, B3 — right lateral side, and B4 — «reverse» side, respectively.

The Sogdian inscription on B1—2—3 is engraved vertically, the lines arranged from the left to the right. With such an arrangement it seemed obvious to search for the beginning on B1. In fact, on this side we find the Sogdian word for «stele» (*pts'kh*, see below) as well as information concerning its erection. The Sogdian inscription contained 29 lines: 5 lines on B1, 19 on B2 and 5 on B3. The original length of each line must have been about 120 cm.

On the side B1 the eroded parts of lines 1—4 comprised 10—20 characters. The 5th line is even more severely damaged and even the middle of this line is missing.

On the side B2 fragments of 19 lines have been preserved. The zone of erosion and the numerous grooves spoil about half of the text in lines 1—8. In each line 35—40 letters are destroyed or damaged. About half to two third of the text in lines 9—19 is lacking due to the fracture of the upper right part of the stele (the missing fragments — one third of the whole stele — are to be excavated).

On the side B3 the second half of lines 1—4 has been preserved. In line 5 only the traces of some letters can be distinguished. Thus at present one can judge the content of the Sogdian inscription on B1—2—3 on the evidence of comparatively small fragments of the text, with, as a rule, only the end parts of the lines preserved.

B4 contains the remains of more than 20 lines of a Sanskrit inscription written in vertical Brahmi. Deciphering of this inscription has been recently started. It should be stated that akṣaras are small in size and not deeply carved. This text is badly damaged by erosion.

The Sogdian text of the Bugut inscription seems to have been carved by an expert hand. There is a definite rhythm in the proportion of the characters. The height of the Sogdian letters is about 1.5 cm, the width is about 1—2 cms. Its shape bears evidence not only of the professional skill of the carver, but also of the comparatively early date of the inscription.

2. The Bugut stele obviously differs from the known sepulchral monuments erected in honour of the Turkish and Uighur rulers or other important political personalities of the 7th—9th centuries, though the burial complex

the stele was found in belongs to the type of «princely burials» according to the classification of B. Ja. Vladimircov ([5], p. 42; cf. [40], pp. 538—542). In particular, as in the case of other burial edifices of rulers, the stele is erected on the back of a tortoise. This fact suggests that the deceased belonged to the kin of the qaghan. At the same time the generic sign of the qaghan of the second Turkish dynasty (691—742), a schematic representation of the mountain-goat (cf. [14], p. XVII) is missing from the stele.

The bas-reliefs on the upper part of the stele have only partly been preserved (fig. 3), but it is clear that they are quite different from those on the monuments known up to the present. The bas-reliefs on both wide sides of the stele are identical in theme and technique. Moreover the engraver tried to join them on the lateral walls and thus to create a united sculptural representation. While the monuments belonging to the 7th—9th centuries bear the sign of the qaghan or Chinese dragons, the bas-relief of the Bugut stele represents a wolf, probably a she-wolf, under whose paunch there is an oddly but clearly depicted human figure. There is hardly any doubt that it is a scene from the ancient Turkish genealogical myth. This myth recorded from a Turkish informant is best preserved in the Chinese dynastic chronicle *Chou-shu* completed in 629 and covering the period from 556 to 581. According to the legend, the ancestors of the Turks living on the border of a big marsh or, according to another version, on the Eastern shore of the *Hsi-hai*, the «West Sea»,[2] were destroyed by the troops of a neighbouring tribe. The only survivor was a ten-year-old boy cruelly mutilated by the enemy. The boy was raised by a she-wolf who later became his wife. Hiding from the enemy the she-wolf ran to the mountains in the North of *Kao-ch'ang* (Turfan oasis). There, in a cave, she bore ten sons fathered by the boy whom she had saved. The sons of the she-wolf married women from *Kao-ch'ang*. One of them called *A-shih-na* became the leader of a new clan which was named after him. Later the leaders of the *A-shih-na* took their tribesmen to the Altai where they acquired the name Turk.

The legend whose totemic character is obvious was embodied in the symbolism of the Turkish qaghans' imperial attributes; their standards were decorated with a golden wolf-head and their body-guards were called «wolves».[3]

The above listed characteristics allow us to suppose that the person in whose honour the Bugut monument was erected had belonged to the *A-shih-na*

[2] Due to the investigations of R. Mather ([58], pp. 75, 88) the district Hsi-hai can be exactly localised for that period. It is the wide delta of the river Etsin-gol whose stream flows into the lakes Gašun-nūr and Sogo-nūr surrounded by a number of smaller lakes and salt marshes. The territory of Hsi-hai was included in the province Liang also including the greater part of Kansu, the Turfan depression in the North West and Hsining in the South.

[3] The subject is discussed in detail by Sir Gerard Clauson [31].

family and the whole burial complex can be dated to the period of the first dynasty (551—630).

3. There are at least two chronological indications in the preserved fragments of the inscription. The first occurring in the beginning part of it (B1, line 1) clearly refers to the erection of the stele:[4] (*'mwh*?) [. . .] (*pt*)*s'kh 'wst't δ'r'nt tr'wkt c*(*yn*)*st'n kwts'tt' 'γšywn'k* «The Turks erected this(?) . . . stele (under) *Kwts'tt* the ruler of China».

For *pts'kh* «monument, stele» cf. *pts'k* in the Qarabalghasun inscription ([46], pp. 15, 19, 21; [49], p. 86) from *p*(*a*)*tsāč-* «to raise, to erect» and also Parth. *ẖnsk* «stele», from **hansāč-* ([51], p. 176; [50], p. 41). The word *Kwts'tt* is beyond doubt a transcription of a Chinese name or a motto of reign (*nien-hao*); the word (')*γšywn'k* «ruler» in the Bugut inscription as well as in other Sogdian texts is not a technical term, therefore it might well have been used for designating the Chinese emperor (instead of the title *βγpwr*). The identification of the name *Kwts'tt* has not yet been successful; as S. E. Jachontov pointed out, the word in question cannot be considered as a transcription of the Old Chinese form of the T'ang imperial temple namesKao-tsu or Kao-tsung.

In the Old Turkish runic inscriptions «stele» is generally called *bäŋkü* (*bäŋgü*, *bäŋü*) lit. «eternal», *bäŋü taš* «stone-plate with inscription» (cf. [40], pp. 544—545) or *taš* «stone» (cf. [13], pp. 9.19, 37). For *'wst't δ'r'nt* «erected», cf. in the runic inscriptions in some analogical contexts the verb *tik-* (*tik-* III) having similarly to Sogdian *'wsty-* the meaning «to establish, to erect».

It is quite possible that the next, second line, contained further details concerning the time when the stele was erected. One can find the traces of the word *'YK* «when» at the beginning, then follows a large lacune (some 15 letters being disappeared), after which one can read the name and title: (*ZK*) *trwkc βγy nw''r γ'γ'n* «the Turkish lord, *Nivar-qaγan*». Nivar and *Kwts'tt* being contemporaries, the stele must have been erected during the rule of Nivar (see below). This line is the only place in the text where we find his name. It is noteworthy that the word *trwkc* «Turkish» stands only before the name of Nivar and never appears before the names of other qaghans. We may presume that the author putting the name of the Chinese ruler at the beginning of the inscription wanted to stress the fact that the stele was erected by the Turks during the reign of Nivar.

In line 6 on B2 we read about an event which happened in the Hare year (*γrγwšk srδy*, a Sogdian translation of the Turkish *tavišγan yïlï*).[5] As for the

[4] In the transliteration letters that have been completely destroyed are put in square brackets, those partly destroyed in round brackets.

[5] The conviction in the Chinese chronicles of the fact that «in the beginning» of the Turkish history, i. e. in the middle of the 6th century, «the Turks did not know the yearly calendar, so that only the colour of the grass helped them to orientate in time»

period of the first Turkish empire, the Hare year (4th of the twelve-year animal cycle) may correspond to the years 559, 571, 583, 595, 607 and 619. There are no more chronological data in the readable parts of the inscription, so we must date it on the basis of the names of the Turkish qaghans mentioned in the text.

In the inscription there is not a single mention of the qaghans of the second dynasty known to us from the Old Turkish runic monuments as well as from Chinese sources. From among the names of the qaghans of the first dynasty the Old Turkish inscriptions mention only two: *Bumïn*, the founder of the First Empire and his brother, *Istämi* (the inscriptions in honour of *Kül Tegin* and *Bilgä Qayan*). Up till now, all the other names of the rulers of the First Empire have only been known in foreign transcriptions. The Chinese authors met with great difficulties at the transcription of the Turkish names. Besides, they often did not give the main or full name of the qaghan, only a certain part of it.

Authentic Turkish onomastics is reflected in the Bugut inscription. In the preserved fragments four names of qaghans are mentioned: Nivar qaghan (*nw''r γ'γ'n*), Muhan qaghan (*mwγ'n γ'γ'n*, Chin. *Mu-han k'o-han*), Bumïn qaghan (*βwmyn γ'γ'n*, Chin. *T'u-men k'o-han*) and Taspar qaghan (*t'sp'r γ'γ'n*, Chin. *T'o-po k'o-han*, cf. [70], p. 128).

The table on p. 74 contains a comparison of the names of qaghans preserved in the Bugut inscription with the corresponding forms known from other sources. We have to notice that none of the mentioned events goes beyond the limits of the above listed qaghans' rule — they all took place not later than the 580's. In this way a *terminus ad quem* arises for the whole monument and for the inscription as well. The *terminus a quo* is 572.

4. The rise of the first Turkish Empire took place in 551 when the leader of the Turks, *Bumïn*, from the clan of *A-shih-na*, took the title of *i-li k'o-han* (**ilig qayan*, see [60], p. 10, cf. however *il qayan* by Liu Mau-tsai, [56], table II) after having overcome the army of his suzarain, *Anahuan*, the qaghan of the *Juan-juan*s.

Under his son and successor *Kuo-lo* (*Qara-qayan*) the *Juan-juan*s were once more defeated (in 553) and *Muhan-qaghan*, the brother of *Qara-qaghan* completed their destruction in 555. In the years of *Muhan*'s rule the Turkish Empire became a political hegemony in Central and Inner Asia. The *Ch'i-tan* tribes in South-West Manchuria and the Kirghiz on the Yenisei were subdued, the Hephtalite state in Inner Asia was destroyed. By 571, after the Turks' campaign to Iran, the border of the Turkish Empire reaches the river Amu-

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is contradictory to the letter of the Turkish qaghan *Sha-po-lio* included in the same chronicles (about 584) giving the exact date: the Dragon year 9th month, 10th day, see [56], I, p. 463.

Darya. In 576 a Turkish division occupied the Kimmerian Bosporus (Kerch). Both Northern Chinese states, Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou became tributaries to *Muhan* and later to *Taspar*.

Towards the end of the 60's of the 6th century the Turkish Empire became included in the system of political and economic relations of the more powerful empires of the time, Byzantium, the Sassanian Iran, China, and took part in the struggle for controlling the great trade route connecting the Far-Eastern *oikumene* with the Mediterranean.

To p. 73

Bugut inscription	Old Turkish inscriptions	Chinese sources			
		Transcription by N. Ja. Bičurin	Reconstruction by B. Karlgren	Proposed original form (by S. E. Jachontov)	Time of rule
βwmyn γ'γ'n	*Bumïn-qaγan*	*T'u-men* (throne name: *I-li k'o-han*)	*t'uo mən*	*tumyn*	d. 552
?	—	*Kuo-lo* (throne names: *I-hsi-chi, Ai k'o-han, I k'o-han*)	*khuâ lâ*	*qara? xvara?*	d. 553
mwγ'n γ'γ'n	—	*Ch'i-chin (Ssŭ-chin), Yen-tu;* throne name: *Mu-han k'ohan*	*muk γân muk kân*	*muγan muqan*	553—572
t'asp'r γ'γ'n	—	*T'o-po k'ohan*	*thâ puât*	*tapar*	572—581
nw''r γ'γ'n	—	*Nie-t'u, Shê-t'u,* throne names: a) *Er-fu k'o-han* (little qaghan under *T'o-po*). b) *Sha-po-lio k'o-han*	*ńźię b'ɻuk ńźię̯ b'uât*	*ñebuk (ñevuk)* *ñebar (ñevar)*[6]	572—581 581—587

[6] Note by S. E. Jachontov: According to Karlgren, the characters Er-fu 爾伏 have the ancient pronunciation *ńźię̯-b'ɻuk*. The first of them seldom occurs in Buddhist transcription corresponding to the syllable *ñe*. The second one does not belong to the characters serving for the transcription of foreign words, its phonetic value may be *buk* or *vuk*. I know only one example where it renders *bhuk* (in the transcription of the geographical name *Tirabhukti*). The character has also the pronunciation *b'ɨəu* transcribing

It is possible that the character 伏 *fu* appeared in the name *Er-fu* as the result of a graphic mistake instead of *pa* (Ancient Chinese *b'uât*) commonly used for spelling the syllables *bar* and *var*. As L. Menjšikov told me, in the Tun-Huang MSS the sign 伏 is regularly written 伂 (with the same right side as in the case of 拔).

The title *Er-fu k'o-han* is to be found in the Chinese sources in only one phrase (cf. [2], 1, p. 233) being repeated in all texts in the same form. Obviously, it goes back in each case to one and the same source, therefore, if that source had been mistaken, it was automatically repeated in all the later texts.

This is the general historical background of the Bugut monument. The sources that are in the possession of the investigators at present contain some rather detailed information on the foreign politics of the Turkish Empire but throw hardly any light on the events that happened inside it during the first three decades of its existence. Therefore, no matter how fragmentary the data preserved in the Bugut inscription are, they are important not only for controlling and detailing the information acquired from other sources but have an independent informational value as well. The inscription informs us on the succession of the qaghans. First of all it is dedicated to the activities of *Mahan-tegin* in whose memory the burial complex of Bugut was built. This personage is known only from this monument and we neither could find his name in other sources nor identify him with any of the qaghans mentioned in Chinese chronicles. In the preserved fragments of the inscription *Mahan-tegin*'s name occurs five times (B1, lines 2 and 3; B2, lines 4—6; B3, line 4; in the latter *mγ'*[*n tykyn*] can be reconstructed without doubt). Three times his name is accompanied by the word *βγy* «lord» usually met here with the names of the qaghans (*βγy . . . γ'γ'n* «lord . . . qaghan»). In the B1, line 2 and B3, line 4, the name of *Mahan-tegin* appears without the word *βγy*. It may be supposed that this word stands before the names of qaghans and *Mahan-tegin* only when they are described as real participants of the events. Thus, in the description of the joint deeds of *Muhan-qaghan* and *Mahan-tegin*, both of them are styled *βγy* (*βγy mwγ'n γ'γ'n 'PZY βγy mγ'n tykyn*) but the word *βγy* is lacking in B2, l 3, where *Muhan-qaghan* is mentioned as being dead. The same interpretation may be suggested for B1, l. 2, B3, l. 3, where *Mahan-tegin*'s name is mentioned without the word *βγy*. Here *Mahan-tegin* is not an active participant of the described events but seems only to be an object of the narrative. A special interpretation must be given in the case where the word *βγy* precedes the name of *Bumïn-qaghan* (B2, ll. 8, 9), which is found in the following contexts: «. . . the abode of lord *Bumïn-qaghan*» (*i.e.* the temple of ancestor worship) and «to receive an order in the name of lord *Bumïn-qaghan*».

Mahan-tegin, as it appears from the inscription, was the younger brother and, during a certain period, co-ruler of *Muhan-qaghan* (B2, l. 3). The government of the latter falls approximatively to the years 553—572. According to the *Sui-shu*, *Muhan*'s rule covered 20 years, nevertheless his name is not met with in the Chinese chronicles after 569, and a critical analysis of the *Sui-shu* shows that the indication of «20 years» is but a mere figure of speech ([56], II, 504). According to the Bugut inscription *Muhan* died either in 571 or a year earlier. It is possible that the Hare year mentioned above (B2, l. 6) corresponds to the year of *Mahan-tegin*'s succession to the title of the deceased *Muhan*. During several years *Mahan-tegin* was a regent or co-ruler of *Taspar*. In the Chinese chronicles *Taspar-qaghan* (*T'o-po*) is first mentioned in 573, and this

mention does not concern his accession to the throne, but his gifts sent to the Court of Northern Chou.

The numerous lacunae in the text of B2 do not allow us to get a true picture of *Mahan*'s rôle during the rule of *Taspar*, however, we may suppose that the text contained a detailed account of the events of his rule as well as the official story of the conversion to Buddhism. Apparently the readable fragments of lines 15, 16, 19 on B2 are to be understood «as two rulers . . .», «they were filled with knowledge ...» and «... they were friends», respectively.

Thus the names of *Muhan-qaghan* and *Taspar-qaghan* appear in the inscription with reference to the activities of *Mahan-tegin*. The name of *Bumïn-qaghan*, founder of the first Turkish Empire, occurs in the text only when his spirit is invoked. As we have already mentioned, the name of *Nivar* reads at the beginning of the inscription. A lacuna in the second line on B1 makes impossible the precise interpretation of a very important passage: (2) (*'YK . . .*) [lacuna of some 15 letters] (*ZK?*) *trwkc βγy nw''r γ'γ'n 'wskwp'r ckn'cw mγ'n* (3) (*tykyn pr*) [*w*] (*γ'γ'n wy'k*) *w'*[*š*]*t*. Considering the word *w'št* «he ascended» a predicate coordinated with *Nw''r γ'γ'n*, the translation should be «the Turkish lord, *Nivar-qaghan* succeeded *Mahan-tegin* as qaghan». Such a translation would mean that after the death of *Mahan-tegin*, *Nivar* took his place as a co-ruler of *Taspar*. But this contradicts the Chinese sources, according to which *Nivar* (*Er-fu* in Chinese transcription)[7] was appointed co-ruler, «little qaghan», already at the very beginning of *Taspar*'s rule: «T'o-po ernannte Schê-t'u zum Ör-fu Khagan und ließ in den Osten verwalten; er machte seinen jüngeren Bruder Yu-tan Khagan zum Pu-li Khagan und ließ ihn im Westen residieren» ([56], II, pp. 504—505; cf. [2], I, p. 223).

But if we should read *βγ'n* in line 3 in the eroded part instead of *γ'γ'n*, then the predicate to *Nivar* would have been in the eroded part of line 2: «[(it was) ordered to erect a stele (by)] the Turkish lord *Nivar-qaghan*, after (*'wskwp'r ckn'cw*) *Mahan-tegin* passed to the abode (*lit.* place) of gods (*i.e.* died)». The expression *prw βγ'n wy'k w'št* «passed to the abode of gods» has a Middle Persian analogy, but it has never been found in Sogdian.

The last possibility of the interpretation is offerred by a different syntactic articulation of the passage in question. If (*ZK?*) *trwkc βγy nw''r γ'γ'n* ends the phrase «[(it was) ordered to erect a stele (by)] the Lord of the Turks, *Nivar-qaghan*», it should be followed by the complex sentence *'wskwp'r ckn'cw mγ'n* (3) (*tykyn pr*) [*w*] (*γ'γ'n wy'k*) *w'*[*š*]*t 'XRZY nwkr ZK βγy mwγ'n γ'γ'n 'PZY βγy mγ'n tykyn* (4) [. . . . .] (*pyštrw?*) *k'w 'wrts'r prm prw 'nγt'k 'βc'npδ 'swšwyn'tt wm'*[*t'nt*] «After *Mahan-tegin* succeeded to the title of qaghan (*lit.*

[7] L. Menjšikov was the first who identified *Er-fu* of the Chinese sources and *Nivar* of the Bugut inscription.

passed to the place of qaghan), the lord *Muhan-qaghan* and the lord *Mahan-tegin* . . . . . (since then) have always been the saviours of the World».

The condition of the stele does not allow to give a coherent translation of the inscription, yet the following main points can be singled out:

1. B1 ll. 1—2: information about the erection of the stele by the Turks during the rule of «the ruler of China *Kwts'tt* »(when *Nivar* succeeded to *Mahan-tegin*?);

2. B1, ll. 2—4: the joint government of *Muhan-qaghan* and *Mahan-tegin*, «saviours of the world»;

3. B1, l. 5—B2, l. 5: the death of *Muhan-qaghan*; an appeal to the gods concerning the successor; the council of the nobles; an address to *Mahan-tegin* asking him to continue the work of *Muhan*: «your elder brother *Muhan-qaghan* died . . . . . He distributed money equally and took good care of the people . . . and now when you the lord *Mahan-tegin* continue to govern . . . and take care of the people»;

4. B2, ll.6—7: *Mahan-tegin* accepts (. . .). In the Hare year (571) he «passed to the place of qaghan» and had governed (since then) «six (?) years» (*wγwšw*? *srδ*).

5. B2, ll.7—14: the joint government of *Taspar-qaghan* and *Mahan-tegin*. *Taspar* asks the gods concerning the conversion to Buddhism; council of the nobles (*šadapïts*, *tarkhwans*, *qurqapïns*, *sängüns*, . . ., kinsmen); Bumïn's spirit invoked; the spirit orders to establish a new great *saṃgha*; *Taspar*'s meditations on the fate of the empire and on that of the throne; description of military campaigns (?).

6. B2, ll. 15—19 (hardly legible): the estimation of the joint government of *Taspar* and *Mahan-tegin*.

7. B3, ll. 1—4: eulogy to the government of *Mahan-tegin* (?); (.)*wk' tryw'n*, a dignitary mentioned. It is most probable that he was the author of the inscription, a Turk with a solid knowledge of Sogdian, or a Sogdian with a Turkish name. In the B3, 1.4, where (.)*wk' tryw'n* (*Buqa-tarqan*?) is mentioned, *Mahan-tegin*'s name appears without the style *ßγy*, so it may be supposed that this passage concerns *Mahan*'s death.

The fragments of the inscription contain some interesting data concerning the social organization of the first Turkish Empire, especially the hierarchic stratification of this society: the qaghan, his kinsmen, *šadapïts*, *tarkhwans*, *qurqapïns* (*γwrγ'p'yn*), *sängüns*, *tuduns*, equestrian warriors, the whole people. The term *qurqapïn* occurs the first time in the Bugut inscription and probably corresponds to the title *bäg* of the runic monuments. As in the Orkhon inscriptions, the main prerogatives and functions of the qaghan of the Bugut stele are to act as a medium between the gods and the people (B2, l.1: . . . *k'w βγw s'r pwrsty* he asked the gods»), care (Sogd. *p'r-* «feeding») of the people, distribution of money (of loot?).

The intercourse with the gods (the function of the ruler as high priest) obviously occupies a more important place in the religious concept of the Bugut inscription than in the later Orkhon monuments.

During the two decades which saw the transformation of the Turkish tribal federation into a powerful empire by the beginning of the 70's of the 6th century, the Turks' governing religious life became very complicated. Together with the traditional cults of Heaven and Earth, and of the ancestors as well as Shamanism, a great influence was exerted in this period by the great Asian religions, first of all by Mazdaism and by Buddhism. Much research is yet to be done to clarify the significance of the Turks' economical and political motifs for the Mazdaist and Buddhist missions. At the same time it is obvious that from the very beginning of the existence of the First Empire its rulers understood the role not only of the military but also that of the ideological factors in running a huge empire. Buddhism, which was relevant for their sphere of influence both in Central Asia and on the Far East, was considered by the rulers of the Turkish Empire as a universal form of religion which was able to create some ideological unity in the heterogeneous empire. Nevertheless, the socio-political crisis of the empire which began in 581 and led to a decay stopped this process.

Buddhism reached the Turks already in the post-Hunnish states of East Turkestan (4th—5th cent.) which were genetically and historically connected with the tribe of *A-shih-na*. The first steps for an official introduction of Buddhism into the religious practice of the Turks were made by *Muhan-qaghan*. *Taspar* has given such a swing to the Buddhist mission that secured cultural and political priority to its followers in the Empire. The Bugut inscription gives evidence of the most important stage in the spread of Buddhism among the Turks, of the foundation of a Buddhist *saṃgha* in the centre of the Empire (B2, line 10: *RBkw nwh snk' 'wst* «establish a great new *saṃgha*»), an event known to us from Chinese sources as well. Judging from the preserved parts of the inscription it speaks either of the deeds of *Taspar* himself carried out in accordance with divine orders or of the establishment of the *saṃgha* by *Mahan-tegin* on the command of *Taspar* (cf. B2, lines 9—10).

The official acknowledgement of Buddhism by *Taspar* followed immediately the beginning of its persecution in the Northern Chou by emperor *Wu-ti* (574). After leaving that country, a famous missionary, the Indian monk *Jinagupta* stayed with the Turks for ten years (574—584) together with his followers and succesfully preached Buddhism in the Turkish Empire. Certain *sūtra*s were translated into Turkish and also written down for *Taspar* in this period (A. von Gabain was right in supposing that only Sogdians could rend er in writing the translation (cf. [39], p. 196). Buddhist temples and monasteries were established where *Taspar* himself also took part in the ceremony.

The closing part of the inscription (B3) also shows that the qaghan patronized Buddhism. Though we can read but the smaller part of the text, it can

hardly be doubted that by the «favours» (*šyr'k krtk*) spoken of at least twice, in lines 1—2 of B3, we must mean measures promoting the spread of Buddhism.

The Sogdian or Turkish author of the Bugut inscription was not himself a Buddhist. This fact is proved by his using such Zoroastrian term as *'swšwyn't* (Avesta *saošyant-*) «saviour». The gods to whom the qaghans turned for instruction must be considered the same Turkish gods of Heaven and Earth known from the Orkhon monuments but called in a way that was customary among the Sogdian Zoroastrians or rather Mazdeists (*βγ-*, Plural *βγyšt*). There is no sufficient evidence to suppose that by using the phrase *k'w βyy s'r pwrsty* «he asks God» the author of the inscription had in mind Ahuramazda, the chief god of the Sogdians.[8] However, it cannot be proved either that in this phrase of the inscription *βγ-* necessarily means «heavenly» or «deity of heaven» corres-

[8] There is even less ground for supposing that by *βγ-* the god *Vaγ* («the god Baga») must here be understood which corresponds to the *Bhaga* of the *Rgveda*. According to W. B. Henning the god *Vaγ* appears in the Sogdian marriage contract from Mt. Mugh and in a Sogdian word with the meaning «wedding» (see [52], p. 249 sq.). The Sogdians may have meant by *βγ-* different gods similar to the Persians in the time of the Achaemenids who called Ahuramazda the «great god» (*baga vazṛka*), «the greatest of the gods» (*maθišta bagānām*) and the other gods simply *baga-* (cf. in the Old Persian inscriptions: «Ahuramazda and the other gods, who exist», «Ahuramazda with all the gods», «Ahuramazda with the gods of the (royal) clan», «let Ahuramazda and the god Mithra protect me»; in the Younger Avesta *baγa-* is applied to Ahuramazda, to Mithra and to the god of the Moon). For monotheists such as the Christian missionaries Sogdian *βγ-* became the designation of the one «God», at the same time for Sogdians who were Mazdeists (as it is the most convenient to call the religion of Sogd proper and that of the neighbouring hilly districts of Ustrushana, in this religion Zoroastrianism was mixed with quite ancient beliefs from common Aryan times), *βγ-* was one of the many gods. This was known by the neighbours as well. An envoy having arrived at Samarkand at the end of the 7th or in the beginning of the 8th century regarded it as his duty to declare that he «was well informed of the Samarkand gods» — *sm''rknδc βγyct* (the inscription from Afrasiyab). It is possible that in the Mugh marriage contract the supreme god Ahuramazda is hidden in *βγ-*. His proper name seldom occurs in Sogdian documents (in Manichean texts where *xwrmzt'βγ* is the god Ahuramazda and the designation of the First Man; among proper names — *'xwrmztkk* — in the Sogdian «Ancient Letters»; in the calendar as the name of the 1st day of the month, that of the 5th day of the week and as the denomination of a planet). It seems that Sogdians, just as many other peoples, in many cases preferring not to pronounce (and not to write out) the name of the supreme god hid it in the word *βγ-*. The same process can be seen when analysing the usage of *βγ-* in some Mugh letters where the word means the supreme god (letter A-17; B-15 and especially 1. I. where translating the Arabic text the Sogdian writer used the phrase *prn'm βγy δ'mδ'nk* «in the name of God, the Creator» as an equivalent to Arabic *bismillah*, cf. Middle Persian commencement *pad nām i dādār Ohrmizd* «in the name of Ormuzd, the Creator», for the Arabic *al-ḥamdu lillāh* the same writer chose Sogdian *'sp's ZKn βγy* «God be praised», see [18], pp. 110—112, 162—163, 169). In the Mugh marriage contract [doc. Nov. 4, Recto, lines 10—11] the expression *ZKn βγy ZY ZKn myδr' nβ'nty* may also be understood as «in the presence of God (that is, of Ahuramazda) and Mitra» (that is, «I swear by Ahuramazda and Mithra»).

ponding to Turkish *täŋri* «heaven, deity, divine». The semantic fields of these words are not completely identical, partly due to the differences between the cosmogony and religious notions of the Sogdians and Turks (the notion of Heaven and Earth as created by Ahuramazda at the Sogdians, Heaven and Earth as existing from time immemorial at the Turks). If one can speak of religious syncretism in the Bugut inscription then it appears in the sphere of terminology: Buddhist *snk'*, Mazdeist *'swšwyn't* and *βγ-*, *βγyšt* reflecting the Turkish cults of Heaven and Earth in the conception of a Mazdeist.

The term *βγ-* has quite another meaning in the denomination *βγy* NN *γ'γ'n* (or *tykyn*) frequently occurring in the Bugut inscription. In these cases *βγy* means «lord» as it is customary in Sogdian texts of different kinds including documents of protocol. In this case there is no basis to translate *βγy* as «heaven», similarly, in the text of the Qarabalghasun inscription *βγy 'wyγwr γ'γ'n* does not mean «der himmlische Uiguren-Qaγan» (as translated by O. Hansen, see [46], pp. 15 and others) but «the lord, the Uighur qaghan». Also *βγy m'rm'ny δynh* in the Qarabalghasun inscription means rather «the religion of Lord Mār-Māni (and not «des göttlichen Mār-Mānī Lehre»). *βγy 'γšywny* is «lord Governor» etc. (cf. also on the legends of the Türgiš coins: *βγy twrkyš γ'γ'n pny* «the coin of the lord, the Türgiš qaghan»). Middle Iranian **bag* was borrowed by Old Turkish in the form of *bäg*; the word has the meaning «lord, ruler, monarch» but never «divine» or «heavenly».[10]

There is another peculiarity of the Bugut stele worth mentioning. Unlike the qaghans' epitaphs of the 8th and 9th centuries it does not bear a Turkish inscription rendered in runic or some other foreign writing. Putting aside both the problem of the origin of the runic alphabet and the question of the official language and writing in the Kings, office as well as that of Turkish historiography in the period preceding the rise of the Second Turkish Khanate, it is possible to suppose that in the Turkish literary and historical tradition that had been fixed in runes at the beginning of the 8th century in perfect forms of language and style, a role was played not only by the obviously existing school of Turkish tribal bards who preserved and created epic works of the heroes of the past, but also by the «literature» of epitaphs established by Sogdians. Unfortunately the Bugut inscription is the only monument of this kind of the Sogdian written literature, up till now no other Sogdian epitaphs have

[10] O. Hansen's statement (cf. [46], p. 25, notes 1, 26) repeated in a series of works by Ɵ. I. Smirnova that Sogdian *βγ-* is an exact equivalent of Turkish *täŋri* is based first of all on the correspondence of the type: Turkish *täŋri uyγur qayan* — Sogdian *βγy 'wyγwr γ'γ'n*; Turkish *täŋridä qut bolmiš* — Sogdian MN *βγyšty prnβyty* («having got a charism from the gods»). In fact, there is no identity of *täŋri* ~ *βγ-*; in the Qarabalghasun inscription the epithet «heavenly» appears only in Turkish protocol formulas, besides it is significant that in the Sogdian version of the inscription Turkish *täŋridä* is simply transliterated (*tnkryδ'*) and not translated at all.

been discovered either on the territory of Sogd itself or in the areas where Sogdian was the language of trade, writing and culture. Therefore the only alternative is to compare the Bugut inscription with the Turkish runic epitaphs. A detailed study of their contents and style must be the subject of a special investigation. It should be noted that the composition and style of the Bugut inscription as far as it can be judged by the preserved fragments are analogous in many respect to the runic monuments of the Second Empire (particularly to the inscriptions in honour of *Kül-tegin* and *Bilgä-qaghan*). It is, first of all, manifested in an intertwining of the historico-biographical and didactic elements. The differences, however, are also obvious, for example, narration in the 3rd person (author's speech).

5. The above idea of relating the inscription to the last quarter of the 6th century should be supported by paleographic data. Unfortunately, it is difficult to carry out a detailed comparison as only very few early Sogdian documents are known at present. The cursive writing used in the inscription is definitely later than the script of the «Ancient Letters» (beginning of the 4th century according to the dating of W. B. Henning). All other texts written in Sogdian cursive are later than the Bugut inscription (the Sogdian Buddhist MSS of the 7th and later centuries, some business documents, e. g. from Mt. Mugh dating from the first quarter of the 8th century and a few others that are of an even later date and short, like the inscriptions on fragments of pottery, on bone and stone handware found mostly at the excavation of old Penjikent and, with the exception of one find, belonging to the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries; there are some inscriptions from Afrasiyab from the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th centuries, some documents on wood from the end of the 7th — beginning of the 8th centuries from the palace of Chilhujra in Northern Ustrushana; an inscription on stone from Ladakh from 841—842 A. D.; the Qarabalghasun inscription from the beginning of the 9th century; inscriptions uncovered in Kirghizia belonging to the 9th—10th centuries and some other monuments). The legends on the the so-called Buharhudat coins are the closest to the type of writing in the Bugut inscription (the main variant of the legends was already established in the 5th century A. D.). Especially close are the engravings on Pērōz's and other Sassanian rulers' drachmas from the 5th—6th centuries and on the imitations of these drachmas.[10] There are grounds for supposing that these engravings belong to the 6th century and are connected with the Turkish invasion in the districts bordering

[10] The first information of coins with such engravings see [12], pp. 173—174. For a publication of two examples from the collection of the Historical Museum of the Uzbek SSR in the town of Tashkent see [16], pp. 39—40, for the copies of the engravings and the photos of some coins in foreign collections see [45], II, pp. 142, 152 and others; pl. IV. A special investigation (utilising some unpublished examples) is being carried out by one of the authors of the present paper.

Sassanian Iran, first of all on the territory of Tokharistan (it is proved by the presence in the engravings of titles such as *γ'γ'n* «qaghan», *tkyn* «tegin» and others (cf. also [12], pp. 173—174). Like the Bugut inscription these engravings represent a period when the Turkish rulers officially used the Sogdian language and writing. This practice was common in the 6th and in the beginning of the 7th centuries but its traces were preserved even later (Sogdian inscriptions on the coins of Türgiš rulers and on some other coins of the Turkish rulers; Sogdian rock-inscriptions from Kirghizia made by order of the Turkish Karakhanid lords and some other monuments). However, the Sogdian inscriptions on the engravings are very short, not all the letters and not all the positional variants are represented in them, thus we may speak rather of a general outward similarity in character to the cursive of the Bugut inscription than, in the given case, of a more important characteristic in the details of engraving individual letters and of their positional graphic variants. We are obliged, therefore, to turn to the Sogdian texts of later dates. Considering the position of the Bugut inscription we must compare it with the Qarabalghasun inscription, the first Sogdian inscription uncovered on the territory of Mongolia in 1889 by N. M. Jadrincev, in order to give a paleographic analysis and to date it. The Qarabalghasun inscription contained a Chinese and Old Turkish (runic) variant as well. The Sogdian version has only partly been preserved. Its reading and interpretation is connected with that of the Chinese version that suffered the least damage (see [4], [28], [34], [57], pp. 172—200; [65], [29], pt. II, pp. 177—199; [46], pp. 6—8); the runic version is almost completely destroyed. The transliteration and translation of the Sogdian fragments of the Qarabalghasun inscription were published in 1930 by O. Hansen ([46]; cf. [61]; the photos of the fragments [47], plates 57—61; [14], plates XXXII—XXXIII and XXXIV, 3). The interpretation of some words in the text was corrected in the works of E. Benveniste, W. B. Henning and I. Gershevitch. However, to compile the inscription as a coherent translation of the Sogdian version was not possible.[11]

The Qarabalghasun inscription is dated exactly enough. It was established soon after 821 ([29], part II). Itscomparison with the Bugut inscription shows that the latter, due to its paleographic characteristics, must belong to a much earlier date. Both inscriptions are engraved vertically. Existing parallelly with the horizontal, the vertical direction of writing was already adapted by Sogdians in the 6th century. It is represented, besides two inscriptions from Mongolia, by a short inscription from Ladakh (Tibet). It is dated in the 210th year (of the era of Yazdigerd), that is, in 841—42 ([62], plate III; [25], pp.

[11] Cf. the characterization by W. B. Henning [50], p. 56: «A poor example for the application of (Sogdian) cursive for monumental aims is the Sogdian version of the trilingual inscription from Qarabalghasun for the most part unattainable for reading».

502—505, plates III—IV; [50], p.54).[12] Further, there are the inscriptions accompanying the wall-paintings of Afrasiyab and Penjikent[13] belonging to the end of the 7th — beginning of the 8th centuries and some Sogdian Buddhist manuscripts.

MSS of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have come down to us mostly from the 8th—9th centuries, though the type of writing characteristic of the best copies (the Sogdian «script of the *sūtras*» — a term offered by W. B. Henning, see [50], p. 55) was formed in about 500 A. D. and has been used by Sogdian calligraphists in the Buddhist communities of East Turkestan for some centuries. A series of graphic and orthographic peculiarities are characteristic of the «script of the *sūtras*», in particular, the form of some letters in the final position — a sharp ascent of the closing part of the letters *-n*, *-c*, *-k*, and *-t*, besides, in the case of *-k* and *-t* the closing line forms a definite corner with the body of the letter as a result of its raise. This type of writing *-n*, *-c*, *-k*, and *-t* occurs in the MSS of Sogdian translations of Buddhist works, first of all in the collection of Pelliot from Tun-Huang (cf. [41], pp. 3—4). The majority of these MSS were copied most probably in the 9th—10th centuries, nevertheless the scribes followed a much older pattern of Sogdian calligraphy, the «script of the *sūtras*». Judging by the facsimile

[12] The reading of the inscription from Ladakh first published by F. W. K. Müller [62] has significantly been improved in the works of E. Benveniste [25], pp. 502—505 and W. B. Henning [50], p. 54, n. 2. In line 2 of this inscription *pr'γym* should be read as a slip of the pen instead of *pr'γtym* «I arrived»; in line 5 the first word is *βntk* «slave, servant» here as designation for a Christian. Side by side with the inscription a sign of the cross is engraved on the stone, cf. *bntyt 't d'yt* «(dienende) Bruder und (dienende) Schwester» in the Christian Sogdian texts [64, p. 525]. The inscription goes as follows:

1. *srδ pr 'δw C δs* // 2. *pr'γym* // 3. *cyntr'* // 4. *sm'rknδc* // 5. *βntk nwš prn* // 6. *'ys't* // 7. *'zγ'nt kw* // 8. *twp'yyt* // 9. *γ'γ'n s'r* // «The year 210. I arrived from within (from East Turkestan). The slave (of God), the Samarkandian *Nošfarn* will go to the qaghan of Tibet». The inscription relates, of course, to *Nošfarn* himself. In line 2 he spoke of his arrival in the district of Ladakh (I arrived), in lines 4—9 (the second part of the inscription) he speaks of himself in 3rd person.

Dates relating to Yazdigerd's era are also given in some late Sogdian inscriptions (on rocks and stones), they are all engraved vertically, uncovered on the territory of Kirghizia. See, *e.g.* the inscription from Terek-sai whose photo has been published by Ch. Džumagulov [20], p. 41:

1. *'kwγ'z'n*(?) *'δw C* // 2. *XX XX XX X III II srδ ZY* (?) *pncmyk* // 3. *'ys kwtrwγ*(?) *γwβw* // 4. *kwr tk'yn 'rp trγ'n* // «. . . 275 (= 906/7) year, fifth (month). Arrived (here) the lucky (?) ruler *Kül Tegin Alp-tarχan*». The first word of the inscription occuring in the beginning of other Sogdian inscriptions from Kirghizia too, cannot be understood as «in the autumn» (*'kw γ'z'n*). Cf. [19].

[13] On the wall-paintings of Penjikent there are some Sogdian inscriptions in a very bad state. The inscription, largest in bulk of this kind (12 lines), was uncovered in 1965, its publication is being prepared.

edition of the texts of Pelliot's collection [32] the final *-n*, *-c*, *-k*, and *-t* with a lift of the closing part of the letter are characteristic mainly of the best examples of the Sogdian Buddhist calligraphy; MSS P1 (*Vessantara jātaka*), 2, 3, 4 («*Sūtra* of the Causes and Effects of Actions»), 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23.[14]

A similar writing of final *-n*, *-c*, *-t*, and *-k* is also characteristic of some Manichean and Christian MSS written in Sogdian script, judging from a few facsimile editions of these MSS (see *e.g.* [63], plates I, II; [72], plate II; [53], p. 483, plate II). The form with the lift cannot be found in the Sogdian cursive of business documents after the end of the 7th—beginning of the 8th centuries; it can be seen in the documents from Mt. Mugh [7] as well as on the inscriptions on some fragments of pottery and on the paintings from Penjikent and Afrasiyab. The form with the lift cannot be found on the later Sogdian monuments — in the inscription from Ladakh, in two late (9th cent.) Sogdian documents uncovered in Eastern Turkestan (see: [69], plate IX, doc. X and XI), in the Sogdian inscriptions from Kirghizia (9th—10th cent.) a part of which has until now been incorrectly interpreted as Uighur. The form with the lift cannot be found in the Qarabalghasun inscription either.

In the Bugut inscription the final *-n*, *-t*, *-k*, *-c* have an obvious lift in the closing part of the signs. Thus the inscription must have been written earlier than the end of the 7th-beginning of the 8th centuries, it belongs to the documents written in the «script of the *sūtras*». It should be noted that the «script of the *sūtras*» known from the Sogdian Buddhist MSS not only reflect the Buddhist scribes' school of calligraphy but also represent the main characteristics of the Sogdian style in the 6th and the first half of the 7th centuries. These characteristics appear most obviously in the religious monuments though they must have also been present in other texts, such as business documents and in memorial monuments like the Bugut inscription.[15]

[14] In MS P 8 there is an alternation of two forms of final *-n*, *-c*, *-k*, *-t* — with lift and without lift; the same can be seen in MSS P 8 bis, 11, 14, 15 (two forms of *-k*). In the later MS P 16 form with lift is witnessed only in the case of *-k*. In MSS P 12, 13 (a fragment of the Sogdian version of the Rustem Epic is obviously a translation from Middle Persian), 21, 24, 25 (a fragment of a Manichean text) and 26 there is no form with lift.

[15] It is worth noting that on the bronze coins of the Samarkand king *Urk Vartramuk* (*'wrk wrtm'wk*) who ruled in the 2nd half of the 7th century, there is an final *-k* with the lift. Cf. the reading proposed by O. I. Smirnova [15], p. 87: *prtm'wk'*; *'wkk(?) wrtrm'wk'*; *'wkk(?) wrt cm'wk'*. In spite of the opinion of O. I. Smirnova this ruler could not have been the king of Samarkand in the first quarter of the 8th century. In the Arabic and Chinese sources we have plenty of information relating to the period from 700 and later at least until 750, and to the consequences of the rule of the kings of Samarkand (*Tarhun—Ghurek — Turgar*). It should be pointed out that *Ninye-šišï* mentioned in the Chinese chronicles cannot be identified with the Sogdian name *Mastan-Navyan* on the coins (all the read-

Another factor indicating the relatively early date of the Bugut inscription is the Aramaic ideogram *'ḤRZY* (for Sogdian *pts'r*) used in it. The ideogram that was widely used in the «Ancient Letters» and in some Sogdian Buddhist MSS written in the «script of the *sūtras*»[16] is missing from the monuments written in the latest cursive, in particular, from the documents from the Mt. Mugh and in the preserved fragments of the Qarabalghasun inscription.

Some orthographic peculiarities distinguish the Bugut inscription from all the known Sogdian monuments. Thus, writing *-w-* for the Praes. stem of the verb *pwrs-* «to ask» is first witnessed in the inscription (B2, lines 1, 7). This spelling must be considered as a more archaic one compared with Sogdian Buddhist *'prs-, prs-* and with Manichean *'ps-, ps-*, reflecting the pronounciation as *əps-, ps-* ([44], § 145). In the «Ancient Letters» the Praes. stem of this verb does not occur. Further, the spelling of the adverb *'wskwp'r* goes back to Old Iranian **uska-pāra-*, (B1, line 2) and is also archaic, cf. Christian Sogdian *skyp'r* and the forms in ([44], §§ 99, 1215).[17]

The Bugut inscription is remarkable for its vocabulary. Besides Old Turkish (and Mongolian?) terms never witnessed so far either in Sogdian or in Turkish monuments (*γwrγ'p'yn* B2, lines 2, 12), and earlier unknown orthographic variants (*trγw'n* B2, line 2; B3, line 4) there is in the inscription a series of Sogdian proper words, verbs (see below on *pr'yt*) and nouns, for example *'swšwyn't* «saviour» known only from the Avesta (*saošyant-*) and Middle Persian texts (in the latter as a «learned word» — *sōšāns*, cf. *sōšāns i sūdōmand*).

6. Text and Translation

B1

(1) (*'mwh*?) [. . .] (*pt*)*s'kh 'wst't δ'r'nt tr'wkt c*(*yn*)*st'n kwt*(*s*)*'tt 'γšywn'k* «This . . . stele was erected by the Turks (under) *Kwts'tt* the ruler of China»

(2) (*'YK*) [lacuna of some 15 letters] (*ZK*?) *trwkc βγy nw''r γ'γ'n 'wskwp'r ckn'cw myγ'n* «when . . . . . the Turkish lord *Nivar-qaghan*. Since *Mahan-*»

(3) (*tykyn pr*)[*w*] (*γ'γ'n wy'k*) *w'*(*š*)*t '*(*X*)*RZY nwkr ZK βγy mwγ'n γ'γ'n 'PZY βγy myγ'n tyky*(*n*) «*-tegin* ascended the place of qaghan, the lord *Muhan-qaghan* and the lord *Mahan-tegin*»

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ings of this name attempted until now are more than doubtful) as it was supposed by O. I. Smirnova [15], p. 29. *Ninye-šišï* is a rather clear transliteration of Sogdian name *Nanai-širč* (*Nnyšyrc*), meaning of which is «friendly to (the goddess) *Nana*».

[16] In his glossary to the edition of the Sogdian MSS of Pelliot's collection E. Benveniste gives *passim* for *'ḤR* (*ZY*), [71], p. 242, though this ideogram only occurs in texts P 1, 2, 4, 9.

[17] Yaghnobian *sitám* «back part, rear part» (cf. the derived *sitamakó* «supine», *sitámik* «back, the last, the following» and the form Obl. Sg. *sitámi* appearing in the quality of the adverb «behind, from behind») may be considered as a continuation of Old Iranian **ustama-*, Avesta *ustəma-* «the highest, the latest».

(4) [lacuna of 5—6 letters, perhaps *cyw'nt*?] (*pyštrw*?) *k'w 'wrts'r prm prw 'nγt'k 'βc'npδ 'swšwyn'tt wm'*[*t'nt*] «after [that they] were saviours for the whole world during a long period [*lit.* after that and in the future]»

(5) [lacuna of some 25 letters] (*t 'XRZY n)wkr cyw'nt pyštrw βγy m*[*wγ'n γ'γ'n*] «. . . . . And now thereupon, after this, the lord *M*[*uhan-qaghan*]»

B2

(1) [lacuna of 35—40 letters] (*w*) *k'w βγy s'r pwrsty rty nw*(*k*)*r* (*k* . .) [. . .] «[. . . died. And . . .] asks the God, And then . . .»

(2) [lacuna of 30—35 letters] (*'YK*?) *š'δpyt trγw'nt γwrγ'p*(')*ynt twδwnt s*(*nk*) [*wnt*] «. . . . . When (?) *šadapït*(s), *tarkhwans*, *qurqapïns*, *tuduns*, *säng*[*üns*]»

(3) [lacuna of 10—12 letters] (*t rty pyšt*)*rw* (. . . . *t* ?) [8—10 letters] *y tw' γwyštr 'XY mwγ'n γ'γ'n pr'yt rty* (. . .) «[approved (?)] and after that [thus addressed him]: 'Your elder brother *Muhan-qaghan* died. And . . .» (4) [lacuna of some 15 letters] *K*(*S*)*Pw* ('*n*) [*β*] (*γ*)*t δ'r*[*t rty n'β*] (*cy*)*h šyr'k p'rtw δ'rt rty ms 'kδry tγw βγy mγ'*[*n*] «. . . [he well (?)] distributed the money [and] well fed [the peo]ple. And thus now you, lord *Maha*[*n*]-»

(5) (*tyk*)[*yn*] *γ*[*šywny* . . .] (. . .)*δ*(. . . . .) *rty* [about 8 letters] (*δ'rt rty*) *'pw 'nγwncyδ γšywny n'β*(*c*)*yh p'r rty nw*(*k*) [*r*] «-*tegin*, ... , and feed the people without such a ruler!' And now»

(6) (*βγy mγ'n ty*)[*kyn* lacuna of some 25 letters *s*](*γ*)*wn ptγwštw δ'rt rty γrγwšk srδy* (.) [. . .] (. *w'št* ?) «the lord *Mahan-te*[*gin* . . . .], he listened to this words and in the Hare year . . . ascended (?)»

(7) (*wγwšw* ?) *srδ* (*γš*)*y*(*wny.*) [lacuna of some 15 letters, *βγy t'sp'r*] (*γ'γ'n*) *k'w βγγyšt s'r pwrst rty pyštrw š'δpyt trγw*['*nt*] «six(?) years he ruled [. . . . The lord *Taspar* (?)]-*qaghan* asked the gods. And then *šadapïts*, *tarkhw*[*ans*]»

(8) *γwrγ'p'ynt* (*snk*)[*wn*]*t* (*twδ*)[*w*]*nt* ('*PZY*) [. . .](.*n*) [read [*γ'γ*](*'n*)?] *wk*[*wrt pt*](*s*)*dtw δ'rnt rty nwkr βγβwmyn* [so instead of *βγy βwmyn*] *γ'γ'n p'δy* (*s'r*) [. . . .] «*qurqapïns*, *sängüns*, *tuduns*, the kinsmen (of the qaghan) approved. And then he addressed the abode of the lord *Bumïn-qaghan*»

(9) (*δ'rt kt*?) [. . . .]*t rty βγ*[*y βγwm*] (*yn γ'γ'n*) *pr*(*m*)*'t δ'rt* (*k*)*t 'yβ βγ' t'sp'r γ'γ'n wsn RBk*(') «thus: '[show!]'. And the lord *Bumïn-qaghan* ordered: 'Oh lord, *Taspar-qaghan*! You must . . . for the sake of the great»

(10) [lacuna, some 20 letters] (.*t*) [. . .] (. .) *rt*(*y*) [*w'n'w* ?] *pr*(*m*)*'tw δ'rt RBkw nw*(*h*) *snk' 'wast rty 'YK nw*(*k*) [*r*] «[. . . . .] and he ordered: 'Establish a great new *saṃgha*!' And then when»

(11) [lacuna, some 20 letters] (.*npš*?) [lacuna, about 8 letters] *rty βγ'* [instead of *βγy*] *t'*(*sp'r*) *γ'γ'n tr*('*γ*)*t 'cw npyšnt cw krnw*('*ncy'k* ?) [*h*] «[. . . . .] and the lord *Taspar-qaghan* was distressed, [whether there was] anybody of the grandsons who [had] the ability (?)»

(12) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . .) *cw γwrγ*(')*p'ynt cwty wkwrt cw n'βcy'kh* '(*st't* ?) «[. . . . .] . . . is there anybody of the *qurqapïns*, of the kinsmen, of the people»

(13) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (*y*) *β'r'k 'sp'δy'n* (*wr'yt*) *'yt myδ 'nβyt δ'r'nt* «. . . and equestrian warrior(s) thus distributed the prey(?)»
(14) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (*sγwn*) *ptγwštw δ'r'nt rty cyw'nt pyštrw* [. . .] «[. . . .] they heard [these] words and after this [. . .]»
(15) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . *tw*) *δ'rt* (. . . . *t*) *rty c'n'w δw' γšywnk* «[. . . .] he . . . . . And as the two rulers»
(16) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . *tw*) *δ'r'nt rty* (. . .) *šyr'k βrtpδ m'tnt rty* «[. . . . .] they . . . and . . . they were full of knowledge and»
(17) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . *n'βcy'kh* ? . . . .) *p(tsγt'k* ?) *'sp'δ m*(. . .) «[. . .] the people(?) . . . an equipped (?) army . . . . .»
(18) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . *wyškrtw* ?) *δ'r'nt* (. . .) «[. . . . .] they conquered (?) . . . . .»
(19) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . .)*δw' šyrγw*(*štt*)*w m'*(*t*)['*nt*] «[. . . . .] they were friends»
B3
(1) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (.*k*?) *šyr'k krt*(*k*) ['*krtw*?] *δ'rt rt*[*y*. . .] «. . . . .] he accomplished many good deeds. And . . . . .»
(2) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (*s*)*δtw* (*δ'r'nt*) *šyr'k* (*šy*)*r'k krtk ''βry*(*t*) [*δ'r'nt* ?] «[. . . . .] they approved, 'very (*or*: many) good deeds' — they praised»
(3) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (. . . .'*cw* ?) [*n'β*](*c*)*yh mrt*(*γm*)*'k 'st't 'XRZY* (*βγy m*)[*γ'n tykyn*?] «[. . . . .] is there any such man among the people [who would be able . . .?]. And the lord *M*[*ahan-tegin* ?]»
(4) [lacuna, some 40 letters] (*'XRZY βγy* ?) [. . .] (*š*)*t* (*nws*) [='*ws, nwš* or *nyš* ?] (.)*wk'* [= (*p*)*wk'* or (')*wk*/' ?] *trγw'n 'YK* (*m*)*γ*(') [*n tykyn*] «[. . . . .] And the lord (?) . . . (.)*uka-tarkhwan,* when *Maha*[*n-tegin*]»
(5) [illegible traces of letters]

7. Commentaries

B1, line 1: *tr'wkt* «Turks».[18] In Sogdian texts *türk* has only been found as a derived adjective *twrkc'ny* «Turkish» (Qarabalghasun inscription) formed with the suffix *-c'ny*(*-čāne*) from *twrk* ([46], p. 26; [44], § 1023). In the Bugut inscription the spelling *tr'wk* reflects the pronounciation **truk* (cf. *trwkc* «Turkish», B1, line 2). The metathesis of *-u-* is quite common in Sogdian. It can be explained either by a «*u-Umlaut*» (regressive metathesis e.g. *wuδ-* «wife» from *waδū-*) or by intrusion (progressive metathesis e.g. *δγud-* «daughter», *sγud* «Sogdian» from **δuγúd* < *δúγud* < *δuγd-*; **suγúd* < *súγud* < *suγd*), cf. [48], pp. 548—549; [44], §§ 406—428. In Sogdian texts metathesis of *-u-* can

[18] For *türk* + *-ü*(*t*) and the Mongolian Pl. affix, cf. [66], pp. 687—689; [36], III. p. 310. The Chinese form *t'u-chüe, t'uət-kiuet* that served as a basis for such a reconstruction is considered by E. Pulleyblank to be a simple transliteration of *türk*, see [67].

be seen in different consonant surroundings, among them in the position after *-r-*, both as regressive (e.g. *xwrm — xurm* «soil, earth» from *xrwm — xrum*; *βwrδmy — furδme* «vegetation» from **fruδme* < *fra*-ruδma-*) and progressive (*xrwmzt' — xrumazd* from *xwrmzt' — xurmazd* < *ahura-mazdāh-*, cf. Uighur *xurmuzta, xormuzta*, cf. [44], §§ 415, 424). Sogdian *tr'wk = truk* as a variant form of *turk* (cf. *twrkc'ny*) is as common as, for example, *sγwδ = sγud* «Sogdian» together with *swγδ=suγd* (cf. in the Mugh documents: *sγwδyk, sγwδy'nk* together with *swγδ'k* «Sogdian»). Among the known forms of the ethnonym *türk* in the different languages and scripts (cf. the summary in [9], p. 18) the closest to Sogdian *tr'wk = truk* is the Khotanese Saka form *ttrūkä* with, similar to Sogdian, the variant *tturkä* (= *truke, turke*; the final *-ä* is common in Khotanese when recording foreign words with a final consonant, cf. [23], pp. 85—87). Khotanese *ttrūkä* may reflect either the Sogdian form or may depend on the Tibetan *drug* or *drug-gu*.

Line 2: *'wskwp'r* «further, farther», cf. Sogdian *(ə)sk-* = *(e)sk-* from Old Iranian *uskāt*, Buddhist, Manichean Sogdian *'sk'*, Christian *sq'* «high, highly», Manichean (')*skycyk* «upper, higher» and others, see [44], §§ 99, 1215 etc. From *'wskwp'r* rises the later form *skəpār* witnessed in Christian Sogdian in the spelling *sqyp'r*. For the meaning of the word formed by the suffix *-pār*, cf. *'sk'tr* «higher, farther, more» and Avesta *ustəma* «the highest, the latest».[19]

Line 4: *k'w 'wrt(s'r) p(rm)* «(from that time on) in future» cf. *MN nwr myδ 'wts'r* «from today (and) in future» in the Mugh document Nov. 4, R, lines 8—9, cf. [18], pp. 22, 42. — *'βc'npδ* «world, universe» (from Old Iranian **fras-čambana- pada-* or an adaptation of the Sanskrit *Jambudvīpa*, cf. [44], § 372 and notes). The word is noted in different Sogdian texts but it is primarily a characteristic of the Buddhist Sogdian. — *'swšwyn't*, Pl. from *'swšwyn't*, the Sogdian equivalent for Avesta *saošyant-* «saviour (of the world)», cf. Middle Persian *sōšāns, sōšānš, sōšyās, sōšiyans* (forms corresponding to Avesta Nom. Sing. *saošayąs*), the Old Iranian proper names **Saušanta-*, **Saušya-*, witnessed, according to I. Gershevitch, [42], p. 231, in the Elam transliterations *Sušanda, šaušā* and also Parthian-Manichean *šwj* «saint» (*šōž* from *saušya-*), cf. [21], 907.

B2, line 1: *pwrsty* — Pres. 3 Sing. from *pwrs-* «to ask», cf. *pwrst* in line 7. Spelling with *-w-* is first noted here, cf. Buddhist *'prs-*, *prs-*, Manichean *'ps-*, *ps-*, Christian *ps-* ([44], §§ 145, 539 and others). The ending *-ty* is common for Pres. 3 Sing. of the light stem (*pwrsty — əpsti*, cf. *'prsty* in SCE 112, 193, 363; P 6, 98). At the same time the form *pwrst* interpreted by us as Imperf.

[19] In written Sogdian there is an even later form of superlative degree from *(ə)sk-* — *'sk'tm* appearing in the adjective *'sk'tmcyk* «the highest, the biggest» (see [44], §§ 1215, 1296). Yaghnobian *sitiryőn* «the day before yesterday» goes back rather to Old Iranian **ustara-ayāna-*, and not to **pastara-ayāna-* as M. N. Bogoljubov explained the word (see [3], p. 12). On Yaghnobian *sitβm* < **ustama-* see above, note 17.

3 Sing. with a medial ending bears evidence of a breach in the rhythmic law that regulated the forms of the endings in Sogdian depending on the character of the stem (**pwrst'* would have been the form expected). It should be taken into consideration that the effect of the rhythmic law can well be traced only in the comparatively late Sogdian texts, in early documents, as the «Ancient Letters» exemplify, light stems often occurred without a vowel element in the ending, cf. [50], pp. 107—108.

Line 2: *š'δpyt* (cf. also B2, line 7) — Turkish *šadapït*, a title known from the inscriptions of *Kül-Tegin* (KTm., 1) and *Bilgä Qayan* (Xa 13, 14). The origin of the title has not been quite clarified. W. Radloff considered it as a compound *šad-apa-t*; A. von Gabain traces it back to *šad-pït*, where *-pït* comes from Iranian *-pati*; S. E. Malov translated *šad-apït bäglär* in the inscription of *Kül-Tegin* «the chiefs *šad* and *apa*», in the inscription of *Bilgä Qayan* the very same compound is translated «the *šadapït bägs*», cf. [38], p. 336; 13, p. 28; [8], p. 519. It is possible that *šadapït* is really connected with the title *šad* but the origin of the latter is nevertheless enigmatic. The assertion widespread in the Turcological literature that it has been borrowed from Iranian remains unproved, the confrontation with Sogdian *γš'yδ*, *γšyδ*, *xšyδ* seems to be uncertain. In Sogdian this word remounts to Old Iranian *xšaita-*, Avesta *xšaēta-*, cf. [44], § 269; [26], pp. 20—22), it had the form *əxšēδ*, it appears as *ixšid*, *ixšēd* in Arabic and Persian sources, all of them are very far from *šad*. Judged by the Sing. form *š'δpyt* can be taken as the first part of the compound title *š'δpyt tryw'nt* «*šadapit-tarkhwans*», cf. *šadapït bäglär* in the inscription of *Kül Tegin*. Spelling *tryw'n* (the same in B2, line 7 and B3, line 4) with *-w-* is first witnessed in the Sogdian transliterations of the title *tarqan*/*/ tarxan* (see [18], p. 67). The Turkish monuments do not contain forms with *-w-*, and at the same time this is reflected in the Chinese sources (*tâ-kuân*, **d'ât kuân*). We must return to the problem of the origin of the Sogdian king's name, *Tarkhun* (Sogdian *trywn* in the Mugh documents and on the inscriptions on coins, *Ṭarḫūn* in Arabic and Persian texts,[20] Chinese **t'uət xuən* (cf. [18], pp. 66—67; [37], p. 117; [73], p. 270; [17], p. 44). — *γwrγ'p('y)nt* (see also in B2, line 12) is a Pl. form from the Turkish (or Mongolian) title *γwrγ'p'yn* «holding girdle» (Turkish *qur*) or «holding quiver» (Mongolian *qor*). A girdle with golden decorations was one of the indispensable accessory of a noble Turk (as well as of a Sogdian). This is reflected in the semantics of Turkish *qur* 1. «girdle»: 2. «merit, dignity» (see [13], p. 98). Neither was the quiver inferior to it as a symbol of power, an attribute of higher rank. It is known in detail from Chinese sources describing the structure of the First Empire and the composition of its ruling aristocracy (cf. [27], p. 27—28; [56], I, pp. 8—9; II, notes 48—49). Mongolian

[20] In *Bīrūnī*'s Chronology *ṭarhūn* is introduced up as a «byname» of the king of Samarkand, however, in the copy of «surnames» (see [30], p. 101) we found a lot of proper names (*Māhūya*, the king of Merv, *al-Haǰǰāǰ*, the king of Sarir and others).

qor «quiver» is widely presented in the Turkish languages (*qur*, *qor* «arms», cf. also Persian *qōr* in the same sense, *qōrxāne* «arsenal» and the titles *qōrči*, *qōrbāši*, *qōrčībāši*, *qōrbeki* and others)[21]. The second part of the word in question *-γ'p'yn-* is derived from a verbal stem *qap-* having the original meaning «to catch, to hold (tight)» (cf. [38], p. 326; [8], p. 420). The derived stem *qapïn-* (reflexive-middle) is already present in Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's dictionary (see [8], p. 421), however, the type of composition of **qorqapïn* deserves special attention.

Line 3: *pr'yt-* 3 Sing. Pret. (Past stem) from **pr'y-*: *pr'yt*, cf. Skr. *prèta-*.

Line 4: *n'βcyh* (see also *n'βcy'kh*) in the Bugut inscription is obviously an equivalent of Old Turkish *bodun* «the people» (cf. [44], § 1003, note 1). — *p'rtw δ'rt* — 3 Sing. of Transitive Preterite form *p'r-* «to feed, to keep», (see [44], § 890), Khotanese Saka *pār-*, cf. Turkish *igit-* with the same meaning in the runic monuments (*e.g.* BQ, 38).

Line 12: *wkwrt*, Pl. from *wkwr*. The word known until now only from the colophone to the Buddhist text P8 and as a derivation *wkwry'* occurring in a Manichean text has the original meaning «kinsman» and can be traced back to Old Iranian **wi-kur-*. Cf. Ossetic Dig. *igurun* : *igurd*, Iron. *gwyryn* : *gwyrd* «to be born», *gwyraen* «source, origin», Sanskrit *kúlam* (Neutr.) «family, clan», *koraka* «bud», Middle Persian *kurrak* «a young one of an animal» (< **kurna-ka-*), New Persian *kurre*; Kurd *kurr*, *kur* «son, boy» (cf. [54], p. 737; [22], pp. 39—40; [43], pp. 493—494; [59], I, pp. 238—239; II, p. 272; [24], p. 89; cf. [1], pp. 532—602).

Line 13: The reading of at least two words in this line (*wr'yt*, *'nβγt*) is not all certain. — *'sp'δy'n* «warrior, soldier», cf. Buddhist *'sp'δy'nt*, Pl. ([44], §§ 1049—50). — *wr'yt* may be interpreted as Plural from **wr'y*, cf. *wr'* «success, gain». — *'yt* «part», Avesta *aēta-*.

Line 16: *šyr'k* here also as in B3, line 2 appears as an adverb «very» (cf. [44], § 198, notes 1, 982, 1208—1209).

8. The fact that the inscription included in a Turkish qaghan's burial complex has been composed by a Sogdian and in Sogdian language, has a special importance in the study of the cultural and social life in the Turkish Empire and its inner political and economical relations. This fact may only be fully understood in the background of the historical development of the Turco—Sogdian relations in Central Asia.

The first contacts between the Turks and Sogdians belong approximately to the time of the Turkish occupation of Inner Asia in the 50's—60's of the 6th century (cf. *e.g.* [6], p. 41). At the same time the study of the more and more complicated information on the origin of the Turkish tribe *A-shih-na* shows that prior to the occupation of Middle Asia by the Turks, there were,

[21] According to Hubschmid [55], p. 122, Turkish *qur* «girdle» is related to Mongolian *qor* as to its origin, see however [35], I, p. 428.

already in the 3rd—5th centuries, strong contacts between them and the Indo-European population of East Turkestan including the Sogdians ([10], pp. 278—281). The connections were so obvious for the Southern neighbour of the Turks that the first envoy sent by the Chinese court to the headquarters of *Bumïn* in 545 was *An-po-p'ang-t'o*, a Sogdian from Kansu ([56], I, p. 6; II, pp. 490—491). One of the closest advisers of *Tu-lan k'o-han* (588—599) was the Sogdian *An Sui-chie* actively counteracting the Chinese influence on the Turkish policy ([68], p. 318; [56], I, pp. 102—103).

The following events relating to the time of the rule of *Shih-pi k'o-han* (609—619) proved that the high position and political post occupied by this Sogdian at the qaghan's court was not an accident. The elevation of the political power of the Eastern Turkish Empire opposed by the Chinese court with all their might is attributed to *Shih-pi*. In 607 *P'ei Chü* who had been the viceroy of the Western Territory (East Turkestan) and by all means encouraged Sogdian trade, became a central figure in the inner politics of China. In Mongolia, however, the Sogdians themselves became his most dangerous political adversaries. Having failed in his efforts to rouse civil dissension among the Turks, *P'ei Chü* complained to the emperor: «The Turks themselves are simple-minded and short-sighted and dissension may have been roused among them. Unfortunately, many Sogdians live among them who are cunning and insidious; they teach and instruct the Turks» ([56], I, pp. 87—88).

About 630, names of Sogdian leaders are mentioned in the Empire — the «great leader» *K'ang Su-mi* from Samarkand and *An T'u-han* from Bukhara who took with him five thousand of his co-tribesmen. His family had moved from Kucha to the Turks long before 630: even the father of *An T'u-han*, *An Wu-huan* served the Turkish qaghans and held the title of eltäbär ([56], I, p. 143, 196; [68], p. 324). The number of Sogdians was so significant that a Chinese historiographer considered them to be one of the tribes of the Turkish Empire.

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Fig. 1. The Bugut kurgan



Fig. 2. The stone tortoise of the stele

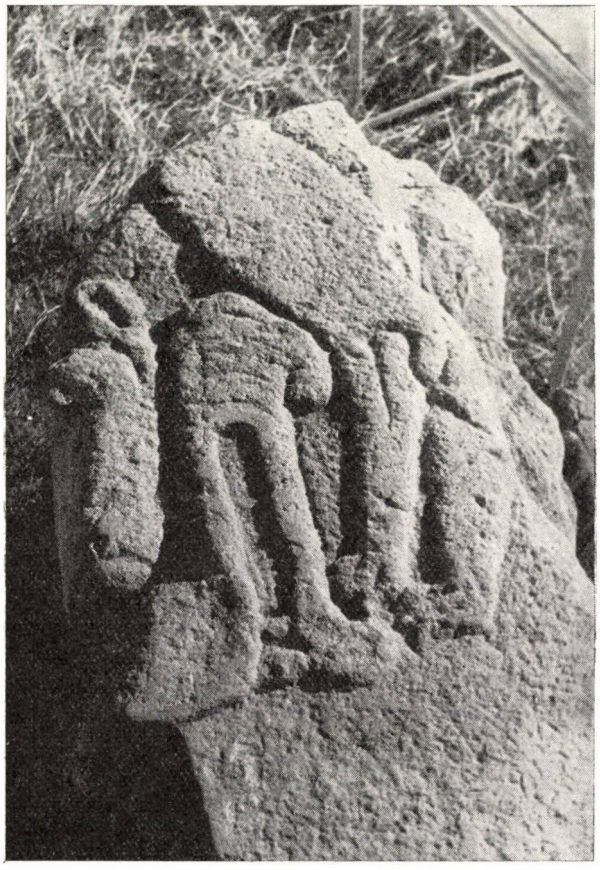

Fig. 3. The top of the stele

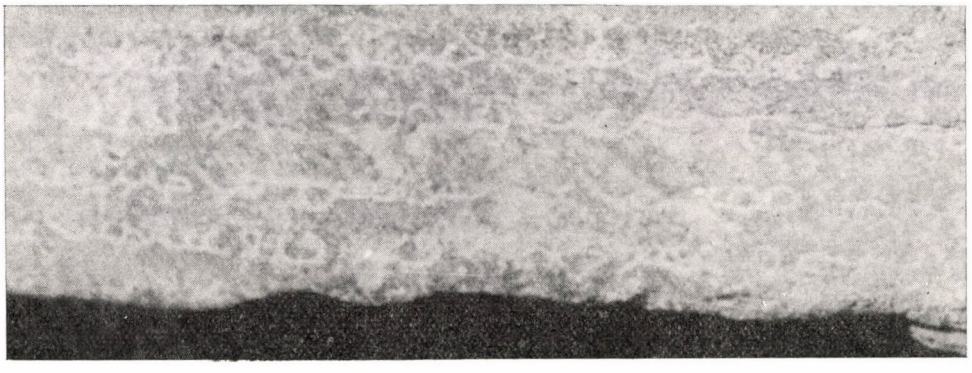

Fig. 4. B1, upper part

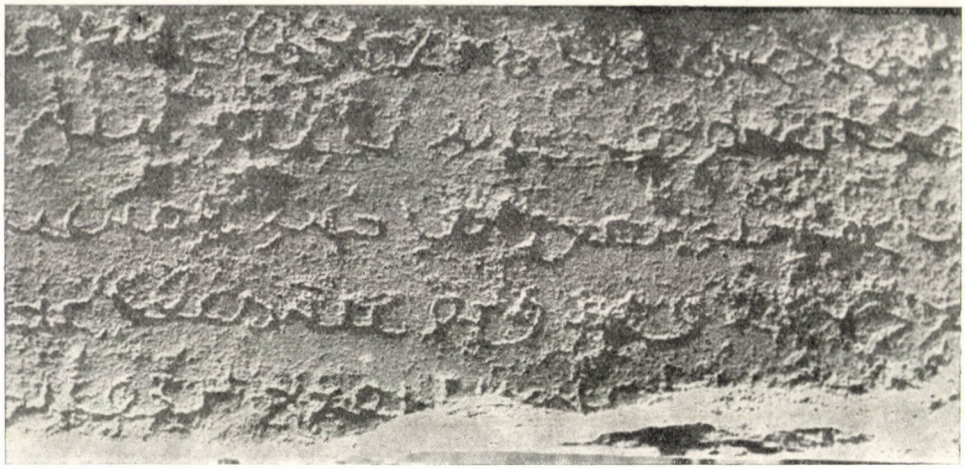

Fig. 5. B1, middle part



Fig. 6. B1, middle part

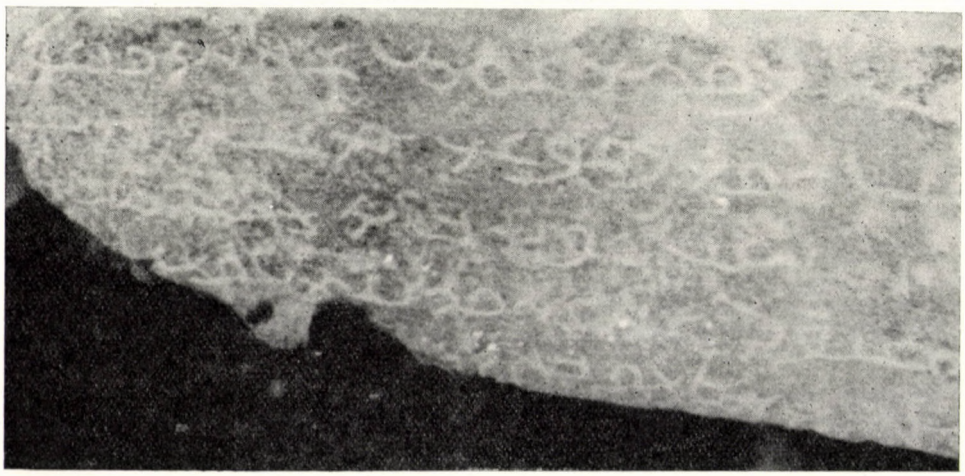

Fig. 7. B1, lower part

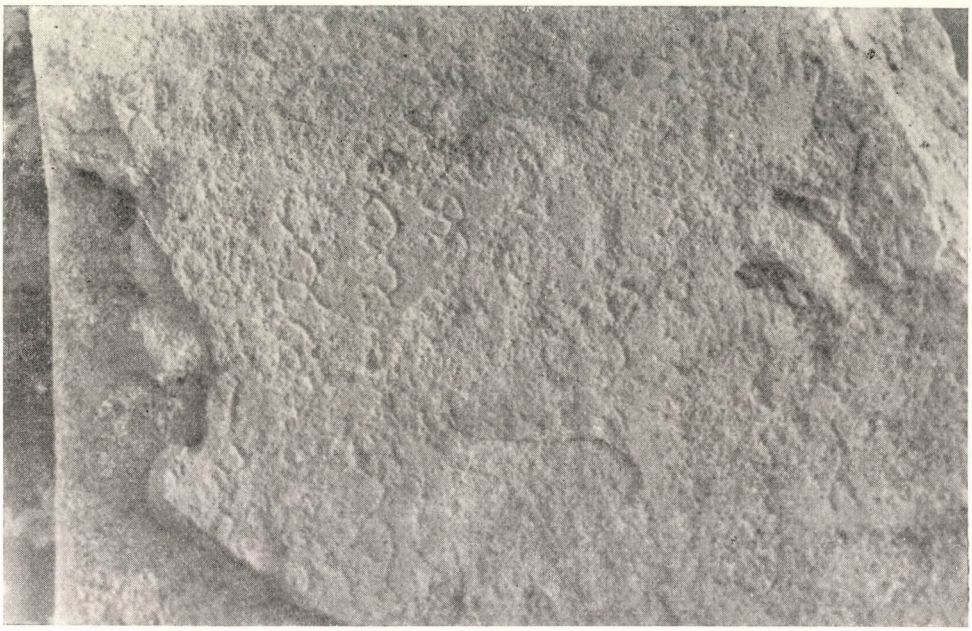

Fig. 8. B2, the eroded upper part



Fig. 9 . B2, the eroded upper part

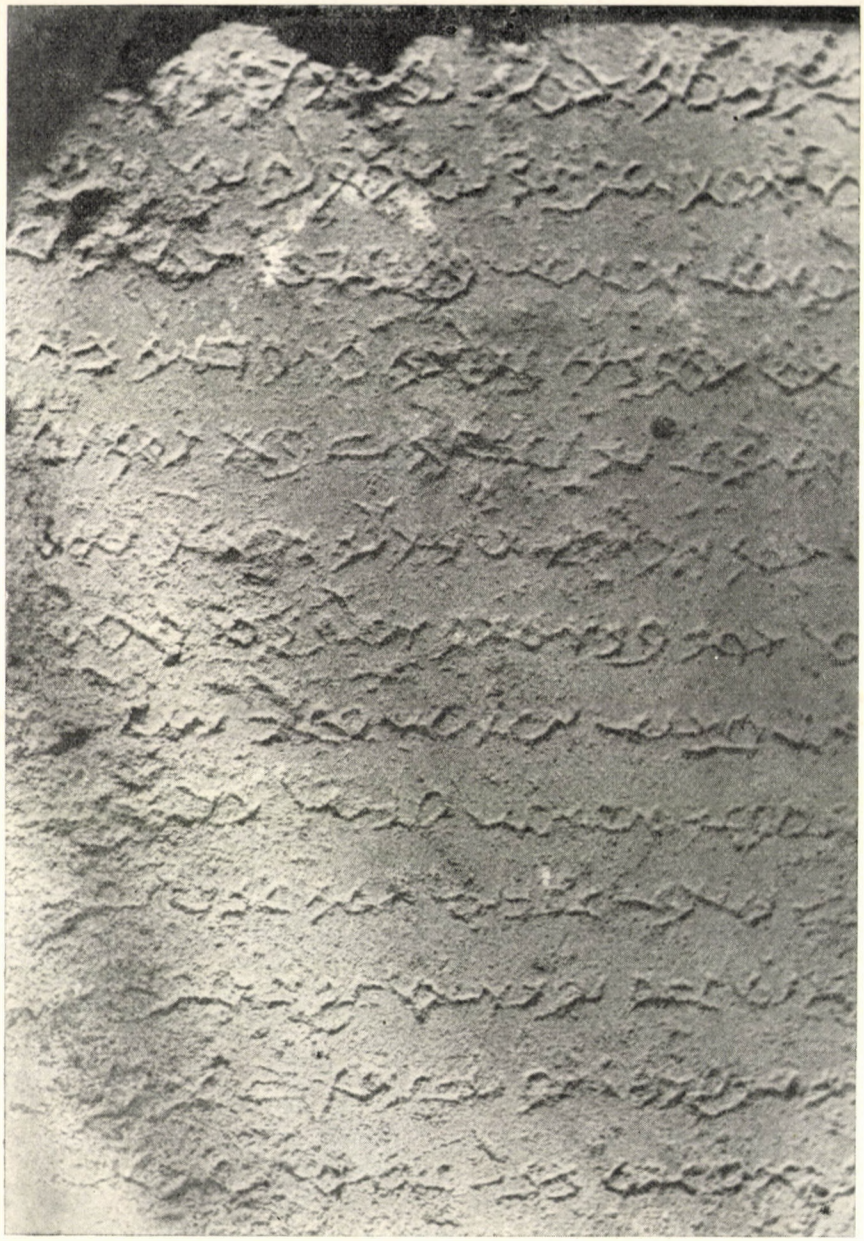

Fig. 10. B2, the end of the lines 1—13

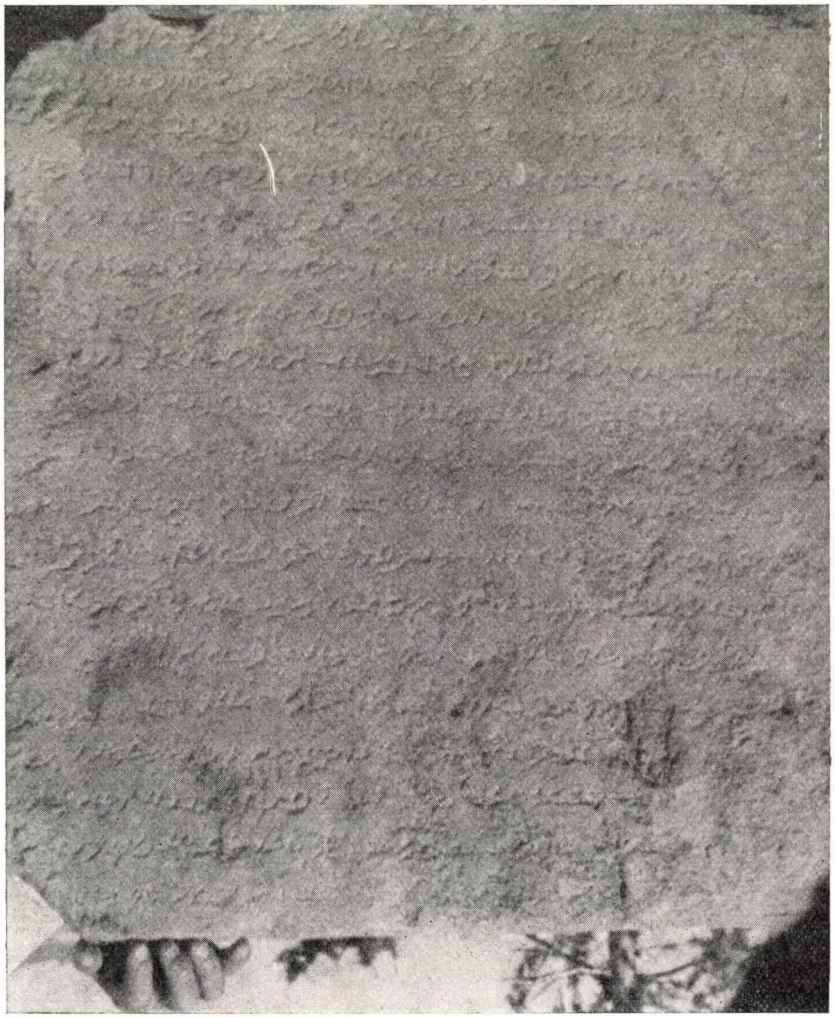

Fig. 11. B2, the end of the lines 1—19



Fig. 12. B3, the whole



Fig. 13. B3, middle part



Fig. 14. B3, the end

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TOWARDS A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KAPILAR'S *KURIÑCIPĀṬṬU*

BY

I. MAJOR

In contemporary dravidology one of the most real and interesting tasks is the investigation of the history of the Dravidian languages. The linguistic description of old Dravidian literary monuments is of the greatest importance in these investigations. Although the oldest Dravidian literature was written in Tamil, the Tamil language is less studied from a historical point of view than the other literary languages related to it.[1] At present the examination of the history of the Tamil language is in an initial stage.[2] This can be explained by the relatively late discovery and publication of many old Tamil literary monuments.[3]

The lack of a complete description of the historical developments in the Tamil language is of utmost importance in the light of recent researches in the spoken Tamil dialects.[4] The preliminary studies have already revealed many phenomena which could not be explained on the basis of the current literary Tamil language.[5] The spoken Tamil dialects contain many surviving old Tamil elements which no longer exist in the later literary language. In order to continue these researches it is necessary to find out the exact linguistical structure of each historical period and to explain the relationships between the tendencies of the development. It means the full linguistical description of all the old Tamil literary monuments. A detailed analysis will throw light on the gramma-

[1] E.g.: the old Kannada language in the works of F. Kittel, *A grammar of the Kannada language*, Mangalore 1903; A. N. Narasimhia, *A grammar of the oldest Kanarese inscriptions*, Mysore 1941; G. S. Gai, *Historical grammar of old Kannada*, Poona 1953; etc.

[2] See: М. С. Андронов, *Основные направления современной дравидологии, Языки Индии, Пакистана, Непела и Цейлона*, Москва 1968, стр. 33—45.

[3] Their greater part was published only at the end of last century mainly by Swaminatha Iyar and at the beginning of this century by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai.

[4] See e.g.: М. С. Андронов, *Разговорный тамильский язык и его диалекты*, Москва 1962.

[5] See e.g.: М. С. Андронов, *О соотношении письменного тамильского языка с разговорным и о хронологии тамильских языковых форм, Краткие сообщения. Института Народов Азии 62.*, Москва 1964.

tical structure of the different synchronic cuts of these texts and also help to solve the problems of the linguistical developments well-grounded in a diachronical plan.

The importance of the descriptive studies was frequently emphasized by such outstanding dravidologists as K. Zvelebil, M. B. Emeneau, V. I. Subramoniam. Since the beginning of the 1960's many important works have been published on this theme.[6] The Sangam literature occupied the main field of these investigations as the oldest period of the Tamil literature yet known. The two great compilations: the *Eṭṭuttokai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* containing the best literary monuments of quite a long period have some valuable material for the linguistic description of the early old Tamil language. The recent researches made by Indian linguists[7] are being concentrated on the poems of the *Eṭṭuttokai* anthologies. We should like to contribute to this aspect of Dravidian studies with a linguistic analysis of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. This study is an experiment to find out a convenient and practical system for the entire linguistic description of these ancient texts. We have chosen the *Pattuppāṭṭu*'s eighth poem: Kapilar's *Kuriñcipāṭṭu* for this experiment. According to the traditional Tamil classification it belongs to the love poetry (*akapporuḷ*). Its theme is premarital love (*kaḷavu*). In accordance with these, corresponding to the theory of *tiṇai* the plot of the poem is set in hilly country from midday to sunset in summer. The whole poem is a monologue related by the girl-friend of the heroine (*tōḻi*).

The text of the *Kuriñcipāṭṭu* together with Naccinārkkiniyar's mediaeval commentaries was first published in 1897 by Swaminatha Iyar. According to S. Vaiyapuri Pillai,[8] the *Kuriñcipāṭṭu* belongs to the first stratum of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and seems to be the fourth oldest poem in it. Among the European indologists Rev. G. U. Pope made the first study of this text.[9]

Our descriptive grammar will consist of phonematical, morphological, syntactical and metrical analyses, an English translation and an index of words of Kapilar's *Kuriñcipāṭṭu*. The investigation has been made on the basis of the

[6] E.g.: V. I. Subramoniam, *Index of Puranaanuuru*, Trivandrum 1962; K. Zvelebil, M. S. Andronov, Y. Y. Glazov, *Introduction to the historical grammar of the Tamil language*, Moscow 1967.

[7] in the Tamil department of the Trivandrum University under direction of V. I. Subramoniam.

[8] See: S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil language and literature*, Madras 1956, pp. 31—33.

[9] G. U. Pope, *The poets of the Tamil lands*; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, London Jan. 1898. Rev. Pope saw some analogies between Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala* and Kapilar's *Kuriñcipāṭṭu*. He accepted the ancient Tamil premarital love equally with the North-Indian Gandharva marriage (see in the quoted work the second paragraph). In our opinion it is a rather superficial conclusion and it can be explained only by the onesided Sanscritocentric appreciation of the entire Indian culture.

following edition of the text: Paththuppaattu, published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly 1956. This paper presents the phonematical analyses.

In conclusion we should like to express our sincere thanks to the chair of Indian philology of the Leningrad University and especially to Mr. S. G. Rudin and Mr. N. V. Gurov, assistant professors of the chair, for the trouble they took in reviewing the MS and for the precious improvements suggested by them.

Phonematical analyses

1.1. Frequency of phonemes' occurrence[10]

phoneme	total	%	phoneme	total	%	phoneme	total	%
a	1097	14.91	*a͡i*	227	3.08	*ē*	68	0.92
i	615	8.36	*l*	219	2.97	*ō*	55	0.74
u	554	7.53	*n*	214	2.90	*ī*	53	0.72
k	417	5.67	*ā*	205	2.78	*ū*	46	0.62
t	366	4.97	*ṯ*	193	2.62	*ñ*	45	0.61
m	341	4.63	*c*	180	2.44	*a͡a*	12	0.16
r	331	4.49	*ṉ*	146	1.98	*a͡ii*	10	0.13
p	311	4.22	e	143	1.94	*i͡i*	8	0.11
v	308	4.18	*ḷ*	110	1.49	*u͡u*	3	0.041
n̲	271	3.68	*l̲*	109	1.48	*e͡e*	2	0.027
y	267	3.62	*ṅ*	99	1.34	*a͡u*	2	0.027
r̲	253	3.44	*o*	75	1.02	*ḥ*	1	0.013

Phonemes' total amount: 7356

[10] In the language of this poeme the superlenghtened (*uyiraḷapaṭa͡i*) *a͡a*, *i͡i*, *u͡u*, *e͡e*, *a͡ii* have to be considered as independent phonemes according to their distribution.

1.21. Compatibility of phonemes (vowel + consonant)[11]

	ḥ	*k*	*ṅ*	*c*	*ñ*	*ṭ*	*ṇ*	*t*	*n*	*p*	*m*	*y*	*r*	*l*	*v*	*l̲*	*l̤*	*r̲*	*n̲*
a	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ā	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
a͡ā	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
i	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ī	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
i͡i	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
u	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ū	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
u͡u	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
e	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ē	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
e͡e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
aɪ	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
a͡ii	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
o	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
ō	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
a͡u	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—

[11] In this examination the text has been accepted as an unbroken continous chain of phonemes with the restoration of all the possible sandhies.

1.22. Compatibility of phonemes (consonant + vowel)

	a	*ā*	*a͡a*	*i*	*ī*	*i͡i*	*u*	*ū*	*u͡u*	*e*	*ē*	*e͡e*	*a͡i*	*a͡ii*	*o*	*ō*	*a͡u*
k	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
ṅ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
c	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
ñ	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ṭ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
ṇ	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
t	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
n	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
p	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
m	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
y	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
l	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
v	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
l	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—
ḷ	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
r	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
n	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—

1.23. Compatibility of phonemes (consonant + consonant). Double consonant groups: *-ṅk-*; *-kk-*, *-ṅk-*; *-cc-*, *-ñc-*; *-ññ-*; *-ṭk-*, *-ṭc-*, *-ṭṭ-*, *-ṭp*; *-ṇk-*, *-ṇc -ṇṇ-*, *-ṇp-*, *-ṇm-*, *-ṇv-*; *-tt-*; *-nt-*, *-nn-*; *-pp-*; *-mp-*, *-mm-*, *-mv-*; *-yk-*, *-yc-*, *-yt-*, *-yn-*, *-yp-*, *-ym-*, *-yy-*, *-yv-*; *-rk-*, *-rc-*, *-rñ-*, *-rt-*, *-rn-*, *-rp-*, *-rm-*, *-rv-*; *-lp-*, *-ly-*, *-ll-*, *-lv-*; *-vr-*, *-vv-*; *-l̲k-*, *-l̲c-*, *-l̲t-*, *-l̲n-*, *-l̲p-*, *-l̲v-*; *-l̲v--*, *-l̲l̲-*; *-r̲k-*, *-r̲c-*, *-r̲p-*, *-r̲r̲-*; *-n̲k-*, *-n̲p-*, *-n̲m-*, *-n̲v-*, *-n̲r̲-*, *-n̲n̲-*.

Triple consonant groups: *-ytt-*, *-ynt-*, *-ymp-*, *-ymm-*; *-rkk-*, *-rtt-*, *-rnt-*, *-rpp-*; *-l̲kk-*, *-l̲tt-*, *-l̲nt-*.

1.3. Position of phonemes in the word-forms[12]

phoneme	B	I	F	phoneme	B	I	F	phoneme	B	I	F
a	+	+	+	*a͡i*	+	+	+	*t*	+	+	—
ā	+	+	+	*a͡ii*	—	+	+	*n*	+	+	(+)
a͡a	—	+	—	*o*	+	+	—	*p*	+	+	—
i	+	+	+	*ō*	+	+	+	*m*	+	+	+
ī	+	+	+	*a͡u*	—	+	—	*y*	+	+	+
i͡i	—	+	+	*ḥ*	—	+	—	*r*	—	+	+
u	+	+	+	*k*	+	+	—	*l*	—	+	+
ū	+	+	+	*ṅ*	—	+	(+)	*v*	+	+	(+)
u͡u	—	—	+	*c*	+	+	—	*l̲*	—	+	+
e	+	+	—	*ñ*	+	+	(+)	*l̤*	—	+	+
ē	+	+	+	*ṭ*	(+)	+	(+)	*r̲*	(+)	+	(+)
e͡e	—	+	—	*ṇ*	(+)	+	+	*n̲*	(+)	+	+

1.4. Changes of phonemes by combining morphemes and word-forms (sandhis)[13]

1.41. Automatic non-grammatical sandhis functioning for phonetic reasons:

tōn̲r̲al

1.41.1. Morphemes or word-forms ending in any velar vowel with the exception of *kur̲r̲iyal ukaram* take a linking consonant *-v-* if the following morpheme or word-form begins with a vowel, e.g.: *pala* + *-iṉ̲* → *palaviṉ̲* 189.5,. *uyyā* + *ar̲um* → *uyyāvar̲um* 11.4.[14]

[12] B — beginning position, I — inside position, F — final position, (+) — that case when the phoneme appears in the given position only in the result of a sandhi.

[13] We preferred not to give here any translation of the examples because in many cases there is no primary contextual connection between their parts. The figures placed after the examples denote the place of the given forms in the text, (the number of the verse and the position of the form inside of the verse).

[14] The only exception is *mā* + *iru* → *māyiru* 112.4. instead of the expected *māviru*.

1.41.2. Morphemes or word-forms ending in any palatal vowel take a linking consonant *-y-* if the following morpheme or word-form begins with a vowel, e.g.: *kai* + *-iṉ* → *kaiyiṉ* 123.7., *kāṭci* + *aiyarkkum* → *kāṭciyaiyarkkum* 17.3.

1.41.3. After long open monosyllabic roots or word-forms ending with *-ā* the beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following morpheme or word-form is doubled, e.g.: *mā* + *tillai* → *māttillai* 76.6.

1.41.4. The final consonant of short closed monosyllabic roots or word-forms is doubled if the following morpheme or word-form begins with a vowel, e.g.: *cel* + *-a* → *cella* 215.2.,[15] *poṉ* + *-iṉ* → *poṉṉiṉ* 13.3., *pal* + *uruviṉ* → *palluruviṉ* 6.2.

1.41.5 After short closed monosyllabic roots or word-forms ending in *-y*, *-r*, or *-ḷ* the beginning consonant of the following morpheme or word-form is doubled, e.g.: *ney* + *mali* → *neymmali* 204.4.

1.41.6. After the demonstrative pronominal adjective *a* «that», the beginning consonant of the following word-form is doubled, e.g.: *a* + *tuṇai* → *attuṇai* 13.4.

tirital

1.41.7. *Kuṟṟiyal ukaram* changes to *kuṟṟiyal ikaram* before the beginning *y-* of the following wordform, e.g.: *talarntu* + *yām* → *talarntiyām* 133.5.

1.41.8. Final *-m* of morphemes or word-forms changes to *-ṅ*, *-ñ*, or *-n* before the beginning *k-*, *c-*, or *t-* of the following morpheme or word-form, e.g.: *varum* + *kuraiya* → *varuṅkuraiya* 14.2., *uḷḷakam* + *civanta* → *uḷḷakañcivanta* 61.2., *paraviyum* + *toḻutum* → *paraviyuntoḻutum* 5.1.

1.41.9. Final *-l* and *-ḷ* of short closed monosyllabic roots or word-forms become *-ṟ* and *-ṭ* before the beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following morpheme or word-form if it precedes a short vowel. (In any other case final *-l* and *-ḷ* become *-ṉ* and *-ṇ* before *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-*) E.g.: *nal* + *kaviṉ* → *naṟkaviṉ* 9.1., *el* + *paṭa* → *erpaṭa* 39.1. *kaḷ* + *kamaḷ* → *kaṭkamaḷ* 34.4.,[16] (but *mel* + *kūntal* → *meṉkūntal* 2.2., *mel* + *tōḷ* → *meṉṟōl* 242.3., *vāl* + *pū* → *vāṉpū* 67.3., *oḷ* + *pūm* → *oṇpūm* 119.1.)

1.41.10. Final *-l* and *-ḷ* of short closed monosyllabic roots or word-forms become *-ṉ* and *-ṇ* before the beginning *n-* of the following morpheme or word-

[15] Together with this form another parallel form has been found in the text: *cel* + *a*$^{+}$ → *cela*$^{+}$ 250.5. and *cel* + *al* → *celal* 50.2. Another exception: *il* + *aṉ* → *ilaṉ* 244.4., 245.5. instead of the expected *illan*.

[16] Exceptions: *oḷ* + *cem* → *oṇcem* 62.1. *oḷ* + *toṭi* → *oṇṭoṭi* 139.5. instead of the expected *oṭcem*, *oṭṭoṭi*.

form and assimilate it to themselves. (In any other case final *-l* and *-ḷ* become *-n̲* and *-ṇ* and the beginning *n-* is dropped). E.g.: *cil* + *nāl* → *ciṉṉāl* 232.6., *oḷ* + *nuṭal* → *oṇṇuṭal* 1.5., (but *tōḷ* + *nekiḻavum* → *tōṇekiḻavum* 9.5.).

1.41.11. Final *-l* and ***-ḷ*** of morphemes and wordforms become *-n̲* and *-ṇ* before the beginning *m-* of the following morpheme or word-form, e.g.: *val* + *-mai* → *vaṉmai* 12.2., *ikal* + *mī* → *ikaṉmī* 27.1., *maṉaiyōḷ* + *maṭuppa* → *maṉaiyōṇmaṭuppa* 154.4.

1.41.12. Final *-ṇ* and *-n̲* of short closed monosyllabic roots or word-forms assimilate the beginning *n-* of the following morpheme or word-form. (In any other case after final *-ṇ* and *-n̲* the beginning *n-* is dropped). E.g.: *taṇ* + *niḻal* → *taṇṇiḻal* 106.3., *taṉ* + *niḻai* → *taṉṉiḻai* 248.1., (but *koṭuppiṉ* + *naṅkü* → *koṭuppiṉaṅkü* 30.1.).

1.41.13. Final *-ṇ* and *-n̲* of morphemes or word-forms assimilate the beginning *t-* of the following morpheme or word-form into *ṭ-* and *ṟ-*, e.g.: *viṇ* + *tōy* → *viṇṭōy* 226.1., *vāṉ* + *tiṇai* → *vāṉṟiṇai* 205.3.

keṭuti

1.41.14. *Kuṟṟiyal ukaram* is dropped before the beginning vowel of the following morpheme or wordform (but in several cases it can elongate the vowel of the preceding syllable). E.g.: *uruvü* + *-iṉ* → *uruviṉ* 6.3., *vēṇṭü* + *aṉṉai* → *vēṇṭaṉṉai* 1.3., (but *viruppoṭü* + *eṉṟum* → *viruppōṭeṉṟum* 238.3.).

1.41.15. Final *-m* of morphemes or word-forms is dropped before the beginning *n-* or *m-* of the following morpheme or word-form, e.g.: *tolaiyavum* + *naṟum* → *tolaiyavunaṟum* 9.3., *mātarum* + *maṭaṉum* → *mātarumaṭaṉum* 19.1.

1.42. Grammatical sandhis functioning for morphologic reasons

1.42.1. The beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following word-form is doubled after allomorphs of infinitive: *-a*$^+$, *-ppa*$^+$, e.g.: *aṟa*$^+$ + *kaḷü* → *aṟakkaḷü* 16.2., *kaṭuppa*$^+$ + *tuṉaiiya* → *kaṭuppattuṉaiiya* 229.5.

of verbal adverb: *-i*$^+$, *-a*$^+$, *-ā*$^+$, *-ū*$^+$, *-ttü*$^+$, e.g.: *paṭi*$^+$ + *paṭara* → *paṭippaṭara* 46.5., *eṉa*$^+$ + *tiruntü* → *eṉattiruntü* 106.6., *paṟiyā*$^+$ + *pai* → *paṟiyāppai* 101.5., *puṭaiyū*$^+$ + *kāṉam* → *puṭaiyūkkāṉam* 160.3., *niruttü*$^+$ + *peyarntaṉaṉ* → *niruttuppeyarntaṉaṉ* 237.2.

after the affix of negativ participle: *-ā*$^+$, e.g.: *tilaiyā*$^+$ + *kaṇṇa* → *tilaiyākkaṇṇa* 132.1.

1.42.2. The beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following word-form is doubled after nouns standing in common oblique form expressed by a zero-morpheme Ø$^+$.[17] (If the given form ends in *-l* or *-ḷ*, the doubled *kk-*, *cc-*, *tt-*, *pp-*, combin-

[17] A similar signification has been introduced by S. G. Rudin in his Ph. D. dissertation (С. Г. Рудин, *Морфологическая структура тамильского языка*, Ленинград 1968

ing with final *-l* appears as *-r̲k-*, *-r̲c-*, *-r̲r̲-*, *-r̲p-*, with final *-ḷ* as *-ṯk-*, *-ṯc-*, *-ṯṯ-*, *-ṯp*). E.g.: *uravu* + Ø$^{+}$ + *katir* → *uravukkatir* 45.1., *i̲nar* + Ø$^{+}$ + *kuravam* → *i̲narkkuravam* 69.4., (but *kāl* + Ø$^{+}$ + *pittikattu* → *kāṟpittikattu* 117.3., *kōḷ* + Ø$^{+}$ + *ciṟu* → *kōṭciṟu* 38.2., *katavuḷ* + Ø$^{+}$ + *pē̲ni* → *kaṭavuṭpē̲ni* 6.4.

1.42.3. Locative case allomorphs: *-il*($^{+}$), *-i̲n*($^{+}$) become *-iṟ* before the beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following word-form, e.g.: *uruvi̲n*($^{+}$) + *kaṭavuḷ* → *uruviṟkaṭavuḷ* 6.3., *va̲n͡maiyi̲n*($^{+}$) + *ceṟittu* → *va̲n͡maiyiṟceṟittu* 12.2., *vāy-mai͡yil*($^{+}$) + *tēr̲r̲i* → *vāymai͡yiṟr̲ēr̲r̲i* 210.4. *aṟivuṟāli̲n*($^{+}$) + *paḷiyum* → *aṟi-vuṟāliṟpaḷiyum* 22.2.

1.43. Prosodical sandhies explicable only for rhythmical reasons: *cēey* 51.6., *mayaṅkaruviya* 53.2. *tulā͡ay* 90.4., *parēr* 96.4., *viṭupuṭai͡yū* 160.2., *katā͡am* 164.3. *valā͡a* 260.4. instead of the expected *cēy*, *mayaṅkukaruviya*, *tuḷāy*, *paruvēr*, *viṭupupuṭai͡yū*, *kaṭām*, *vaḷā*.

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in MS) to denote those appearences, when some case-morphemes are apparently expressed only by the reduplication of the beginning *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, or *p-* of the following word-form. We introduced the term of the common oblique form to denote these cases.

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DAS MYTHISCHE GOLDLAND ḪARALI IM ALTEN VORDERASIEN

VON

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Die in Ur gefundene, neuerdings in Keilschrift veröffentlichte[1] Kopie des sumerischen mythologischen Epos «Enki und Ninḫursag» enthält eine Zusatzkolumne (Kol. II), die im Hauptexemplar des Epos[2] fehlt. Die Kolumne ist wohl eine Interpolation im Text des Epos. Diese Interpolation sollte man «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel» nennen. Der wahrhaft hymnisch anmutende Text gibt die Beschreibung der von verschiedenen Ländern nach Tilmun (d.h. die Insel Baḫrein)[3] gelieferten Handelswaren. Gleich am Anfang wird der Goldhandel erwähnt.

Z. 1 f. ^{kur}tu-uk-ri-iš^{ki} guškin ḫa-ra-li
^{na_4}za-gìn [X]-ga ḫu-mu-ra-bal-bal
«Das Land Tukriš das Gold von Ḫarali
(und) den ... Lazurstein soll dir liefern.»

Dass in diesen Worten von mittelbaren Lieferungen, d. h. von einem Transithandel die Rede ist, geht aus dem Text selbst hervor. Das Gold aus Ḫarali wird vom Land Tukriš nach Tilmun vermittelt. Dementsprechend soll Ḫarali für Tilmun (und für Mesopotamien) ein fernes, ein schwer zu erreichendes Land, ein nur durch Vermittlung, nur aus Nachrichten bekanntes goldlieferndes Gebiet sein.[4]

[1] *UET* VI/1 Nr. 1 Kol. II. — Zum Inhalt s. S. N. Kramer: *Antiquity* 37 (1963), 111—115; *WZ Halle—Wittenberg* 12 (1963), 311—317; *The Sumerians: their History, Culture and Character* (Chicago 1963), 279; ferner W. F. Leemans, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 220 f.

[2] Bearbeitet von S. N. Kramer, *Enki and Ninḫursag. A Sumerian «Paradise» Myth*, New Haven 1945 (*BASOR SS* 1.)

[3] Zur Identifikation s. P. B. Cornwall: *BASOR* 103 (1946), 3—11 und *JCS* 6 (1952), 137—141; ferner W. F. Leemans, *Phoenix* 5 (Leiden 1959), 82—88; I. J. Gelb: *RA* 64 (1970), 1—8.

[4] Vgl. W. F. Leemans: *RLA* **3**, VII (Berlin 1969), 504—515.

Tukriš selbst, das das Gold von Ḫarali vermittelt, ist auch ein relativ selten erwähntes Gebiet. Seine geographische Lage ist nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen. In der Liste einer Ḫammurapi-Inschrift aus Ur[5] steht Tukriš hinter Elam, Gutium und Subir; es ist demnach östlich oder nordöstlich von Mesopotamien zu suchen. Ein assyrischer geographischer Traktat, welcher die Überlieferungen bez. der Ausdehnung des Reiches Šarrukîns von Agade zusammenfasst,[6] legt Tukriš auf das gleiche Gebiet, und gibt auch seine Entfernung von Mesopotamien an. Die aus diesem Traktat genommenen Zahlenangaben haben zumindest im Verhältnis zueinander einen Quellenwert. Der theoretische Ausgangspunkt für die Entfernungsschätzung ist wohl die Stadt Agade. Nach dem Traktat ist die Entfernung bis Parašî 40 *bēru* (= 427 km); bis Tukriš 60 *bēru* (= 641 km); bis Elam 90 *bēru* (= 962 km).[7] Die Aufzählung ist in dem Sinne zu deuten, dass der Redaktor des Traktats Tukriš in das iranische Hochland, aber nördlich von Elam (d. h. näher zu dem Ausgangspunkt) lokalisiert. Das steht mit dem geographischen Bild der Ḫammurapi-Inschrift in Einklang. Eine Inschrift Šamši-Adads I, Königs von Assyrien[8] erwähnt den Tribut der Könige von Tukriš und den des Königs des «oberen Landes» (*mātu elītu*). Der letzgenannte Ausdruck bezieht sich ungefähr auf das heutige Kurdistān. In einem hurritischen Ritualtext aus Boğazköy[9] wird der „Herr" von Tukriš nach den Königen von Elam und Lullu genannt. Das Kerngebiet des Gebirgs-

[5] *UET* I, 146 Kol. IV.; vgl. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago 1944), 41. Der erste, hymnische Teil der Inschrift wurde von Å. Sjöberg: *ZA* 54, NF 20 (1961), 51—70 bearbeitet.

[6] *KAV* 92; zuletzt bearbeitet von E. Weidner: *AfO* 16 (1952—53), 1—24.

[7] E. Weidner: *AfO* 16, 20; s. noch W. F. Albright: *JAOS* 45 (1925), 233.

[8] E. Ebeling—B. Meissner—E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig 1926), S. 24, Z. IV, 4 ff.

[9] *KUB* XXVII, 38, Kol. IV, Z. 14; vgl. *BoTU*, Bd. 2, S. 25⁺; J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin 1932), 35; H. G. Güterbock: *ZA* 44, NF 10 (1938), 81 ff. Zur Stelle s. noch E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian (AASOR* 20, New Haven 1941), 99, mit der Transliteration ^{URU}*Du-ug-ri-iš*. Neuerdings gibt I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Beiheft 6, Neue Folge, München 1971), 56, eine Umschrift *Tugrīž/š*, und hält den Namen im Hurritischen für Fremdwort. — Die übrigen Belegstellen für Tukriš, u.a. in den Mari-Briefen (s. dazu G. Dossin: *Syria* 19 [1938] 115), in den Amārna-Tafeln (*EA* Nr. 22, II 37; Nr. 25, IV 45) und in den Listen aus Qatna (s. dazu zuletzt J. Bottéro: *RA* 43 [1949] S. 142, Z. 55 f.; S. 150, Z. 123 f.; S. 156, Z. 188 f. und S. 22), die auch von E. Weidner, *AfO* 16, S. 20, Anm. 145 ff. verzeichnet sind, sind für die Lokalisation nicht von Belang, tragen jedoch zur Beurteilung der Bedeutung von Tukriš im vorderasiatischen Goldhandel bei. — In seinem posthum erschienenen Buch *The Persian Empire. Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East* (ed. by G. Walser, Wiesbaden 1968) 233 ff. nimmt E. Herzfeld die Identität von Tukriš und Turukkū an. Seine Behauptung ist aber unannehmbar, weil z. B. im Šarrukîn-Traktat *KAV* 92 die beiden Namen vorkommen (Z. 34 bzw. 39). Für das Gebirgsvolk Turukkū s. übrigens H. Klengel, *Klio* 40 (1962) 5—12.

volkes Lullubum lag im Raum um Suleymanīya (Nordost-Irāq).[10] Tukriš wird also unter den Ortsnamen erwähnt, die die mittleren und nördlichen Gebiete des iranischen Hochlandes bezeichnen. Deshalb dürfte Tukriš in der Gegend des bis heute gebrauchten Weges nach Kirmanšāh und weiter nach Ḫamadān gesucht werden.

Die Handelsware von Tukriš ist der Lazurstein (*lapis lazuli*), der in Z. 2 des oben zitierten Textes genannt wurde. Innerhalb des vorderasiatischen Raumes war der wichtigste (bzw. der einzige) Fundort des Lazursteins Afghānistān, von wo er über das iranische Hochland nach Mesopotamien gelangte.[11] Seine wichtigste Fundstelle lag bei dem heutigen Šahr-i Soḫta.[12] Der Lazursteinweg führte von hier durch Nord-Iran (südlich entlang des Elburz-Gebirges). Wie bekannt, war der Ort Tepe Ḥiṣar (in der Nähe von dem heutigen Damghan) eine wichtige Umschlagsstation auf diesem Wege; hier wurden sowohl Lazurstein als auch Gold gefunden.[13] Afghānistān (und West-Indien) waren mit Mesopotamien durch zwei (nicht immer gleichzeitig benutzten) Landwege verbunden. Der eine (oben beschriebene) führte am nördlichen, der andere am südlichen Rand der grossen Salzwüste entlang. Die auf dem südlichen Weg gelieferten Waren gelangten entweder auf den Karawanenwegen durch Elam, oder auf Seeweg über den Persischen Golf nach Mesopotamien.[14] Die Gold- und Lazursteinlieferungen konnten übrigens auch diese südliche Wegen nehmen. Es ist aber ausgeschlossen, dass Tukriš auf den Südwegen als Vermittler hätte erscheinen können. Der nordiranische Weg durchquerte an mehreren Punkten (bei den Gebirgspässen) das Zagros-Gebirge, aber in dem direkt nach Süd-Mesopotamien führenden Handel war zumeist die Spurlinie des heutigen Weges von Kirmanšāh nach Baghdad im Gebrauch.[15] All dies spricht für die oben erwähnte Lokalisierung des Landes Tukriš.

Was die Lage des im «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel» erwähnten Landes Ḫarali betrifft, kann also eines als sicher angenommen werden: es lag irgendwo auf dem Weg, der von Süd-Mesopotamien aus über Tukriš nach Osten führte.

Der Name Ḫarali kommt auch sonst in der sumerischen mythologischen Dichtung vor. Im mythologischen Epos «Enki und Ninmaḫ» ist Ḫarali der

[10] Vgl. H. Klengel: *MIO* 11 (1966), 349—371.

[11] Vgl. G. Hermann: *Iraq* 30 (1968), 21—54.

[12] M. Tosi: *ILN*, Vol. 256 (1970), Nr. 6808 (Jan. 24), S. 24—25; Nr. 6810 (Feb. 7), S. 24—25; V. I. Sarianidi: *Kratkije Soobščenija Instituta Arheologii* 114 (1968), 3—9 = *Archaeology* 24 (1971), 12—15.

[13] M. E. L. Mallowan, *The Development of Cities from Al-ʿUbaid to the End of Uruk 5.* Cambridge 1967. (*CAH*² I, Ch. VIII.) Part II, S. 54 ff.

[14] M. E. L. Mallowan: *Iran* 3 (1965), 1—7.

[15] Zu den Handelsrouten vgl. W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden 1960), 159 ff.; *JESHO* 11 (1968), 192 ff. — Für die Bevorzugung des genannten Weges spricht u. a. auch die Rolle, die Sippar in diesem Handel gespielt hat.

Wohnplatz der Götter vor der Zeit der Menschenschöpfung, vgl.: d i n g i r i_7 d u n - d u n - e - dè s a ḫ a r - b i ḫ a - r a - l i i m - d u b - d u b - b é - n e «die Götter, um Kanal zu graben, schürften die Erde in Ḫarali».[16] Nach einem sumerischen Hymnus auf Ninurta[17] nimmt die Axt ihren Ursprung aus Ḫarali; der Gott Ninurta wird im Text als derjenige gefeiert, der jenes Werkzeug ins Land eingeführt hat, vgl.: u_4 - b a ḫ a - z i - e n ḫ a - r a - l i - t a e n - n a t ù m i m - m e - e n «der damals die Axt aus Ḫarali herbrachte, bin ich»[18] (u_4 - b a «damals» bezieht sich auf die Urzeit; i m - m e - e n = *ì - m e - e n). Der Name Ḫarali steht hier in einer Reihe von Ortsnamen wie Meluḫḫa, Marḫaši, Tilmun usw. an erster Stelle!

Diesen Angaben nach wird also Ḫarali in der sumerischen mythologischen Dichtung als mythisches Land der Urzeit, als Wohnplatz der Urgötter, als Ursprungsland der Zivilisation aufgefasst. In diesem Zusammenhang gehört es zu den übrigen wohlbekannten mythischen Ländern der sumerischen Dichtung, wie z. B. die Insel Tilmun oder das süd-mesopotamische Sumpfland im Epos «Enki und Ninḫursag», oder d u_6 - k ù, «der helle Hügel» in mehreren Dichtungen usw. Die Analogie solcher mythischen Länder oder Götterländer weist darauf hin, dass es sich hier mindestens zum Teil um die *Mythologisierung realer Gebiete* handelt: gewisse geographische Bezeichnungen werden mit mythischen Vorstellungen verbunden.

Die sumerische Überlieferung kennt also einerseits ein östliches Goldland, genannt Ḫarali, andererseits weiss sie von einem fernen mythischen Land, das den gleichen Namen trägt. Nicht nur die Namen sind dieselben, auch die mit ihnen verbundenen Vorstellungen stehen miteinander im Zusammenhang. Dieser Zusammenhang soll nun erörtert werden.

Bekanntlich ist in der sumerischen und akkadischen Mythologie der Name *arallû* eine der Bezeichnungen der Unterwelt.[19] Die Angaben, die sich auf Arallû beziehen, sind jedoch ebenso wenig homogen wie jene, die sich auf Ḫarali beziehen. Es kann bewiesen werden, dass Arallû erst später im Sinne von «Unterwelt» gebraucht wurde. «Unterwelt» ist die übertragene Bedeutung des Wortes. Damit erklärt sich auch der Ursprung und die Entwicklung einer bedeutenden und verbreiteten mesopotamischen religiösen Vorstellung. Weiters kann auch bewiesen werden, dass die beiden Namen Ḫarali und Arallû trotz der verschiedenen Schreibweisen, ihrer lautlichen Form nach die gleichen sind.

[16] *SEM* 116, I, 9; vgl. J. van Dijk: *Acta Orient. Hauniae* 28 (1964), S. 25, Z. 12; und S. 27, Anm. 67a.

[17] *SLTN* 61.

[18] *SLTN* 61, V 5—6.

[19] K. Tallquist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* (Helsingfors 1934), 6 ff.; S. N. Kramer: *Iraq* 22 (1960), S. 68, Anm. 24; L. Wächter: *MIO* 15 (1969), 327—336. Die wichtigsten Belegstellen s. bei W. v. Soden: *AHw* 64; *CAD* A II, 226 f.

Genau so, wie Ḫarali im «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel», kommt auch der Name Arallû manchmal als Bezeichnung eines Goldlandes vor. Die eine Quelle ist der geographische Katalog auf der XXII. Tafel der monumentalen Wortliste ḪAR(u r$_5$) - r a = *ḫubullu*, welcher den Namen Arallû folgendermassen erklärt: KUR *a-ra-li* (Var.: *a-ra-al-li*; *a-ra-a-lu*) MIN (=KUR) *ḫu-ra-*[*ṣi*] «das Land (oder: der Berg) Arali (Var.: Aralli; Arālu): das Land (oder: der Berg) des Goldes».[20] Die sumerische Schreibweise Arali hat sich in den Varianten des Namens allmählich akkadisiert. Diesem Katalog folgt, mit geringeren Veränderungen, ein Teil der sog. *lipšur*-Litaneien: KUR *a-ra-li* MIN (= *lip-šur*) KUR GUŠKIN «das Land (oder: der Berg) Arali soll (vom Banne) gelöst werden, das Land (oder: der Berg) des Goldes».[21] In der Wortliste ḪAR(u r$_5$) - r a = *ḫubullu* wird auch g u š k i n - a - r a - l i = *liqtu* unter verschiedenen Goldarten angeführt;[22] das akkadische Wort bedeutet «Goldklumpen»,[23] genau genommen, «gesammeltes (Gold)». Damit wird das Gold von Arali als Berggold qualifiziert.

In diesen Katalogen entsprechen alle übrigen Namen realen geographischen Gebieten, so kann man auch über Arali nicht das Gegenteil behaupten.

Ähnlich wichtige Angaben über Arallû als Goldland sind in den neuassyrischen Königsinschriften des 7. Jahrhunderts v. u. Z. zu finden. In zwei Bauinschriften des assyrischen Königs Aššur-aḫ-iddina (680—669), die sich mit dem Bau Babylons und mit den Restaurationsarbeiten des Heiligtums Esagila beschäftigen, wird das Gold von Arallû in stereotypen Wendungen erwähnt. Von Aššur-aḫ-iddina wird zur Ausschmückung der Götterstatuen Rotgold (*ṣarīru ruššû*)[24] verwendet. Über den Ursprung dieses Rotgoldes wird folgendes mitgeteilt: es ist *nab-ni-it* KUR *a-ra-al-li e-pir šad*(KUR)*-di-šú* «das Erzeugnis des Berges von Arallû, der Staub seines Berges».[25] In einer späteren Inschrift wird die zitierte Stelle stereotyp wiederholt, aber mit dem Hinweis ergänzt, dass das Gold sich in unbearbeitetem Zustand befand: *šá ana ši-ip-ri la pat-qu* «welches zu keinem Werke benutzt wurde».[26] Die Schreibweise in den Inschriften von Aššur-aḫ--iddina deutet darauf hin, dass das Zeichen KUR in den Texten, welche Arallû erwähnen, als *šadû* «Berg» verstanden wurde; der Name Arallû ist also hier jener eines Gebirges.

Eine ähnliche Angabe finden wir auf einer Steinplatte von Aššur-banapli, wo der Neuaufbau des Esagila, d. h. die Beendung der von seinem Vater

[20] ḪAR(u r$_5$) - r a = *ḫubullu* XXII 19'; s. E. Reiner: *JNES* 15 (1956), 147.
[21] Z. 21; s. E. Reiner: *JNES* 15 (1956), 132.
[22] ḪAR(u r$_5$) - r a = *ḫubullu* XII 253; s. *MSL* 7, S. 167.
[23] W. v. Soden, *AHw* 555.
[24] Vgl. *CAD* Ṣ 111 f.
[25] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz 1956) § 53, S. 84, Rs. 36.
[26] *ebenda*, § 57, S. 88, Rs. 15.

Aššur-aḫ-iddina begonnenen Arbeit erzählt wird. Die Inschrift erwähnt das Gold von Arallû: GUŠKIN [*nab-ni-it*] KUR *a-ra-al-li* «das Gold, [«Erzeugnis] des Berges von Arallû».[27] In dieser Inschrift steht Arallû neben den Ländern Muṣur und Kusi, Ägypten und Äthiopien, was wieder darauf hinweist, dass wir einen realen geographischen Namen vor uns haben.

Man wirft selbstverständlich die — theoretisch berechtigte — Frage auf, ob jene Inschriften von Aššur-aḫ-iddina und Aššur-ban-apli auf das Gold der Unterwelt anspielen.[28] Wenn es sich wirklich darum handeln sollte, so würde die Vorstellung, dass in der Unterwelt Rohgold zu finden ist, ausschliesslich hier vorkommen. Es gibt in der Keilschriftliteratur m. W. keinen Hinweis darauf, dass das Gold in irgendeiner Form von der Unterwelt, von dem Totenreich hergeleitet worden sei. Eine solche Vorstellung ist mit keinem von den übrigen Namen der Unterwelt verbunden, nur mit Arallû und nur an dieser Stelle.[29] So kommen wir zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass die zitierten neuassyrischen Textstellen anders interpretiert werden müssen. Mit anderen Worten: in den Inschriften von Aššur-aḫ-iddina und Aššur-ban-apli wird die Kenntnis eines realen goldliefernden Landes namens Arallû vermittelt.

Auf diese Weise ist eine Gruppe in den sich auf die Namen Ḫarali, Arali und Arallû beziehenden literarischen, mythologischen und historischen Angaben eindeutig abzusondern. In dieser Gruppe bezeichnen jene Namen ein wirklich existierendes Goldland (oder einen Goldberg). Sie bewahren die Erinnerung der von diesem Land nach Mesopotamien gerichteten Goldlieferung. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören vor allem der «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel», dann die Inschriften von Aššur-aḫ-iddina und Aššur-ban-apli, und schliesslich die zitierten geographischen Kataloge. Eigentlich könnte auch der oben zitierte Ninurta-Hymnus hierher gezählt werden, obwohl die mit Ḫarali bestehenden Handelsverbindungen in diesem Hymnus in einer mythologischen Umhüllung erscheinen.

An einer Stelle der akkadisch-akkadischen Wortliste *malku* = *šarru*, sog. «erweiterte Ausgabe», ist die folgende Worterklärung zu lesen: *ḫa-a-ra-li* MIN (= *da-al-tum*) SU^{ki} «*ḫārali*: Tür von Subartu».[30] Dieses Wort soll eine Art Tür aus Harali bezeichnen.[31] Subartu (Subir) ist ebenso ein Vermittler-

[27] E. F. Weidner: *AfO* 13 (1939—41) 205, Z. 26. — Die neuassyrischen Belegstellen für den Namen sind, wie ich nachträglich sehe, bei S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Kevelaer—Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970), S. 22, unter den Toponymen registriert.

[28] Eine solche Auffassung wird z. B. von R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz 1956), S. 84 Komm. zur Z. 36, mit S. 87 Komm. zur Z. 25; und von W. F. Leemans, *RLA* 3, VII (Berlin 1969), 514 b. vertreten.

[29] Vgl. die Belegstellen in *CAD* A II, 226 f.; und bes. *CAD* Ḫ, 246.

[30] *CT* 18, 3 V 21.

[31] Vgl. W. v. Soden, *AHw* 323; *CAD* Ḫ 89; A. Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki 1961), 50. — Manche Handelswaren fremder Herkunft tragen auch sonst den Namen ihres Herkunftslandes, s. zB *arattû* «der aus Aratta», eine Art Sessel, vgl.

land der Handelslieferungen, wie das ihm südöstlich benachbarte Tukriš in dem «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel».

Die akkadische Lautgestalt dieses Wortes ist wegen der phonetischen Beurteilung des Anlautes *ḫ* in Ḫarali bzw. Arali wichtig. Die Wortform könnte das «missing link» zwischen den überlieferten Namensformen wie sum. Ḫarali/Arali und akk. Aralli/Arallû sein.

Falls der Name Ḫarali als realer geographischer Name betrachtet werden soll, kann nicht bezweifelt werden, das dieser nicht aus Mesopotamien stammt (aus den Sprachen Mesopotamiens nicht herzuleiten ist), sondern die Übernahme eines fremden Namens darstellt. Da die Wiedergabe des Wortanlautes sowohl im Sumerischen, als auch im Akkadischen schwankt, müssen wir annehmen, dass es sich hier um die unvollkommene Wiedergabe eines fremdsprachlichen Phonems handelt. Aufgrund des phonetischen Wertes der graphischen *ḫ* und *a* Anlautvarianten ist ein anlautendes **h* zu rekonstruieren (**h* entspricht dem akkadischen $'_2$ oder dem hebräischen *h* ה).[32] Am Anfang des II. Jahrtausends werden in dem nordbabylonischen Syllabar zur Wiedergabe des Stimmabsatzes die ḫ-haltigen Zeichen gebraucht;[33] in dieser Lage deutet die Schreibweise des Wortes auf einen nördlichen Ursprung hin. Die Schwankung der Vokallänge im Wortinnern ist mit der Unsicherheit der Betonung zu erklären. Diese Erwägungen können nicht nur die etwaigen bei der Identifikation der Namen Ḫarali und Arallû entstehenden phonetischen Schwierigkeiten beseitigen, sondern sie bereichern das Bild über die Zwischenhandelsbeziehungen, die vom Nordosten her nach Mesopotamien führten, mit einem neuen Detail.

Nach alledem dürfte die volle geographische und historische Realität des Landes Ḫarali kaum bezweifelt werden. Trotzdem kann man über seine Lage nur so viel feststellen, dass Ḫarali östlich von Tukriš (d. h. vom mittleren Teil des iranischen Hochlandes), vermutlich recht weit von Mesopotamien, in einem Gebirgsland zu suchen ist. (Es fällt nämlich ausserhalb des geographischen Horizonts des erwähnten geographischen Traktats über die Ausdehnung des Reiches von Agade.) Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass Ḫarali sich an die östliche Strecke des über das iranische Hochland und Tukriš führenden Lazursteinweges anschliesst.

W. v. Soden, *AHw* 66; A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki 1963), 81 ff.; C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden 1969), 40; anders *CAD* A II, 238 f. Das Wort *tukriš* bezeichnet im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. eine gewisse Wollfarbe, vgl. J. Aro, *Mittelbabylonische Kleidertexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Berlin 1970), 33; s. noch-unten, mit Anm. 50.

[32] Vgl. etwa I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* (Chicago 1961²), 119; W. v. Soden: *GAG* 23.

[33] Vgl. W. v. Soden—W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar* (Roma 1967²), S. XXXI.

In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir bemerken, dass der Gleichklang der Namensform Ḫarali mit dem heutigen Namen des Aral-Sees kaum für die Lokalisierung des Landes verwertet werden kann. Der Name Aral-See, der zuerst am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts u. Z. in russischen Quellen auftaucht, und am Anfang des nächsten, des 18. Jahrhunderts auch nach Europa gelangt, ist nämlich türkischen Ursprungs, vgl. etwa mit dem alttürk. *aral* «Dickicht»,[34] oder mit dem kirgis. *aral-deṇiz*, von dem z. B. die Encyclopaedia Britannica[35] den Namen herleitet. Sowohl die antiken Geographen, als auch das ganze arabische und persische Schrifttum haben für Bezeichnung des Aral-Sees durchaus abweichende Namen verwendet.[36] Der Gleichklang ist Zufall.

Die neuassyrischen inschriftlichen Belege für das Gold von Arallû lassen sich mit unseren historischen Kenntnissen in Einklang bringen. Aššur-aḫ-iddina hat schon in der ersten Hälfte seiner kurzen Regierung viel Energie zur Verstärkung seines Einflusses im Osten aufgewandt. In seinen beiden grossen Feldzügen nach Osten gelangten seine Truppen bis zur Salzwüste (*qaqqar ṭābti*) bzw. bis zur Gegend von Teheran.[37] Damit ergab sich, dass seit 676 v. u. Z. eine relativ lebhafte, normale Beziehung — vor allem Handelsbeziehung — zwischen Assyrien und seinen iranischen Nachbarn bestand. Das wird u. a. auch durch den Vasallenvertrag mit den Mederfürsten im Jahre 672 v. u. Z. bewiesen.[38] Von seinen Inschriften, die das Gold von Arallû erwähnen, ist die erste aus der frühere Zeit seiner Regierung, die zweite aus seinem letzten Jahr zu datieren. Auf das gleiche Ereignis bezieht sich auch die oben zitierte Inschrift von Aššur-ban-apli, der das Werk seines Vaters vollgebracht hat. Die Inschriften weisen darauf hin, dass die östlichen Beziehungen Assyriens sich zur Zeit Aššur-aḫ-iddinas (und besonders am Ende seiner Regierung) zeitweilig konsolidiert hatten, infolge dessen der König von Osten her reiche Transporte bekam. Dieser Umstand ermöglichte vielleicht auch die ferneren Beziehungen, den Transithandel. Das Gold von Ḫarali konnte noch einmal nach Assyrien geliefert werden.

Die mythologischen Angaben selbst sind in zwei Gruppen aufzuteilen. In der einen wurde Ḫarali unter die Urzeitsmythen integriert. In der zweiten Gruppe, nach den späteren Belegen, wird es aber mit der Unterwelt identi-

[34] A. v. Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1950), 295.

[35] Bd. 2 (1960), 212.

[36] Vgl. H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie* (Berlin 1878) 58; W. Barthold, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-darja von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1910) = *Svedenija ob Aralskom more* usw., in: V. V. Bartold, *Sočinenija*, Bd. 3 (Moskva 1965), 13—94; W. Barthold, *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* Bd. 1 (1913), 436 f.; A. Herrmann: *PWRE* 18, I (1942), 2004.

[37] Zu seiner Regierung s. etwa R. Labat, *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, Bd. 4. *Die altorientalischen Reiche* III (Frankfurt-am-Main 1967), 25 ff.

[38] D. J. Wiseman: *Iraq* 20 (1958), 9—13.

fiziert.[39] Die Unterwelt-Arallû ist m. M. n. das letzte Stadium in der Entwicklung der Ḫarali-Vorstellungen. Der Name wird in der Bedeutung «Unterwelt» meistens nicht syllabisch, sondern mit einem Logogramm geschrieben.[40] Mit dieser Schreibweise wurden die sich von Arallû völlig unabhängig herausgebildeten Unterweltsnamen herangezogen. Das deutet darauf hin, dass die Ḫarali-Vorstellung mit den früher ausgeprägten übrigen akkadischen Unterweltsvorstellungen erst später verknüpft, sekundär identifiziert wurde.

Ḫarali verdankt seine mythologische Rolle offensichtlich zwei Umständen: seinen Goldfundstellen und seiner entfernten geographischen Lage. Der Goldschatz hat seine Fundstelle mit geheimnisvollem Glanz umwoben, und diese Fundstelle war genügend weit gelegen, um sich vor den unmittelbaren Erfahrungen verschlossen zu halten. Auf diese Weise konnten reale Kenntnisse die mythenbildende Phantasie nicht hemmen.

Im Mythos wird nicht das *völlig unbekannte* Land oder Volk, sondern das *kaum bekannte* idealisiert. Es ist genügend, auf den Zedernberg nur anzuspielen.[41] Das Gold ist besonders geeignet, die mythische Idealisierung eines fernen Landes zu veranlassen und dazu sogar den Assoziationspunkt zu bieten. Wir erwähnen nur solche Beispiele, die den Alten Orient berühren. So hat zB L. Kákosy nachgewiesen, dass das Land Nubien in den Vorstellungen der Ägypter stufenweise zu einem mythischen Land wurde.[42] Er hat jedoch jenen Umstand nicht erwogen, dass vielleicht auch die Goldfundstellen und der Goldhandel Nubiens[43] bei diesem Vorgang eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hatten. Als ein weiteres Beispiel können wir das Land Ḥawīla der Bibel erwähnen. Den Namen s. in den sich klar auf Südarabien beziehenden genealogischen Listen (*Gen.* 10 : 7 = 1 *Chron.* 1 : 9; *Gen.* 10 : 29 = 1 *Chron.* 1 : 23), die in den

[39] Arali und Arallû werden durchaus als Unterwelt gedeutet bei K. Tallquist, *Sumerisch—akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* (Helsingfors 1934), 6 ff.

[40] Vgl. die Belegstellen in *CAD* A II, 226 f.; und bei W. v. Soden, *AHw* 64.

[41] Vgl. z. B. Ch. Virolleaud, *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 101 (1930), 16—26; A. Malamat, *Studies B. Landsberger* (Chicago 1965), 372 f., zu der «Gilgamesh Expedition».

[42] L. Kákosy: *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio historica* 8 (1966), 3—10.

[43] Zur Rolle Nubiens im Goldbergbau und Goldhandel vgl. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*. Vol. VIII (Leiden 1964; 1971²) 158 ff.; B. Piotrovskij, in: *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists* (New Delhi 1964), Vol. II., New Delhi 1968, 12—16; E. Otto, *Das Goldland der Pharaonen: Bild der Wissenschaft* 8 (1971), 698—711. — Ägypten, als Goldlieferer, erscheint in den Vorstellungen der Assyrer und Babylonier in einem ähnlich fabelhaften Gewand, vgl. den Brief von Aššuruballiṭ I in der Amārna-Korrespondenz, J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig 1915), Nr. 16, Z. 14. Zu dem ganzen Fragenkomplex s. noch D. O. Edzard, *JESHO* 3 (1960) 38—55. S. noch M. Levey, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Amsterdam 1959) 187—195. Vgl. noch F. Haensell, *Alter Goldbergbau und die sich an ihn knüpfende Mystik. Eine ethnographisch-urgeschichtliche Studie*: *Studium Generale* 18 (1965), 134—142.

oft umstrittenen Fragen der Lokalisierung Ḥawīlas m. E. entscheidend sind.[44] In der Eden-Erzählung im Buche *Genesis* 2 : 11 f. wird das Gold — und zwar ein «sehr gutes Gold» — von Ḥawīla erwähnt, was auch darauf hinweist, dass ein goldlieferndes Gebiet sehr leicht zu einer mythischen Stätte werden kann. J. Harmatta hat an Hand mehrerer Beispiele erwiesen,[45] dass in den sich mit fernlebenden nördlichen Völkern verknüpften mythologischen Angaben der antiken Geographie bestimmte historische Kenntnisse verborgen sind, mit anderen Worten, dass die dunklen Kenntnisse über kaum bekannte ferne Völker, durch eine flüchtige Berührung, einmalige Verbindung oder mittelbare Nachricht gebildet, sehr leicht zum Mythos umgestaltet werden können. Vgl. noch die Beschreibung Äthiopiens bei Homer, *Ilias* I 423 f.; XXIII 201 ff.; *Odysseia* I 22 (allerdings ohne Erwähnung des Goldes).

In solchen Fällen können sich gewisse (schon vorgefundene) mythologische Vorstellungen, die ursprünglich nichts mit dem gegebenen Volk oder Land gemein haben, sehr leicht den realen Kenntnissen anschliessen, oder sogar die Wirklichkeit vollständig ablösen. Beispiele sind aus den zahlreichen Alexanderromanen des ausgehenden Altertums und des Mittelalters zu entnehmen. Eine ähnliche Entwicklung liegt wie K. Czeglédy es erwiesen hat im Falle der berühmten ehemaligen uigurischen Hauptstadt, der sog. «Kupferstadt» in der arabischen und persischen Überlieferung vor.[46]

Das Land Ḫarali bedeutete für die Sumerer etwa das gleiche, wie das am Gold reiche Südland Nubien in den Augen der Ägypter, oder wie das ferne nördliche ugrofinnische Volk für die Griechen. So konnte es gut vorkommen, dass die Sumerer eine Version ihrer Urzeitsmythen in diese Ferne setzten. Die gleiche Tendenz kommt im Bezug auf Tilmun im «Enki und Ninḫursag» zur Geltung, was darauf hinweist, dass der Schauplatz solcher Mythen immer gelegenheitsgebunden, durch die realen, nicht-mythischen Umstände ausgewählt wird.

[44] E. A. Speiser, in: *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg 1959) 480 ff., abgedruckt in: *Oriental and Biblical Studies. Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser* (Philadelphia 1967) 32 ff., will Ḥawīla eben in das iranische Gebirgsland lokalisieren. Für Ḥawīla s. noch E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire. Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden (1968), 166 f. — Ob *Ḫawilum* in der Arisen-Inschrift (s. F. Thureau-Dangin: *RA* 9 [1912], 1—4) als Beiname des Unterweltsgottes Nergal ein Ortsname des hurritischen Siedlungsgebietes ist (und damit die These E. A. Speisers teilweise bestätigt), oder die Unterwelt bedeutet, wird vielleicht durch die angekündigte Monographie von E. von Weiher *(Der babylonische Gott Nergal. Alter Orient nd Altes Testament*, Bd. 11) entschieden.

[45] Vgl. J. Harmatta: *Acta Ant. Hung.* 1 (1951—52), 91—111; 2 (1953—54) 291—303; 3 (1955) 57—66.

[46] K. Czeglédy: *Antik Tanulmányok* 7 (1960), 211—216 (auf ungarisch). — Vgl. noch das neuzeitliche europäische «Eldorado». — Für weitere Parallelen s. noch Ju. M. Kobiščanov, *Zolotonosnaja strana Sasu: Palestinskij Sbornik* 11 (74), 1964, 94—112.

Das schon mythisierte, bestimmt mit einigen Urzeitsgöttern besiedelte Ḫarali konnte leicht als Jenseits umgedeutet werden. Seine ferne Lage, seine Gebirgslandschaft haben gleichermassen zu dieser Umdeutung beigetragen. Unter den mesopotamischen Jenseitsvorstellungen steht sowohl der Berg,[47] als auch das ferne Land[48] an einer der ersten Stellen. Der Jenseitsberg ist aber keine «Unter»-welt, ist kein sich in der Unterwelt erhebendes Gebirge, sondern ein reales Bergland, ein sich *auf der Erdfläche* erhebender Berg. Diese Vorstellung ist von der unterirdischen Totenwelt gut trennbar, und in ihrer Heraufkunft von jener durchaus unabhängig. Das Jenseits als Berg wurde bestimmt nach Analogie des iranischen Hochlandes vorgestellt. Das sum. Wort k u r «Land», «(Fremd)land» oder «Berg» hat gewiss über eine Bedeutung wie «Jenseitsberg» die bekannte Bedeutung «Unterwelt» angenommen.[49] Als entscheidendes Argument, können wir uns wieder auf das Land Tukriš berufen. Auch Tukriš wird gelegentlich in der Bedeutung «Unterwelt» benutzt.[50] In dieser Reihe konnte auch Ḫarali als Jenseitsberg, später bloss als «Unterwelt» seinen Platz finden.

Hinter den sumerischen und akkadischen Textstellen, die Ḫarali, Arali oder Arallû erwähnen, ist eine wirklich existierende, mit voller geographischer und historischer Realität ausgestattete Goldfundstelle zu erkennen, deren Edelmetall in bestimmten Zeiten durch den Fernzwischenhandel über das iranische Hochland nach Mesopotamien vermittelt wurde. Dieses weitferne Goldland im Osten war in Mesopotamien nur aus mittelbaren Nachrichten bekannt, und es konnte deshalb gewisse mythologische Vorstellungen, u. a. eine Form der Urzeitsmythen, an sich ziehen. Sein Name wurde dann in der mesopotamischen Mythologie zu einer der zahlreichen Jenseits- und Unterweltsbezeichnungen. Jedoch bietet eine sumerische Dichtung, der «Lobpreis auf den Tilmunhandel», am Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends v. u. Z., über die aus Ḫarali ausgehenden und von Tukriš auf dem Lazursteinweg übermittelten Goldlieferungen ein auf jede weise reales Bild.

[47] Vgl. K. Tallquist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* (Helsingfors 1934), 23 ff.

[48] Vgl. z. B. k i - b a d - d u in den Klageliedern um Dumuzi den Fernen, *CT* 15, 26 Z. 1 ff., s. A. Falkenstein: *ZA* 47, NF 13 (1941—42), 197 f.; oder das Epitheton *rūqu* «der Ferne» beim Namen des Sintflutheldes in dem neuassyrischen Gilgameš-Epos. Es kommt in diesen beiden Fällen eine Bedeutung wie «Unterwelt» nicht in Frage. Die beiden Ausdrücke bezeichnen unbedingt eine räumliche Entfernung.

[49] Es führt auf Irrwege, aus den hier erwähnten Bedeutungen des Wortes k u r auf eine etwaige sumerische Vorstellung des Berges in der Unterwelt zu schliessen, wie es L. Wächter: *MIO* 15 (1969), 327—336 versucht. Zu den Ausführungen von S. N. Kramer über «Kur» (s. *SM* 76 ff.) s. Th. Jacobsen: *JNES* 5 (1946), 143 ff.

[50] 2 *R* 60 Nr. 1 (s. E. Ebeling, *TuL* Nr. 2., S. 15, Rs. I 19 f.).

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ÜBER SCHRIFTSTELLER UND BÜCHER

AUS DER KAUFMANN-GENISA

VON

A. SCHEIBER

I. Ein Brief, in dem der Kommentar des Jonathan Lunel verlangt wird

Der Brief besteht aus einem Blatt, dessen eine Seite leer ist. Die rechte Ecke unten ist abgerissen und der ganze untere Teil fehlt. Signatur: 123/b. Papier, Quadratschrift. 11×9 cm. Schreiber und Adressat unbekannt. Dennoch ist er von Bedeutung von bibliographischem Gesichtspunkt aus. Denn der Briefschreiber bittet im Postskript um den Kommentar Jonathan Hakkohen Lunels,[1] des Korrespondenz-Partners Maimûnîs. Natürlich bezieht sich dies auf den Kommentar[2] zu Isaak Alfasis Halachot.

Hier bemerken wir, dass uns in der Genisa ein Preisgedicht zu Ehren Jonathan Lunels bekannt ist (T.-S. Box K 6[29] und T.-S. Box K 16[58]); wir wollen uns damit an anderer Stelle befassen.

עז מע יוי[1]

אין לי פה לדבר ולא מצח להרים ראש[2]
לפני אדוני ועטרת ראשי ונשף חשק[י][3]
ומשגבי. אשר חסדו וזכותו מגן על
עבדו תמיד ולולי זה אזי אבד[4] ימחול
אדוני על כבודו[5] ואל יאשים עבדו עבדא

[1] תה׳ קכא, ב.
[2] עי׳ בתפילה: „רבונו של עולם קודם כל דבר"; בדודזון כרך ג׳, עמ׳ 382, מכס׳ 613.
[3] יש׳ כא, ד.
[4] תה׳ קיט, צב.
[5] קידושין לב, ע"ב.

[1] S. M. Stern: *Zion* XVI (1951), pp. 18—29; S. Assaf: *Zlotnik Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem 1950), pp. 162, 164—165; S. Shaked: *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents* (Paris—The Hague 1964), p. 208, No. 33.

[2] N. Allony: *Kirjath Sepher* XXXVI (1960/61), p. 520, Zeilen 82, 84.

דמאן ונכסי דמאן.[6] לא נשאר לי אח ולא ריע
ספו הבל ונשארתי יחיד[7] ואין עוזר לי[8] וכל
זה בעונותי וחסדך גדול עלי ואינו יכול
10 לספרן הקבה יאריך ימיך ויוסף לך טובות
[וב]רכות ושלומות ויכתוב אדוני בספר חיים
[ושלום] מחילה וסליחה הוא וביתו ויתן לו
[בנים ז]כרים הגונים וצדיקים בחיי
[אביהם] . . . . . .
בשוליים: 15 אם יי[טב] בעיני אדונ[י] ישגר לעבד[ו]
הספר שיש בו פירוש רבנו יהונתן
בחסד אדוני ושלום צעיר עבד‹י›ך

II. Mordechais Brief an Saadia b. Jehuda Hannagid

Ein Brief aus einem Blatte bestehend, mit der Signatur 123/c. Papier, Quadratschrift. 19,5×28 cm. Oben rechts ist der Rand abgerissen und daher fehlen von den vier Halbzeilen des einleitenden Gedichtes immer zwei.

Das Gedicht, das den Brief einleitet, bietet einen interessanten Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Hofdichter der Familie Jehuda und Meworach. Der Dichter nennt sich Mordechai Habilschon (eine Anspielung auf Ezra II. 2.). Es ist möglich, dass הבישן (schamhaft) zu lesen ist, — dafür spricht Zeile 22 des Briefes, wo er sich auf seine Schamhaftigkeit beruft, weshalb er sich nicht persönlich vor dem Nagid zu erscheinen getraue.

Der Adressat des Briefes ist Saadia b. Jehuda Hannagid. Der Vater ist das Oberhaupt der ägyptischen Judenschaft. Wir kennen ein Gedicht, das gelegentlich seiner Wahl zum Nagid geschrieben worden ist.[3] Dies berührt sich mehrfach mit unserem Brief. Auch dieser zitiert den auf seinen Namen hinweisenden Bibelvers (I. Chron. V. 2.) und spielt auf seinen ärztlichen Beruf an (והוא רופא לעצמות יבישות וחובש לכל לבבות נשברים) gleichwie das Ende unseres Briefes. Wir wissen, dass der Nagid 1077 noch lebte.[4]

[6] סנה' קה ,ע"ב: „עבד למי נכסים למי".

[7] ישי' מט, כא.

[8] תה' כב, יב. בכ"י „לו" (בטעות).

[3] A. Neubauer: *JQR* VIII (1896), p. 556; D. Kaufmann: *ibid.*, IX (1897), pp. 360—361.

[4] J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt* I (Oxford 1920), p. 207.

In einem Briefe (T.-S. 13. J 8[16]) wird auch sein Sohn gegrüsst.[5] Ich weiss es von Prof. S. D. Goitein (sein Brief vom 9. III. 1966), dass sich in der Genisa ein Trauerlied befindet, das auf Saadias Tod entstand (T.-S. 10. J 22, f. 2.).

Der Schreiber des Briefes wendet sich an Saadia um Intervention bei seinem Vater, dem Nagid, damit dieser seine Bitte erfülle. Worin diese Bitte bestand, geht aus dem Briefe nicht hervor.

Auch die Handschrift T.-S. N. S. 97[67] enthält ein Preisgedicht zu Ehren von Meworach Nagid: אדוגינו מבורך נגיד עם || אשר נפשו ביושר תום רפודה

	ולמעלות דגור	פיפיות חגור
	ומרדכי הבל טן[1]	חדשים גם ישן[2]
	והשיב לי [ת]שובה	עלי לבי ישבה
	וכל פ[רי] מ[גדי]ם[3]	[מ]תוקים ונחמדים[4]
5	מזן לזן מ[פי]קים[5]	נובעים ומסביקים
	ולו שלום יתון	כפנחס בן אהרן[6]
	לכל פתח ומפתן	לגדול עם קטן
	ניכרים שועים	ועלו מושיעים[7]
	ואל יבוא לו ציר[8]	ויבא בימו ציר[9]
10	מקשיבים המונים	ל[ע]תים מזומנים[10]
	יחרוש בקנה	ולי ישיב מענה

[1] או הביישן.
[2] שה״ש ז, יד.
[3] שם, ד, יג.
[4] תה׳ יט, יא.
[5] שם׳ קמד, יג.
[6] במ׳ כה, יא - יב.
[7] עובדיה, כא.
[8] כלומר מכאוב.
[9] משיח.
[10] עזרא י, יד.

[5] J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt* II (Oxford 1922), p. 251. Über die Briefe Nos. 123/b und 123/c siehe A. Scheiber, PAAJR. XXXIV (1966), pp. ז — א.

..... נתת נפשי זהב סגור[11]. כ[מ]ו [סוס ו]עגור[12]. במו ש[גור].[13]

.....ק....אל הדבק באהבתו בא[ר]ח ר[ג]ליו פן י[בוא][13a] ...הרם

[שבע]תיים

ומים [רבים לא י]שטפו א[ה]בתו ולא [י]כבוה[14]. וידעתי יקר כי אתה

איש תמים גבון

15 משכיל מבין לאשורי[15]. ומשכיל על דבר ימצא טוב[16]. אשרי משכיל[17].

ו[ה]משכילים

יזהירו[18]. וכן הוא אומ׳ ויהי דוד בכל דרכיו משכיל[19]. וישכיל ויבין

בבקשת צעירו זה

למלאות תאותי ואוותי. לתת לי שאלתי[20]. ואז תהיה כבבתי[21].

כי יודע כל שער ע[22]

עמי כי איש חיל אתה[23] וכן איש חיל רב פעלים[24]. ומה יפו פעמיך בנעלים[25]. ולא

משיג גבול עולים[26]. ואתה תדבר עם אדונינו הנגיד אביך שמרו יוצרו וינצרהו

20 ויגדלהו וינשאהו למעלה למעלה[27] כמקרא שכת׳ כי יחודה[28]

גבר באחיו[29]. המשרה על

11 מל׳ א׳, ו, כ.

12 יש׳ לח, יד.

13 על שנור-ענור עי׳ ש. שכשר בספרו Saadyana, קמבריד׳, 1903, עמ׳ 74, שורות 10—11.

13a יש׳ מא, נ.

14 שה״ש ח, ז.

15 משלי יד, טו.

16 שם, טז, כ.

17 תה׳ מא, ב.

18 דנ׳ יב, ג.

19 שמ׳ א׳ יח, יד .בפסוק: ״לכל דרכו״.

20 תה׳ קו, טו.

21 זכ׳ ב, יב.

22 אות השלמה.

23 רות ג,יא. בפסוק: ״את״.

24 דבה״י א׳ יא, כב.

25 שה״ש ז, ב.

26 משלי כב, כח; כג, י. בפסוקים: ״עולם״.

27 דבה״י ב׳ א, א.

28 בראשונה ביהודה בשעות ותיקן.

29 דבה״י א׳ ה, ב.

שכמו[30] ותהיה לי לפה[31]. וידך אל תרפה[32]. ואל תשליך דברי
אחריך[33]. ה[אם כי ה]חרש ת[34]
תחריש[35] ותקח הדבר בעצלה. מאין יהיה[36] לי הצל[ה.] כי אני
מתבי[ש] לבא[37] מיד
פן אהי עליו למשא[38]. ואזור נא כגבר חלציך[39] בלי להינתק
ויתידותיך חזק[י.][40] ו[ע]מוד
על חזקך וחזק ונתחזקה בעד עמנו ובעד ערי אלינו[41] מאחר שיש
לנו עיר וק[ד]יש[42]
25 ותהיה לנו מעיר לעזור[43]. פן יהיה לי למזור[44]. ותדבקני כאשר
ידבק האזור[45]. ותוציא
דברי לאור[46]. והשב תשיב אבדת אחיך[47] והואיל והתחיל במצוה
גומרה[48]. והרופא
שברון כל לב ומחבש כל עצב[49]. יחבוש וירפא שברון לבי ועצבוני על ידו לאין
קצב.

30 יש׳ ט, ה.
31 שמ׳ ד, טז.
32 יהושע י, ו.
33 תה׳ נ, יז.
34 אות השלמה.
35 אסתר ד, יד.
36 במקום תהיה.
37 מעל לשורה.
38 שמ׳ ב׳ טו, לג.
39 איוב לח, ג.
40 יש׳ נד, ב.
41 דבה״י א׳ יט, יג.
42 כמו מלאך ע׳: ״עיר וקדיש שת סביבו״ (שיר היחוד ליום ד; בפסוק: ד׳ ה, י).
43 שמ׳ ב׳ יח, ג.
44 שם נרדף עם חלי, מכאוב.
45 יר׳ יג, יא.
46 תה׳ לז, ו.
47 דב׳ כב, א—ג.
48 יר׳ ראש הש׳ א, ח.
49 תה׳ קמז, ג.

III. Ein mittelalterlicher Bibliophile

Die Kaufmann-Sammlung enthält ein Fragment aus Saadias Gesetzbuch (*Kitâb al-Šarâi'*), das sich im Besitz des Schabbatai b. Josef Hamumche b. Haschofet befand.[6] Bei seiner Veröffentlichung schrieben wir, dass wir diesem Namen noch nicht begegnet sind. Mumche ist ein Synonym von Richter. Dasselbe bedeutet auch Schofet. Es ist somit kein Personennamen. So bekannt mochte der Grossvater sein, dass man ihn nicht mit dem Namen zu nennen brauchte, man kannte ihn auch seinem Titel nach.

Unsere Annahme können wir jetzt beweisen. In Cambridge haben wir ein Titelblatt gefunden (T.-S. Box K 6[66]), nach dessen Zeugnis auch dieses Buch ihm gehörte. Hier ist sein ganzer Name vorhanden:

פהדא לואלדי
לשבתי בר יוסף
המומחה בר׳ אלעזר בר׳ יוסף בר׳
עמרם השופט זל
[ארור ג]נבו וברוך מחזירו[6a]
אמן

Übersetzt: «Dies gehört meinem Vater, dem Richter Schabbatai b. Josef, dem Sohn des Eleazar b. Josef b. Amram des Richters, gesegneten Andenkens. Verflucht sei, wer es stiehlt; gesegnet, wer es zurückbringt. Amen.»

Die Handschrift enthielt den Kiddusch Jerachim (קידוש ירחיא) des Pinchas,[7] eines der frühesten Pajtanim. Nur zwei Monate haben sich erhalten.

Dieselbe dichterische Komposition habe ich noch in folgenden Genisa-Fragmenten gefunden:

Kaufmann No. 153
Cambridge Or. 1080. I[9] (ein Stück des früheren)[8]
Cambridge T.-S. NS. 10[8]
Cambridge T.-S. NS. 193[17]
Cambridge T.-S. NS. 235[8]
Cambridge T.-S. NS. 275[184]

[6] A. Scheiber—S. Hahn: *Tarbiz* XXVIII (1958/59), pp. 48—53; *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), pp. 99—109; IX (1959), p. 98, Anm. 7.

[6a] S. D. Goitein: *Kirjath Sepher* XXXI (1955/56), p. 370. P. A. H. de Boer: *In* Memoriam Paul Kahle (Berlin 1968), p. 50; A. M. Habermann, *The History of the Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem 1968), p. 48; idem, *Jewish Book-Plates* (Safed 1972), p. 10.

[7] A. Marmorstein: *Hazofeh* V (1921), pp. 225—255; VI (1922), pp. 46—59; M. Zulay: *Yerushalayim* IV (1953), p. 51; S. Ch. Kuk, עיונים ומחקרים II (Jerusalem 1963), pp. 211—216.

[8] A. Scheiber: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* II (Jerusalem 1958), Hebr. Teil: p. 55.

Auch das Titelblatt des letzten ist vorhanden:

קידוש ירחים
לאברהם הלוי בי"ר
יפת המומחה
נ ע
המבה[9] ישמרהו ויתן לו בן זכר
ללמוד אותה אמן סלה

So kennen wir nun bereits zwei Stücke aus der Bibliothek dieses alten Bücherliebhabers.

Übrigens ist auch die Schrift auf beiden Titelblättern ähnlich und so hat — wie aus dem zweiten ersichtlich — der Sohn des Besitzers die Titelblätter beider Bücher verfertigt.

Im Sommer 1966 fand ich in der Bodleiana in Oxford ein weiteres —dem unsrigen ganz ähnliches — Titelblatt von Saadias Gesetzbuch, mit gleicher Schrift und mit folgendem Text (MS. Heb. e. 75, fol. 4.):

כתאב
אל[ש]ראיע לרבינו
סע[די]ה אלפיומי

Auf der Seite b. befindet sich ein Fragment der Einleitung des Gesetzbuches. Somit besitzen wir eine dritte Arbeit unseres Skriptors.

IV. Hillel hen Jeschua's Brief an Sahlan b. Abraham

Der Text, den wir nachfolgend vorlegen werden, ist das Fragment eines Privatbriefes. Er besteht aus einem Blatt. Seine Signatur ist: 123/d. Papier, Quadratschrift, 17 × 8,5 cm. Vom Briefe hat sich nur der Anfang und auf der umstehenden Seite die Betitelung erhalten. Er ist stark beschädigt und seine Entzifferung stiess auf Schwierigkeiten.

Der Schreiber des Briefes, Hillel b. Jeschua, war Chaber in Tiberias anfangs des XI. Jahrhunderts. Wir kennen seinen Brief an Efrajim b. Schemarja (Westminster College, No. 25.), in dem er seinen Sohn, Scheerit, erwähnt,[10] der ein Schüler des Ersteren war. Ich weiss es von Prof. S. D. Goitein, dass

[9] המקום ברוך הוא.
[10] J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt* II, p. 356.

auch die Kopie dieses Briefes zum Vorschein gekommen ist (T.-S. 10. J. 12, f. 22.).

Der Adressat ist Sahlan (= Schela) b. Abraham, eine führende Gestalt der ägyptischen Judenschaft, Präses der babylonischen Gemeinde in Fostat, von dem mehrere Titel bekannt sind (אלוף, מומחה, סגן הישיבה, ריש כלה). Er korrespondierte mit zahlreichen ägyptischen und palästinischen Gelehrten.[11]

Er betätigte sich auch als Dichter. Eines seiner Gedichte, in welchem er den Namen Gottes in 14 Sprachen erwähnt, beschäftigte schon früher die Forscher.[12] Heute sind bereits mehrere Gedichte von ihm bekannt,[13] darunter am wertvollsten ist die Elegie, die er auf den Tod des Samuel Hasch'lischi b. Hoschana, eines der grössten Gestalten seiner Zeit geschrieben hat.

Unser Brieffragment erwähnt folgenden von seinen Titeln: ראש כלא לישיבה שלגולה und verherrlicht ihn mit weiteren Attributen (תנא ואמורא). Aus unserem Brief ergibt sich auch, dass Sahlan und Schela derselbe Name ist. Der Briefschreiber grüsst auch im Namen seines Sohnes, Scheerit. Dies und die Schrift führten zur Identifizierung seiner Person.

Bedauerlicherweise erfahren wir nichts über den Inhalt des Briefes selbst. Dennoch ist er von Bedeutung, weil er auf Sahlans Verbindung mit Tiberias hinweist.

[1a] [לכבו]ד גדולת [ק]דושת מר׳ ור׳ סהלאן החכם [ו]הנבון תנא
וא[מ]ו[רא] וראש כלא בישיבה שלגולה בן כבוד גדולת
[קדושת] מרי [ורבי] אברהם החבר בסנ׳ גדו׳ תנצבה
[ב]מצרים . . .

[1b] 5 תודת צורנו תרב ותהלותיו תועצם[1] [ל]אין קצב. ולא[ל התהלה] ול[ו]
התחנה ועדיו המשאל להפרות שלום ולהרבות ברכה ולהעצים השב[ח]
ליק[רת] הדר[ת] כבוד גדולת קדוש׳ מר׳ ור׳ שילה החכם והנבון תנא
ואמור[א] ור[א]ש כלא לישיבה שלגולה בן כבוד גדולת קדושת
[מ]רי[נו ורבינו א]ברהם החבר בסנ׳ גדו׳ ת[נצב]ה ש[א נא]

[1] עי׳ י׳ מאן בספרו היהודים במצרים, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ 354, 356.

[11] J. Mann: *Ibid.*, I, pp. 96—100; B. Halper, *Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1924), p. 178, No. 336; Ch. Z. Taubes, אוצר הגאונים למסכת סנהדרין (Jerusalem 1966), p. 499.

[12] M. Zulay, עלי עי״ן (Jerusalem 1952), pp. 104—105.

[13] J. Schirmann, שירים חדשים מן הגניזה (Jerusalem 1965), pp. 75—78; A. Scheiber: *Acta Or. Hung.* XIX (1966), p. 382.

אדונ[י ו] היק[ר ש]לום רב ממני ומחמודי שארי[ת] וידע שהלב[2] תלוי[3] 10
אצל שמע שלומו ובעת אשמע כי הוא שלום אשמח ואשיש
ומאל[ה]ים אשאל התמדתו והוא ברחמיו יעש. האביר היקר יש צו[4]
הבטיח אוהבו כי כתביו יהיו ת[מ]ידים לי ולכל הזקנים היקרים
אוהביו [וא]מר לי . . . . . .

V. Samuel b. Zadok Al-Ammanis Brief an Jicchak b. Netanel

Dieser Brief der Kaufmann-Sammlung trägt die Signatur 123/e. Ein Blatt, Papier, Quadratschrift, 12×15,5 cm. Auf der Aussenseite ist die Adressierung.

Der Schreiber des Briefes ist Samuel b. Zadok Al-Ammani. Sein Grossvater ist der Arzt Aron Al-Ammani, Jehuda Hallevis Freund und Dichterkollege, in Alexandrien sein Gastgeber im Jahre 1140 und erster Sammler seiner dort geschriebenen Gedichte. Jehuda Hallevi schrieb Gedichte zu seinen Ehren.[14] Aus dem Diwan der Gedichte Al-Ammanis habe ich ein Fragment von zwei Blättern gefunden in der Kaufmann-Sammlung (No. 164.). Auch eine andere Handschrift enthält ein Gedicht von ihm (No. 165.). Mit diesen befassen wir uns an anderer Stelle.[15]

Von seinen fünf Söhnen hiess der jüngste Zadok, der selbst auch ein Dichter war.[16] Sein Sohn Samuel ist der Schreiber des vorliegenden Briefes. Sein Name kommt hier zum erstenmal vor.

Der Adressat ist Jicchak b. Netanel. Da unser Brief um 1200 mochte geschrieben worden sein, kann sein Adressat nicht identisch sein mit dem Jicchak b. Netanel, der in einem Dokument aus dem Jahre 1111 (T.-S. 27. 20.) vorkommt. Es scheint, wir haben es mit einer unbekannten Persönlichkeit zu tun, von der bislang dies die einzige Angabe ist.

Vom Brief ist nur die Einleitung, der Schluss und die Adressierung erhalten. Die Einleitung zeigt poetischen Schwung und ist mit Reimen geziert. Sie beweist, dass die poetische Neigung sich durch drei Generationen hindurch in der Familie Al-Ammani erhalten hat.

[2] זהו תרגום המליצה הערבית: „אל - קלב מועלק".

[3] בכ"י: „תליו" (בטעות).

[4] ישמרהו צורו.

[14] J. Schirmann: *Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry in Jerusalem* VI (Jerusalem 1945), pp. 265—288; S. D. Goitein: *Tarbiz* XXVIII (1958/59), pp. 351—352; *PAAJR.* XXVIII (1959), p. 54; J. Schirmann, שירים חדשים מן הגניזה (Jerusalem 1965), pp. 235, 237—238.

[15] A. Scheiber: *Sefarad* XXVII (1967), pp. 269—281.

[16] H. Brody: *ZfHB.* VI (1902), p. 20; S. D. Goitein, סדרי חינוך (Jerusalem 1962), p. 99; idem: *Tarbiz* XLI (1971/72), p. 70.

[1a] לכֿגֿק מרינו ורבינו אדונינו יצחק דורש טובתו
השר הגדול בישראל בר כֿגֿק מרינו השוגה בא[הבתו][1]
[ורב]ינו נת:אל

[1b] עבד עבדיו
וצעיר תלמידיו
שמואל ביר צדוק
בן אלעמ"אני זֿצֿל

בשמֿ רחמֿ
אל גנת אגוז ירדתי[2] ובחדריה[3] התהל[כת]י כמעט
שעברתי[4] עד שראיתי ערוגת בשם [מגדלות מרקחים][5]
ותור וסיס ועגור[6] הוגים. קול נעים הנך יפה דודי אף
נעים[7]. ואתבונן והנה שם עלמות לובשי רקמות[8]
שכולם מתאימות[9] מתופפות על לבביהן[10] ומתנבאות
מלבהן[11]. ומשוררות לאדוניהם בקול ערב[12]. לכל
הקרב[13]. ואשאלם למי אל[14] ויענוני בהואל ולמי כל חמדת

[1] מליצה רגילה בכתובות עי' משלי ה, יט.
[2] שה"ש ו, יא.
[3] שם א, ד.
[4] שם ג, ד.
[5] שם ה, יג.
[6] יר' ח, ז.
[7] שה"ש א, טז.
[8] יח' טז, י.
[9] שה"ש ד, ב.
[10] נחום ב, ח.
[11] יח' יג, יז.
[12] שה"ש ב, יד.
[13] במ' יז, כח.
[14] דבה"י א' כ, ח.

ישראל[15]. הלא ליצחק בן נתנאל. ואעמוד תחתי[16] ואחריש
והנה לקראתי איש[17]. עומד על הברכה[18] ובידו תפוח
מור דרור[19] יפוח. כתוב עליו.
לבה דודי[20] . . . . . נהרים

בשוליים:

20 אל כתב . . . .
ואל ידל וירבה כמנ[ו]
ועקב שלום

15 שמ׳ א׳ ט, כ.
16 שופט׳ ז, כא.
17 יהושע ה, יג.
18 דב׳ כז, יג; עי׳ א. ל. פאיאנס בלשוננו לעם, כרך יז, ד, תשכ״ו, עמ׳ 169.
19 שמ׳ ל, כג.
20 שה״ש ז, יב.

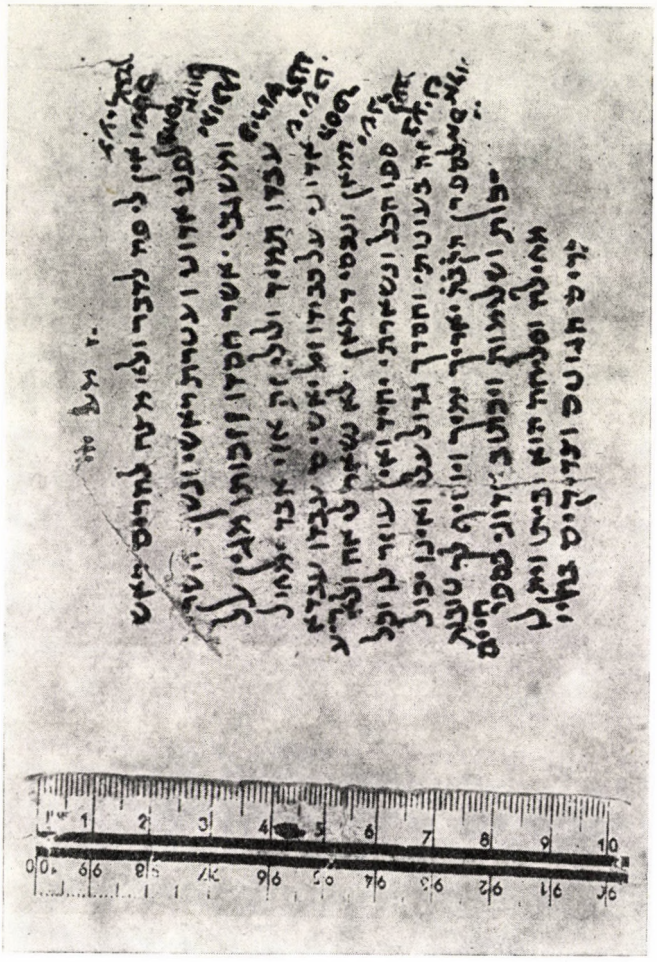

Fig. 1. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/b

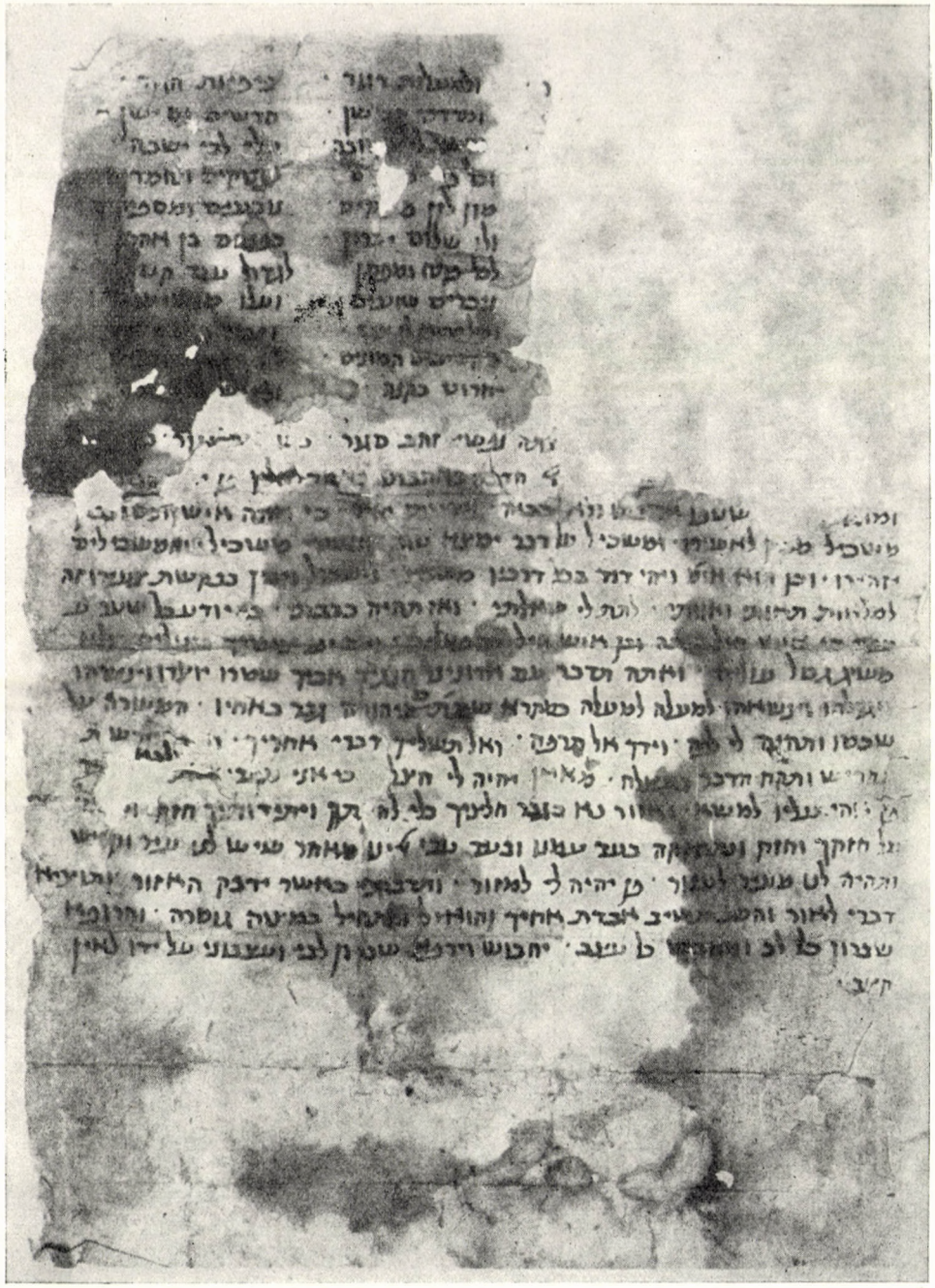

Fig. 2. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/c



Fig. 3. MS. Cambridge T.-S. K. 6[66], p. 1a



Fig. 4. MS. Cambridge T.-S. K. 6[66], p. 1b



Fig. 5. MS. Oxford, Heb. e. 75, p. 4.

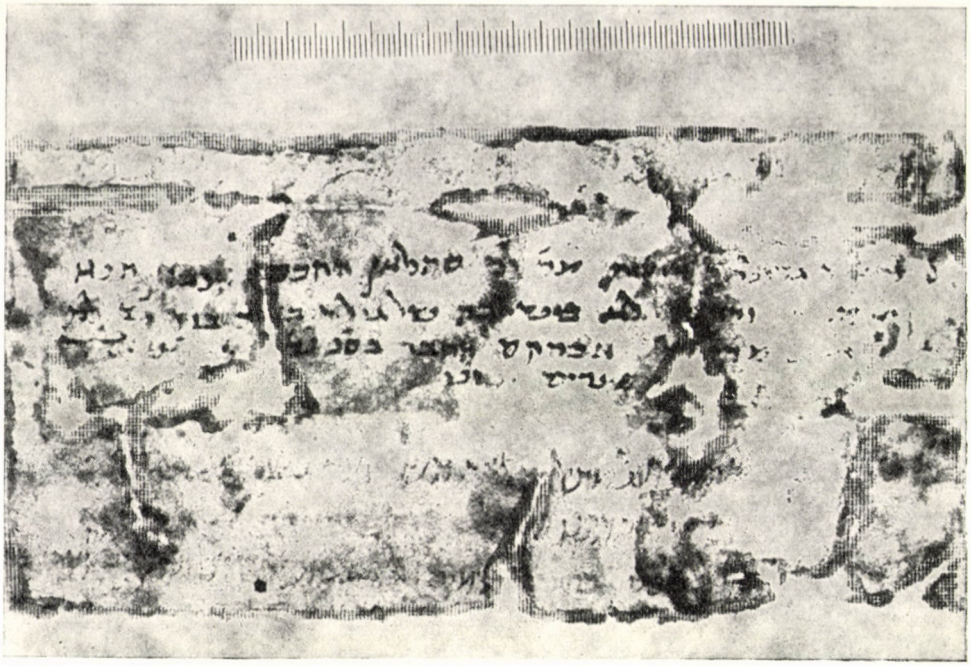

Fig. 6. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/d, p. 1a



Fig. 7. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/d, p. 1b



Fig. 8. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/e, p. 1a

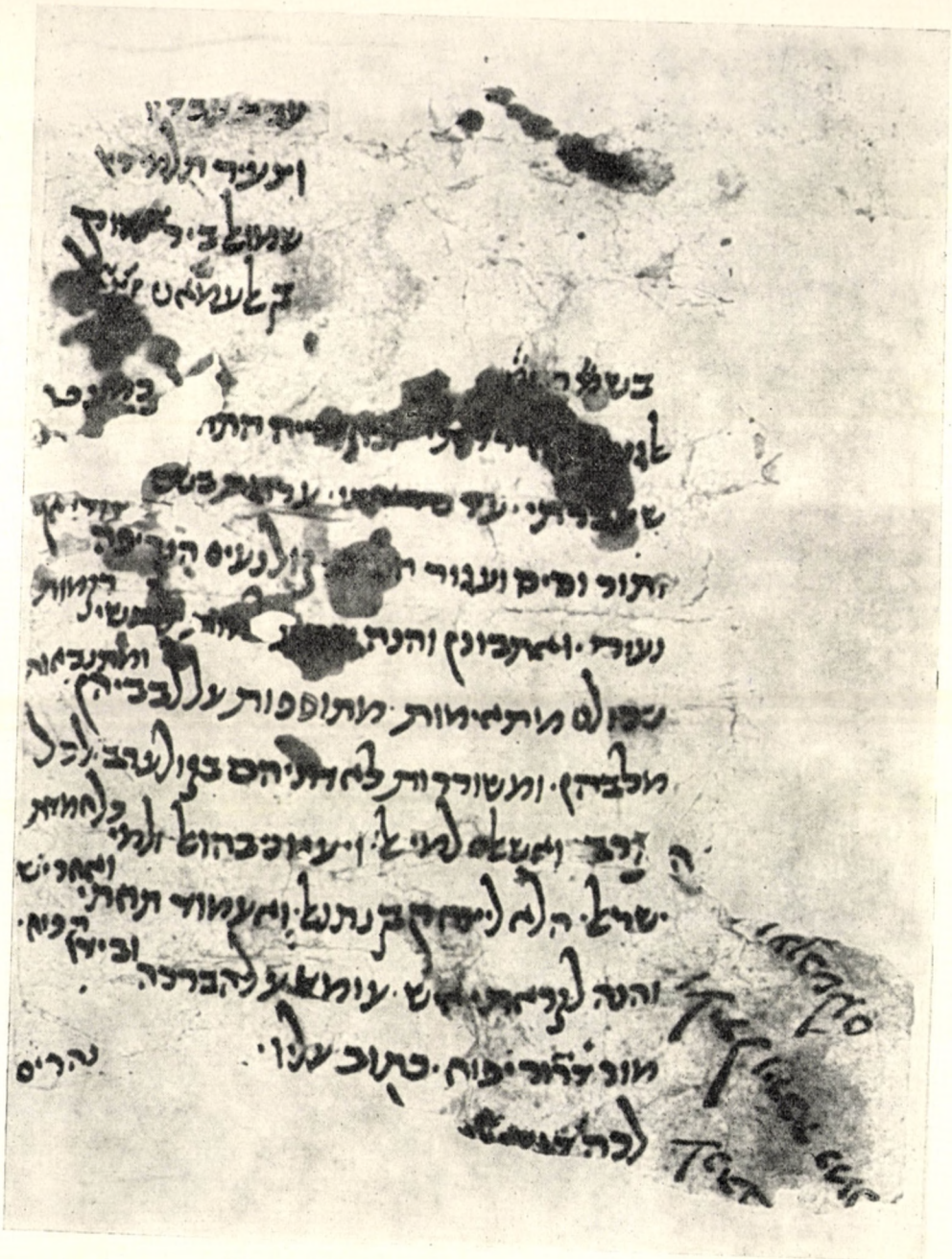

Fig. 9. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/e, p. 1b

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ON MODERN TURKISH *ÜSTÜNKÖRÜ* AND *YÜZÜKOYUN*

BY

A. BODROGLIGETI

1. Modern Turkish has preserved quite a few survivals of dialectal forms from the classical period, in spite of the thoroughgoing structural and lexical changes that have resulted from the various waves of the linguistic reform.[1] The majority of such elements come from Eastern Middle Turkic and penetrated the literary layer of Turkish[2] as early as the Old Anatolian linguistic stage,[3] partly through Mamluk-Kipchak,[4] partly through Khorazmian Turkic[5] and Early Chagatay.[6]

[1] Cf. Note 1 to A. Bodrogligeti, *The Formation of the Khorazmian Turkic Literary Language: The Problem of the Interference of Lexical Systems* in the presentation volume *Tatarica* (forthcoming).

[2] This follows from the status of standard literary languages in the Turkic speaking communities. There must have been a considerable difference between local dialects on the one hand and literary idioms on the other, the latter generally covering a large area with a great variety of dialects in the colloquial speech.

[3] Old Anatolian Turkic, a very important stage in the history of Turkic languages, is represented by a great number of literary documents. As a literary idiom it was less influenced by Arabic and Persian than the later stages of Anatolian Turkic and shared many grammatical and lexical features with Eastern Middle Turkic.

[4] The interference of Old Anatolian Turkic with Mamluk-Kipchak dates from the second half of the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century. It led to a pervasive change in Mamluk-Kipchak grammar (the finite forms in *-ïsar/-isär*, participles in *-asï/-äsi*, and gerunds in *-ïčaq/-ičäk* were borrowed) and to the influx of Mamluk-Kipchak elements into the Old Anatolian vocabulary (*yavu* «lost» in *yavu var-* «to get lost», *ör-* «to rise» in *örü tur-* «to stand up», etc.). This may have been one of the channels through which *üstünkörü* and *yüzükoyun* found their way into Anatolian Turkic.

[5] Khorazmian Turkic and Old Anatolian Turkic share a considerable number of morphological and lexical features (the use of the auxiliary verb *u-* «to be able/capable/powerful», prevalence of native Turkic elements, etc.). These literary idioms were in close contact especially in the field of religious literature. With some of the documents from this period (like *'Alī*'s *Qiṣṣa-ī Yūsuf*) it is difficult to decide whether they belong to Old Anatolian or Khorazmian Turkic. In this period Khorazmian Turkic elements may easily have penetrated Old Anatolian Turkic.

[6] By Early Chagatay here is meant the language of a group of Eastern Turkic literary documents belonging to the first decades of the fifteenth century (Ḫucandī's *La-*

2. Recently V. Hatiboğlu called the attention of Turcologists to two interesting cases of survivals in Modern Turkish,[7] that of *üstünkörü* and paper *yüzükoyun*, full-fledged elements of the Modern Turkish vocabulary.[8] In her Hatiboğlu presents a very precise semantic location of these terms in the present day Turkish lexicon with comparative evidence from Modern Turkish dialectology.[9] Her formal analysis of *üstünkörü* and *yüzükoyun* marks off these words as isolated elements in the structure of Modern Turkish: an important step in the interpretation of survivals. In the question of the derivation of these terms, however, Hatiboğlu proposes a view[10] I cannot share.

3. We should note first of all that the terms above have three elements in common: (a) both originate from Eastern Middle Turkic, most probably from the Khorazmian Turkic or the Mamluk-Kipchaḳ literary language; (b) they have preserved some of their Eastern Turkic features (initial *k-* in *kör-* «to see» versus *gör-*, full form of *qoyun* «down» versus *qoyu*[11]); (c) both terms resulted from a process of lexicalization. From the point of view of their derivation, *üstünkörü* and *yüzökoyun* belong to two different categories.

4. In the interpretation of these forms we have to go back to Eastern Middle Turkic where the process of lexicalization of similar structures can be attested. I suggest that Modern Turkish borrowed these forms after they be-

[t]*āfat-nāma*, the Sibicāb translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, etc.). In the later period Chagatay became completely isolated from Anatolian Turkic and the two idioms developed on their own.

[7] V. Hatiboğlu, *Üstünkörü ve yüzükoyun*: *Türk Dili* 225 (1970), 174—175.

[8] Cf. *üstünkörü* «superficial; only on the surface; superficially» (Redhouse Sözlüğü, 1211b), «üstten derinleştirmeyerek, özen vermeyerek, sathî» (Türkçe Sözlük, 746b, s. v. *üstün* (!); *yüzükoyun* «face downwards, lying on one's face; upside down» (Redhouse Sözlüğü 1267b), «yüzü yere gelmek üzere» (Türkçe Sözlük, 798b).

[9] Especially relevant are Hatiboğlu's examples to illustrate the use of *üstünkörü* both as an adjective and an adverb: *bu yazıya üstünkörü bakmışsınız, odayı üstünkörü süpürmüşler, üstünkörü bir iş, üstünkörü bir dikiş*.

[10] In Hatiboğlu's view (1) *üstünkörü* and *yüzükoyun* are structurally identical; (2) they consist of a direct object and a verb in a gerund form, i.e. both are based on structures of complementation; (3) in both cases the first element is a noun (*üst* «upper part, top side» and *yüz* «face») with the possessive suffix of the third person singular (*-ü*) and the accusative case ending (*-n*): *yüzükoyun* resulted from **yüzün koyu*, as its original form through a strange case of metathesis: the accusative case ending of *yüz-ü-n* moved to the end of the compound («birinci sözcüğün sonundaki -n yükleme durumu [Accusativus], eki, ikinci sözcük *koy-u* ulacın sonuna atlamıştır»); 4. the words in question are product of a process she refers to as *kalıplaşma*.

[11] The form with final *-n* developed in Chagatay, cf. *qoyïn* «nach unten» (Radl. ii, 527), besides *qoyï* «unten» (Radl. ii, 527). Other dialects and linguistic stages have the shorter form, cf. Old T. *qodï* «herab, unten, gemein (Volk), sehr» (ATG 329b), QB *qo̲dï* «unten, abwärts» (Radl. ii, 612), RKor. *qo̲dï* «down» (30/52a: 2), Quṭb *qodu*, *qodï* «w dół, za siebie, poza» (Zaj. 138), CA *qo̲du* «down» (MM 194r: M4), etc.

came lexicalized. In other words, they were borrowed as lexical items and not as grammatical structures.[12] Indeed, they were not used as models for collocations in Modern Turkish: the best evidence that they were treated as single words in the new language system.

5. The form *üstünkörü* comes from structures of modification with a verb as *head*.[13] The first element of this structure is a noun (*üst*) with the instrumental case suffix *-n*. Such structures which contain an instrumental case form as *modifier* are common in Eastern Middle Turkic, with plenty of occurrences in Khorazmian and Mamluk-Kipchak. Cf. the following illustrations from *Mu'īnu'l-murīd*:[14] *muṣībat yā igdin ünün ïġlamaq* «to cry loudly because of poverty or sickness» (MM 183v: 17), *ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurïn* «and they lay him down on his back and place the red hot belt upon him» (MM 188r: 17), *sa'ādat erür til munun tolsa ol* «it is an everlasting happiness (for the Muslim) if his tongue is filled with this» (MM 193r: 12) or form *Bayṭaratu'l-vāžiḥ*:[15] *qatï kökčäk sürtgäy sän arïtgay sän arqun arqun* «rub it very gently and clean it very carefully» (BAY 25b: 6) with the structures of modification *ünün ïġla-*,[16] *arqan yatur-*, *munun tol-* and *arqun arqun arït-*, forms parallel to *üstün kör-* reflected by our example.

In the early period of Middle Turkic the old instrumental case suffix *-n*, *-ïn/-in* was still used in the nominal inflection of nouns.[17] It was, however, paralleled by the postposition *bilä*,[18] thus in fact there were two means of expressing instrumentality. The *-n* forms were of a restricted distribution (the instrumental case of pronouns *munun*, *anïn*, etc.) already at this linguistic stage. In addition, many suffixal forms of the instrumental case became lexical items like *arqun* «carefully» (BAY 25b: 6) < *arqa* «back (n.)»,[19] *ön͡gin* «first,

[12] The borrowing of such collocations as grammatical structures has been observed in Tadžik. Cf. Telegdi's article referred to in Note 27.

[13] «Structures of modification» refers to syntactic structures consisting of a *modifier* and a *head*.

[14] A Khorazmian Turkic literary document from 1310 (cf. A. Z. V. Togan, *Harezmde yazılmış türkçe eserler*: TM ii, 1926, pp. 315—330.

[15] Cf. A. Bodrogligeti, *A Hippological Work in Mamluk-Kipchak from the Fourteenth Century: Kitāb Bayṭaratu'l-vāžiḥ*. Transcription, Translation and Glossary (forthcoming).

[16] Cf. J. Eckmann's *ünün ïġlamaq* «laut weinen» (*Das Chwarezmtürkische*: Ph. T, F. i, 122).

[17] Grammarians seem not to have noticed that as early as in Khorazmian Turkic, instrumental forms in *-n* partly belong to the lexicon, partly to a particular group of derivates.

[18] With the variants *birlä*, *bilä*, *bilän*.

[19] Kāšġarī has the metathetical form *aqrun* (Brock. 10), CCum both *aqrïn* and *arqun* «langsam, ruhig» (Grønb. 29).

before» (MM 185b: 15) < *öng* «front part».[20] The instrumental suffix *-n* with the suffix *-sïz/-siz* was used to form adverbs,[21] e.g. *suwsïzïn* «without water» (BAY 20b: 17), *nätägliksizin* «without perceivable quality» (MM 178a: 11), *otrušsuzun* «without performing the sitting in the prayer» (MM 187b: 5), *yönsüzün* «without a particular direction» (MM 194r: 16) all adverbial complements in the places referred to. In Khorazmian Turkic and Mamluk-Kipchak the *n*-form in the majority of cases belongs to the lexicon[22] and the suffix *-n* is an element of word formation, rather than a case ending.[23] The form *üstün* in *üstünkörü* comes from this stage of linguistic development.

The second element of the word *üstünkörü* as Hatiboğlu has pointed out[24] is a gerund form of *kör-* «to see, regard». Gerunds in *-ï/-i* (~ *-u/ -ü*) are frequent in Middle Turkic.[25] They very often occur as adverbial complements of manner. Cf. the illustrations from *Mu'ïnu'l-murïd*: *yadaġ yā tewä birlä yürür müni* «whether he goes by foot or rides a camel» (MM 187r: 7), *käräk qïlsa sacda bilü atayu* «he must perform the ritual prostrations by naming them» (MM 815v: 3).

What is actually unique about the Modern Turkish use of *üstünkörü* is its function as an adjective as in the examples cited by Hatiboğlu (*üstünkörü bir iş* «a negligent work», *üstünkörü bir dikiş* «a slovenly seam»). This is a recent development that took place in Anatolian Turkic after the phrase *üstünkörü* was borrowed as a lexicalized item.

[20] Most of the glossaries of Middle Turkic list similar terms as separate entry words (Radloff, Eckmann, Zajączkowski, Borovkov, Fazilov) which is in complete accord with the view that these words are *lexical items* and should be listed in the lexicon in the description of this linguistic stage.

[21] The suffix *-sïz/-siz* should be treated by descriptive grammars as a *means of derivation* in the chapter devoted to word formation, since it forms adjectives from nouns. Brockelmann (*Ostt. Gr.*) takes it for a postposition (no. 138.b.). Mansuroğlu regards it now as a case ending (Ph. T. F. i, 168) now as a derivative suffix (Ph. T. F. i, 95). The morphemes *-sïz/-siz* cannot be postpositions or case endings because *-sïz/-siz* can take case endings whereas other oblique case forms cannot, cf. *elsiz ayaqsïzdan qutula bilmädi* «it (= the multiped insect) was not able to escape from the man who had no hands or feet» (Sayf 95r: 4). Similarly, forms with *-sïz/-siz* may stand with postpositions, whereas nouns with postpositions do not take a second postposition in Turkic. The suffix *-n* added to forms in *-sïz/-siz* is a derivative suffix and forms adverbs from adjectives. In such examples, then, it is not a case ending, and *-sïz/-siz* forms with *-n* are not instrumental case forms.

[22] Mamluk-Kipchak grammars by Arab authors do not list instrumental case forms under nominal inflection. In the standard literary language of the Mamluks there are sporadic examples of *-n* forms but their use is not patterned.

[23] See Note 17.

[24] Hatiboğlu refers to the use of the *-ï/-i* gerund («-u ulaç eki») in the verbal forms *görüvermek*, *yapıvermek*.

[25] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Ostt. Gr.* pp. 244—246.

6. The second term, Modern Turkish *yüzükoyun*, unlike the first, is based on a particular type of structure of predication[26] consisting of a *subject* and *a nominal predicate*. It is characteristic of such structures that the subject is a noun with the third person singular possessive suffix and the predicate, mostly an adjective,[27] in a limited number of cases, a noun.[28] In our example the first element *yüzü* is the noun *yüz* «face» with the possessive ending of the third person singular *-ü*, the second is the adjective *qoyun* «down».[29] This compound is parallel to structures like *özi alčaq va himmatï ʿālī* «he himself is low (= humble), but his magnanimity is high (= great)» (Sayf 144v: 13), where *özi alčaq* and *himmatï ʿālī* are structures of predication.

It is characteristic of various structures of predication, including the above that they may be incorporated into larger structures.[30] Thus they very often serve as modifiers in structures of modification with a noun as head of the structure. Cf. the following examples *bir säniŋ teg yüzi qara mayšūm* «a black-faced ill-omened one like you» (Sayf 119v: 8) or *niʿmatï köp baḫīl zāhid* «a rich, avaricious abstinent» (Sayf 178r: 3) where the predicative structures *yüzi qara*[31] and *niʿmatï köp* occur as modifiers to a noun (*mayšūm*, *zāhid*) forming a complex structure of modification.

Such structures of predication begin to move toward lexicalization. As independent units they come to include the function of a noun which formerly used to appear as the head of the modification structure. Their function is similar to *bahuvrīhi*-type compounds[32] in Indo-European languages in that they denote

[26] «Structures of predication» refers to syntactic structures consisting of a *subject* and a *predicate*, nominal or verbal.

[27] Cases where the predicate is an adjective are more frequent both in literary documents and in modern dialects. Cf. Telegdi's paper on such structures in Modern Uzbek and their reflexes in Tadžik (*La construction abrui muhoyaš daroz en Tadjik*: Henning Memorial Volume, pp. 427—446.

[28] Cases with nouns as predicate are rare. I have the following examples from Sayf-ī Sarāyī's *Gulistān bi't-turkī*: *yüzi qamar* «moon-faced» (115r: 13), *yüzi ay* id. (179r: 20), *aġzï fastūq* «pistacchio-mouthed» (181r: 2), *beli qïl* «hair-waisted» (117v: 12°).

[29] Eastern Middle Turkic form of *qodï*, *qoyï*. Cf. Chag. *yüzi qoyïn* «mit dem Gesichte nach unten» (Radl. ii, 527). See also Note 11.

[30] This is essential in Turkic syntax.

[31] This expression is widespread in Modern Turkic languages, cf. Bashkir *yöďö qara* ~ *yöďöŋ qara* 1. «outcast, cursed»; 2. «swindler, robber» (Ahmerov et al. 228b), Tatar *yözə qara* «contemptible, cursed» (TRS 193a), Uzbek *yüzi qåra* «despised, cursed, outcast, mean» (Borovkov, 564a).

[32] Eastern Middle Turkic also has other structures to express what *bahuvrīhi* compound does in Indo-Europea languages. For «moon-faced» it has the noun-phrase *ay yüz* and the suffixal form *ay yüzlü*. The suffixal forms fall into two subgroups according to the base of derivation: (1) those with a noun-phrase as a base like *ay yüz* → *ay yüzlü*, *arslan yüräk* → *arslan yüräkli* «lion-hearted», etc. and (2) those with a bound possessive structure as a base, like *käyik közi* → *käyik közli* «gazelle-eyed» with the suppression of the possessive *-i*.

an entity by one of its characteristic features. Cf. the following examples in Eastern Middle Turkic: *vafāsïz dilrubā sän, ay beli qïl* «you are an unfaithful heart-ravisher, Oh, hair-waisted one» (Sayf 117v: 12), or *ol yüzi ay idi cihān cānï* «that moon-faced one was the soul of the world» (Sayf 117v: 8), or *ayā yüzi gulgūn* «hark ye! Oh, rose-faced one!» (Sayf 115r: 10), where *beli qïl, yüzi ay, yüzi gulgūn* standing alone denote a person possessing the quality expressed by these terms.

7. It is not uncommon in the Turkic languages that other syntactic structures as well embark on a process of lexicalization[33] and become elements of the vocabulary. Indeed, this phenomenon can be richly attested by examples from Turkic word formation by composition.[34] Cf. Eastern Middle Turkic *oġul-qïz* «children» (MM 192r: 13), *madad-yārī* «assistance» (MM 196v: 4), *ḥadīṯ-naṣ* «scripture» (MM 194r: 3), or *sahïv-sacda* «compensatory prostration» (MM 183v: 3), *sālim-boġaz* «with the gullet and trachea uncut» (MM 191r: 6) or *makānat-ġarīb* «having no habitation» (MM 190v: 4) or *ārzū qïl-* «to desire» (MM 200r: 12), *asïġ qïl-* «to be of use» (MM 188r: 16), etc.

8. To sum up: both *üstünkörü* and *yüzükoyun* are lexicalized items based on two different syntactic structures. The lexicalization took place, to all indications, in the Eastern Middle Turkic language. The terms were borrowed into Turkish not as structures, but as lexical items, and have survived as such in the present linguistic stage.

[33] For a description of the process of lexicalization cf. J. Balázs, *Szintagmatizálódás és lexikalizálódás: Szótártani tanulmányok.* Budapest 1966, pp. 79—98.

[34] Cf. A. Bodrogligeti, *A Grammar of Mameluke-Kipchak: Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, pp. 100—101.

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CHRONICA

THE KŐRÖSI CSOMA SOCIETY 1970

The second year's activity of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, reflecting the wide and multi-coloured palette of Hungarian scholarly efforts in the Oriental sphere, was introduced by a worthy contribution to the traditional field, one might even say the homeland, of Hungarian Oriental studies. At the first ordinary meeting, on January the 20th, the President of the Society, L. Ligeti, gave a talk on «The discussion of the relationship of Altaic languages». Prof. Ligeti discussed a problem of its present-day state, namely Sir Gerald Clauson's glottochronologic method. He gave his reasons for rejecting both the one-sidedness of the method, limited to the word-treasure or even to its semantic aspect, and the *a priori* negative standpoint concerning genetic relations of Altaic languages, which hinders further research that is needed in order to decide this thorny ques.

A vivid interest, reflected in questions and comments, accompanied L. Lőrincz's talk on «The Mongolian heroic epic and the Geser-saga» at the second ordinary meeting, on February the 17th. He discussed the different types of epics about Geser and their connections and spoke about the cultural and ethnic background of the variants.

The audiance of the third ordinary meeting, on March the 17th, was given an account of the results of A. Fodor's syncretic studies on religious history in the Ancient Near East as manifested in the contents and in the cultural history of the «Arabian legends about the pyramids». On the same day a committee meeting was held in order to prepare the Assembly Meeting of the year. After secretary general G. Kara's report, it was resolved to confer the honorary membership of the Society on five foreign Orientalists this year; to institute the Kőrösi Csoma Memorial Medal, to be presented in 3 yearly intervals, and resolutions were adopted about various practical questions.

The yearly Assembly Meeting, on April the 28th, began with the presentation of selected passages from the Buriat epic of Geser in poetic translation into Hungarian by the poet G. Képes. This was accompanied by an introductory talk on the «Naive epic and ancient tale-telling». After Kara's general report and Lőrincz's financial report, the five foreign scholars were chosen who would be presented with the honorary membership of the Society (this year the Sinologist P. Demiéville, France; the Altaists M. Räsänen, Finland, A. N. Kononov, and G. D. Sanžeev, Soviet Union, and the Tibetist-Indologist F. Weller, GDR). It was decided that the first scholar to be decorated with the Memorial Medal of the Society should be the doyen of Hungarian Oriental Studies, the Turcologist academician J. Németh.

At the fourth ordinary meeting, on May the 19th, art-historian Vera Horváth gave a talk entitled «The representation of Buddha in the art of Gandhara». This was a review of the history of art in Gandhara and of the principal characteristics of the style in question as found on the basis of the material kept in the Hopp Ferenc Museum of Eastern Asiatic Art (Budapest), with the help of slides.

Secretary G. Bethlenfalvy's lecture at the fifth ordinary meeting, on June the 16th was a clear-sighted and careful guide «In the source region of the rivers of tales», which led the participants on the Central-Asian, mainly Tibetan and Mongolian ways of tales of Indian origin, examining «The formation process of the Indian collections of tales».

After the summer interval, at the sixth ordinary meeting, on October the 20th, I. Mándoky reported on his linguistic and ethnic observations and other experiences gained during his travel «Among the Tatars of Dobrudja».

Another folkloric subject, the lore of the Gipsies, an Oriental minority group in Hungary, was discussed from a philological viewpoint by J. Vekerdi: «Song-treasure of our Tzigan settlements (Text-types and textual history)» at the seventh ordinary meeting, on November the 17th.

On December, the 15th, at the eighth and final ordinary meeting of the year, we heard L. Vikár's interesting lecture on «The music of Turkic peoples of the Volga-region (With recordings and projected slides)».

Hilda Ecsedy

LA XIVe SESSION DE LA P. I. A. C.

La quatorzième session de la conférence internationale des altaïstes (Permanent International Altaistic Conference) a été organisée en Hongrie, à Szeged, sous l'égide de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences et sous la présidence de M. L. Ligeti, par la Chaire de philologie turque et par la Chaire de Haute Asie de l'Université Loránd Eötvös, Budapest (où un groupe académique s'occupe des études altaïques) et, pendant la durée de la session, par l'Université Attila József où, à la Chaire fenno-ougrienne, travaille M. A. Róna-Tas, secrétaire de la XIVe session.

Cette réunion de savants a eu lieu dans le bâtiment de l'Université Attila József et a duré du 22 au 27 août 1971.

Le matin du 23 août, à la scéance inaugurale, les participants de la conférence ont été salués par M. Ligeti, président de la session, par M. F. Márta, recteur de l'Université Attila József, par M. Gy. Papp, maire-adjoint de Szeged et par M. M. Szabolcsi, vice-président de la Section de la langue et de la littérature de l'Académie des Sciences. L'après-midi a été consacré aux comptes rendus des recherches altaïques qui se poursuivent dans les pays des participants. L'après-midi du 26 août, dans une conférence de Table Ronde on a discuté de certaines questions théoriques et méthodologiques.

Pendant la session les participants ont visité les lieux historiques de la ville, une église dont les murs virent les guerriers ottomans, la cathédrale et les perspectives bâties avec l'aide de diverses nations après la grande inondation de 1879, et, particulièrement le Musée Ferenc Móra ou une belle exposition montrait les résultats les plus importants des fouilles archéologiques (surtout celles des environs de Szeged) qui jetèrent de la lumière sur l'histoire des Huns, des Avars et des anciens Magyars. Le soir du 24 août une réception a été donnée par le recteur de l'Université de Szeged, le soir suivant, à la scéance solennelle de la Société Kőrösi Csoma on a félicité ses nouveaux membres d'honneur altaïstes: MM. G. Clauson, T. Gökbilgin, O. Lattimore et D. Sinor; le diplôme de M. N. A. Baskakov qui ne pouvait y participer a été transmis par l'obligeance de M. A. N. Kononov, membre d'honneur élu par cette Société en 1970.

Conformément aux traditions de la conférence, le thème central, «Relations historiques entre les langues altaïques», proposé par le comité préparatoire n'a pas exclu la possibilité des contributions de thème différent, et les quatre-vingt-dix participants venus de dix-sept pays (Bulgaire, États Unis, France, Grande Bretagne, Hongrie, Inde, Italie, Japon, Mongolie, Norvège, Pays Bas, Pologne, République Démocratique Alle-

mande, République Fédérale Allemande, Tchéchoslovaquie, Turquie, U. R. S. S.) ont usé de cette possibilité: un tiers des exposés (il y a en eu une cinquantaine), traitait des sujets différents du thème central. La conférence s'est déroulée dans trois sections, partiellement parallèles: la section A a été consacrée au thème central, dans la section B on a discuté les problèmes concernant l'histoire et l'ethnographie des peuples de langues altaïques, la section C a été établie pour les études sur le turc de Turquie.

Ici il n'y a pas lieu d'énumérer toutes les contributions exposées aux cours des nombreuses scéances, mais la mention de quelques-uns des sujets discutés donnera peut-être une impression plus concrète. En voilà un choix: relations entre les langues tongouses et ouraliennes, éléments altaïques du japonais, mots moyen mongols dans le tchouvache, le système des consonnes du protoaltaïque, éléments communs du vocabulaire des diverses langues altaïques, influences étrangères, textes chibo en écriture mandchoue, la théorie altaïque et la lexicostatistique, phonologie sino-coréenne, notes sur les inscriptions anciennes turques, problèmes historiques et anthropologiques concernant les Avars européens, archéologie et folklore des peuples altaïques, histoire ottomane, nouvelle histoire de la Mongolie.

Les journées de travail de la conférence se sont terminées par la séance de clôture, le soir du 26 août. Le lendemain, au cours d'une excursion organisée par la conférence, et sous une pluie diluvienne, les participants ont visité la steppe de Bugac, ancien site des Comans la contrée presque désertique, la plus sèche, de Hongrie.

Très animée, mais pas au complet, la quatorzième session de la P. I. A. C. a donné une nouvelle preuve de la vitalité de ce forum vraiment international.

Les Actes de la conférence paraitront dans un des volumes de la *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica.*

G. Kara

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus XXVI (1), pp. 155—162 (1972)

CRITICA

Материалы по дешифровке киданьского письма. АН СССР, Институт Этнографии имени Н. Н. Миклухо—Маклая, Всесоюзный Институт Научной и Технической Информации Москва 1970. Книга 1, 178 стр. книга 2, 98 стр. (Matériaux pour le déchiffrement de l'écriture khitan. Ac. d. Sc. de l'U. R. S. S., Institut N. N. Miklucho-Maklaj d'ethnographie et Institut confédératif pour l'information scientifique et technique, Moscou 1970, vol. I, 178 p., R. 1, 10, vol. II, 98 p., R. 0,65; lithographié en 300 exemplaires)

Le déchiffrement de l'écriture khitan est l'une des tâches essentielles dans le domaine des recherches altaïques. La solution des énigmes de cette écriture enrichira considérablement nos connaissances sur l'histoire des langues mongoles et ouvrira un nouveau chapitre dans l'histoire des littératures altaïques.

Il y a longtemps qu'il est hors de doute que la langue qui se cache dans les caractères aujourd'hui muets d'un système d'écriture très compliqué appartient au groupe altaïque, toutefois les opinions divergent en ce qui concerne la définition exacte de la langue des monuments khitan. Certains spécialistes la considèrent comme une langue mandchoue-tongouse, tandis que selon certains autres il s'agit d'une langue mixte, mandchoue-tongouse avec des éléments mongols. Pelliot décrivit le khitan comme une langue mongole «palatalisée» (*A propos des Comans*: *JAs* XV, 1920, p. 50), probablement à la base des formes *nair* «soleil» et *sair* «lune» que nous avons en transcription chinoise, cf. mong. *naran* et *saran*.

M. Ligeti a, déjà en 1927, consacré une brève contribution aux recherches sur le khitan (dans la revue hongroise *Magyar Nyelv*, vol. XXIII, pp. 293—320, cf. encore dans *AOH* XVII, 1964, pp. 287—288.), a examiné les données linguistiques (mots khitan en écriture chinoise, éléments khitan dans le djurtchen). Il a constaté que le khitan représente une variété de l'ancien mongol, notamment une langue de la branche méridionale du sien-pi dont l'influence est bien visible dans la branche méridionale des langues mandchoues-tongouses. Ces circonstances soulignent l'importance et la difficulté du déchiffrement des monuments de l'écriture khitan qui, pour ce qui est de sa structure, ressemble dans une certaine mesure à celle du système d'écriture japonais actuel où l'on voit une sorte de coexistence des idéo grammes et des signes phonétiques (syllabiques).

La difficulté de la tâche peut être illustrée par une analogie fictive; c'est comme si dans l'ignorance du japonais et de l'écriture chinoise, il fallait déchiffrer l'écriture japonaise sur la base des monuments qui sont peu nombreux et dont le sujet n'est connu que d'après les paraphrases composées dans une langue dont la structure diffère fortement de celle que nous recherchons; il est vrai qu'on a le témoignage des langues apparentées, mais elles sont éloignées dans l'espace et dans le temps. L'analogie est, bien entendu,

incomplète: le cas de l'écriture khitan semble être bien plus compliqué. Tandis que les idéogrammes du système japonais diffèrent graphiquement des signes phonétiques, l'écriture khitan ignore cette différence, de plus, nos renseignements indirects suggèrent que même la structure phonétique de la langue khitan était moins simple que celle du japonais contemporain. Et on doit compter avec la possibilité de l'hypergraphie du type du *fan-ts'ie* chinois.

Les savants des divers pays ont prodigué leurs forces pour déchiffrer cette écriture énigmatique, mais jusqu'ici on ne connaît que la signification de quelques douzaines de signes (surtout des idéogrammes) et la structure de l'écriture, mais aucune des tentatives de déchiffrement phonétique n'a réussi, car la prononciation des signes syllabiques a été «définie» par conjectures et, dans la plupart des cas, sans être favorisé par le hasard. (Cf. par exemple les diverses interprétations des «polygrammes», mots écrits par un ensemble de signes dont le premier membre peut être un idéogramme: le «trigramme» signifiant les Liao, les «trigrammes» signifiant des termes de calendrier.) Néanmoins ils est très possible que les signes 扌 et 又 qui figurent souvent dans la position finale des mots et dans la fonction du génitif aient respectivement la valeur phonétique *ni* et *in* (*ən*).

L'étude de M. Starikov qui occupe le premier volume des *Matériaux* offre la première analyse complète des graphies qui se trouvent dans les monuments khitan; elle contient le dictionnaire des signes et de leurs combinaisons qui constituent les «polygrammes», formes graphiques des mots en fonction de la syntaxe. L'énumération de ces formes permet d'établir les paradigmes graphiques.

Ainsi la présente étude comporte le déchiffrement graphique qui est la base solide sans laquelle on ne peut continuer les recherches sur le déchiffrement linguistique. Dans son dictionnaire M. Starikov donne les graphèmes avec leurs allographes, les qualités combinatoires de chaque signe c.-à-d. les positions possibles (ou attestées). Les caractères y sont définis par leur fonction idéographique ou phonétique, tandis que les paradigmes graphiques nous fournissent des renseignements sur la morphologie et sur la syntaxe.

Il faut accentuer que ce dictionnaire présente une information presque totale sur l'inventaire des signes des monuments connus et sur la grammaire graphique, de plus, dans la transcription en chiffres, on y trouve les textes des épitaphes de Siuan-yi, de Tao-tsong, de Sa-li-kan, de Yi-hien, et des monuments mineurs comme l'inscription de la brique de 1075 etc.

En considérant les sources chinoises, ces matériaux contiennent au maximum un tiers de l'ensemble des signes khitan, mais il est certain que dans les 700 signes (graphèmes et allographes) de ce dictionnaire on retrouve un nombre considérable de signes syllabiques, employés le plus fréquemment. (Bien entendu, les signes syllabiques ne sont pas toujours identiques aux syllabes réelles, vu la possibilité des *fan-ts'ie*, et il n'est probablement pas rare que les limites des morphèmes ne s'accordent pas avec les limites syllabiques.) Ce sont les «polygrammes» qui offrent la possibilité du déchiffrement phonétique lequel semble être encore assez éloigné et jamais moins difficile que le déchiffrement graphique.

Ce dictionnaire graphique qui est le fruit des longues recherches minutieuses de M. V. S. Starikov représente un succès réel, car il constitue la base élémentaire pour la promotion du déchiffrement linguistique de ces principaux monuments de l'ancien mongol et de sa littérature.

Dans le deuxième volume des *Matériaux* on lit *La tentative d'analyse morphologique des textes en «petits caractères» des Khitan*, étude par M. Arapov, A. Karapetjjanc, Z. Malinovskaja et M. Probst qui publient ici les résultats des investigations exactes effectuées à l'aide de l'électronique par les membres de l'Institut d'ethnographie et

par ceux de l'Institut de l'information, Moscou. En accord avec M. Starikov qui refuse l'hypothèse ouigoure, les auteurs de cette étude considèrent que la plupart des épitaphes appartiennent aux monuments des «petits caractères» et que les «grand caractères» sont représentés par l'écriture dont les signes ne forment pas des «blocs» ou «polygrammes», cf. par exemple l'inscription de 1089 où on voit des signes qui sont identiques aux «petits caractères» djurtchen:  «année»,  (=chin.) «lune» etc. Cette écriture doit être distinguée des caractères calligraphiques qui sont écrits linéarement, un sous l'autre, en tête des grandes épitaphes et qui sont répétés en «blocs» ou «polygrammes» dans le titre (la première ligne) du texte.

L'analyse en question a été accomplie en trois étapes: investigations statistiques (les positions possibles, les combinaisons fréquentes et constantes, les passages parallels, les graphèmes liés), la distribution formelle des éléments constants et de ceux qui varient, la comparaison de cette «grammaire graphique» avec le modèle morphologique du mongol. Le résultat confirme la thèse sur le caractère agglutinatif du khitan comme ce fut établi déjà au cours des recherches traditionnelles «manuelles». Maintenant l'exactitude des résultats est prouvée par l'électronique.

Il est certain que ces deux volumes édités sous une forme modeste, sont de haute importance pour les études altaïques, particulièrement pour l'histoire du mongol et du mandchou, en même temps qu'ils sont significatifs même pour la théorie du déchiffrement des systèmes d'écriture.

G. Kara

H. Mirzäzadä, *Azärbayǰan dilinin tariχi sintaksisi*, Maarif Näšriyyati, Baku 1968, 162 p.

In Azerbaijani researches in linguistic history gained special impetus after 1950. While up to that time we can only mention two significant works from the well known Azerbaijan professor of Turkology, Ä. Dämirčizadä, *Azärbayǰan ädäbi dili tariχi χülasäläri* (Baku 1938) and *Azärbayǰan dilinin tariχi* (Baku 1947), the last decades have been characterised by a large number of books outlining the results of researches into linguistic history. Of these we wish to mention the researches of Ä. Dämirčizadä: *Azärbayǰan ädäbi dilinin inkišaf yollari* (Baku 1958), *Kitabi-Dädä Gorgud dastanlarïnïn dili* (Baku 1960), *Azärbayǰan dilinin tariχi grammatikasï* (Baku 1967), *Azäri ädäbi dilinin tariχi* (Baku 1967). The books mentioned above and H. Mirzäzadä's work published in 1962, entitled *Azärbayǰan dilinin tariχi morfologiyasï* deal with phonetics and morphology. The first extensive book summarising the researches into the history of syntax is H. Mirzäzadä's *Azärbayǰan dilinin tariχi sintaksisi* (Baku 1968), which we outline below, which discusses attributive word-groups and syntax from the *Kitabi Dädä Gorgud* to the 20th century.

The manuscript was finished in 1964 but the author died in 1965 and could not publish it. Professor Ä. Abdullaev, who is a specialist in present-day Azerbaijani syntax — testified to, among other things, by his great summarising work, *Müasir Azärbayǰan dilindä tabeli müräkkäb ǰümlälär* (Baku 1964) — certainly carried out a useful task when he organised the publication of H. Mirzäzadä's manuscript. He supplemented it by a lengthy introduction, which could have made an independent article, in which he dealt with the problem of subordinate sentences, still argued in Turkology.

The first chapter of H. Mirzäzadä's book on the history of syntax discusses attributive word-groups. In line with the division generally accepted by Azerbaijani linguists he also mentions three types. To the first belong those attributive word-groups in the words form a logical unit by being linked without a suffix: . . . *bir väfasïz yarï sevdim agibät* «a faithless friend I loved finally» (p. 24). In this word-group

the first member can belong to any form class, while the second can only be a noun. According to H. Mirzäzadä this form is more ancient than the second or third forms. The second form of attributive word-groups includes those in which the first word is without a suffix, while the second has a possessive personal suffix: *Esg odïna yanïsmadïg ayrïldïg* «we did not approach the fire of love, we parted» (p. 31). The third type differs from the previous ones inasmuch as the first member of the attributive word-group assumes a case-ending, and its second member has a possessive personal suffix: *Häǰǰar onun χatirin(i) χeyli istärdi* «Häǰǰar clung greatly to her memory» (p. 32). According to H. Mirzäzadä the third type of attributive word-group is the result of more recent development, since the third can be expressed in the second type and the two became divorced around the 17th century. At the same time we do not find significant differences as regards attributive word-groups between the linguistic monuments and today's language.

The second chapter of the book deals with syntax, and within this, types of sentences, simple and compound sentences. We must mention that syntax is a relatively neglected area in Turkology. The researches are made more difficult by the fact that the texts which serve as a basis for the research are largely in verse, which may form different sentence structures from the original, *i.e.* the spoken language.

H. Mirzäzadä studies the history of syntax in the Azerbaijani language with the methods of comparative linguistics. The two aspects used for comparisons:

1. the historical syntax of the Turkish languages, and within this, of the Oghuz languages, which are close to Azerbaijani;

2. present-day Azerbaijani language. It is worth noting that he discusses not merely the peculiarities which can be found in different periods, but also analyses the influence of neighbouring languages, such as Arabic, Persian (11th—17th cc.) Russian and other European (19th c.) languages.

His sentence examples reflect well the chronological order of development, but it would make the using of the book easier if he had given exact references for the quoted sentence examples, and if he had provided an index of abbreviations for the literature which he utilized.

Mary Kenessey

GYÖRGY KARA, *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1970, 210 p.

The volume published in the series «Hungarian Scholars of the Past» is a worthy commemoration of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös's life and scientific work.

Since a monography by Theodor Duka published in 1885 both in English and Hungarian a number of books, mostly based on the pioneer work of T. Duka, have come out in Hungarian dealing, primarily, with Csoma's life and travel adventures (the best of them being *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* by E. Baktay, Budapest 1962). His scientific work, however, has only be considered by a few (L. Ligeti, *Ouvrages tibétains rédigés à l'usage de Csoma*: *TP* 30 [1933]) mainly because the bulk of authors were not orientalists.

Therefore writing about Csoma's life without repeating others requires the work of an expert who is able to assess problems that are foreign to a non-specialist. This is the main value of the present monography. G. Kara, being a Tibetist himself, can give an authentic survey of the Tibetan dictionary and grammar written by Csoma and, by translating the colophone of a letter written to Csoma in Tibetan, can give an idea of the difficulties in the Tibetan language to be overcome by Csoma day by day.

Furthermore, the philological accuracy extends to the precise recording of Csoma's life, his praises are not sung above his merits and his mistakes are mentioned without making excuses for them.

At the same time the author's accuracy does not restrict the book into mere docu-

mentation. By a vivid description of the contemporary historical surroundings, by his digressions into the history of science and by the delightful style of the work the author remains faithful to the main principle of the series: giving an authentic commemoration of a great Hungarian scholar of the past.

J. Terjék

Проблемы периодизации истории литератур Народов Востока. Moscow 1968, 386 p.

The branch of Soviet Oriental studies dealing with Eastern literatures gave increasing attention in the sixties — besides philological researches — to the study of theoretical and aesthetic questions of more general interest. On the pages of specialised monthlies, at symposia, a large number of questions of theory affecting the literatures of the East as a whole were debated, and the contents of the debates were later published. Thus already in the first half of the sixties there were published a book dealing with the realism of Eastern literatures, and one with questions of literary theory and aesthetics in the context of Eastern literatures (*Problemy stanovlenija realizma v literaturach Vostoka*, Moscow 1964, and *Problemy teorii literatury i êstetiki v stranach Vostoka*, Moscow 1964). This series is continued by the volume whose title is given above, whose roughly thirty articles and studies also deal with a question which affects Eastern literatures together, the division of the history of literature into periods. The material of the volume has, incidentally, largely been published before between 1962 and 1965 when the journal entitled *Narody Azii i Afriki* started a debate on this subject.

The questions of demarcating periods — just as the questions of aesthetics and theory of literature — can be studied taking the literatures of the East together, since the development of these literatures happened in more or less similar conditions, and thus they can be regarded as one large unit not only regionally but also from a literary point of view. At the same time these literatures developed over a long period more or less independently from European literatures or the Greek-Roman-Christian literariness, and only occasionally had marginal contact with them, perhaps through several mediators. Thus they show several characteristics in which they differ from Western literatures. The basic question, therefore, which primarily occupies the authors of the volume, is whether it is possible to employ the criteria of the division of the history of world literature — largely based on the development of European literatures — on the literatures of the East; in other words, whether the literatures of the East can be included in the periodisational system of world literature. The raising of the question is made topical by the fact that in Soviet researches in comparative history of literature (especially in the work of N. I. Konrad, academician, and his school) there has been for some time a strong endeavour to overcome the Europe-centric view of literature and to develop a truly universal conception of world literature — not least by «giving equal rights» to the literatures outside Europe and by drawing them within the scope of comparative research into the history of literature. Going beyond that, however, the more systematic — and pointing towards universality — study of the literatures of the East requires the working out of a more up to date periodisational system, since — as the editors of the volume also point out in their preface — the traditional periodisation employed up to now as regards the history of Eastern literatures, e.g. *according to dynasties*, appears outdated by now, its employment can only be justified in characterising a specific period, otherwise it can hardly be made to accord with the system and principles of the periodisation of world history.

It appears from some of the studies that the authors regard it as possible,

and even necessary, to contain the literatures of the East within a uniform and universal periodisational framework, but would achieve this by way of different principles and criteria. For example I. S. Braginskij, in his theses which start the debate (pp. 7—11) sees the literary process as the fulfilment of the Gorkyian idea of «humanisation through the artistic word», and regards the *degree*, the various *stages* of this fulfilment as the criterion for a period in the history of literature in the literatures of the East too. In contrast with this somewhat abstract conception, N. T. Fedorenko takes as the basis for his periodisational scheme, employed for the history of Chinese literature, the *changes in socio-economic formations*, though considering that the history of Eastern societies stagnates over lengthy periods, in the Chinese literature just as in other Eastern literatures this method is only suitable to provide a rather general description of any period in the history of literature (pp. 74—95). V. I. Semanov argues that the periods in the development of Eastern literature must be demarcated in accordance with the great *epochs of world history* (Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern and Recent) naturally making allowances for the different rhythm of development in the East from the West in demarcating the various periods (pp. 12—32). Because of the shift in rhythm, V. N. Nikiforov prefers the separation of world historical (universal historical) and national historical periodisation, or at least the working out of a separate terminology for each (pp. 33—39). I. V. Borolina, V. B. Nikitina, E. V. Paevsakaja and L. D. Pozdneeva, in a joint study (pp. 40—49 and pp. 50—60) nonetheless employ the categories of world-historical periods as the framework for their study of the features in the literatures of the East which they share in common and which can in part be related to the literatures of the West in the world-historical Antiquity and Middle Ages. However, in their terminology they differentiate between the terms «Antique/Middle Ages/Literature» and «literature in Antiquity (Middle Ages)», with regard to the fact that the characteristics of Antiquity are not quite identical in the literatures of the East and the West even during the epoch of Antiquity, and that certain Eastern literatures preserved much of their antique characteristics in the (historical) Middle Ages. Despite this the literatures of East and West show many similarities in Antiquity and the Middle Ages alike. For example in Antiquity both types of literature contain elementary syncretism and verbality, what is more — in the opinion of the authors — not only in the Greek and Roman literatures but in the literatures of the East there was «oratorical art», (V. A. Rubin in his study denies this, at least as regards Chinese literature.) The literature of the Middle Ages was characterised both in the East and in the West by the widespread religious and commentary literature. The characteristics of «modernity», however, as V. I. Semanov points out in his study (pp. 120—137) appear at different times in the literatures of the East, although the Modern epoch, as a world-historical period is generally considered to have started in the 19th century in the history of Eastern peoples.

The other studies in the volume examine one by one the history of certain Eastern (Far Eastern, Near Eastern and even some African) literatures, in order to find the possibilities for a more modern than hitherto periodisation within the history of the individual literatures. Although these studies also contain approaches and suggestions of a theoretical character, on the basis of the volume as a whole the periodisational problems of the literatures of the East cannot yet be regarded as solved. This is also shown incidentally by the summary at the end of the volume which gives an account of a debate on the questions of periodisation which was organised in the Soviet Union in 1965 (pp. 380—386). This debate also

concentrated mainly on the questions of coinciding in the periodisation of universal and national historical (history of literature) periods, and there was a confrontation of views which centred mainly on the question of the employment of the great European cultural historical epochs (Renaissance, Enlightenment) as types to development in the East.

E. Galla

Z. MALACHI: *Studies in Medieval Hebrew Literature*. I. Tel-Aviv 1971. 8°, IV + 128 p. (Hebräisch).

Gestalt und Wirksamkeit des normannischen Proselyten Obadja kennen wir ausschliesslich aus der Genisa von Kairo. Diese selten begabte, gründlich gebildete, vielseitige mittelalterliche Persönlichkeit beschäftigt seit einem halben Jahrhundert — in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten in gesteigertem Masse — die Forschung. Der aus dem süditalischen Oppido stammende Priester oder Mönch trat 1102 zum Judentum über und entfaltete in hebräischer Sprache eine reiche literarische Wirksamkeit. Das wichtigste davon ist seine Chronik, deren zum Vorschein gekommene Fragmente vielleicht die Hälfte des Ganzen ausmachen. Von nicht geringerer Bedeutung ist es, dass er die erste hebräische Melodie mit kirchlichen Neumen niederschrieb. Diese im Jahre 1965 gemachte Entdeckung ist seitdem noch Gegenstand der jüdischen Musikgeschichte, und darüber entstand eine Literatur, die eine Bibliothek füllen könnte.

Eine sehr lobenswerte Arbeit verrichtete Z. Malachi, indem er es unternahm, die ganze Frage zusammenzufassen und die zum Vorschein gekommenen Texte zusammen herauszugeben.

Im ersten Teil versucht er die Kunstgattung der Megilla (Chronik eines Ereignisses, einer Familie oder eines Individuums) zu bestimmen. Dann behandelt und veröffentlicht er die Megillat Mizrajim (das Werk des Samuel Schelischi vom Jahre 1012), die Megillat Sutta Harascha (das Werk des Abraham b. Hillel, von 1196) und die Megillat Hassatan Hajjadua (von 1524). Alle drei behandeln ägyptische Ereignisse und Malachi stützt sich in allen drei Fällen auch auf unbekannte Handschriften.

Dann kommt Obadjas Chronik an die Reihe. Auch er selbst prüfte die ursprünglichen Texte. So vollführt er in zahlreichen Fällen geringere oder grössere Korrekturen. S. 64. Zeile 14. des Fragments No. 1. haben wir H. AVENARY's richtiger Bemerkung gemäss נחל]י ברג], den Fluss Varco zu lesen (*JJS* XVI [1965], 101.). Ebenda ist die Ergänzung der Zeilen 11—12. des 2. Fragments sehr überzeugend. Auf S. 71. finden sich zwei Druckfehler: Z. 9. ist שקדים zu schreiben; Z. 14. ist היה[נ] ausgelassen.

Im Laufe der Besprechung des Textes erhalten wir eine kurze Geschichte des Proselytismus. Freilich strebte er keine Vollständigkeit an. Betreffs der ungarischen Beziehungen des Proselyten Abraham und seines Sohnes Isaak siehe meine letzlich erschienene Bemerkung (*Kirche und Synagoge* II, Stuttgart 1970, 564.). 1297 erlitt in Paris der Mönch Felix, 1298 in Frankfurt a/Main der Kanoniker Robert den Martertod wegen ihres Übertritts zum Judentum (*Judaica Bohemiae* IV, 1968, 87.). Im Laufe der Entdeckungsgeschichte der Chronik bringt der Verfasser sprachliche Beweise zur Erhärtung der Auffassung, dass der ganze Text von einem und demselben Schriftsteller stammt (S. 80.). In der Frage der Reihenfolge der Fragmente hat er noch nicht das letzte Wort ausgesprochen. Man kann noch auf viele Diskussionen gefasst sein. Damit zusammenhängend versucht er Obadjas Leben zu erzählen. Die Annahme, sein Vater habe von der normannischen Stadt Dreux seinen Namen genommen (S. 85.), scheint eine sehr glückliche zu sein. Es ist jedoch unwahrscheinlich, dass unser Obadja identisch wäre mit Maimûnîs gleichnamigem Briefpartner (S. 88.). Die zeitliche Distanz ist zu gross.

Dass die Megilla von Obadja's eigener Hand geschrieben ist (S. 93.), habe ich

gegen Prof. Teicher bewiesen (*Acta Or. Hung.* IV [1954], 272.).

In einer in Druck befindlichen Arbeit versuche ich zu beweisen, dass Obadja in Ägypten als Kopist sein Leben fristete. Ihm haben wir zu verdanken den ersten bisher bekannten illustrierten jüdischen Heiratsvertrag, Ketubba (*M. Wallenstein Jubilee Volume*, Manchester 1972.).

Das von grosser Belesenheit, gründlicher Vertiefung, sicherer philologischer Bewandertheit, besonnener Urteilsfähigkeit zeugende Buch bedeutet einen Gewinn für die mittelalterliche jüdische Literaturgeschichte. Wir wissen dafür Dank dem Verfasser, der auf seiner ausländischen Studienreise den Grund für seine weiteren Werke gelegt hat.

A. Scheiber

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LES SEPT MONASTÈRES NESTORIENS DE MAR SARGIS

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

La question des monastères de Mar Sargis a été discuté à maintes reprises. Déjà Palladius s'est référé au 至順鎮江志 *Tche-chouen tchen-kiang tche*, description de *Tchen-kiang fou*, rédigé très probablement vers 1333 et imprimé la première fois par 阮元 Yuan Yuan en 1842. Les passages consacrés aux monastères de Mar Sargis ont été traduits et brièvement commentés par Palladius. Plus tard, H. Havret, dans ses *Variétés Sinologiques* a imprimé des extraits importants du même texte chinois. Le problème des monastères nestoriens a été repris plus tard dans un travail minutieux par A. C. Moule et Lionel Giles (reproduit par la suite dans un ouvrage de A. C. Moule). Le texte principal, suivi d'un certain nombre de textes concernant les Nestoriens en Chine, a été, une fois de plus, traduit et commenté par P. Y. Saeki. Enfin, comme certains monastères de Mar Sargis sont mentionnés par Marco Polo, Paul Pelliot a repris leur histoire dans ses commentaires sur le récit de voyage de Marco Polo.[1] Toutefois Pelliot a repéré encore un autre texte intéressant,

[1] Archimandrite Palladius, *Traces of Christianity in Mongolia and China in the XIIIth Century. Drawn from Chinese Sources: The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal.* Vol. VI (1875 Shanghai), p. 108 et suiv. Cette partie du travail de Palladius consacrée à l'histoire de la chrétienté sous les Yuan a vu le jour d'abord en russe sous le titre de *Starinnye sledy christianstva v Kitae po kitajskim istočnikam*, dans *Vostočnyj Sbornik* I, St. Pbg. 1877 (en réalité 1872), pp. 1—64; cf. P. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1911, déc., p. 145, note 2. H. Havret, *Variétés Sinologiques*, n° 12 (1897), pp. 385, 386. A. C. Moule-Lional Giles, *Christians at Chên-chiang fu: T'oung Pao* XVI, 1915, pp. 627—686. A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, London 1930, pp. 145—165. P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, Tokyo 1937, pp. 511—519. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I (Paris 1959), p. 280 (s. v. *Cinghianfu*), II (Paris 1963), pp. 774—776 (s. v. *Marsarchis*). D'après l'inscription du monastère *Ta-hing-kouo sseu*, un *ma-eul ha-si-ya* ou *mar hasiya* aurait, entre autres, aidé par ses prières au traitement curatif de *Tolui*. Or, *mar hasiya* est le titre d'un évêque; cf. P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient: T'oung Pao* XV, 1914, p. 637. Le même titre revient dans un document mongol sous la forme de *marqasiya*; cf. A. Mostaert—F. W. Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes Vaticanes: HJAS* XV, 1952, p. 439; L. Ligeti, dans *AOH* IX, 1959, p. 242. Pour le texte mongol, voir L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1 (XIIIe et XIVe siècles), dans *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*

incorporé à la section 通制條格 *T'ong-tche t'iao-ko* du 大元通制 *Ta-Yuan t'ong-tche* de 1323, découvert par Tch'en Yuan.

Mar Sargis, dont le nom est épelé dans notre texte comme 馬薛里吉思 *Ma Sie-li-ki-sseu* donc *Mar Sergis* (ailleurs il est encore transcrit 丨昔丨丨丨 *Ma Si-eul-ki-sseu* ou *Mar Sirgis*) était originaire de Samarkand,[2] ville où est répandue la religion des 也里可溫 *ye-li-k'o-wen* ou *erke'ün* «Nestoriens»;[3] Au monde entier il doit y avoir pas moins de douze monastères nestoriens. Son père et ses grands-pères étaient des médecins de cour, de plus dans sa famille la fabrication de sorbet avait une longue tradition. Pour commencer, Mar Sergis lui-même remplit, à la cour de Koubilai, la fonction de 舍里八赤 *chö-eul-pa-tch'e* ou *šerbä[t]či*.[4] Il fut nommé d'abord *daruγa*, ensuite (dès 1277) vice-*daruγa* de *Tchenkiang*.

II, (Budapest 1972) p. 243; le même, *Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum* II (Budapest 1972), p. 323.

[2] *Samarkand* est appelé dans notre texte *Sie-mi-sseu-hien* ou *Semisken(t)*; Moule—Gile, *op. cit.*, p. 631. *Sämizkänd* «Ville Grasse» est le nom turc de cette ville, attesté dès le XIe siècle, chez Kāšγarī (cf. Brockelmann, p. 248; Atalay, *Index*, p. 850; *DTS*, p. 495). Sous les Yuan, les textes chinois transcrivent ce nom encore comme *Siuan-sseu-kan* et *Sie-mi-sseu-kan*; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, p. 76.

[3] Sur *ye-li-k'o-wen* ou *erke'ün* (son étymologie par le grec ἄρχων n'est toujours pas acceptable), nom des Chrétiens, voir dernièrement Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I (Paris 1959), p. 49. A ce propos il convient de signaler une ancienne note de Palladius (*Chinese Recorder* VI, p. 107, note): «In a manuscript Mongol-Chinese dictionary I found the word *Erkeun* with the following explanation: „Heretics similar to the ancient 楊 *Yang* and 墨 *Mo*.» Dans les documents mongols le mot figure au pluriel: *erke'üd*; cf. N. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script* (Wiesbaden 1957), pp. 82—83. Pour les textes mongols, voir L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa*, dans *Monumenta* III (Budapest 1972), pp. 36, 41, 46, 52, 59, 65, 70, etc.; le même, *Indices Verborum* III, p. 40. Dans le document de 1238, invoqué plus haut la forme *erkeü* est plutôt rare. Il est intéressant de voir que les prêtres des quatre religions y sont énumérés dans le même ordre que dans les édits impériaux sino-mongols en écriture 'phags-pa. Nous avons en effet *houo-chang* (bouddhiste), *erkeü* (chrétien), *sien-cheng* (taoïste) et *dašman* (musulman). Les documents mongols en écriture 'phags-pa offrent les mêmes noms au pluriel: *doyid erke'üd sèn-šïn-ud dašmad*; cf. *Monumenta* III, pp. 23, 29, 36, 81; *Indices Verborum* III, p. 33. Ailleurs j'ai rappelé que le nom du prêtre musulman revient dans un texte byzantin sous la forme de ταϲιμάνης, lire *dašman*; cf. *AOH* X, 1960, p. 306. Ici-même j'ai rappelé, d'après le *Yi-yu*, vocabulaire sino-mongol, au même sens, *desman* (*t'ö-sseu-man*) et *molla* (*man-la*). Dans la dernière transcription *man* a une forme dialectale *môn*, confirmée par l'ancien mandarin en écriture 'phags-pa; cf. *Mong-kou tseu yun* II, 8a. Par ailleurs le document de 1238 renferme le nom indigène de la mosquée, en transcription, 密昔吉 *mi-si-ki* qui suggère une prononciation surprenante *misgit*; à cette époque, chin. *ki*, pour un étranger *ǰi*, est à peu près exclu. Il faut donc admettre là soit une altération pour le car. *ki*, soit une forme arabe dialectale fortement aberrante.

[4] En dernière analyse, le mot est d'origine arabe: *šurbat* «portion de boisson bue en une fois et qui suffit pour étancher la soif (de là sorbet); *šarbat* «un boire, une fois où l'on boit, où l'on est abreuvé; 2. une portion de boisson, ce qu'on boit en une fois;

Mar Sargis fit ériger sept monastères dont six furent bâtis à *Tchen-kiang* et le septième à *Hang-tcheou*. Leurs noms chinois sont les suivants.

1. 大興國寺 *Ta-hing-kouo sseu* qui se trouvait à *Tcheng-kiang*, à la porte de 鐵甕門 *T'ie-wong men*, à l'emplacement de son domicile d'autrefois. L'inscription du *Ta-hing-kouo sseu* racontant l'histoire de Mar Sargis et des ses sept monastères, constitue le noyau de notre texte principal.

2. 雲山寺 *Yun-chan sseu*, érigé sur le mont 竪土山 *Chou-t'ou*, à 西津 *Si-ts'in*.

3. 聚明山寺 *Tsiu-ming chan sseu*, érigé au même endroit que le précédent. Au-dessous des deux temples il fonda un cimetière pour les Nestoriens (*ye-li-k'o-wen*).

4. 四瀆安寺 *Sseu-tou-ngan sseu*, élevé à 開沙 *K'ai-cha*, dans le district de 丹徒縣 *Tan-t'ou hien*.

5. 高安寺 *Kao-ngan sseu*, bâti sur le mont 黃山 *Houang*, en dehors de la porte 登雲門 *Teng-yun men*.

6. 甘泉寺 *Kan-tsiuan sseu*, bâti à côté du monastère *Ta-hing-kouo sseu*.

7. 大普興寺 *Ta-p'ou-hing sseu*, érigé à *Hang-tcheou*, à la porte de 薦橋門 *Kien-k'iao men*.

Chaque monastère portait, outre son nom chinois, un nom dans une langue autre que le chinois. En quelle langue sont conçus ces noms étrangers? Toutefois leur interprétation par le syriaque proposée par Saeki n'est rien moins que satisfaisante.

Si l'on tient compte du fait que les Nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale et de la Chine se recrutaient avant tout parmi la population de langue turque, on

3. dose (d'un médicament)» (Kazimirski I, 1210). De l'arabe, le mot a passé au persan où l'on a: *šarbat* «one drink or sip, a single draught; sherbet; a medicinal draught» (Steing. 740), *šerbet* «1. dose, portion d'une boisson; 2. breuvage, boisson, liqueur, sirop, sorbet», *šurbat* «portion de boisson, sorbet» (Desmaisons II, 370). Cf. encore tdj. lit. *šarbat* «sorbet, boisson douce, sirop» (*TRS* 451); afg. *šarbat* «sorbet, sirop» (Aslanov 545); ourdou *šarbat*, id. (Baranikov 433), kurde *šerbet* (Kurdoev, 701); özb. *šarbat* (Bor. 535); ouig. mod. *šärbät*, *šärvät* (Nadžib 546). Il faut faire remarquer que sous les Yuan, le sorbet figurait parmi les produits locaux de tribut et que Mar Sargis, lui aussi, a payé son tribut annuel en sorbet (40 pots); cf. Moule—Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 647, 653. Notre *šerbätči* est un dérivé turc; cf. osm. *šerbetǰi* «1. a maker or seller of sweet beverages; especially a servant who prepares sweet beverages» (Redhouse 1121), *şerbetçi* «seller of serbet» (Hony 334). Le récit d'après lequel le grand-père maternel de Mar Sargis, convoquée par Gengis khan, aurait guéri le *yeke noyan Tolui* de sa maladie moyennant le sorbet, est hautement légendaire.

est amené à chercher l'interprétation des noms étrangers des monastères de Mar Sargis dans le turc. Il va de soi que cette langue turque comportait aussi certains éléments syriaques et arabo-persans ainsi que la prouvent les inscriptions funéraires de Semirečie en langue turque et en écriture syriaque.[5]

Je ne passerai pas sous silence un petit fait pourtant non sans intérêt, qui concerne la langue des Nestoriens de Hang-tcheou. Odoric de Pordenone dans la description de cette ville a sans doute utilisé les informations des Chrétiens de Hang-tcheou; or, son informateur l'appelait *Atha*, ce qui n'est autre chose que le turc *ata* «père», et c'est encore à Hang-tcheou qu'Odoric a recueilli *bigni*, mot turc signifiant «vin».[6]

*

Mais voici maintenant les noms étrangers des sept monastères, dans le même ordre qu'ils ont été énumérés plus haut.

1. 人世忽木剌 *Pa-che hou-mou-la*. Nom du *Ta-hing-kouo sseu*. La transcription chinoise suggère *Baš humra* qui, en syro-turc, signifie «monastère principal».

Quant au mot *hou-mou-la*, il revient, orthographié avec les mêmes caractères, dans une inscription chinoise datée de 1238, où il est combiné avec le 也立喬大師 *ye-li-kiao ta-che* «grand maître des *Erkeü* (Nestoriens)». Ts'ai Mei-piao (*op. cit.*, p. 6, note 5) se réfère, à propos du mot étranger, exactement à notre texte, l'inscription du monastère *Ta-hing-kouo sseu*, premier des sept monastères de Mar Sargis.

Le mot *humra* a déjà été reconnu par Palladius et a été identifié au «syro-khaldéen *humra* cathedral». Cette identification a été confirmé par Moule et Giles (*op. cit.*, p. 636, note 26) qui rappellent à ce propos le syriaque *ʿumra* «a monastery». Le même mot syriaque est mis en avant, sous la forme de *ʿmura* «monastery», par Saeki, *op. cit.*, p. 514. L'étymologie syriaque est encore rappelée par Ts'ai Mei-piao.

En syriaque nous avons en effet *ʿumra* «habitation; coenobium; etc.» (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halis Saxonum 1928, p. 532) et «Leben, Wohnung, Kloster» (Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1965, p. 190).

[5] Pour les inscriptions funéraires turques en écriture syriaque, voir dernièrement S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurskoj pismennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (Moskva—Leningrad 1959), pp. 75—86. Pour la bibliographie de P. K. Kokovcov et de D. Chvolson, voir, *ibid.*, pp. 107—108.

[6] P. Pelliot: *Le nom turc du vin dans Odoric de Pordenone*, dans *T'oung Pao* XV, 1914, pp. 448—453; P. Pelliot, *Le mot bigni (ou begni?) «vin», en turc*: *T'oung Pao* XXIV, 1926, pp. 61—64. Le mot signifie «une espèce de vin (non pas vin de raisin qui est *bor*)», plus tard «bière». Dernièrement, G. Doerfer, *TMEN* II, 309—311 et G. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* p. 328.

Le mot se retrouve en arabe, dans le même sens, *ʿumr* «Eglise (des chrétiens)» (Kazimirski II, 365); de là il est passé dans le persan: *ʿumr* «a mosque, a place of worship, a church» (Steingass 866), «mosquée, temple des Chrétiens, église» (Desmaisons II, 699).

Les Turcs nestoriens n'ont évidemment pas emprunté le terme en question à l'arabe, ni au persan, mais directement au syriaque, leur langue sacrée. L'initiale *h-* en face du *ʿain*, ne comporte pas de difficulté, elle repose soit sur un dialecte local, soit sur une substitution révolue dans le dialecte turc même.

Le premier élément du nom du monastère a été restitué par Saeki en *papas*, restitution fantaisiste qui ne mérite pas d'être discutée. En revanche, Palladius n'était pas trop loin de la vraie solution lorsqu'il a rappelé le persan «*bashi* principal». En effet, on a en persan, sans qu'il figure dans les grands dictionnaires, *bāšī* comme dernier élément d'une série de noms de charge (*būstānčī bāšī* «chef des jardiniers de cour», *bolūk bāšī* «chef de province», etc.); cf. Doerfer, *TMEN* II, 250—254. C'est un emprunt fait au turc *baš* «tête, chef», muni de la désinence possessive de la troisième personne du singulier (*-ï*).

Le mot *baš* est généralement répandu dans les langues turques depuis les documents les plus anciens jusque dans les dialectes actuels. Voici les recoupements les plus importants pour les anciens textes: *baš* «tête» (textes «runiques»; MK; QBN); 2. (au fig.) responsabilité (textes juridiques ouig. de l'époque mongole); 3. chevet (Suv.); 4. bec (d'un récipient) (MK); 5. épi, faisceau, panicule (MK); 6. sommet, cime, faîte (MK); 7. (pays) d'amont, source (TT II; QBK); 8. commencement (textes en écr. «runique»; MK) (*Drevnetjursksij slovarj*, p. 86—87). Sir Gerard Clauson (*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, pp. 375—375) définit sémantiquement ce mot: «*baş*: properly 'head' in an anatomical sense, but also fr. the earliest period used metaph. in the sense of 'head' (of an army), the 'beginning' (of something) and for geographical features.» Sa définition est suivie d'une documentation riche et quasi-complète. Enfin Räsänen (*Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, pp. 64—64) traite le mot avec une brièveté excessive sans même tenter une interprétation étymologique.

Pour le sens «premier, principal», voir toutefois: ouig. *baš äv* «première maison» (G. R. Rachmati, *TTT* VII, p. 42, n° 31: 18); *baš bitig* «document principal» (W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 6, n° 6: 3); osm. *başvekil* «Prime Minister» (Hony, p. 33).

2. 荅石 | [|] | *Ta-che hou-*[*mou*]*-la.* C'est le nom turc du ***Yun-chan sseu***. Le deuxième car. du mot *hu-mou-la* a été omis dans le texte de l'inscription imprimé en 1842. Ni la restitution, ni l'interprétation ne font aucune difficulté. C'est *Taš humra* qui veut dire «Monastère de pierre».

Tarsa ʿmura, restitution de Saeki reste une fois de plus inacceptable. Ici Palladius a mis dans le plein: «*Tash* 'Stone'».

Dans les transcriptions influencées par le système mongol on attendrait à la rigueur *t'a-che* (avec le même caractère, mais précédé de la clé 32; cf. *AOH* XIX, pp. 261 et 291); dans le même système *ta-che* donnerait *daš*, qui par ailleurs serait bien possible dans un dialecte turc. Cependant les autres noms des monastères aussi bien que tout ce que nous savons sur le dialecte turc des Nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale de cette époque milite en faveur d'une initiale *t-*.

Dans les anciens documents nous avons *taš* «pierre» (*DTS* 539); *ta:ṣ* 'stone' in all usual meanings of that word in English» (Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* 557); *tāš* «Stein» (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.* 466). Les langues oghouz, à l'exception de l'osm., ont une initiale *d-*.

Pour l'expression, voir: inscr. Yen. *Kaṣuk taṣ bal*[*balı*] «the stone balbal of Kashuk?» (Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 557a); *taš tekil* «endroit pierreux» (*DTS* 539); inscr. *taš barq* «steinerne Gebäude, das Steinwerk», alt. *taš yer* «ein steiniges Land», *taš üi* «ein Steinhaus», osm. *taš duvar* «eine steinerne Mauer», *taš qapčïq* «die Kasamatte» (Radl., *Wb.* III, 932, 933).

3. 都打吾兒 | | | *Tou-ta-wou-eul hou-mou-la*, nom étranger du *Tsiu-ming-chan sseu*. Le seul nom qui pose un problème sérieux en ce qui concerne à la fois la restitution et l'interprétation. *Tatrapolon* «Four Gate» proposé par Saeki (p. 514) ne vaut pas d'être retenu. *Dudaur* «light», interprétation de Palladius, suivie d'un point d'interrogation, ne nous dit pas grand-chose non plus.

La transcription *tou-ta-wou-eul* peut être ramenée, en principe, soit à *tutaur*, soit à *tuqtaur* ou, à la rigueur, à *tuqtaɣur*. Or ces formes résistent à toute interprétation par le syriaque. En mongol, les leçons théoriques *duda'ur* ou *duqda'ur* n'offrent pas non plus de solutions possibles; par ailleurs il serait à priori invraisemblable de trouver, dans le cas présent, un nom mongol donné à un monastère des Nestoriens turcs.

Il ne nous reste donc que le turc. Malheureusement les formes mises en cause sont rebelles aux règles orthodoxes de l'ouigour. Il est vrai que rien ne garantit que le dialecte turc de Mar Sargis soit identique à l'ouigour classique (le cas du *tärin* prouve bien le contraire), mais il est bien plus possible que nous sommes en présence d'une transcription chinoise peu précise faite sur un original turc en écriture syriaque contenant un signe *o:u* ambigu.

Toutes réserves faites je partirais d'une restitution aberrante *tuqtaɣur* remontant à *toqtaɣur* et **Tuqtaɣur* (**Toqtaɣur*) *humra* doit signifier, très probablement, «Monastère de réfection».

Supposé que nous ayons, à l'origine, une voyelle *o* dans la première syllabe, on pourrait songer aux recoupements turcs suivants: com. *toχta-* «(im

Gedächtnis) festhalten» (Grönbech, *Cod. Cum.*, p. 248); tchag. *toqta-* «trouver le repos, demeurer fixe, être solide» (PdC 238), *toχta-* «s'asseoir; se reposer; demeurer fixe» (PdC 223), *toqta-* «s'arrêter; descendre; faire halte; se reposer, se délasser, prendre un peu de repos» (A. K. Borovkov, «*Badā'i'· al-luġat*», Moskva 1961, p. 160); kirg., kzk., chor, sag., koïb., katcha *toqta-* «1. anhaften, halten; 2. sich niederlassen, sich einrichten» (Radl., *Wb.* III, 1153); alt., tél., léb. *toqto-* «anhalten» (Radl. III, 1154); tar., tchag., kar. L, T *toχta-* «anhalten, stehen bleiben, sich befestigen» (Radl. III, 1169); tourki *toχta-*, *toχtä-* «to stay, to stop, to remain, to abide, to wait, to grow to an end» (Jar. 310); özb. *tuχta-* [= *toχta-*] (Bor. 467). Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.*, p. 485) oppose les formes turques citées et kmk., blk., krč. *toχta-*, tat. Kaz. *tukta-*, yak. *toχtō-* (et *toχtuo-*), tchouv. *tə̑χta-* au mong. *toγta-γa-* (caus. de *toγta-*). En réalité il s'agit du mong. *toγta-* (*toγto-*) «to stop, rest to, to become immobile; to set ; to become fixed or established, to become stabilized; to depend on; to assume a shape or form to come to a decision or agreement; to become engaged; to remain firm (in one's resolution); to decide; to fix» (Less. 815). St. Kałużyński (*Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*, Warszawa 1961) ne fait pas figurer ce verbe parmi les emprunts au mongol. Quoi qu'il en soit, le mot turc paraît être emprunté au mongol, probablement à l'époque mongole, sa présence dans la langue turque de Mar Sargis n'a en soi rien d'extraordinaire.

Quant à *toqtayur* (d'où l'aberrant *tuqtayur*), c'est un dérivé du verbe *toqta-* moyennant du suffixe adjectival déverbatif *-γur*, *-gür* (*-qur*, *-kür*) qui est considéré comme assez rare par C. Brockelmann (*Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 115, § 71); *qačqur* «Ausreisser», *toiγur* «schnell satt», *toimaγur* «unersättlich»; etc. En revanche, selon J. Eckmann (*Chagatay Manuel*, p. 62) il est bien attesté en tchaghatai: *čïqγur* «sallying, attacking», *oiγanmaγur* «one who does not easily wake up», *ötgür* «sharp», *taiγur* «slippery», *tïnγur* «one who easily relaxes, calms down», *yïqïlγur* «ramshackle, tumble-down»; etc.

4. 打雷丨丨丨 *Ta-lei hou-mou-la*, nom turc du *Sseu-tou-ngan sseu*. *Tala mura* «Grace Church» interprétation de Saeki est ici encore hors de cause. La transcription chinoise suggère sans équivoque *Talui humra* «Monastère océanique».

En turc, *talui* «océan, mer» est attesté dans les inscriptions de l'Orkhon et dans l'ouigour (*DTS* 529). Selon M. Clauson (*Etym. Dict.* 502) «*taluy* (*?d-*) originally specifically 'the sea', later used for any large body of water». Attesté seulement dans le turc des inscriptions et dans l'ouigour; en ouigour il revient aussi bien sous les Yuan que sous les Ming; pour le recoupement des Ming, voir *AOH* XIX, 258 (*Vocabulaire sino-mongol des Ming*). Dans la *Légende d'Oghouz* on trouve à côté de *talui* encore *talai*, un des nombreux mongolismes de ce texte (l'initiale *d-* dans les deux cas est purement orthographique). Le turc *talui* est inséparable du mongol *dalai*, id. Jadis Hirth a proposé une

étymologie chinoise pour *talui* (acceptée récemment par M. Clauson), mais cette interprétation est inadmissible.[7]

M. Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.* 130) a rangé les formes turques sous tchag., soy., yak. *dalai* «mer, océan» en les faisant dériver du mong. *dalai*, id. En réalité le mong. *dalai* doit être un emprunt au turc, ce qui est prouvé par le fait que le mot est orthographié *ṭalai* dans l'écriture *'phags-pa*; le *ṭ*, dans cette écriture n'est employé que pour les mots d'origine étrangère.

Dans les textes turcs le mot n'est attesté que dans le composé *talui ögüz* «rivière; lac; océan». Pour notre expression cf. les expressions mongoles suivantes tirées de l'inscription de Kiu-yong kouan: *ṭalai buyan adišdid* «innombrables vertus et bénédictions», *ṭalai buyantu* «extrêmement vertueux», *ṭalai ulus* «immense royaume» (L. Ligeti, *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* IV, pp. 95—96 et *Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum* IV, p. 92).

5. 的廉海牙 | | | *Ti-lien hai-ya hou-mou-la* est le nom turc du *Kao-ngan sseu*. «*Tsuliba ʿmura*» 'Cross Church', interprétation syriaque de Saeki reste une fois de plus inadmissible. La transcription chinoise peut être restituée sans difficulté en *Tirän qaya humra* qui veut dire, en turc, «Monastère du roc vaste, ou, éventuellement, de la ravine profonde».

Le deuxième élément du nom ne fait pas de difficulté, on a *qaya* «roc, rocher» dans les textes en écriture «runique», ouigoure et enfin chez MK (*DTS* 406). D'après Clauson (*Etym. Dict.* pp. 674—675) «*kaya*: 'a rock', more particularly 'a sharp upstanding rock or rocky cliff'»; après la revue des recoupements les plus importants (plus détaillés que dans le *DTS*), nous avons dans trois sources provenant du XVe siècle une interprétation sémantique particulièrement intéressante: «a broad desert», «the bed of a torrent» et «valley». Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.* 221) tout en s'arrêtant au sens «Felsen» fait dériver le mot turc du mong. *qada* «roc, roche».

[7] F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, p. 18: «Der 'Strom Talui' könnte der Sang-kan sein, der im Laufe der Zeit verschiedene Namen gehabt hat. Ein im *Hua-yü-ki* (Kap. 19 pap 6) damit identifizierter, schon für die Zeit der Sui bezeugter Name ist *Lei-schui* (灤水, cantones. *lui*). Dies könnte «der grosse Lei» sein. Il devait pourtant admettre qu'il n'a jamais rencontré le nom «der grosse Lei, *Ta-lei*». On voit bien qu'il s'agit là tout simplement du composé *talui ögüz*, invoquée plus haut (inscr. Tony, 19: 8; 20: 2). L'étymologie de Hirth est inadmissible, car: 1° le nom **Ta-lei* n'a jamais existé, cette forme n'est qu'une hypothèse gratuite; 2° phonétiquement *ta* «grand, ach. *dʿâi* serait inconciliable avec la première syllabe de *talui*. Enfin, à l'époque où Hirth avança son hypothèse sans prétention sur le *Sang-kan*, on ignorait encore à peu près tout sur l'histoire du mot *talui*. Or, il serait absurde d'admettre aujourd'hui que, sous l'influence du prétendu nom d'un cours d'eau chinois plus ou moins insignifiant, ce terme aruait fait fortune si tôt chez les Turcs et se serait répandu avec une vitesse incroyable dans tout le vocabulaire turc.

Le premier élément du nom offre une forme dialectale du turc *täring* «profond», qui est la forme répandue, normale et bien attestée. *DTS* (p. 554) offre en effet *tering* «profond; vaste» (le signe *e* désigne dans ce dictionnaire aussi bien le *e* fermé que l'*ä* ouvert). Clauson (*Etym. Dict.* 551) souligne que ce mot généralement répandu dans les dialectes actuels porte, dans le groupe sud-est, une voyelle *e* (*ä*) dans la première syllabe. Ainsi nous avons özb. *teran* «profond» (Bor. 425), tourki *tirän* (*Wou-t'i* I, 197), ouig. mod. *tirän*, id. (Mal. 184); cf. *AOH* XIX, 263. Voir encore kirg., sag., koïb., katcha *teräng* «tief», alt., tél., léb., chor, kuér, krm. *täräng* id. (Radl., *Wb.* III, 1062).

Comme parallèle sémantique au *Tirän qaya*, on peut rappeler *täring ūrï* «ravine vaste», dans la langue des Oghouz, selon MK (cf. Brockelmann, pp. 204, 231; *DTS*, p. 648). Dans *Sumer täring*, le mot comporte une autre difficulté.[8]

6. 馬里結瓦里吉思 | | | *Ma-li Kie-wa-li-ki-sseu hou-mou-la.* C'est le nom «turc» du *Kan-ts'iuan sseu*, mais qui n'a rien de turc. Il ne pose pourtant pas de problème: il faut restituer en *Mar Gewargis humra* «Monastère de Saint George».

7. 樣宜 | | | *Yang-yi hou-mou-la*, le nom turc du temple *Ta-p'ou-hing sseu*, érigé à Hang-tcheou est *Yangï humra* et signifie «Nouveau monastère». Saeki veut y voir, à tort, «*Yo-shua* Church»; restitution indéfendable même si l'on tient compte de la fausse tradition du caractère chinois: il a 宣 *siuan*, altéré du caractère *yi*.

En turc, *yangï* «neuf, récent, nouveau» est attesté sous cette forme dès le VIIIe siècle, dans les anciens documents ouigours, etc.; cf. *DTS*, p. 234. Clauson (*Etym. Dict.* 943) insiste, entre autres, sur la grande variété des formes dans les dialectes actuels: *yangï, yanga, ǰangï, ǰanga, yangi, yängi yengi, yeni.* Sur l'étymologie du mot, voir Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 185b.

Sémantiquement voir *Yangï balïq* «ville ouigoure» (MK: Brockelmann, p. 245); *Yangï kend*, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, p. 349.

Somme toute, Mar Sargis, vice-*daruya* nestorien de Tchen-kiang, fondateur des sept monastères nestoriens attacha à ses monastères, outre leurs noms chinois, des surnoms turcs. Il ne semble pas douteux que ce faisant il cherchait à plaire à la colonie nestorienne de Tchen-kiang et de Hang-tcheou qui était, comme lui-même, de langue turque.

[8] Dans le *Säkiz yükmäk yaruq* un bodhisattva porte le nom de *Sumïr täring* (éd. Bang—Gabain—Rachmati, p. 44: 360). D'après la note ajoutée à ce passage (p, 7 «Sumeru-Tiefe, in nicht vorstellbares Bild!» Pour G. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 550, il faut comprendre «as deep as Mount Sumeru (is high)». Le nom reparaît, un peu estropié, dans la version mongole du même ouvrage, et je le comprends: «profondeur, vastitude de Sumeru (au fig.)». Sur ses équivalents tibétains, voir: L. Ligeti, *Autour du Säkiz yükmäk yaruq*, dans *Studia Turcica* (Budapest 1971) pp. 306—307.

Note supplémentaire. M. James Hamilton vient de publier un travail intéressant intitulé *Le texte turc en caractères syriaques du grand sceau cruciforme de Mār Yahballāhā III.* dans *Journ. As.*, tome XXLX, année 1972, pp. 155—170. Dans le texte turc du sceau apposé à la lettre de 1302 à Boniface VIII et à celle de 1304 à Benoît XI on rencontre deux fois (lignes 12 et 17 le mot orthographié *'rk'kwn* qui doit être lu *ärkägün* (dans le cas présent, la leçon mongole *erke'ün* ne s'impose pas) M. Hamilton a montré (p. 163) que le même mot revient dans une inscription datée de 1264, sur une pierre tombale trouvée à Isig köl et conservée au Musée Guimet. L'inscription, publiée par M. Nau en 1913, porte le nom *gwrgys 'rkygwn*, donc *Giwargis ärkegün*. Ce dernier mot a été identifié par M. Nau au grec *ἀρχηγός*, acc. *ἀρχηγόν* „chef, commandant initiateur"; dans les lettres en latin ce terme figure sous la forme *Archaon*. M. Hamilton a sans doute raison lorsqu'il cherche à rattacher le mong. *erke'ün* (ouig. *ärkägün*) au terme grec proposé par Nau.

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DIE ANFÄNGE DES MONGOLISCHEN ROMANS

VON

L. LŐRINCZ

Die Entstehung des Romans ist in Europa im allgemeinen auf die Zeit der Entstehung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft bzw. des Bürgertums zu datieren. Infolge der bürgerlichen Entwicklung wurden die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse und die menschlichen Beziehungen gleicherweise so kompliziert, daß die früheren epischen Gattungen nicht mehr imstande waren, diese komplizierten Verhältnisse und Beziehungen auszudrücken. Es entstand der bürgerliche Roman, eine der wichtigsten Gattungen der Literatur.[1]

Der bürgerliche Roman kann, was seinen Ursprung betrifft, auf mehrere ältere Gattungen zurückgeführt werden. Zu seiner Entstehung trugen die wichtigeren, vor ihm entstandenen epischen Formen wie Denkwürdigkeiten, Memoiren, Novellen, aber auch das frühere europäische Epos, wesentlich bei.

In den Perioden vor der Entstehung des Bürgertums gab es schon in Europa Gattungen, die die Möglichkeiten des Heldengedichtes überschritten bzw. dessen späte Erscheinungsformen darstellten, diese konnten aber den vom bürgerlichen Roman gestellten Forderungen weder in ihrer Form noch in ihrer Kompositionsweise entsprechen. Aus dem Ritterepos entwickelte sich — dessen Grundgehalt mehr oder weniger bewahrend — der Ritterroman, der die Aufgabe hatte, die ritterliche Schicht, aber im allgemeinen die herrschende Klasse der Feudalgesellschaft zu verherrlichen und deren Lebensgefühl auszudrücken. Für den Ritterroman sind die lose Komposition und die schematische Darstellung der Gestalten charakteristisch. In den Ritterromanen spielt weder die Charakterzeichnung noch das Zeitbild eine entscheidende Rolle, sie bestehen aus einem Haufen von lose zusammengefügten, miteinander organisch nicht zusammenhängenden Abenteuern, die durch die gleichen Hauptheldеn miteinander verbunden werden. Sie sind durch feudalen Stolz, die Verachtung und Verspottung derjenigen, die außerhalb der ritterlichen Welt stehen, durch Heuchelei und die maßlose Übertreibung der Gefühle gekennzeichnet.

[1] Zur Entstehung des Romans s.: Georg Lukács, *Der historische Roman*, Aufbau-Verlag Berlin 1955. Besonders S. 11—60.

Als Reaktion auf die Ritterromane erschien in Europa der Picaro-Roman, der in den letzten Jahrzehnten zum wichtigsten Forschungsobjekt der europäischen Literaturgeschichte wurde.

Der Picaro-Roman eröffnete ein neues Kapitel in der Geschichte der europäischen Literatur. Es traten gesellschaftliche Schichten in die Literatur ein, deren Darstellung im Ritterroman, oder noch früher im Ritterepos unmöglich gewesen wäre, und noch unvorstellbarer wäre gewesen, diese Schichten als Helden auftreten zu lassen.

Die Helden des Picaro-Romans sind Ausgestoßene, deklassierte Elemente, die sich der bestehenden Gesellschaftsordnung widersetzen. Mit der Tapferkeit der Außenstehenden tadeln sie die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse.

Die Rolle und die Darstellung der Picaros verändert sich von Ort und Zeit abhängig. Ein Teil von ihnen führt einen unversöhnlichen Kampf gegen die Gesellschaft, lehnt sie ab und nimmt in ihr, selbst wenn sich eine Möglichkeit dafür bietet, seinen Platz nicht ein. Ein anderer Teil von ihnen wird dagegen von der Gesellschaft korrumpiert; ihr Entgegenwirken dauert nur solange, bis sie sich in den gesetzlichen Rahmen emporarbeiten können. Von diesem Augenblick an hört ihr Entgegentreten, hört ihre Kritik auf, und die Gesellschaft nimmt sie auf.

Die Picaro-Romane weisen im allgemeinen auch eine sehr lose Komposition auf; ihre Bestandteile werden nur durch die Personen der Helden zusammengehalten. Zwischen den einzelnen Abenteuern besteht im allgemeinen kein logischer Zusammenhang. Das zeugt zum Teil vom Fehlen der Komposition, weist aber zum anderen auf den Ursprung der Gattung, namentlich darauf hin, daß sie aus kurzen Geschichten entstanden ist, die dann zyklisch aneinandergereiht wurden. Die Charakterzeichnung der Helden ist meistens sehr schwach, infolge des zyklischen Aufbaus sind im Picaro-Roman nur die Keime für die Entwicklung des Charakters zu finden. Der Schluß des Romans kommt willkürlich vor, weil er nicht durch die Logik, sondern durch äußere Umstände (z. B. den Umfang u. dgl.) bestimmt wird.

Im Gegensatz zu dem Ritterroman bildet nicht das Epos die Grundlage des Picaro-Romans, sondern Prosaerzählungen oder Novellen, was selbstverständlich auch den Charakter der Gattung bestimmt.

Der Ritterroman und der Picaro-Roman sind typisch europäische Kategorien. Die Frage besteht nun darin, ob in Asien, konkreter in der Mongolei, infolge der eigentümlichen Entwicklung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse gewisse literarische Gattungen entstehen konnten, die als bestimmten europäischen Kategorien entsprechende asiatische Formen gelten dürfen?

Es ist seit langem bekannt, daß der klassische chinesische Roman den in der europäischen Literaturtheorie geltenden Forderungen des Romans nicht genau entspricht. Eine der hervorragendsten Schöpfungen der chinesischen Romanliteratur «Die Rauber vom Liang-Schan Moor» besteht aus einer end-

losen Reihe von zyklisch und lose zusammengefügten Abenteuern, deren einzelnen Episoden miteinander nur durch dieselben Personen verbunden sind. Von Entwicklung und Darstellung der Charaktere gibt es keine Spur. Die Helden sind aus der Gesellschaft Ausgestoßene, Räuber und Abenteurer. Die Stärke dieses Romans ist die bunte und reiche Darstellung des Milieus, sein Verdienst besteht in der mutigen Gesellschaftskritik.[2]

Der klassische chinesische Roman hatte ganz andere Wurzeln als die dem bürgerlichen Roman vorausgehenden europäischen Romantypen. Infolge der eigenartigen Entwicklung der chinesischen Gesellschaft bildete sich in China keine in Verse gefaßte Heldenepik aus. Anstatt dieser hat sich in städtischer Umgebung und unter den Bewohnern der Städte, im Kreise der städtischen «Bürger», Verkäufer, Kaufleute und der ihre Waren auf den Markt bringenden Bauern die Markterzählung entwickelt. Der Verbreiter dieser uns etwas fremd anmutenden Gattung war der Marktfabulist, der verschiedene Geschichten über Helden und Räuber zu erzählen begann, seine Erzählung aber bald unterbrach, um sie das nächste Mal fortzusetzen. Die Märchen wurden oft mit pantomimischen Spielen veranschaulicht.

Aus dieser Gattung haben sich zwei populäre Gattungen der chinesischen Literatur entwickelt: das Drama und der Roman. Die Zyklizität der Markterzählung wurde auch im Roman bewahrt, auf diese Weise bildete sich die traditionelle Form des klassischen chinesischen Romans aus.

In der Mongolei riefen die unterschiedlichen wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse sowohl von den europäischen als auch von den chinesischen abweichende literarische Formen hervor. Die Gesellschaft der Reiternomaden trat dank der sozialistischen Revolution aus dem Feudalismus unmittelbar in die Gesellschaft des Sozialismus über. Infolge des großen Sprunges blieb die Stufe der bürgerlichen Entwicklung aus und als unmittelbare Folge davon konnte es auch nicht zur Entstehung des bürgerlichen Romans kommen. Die ersten Romane enstanden erst in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft, im angehenden 20. Jahrhundert. Die Entstehung des mongolischen Romans ist aber auf einen viel früheren Zeitpunkt zu setzen.[3]

Die grundlegende Gattung der mongolischen Literatur war von der Herausbildung des mongolischen Reiches an das epische Heldengedicht.

[2] N. T. Fedorenko, *Kitajskaja literatura.* Očerki po istorii kitajskoj literatury, Moskau 1956, S. 123—140.

[3] Der mongolische historische Roman läßt sich bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts vertreten — allerdings nur durch einen Einzelfall — durch ein Werk von *Inǰinasi* (1837—1892). Sein Werk *Köke sudur* ist keine Chronik mehr, sondern ein historischer Roman. Auf *Inǰinasi* machte uns zum ersten Mal Professor Lajos Ligeti aufmerksam. (Louis Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise* 1928—1931. Budapest 1933, S. 26—27.) Neulich über *Inǰinasi* und die Entstehung des historischen Romans s.: S. Luvsanvandan, *Mongolyn utga zochiolyn gol baatar,* Ulaanbaatar 1965, S. 34—36.

Diese epischen Heldengedichte können in zwei große Gruppen geteilt werdern in Helden- und in Historische Lieder. In der mongolischen Literatur fehlt das Epos, wenigstens in dem Sinne, wie es in der klassischen Literaturtheorie bestimmt wurde.

Der frühe mongolische Roman muß sich in Anlehnung an die Helden- und Historische Lieder entwickelt haben.

Das literarische Rohmaterial des frühen mongolischen Romans

1716 erschien «Die Geschichte von Geser Khan, dem Herrn der zehn Himmelsgegenden» *Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen Geser qayan-u toyuǰi orusibai* in Peking als Holzdruck.[4] Der Holzdruck wurden in seinem ganzen Umfang in Prosa verfaßt. Die Prosa ist häufig rhythmisch und es folgen auf die mongolische Dichtung charakteristische, alliterierende Wörter aufeinander. Diese Teile bestehen aber aus keinen Versen, sie haben nur die Aufgabe, die Vortragsweise erhaben zu gestalten.[5]

Im Laufe der auf etwa 150 Jahre zurückblickenden Geschichte der Geser-Forschung wurde mehrmals versucht, die Gattung des Holzdrucks zu bestimmen. Zumeist infolge der verfehlten historischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Konzeption der Forscher sowie infolge ihrer mangelhaften literaturtheoretischen Bildung waren diese Bestrebungen nicht erfolgreich. Falsch wurde die Gattung des Holzdrucks — gerade infolge der erwähnten fehlerhaften literarhistorischen Konzeption — auch von S. A. Kozin bestimmt, der den Geser-Holzdruck mit der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen (Chronik) und dem Dschangar (Heldenlied) zusammen für die drei Teile eines alten mongolischen Epos hielt.[6]

Der Geser-Holzdruck enthält sieben Kapitel und wurde — wie erwähnt — in Prosa verfaßt. Eine primäre und grundlegende Forderung des Epos ist aber, daß es in Versen verfaßt zu sein hat. Es gibt kein Epos, das in Prosa geschrieben worden wäre.

Der zentrale Held des Pekinger Holzdrucks ist *J̌oro* (der spätere Geser), der sich trotz seiner göttlichen Abstammung, meistens wie ein Mensch benimmt.

[4] Eine neue und zugängliche Ausgabe ist: *Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen Geser qayan-u toyuǰi orusibai.* I—II. *Öbör mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a*, Peking 1956. Den sogenannten Pekinger Holzdruck enthält der erste Band des zweibändigen Werkes. Der zweite Band ist später entstanden und weicht im Charakter vom ersten ab.

[5] Diese Feststellung bezieht sich ausschließlich auf den Pekinger Holzdruck, s.: L. Lőrincz, *Vers und Prosa im mongolischen Gesser*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIV (1971) S. 51—79.

[6] S. A. Kozin, *Êpos mongoljskich narodov*, Moskau—Leningrad 1948. Das Vorwort und der Teil, der sich mit dem Geser beschäftigt.

Er kommt in einer armen Familie zur Welt. Der Bruder seines Vaters, der böse Vetter *Čotong* verbannt nämlich — teilweise aus Neid, teilweise, um seinen Besitz zu vergrößern — die Verwandten und nimmt ihr Vermögen in Beschlag. Die Familie gerät in Armut und wird deklassiert. Der Holzdruck erzählt eigentlich den Kampf zwischen dem deklassierten Jüngling (*J̌oro*) und dem mächtigen Feudalherrn (*Čotong*), selbstverständlich in vielen Abenteuern.

Die Thematik des Holzdrucks trägt individuelle und keine gesellschaftlichen Züge. Während im Epos ein Ereignis erzählt wird, das auf die ganze Existenz eines Landes oder einer größeren Gemeinschaft wesentlich auswirkt, beschränkt sich die Fabel des Pekinger Holzdrucks ausschließlich auf die Geschichte Gesers und seiner Familie (d. h. des Vaters und der Mutter). Zu dieser Zeit (18. Jahrhundert) wäre die epische Darstellung des Schicksals einer größeren Volksgemeinschaft angesichts der Zersplitterung der mongolischen Gesellschaft auch nicht möglich gewesen. Die Problematik des Pekinger Holzdrucks ist nicht die Problematik eines Epos.

Da das Epos den Interessen eines Volkes oder einer größeren Gemeinschaft dient, kann darin zu keinem Zusammenstoß zwischen dem Einzelmenschen und der Staatsmacht, der individuellen Moral und der kollektiven Sittlichkeit (Religion) kommen. Der Pekinger Holzdruck weicht auch in dieser Hinsicht von den Eigenschaften des Epos ab.

Obwohl er in allgemeiner Form und unmittelbar weder die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung noch die Religion angreift — das tut der europäische Picaro auf direkte Weise ebenfalls selten —, erscheinen die scharfe Gesellschaftskritik und der Kampf gegen die Kirche — hier gegen die buddhistische Kirche — auf indirekte Weise auch im Geser-Holzdruck. Der Verfasser tadelt durch das Einzelne das Allgemeine, durch die einzelnen Personen die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung und deren moralische Auffassung.

Daß Geser bzw. *J̌oro* die Feudalherren bekämpft, ist überflüssig lange beteuern zu wollen, der ganze Holzdruck enthält ja nichts anderes, als den Kampf zwischen dem deklassierten *J̌oro* und dem ihn ausstoßenden Feudalherrn.

Seine Angriffe gegen die Kirche sind seltener, aber nicht weniger scharf. Kurz nach seiner Geburt kommt bei der Familie ein als Lama getarnter Teufel an, um die Zunge des kleinen Knaben abzubeißen und ihn auf diese Weise zu töten. *J̌oro* vernichtet aber den Lama.

Er rechnet mit dem reichen Lama *Čoridung*, der dem armen Jungen kein Geschenk geben will, ebenfalls ab. Er fängt die in eine Wespe verwandelte Seele des Lama und tötet ihn beinahe dadurch. In einem anderen Falle verwandelt sich ein Dämon in einen Lama und versucht den Helden zu töten.

Sowohl die Bekämpfung der Feudalherren von unten, vom Volk, als auch der Angriff auf die Vertreter der Kirche wären in einem Epos oder in einem Heldenlied unvorstellbar. In den Heldenliedern kämpfen die Helden

mit Gleichgestellten, selbst der mächtigste Khan ist nur «primus inter pares». Aus mongolischem Gebiet ist uns kein ursprüngliches Heldenlied bekannt, in dem die gesellschaftliche Gliederung zum Ausdruck käme.

Seit Hegel wird die Rolle des Epos als Ausdruck der Totalität sehr viel diskutiert. Diese Bestrebung nach Totalität, d. h. die detaillierte Darstellung aller Momente des Lebens, die in den homerischen Epen gewöhnlich, in den übrigen europäischen Epen aber nicht mehr so eindeutig nachzuweisen ist, ist vielleicht nur den burjätischen Heldenliedern eigen. Im Geser-Roman kann davon nicht die Rede sein; der Verfasser sieht von der sorgsamen Darstellung der Lebensverhältnisse ab und stellt anstatt der Beschreibung die Handlung in den Mittelpunkt.

Das Epos, oder in Innerasien: das Heldenlied, kennen keine komplizierten Charakter. Die Gestalten des Heldenliedes sind unerschrockene Helden, entweder gut oder böse. Ihre Darstellung ist gerade deswegen außerordentlich schematisch, wobei die Figuren «. . . glänzend das in sich zusammenfassen, was sonst im Nationalcharakter zerstreut auseinanderliegt, . . .» — wie Hegel behauptet. An einer anderen Stelle lesen wir noch bei Hegel: «Die Nation konzentriert sich in ihnen zum lebendigen, einzelnen Subjekt.»[7]

Die Gestalten der Heldenlieder und Epen verkörpern also das Ideal einer gegebenen Gesellschaft, sie sind mit heroischen Eigenschaften ausgestaltet.

Auch die mongolischen Heldenlieder schufen ein Mannesideal für Nomade, den *Mutigen* (*bayatur*). Der *bayatur* verfügt über eine unerschrockene Seele, übermenschliche Kraft und Geschicklichkeit. Er benutzt beinahe ausschließsich nur seine Kraft und lehnt die List und die pfiffige Denkweise als Eigenschaften ab, die eines Helden nicht würdig sind.

Der *bayatur* verachtet die Kniffe — diese sind nur für den Feind charakteristisch, — die Frau des Gegners streut zum Beispiel oft Schotter unter di Füße der Ringenden, um ihrem Mann bzw. Geliebten auf diese Weise zum Sieg zu verhelfen. Der *bayatur* ist ehrlich, zugleich aber von einseitiger Denkart. Er bedient sich vor allem seiner Kraft und erst danach seines Verstandes, eigentlich also nie. Was bei ihm das Denken ersetzt, ist die überirdische Vorsehung, die ihn ständig vor allen Gefahren schützt, und er muß selbst in dem Falle, wenn seine Kräfte nicht mehr ausreichen, nicht denken, denn die Vorsehung läßt ihn nach seinem Tode auferstehen, oder die Götter besiegen seine Gegner.[8]

[7] Hegel, *Ästhetik*, Aufbau-Verlag Berlin 1955. S. 961. Über die Theorie des europäischen, aber im allgemeinen des Epos s.: Hegel, *Ästhetik* (Besondere Bestimmungen des eigentlichen Epos, S. 946—983 und Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der epischen Poesie, S. 983—998).

[8] N. N. Poppe, *Chalcha-mongoljskij geroičeskij êpos*, Moskau—Leningrad 1937. (Personaži Chalcha-mongoljskogo geroičeskogo êposa, S. 85—95.)

Seine Taten sind vom Jenseits determiniert, er vollführt im allgemeinen die Anweisungen der Götter, gerade deswegen entwickelt sich mangels des individuellen Willens auch sein Charakter nicht. Sein Charakter ist einseitig und entbehrt jeder Kompliziertheit.

Der Held des Pekinger Holzdrucks ist aber von einem ganz anderen Typ als die *bayatur*-Figuren der Heldenlieder. Zweifellos zeichnen sich nach dem Vorbild der Gestalten der Heldenlieder auch die Taten von *Joro* durch eine gewisse Determiniertheit aus. Er selbst ist göttlicher Herkunft, Sohn des Hauptgottes des lamaistischen Pantheons Qormusda. Er ist also göttlicher Herkunft wie die Recken der Heldenlieder, seine irdischen Schritte werden von den schützenden Augen seiner himmlischen Schwestern begleitet. Die Schwestern mischen sich jedes Mal, wenn es möglich wird, in den Verlauf dee Geschichte ein und fördern die Entwicklung des Romans und den Fortgnag der Handlung. Ihre Macht ist aber nicht schrankenlos. Es kommt vor, daß sir gezwungen sind, den Helden allein zu lassen, der im weiteren nurmehr auf sich selbst verlassen kann, der Himmel ist machtlos und unterstützt ihn nicht mehr.

Der Held des Pekinger Holzdrucks besitzt einen doppelten Charakter: er setzt sich aus einem göttlichen und aus einem menschlichen Teil zusammen. Manchmal bewahrt er noch die bestimmenden Eigenschaften seines Vorgängers im Heldenlied, oft treten aber die von der neuen Gattung verlangten menschlichen Eigenschaften in den Vordergrund.

Manchmal spricht er von sich selbst wie der sich mit seiner Kraft brüstende, prahlende Held der Heldenlieder: «Als ich elf Jahre alt war, tötete ich den Herrn der schädlichen Krankheiten, den Teufel *Roymo-naybu*. Bin ich also wohl nicht der reiche Geser Khan? Als ich zwölf Jahre alt war, tötete ich an dem Herrn des Ödems den Teufel mit der eisernen Axt, und beseitigte die Erkrankungen an Ödem, bin ich also nicht der Herr aller Dinge, Geser Khan?»[9]

Infolge seiner göttlichen Macht tötet er Dämonen: er vertauscht ihre Pferde mit Zauberstäben und als die Dämonen mit den Zauberstäben über das Meer schwimmen wollen, verwandeln sich die Stäbe in Fische und die Dämonen ertrinken, usw.

Außer seinen göttlichen Eigenschaften besitzt er auch durchaus menschliche Züge. Die Helden der mongolischen Heldenlieder tragen sehr oft das Attribut *nisuqai* «rotzig». Mit Rücksicht darauf, daß die Gestalten der Heldenlieder, was ihr Alter betrifft, meistens Kinder sind, kommt ihnen dieses Attribut nicht unverdient zu, welches Attribut sich übrigens nicht unbedingt nur auf ihr Alter, sondern auch auf jene, in Innerasien heute noch wütende kränkliche Triefnasigkeit hinweist, die infolge des außerordentlichen kalten Winters und der leichten Ankleidung der Kinder auftritt. Das Attribut *nisuqai* ist in

[9] Pekinger Blockdruck, I. Kapitel, 51 r.—51 v.

den Heldenliedern ernst gemeint, der Verfasser sieht darin nichts Humoristisches. Bei der Beschreibung von *J̌oro* charakterisiert der Verfasser unseren Helden zum Beispiel folgendermaßen: «*J̌oro* ließ seinen goldgelben Rotz fließen und am Ende seines Rotzes ein Weizenkorn tanzen.»[10]

Die Recken des Heldenliedes verlassen sich, wie schon erwähnt, ausschließlich auf ihre Kraft und die Vorsehung, Schlauheit gehört nicht zu ihren Eigenschaften. *J̌oro* ist dagegen schlau wie ein echter Spitzbube.

Senglün (der Vater von *J̌oro*) stellt sich, um die Treue seiner Söhne auf die Probe stellen zu können, dreimal tot und beobachtet die Reaktion der Söhne. Seine älteren Söhne benehmen sich genauso, wie das von den Vertretern des nomaden Mannesideals zu erwarten ist, sie sind von der Todesnachricht erschrocken und merken nicht, daß sie irregeführt wurden. Mit großem Wehgeschrei betrauern sie den Vater. *J̌oro* aber merkt sofort, daß der Vater den Tod nur vortäuscht und beschließt, dem Alten eine Lektion zu erteilen. Hier folgt der Teil, der in einem Heldenlied unvorstellbar wäre; *J̌oro* gibt dem Vater nicht nur eine Lektion, sondern er macht ihn vor aller Welt lächerlich. Dem Toten zu Ehren errichtet er einen Scheiterhaufen, legt den «Toten» auf den Scheiterhaufen, den er dann anzündet. Der Vater muß den Sohn anflehen, er solle ihn vor dem sicheren Tod retten.

«*J̌oro* stapelte neben seinem Vater Holzscheit auf und machte ein großes Feuer. Als das Feuer mit großem Prasseln emporloderte, öffnete der Vater die Augen und blickte auf. «Ach, Vater! Man sagt, wenn der Sterbende mit geöffneten Augen stirbt, so ist das ein sehr schlechtes Zeichen für die Hinterbliebenen» — sagte *J̌oro*. Darauf nahm er eine Handvoll Erde und warf sie in die Augen des Vaters. Als die Flammen noch höher schlugen und noch lauter knisterten, zog der Alte die beiden Beine hoch. «Es heißt wenn der Sterbende mit hochgezogenen Beinen stirbt, werden seine hinterlassene Frau und die Kinder ihre Glieder nicht mehr ausstrecken können!» — sprach *J̌oro*, holte einen Balken und warf ihn auf die beiden Beine des Vaters. Danach schleppte er den Vater zum Feuer. «Ich werfe ihn ins Feuer! — sagte er. «Ach, *J̌oro*, dein Vater ist nicht gestorben, sondern er lebt!» — rief der Vater «Wenn dem Munde des Toten ein Wort entfährt, so ist das ein schlechtes Zeichen für die Hinterlassenen, — so sagt man — ich werfe ihn also ins Feuer.»[11]

Die Helden der Epen und Heldenlieder sind unverletzbar, sie können zwar vernichtet, aber nie zu Schanden gemacht werden. «Der Mensch kann vernichtet, aber nie besiegt werden» — diese Worte Hemingways könnten wir auch auf die Hauptgestalt des Heldenliedes beziehen.[12]

Der Held des Pekinger Holzdrucks *J̌oro* wird aber von seinen Gegnern nicht nur besiegt, sondern auch lächerlich gemacht: «Er fütterte sein braunes

[10] Pek. Blockdruck, I, 38 r.

[11] Pek. Blockdruck, I, 21 r.—21 v.

[12] E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1967, S. 100

Zauberroß und machte sich auf den Weg. Er verfolgte die Spuren des wilden Stieres und als es zu dämmern begann, legte er sich auf der Heide hin, um dort zu übernachten. Er legte seinem braunen Zauberroß Fesseln an, legte sich auch hin, drehte sich auf seine linke Seite, bedeckte seinen Kopf mit dem langen Ärmel seines Mantels und schlief ein. Um Mitternacht schliech sich der wilde Stier hervor und an sie heran. Mit einem Zungenschlag leckte er dem braunen Zauberroß die Mähne und den Schwanz ab, mit einem anderen Zungenschlag verschlang er die Befiederung der dreißig Pfeile, die mit weißen Edelsteinen beschlagen waren. Da sprach das braune Zauberroß: «He, du wilder Stier! Ich wecke den Herrn der zehn Himmelsgegenden, meinen Geser» «Du Nichtsnutz, du (erwiderte der Stier), wenn du mit mir so sprichst, sollst du es morgen gar nicht versuchen, mich zu erreichen!» Darauf ließ er einen Fladen, so groß wie ein Berg, auf das Gesicht Gesers fallen. Der Herr der zehn Himmelsgegenden, Geser Khan wachte in der Früh auf und warf den Kot, so groß wie ein Berg, entsetzt beiseite. Der weggeworfene Mist füllte ein ganzes Flußtal. Als er aufsprang, sah er, daß sein braunen Zauberroß ein krätziges braunes Fohlen ohne Mähne und Schwanz, seine dreißig Pfeile, die mit weißen Edelsteinen beschlagen waren Spielruten wurde . . . Die drei siegreichen Schutzgeisterschwestern flogen in eines Kuckucks Gestalt zu ihm und sagten: «Ach, unser Liebling! Wenn du jammern willst, geh' lieber nach Hause!»[13]

Die besprochenen Einzelheiten zeugen alle davon, daß der Pekinger Holzdruck, die Geschichte Gesers zu der in Prosa verfaßten Epik gehört, das heißt Roman ist, und zwar ein Schelmenroman.

Was ist für diesen asiatischen, mongolischen Schelmenroman charakteristisch, und wie verhält er sich zu seinen europäischen Entsprechungen?

1. Die Grundlagen des mongolischen Schelmenromans bildet die in Versen verfaßte Heldenepik, das Heldenlied. Ebendeswegen hat der mongolische Schelm einen doppelten Charakter. Er besitzt einerseits epische Eigenschaften (*bayatur*), andererseits weist er aber die Züge der einfachen Menschen auf.

2. Während in den europäischen Schelmenromanen das Rationale die entscheidende Rolle spielt, fällt in dem mongolischen Schelmenroman dank dem epischen Erbe auch dem Irrationalen eine bedeutende Rolle zu. Obwohl die Helden selbst ihre Taten bestimmen, ist im Verlauf der Ereignisse auch die göttliche Einmischung (Fatalität) sehr wichtig.

3. Der mongolische Schelmenroman bewahrte Vieles von der feierlichen Grundstimmung der Versepik, immerhin kommen Satire, Hohn, Komik und Erotik in entsprechendem Maße zur Geltung.

4. Charakteristisch ist für ihn die außerordentlich lose Kompositionsweise, die ähnlich wie bei dem europäischen Picaro-Roman auf die charakteristischen Merkmale der Grundgattung zurückzuführen ist. Zyklizität und Zer-

[13] Pek. Blockdruck, IV, 10 v.—11 recto.

stückeltheit des epischen Heldengedichtes fanden auch in dem aus ihm entwickelten Roman ihre Fortsetzung.

5. Infolge der Zerstückeltheit sind die nacheinander folgenden Abenteuer nur durch die identischen Helden miteinander verbunden. Im Pekinger Holzdruck ist aber schon eine sorgsame Redaktionsarbeit zu beobachten. Drei von den sieben Kapiteln folgen organisch aufeinander (I—IV—V). Infolge der losen Komposition entwickelt sich der Charakter der Helden kaum, die Charakterzeichnung ist schwach, vor allem deskriptiv und nur wenig analytisch.

6. Im Gegensatz zum europäischen Picaro, der die Gesellschaft (in der Mehrheit) ablehnt, ist der mongolische Schelm bestrebt, seinen Platz darin einzunehmen, d. h. seine bisherige oppositionelle Stellung aufzugeben. Nach seiner Einfügung in die Gesellschaft wird aus dem oppositionellen Helden ein Khan, der über seine Untertanen, herrscht. Auch das Ziel des Schelms wird durch den starken Einfluß des epischen Heldengedichtes bestimmt.

7. Während das epische Heldengedicht eine Kritik an der Gesellschaft und der Moral oder der Kirche völlig ausschließt, gelangt der mongolische Schelmenroman durch die Kritik am Einzelnen zur Kritik am Allgemeinen. Diese Kritik währt aber nur solange, bis der Held sein Ziel erreicht und in die Gesellschaft aufgenommen wird.

8. Auch gewisse archaische Relikte des epischen Heldengedichtes sind im mongolischen Schelmenroman aufzufinden (solche sind zum Beispiel die Mythen über die Entstehung des Großen Wagens und der Schäfchenwolken).

9. Der Schelmenroman lehnt die Totalität ab, bei der Einengung der Breite der Darstellung vergrößert er aber auch die Tiefe der Darstellung nicht.

Der mongolische Schelmenroman weicht also wesentlich von der europäischen Picareske ab, gehört aber auf jeden Fall der allgemeinen, außerordentlich mannigfaltigen und bunten Kategorie an, die als Schelmenroman bereichnet wird und in Europa dem bürgerlichen Roman, in der Mongolei aber den ersten Werken des sozialistischen Realismus vorausging.

Die Entstehungsverhältnisse des frühen mongolischen Romans

Seit 150 Jahren, seitdem die eigentlichen Geserforschung eingeleitet wurde, ist es allgemein bekannt, daß der Pekinger Holzdruck tibetischen Ursprungs ist. Die tibetischen Geschichten des Helden Geser, die in ihrer Gattung mit den mongolischen Varianten im wesentlichen übereinstimmen, wurden in Tibet im Laufe der vergangenen Jahrhunderte weit und breit gesungen und erzählt. Aus den Beschreibungen der Tibetfahrer wissen wir, daß die Geschichten über den Helden Geser im Kreise der Lamas unbeliebt waren, während

das Volk den Erzählern auf der Straße, die den Geser-Roman votrugen, sehr gerne zuhörte.

Auch der von Herrmans herausgegebene tibetische Ling Geser, der infolge der oben erwähten Irrtümer ebenfalls für ein Epos gehalten wurde, ist ein Roman bzw. eine primitive, frühe Form des Romans.

Der Pekinger Holzdruck ist trotzdem keine Übersetzung eines bestimmten tibetischen Geser-Romans. Er durfte irgendwo im Kreise der Oiraten von Kukunor, oder der Ordos die am Knie des Huangho siedeln, entstehen — darauf weist die Sprache des Holzdruckes hin —, die sowohl die tibetische als auch die ojratische oder die Ordossprache gut beherrschten.[15]

Der Pekinger Holzdruck ist das Ergebnis einer mündlichen Übernahme und einer gründlichen Bearbeitung. Der Kern der Fabel des tibetischen Geser-Romans wurde übernommen, dann mit Elementen der zeitgenössischen mongolischen Folklore durchwoben, und man ergänzte die übernommenen Kapitel mit spezifisch-mongolischen Kapiteln, die in der tibetischen Literatur nicht vorhanden sind. Der mongolische Geser-Roman wurde durch diese Bearbeitung so mongolisch, daß man daraus auf das tibetische Original kaum noch schließen kann. Wir begehen wohl keinen Fehler, wenn wir behaupten, daß der mongolische Geser-Schelmenroman, das heißt der Pekinger Holzdruck, ein eigentümliches Produkt der mongolischen Literatur ist und dem tibetischen Geser-Roman nur in der Thematik ähnelt.

Dabei ist selbstverständlich die Wirkung, die der tibetische Geser-Roman auf die mongolische Literatur ausübte, nicht zu unterschätzen. So sehr auch der Schelmenroman das Produkt der mongolischen Literatur ist, stammt doch die Vorlage — wenigstens eine von den vielen — aus der tibetischen Literatur, zum Teil gab der tibetische Schelmenroman dem Verfasser den Einfall, den mongolischen Schelmenroman zu schaffen.

Die andere bedeutende Wirkung, — der der mongolische Schelmenroman seine Entstehung verdankt — wurde aus China auf die mongolische Literatur ausgeübt. Zur Zeit der Entstehung des Romans herrschte in der Inneren Mongolei und der Mongolei die mandschurische Dynastie. Es ist aber bekannt, daß Bücher in mongolischer Sprache in den mandschurischen Zeiten trotzdem in großem Tempo herausgegeben wurden.

[14] Eine charakteristische Angabe aus den Aufzeichnungen des ehemaligen Lamas *Nacov*, die sich in der Handschriftenabteilung der Burjätischen Sektion der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Sowjetunion in Ulan-Udê befinden. Die Aufzeichnungen tragen den Titel *Geser boγda qaγan tus*. (In ein Schulheft geschrieben.) «Die Lamas des tibetischen Landes interessieren sich nicht besonders für den heiligen Geser Khan, aber in den Straßen der Stadt Lhasa lesen (tragen) wandernde Bettler die Geschichte Gesers mit lauter Stimme vor, und auf diese Weise bettelnd sitzen sie herum — das ist zu sehen.» S. 8—9.

[15] N. Poppe, *Geserica*: *Asia Major* III (1926), S. 1—32, 168—193; G. Kara, *Chants (un barde mongol*, Budapest 1971, pp. 208—209.

Dazu trug auch die Expansionspolitik der mandschurischen Dynastie bei, denn die Verbreitung der von den Mandschuren kontrollierten Literatur — wir denken hier vor allem an das religiöse Schrifttum — förderte in großem Maße die Pazifizierung der Mongolen. Die Lehren der buddhistischen Kirche, die das Sich-Abfinden mit der Gegenwart verkündeten, gaben Waffen in die Hand der Dynastie und der dynastietreuen, mongolischen Oberschicht, mit denen sie den Kampf gegen die unzufriedenen unteren und oberen Schichten aufnehmen konnten.

Diese Kampfwaffe bedeutete vor allem die buddhistische Kirche, die den Eroberern Handlangerdienste leistete. Zur Unterstützung dieser Kirche erschienen der Reihe nach die Holzdrucke, unter ihnen mehr als 400 Bände der Werke Tandschur und Kandschur.

In der Zeitspanne, die uns interessiert, zwischen 1650 und 1717 sind in den Pekinger Buchdruckereien außer dem Kandschur 45 Holzdrucke, der unter auch der Geser-Roman erschienen. Die übrigen 44 Werke waren ausschließlich religiöse Schriften (26 Sutras, 5 rituale und liturgische Schriften, 4 Dharani, 2 Hymnen, 5 Erzählungen und Legenden sowie zwei Schriften klösterlichen Charakters).[16]

Was veranlaßte aber die streng religiösen Verleger zur Herausgabe des Geser-Romans?

Es ist bekannt, daß die lamaistische Kirche einen erbitterten Kampf gegen die Heldenlieder führte. In diesem Kampf kam teilweise das Rivalisieren der geistlichen und der weltlichen Feudalherren zum Ausdruck, andererseits sah aber die Kirche in den Heldenliedern auch in philosophischer Hinsicht einen Gegner. Die Weltanschauung der Heldenlieder war trotz der häufigen Einmischung der göttlichen Vorsehung grundlegend menschenzentrisch. Die Betonung von Mannesmut, die Verachtung der Vertreter der Kirche — d. h. der Männer der Vernunft —, der Kampf des Helden und sein Sieg über einige Götter galten samt und sonders als unverzeihliche Sünden im Auge der lamaistischen Kirche.

Die lamaistische Kirche eröffnete einen Kampf mit Feuer und Schwert gegen die Heldenlieder und die nicht romanhaften, sondern heldenliederartigen Geser-Varianten. Der Kampf wurde außer der physischen Verfolgung der Sänger auch in einer anderen Form geführt, indem man versuchte, die Lieder nach entsprechender inhaltlicher und formaler Umarbeitung in den eigenen Dienst zu stellen. Das war auch der Grund für den Druck des Schelmenromans.

Der aus Tibet stammende, aber schon mongolisch gewordene, teilweise vielleicht in Versen, zumeist aber in Prosa verfaßte Schelmenroman wurde aufgezeichnet und in Peking gründlich umgearbeitet. Die Mehrzahl der Szenen, in denen die Geistlichen angegriffen wurden, wurde gestrichen (zum Glück sind

[16] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, Wiesbaden 1954, S. 3—4.

einige trotzdem geblieben) und mit unpassenden religiösen Teilen ersetzt, wie zum Beispiel die willkürlich erscheinende Einleitung zum Roman, die sich im Himmel, unter den Göttern abspielt.

Der mutige und offene Geser-Roman wurde auf diese Weise gezähmt und zur Herausgabe und Verbreitung unter dem Volk geeignet. Zum Glück war aber die Umarbeitung ziemlich oberflächlich, so enthält das Werk selbst in der umgearbeiteten Form genug Kirchen- und Gesellschaftkritik.

Zur Herausgabe und Verbreitung des Romans können auch gewisse mongolische nationalistische Tendenzen beigetragen haben. Es ist bekannt, daß viele von den Mitgliedern des mandschurischen Herrscherhauses mit mongolischen herzöglichen Familien in Blutverwandtschaft standen und die mongolischen Familien unterstützten aus verschiedenen Gründen die Herausgabe mongolischer Bücher. Mit Rücksicht darauf, daß von den herausgegebenen Büchern allein der Geser-Roman weltlichen Inhalts ist, kann mit Sicherheit angenommen werden, daß die erwähnten Herzöge die Herausgabe des Buches in dieser gezähmten Form unterstützten.

Der Ort der Bearbeitung und Herausgabe des Buches zeitigte aber wieder eine neue Wirkung auf den mongolischen Schelmenroman. Wie die aus Tibet übernommene und zum ersten Mal schon bei der Übernahme umgearbeitete Form beschaffen gewesen sein mag, läßt sich heute nicht mehr genau feststellen. Vermutlich war ein stärkerer tibetischer Einfluß zu beobachten als bei dem Holzdruck. In Peking kam dann dieses, aus der Inneren Mongolei gelieferte Rohmaterial im Zuge der Umarbeitung mit dem klassischen chinesischen Roman in Berührung.

Die Bearbeiter der mongolischen Variante des Geser-Romans waren zweifellos geistliche Personen; es wurden ja auch die Druckereien in Klöstern eingerichtet. Manche Forscher versuchten auch den Verfertiger des Holzdruckes festzustellen, diese Versuche hatten aber bisher noch keine nachweisbaren Ergebnisse erbracht. So sehr auch Geistliche die Bearbeiter waren, kann die Tatsache nicht bezweifelt werden, daß sie während ihres Pekinger Aufenthaltes mit dem klassischen chinesischen Roman in Berührung kamen, bzw. daß sie Inhalt und Form der chinesischen Abenteuerromane kannten.

Der mongolische Schelmenroman wies schon vor der Pekinger Umarbeitung dank seinen kompositorischen und seine gattungsberogenen Eigenschaften Ähnlichkeiten mit dem klassischen chinesischen Roman auf, die dann durch die Umarbeitung noch vertieft wurden. Die Ähnlichkeit war nach der Umarbeitung so groß, daß der Meister des Holzstockes, der den Text in den Holzstock schnitt, den Geser-Roman mit einem volkstümlichen Exemplar des klassischen chinesischen Romans, mit der «Geschichte von drei Königreichen» verwechselte. In den Rand der Druckstöcke schnitt er mit chinesischen Schriftzeichen einen Titel, der nach ihm der Titel des Schelmenromans war, nämlich die «Geschichte von drei Königreichen». Der Holzschneider oder

irgendeiner der übrigen Verfertiger des Holzdruckes wurde von der Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem klassischen chinesischen Roman und dem mongolischen Schelmenroman so sehr irregeführt, daß er den Geser-Roman für chinesisch, d. h. für eine Variante eines der populärsten chinesischen Romane hielt.[17]

Die chinesische Markterzählung hinterließ eher formale als inhaltliche Spuren im frühen mongolischen Roman. In der späteren Fortsetzung des frühen mongolischen Romans faßte der Verfasser zum Beispiel am Eingang eines jeden Kapitels die Vorgeschichte zusammen, wie das auch der Marktfabulist getan hatte, ein Teil der Zuhörer kam nämlich den Anfang der Geschichte ohne gehört zu haben, neu zu den früheren hinzu; diesen mußten also die Vorgeschichte erzählt und die wichtigsten Helden vorgestellt werden.

Eine nicht weniger wichtige Frage ist, wodurch die Entstehung der Gattung am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bedingt war?

Die mongolische Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderte war viel komplizierter als die des 13.—15. Jahrhunderts, welche Zeit im allgemeinen für die Blütezeit des epischen Heldengedichts gehalten wird. In der Blütezeit, oder noch früher, zur Zeit der Sippengesellschaft, vollzog sich eine außerordentlich scharfe Polarisation unter den Menschen: sie wurden entweder gut oder böse. Jemand war entweder Freund oder Feind, entweder gehörte er der Sippe an, oder nicht.

Am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts, zur Blütezeit des nomadischen Feudalismus und am Anfang der Verfallszeit wurde die Gesellschaft viel komplizierter, als daß die Heldenepik sie widerzuspiegeln imstande gewesen wäre. Infolge der zunehmenden Zersplitterung des feudalen Grundbesitzes bildete sich die Schicht der Adligen aus, die nur die adlige Herkunft, aber keinen Grundbesitz hatte. Die Vertreter dieser Schicht schlossen sich ab und zu einem Feudalherrn an, lebten an seinem Hof und bemühten sich, mit ihren Diensten die wirtschaftliche und politische Macht ihres Herrn zu verstärken.

Wegen der immer schonungsloser werdenden Unterdrückung der mandschurischen und mongolischen Feudalherren, sowie infolge der Naturkatastrophen vergrößerte sich die Zahl derer, die sich in die Wälder und Berge schlugen und als Ausgestoßene ihr Leben wie die osteuropäischen Wegelagerer Räuber und Diebe fristeten.[18]

Die verarmten Adligen und armen Heimatlosen waren vor allem diejenigen, in denen die Heldenepik bereits nur Nostalgie erweckte. Die Brutalität und Unmenschlichkeit des alltäglichen Lebens erforderte die Darstellung eines ganz anderen Menschentyps, als derjenige war, der in der Heldenepik beschrieben wurde; mit der Epoche ritterlicher Tugenden war es endgültig aus.

[17] Der chinesische Titel ist am Rande der Blätter aller gedruckten Exemplare des Pekinger Holzdruckes aufzufinden.

[18] Zu den ökonomischen und politischen Verhältnissen der Epoche s.: *Bügd najramdach mongol ard ulsyn tüüch*, Ulaanbaatar 1955, S. 192—277.

Die Veränderung des Zeitgeistes hatte zur Folge, daß die lebendigen Vorbilder der erwähnten Schichten nunmehr die komplizierten Charaktere, die pfiffigen Geschickten und Tadler der Feudalen und der Kirche wurden.

Trotz der beschriebenen Tatsachen konnte der Schelmenroman nicht zur wirklich vorherrschenden Gattung der mongolischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts werden.

Obwohl Held Geser in der mongolischen Literatur und Folklore unleugbar populär war, konnte sich der Schelmenroman nicht allgemein durchsetzen, schon deshalb nicht, weil die Druckerei, in der der Holzdruck verfertigt wurde, den Roman nur in kleiner Auflagenhöhe herausgab. Wie groß die Auflagenhöhe ganz genau war, kann nicht festgestellt werden, die Tatsache aber, daß wir zur Zeit — auch die später mit der Hand abgeschriebenen Varianten inbegriffen — etwa zwanzig Exemplare des Pekinger Holzdruckes kennen, zeugt von der kleinen Auflagenhöhe.

Es ist interessant zu erwähnen, daß der Pekinger Holzdruck nie mehr herausgegeben wurde. Selbst die sonst so eifrigen burjätischen *Dacan* (Klöster) fanden keine Gelegenheit, den Roman wieder herauszugeben, wie sie es sonst im Falle vieler in Peking herausgegebener und in burjätischen Gebieten unzugänglicher Werke taten. Auf die kleine Zahl der Holzdrucke weisen auch die Kopien hin (solche mit der Hand abgeschriebenen Romankopien sind uns in größerer Zahl bekannt). Dabei sind aber auch die Kopien ziemlich selten, was wiederum davon zeugt, daß die Nachfrage nach dem Holzdruck, besser gesagt nach dem Roman nicht besonders groß war.

Die nicht besonders große Popularität des Schelmenromans kann mit folgenden Ursachen erklärt werden:

1. Obwohl die objektive Entwicklung der mongolischen Gesellschaft die Entstehung des Schelmenromans ermöglichte, — für die städtische, innermongolische Bevölkerung waren ja die im Schelmenroman auftretenden Figuren und die Problematik des Romans bekannt — hielt die entscheidende Mehrheit der mongolischen Bevölkerung trotzdem die Heldenepik für ihr eigen und die mit Heldenepik aufgewachsene Masse lehnte die «Deheroisierung» ihrer Helden ab.

2. Infolge des ritualen Charakters hatte die Heldenepik einen nicht aufholbaren Vorteil im Vergleich zum Schelmenroman. Mit der ritualen Erhabenheit der Feierlichkeiten konnte die Alltäglichkeit des Schelmenromans keine Wette eingehen.

3. Eine bedeutende Rolle spielte dabei auch der Nationalismus, die Mandschurenfeindlichkeit der mongolischen Massen. Den nach dem Muster der chinesischen Romane geschaffenen Schelmenroman konnten sie bei weitem nicht so für ihr eigen halten, wie das spezifisch-mongolische literarische Produkt, das epische Heldengedicht, da diese Gattung in der chinesischen Literatur vollkommen unbekannt war.

4. Während die Schöpfungen der Heldenepik fürs Zuhören verfaßt wurden, mußte man den Schelmenroman lesen. Da die mongolischen Massen größtenteils des Schreibens unkundig waren, bedeutete für sie das Anhören der Heldenepik die einzige Massenkommunikation. Der Roman, der nur schwer hätte vorgetragen werden können, war nur den Schreibkundigen zugänglich.

Der Schelmenroman kam, obwohl er wie wir sahen, vielleicht wegen seiner fremden Herkunft nicht wirklich volkstümlich werden konnte, am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts doch zustande, und das beweist, daß auch die Literatur der asiatischen Völker der Buntheit nicht entbehrt, und daß auf die neu auftauchenden gesellschaftlichen Probleme die asiatische Literatur genauso schnell reagierte wie die europäische. Für die mongolische Literaturgeschichte schuf er eine neue Gattung und bereicherte dadurch die Epik der Zeit vor dem sozialistisch-realistischen Roman.

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LE *SUBHĀṢITARATNANIDHI* OÏRATE DU ZAYA PAṆḌITA

PAR

CH. LUVSANBALDAN

(Oulanbator)

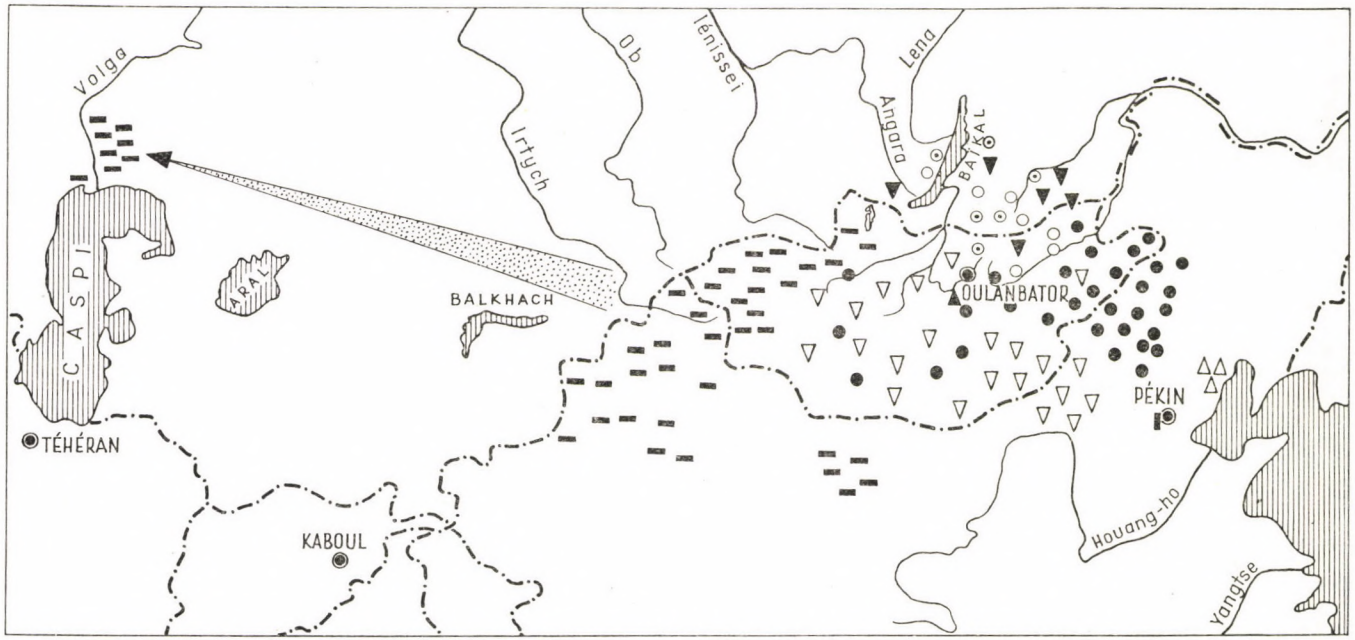
Le *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, ou en mongol, *Erdeni-yin sang subašid*, de Sa-skya Paṇḍita *Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan* (mong. *Güngyaǰalcan*) est bien connu des Mongols qui l'ont traduit et xylographié plusieurs fois. Sa première édition imprimée, dont nous n'avons que des fragments, remonte au XIIIe siècle. Ces fragments ont été discutés à fond par plusieurs savants mongolisants.[1]

En 1929 l'éminent mongolisant hongrois, M. L. Ligeti a acquis de *Damčan qubilγan* des Khartchins un manuscrit bilingue, tibéto—mongol. En 1948 il a publié le fac-similé de ce texte dont la partie mongole représente une copie de l'ancienne traduction de *Sonom Gara*.[2] C'est cette publication qui a rendu possible l'identification des fragments de l'édition en écriture carrée. L'académicien mongol C. Damdinsürên a signalé une version ultérieure de la traduction de *Sonom Gara*, qui se trouve également dans un manuscrit tibéto—mongol; son texte mongol a été remanié conformément à la langue nouvelle des temps postérieurs.[3]

[1] Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Ein Fragment mongolischer Quadratschrift*: *JSFOu* XXVII (1912), du même, *A Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script* (Helsinki 1940), Pentti Aalto, *Altaistica* I. *The Mannerheim Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script*: *Studia Orientalia* XVII (Helsinki 1952), du même, *A Second Fragment of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Mongolian Quadratic Script*: *JSFOu* LVII, 1953—1954, du même, *Fragments des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Quadratschrift*: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* III (1955), du même, *Zu den Berliner Turfan-Fragmente T III, D 322*: *JSFOu* LXII (1959), J. E. Bosson, *A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment . . .* : *CAJ* VI (1961), L. Ligeti, *'Phags-pa írásos emlékek. Kancelláriai iratok kínai átírásban*: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* II (Budapest 1964), du même, *Bölcs mondások kincsestára*: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* VI (1968), du même, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol, un document du moyen mongol*: *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* VI (Budapest 1948), du même, *Les fragments du Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol en écriture 'phags-pa. Le mongol préclassique et le moyen mongol*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII (1964), J. E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels. The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa skya Pandita in Tibetan and Mongolian*: *Uralic and Altaic Studies*, vol. 92 (Bloomington 1969).

[2] Cf. encore L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire . . .* Budapest—Leipzig 1933, pp. 58—59.

[3] C. Damdinsürên, *Êrdnijn san subašid*, Oulanbator 1958, p. 7.



LA DISPERSION DU SUBHĀṢITARATNANIDHI MONGOL

▮ Texte en écriture carrée △ Traduction de Sonom Gara ▲ Variante de la précédente ▽ Traduction de Dambaǰalcan
▼ Édition xylographique de la précédente, Aga, 1889 ⊙ Traduction de Radna ● Traduction du Čaqar gebši Lubsangcültim
○ Variante de la précédente, remaniée par Radna ▬ Traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate

Une autre traduction est de la plume de *Dambaǰalcan, Mergen gegen* des Urad du XVIIIe siècle,[4] une troisième a été accomplie en vers de bonne facture par le Čaqar gebši Lubsangcültim (tib. *Blo-bzaṅ chul-khrims*) dans le même siècle. Cette traduction a été publiée en caractères mongols dans la Mongolie Intérieure[5] et en écriture cyrillique dans la R.P.M.[6]

En outre nous connaissons trois éditions xylographiques bouriates du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol. L'une porte le titre de *Sayin nomlal-tu erdeni-yin sang Subha-šida neretü šastir orosibai* (suivi du titre tibétain). Cette xylographie qui se trouve à la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Oulanbator, cote 2586 $\frac{\text{töbed}}{\text{C—551}}$, consiste en 61 feuilles, texte imprimé à l'encre noire dans un cadre de 45×6,4 cm. Dans le colophon écrit en vers (. . . *Sasky-a pandida-yin gegen-ten-ü Subhašida*: *Sayin nomlal erdeni-yin sang kemekü-yi*: *sayitur suduluγsan erdem ügei bolbacu*: *sayin-i küseǰü mongγolčilaba Radna neretü bi*:) Radna figure comme traducteur, mais le texte n'est qu'un remaniement de la traduction du Čaqar gebši.[7] L'autre xylographie bouriate conservée dans la même bibliothèque (cote 2581 $\frac{\text{Töbed}}{\text{C—557}}$, cadre: 26,4×7,3 cm, encre noire, 60 feuilles) a également un colophon en vers dont la partie la plus importante se lit comme suit:

erketü getülgegči Manǰušri-yin qubilγan :
erkin čoγtu Sasky-a pandida-yin gegen-ten-ü :
erkin merged ba teneg-üd-ün ilγal-i üǰegülügsen :
Erdeni-yin sang subhašida kemegde ü šastir-i :

oyun ügei bögetele olan-a tusa bolqu- u kemen :
orčiγulbai Mongγol kelen-dür Radna neretü :
udq-a üsüg-üd endegüregsen-i :
oyutan merged ǰasan soyurq-a sonǰil ügei :

Ici encore le traducteur se nomme *Radna*. Nous ne savons pas avec certitude s'il s'agit d'une seule et même personne dans les deux colophons, mais il n'est pas impossible que le nom *Radna* représente ici *Sumatiratna* ou *Lubsangrinčen* (tib. *Blo-bzaṅ rin-čhen*) et que c'est à lui que nous devons les deux versions bouriates en question.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 8—9.

[5] Güngγaǰalcan, *Erdeni-yin sang subasidi*, Öbör Mongγol-un keblel-ün qoriy-a 1957, texte avec commentaire.

[6] C. Damdinsürên, *op. cit.*

[7] Cf. Če. Damdinsürüng, *Mongγol uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰaγun bilig orusibai*, Ulaγanbaγatur qota 1959, pp. 176—179.

La comparaison des strophes parallèles de ces deux versions témoigne de ce que les deux textes sont indépendants l'un de l'autre:

A 1 *uqaγatan merged kedüi erdem-tei bolbaču* :
ulam mergeǰikü-yin tula sayin nomlal-ud-i quriyamui :
usun-u sang boluγsan yeke dalai-dur :
urusqu mören bügüde čidqumui ::

B 1 *erdem-üd-ün yeke sang-tu merged ber* :
erkin sayin nomlal-ud-i quriyamui :
erkin yeke dalai-yin usun-u sang :
eke mön-ü tulada qamuγ möred čidqumui ::

A 304 *uqaγatu kümün-dür üčüken baγ-a kereg-i čü* :
olan-luγ-a nasuda ǰöblen quubilaǰu bütügeyü :
uruγsi-tai sayiqan bütübesü yaγun ögülekü :
oγtu ese bütübečü ǰimlelge ügei amur ::

B 304 *ülemǰi oyutan üčüken üiles-i čü* :
ürgülǰide ǰöblen bütügemü :
üneker bodubasu ögülekü yaγun :
ülü bütübečü üǰesküleng-ün siltaγan ::

La troisième édition bouriate intitulée *Sayin ügetü erdeni-yin sang subhašida kemegdekü sasdar orosiba*, a été xylographiée en 52 feuilles, elle a un cadre de 37,7×8,1 cm, l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Oulan-bator porte la cote 2583 $\frac{894,4}{3—681}$. Dans le colophon on lit:

ene boγda ber degedüs-ün yosun-i daγaqui küsegčid-ün :
egenegte qoos yosun-a mergeǰiküi-yin tula :
enereküi-ber ǰokiyaγsan sayin nomlal-un :
Erdeni-yin küü sang kemekü egüni :

oyun bilig-ün nidün masi aγudaγsan :
Urad ayaq-a tegimlig Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mchan ber :
orčiγuluγsan-i Ayu-yin kiyid-ün čhos-rǰe siregetü :
uqaγantan-u manglai Dā-na-yin gegen-ten ber üčüüken ǰasabai ::

asuru tangsuγ šastir Subhasida-yi :
ariγun süsüg-tü tayiša Skal-bzaṅ rgyal-sras :
alimad qoos yosun-i geyigülügči-dür üǰeǰü :
arad-i tusalaqui taγalal-iyar keb-tür bütügelgebe ::

C'est à dire que le texte a été traduit par le révérend *Dambaǰalcan* des Urad, qu'il fut remanié par le *čhos-rǰe siregetü Dā-na-yin gegen* des Aga-Bouriates,

tandis que la xylographie fut exécutée en 1889 dans le monastère *Bde-čhen lhun-grub gliṅ* d'Aga sur l'ordre du *tayiša Galsangǰalsarai*.[8]

Parmi les diverses versions du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Oulanbator, on conserve un manuscrit oïrate qui a été acheté en 1969 par Dašijn Čimidrêgzên de Ajuuryn Bêgz, natif du district de Tòmòrbulag, province de Chòvsgòl.[9] Le titre abrégé se lit sur le recto de la première feuille: *Subha-ṣeda kemekü sudur orošiboi*. Il se compose de 35 feuilles de 24,4×12,4 cm; encres noire et rouge, style calligraphique, papier jaunâtre collé, de plusieurs couches. Il manque les strophes 178—187. Le colophon en vers comporte trois strophes:

erketü burχani γurban suduriyin šime χurāqsan :
ezen boqdo Saskyāgiyin paṇḍida emiyin cöcōgi ilayuqsan :
eldeb süzüqteni nisvānišiyin ebeči arilyaχui em :
Erdeni sayitur nomloχuyin sang subha-ṣeda öüni ::

arban buyani ayouda χurāqsan-yēr sayin šütēni olon :
ariun süzüq-yēr dēdü γurbani takiqči öqligüyin ezen :
arya biliq-yēr χoyor tusa tögüs χurāqči :
Arya burχani kereqleküi Aχai čüüker duraduqsan-du ::

onomoγoi sayin uχātan zöb buruu-gi arilyaǰi :
ontoγo ügei dēdü γurban-du bišireküi süzüq öüsken :
onco sayin yabudal-yēr burχani χutuq olχuyin tula :
Oqtorγuyin dalai rab-'byam za-ya paṇḍida orčiulbai
öün-yēr sayin buyan örgüǰikü boltuyai ::

Selon ce colophon, la Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate traduisit l'ouvrage en question pour *Aχai čüüker* dont le nom est également mentionné dans les colophons des ouvrage intitulés *Očir kilingtüni χan χara kele χariuluqči toqtāl* et *Otoči*

[8] Pour cette xylographie voir Čoyiǰilsürüng, *Buriyad modun bar-un nom-un tabun γarčiγ: Studia Mongolica*, t. I, fasc. 16, Oulanbator 1959, p. 11.

[9] Un exemplaire manuscrit de la traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate se trouve dans la bibliothèque de la Faculté des langues orïentales de l'Université de Léningrad (cote: Kalm. D 17, Inv. 1830). Dans sa grammaire kalmouke A. Popov a cité et traduit plusieurs passages du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* oïrate; c'est la première mention de la traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita dans la littérature européenne, cf. A. Popov, *Kalmyckaja grammatika*, Kazan 1948, pp. 228, 334, 236, strophes 14ab, 84 et 201. D'ailleurs les strophes 13, 47, 61, 63, 177, 217 et 231 sont citées dans la grammaire mongole de Sumatiratna, *Mongyol üsüg-ün ilyal-i üǰegülügči todorqai toli neretü* (1892), ff. 26a, 27b—28-s Cf. encore B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Mongoljskij sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra*, Petrograd 1921, p. 6: «Оно [le *Srn*] несколько раз переводилось на монгольский и ойратский (калмыцкий) язык, известно несколько ксилографов».

sudur qui furent traduits à son désire et également par le Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate.[10]

Dans certains ouvrages historiques oïrates on rencontre plusieurs personnes nommées *Čüüker gebši*. En 1616 *Čüüker*, gentilhomme oïrate donna un de ses fils aux lamas lorsque le Zaya Paṇḍita fut consacré,[11] mais comme ce *Čüüker* était contemporain de *Bayibayas bātur*, il est improbable qu'il ait été le patron de la traduction oïrate du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*.

Un autre *Čüüker* ou *Čüüker ubaši* des *Xošoud* était le père de *Erdeni*.[12] D'après nos sources, ce *Čüüker* se trouvait en 1651 auprès du Koukounor,[13] puis ayant accompagné le Zaya Paṇḍita, il visita le monastère de *Barayibung* (*Berēwüng*, tib *'Bras-spuṅs*).[14] En 1662 il passa le printemps à l'endroit nommé *Tömör coryo*,[15] en 1664 il accueillit *Puncoqdulma*, femme du *Cecen χān* des *Xošoud* et *Galdamba*, le fils de ce dernier.[16] Rangé du côté de *Cecen χān* il fut défait par *Galdan Bošoqtu* en 1676.[17] C'est probablement lui qui figure sous le nom de *Aχai čüüker* dans le colophon du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* oïrate. Quant à la date de la traduction, nous n'avons aucune donnée directe, mais suivant Ratnabhadra, biographe du Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate, cette traduction également figure sur la liste des ouvrages traduits entre 1650 et 1661.

[10] Cf. ma contribution *Ojrdyn Zaja bandidyn orčuulgyn tuchaj mêdêê* dans le *Chêl zochiol sudlal*, t. VI, fasc. 6, pp. 116, 160.

[11] *Cayān nomiyin χānd ene yaqcār toyin boluqsani buyan yeke buyu mani niǰēd köböün toyin boluqsani buyan yeke buyu geǰi songγoulaqsan-du oloni buyan ülemǰi yeke gēd Dalui tayiǰi köböügēn: Örölüq Blo-bzang köböügēn: Boyiboγos χutuqtuyigi köböü keǰi: Köndölöng ubuši nige köböügēn : Čüüker nige köböügēn . . .*, voir Emči Γabang seš-rab. *Dörbön Oyirodiyin töüke : Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, t. V, fasc. 2—3 (Oulanbatoı 1967), p. 80.

[12] Cf. G. S. Lytkin, *Kalmyckie istoriko-literaturnye pamjatniki v russkom perevode* (Êlista 1969), p. 99: «Юм-агас, дочь торгоутовского владельца Хо-Орлека, была выдана за Хошоутовского владельца Ердени, сына Цукера».

[13] *Tende χutuqtuyin ači döü zayisang Balbāči Bara köldü öbölǰēd Kökö nourtu küreǰi irebei. Oyirodiyin yeke noyonōs Čöükür ubaši taryun Erdeni χong tayiǰi bui.* (*Biography of Caya Pandita in Oirat Characters*: *CSM* V, 2—3, Oulanbator 1967, p. 12).

[14] Cf. *op. cit.*, 13: [quand on a demandé au grand Sde-pa concernant le rang d'âge des gentilhommes qui remettraient les cadeaux à l'occasion de la visite du Zaya Paṇḍita] *urid Rab-'byam-pa χutuqtu töüni χoyino Altatu corǰi : töüni χoyino Čöükür ubaši : töüni χoyino Erdeni χong tayiǰi terigöüten ulam ulam-yēr bariqtun kemēn zarliq bolboı.*

[15] *Op. cit.*, 23: *Čöüker Tömör coryodu : Abalayin Xarbayadu : Ayouki Cayān χayidayar ireǰi . . .*

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 30: *klu ǰildü* [1664] *Phun-chogs sgrol-ma Galdampa χoyor : šütēn-dü zolyoǰi mörgūd : Čöüker ubašiyin-du ayilčilaǰi odboi.*

[17] *Op. cit.*, ff. 36b—37a: *Erdeni χong tayiǰi Čiloutu bōmdu kürmeqce Maχan čü Čöüker ubašiyigi kōǰi yazariyini abuqsan-du : Čöüker čü Erdeni χong tayiǰi-du neyilebei : Erdeni χong tayiǰi boubai : buuba čü ese tesün dutābai : Cecen χan čü čiryan* [?] *orkīd küči medeǰi Tabkiyin amandu γartala yeke ceriq dutāǰi ömönösöni irebei : tende ügebēr toqtōǰi yadād Erdeni χong tayiǰi-tai neyilēd : Xara nour-tu Čöükür bultaǰi γarbai.*

La version du Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate est la seconde dans l'ordre chronologique des traductions mongoles. Quoique son style soit analogue à celui de la version de *Sonom Gara*, le texte du Zaya Paṇḍita offre une traduction indépendante. Les versions ultérieures, celle du *Čaqar gebši Lubsangcültim* ou celle du Bouriate *Radna* en diffèrent considérablement. La grande différence de ces versions peut s'expliquer par la divergence d'interprétation d'avec l'original tibétain et par la différence de mesure dans la liberté poétique. La traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita semble être très proche de son original tibétain. Voici quelques strophes de cette traduction comparées avec celles de la traduction du *Čaqar gebši*:

Z 20 *erdem gem χoyor ken-dü čü todo* :
χoliqsoni ilyan čidaqči mergen mön :
usun-ēce sü yaluun ilyaχu :
ünē-ēce sü bügüde abχu :

C 20 *ötele gem erdem qoyar-i olangkin-iyar medekü bolbaču* :
üčüken qoličaysan-i sayin uqayantan tanimui ǰ-e :
üniyen-eče sün-i bügüdeger sayan čidaqu bolbaču :
üčüken usun-a qoliysan sün-i yayčakü yalayu ilyaqu metü ::

Ici le traducteur tchakhar a rendu les vers tibétains en vers mongols (*ötele, üčüken, ünigen, üčüken*) avec une inversion des vers *cd* de la strophe tibétaine.

Z 35 *dēdüs üčüüken kilince-yi tebčikü* :
dorodus yeke-yi čü tere metü ügei :
taraqtu üčüüken šoroi χaldaqsan-yi arilyaχu :
arkidu oroboču χarin kekü ::

C 35 *ariyun degedü nomčin üčüken kilinče-yi čü bolba tebčikü* :
aday mayu kümün yeke nigül-i čü qarin simdaǰu üiledkü :
adalidqabasu taray-tur üčüken toyosun orobaču arilyaqu :
arikin-u köröngge-dür qoy orobaču nemeri-dür bodoqu metü ::

Ici encore le traducteur tchakhar a augmenté le nombre de mots en faveur de l'allitération, sa traduction assez libre facilite la comprehension de la strophe.

Dans la version oïrate certains termes sont traduits littéralement, p. ex. le tib. *khab-len* «aimant» est rendu par les mots oïrates *zōü abāči* «celui qui prend l'aiguille» au lieu du mong. *sorinčan gürü* (strophe 20), aussi comme le tib. *gnam-lčags* «éclair, foudre» apparait en oïr. *oqtoryuyin tömör* «le fer du ciel» au lieu du mong. *ayungya* (strophe 418).

La traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita rendit populaire le *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* du Sa-skya Paṇḍita dans la patrie des Quatre Oïrates d'où elle se répandit jusque dans les steppes kalmoukes de la Volga inférieure. Là les aphorismes littéraires pénétrèrent dans le folklore comme l'affirme le savant kalmouk A. V. Badmaev[18] selon lequel les strophes 4, 24, 29, 50, 160, 194 du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* se retrouvent, presque inchangées, dans le folklore kalmouk.[19]

[18] A. V. Badmaev, *Kalmyckaja kniga «Ülgürin dala» i «Subašida»: 320 let staro-kalmyckoj pisjmennosti*, Êlista 1968, pp. 211—223.

[19] Voir les strophes suivantes de la traduction du Zaya Paṇḍita et les strophes analogues du folklore kalmouk:

Z 4 *biliqten gem-noγoud-i :*
arilγan čidaχu mungˌaq ügei :
Garuda χorotu moχoi-gi :
alan čidaχu kerē ügei ::

K *Гärd šowun χort moya*
χoraǰ čaddg, kerä čaddg uga,
tüdü met, bilg tögsgsn ämtn χarηγuγan
ärlγǰ čaddg, teng ämtn čaddg uga.

Z 24 *merged surˌχui caq-tu zoboˌχu :*
amur souχulā ülü bolχu :

K *Mergn — surχ cagtan zowlηta . . .*
Amrar surχla mergn bolχ uga.

Z 29 *dalai usun-yēr ülü χanun :*
χani sang ed-yēr ügei :
küseliyin erdem edleqsen-yēr ülü χangχu :
sayitur nomloχui-bēr merged ülü χangχu ::

K *Ik dala usar χandg uga ter met*
Mergn erdmer χandg uga.

Z 50 *dēdüs yamār buurabaču :*
kilince-lügē χolicoqson idē ülü idekü :
arsalan ölösbeči burtaq :
mou bōlǰisü iden ülü üyiledkü ::

K *Arslη kedü činän ölsw čign*
Bööle iddg uga.
Mergn kedü činän ölsw čign
Burtg χol iddg uga.

Z 160 *mungχaq kereqtei γazartu ülü ögön :*
kereq ügei-dü sula aldaˌχu :
mou bulaq zun urusum :
χabur kereqtei caqtu χatamui ::

K *Mu bulg namrt güüχ*
Zund χatχ
Muηχg kergtä cagt ögχ uga,
Kerg uga cagt ögχ.

[1a] Subha-ṣeda kemēkü sudur orošiboi ::

01 [1b, nigen] ☙ *Enedkegiyin kelēr Subha-ṣeda-radna-nidhi nama šaždrā : Töbödiyin kelēr Legs-par bšad-pa rinbočhei gter žes-bya-bei bsdan-bčos Mongyoliyin kelēr Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang kemēkü šaštar :* **02** *χutuq-tu zalou Mañzuširi-du süzülün mörgümüi : tenggeriyin dēdü kigēd kluyin erketü bütüqsen uχān bariqčiyin erkin delgereqsen arši šorγolǰini öür kigēd köl* [2a, χoyar] *nidün terüüten : bükün-ēce tālan oroyin erdeni-bēr ölmi takiqči : amitani erken χamugi medeqči töün-dü bi mörgümüi ::* **03** *uχān-yēr šinǰilekülē nomiyin yosun ülü χayacan : yertüncü-yin üyile bükün-ēce sayitur bütēqči : dēdü noyoudiyin yabudaliyin yosu yamāru : nomloχu ene inu sayitur nomloqči erdeniyin sang ::* **1** *erdemiyin sang bariqči mergen : tede sayitur nomloχui erdeni* [2b] *χurāχu : yeke dalai usuni sang : müni tula χamuq mören cudχuχu ::* **2** *erdem bui ügei törölkitöni : abχu gēküi-dü biliqten mergen : tōsun-luγā χolicoqson tömöriyin kemkedeq noyoudi : zöü abāči čilou abun čidaχu ::* **3** *sayitur nomloxui-gi merged biliq-yēr : mungχaq tere metü ügei : narani gerel uryuχuidu : bhudiyin šobuun noyoud soχoroχu boluyu ::* **4** *biliqten gem noyoudi : arilγan čidaχu mungχaq ügei : Garuda χorotu moyoi-gi : alan čidaχu kerē ügei ::* **5** *yeke biliqten buuraba ču : oyouni küčü χarin tögös kü boluyu : görösüni χān ölöskülē : zāni oroi ötör χayalχu ::* **6** *kezē temecen asγul ügei : teǰiyēde mergeni kira caqlaχu ügei : kenggergeyigi deledbür-yēr kezē deledkü : teǰiyēde busud-ēce ilγal youn bui ::* **7** *uχāni manayār ükübeči sur : ene nasundu mergen ese bolboči : χoyitu töröldü χadγalouluqsan :* [3a, γurban] *edi öbörөn abχui-luγā adali ::* **8** *erdem tögöskülē ulus bükün : ese χurābaču öbörөn χurāχu : ünertei ceceq χolo bolboči : zögüi öüleni čoulγa metü ergikü ::* **9** *erdem büküni surun muχur-tu kürüqsen : mergen yaqcār yertüncü-yi geyigüülkü : mou oyoutani medeküi olon bolboči : yabuχui odun metü geyigüülün ülü čidaχu :* **10** *mergen caqlaši ügei erdemtei bolboči : busudiyin üčüüken erdem abχu : tere metü ürgülǰide üyiledüqsen-yēr : ötör χamugi medeqči bolχu ::* **11** *merged biliq-yēr sakiχulā : dayisun olon bolboči χamiγā čidaχu : χutuq ilaγuqsani birmanai köböün : yaqcār dayisuni čoulγa büküni daruǰi ::* **12** *čuχal oyoutan buruu zöblöl-yēr ebdereküi caqtu : uχātan arγa-bēr amuγuulang-du yasaχu : müren budung-γuyiraqsan-yēr γutān üyiledüqseni : usu tungγaqči erdeni tungγān üyiledkü ::* **13** *merged yamāru muyiradba ču : mungχagiyin oroχui mör-yer ülü yabuχu : üker χarāči undāsba ču : γazartu* [3b] *oroqson usu ülü ouχu ::*

Z 194 *maši todorχoi nidün čü :*
dou čingnan čidaχu ügei ::

K *Nüdn maš χurc bolw čign,*
Du sonsǰ čadχ uga.

(Badmaev, *op. cit.*, pp. 217—218.)

14 *biliqten toloyoi töyirööči : üyileyin züyildü ülü mungχarχu : šoryolǰin amitan nidü ügei bolboči : nidütei busud-ēce ülemǰi χurdun ::* **15** *χoyor biliqten zöblöldükülē : busu sayin biliq boluyu : yung-ne kigēd ungsā [= tung-sā]-ēce boluyu : busu nige öngge bolχu boluyu ::* **16** *onomoyoi oyoutai buyan χurāqsan kümün : yaqcār bolboči χamugi yarχu : görösüni χān arslan kigēd : kürdü-bēr orčiuluqči-du nökür kereq ügei ::* **17** *uran aryatai bögösü yeke-yi čü : zaruca bolyoχui-du berke youn : Γaruda auya küčü yeke bolboči : Šara debeltüyin kölgün bolboi ::* **18** *ene yertüncü kigēd činaduyin : amuyuulang bütēqči biliq mün : Sara χān köböün biliq-yēr : Erēn költei-yi eme kigēd χoyitu-du ibēbei ::* **19** *bātur ide auya yeke bolboči : mergen busus cogi ülü olχu : učiral bolboči : kišiq ügei bögösü χamiya toqtoχu ::* **20** *erdem gem χoyor kendü čü todo : χoliqsoni ilyan* [4a, dörbön] *čidaqči mergen mün : usun-ēce sü yaloun ilyaχu : ünē-ēce sü bügüde abχu ::* **21** *ögüülen duradun üyiledkülē : adousun-du ču mederel törökü : ülü duradun busud ögüülel ügegüye : sanaqsani medekülē mergen mün ::* **22** *oyoun tögöskülē ese ögüülebeči : šingši bayidal-yēr sanān medekü : Balbuyin seügi ese idebeči : önggü-bēr amta medekü ::* **23** *mergen öböriyin yazar-ēce čü : busu oron-du takiqdaχu boluyu : erdeni busudtu üneteyin činēn : dalayin tibtü χamiyā tōqdaχu ::* **24** *merged surχui caqtu zoboχu : amur souχulā mergen ülü bolχu : üčüüken amuyuulang-du tačīqči tede : yeke amuyuulanggi olχu ügei ::* **25** *uχān tögüskülē küčü üčüüken bolboči : küčütü dayisun you üyiledküi bui : küčü tögüsüqsen görösöni χāni : uχātu toulai alaǰi ::* **26** *busu amitan-luyā daχan zokilduχui : yabudal medekülē mergen mün : adousun bolboči züyil adali noyoud : nige sürüqlen ülü orošiduq buyu ::* **27** *mayad bolχui zarim üyile :* [4b] *bütēgēd ödüi šinǰilekü caqtu : mergen mungχaq χoyoriyin ilyal medekü : bütüqsen χoyino šinǰileqči mungχagiyin yosun ::* **28** *mergen noyoud šinǰilekü-bēr : medelge medekülē mergendü tōloqduχu : ükeriyin köqšin zalougi šinǰilekü-dü : mungχaq mergen bolboči erdem busu :* **29** *dalai usun-yēr ülü χanun : χāni sang ed-yēr ügei : küseliyin erdem edleqsen-yēr ülü χangχu : sayitur nomloχuyi-bēr merged ülü χangχu ::* **30** *sayitur nomloχuyigi küüked-ēce čü : mergen noyoud sayitur abχu : sayin ünertei bolχulā görösüni : kiyisün-ēce čü zār abχu ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce mergeni šinǰilekü inu
sayitur üyiledkü urida bui :: · ::

31 *nasuda dēdüšiyin erdem noyoudi : dēdü törölkitön ülemǰi dourisχu : Ma-la-ya-yin zandani üneri : kei arban züq delgeröülün üyiledkü ::* **32** *dēdü-yi noyon bolyoχula : üyile bütün amuyuulang ǰiryalanggi olχu : maṇi-yi ilaγuqsan belgetüyin üzöürtü takiχulā : oroni züq buyantai bolbo kemēn merged dourisχaχu ::* **33** *busu mou χān-du könögdökülē :* [5a, tabun] *nomiyin χāni ülemǰi sanaχu boluyu : kiǰiq boluqsan amitan noyoud : casuni usu onco sedkin*

üyiledkü :: **34** *kilince üyiledüqči χān könŏküi-dü* : *nom-yēr yabuqči kümüni erketü ülemǰi tedkekü* : *bhudiyin ada boluqsani* : *niyouca tarani bütēqsen daχan bariχu* : **35** *dēdüs üčüüken kilince-yi tebčikü* : *dorodus yeke-yi čü tere metü ügei* : *taraqtu üčüüken šoroi χaldaqsan-yi arilyaχu* : *arkidu oroboču χarin kekü* :: **36** *dēdü törölkitön buuraba čü* : *yabudaliyin ilyal ülemǰi üzeskülengtei*: *yali uruu χandoulbaču* : *yaliyin nilči dēqši badaraχui üzeqdemüi* :: **37** *dēdüs tösör orošibači* : *erkin orčin tusalaχui-bēr χolo-ēce tedkekü* : *oqtorγuyidu yeke öülen tuluqsan-yēr* : *yazariyin tarān tümesün ilangγuyā delgerekü* : **38** *ene nasuda sayin aldar bayasχulanggiyin ündüsün* : *busu yertüncüdü buyan bayasχulang* : *tere χoyor ügei ediyin tödüi-bēr* : *merged bayaslang* [= bayasχulang] *öüsken ülü üyiledkü* : **39** *χoyitu-yi χōro χolo χaraqči* : *töb sereltei yekede külicün dāqči* : *yeke külicenggüyitü batu kinaltu kümün* : *bōl zaruca bolboči* [5b] *noyon bolχu* :: **40** *öqligü-dü nasuda sedkil durašiqči* : *töüni aldar kei metü ködölün* : *yadou erligičin χuraχu metü* : *örgökü durašiqčin töün-ēce olon bolχu* :: **41** *öqligü-bēr χarin basa ülü abun* : *dorodušiyin doromǰiloχuyigi zöb abun* : *üčüüken tusa-yi čü ülü martaqči* : *yeke boqdoyin yeke-yin belge mün* : **42** *dēdüyin erdem nuun üyiledbeči* : *yertüncü bükün-dü tügēmel tododχu* : *sambaγa cecegi bürkün üyiledübeči* : *sayin ünür bügüdedü tügekü boluyu* : **43** *χān öböriyin γazartu yekeyin tödüi* : *dēdüs χamiγā čü tōgduχu boluyu* : *ceceg olongkin niǰēd ödüriyin čimeg* : *oroyin erdeni-yi χamiγā čü takiχu* :: **44** *zemistü modun delgereqsen zemis olon* : *toyos amuqsan söül ödün sayin* : *nomoγoduqsan dēdü morin yabudal χurdun* : *dēdüs nomoγoduqsan mergeni belge* :: **45** *dēdüs kigēd egeldü tusa* : *adali bolboči ači adali busu* : *tarālang-du körönggü adali bolboči* : *tarāni ilyal caqlaši ügei* :: **46** *yeke boqdo-du tusa kürgüküle* : *üčüüken-dü čü yeke üre öüskekü* : *γaqca skyü-rü-ra ögüqsen-yēr* : *Nomiyin χāni köböün-lügē tengceqsēni üze* :: **47** *sayin* [6a, zurγān] *omoq izouri yabudal-yēr bariχu* : *yabudal buuraχulā izouriyin kereq ügei* : *zandani sayin üneri ulus tālaχu* : *töüni tüleqsen nöüresü ken abχu* :: **48** *yekes türgen buurabaču* : *töündü enelge öüskekü kereq ügei* : *sara-yi χoromχan Rāhu baribaču* : *tödüi dēre getülkü boluyu* :: **49** *yeke dayisuni asaran üyiledkülē* : *mün dayisun töüni erkedü oroχu* : *olon-du örgögdeqsen χamugi tedküqsen-yēr* : *χamuq χān bolγon üyiledbei* :: **50** *dēdüs yamāru buurabaču* : *kilince-lügē χolicoqson idē ülü idekü* : *arsalan ölösbeči burtaq* : *mou bōlǰisü iden ülü üyiledkü* :: **51** *dēdüs amandu* [= amindu] *kürbeči* : *sayin āli χamiγā orkiχu* : *sle-sbrami tülen utulba ču* : *töüni önggü ülü buuraχu boluyu* :: **52** *dēdü törölkitön-dü dorodus* : *kilinglebeči χariu-du χamiγā kilinglekü* : *činoncor omorχoχui-du dou γaraba ču* : *görŏsüni χān örösŏnggüi törökü* :: **53** *yeke boqdoēce törölkitön* : *gem erin üyiledkü dorodustu ügei* : *γaba cabtai erdeni-yi šinǰilekü* : *muχur cucalai-yi ken šinǰilekü* :: **54** *maqtaχui-du ülü bayasun* : *moudχaχui-du ülü uurlan* : [6b] *öböriyin erdem sayitur orošiqči* : *dēdü törölkitöni belge činar mün* : **55** *uχān kigēd auγa ide-ēce boluqsan* : *ǰiryalang ǰiryalang mün* : *noχoi kigēd χuluγuna cadbaču* : *izuuri orkiqson tuuǰi mün* :: **56** *nöküd*

χotolo tögüs bolχulā : mün ezen noyoni yeke mün : mori čimen üyiledüqsen tere : mün ezen-dü üzeskülengtei busu buyu :: **57** *yambar yamāru ezen noyon : nöküd-yēn ači-bēr tedkün üyiledkülē : tere metü bōl nöküd noyoud : mün erigen ezeni üyile bütēkü ::* **58** *yeke boqdo orošiqson γazartu : busu mergeni ken tōχu : oqtorγui-du naran urγuχulā : yabuχui odun olon bolboči ülü üzeqdekü :: : ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce sayini šinǰileküi inu
sayitur üyiledküi χoyoduγār bui ::

59 *mou naran* [= aran] *učiral olboči : ülemǰi edleqsen-yēr mouǰiraχu boluyu :: urusχui usu yamāru urbuulba čü : onco uruu urusχui durašiχu ::* **60** *dorodu-yi edlen sayini üyiledbeči : tere yasadaq-giyin tuuǰi mün : šile erdeni-dü urbuulun üyiledbeči :* [7a, dolōn] *usun-luyā učiraχulā öböriyin öngö üzöülkü ::* **61** *mungχaq üyile sayitur bütēbeči : ölzöyin köčün mün bütēqsen-yēr busu : χoroχoyin šülüsün kibiyin utasun : bolχu mergeni tula boluqsan busu ::* **62** *yekešiyin kičēn bütēqsen zöblöli : mou naran* [= *aran*] *nige aqšin-du ebdekü : tarāčiyin ǰil saradu kičēqsen tarālanggi : möndür nige aqšin-du tōsun bolyoχu ::* **63** *olongki mous öböriyin gem : ali buyigi busu-du χaldān üyiledkü : kerē burtagi ideqsen χošou-bēn : busu ariun γazartu kičēn arčimui :* **64** *üyiledü barildoulχulā : kereq buuran tere čü buuraχu boluyu : ünegen töröltü-yi χān bolyoqson-yēr : nöküd-yēn zobōn öböri čü alaǰi kemēn dourisbai ::* **65** *mungχaq amuγuulanggi küsen atala : üyile onco zobolong bütēkü : adandu bariqdaqsan zarim kümün : zobolonggi tebčiküyin tula öbörōn üzeqdümüi ::* **66** *mou oyoutu šuduryu zarim öböri : anān üyiledkü zarim busud-tu χortoi : suγuyin šuduryu modun izour-ēce utulaχu : sumuni šuduryu činadu-yi alaχu ::* **67** [7b] *nasuda busudiyin tusa ülü sanaqči : töüni yabudal adousun-luyā adali : onco idekü uuχui adousun čü : bolχu čidaχu busu buyu ::* **68** *tusalaqsan ese tusalaqsani ülü šinǰilen : oyoun kigēd sonosχui ülü bütēn : γaqca χotu cadaχui kereqlen üyiledüqči : üsü ügei γaχai mün ::* **69** *mungχagiyin dotoro bayasun nāduqči : mergeni emüne emēn bultiriqči : buulγa kōlöür ügei bolboči : dēdü šüdütei ükür mün ::* **70** *χamiyā idē undā bui : tende güyiqči : kereqtei üyile üyiledküülbeči dutāqči : üge kigēd inēdü nādu medebečü : söül ügei köqšin noχoi mün ::* **71** *turuuni orom usun-yēr döürgekü kilbar : üčüüken sang-gi ed-yēr döürgekü kilbar : üčüüken tarālanggi körönggü-bēr döürgekü kilbar : čuχul oyoutani sedkil gesgēkü kilbar ::* **72** *omoqtoi ama abāči mungχaq : yeke bolboči buuraχu boloyu : alyu turši γazar ögüqsen-yēr : küčütü γurban γazar-yēn aldaǰi ::* **73** *öšlön bariχui sedkiltei čuχal oyoutan : χorloχui-ēce čü aburi bayidal urid : mou noχoi dayisu üzeküi-dü : zuuχuyin urida yangginan χucaχu ::* **74** *mungχaq χurāχuyin zobolong üzekü :* [8a, nayiman] *edleküyin ǰiryal ülü üzekü : basa basa ergin üzeküi : χaramiyin ed χuluγana-luyā adali ::* **75** *mungχagiyin dergede mergen-ēce : sarbeči χadaγalāči ülümǰi tōqdoχu : sarbeči bariqči-yi*

idēn kigēd ed-yēr takiχu : *mergen yar χōsun odχu* :: **76** *erdem ügei zarim kümün* : *erdem-ten-dü ülemǰi χaršilχu* : *Casutu oron-du übül uryuqsan* : *tarā mou iro kemēn dourisχaχu* :: **77** *erdem buruu suruqsan zarim* : *sayitur suruqsani sonǰin üyiledkü* : *öür ügei bögōsü zarim üčüüken tibtü* : *gešöün dutou gemtei kemēyü* :: **78** *üyiledbür dutuu üyiledüqči noyoud* : *üyiledbür bürin üyiledüqčini sonǰiχu* : *Zudayin oron-du odχulā* : *χoyor költüyigi kümündü ülü tōχu* :: **79** *üyiledbür buruu bütēqči zarim* : *zöb üyiledbür üyiledüqči-dü χarši* : *noχoi terigüütei ulus noyoud* : *sayin niyourtani nayiǰinar kemēn doromǰilomui* :: **80** *buruu teǰīl-yēr ed idē oluqsan zarim* : *ügegüü mergedei-yi doromǰilon üyiledkü* : *köqšin sar-bečin noyoud kümü bariyād* : *söül ügei kemēn inēldün üyiledkü* :: **81** [8b] *töüni tula zayā-yēr enelküi-dü* : *merged mungχagiyin dotoro tōrimui* : *kei keyiskeqsen sayin ünertei* : *Maliya buq saq dotoro gišküüleqdümüi* :: **82** *gem noyoudi kičēl-yēr barin üyiledün* : *erdemi öri ülü toqtōqči* : *mou kümün usuni šöür metü* : *mougi barin sayini yaryaχu* :: **83** *sayin mougi šinǰileküi biliq ügei* : *mergeni emüne činaqši üzeqlen dutāqči* : *ed idē kereqleküi ügebēr nöqčīqči* : *χoyor költöi adousun kemēn nomloboi* :: **84** *olon üčüüken oyoutan χurābaču* : *yeke üyile büten ülü čidaχu* : *dersü olo baqlabaču* : *balyasuni nuryun bolχu ügei* :: **85** *šinǰilel ügei üyile bütüqseni* : *bolboči kinamayai-du ken tōχu* : *mün χoroχoy inideqsen orom* : *bičiq metü bolboči bičēči busu* :: **86** *osol biliqteni öböriyin tālaliyin üge kigēd* : *uχān ügei dēdü morin* : *bayilduyān dotoro unaqsan ildü noyoud* : *ken-dü tusa bolχu mayad ügei* :: **87** *biliq ügei mungχaq noyoud* : *olon bolboči dayisuni erkedü oroχu* : *küčü tögüsüqsen zān sürüqlebeči* : *uχān-tai toulai yaqcār nomoyodχoboi* :: **88** [9a, yesün] *biliq ügeyin ǰiryalang čü* : *olongki öbörtü tusa bolχu cōn* : *küsel asaχaqči ünēni sü čü* : *tuyul uuχu χān nige bui* :: **89** *mungχaq noyoud mergedi čü* : *takin üyiledkü mayad ügei* : *narani gerel maši todorχoi-du* : *bhudiyin ada noyoud ülü dutāχu buyu* :: **90** *ǰiryalang χurāqči mungχaq noyoud-tu* : *uruq saduni sanā χamiyā bolχu* : *kilince zobolong mou üge imaqta-bēr* : *χuluyuna metü χurāba čü ükükü* :: **91** *mou ulušiyin χural dotoro* : *erdemtei čü χamiyā örgekü* : *χorotu moyoi orošiqson yazariyin züqtü* : *zula tododboči gerel ülü yarχu* :: **92** *ǰiryalang bui bolboči mou üyileyin* : *χarim-yēr* : *öbörōn edlekü erke ügei* : *boluqsan üzem ideküi caqtu* : *kerēgiyin χošoun ürgülǰide ebdekü* :: **93** *ürgülǰide busud tedkükü kereqtei* : *törölkitön nige caqtu mayad buuraχu* : *χong kerē bariqsan* : *yasutu melekei yazartu unaǰi kemēn dourisbai* :: **94** *sayin mougi ülü meden ačitai üyiledüqseni martaqči* : *yayiχamšiq üge yayiχamšiqtu ülü barin* : *ilete üzeqseni χarin basa asayuqči* : [9b] *zürekesen χoyino-ēce daχaqči mungχagiyin belge* :: **95** *čidal üčüüken amār dayisu darun* : *tösör-ēce üzeküi-dü dou dourisχan* : *bayildun üyiledküi-dü aliya χabsurun* : *öböriyin gerte kürkülē omoq ögüüleqči* :: **96** *ayimtayai zöblön üyiledküi caqtu bātar* : *alba tusχui-du ed tōlon üyiledkü* : *yabuχu kereqtei bolχulā ebečin ködölkü* : *bayilduχuyidu tösör-ēce duudan zakiraqči* :: **97** *üčüüken oyoutani üčüüken ilöürgekülē kürkükü* : *kerbe tuslaχulā uruqtu ölöqči* : *zöblöküye čuulχulā bayil-*

duγān temecel kɔ̄dölgüqči : nuuǰi zöblön üyiledkülē ečine ügüüleqči :: **98** *bayilduγān-du čimeg üyiledkü : dayisun-luyā učiraχulā öböriyin züq nuun : nökučökülē dayisun-ēce öböriyin züq ayilyaqči : mese dayisuni yariyin mesedü ögöqči ::* **99** *emneliyin čuulyan yabuχui-du χurān : urbaχulā töüni uduridun üyiledküledē : undā üzekülē kičēn bariχu : berkeyigi üzekülē arγa-bēr bultariqči ::* **100** *mou kümüni belge činartu : ögüülekü olon bui bolboči : mou bölǰisüni χuduq ken uudalχu : bölǰisü mergen ken edlekü ::* **101** [10a, arban] *urul ködölgökü-bēr dokō medöülen : ögüülekü caqtu nidü čirmelen üyiledkü : touǰi sonosχulā čimadχal öüskeqči : kendü bolχulā ecüs adagiyin belge ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce mungχagi šinǰileküi inu sayitur üyiledkü γutaγār bui :: : ::

102 *yeke ǰiryaltai bolboči doroduši izourtan : buuraba ču sür-yēr daruχu : turungχai baršiyin χurca doun-du : sar-bečin moduni üzöür-ēce unaχu ::* **103** *mungχaq erdem aman-du bariχu : mergen erdem dotoro nuuχu : tarāni eši usun dēre köbkü : erdeni dēre talbiba-čü ǰibkü ::* **104** *üčüüken erdemten omoq yeke : mergen bolχulā nomoyoron orošiχu : yoruχan nasuda yeke anirtai : yeke dalai anir χamiyā dourisχu ::* **105** *dorodu törölkitü dēdüši : sonǰin üyiledkü : dēdü ügei : arslan⟨i⟩ ünegeni čuulyani sayitur tedkükü : ünegen ünegeni ayimaq-luyā temecekü ::* **106** *dēdüs kilinglebeči sögüdkülē amurliχu : dorodu-du sögüdkülē ülemǰi motourχaχu : altan mönggün χatou bolboči χayilǰi bolχu : noχoyin kösörsü χayilχulā mou ünür yarχu ::* **107** *mergen erdem bükün* [10b] *tögös : mungχaqtu gem noyoud imaqta bui : erdeni-ēce yesün küsel yarχu : χortu moyoi-ēce gem bügüde bolχu ::* **108** *kilince üyiledüqčin šuγui-du orošiboči buuraχu : boqdo balyadtu orošiboči nomoyodχu : suγuyin arātan kilinglekü : dēdü morin balyadtu nomoyoduqsan üzeqdemüi ::* **109** *dēdü törölkitön öböriyin gem üzekü : mou aran busudiyin gem erikü : toyos öböriyin beye šinǰilekü : uuli busudtu mou iro ökü ::* **110** *dēdüs nomoyoduqsan-yēr öbör busudi tedkükü : mous motourχaqsan-yēr öbör busudi zobōχu : zemistei modun öbör busudi sakiχu : χubaχai modun χataqsan-yēr öbör busudi tülekü ::* **111** *bayan caqtu χamuq uruq : kerbe buurχulā χamuq čü dayisun : erdeniyin tib-tü χolo-ēce χuraχu : nour χataχui-du ken čü tebčikü ::* **112** *mungχaq učiral olχulā amuχu : dēdü törölkitön χamuq-yēr ökülē amuχu : χuluγuna ebečitü māǰiχulā amuγuulang-du bariχu : merged χuluγuna ebečini ayoultai üzekü ::* **113** *yekestü* [11a, arban nigen] *χor üyiledkü nökür bolχu : dorodustu χor üyiledkü χor bolχu : suγuyin γali kei šatān üyiledkü : tere üčüüken zula-yi untarāχu ::* **114** *ene nökür ene dayisun kemēn : üčüüken oyoutan anggida ilγaχu : yeke beliqten büküni asaraχui-du : tusa üyileddüqči ken bolχu mayad ügei ::* **115** *erdem tögüsüqsed erdem-dü duratai : erdem ügegün ügei : bal bariqči ceceqtü duratai : kökö türgen tere metü ügei ::* **116** *merged mergediyin dotoro*

üzeskülengtei : mungχaq mergeni yakin taniχu : altan-ēce yeke ünetei zandani : mungχaq nöürsün bolyoχui üze :: **117** *mergen öböriyin šiŋǰileǰi medekü : mungχaq aldariyin χoyino-ēce daχaχu : köqšin noχoi χucan üyiledkülē : učir ügegüye busud güyikü ::* **118** *mergen maši buurabaču : sayitur nomloχui ubadis-yēr busudi bayasχan üyiledkü : mungχaq bayaǰiχui caqtu čü : onco temecel-yēr öbör busudi tülekü ::* **119** *zarim ögüüleküi-bēr bütüqsen-dü tōχu : zarim ülü ögüülen udχaχu kičēkü : köqšin noχoi dayisuni duudan üyiledkü : caχu mis dou ügei mirāχu ::* **120** *dēdü esürgücebeči* [11b] *tustai bütekü : mou aran amaraqlabaču χorloχu : tenggeriner kilinglebeči amitani sakiχu : Erliq mišībeči činaduyigi alaχu ::* **121** *dēdü törölkitön erdeni metü : χamuq üyedü urbaχu körbökü ügei : mou kümün ǰingnöür metü : üčüüken tödüi-dü öndür boyoni bolχu ::* **122** *sedkil zokilduqčin χolo orošiboču tusalaχu : ülü zokilduqčin šidardaχulā ülemǰi χayacaχu : šabar-ēce töröqsön-dü šabar ülü χaldan : töüni naran nasun tedkükü ::* **123** *kezē izouri bui bolχulā : teǰiyēdü erdem čimegiyin dēdü : izouri aldaχulā mün erdem : züqtü barin mou nere delgerekü ::* **124** *dēdüs ese asaqbaču sayitur üzöülkü : dorodus asaqba čü buruu nomloχu : ilayuqsan köbööüni doromǰiloboči enerikü : Erligi takiba čü alaχu mün ::* **125** *nigen-dü tusa bolχu : üyile busudtu χor bolχu bui : sara uryuχulā gümadiyin tala delgen : padma ümürikü ::* **126** *zarim gem-yēr üyile bütüqsen bui bolboči : merged χamiyā tālaχu : sayitur bütēbeči gemtei bolχu : töün-dü merged ǰiqšikü ügei ::* **127** *zarim olzo olzo mün : zarim olzo dayisun mün : güün bōsaχulā ed örgöǰikü : lousa* [12a, arban χoyor] *bōsaχulā ükül olχu ::* **128** *dēdüši χayacuulχu berke zokicuulχu kilbar : doroduši χayacuulχu kilbar : zokicuulχu berke : zemistü modun kigēd nöüresü utulχu kigēd : ebleküyin ilyal üze ::* **129** *küčü üčüüken bolboči seren üyiledkülē : yekes čü daruχu berke : yeke bolbo čü serel suladχulā : küčü ügei noyoud čü anāχu olon ::* **130** *ed-yēr örgöǰikülē küčün čü örgöǰikü : ed ügei bögösü küčün čü buuraχu : erdeni-tei χuluyuna ed bulāqsan-yēr : χuluyai küčün buuraba kemēn sonosboi ::* **131** *buyani edleqči ali kümün : öqböči ǰiryalang χura metü oruχu : buyan ügeyin ǰiryalang töüni : χurāba čü ken idekü medē ügei ::* **132** *dēdüs türgen buurabaču : sara metü deqǰikü boluyu : dorodus nigente buuraχulā : zula metü sönökü boluyu :* **133** *uχātan dayisun-du χolo χaraqsan-yēr : ecüstü dayisuni erkedēn oroulχu : čuχul oyoutan dayisundu χariu üyiledüqsen-yēr : berke* [12b] *üyile ürgülǰi ülü tasurχu ::* **134** *merged maši ayoultai : oron-ēce zayilaχulā bāturiyin belge mün : arslan sürügiyin erkeni alaχui caqtu : eber-ēce zayilχu ayimtayai χamiyā bolχu ::* **135** *χamuq caqtu šiŋǰilel ügei : dayisun-du šuryuqči mungχagiyin belge mün : zulayin gereldü oroqči : erbēkei bāturχan yabuχu buyu youn ::* **136** *mous öböriyin šütüqseni ilangyuyā ebdekü : dēdüs ali šütüqsen-yēn sakiχu : χoroχoi öböriyin šütēnyēn barin idekü : arslan öböriyin oron orčini sakiχu ::* **137** *dorodos kereügei-gi nuuχu : nuuχu kereqteni kereq ügegüye ögüülen üyiledkü : dēdüs kereq ügeyigi ülü nuun : nuuχu kereqteni aman-du kürbeči sakiχu ::* **138** *dorodus*

bayaǰiχulā omogiyin ündüsün : dēdüs bayaǰiχulā nomoyodχuyin ündüsün : ünegen cadχulā omorχon χucaχu : arslan cadχulā amuyuulang kebtekü :: **139** *dēdüs kigēd dorodušiyin : χoyor yabudal bišiluqsani küčün : zögüi ceceg erikü kigēd : yaluun usun-du oroχuyigi suryuχu kereq ügei ::* **140** *mou χān dayisun-luyā učirχulā : öböriyin nöküdi zasaq-yēr zasaqlaχu :* [13a, arban yurban] *üyile ese büteqsen zarim mungχaq : öbörōn bōǰi ükükü bui ::* **141** *nomiyin χān dayisun-luyā učirχulā : nöküd-yēn ülemǰi asaraχu : ebedüqsen köböündü ilangyuyā : eke emgenil törökü boluyu ::* **142** *dēdü törölkitön mou kümünlügē : nökücökülē dēdü-dü χaldabur bolχu : maši amtatai Γangyayin usun : dalai-du kürēd χuǰirtai bolχu ::* **143** *dorodus dēdü törölkitöni šütükülē : dēdü törölkitöni yabudal olχu : zār türkiqsen kümün-dü : zāriyin sayin ünür bolχui üze ::* **144** *ǰibχulang ori ülü ködölkü : tögünčilen yeke boqdo batu : moduni ungyaral üčüüken-dü ködölkü metü : doroduši-yin yabudal urlaχu körbökü yeke ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce neyilöülün šinǰilekü inu sayitur üyiledkü dötögēr bui :: : ::

145 *aryatan sayiχan ögüüleküi : öböriyin tula mün : süzülküyin tula busu : uuli šidar-ēce inēküi tere : mou iro ökü bayasχu busu ::* **146** *mou kümün urida üge-bēr dašuruulun : serel suladχan üyiledči χoyino o[n]toyoduulχu : zayasuči idēbēr ilbēsülen üyiledči : zayasun noyoudi alan üyiledküi üze ::* **147** [13b] *dorodus kezē čü möküs : teǰiyēde āli sayin : χortu öürgesü bolbosurun : güyicetele busu-yi nebtelün ülü čidaχu ::* **148** *sedkildü busu sanā sanan : ügedü busu ögüülel ögüüleqči : arya zalitu kemēn aldaršiqči : mungχaq mergen-dü yasaqsan mün ::* **149** *neng arya zali olduχulā : χoromχan bütübeči ecüs-tü anaχu : irbešiyin arsu-bēr nemneqsen elǰige : tarā ideqseni ecüstü busud alaǰi ::* **150** *biliq tögüskülē ilete : χudal-yēr činaduši χuuran čidaχu : χuluyaiči noyoud noχoi kemēn χadaqsan-yēr : biraman öürüqsen imābēn orkiǰi ::* **151** *gem ilerkei üyiledün atala : aryatan ügebēr činaduši χuuraχu : Yeke tenggeri yasulun üyiledküi-dü : zobolong üneni dourisχaba kemēldümüi ::* **152** *aryatan yosubēn daldalan üge zōlön : sinǰilen bolyōtolo sedkil ülü nutalaχu : toyos dürsün yō doun sayiχan bolboči : töüni ideši yeke χoron bui ::* **153** *mekečin sayini yosu barin : χoyino udχadu χuuraχu bui : görösüni söül üzöülün : ǰiqšöüri ügegüün elǰigeni maχa χudaldaχu ::* **154** *ičöüri ügegüün busudiyin ed-yēr : öböriyin yeke-yi bütēkü bui : giyičidü nöküriyin debel debesēd : öböriyin süzülküi belge üzöülen* [14a, arban dörbön] *üyiledkü ::* **155** *osol ālitai ǰiqšöüri ügei noyoud : öböriyin mou nere-yi ačidu ögüülekü : Kan-ce oroni zarim χād : ečigebēn alaχui-du ilayuqsan kenggerge deledkü ::* **156** *mungχaq noyoudiyin tusalan üyiledüqsen : zarim yeke χor bolχu : šāzayayin zulzaya ekeyin üsü üntēqsen-yēn : ači χariulχu mün kemēn sedkimüi ::* **157** *χōl ügei kümün busudiyin ači-bēr : boluqsani öböriyin erkedü sedkimüi : kluyin*

kičēn orouluqsan χura-yi : *tarāči öböriyin coqtu tōmui* :: **158** *osol oyoun zayā edleküi-dü* : *öböriyin kičēl-yēr ölbü* [= olbo] *kemēn sedkimüi* : *köqšin noχoi tangnai eškereqsen cusuyi* : *yasuni šime kemēn sedkiǰi dolōmui* :: **159** *uχān ügei kümün sadun-yēn ecülün* : *yabiyā ügei busudi teǰimüi* : *tolγoi oqtolǰi söül čimeküi* : *γalzou-ēce busu ken üyiledkü* :: **160** *mungχaq kereqtei γazartu ülü ögön* : *kereq ügei-dü sula aldaχu* : *mou bulaq zun urusun* : *χabur kereqtei caqtu χatamui* :: **161** *amurliqsan dēdü törölkitöni* : *mou kümün ülemǰi könōn üyiledkü* : *zulayin tosutai γol-du* : *γaliyin nilči* [14b] *toqtoχu busudu ügei* :: **162** *šürüün-yēr šürüüni nomoγodχoχu boluγu* : *amurlingγui-bēr nomoγodχon χamiyā čidaχu* : *nidülün ömöröküi-gi tülekü oqtolχu arilγaχu* : *amurlingγui γasalγa tere χoron bolχu* :: **163** *χān nomiyin yosōr γazar tedkekü* : *busu bögōsü χān buuraχuyin belge* : *naran χarangγuγigi ese arilγaχulā* : *töüni Rāhu bariqsan bui* :: **164** *kilince üyiledüqči-yi χān bolγoqson* : *orgil ebdeqsen balγasun kigēd* : *maši ebderekei oulayin üzöür* : *doro orošiqčin ürgülǰi ayoultai* :: **165** *kerbe uχātai bolboči* : *mou ālitai kümüni tebči* : *erdeni-bēr toloγoi čimebeči χorotu moγoγigi* : *mergen ken öbörtü abχu* :: **166** *šidardaχulā χāni tālaχu metü berke* : *χolodoχulā gegēn-dü χayirlaχu cōn* : *zabsartu orošiχu ayoultai* : *zarim χān yeke γaldu adali* :: **167** *mou nayiǰinar kigēd mou nökür* : *mou χāni ken šütükü* : *χortu arātani oi dotoro* : *medeküi sedkilten nasud γoun-du souχu* :: **168** *omoq-yēr erdem buuran* : *küsel-yēr ičöüri buuruulχu* : *bōl nöküd-yēn nasuda könōn üyiledkülē* : *ezen noyon buuraχu boluγu* :: **169** *tusatai ögüüleqči* [15a, arban tabun] *čuχaq bolχu* : *töüni tula tede sonosχu cōn* : *mergen emči olduχu berke* : *töüni üge metü üyiledkü cōn* :: **170** *omoq neng yekedkülē* : *zobolong ürgülǰide dēre buuχu* : *arslan omoq yekedüqseni šiltān-yēr* : *ünegen öürge öqbö kemēn sonosbo* :: **171** *χong kerēgiyin bulaca kigēd* : *mou ālitai kümün-dü tusa kürgeqsen* : *mou tarālang-du körönggü sacuqsan noγoud* : *erekü olon bolbo edlekü cōn* :: **172** *sinǰilel ügei ken-dü čü* : *ülü biširen zakin bü üyiled* : *sanal suladχaχui-ēce gem bolun* : *zöblöl ögüüledüqsen-yēr dayisun bolχu olon* :: **173** *yertüncü-dü mou olon bolboči* : *mou kümün metü ayoultai ügei* : *busu mougi yasaǰi bolχo* : *mou kümü yasaχulā ebderekü* :: **174** *mou kümün erdem delgereqsen* : *tusalan üyiledbeči geskeǰi ülü bolχo* : *yamāru šütükülē dayisun bolχo ene* : *mou kümüni nomiyin ilγal mün* : **175** *mou kümü yamāru yasan üyiledbeči* : *sayin āli bolχo ügei* : *nöürsü kičēǰi uχābaču* : *cayān önggötöi bolχo ügei* :: **176** *mou kümün könōn üyiledüqsen* : *γazar tende* [15b] *dēdüši üzebeči tebčikü* : *moγoi könōqsön γazariyin züqtü* : *altan aryamǰi üzebeči dutāχu boluγu* :: **177** *takil dēdüstü üyiledkü* : *doroduši takiχulā gemiyin oron* : *sün törölkitöni aršān* : *moγoi-du ökülē χoron örgüǰikü* :: **178** *kičēǰi* [ms de Leningrad: *bügüde-ēce šütün üyiledbeči* : *mou kümüni oyoun-luγā χamiyā neyilekü* : *bolǰi-mori yamāru teǰēn üyiledbeči* : *sedkil toqton üyiledkü ügei* :: **179** *nasuda χaγacoulaχui-du kičēqči kümün* : *batu nöküri-čü χaγacoulun üyiledkü* : *usun nasuda deledün üyiledkülē χada ang ülü γarχu buyu* :: **180** *öbörōn χouraqsan gem üyiledüqsen kigēd* :: *üyiledüqči suryal nöküriyin gem ögüüleküi* : *χudul*

bögösü χudul-yēr sedkil itegekü ügei : ünen bögösü ülemǰi ayoul törökü :: **181** *ali kümün ögüülelge busui : busudiyin dergede ögüüleqči tere : ünen buyu bolbo χudalči bolχu : merged töündü serel üyiled ::* **182** *ed čuχallalan bariqči mou ālitai kümün : amaraq nökür mün bolboči sedkil itegekü ügei : yekes-tü šinǰilen üyiledēd : saduni anān üyiledügsen olon ::* **183** *χariyin belge amandu yaryaqsani : dayisun tede ebdekü kilbar : tusalaqsan-yēn urbuulχu belge amandu bariqči : dayisun tede yamāru daruχu ::* **184** *busu yara yasaχulā edegekü bui : gem-tü ügeyin yara bütükü ügei : kerē šara šobuu yutān üyiledüqsen-yēr : yalab boltolo ebderekü üze ::* **185** *öšlökü züreken-dü batuda barin : aman-du sayin üge ögüülemü kemēn : χorotu aršiyin ubadis : dēdüšiyin yosun-ēce χayacaχu mün ::* **186** *χoroni ündüsü yaryaχu metü : dayisu ündüsün-ēce tasalaχu kemēn : χāni yosun-ēce bolχu bolbo : köböün metü tedkükülē köböün metü üyiledkü ::* **187** *onco öböriyin üyile bütēqči : kümün-lügē ken] χanilan čidaχu : tarāni üyiledü kičēkü tarālang-giyin dotoro : busu nabči bolbosuraχui čalo berke ::* **188** *küməni ali tusalaqsāyi ülü medeqči : töün-dü ken tusalan üyiledkü : χamiyā bolχu : kičēbeči tarā ülü bolbosuraχui : tarālang-du tarāni üyile ken čidaχu ::* **189** *öböriyin sanāyār üyiledün yabuqči : törölkitön ötör buuraχu boloyu : zöriü doqšin buχa : ölilküi ötör ülü ölikü buyu ::* **190** *dorodos-tu činaqši yamāru öqböči : inaqši kereqtei bögösü χamiyā ökü : örölbi-bēr nasuda bariba-čü : mökörig tömör inaqši bariχu buyu youn ::* **191** *mou kümün busudiyin tusa bütēmüi kemēn : saltālan üyiledči kilincedü barilduulχu : busudiyin tusa metü üzeqdekü bütēküyin tula : mergen ken öböri ebdekü ::* **192** [16a, arban zurγān] *üreǰiküi öri dutaqsan dayisuni kölgü : mou zasaq kigēd mou üge : mou izour ündüsün kigēd mou yabudal noyoud : ese örgüǰiülbeči öbör-yēn örgöǰikü ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce mou yabudal šinǰileküi inu sayitur üyiledkü tabtaγār bui ::

193 *öböri noyon bolyon üyiledbeči : töüni üyile medekü čuχaq : busudi üzekü nidün bui bolboči : öbörö üzekü bögösü toli kereqtei ::* **194** *nigen zügiyin biliq tögösbeči : χamuq üyiledü mergeǰikü berke : maši todorχoi nidün čü : dou čingnan čidaχu ügei ::* **195** *šudurγu ögüülekü gemtei : teng erdemtei bolχu : zarim šudurγu zam ed ebdekü : baroun-du matariχui cayān dung ölzöi üyiledküi ::* **196** *buyan ügei bögösü zarim erdemtei : mün erdem öböri ebdekü : busud bariqči tana noyoudi : mün busud amin-ēce χayacoulχu ::* **197** *biliq tögüsbeči neng šütükülē : olonki uyidχar törökü* [16b] *bui : maši amtatai buramiyin moduyi ču : ürgülǰi šütükülē olonki gēkü ::* **198** *sayin ālitai noyoudi čü : ürgülǰide könökülē χortu sedkil törökü : zandan seriün mün bolbo : sürgün üyiledkülē šitaχu boluyu :* **199** *χān maši olon bolbo : nomiyin yosōr tedkekü maši cōn : oqtoryui-du tenggeriyin oron olon bolboči : naran saran metü gegēn gereltei ügei ::* **200** *ali χor üyiledün čidaqči : tere tusa üyiledün čidaχu :*

toloyoi oqtolun čidaqči : *χān χāni sangsar ögün čidaχu* :: **201** *šuduryu uχātai tüšimel* : *ezen kigēd albatuyin üyile büküni bütēkü* : *mergen šuduryu sumu χarbun üyiledkülē* : *χamiyā talbiχulā unuχu mün* :: **202** *mün χān ese tōχulā* : *χamugi medebeči örgün ülü üyiledkü* : *amini erketü ese bariqsan* : *kümüni yasu sayin bolboči ken abχu* :: **203** *olon nigene sedkil zokilduχulā* : *bide ügegüün čü yeke üyile bütēkü* : *šoryolǰin amitan čoulun χuraǰi* : *arslani zulzaya alaǰi kemēn aldaršibai* :: **204** *zürekesüküi kičēl gēqsen kümün* : *auya küčü tögüsbeči* [17a, arban dolōn] *buuraχu boluyu* : *zān küčü maši tögüsbeči* : *zānči üčüüken kümün bōlčilon zaramui* :: **205** *omoq kičēl yekede öüskekülē* : *yekes noyoudi čü sür-yēr daruχu* : *cayān dung beye maši üčüüken bolboči* : *yeke matari alāči bui* :: **206** *yeke omoq üyiledkü kereq ügei* : *mou omoq üyiledüqsen youn tusa* : *erdeniyigi ügebēr dourisχaχu kereq ügei* : *čilou dourisχaba čü ken χudalduǰi abχu* :: **207** *yeke boqdoyin ǰiryalang möngkü* : *mou törölkitöni χotolo tögüs buuraχu-du šidar* : *naran ürgülǰide gerel yaryaχu* : *saran döürēd badaraqdaχu* :: **208** *χān neng dēqši öndüridkülē* : *töüni ecüs anaχuyin šiltān* : *öndögü oqtoryui-du orkin üyiledkülē* : *χayaraχui-ēce busu youn bolχu* :: **209** *olonki törölkitön öbör-lügē* : *zokilduχui züyil-yēr χor kürgekü* : *narani gerel uryuχui-du* : *gerelten noyoudi ecültü boluyu* :: **210** *tusalan üyiledüqči dayisun bolboči šütü* : *uruq bolboči χortoi bolχulā tebčin üyiled* : *dalayin erdeni-yi ünebēr χudalduǰi abumui* : *dotoroki χadχulχui* [17b] *ebeči em-yēr yaryaχu* :: **211** *dotoro üčüüken bayaǰiχulā* : *yadana omogiyin bayidal üzöülkü* : *usun-yēr oyōto döürküi caqtu* : *öülen noyoud ködölün kluyin dou dourisχaχu* :: **212** *erdem bügüde tögüsüqsen čuχaq* : *erdem ori ügei čü čuχaq* : *gem erdem χolicoqson-ēce* : *erdem ilöü-gi mergen šütükü* :: **213** *uridani dayisun kigēd* : *amaraq bolχu mayad ügei* : *idēn ese šinggeqsen χoron bolχu* : *χoron čü aryalaχulā em bolχu* :: **214** *χamiyā zayā neyileqsen bui tende bayaǰiχu* : *zayāni χuraχui učiral ügei tende buuraχu* : *gerte baribaču ülü toqtoχui* : *yaloun nour-ēce kōböči irekü* :: **215** *merged uχāni barica-bēr abχu* : *mungχaq uχāni surbaču tebčikü* : *olonkin ebdükülē em idebeči* : *zarim amitan öbör-yēn ükükü bui* :: **216** *öbör-yēn ezelekü bügüde amuyulang-tai* : *busud ezeleqsen bügüde zobolong-toi* : *yerü inu temececüi oron* : *tangyariqlan üyiledüqsen inu* : *küliküyin ündüsün* : **217** *dotoro erdem bükün tögüsbeči* : *zemsegiyin yosun osolduχulā bügüde* [18a, arban nayiman] *doromǰilaχu* : *baqbaχai mergen bolboči üsü ügeyin tula* : *ǰigüürten bükün tebčibe kemēn aldaršibai* :: **218** *züi ügei neng šuduryu bolχulā* : *öbör busud χoyori andχu bui* : *sumun činadu-yi alaχu buyu* : *ese bögōsü öbör-yēn χuyuraχu boluyu* :: **219** *χura kigēd müren dalai-du oroχu* : *oyoun kigēd uχān mergen-dü χaldaχu* : *ed kigēd uluši χān χurāχu* : *dulān čiyiqtei yazartu oi šuyui uryuχu* :: **220** *zuni bulaq öbösüni yal* : *öüleni zabsariyin naran saran döürkü* : *mou oyoun mou uχān kigēd amaraq* : *kereqtei caqtu bolχu mayad ügei* :: **221** *mungχaq ögüülel cökökülē üzeskülengtei* : *χān dalda suuχulā üzeskülengtei* : *yelbi χamiyā nige üzekülē üzeskülengtei* : *sayin ed cōn bolχulā yeke ünetei* :: **222** *neng ülemǰi asaraχulā* : *tere ebdereküyin ündüsün bolχu* : *yertüncüyin olonki teme-*

cel : učiran barilduqsan-ēce bolχu olon :: **223** *maši yeke temecel čü : ülemǰi amaraqlaχui šiltān bolχu bui : temecel boluqsani ecüs olonkin : zokicon üyiledkü olon üzemüi ::* **224** *χaramtani ed noyoud :* [18b] *üzē yabuqči nökür kigēd : mou oyoutani uχān noyoud : bui bolboči bayasχulang öüsken ülü čidaχu ::* **225** *tačīχui baχatan ed-tü bayasχu : omoqton maqtāldu geskü : mungχaq öbörlügē neyilekü-dü bayasχu : dēdüs ene ögüüleküdü geskü ::* **226** *mou kümüni erdem ögüüleküi : cölörküi ügeyin uχān kigēd : mou ezen noyoni zarligiyin ači noyoud : busudtu tusa bolχui-du učir berke ::* **227** *ken-dü ed bui ögüüleküi üzeskülengtei : ed ügegüün ünēr ögüüleküi tebčikü : Malayā-ēce boluqsan bögōsü : olonki-du muχur modun ünetei bui ::* **228** *olon ögüüleküi gem bariχuyi ündüsün : ülü ögüüleküyin gem tebčiküyin oron : toti-yi ögüülegsen-yēr köbkeqtü oruulumui : dalabčitani kelegei amuyuulang yabumui ::* **229** *ali kümün dayisun-du χourmaq ügei : χamuq caqtu tusa kürgekülē : dayisun čü töündü χourmaq ügei : sögüdün bodotoi yekeǰikü mün ::* **230** *küčü ügei kümün kilingleqsen youn tusa bolχu : dayisun-du kilinglekü kereq ügei : töüni tula üyile bütēküi-dü : kilingleqči* [19a, arban yesün] *kereq ügei öböri tülekü bui :* **231** *öqligü-bēr χurāχulā dayisun čü χuraχu : ögligü ügeyidü uruq čü χolo tebčikü : ünēni sün baraqdaχui-du : tuγul baribaču orkiχu boluyu ::* **232** *zarim üyiledü mergen-yēr : busuyi medekü mayad ügei : usun-ēce sü ilyan čidaqči : yaloun dürsüni körüq idēn-dü sedkimüi ::* **233** *nasuda asaraqči-bēr tedküqči : ezen bōl zaruca olχu kilbar : padmayin nourtu yaloun noyoud : ese χurābaču öbörōn χuraχu ::* **234** *ǰiryalang tögüsüqsed edleküi kigēd : mergen bolōd nomoyoduqsan : doroduši sayitur tedküqči yekes : ene γurban busudi amuyuulang öbörtü tusatai ::* **235** *buyani küčün-yēr üyile bütēqčin : narani gerel metü öbörödü χuraχu ügei : kičēküyin küčün-yēr üyile bütēqčin : zulayin gerel metü bügüdedü šütükü ::* **236** *yekeši šütün üyiledkülē : dorodus čü yeke-yi olχu : yeke zemistü modu šütüqsen : χoǰuugiyin modun üzöürtü kürüqseni üzeqtün ::* **237** *erdemten-dü gem bui bolboči : erdem-dü durtan šidar šütükü : χura bolγaqsan-du χor bolboči :* [19b] *yertüncüner bayasχulang öüskekü ::* **238** *erdem ügei bögōsü zemsegiyin yosu-bēr : mergedi bayasχan ülü čidaχu : sayin morin ǰirō ügei bögōsü : maši dölgün bolboči üne üčüüken ::* **239** *edten mungχagiyin dotoro olon : bātur arātani dotoro elbeq : sayitur nomloχu mergediyin dotoro tōqduχu : boqdo yertüncü ende čuχaq ::* **240** *ali kigēd ali-du tere bui : tere töüni nökür olχu : mergeni aldar mergen : bātur bāturiyin aldari sonosχu metü ::* **241** *yekes taki üyiledküyigi : dorodus doromǰiloχu boluyu : yeke erketüyin oroyin čimeq : sarayigi asuri idēn-dü sedkimüi ::* **242** *uχān debtertü orošigson kigēd : ese bütēqsen niγouca tarani : martamγayin surγouli noyoud : kereqtei caqtu ontoγoduulχu olon ::* **243** *uχālan ed-yēr örgöǰiböči : zaliχayitan öndüridkü berke : čikin urid uryubaču : eberiyin üzöür öndüri ese üzebei ::* **244** *γaχai noχoi noyoudtu amtatai ünür kigēd : soχor balai-du zula : ese šinggeqsendü idēn : mungχaq noyoudta nom youn kereq ::* **245** [20a, χorin] *erdemten kigēd sayin altan : bayilduyān-du bātur kigēd sayin morin : mergen emči kigēd*

sayin čimeq : χamiγā kürüqsen tende tōqdoχu :: **246** *oyoun kigēd kičēnggüi bui bolχulā : tere bütēǰi ülü bolχu youn : mou dayisuni arban χoyor ēmneliyin čuulyani : Ibēl arslani köböün daruǰi kemēn sonosboi ::* **247** *olonki köböün ačiyin yabudal inu : izour ündüsüleqsen ečige ekeyin χoyino-ēce daχaχu :: kökēgiyin zulazaya payoi : bolχu χamiγā nigen-dü bolχuyin tödüi ::* **248** *oula mören zān morin : modun kigēd gerel maṇi batu : ere eme nige izour-tai čü : dēre doroyin ilγal bui ::* **249** *buyan tögüsüqsen-ni ügeyin tödüyigi čü : ǰilγa ügei noyoud külicekü berke : Küüḍiyin χāni üge ken-yēr : Dalayin χāni küliǰi kemēn aldaršibai ::* **250** *üyile-yi kičēn bükün bütēbečü : bütükü buyani küčündü šütükü : χudaldučin dalai-ēce ese oluqsan : erdeni χāni sang-du ülemǰi ::* **251** *mungχagiyin asaraχu öšiküi belgebēr medekü : medemegiyin* [20b] *asaraχu öšikü öbörö üzeqdekü : köqšin noχoi müšēkülē bayasuqsani belge : Erliq müšēkülē alaχuyin belge ::* **252** *ediyin dēdü öqligü mün : amuγuulang-giyin dēdü bodhi sedkil : čimegiyin dēdü sonosuqsan : nöküriyin dēdü ülü ontodoulχu bui ::* **253** *edtü ülü dengselkü ken bolχu : nasuda amuγuulang souχu ken : amuγuulang zobolong χamuq čü : öböl zun metü arilǰiχu boluγu ::* **254** *küčü ügei noyoud yekeyin nere : bariqsan χān-yēr sakiχu : χuruγun erketüyin nere toqtōχulā : buruu uduriduqči olonkin sakiχu kemēn nomloboi ::* **255** *ali ali amitan barilduχui : üyile-yi uridani zayān üyiledkü : χaǰir tarbaγa öürekü kigēd : χaliun šara šobuu takiχui üze ::* **256** *ǰirγalang χurāqči durašiqčin : ögüǰikülē ökü sakiχuyin dēdü : yeke usu köbtü oroulχulā : maltan bayiγouluqsan cubaq üyiled :: : ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang- [21a, χorin nigen] -ēce öbörčilöni yosu šinǰileküi inu sayitur üyiledkü zurγaduγār bui ::

257 ᠤ *yeke omoqtoi bōl zaruca : nom-yēr χourmayai χatouǰil üyiledüqči : nomiyin yosōr ülü yabuqči χān ene γurban buruu yosun-du oroqson mün ::* **258** *ülü čidaχui üyile tourbiqči : olon-luγā ebderen küčüten-lügē temeceqči : nayiǰinari itegen mou kümün-lügē amaraqlaqči : tabun ötör anaχuyin šiltān ::* **259** *ed ügei atala šilyadaq idēn χubcasun-du duratai : busud-ēce eyin yeke omoqtoi : šaštir ülü meden atala temecekü duratai : ene γurban ulušiyin inēdüni oron ::* **260** *sayin γazar bui atala mou γazartu : mou kümün yadouran tačāχu : gengsöün cecegi maχa mün kemēn : čononcor-ēce busu ken erekü ::* **261** *yekes noγoudtu dayisun-ēce čü : öböriyin nöküd χor bolχu olon : arslani beyeyin χoroχoi-ēce busu : öbörö amitan χamiγā irekü ::* **262** *ezen öböri χorlon üyiledkülē : töüni ken ibēn üyiledkü : gegēn dürsü χalχalaχu bögōsü : töüni üzekü busu arγa youn ::* **263** [21b] *nom-yēr yabuqčin amurlin orošiχui-du : könōn üyiledüqčin maši ecüs bui : öböriyin ibēkü zokistoi-gi alaχui-du : bātur mün kemēn ken ögüülekü :* **264** *mou kümün öbörtü tusa ügei bolboči : busudtu χor üyiledkü bui : χorotu moγoi idešidü kei idebečü : činaduši üzekülē ülü alaχu buyu ::* **265** *küsel amuγuulang mün kemēn sedkibečü : töüni üyiledüqčin*

zobolong imaqtayin ündüsün : arki uuχui amyuulang kemēn sedkiqči tede : yalzourχuyigi amuγuulang-du sedkikü mün :: **266** *erdemten-dü yertüncüner süzülkü : erdem-dü kičēqčin küčün-dü orošiχu : kičēgēd erdem surul ügei : busudtu ölöqsön you tusa bolχu ::* **267** *kümün noγoud urtu nasulχui küsemüi : köqšörön odχui-du ayoun üyiledmüi : ötölküi-ēce ayoun urtu nasulχui : küseqči mungχagiyin buruu üzel mün ::* **268** *ali mergen bui atala : töün-ēce erdem ülü surχulā : tere kümüni ada bariqsan buyu : ese bögösü zayāni küčün bui ::* **269** *ken-dü ǰiryalang bui atala : ülü* [22a, χorin χoyor] *edlen ese ökülē : tere kümün ebečin-dü bariqdaqsan buyu : ese bögösü ilete birid mün :* **270** *nomiyin yosun medebečü ülü bütükülē : tere nom-yēr you üyiledkü : tarā χotolo tögüsbečü : arātan-du bayasχulang χamiyā törökü ::* **271** *zayān-yēr enelüqsen amitan-du : ǰiryalang bui bolboči edlen ülü čidaχu : χong kerē ölösböči bulaqsan-yēn : cadtala iden χamiyā čidaχu ::* **272** *edlekü buyu ögün ülü čidaχu : ed töügēr bayan kemēn sedkikü bögösü : oula altan-du sedkiqsen-yēr : bayani bütēkü maši kilbar ::* **273** *nom kigēd : nom busuyi ögüüleküi-dü : mergen maši olon bolboči : tere metü medēd angχaryana abuqči : yirtüncü ende maši čuχaq ::* **274** *izour dürsün ider tögösbečü : erdem ügei bögösü üzeskülengtei busu : toyos ödün üzeskülengtei sedkil-dü tālaqdaba-ču : yekešiyin čimeqtü zokiχu buyu youn ::* **275** *oroloqson χabar kigēd χudalduǰi abuqsan köböün : aqsuqsan čimeq kigēd χuluγuqsan ed : suryuuliyin baqši ügei uχān noγoud : bui bolboči busud tōχu ügei ::* **276** [22b] *ači ülü χariuluqči ali kümün : tere busu-ēce öbörtü χortoi : mou iro bütēqsen zarim gem : dayisuni teriün-dü öbörtü bolχu ::* **277** *ǰiryalang bütēküi küsebečü : oron busu-ēce ken abχu : χuca mörgüldüqsen cusu dolōqson-yēr : ünegeni toloγoi χayaraba kemēn sonosboi ::* **278** *zarim tanil orkin üyiledkülē : busudi cökün orkin ülü üyiledkü : χormustan mün bolboči : orčilong nirvān noγoud : yabur metü-dü tāχu boluyu ::* **279** *ürgülǰide nökücöqsön nököri tebčin : sine zari-mi itegen bü üyiled : sara šobuuni χān χong kerē : tüšimel-dü šütüqsen-yēr anaǰi kemēn aldaršibai ::* **280** *mou kümüni kičēl-yēr šütün üyiledbečü : öböriyin kümün bolχu ügei : usu yamāru bišilyan üyiledbečü : yal bolun šitaχu bolχu ügei ::* **281** *učir šiltān šinǰileǰi kilingleküi inu : naran bolun arilyaχui čü medekü : šiltān ügei ali kilingleqči : töüni arilyaχui arya ken medekü ::* **282** *dayisuni čidal šinǰilel ügei : küčü učüüken bolboču bü basu : Da-ṭi-bha-yi doromǰiloqson-yēr : Garudi* [23a, χorin γurban] *dalayigi ebdeǰi ::* **283** *buyan baraqdaχulā mou sedkil törökü : izour baraqdaχulā mou köböün törökü : ed baraqdaχulā χobdoq tačīngyui bolχu : nasun baraqdaχulā ükükü iro bolχu ::* **284** *öbörōn mou yabudal ese üyiledkülē : Xurmusta čü doroduulun ülü čidaχu : bulaq ese χataχulā : šoroi χamiyā daruǰi čidaχu ::* **285** *öbörö zoun üyile tuurbin : muχurtu kürüqsen üyile nige čü ügei : cidāna* [*čiχula?*] *oyoutan olonkin ayil zourayin : köqšin noχoi metü ürgülǰi tenekü ::* **286** *zayāni küčün-yēr kötölkülē : yeke uχātan buruu mörtü oroχu : teres nomtoni yeke baqši : yalzou Erketüyin yabudal barimui ::* **287** *zasaq-ēce ali dabaqči ali kümün : χorumχan nēqdebečü buuraχu boluyu : caχu zasaq-ēce da-*

baqsan-yēr : yazar büküni čidaba čü arslan alaǰi :: **288** *neng ülemǰi biliqten : üyile oloduχulā öböri anāχu : χān sanā ülemǰi olodoqson-yēr : χān oron buuraqsan maši olon ::* **289** *ed ayoursu neng ülemǰi χuraqsan : ed öböriyin abluya či bolχu : urašiq olonki bayan-du bolχu :* [23b] *yuyilinči amuγuulang yabuχu ::* **290** *ider čidal neng yekedekülē : öbörön üküküyin beledkel bolχu bui : bayilduγān-du alaqdaqči olonkin : ider čidaltan-du bolχu olon ::* **291** *učiral biliq küčün terigüüten : kišiq tögüskülē nökür bolχu : kišiq ügei bögōsü tede bügüde : mün öböri anāχuyin šiltān bolχu ::* **292** *mergen üyile you üyilebeči : öböriyin kišiq šinǰileǰi üyiledkü : temecekü cagiyin amitan χotolo tögüsüqsen : zoun kümüni dotoro čü čuχaq ::* **293** *mou köb usun-yēr döürkülē : nigen züq mayad ebderekü metü : ken-dü ed bui bolχulā : töün-dü üre ündüsün maši čuχaq ::* **294** *köböütei bögōsü sayin ed čuχaq : tere tögüskülē dayisun ebdekü : χamuq χotolo tögüskülē : tere kümün ötör ükükü olon ::* **295** *töüni tula merged buyan χurāχu : onco buyan χotolo tögüsküyin ündüsün : χamiγā ken χotolo tögüseqsen : tere buyan χurāqsani belge ::* **296** *χudal-yēr činadu-yi χouruyā kemēn : sedkikülē öböri χouraχu mün :* [24a, χorin dörbön] *nigen-te χudal ögüüleqsen töügēr : üne ögüülebečü serel törökü ::* **297** *sayin mougi sayitur šinǰilel ügei : kilinglen činaduyin onisu tusχaqči : nayiǰinarān alaqsan Tivā metü : nökür-ēce χayacaqsan yasalang olχu ::* **298** *irē ödüi-gi ülü šinǰilen : boluqsan caqtu kičēn üyiled : usun-luyā učirχulā yodosu tayilχu : ese učirχulā χamiyā tayilχu ::* **299** *ašida bütēn ülü čidaχui : üyile sayin bolboči oroχu buruu : kebeli dotoro ülü oroχui : idē amtatai bolboči ken idekü ::* **300** *kičēl orkiǰi souχui-du : ene χoyitu χoyor-ču ülü bütükü : kičēl ügei bögōsü : tarālang sayin bolboi tarā olχu ügei :* **301** *züi ügei neng nomoyoroχulā : χamuq-yēr zarun üyilekü : moduni ungγaril debesgertü debesün üyiledkü :: gešöüken debesün üyiledkü ::* **302** *mou üyile kigēd ülü bütüküyigi : činadu-du zarun nuun üyiledküi mungχaq :: nayirouluqsan χoro χudaldun abuqči ken biširekü : χamiyā ögsü kemēn ken ögüülen čidaχu ::* **303** *ed noyoudi χurān ülü edlekülē : öböri* [24b] *tülekü tülē χurāqsan mün : zögüi bal idel ügei* [:] *busud abči odχulā öbörōn üküküi tuurbiχui :: : ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce ülü bolχui yosu šinǰileküi inu sayitur üyiledkü dolōduγār bui ::

304 ᠣ *uχātan üčüüken üyile-yi čü : ürgülǰide zöblöl-yēr bütēn üyiledkü : bütükülē you ögüülekü : ese bütebečü zokiχuyin šiltān ::* **305** *amitani tālal eldebiyin tula : χamugi ken čü : geskekü berke : öbörö erdemtei bolχulā : χamuq tālan töün-dü inaqlaχu ::* **306** *maši ötölküi caqtu : sonosχui olonto χurān üyiled : χoyitu-du sonosuqsan tusa bolχuyin činēn : öqligü χamiyā tusa bolχu ::* **307** *erdem bükün büridüqsen kümüni šütü : ese bögōsü egel-lügē nökücökülē amur : bumba usun-yēr döüreng buyu : ese bögōsü χōsun öürkü kilbar ::* **308**

erdem üčüüken suruqsan kümüni : ken šütün čidaχu : usun dunduur döüreqsen bumba töüni : tolογoi-du öürkü ken čidaχu :: **309** [25a, χorin tabun] *ali kümün dēdü : törölkitöni ilyal sayitur meden : töüni üyile bütēn čidaqči : χotolo tögüsüqseni yeke šütēn mün ::* **310** *biliq tögüsüqsed sayitur tedkükülē : dorodu törölkitön čü dēdü bolχu : ögüülen čidaqči toti-du : surγaγulān ungšilγa surχu boluγu ::* **311** *čidal küčü üčüüken kümün čü : busu yeke-dü šütükülē bütükü : usuni dusul ǰilγa üčüüken bolboči : nuur-luγā neyilekülē χataχu ügei ::* **312** *öbörtü biliq ügei bögōsü : busu yeke biliqten-ēce sayitur asaq : γar-yēr dayisu ülü alaχu bögōsü : mese abun üyiledkü buyu ::* **313** *χorlon üyiledküi dayisun olon : arγa tögüskülē nökür bolχu : yeke χoron beyedü χortoi bolbo : nayiroulun čidaχulā em bolχu ::* **314** *uχān-yēr oluqsan ed idē ab : zokis ügei busudtu omorχoχui sedkil tebči : zemis moduni üzöür-ēce abχu : töün-ēce önggürökülē γazartu unaχu ::* **315** *merged kinan ese üyiledkülē : töüni zabsartu gem bolχu :* [25b] *uχān tögüsüqsed sayitur kinaχulā : gem bolχui učir berke ::* **316** *kezē öböriyin küčü ese tögüsüqsen : teǰiyēdü dayisun noγoudi örgü : küčü tögüsēd ali bolχui : üyiled kemēn šaštir busud ügüülemüi ::* **317** *dayisun iruu ögüülebečü : uχātan sedkil ülü itegekü : caχu mis nomoγon-yēr : činaduši alaχuyida nasuda kičēmüi ::* **318** *oroni ezen kilinglebečü : töün-dü tālaχuibēr šidardan sögüd : γazar-tu köl büdüribečü : mün γazartu šütükü metü ::* **319** *neng küsel-yēr χobdoqloχulā : törölkitön ötör anaχu boluγu : γaχouliyin maχan-du tačīqsan : zayasun noγoudi tödüi dēre alaχu ::* **320** *takiχui zokiston kigēd nöküd noγoudi tedkü : nasuda öqligü-bēr χurān üyiledkü : takil baling-du burγan noγoud tālaχu : birid kürtele gesün sakiχu ::* **321** *yekešiyin nādun kigēd : amuγuulang idēn-dü tačīqsan čü : küsel-dü šunuqsani zemlel-yēr : Doudan nökürі Langγa alaǰi kemēn aldaršibai ::* **322** *asarχui temecel χoyori yekes-lügē : üyiledkü dorodus* [26a, χorin zurγān]*-luγā kečēǰi ügei : erdeni χudalduχu abχui üyiledkü : nayirouluqsan χoro kezē čü ügei :* **323** *ed oloni tula χāni sang : neng ülü χurāχu cōn caqtu döürkü : šoryolǰini öür bal šineleküi : cōn sarayin caqtu döürkü ::* **324** *ezen albatu-du χor ügei : uχāni möryēr ed noγoudi χurāχu :: sala modun-ēce küǰiyin šime : cuburiχui olduχulā χataχu boluγu ::* **325** *ezen ülemǰi nomoγon kereqtei : üčüüken šiltān-du kilinglekü buruu : moγoyidu erdeni bui bolboči : medeküi sedkiltei ken dergede souχu ::* **326** *ed küseqči mani törölkitön čü : nomiyin činar erkilen sakin üyiledkü : nom-ēce buuraqsan ediyin tödüi : yertüncü ende čü χamiyā batudaχu ::* **327** *χayiran neng ketü sadun-du čü buruu : maši yeke χor dayisun-du čü buruu : uraqtu ereqči ebdereküyin oron : χariyin χariu : χamuq čidaχu berke ::* **328** *zōlön-yēr zōlöni nomγodχon : zōlön-yēr šürüüni čü nomoγodχoχu : zōlön-yēr χamugi bütēkü töüni tula : zōlön* [26b] *χurca kemēn merged ögüülekü ::* **329** *ken-dü čü mini dayisun mün : keni čü namai ülü asarχui kemēn : ese χayiralba čü töüni bü dourisχu : dourisχaχulā töüni ilyan arilγa ::* **330** *ičekü ǰiqšiküdü ülü χaran : takiχu doromǰiloχuyin ilyal ülü medekü : ed idēn-dü tačīqči : tere metü orondu soun ülü üyiledkü ::* **331** *busu oro sayitur šinǰilel ügei : urida*

oron-yēn orkin ülü üyiledkü : örösün köl giš[ki]lel ügei : χoyoulāgi örgükülē unaχuyin šiltān :: **332** *öböriyin yabudal kičēl-yēr nuun üyiled : olonkin todorχoi üzöülüqsen-yēr buuraχu : sar-bečin böǰiq nādu ese üyiledkülē : küzöün-dü aryam[ǰi]laǰi youn-du uyaχu ::* **333** *gem ilerkei üzebečü : oron busudu ögüülen ülü üyiledkü : mou iro üzekülē ögüüleqčiyin : dēre bolχu kemēn yertüncüner dourisχaχu :* **334** *busud doromǰilon üyiledküi : ed idēn-yēr you üyiledkü : noχoi yaχai burtagi ideküyidü : mergen ken küsen üyiledkü ::* **335** *činaduyin χoriqtu tusχui üge : dayisun-du čü ögüülen ülü üyiledkü : χadayin dourān metü öbörtü : tödüi dēre zeme* [27a, χorin dolōn] *bolχu ::* **336** *kerbe : dayisun-du χorloχui tālaχulā : öbörön erdem tögüsün üyiled : töügēr dayisun čü sedkil tülen : öböryēn čü buyan örgüǰikü boluyu ::* **337** *kenteqtü amitani asarχui sedkil öüsken : šürüün yabudal imaqta-bēr nomoyodχon üyiled : öböriyin beyedü tusalχui tālaqčin : χanaχu zasaχu-bēr ebečin noyoudi yaryaχu ::* **338** *χor üyiledüqči üčüükeni čü : ötör arilyaǰi zokicon üyiled : üčüüken subagiyin orum-yēr oroǰi : yeke üyer bolχui ese üzebüü ::* **339** *merged üyile busu : üyile medebečü ülü üyiledkü : zān dayisuni ayimagi daruqsan-yēr : ürgülǰi χān küliküi üze ::* **340** *öböriyin züq öšiböčü bü tebči : dayisun asarabaču bü örgü : kerē kerēgi könöböčü : ödür soχoroχuyigi šütükülē anaχu ::* **341** *yeke baya ali üyile üyiledbečü : merged nasuda kinan üyiledkü : arslan toulai zān χoyori : alaχui caqtu kinaχu suladaχu ügei ::* **342** *erdemteni ülü örgüküi : oron tende mergen ken souχu :* [27b] *usun šil yaldu čilou bolyoqči : oron tende usun šil χudalduχu buyu youn ::* **343** *mergen busudtu nomloχu buyu : ese bögösü amurlingyuyin öi-dü bütēkü : erdeni-yi oroyin čimeq bolyoχu buyu : ese bögösü dalayin tibtü orošiχu ::* **344** *öbör-ēce yeke boqdodu : šidardaχulā öböriyin tusa bütekü : Sümer oulayin taladu orošiqson : šobuun noyoud altan-du üzeqdekü boluyu ::* **345** *üzē yadaχui-tai yekedü : šütükülē yeke ülü bolχu : narani gerel-dü šidardaqsan : sara baraqdan üyiledküi üze ::* **346** *ali amaraqgi ülü šütüqči kümün : töün-lügē nökücökü ken čidaχu : oqtoryuyin erēn solongyo önggü kē bolboči : ürgülǰide ireqči mungχaq endöüreqsen ::* **347** *öbörön you ülü tālaχu : töüni busudtu bükün-dü bü üyiled : busud üčüüken χorloqson caqtu : öbörtü sanaǰi youma bü sana ::* **348** *ali öbörön you tālaχu : töüni busudtu nayiroulun üyiledkülē : busud öbörtü ali tālaχui : töüni yosōr takiχu boluyu ::* **349** *kerčigei doqšin noyoud-luyā amaraqlaχu : temecekü χoyori* [28a, χorin nayiman] *merged tebčikü : öšöküi kigēd : iǰilidküi yosu : χoyori baras-tu üyiledkü buruu ::* **350** *dēdü noyoudi šütükü : mergedi dötölün üyiledkü : sayin ālitan-luyā nökücöküi inu : ken-dü bui tere ürgülǰi amuχu ::* **351** *caq ese boluqsan üge : ken ögüüleqči töüni χamuq doromǰiloχu : olo ögüüleküi nuta üge-ēce : yutāltaya daχan ülü šinǰilekü buyu ::* **352** *küčü ügei noyoud öböriyin : ögüüleqsen büküni endöüreldü sedkikü : tere metü medēd ülü ögüülekü : kümüni busud örgöküye šidar ::* **353** *oron kigēd caq boluqsan caqtu : sayitur kinaǰi oloto ögüüle : sayitur nomloχu mün bolboči oldoχulā : χudalduǰi üleqsen youma metü ülü tōqduχu ::* **354** *öböriyin gemi merged čü : gem-dü medekü maši berke :*

olon kümün öbörtü töüni ögüülekülē : gemtei bolǰi kemēn χoyino medekü :: **355** *medebečü gem töüni ülü arilyaχulā : tere kümüni ada bariqsan mün : ömö darulya ülü üyiledkülē : kümün mün kemēn bü sedki ::* **356** *üčüüken sanaχu bui noγoud : gem töüni* [28b] *oniqči arilyan üyiled : tere metü darulya üyiledüqsen-yēr : tere kümün ulam ödölökü boluyu ::* **357** *uχān tögüsüqsen buyu asarabaču bolχu : suryāl abχu buyu bātur bolboči : busudiyin üyile ese medebečü : tere kigēd töüni yabudal tedkü ::* **358** *kenteqtü kümün-lügē dötölökü-ēce : χolo-ēce nökučön tebčikülē amuγuulang : nasuda ködölkü šüdü sayin bolboči : abχulā amuγuulang kemēn yekes ögüülemüi ::* **359** *ürgülǰi ölömtögüi erkicen : dötölöküi kümüni üčüüken öqči kō : moγoi χadχuqsan χuryu : utulun ese čidaχulā amin-ēce χayacaχu ::* **360** *berke yeke-yi olχu bögōsü : ikir čikir busu-du χaramlaχui tebči : oron orčini erkedü χurāχulā : erdeni-dü χaram üyiledkü buyu youn ::* **361** *merged ed ayoursu χurāχui tālaχula : zarimi ökü yeke sakuusun : χudagiyin usu örgüǰiküi tālaχulā : udχun üyiledküi ubadis mün :* **362** *ali χotolo tögüsküi tālaχulā : töüni χuran bayiγuulχui olon-to üyiledkü : düyibüri zobolonggiyin ündüsün-dü üzükülē : χotolo tögüsküi erel orki ::* **363** *ali üyile bütēbeči : gem* [29a, χorin yesün] *gem kigēd erdem χošōd sanan : χoyoula saca bolboči tebčikü kereqtei atala : gem ülemǰi bögōsü you ögüülekü ::* **364** *šuduryu mergeni süzülün šütükü : aryači mergeni medekülē kina : šuduryu mungyaqgi asaran tedkü : χourmaq mungχagi ötör tebči ::* **365** *ed nököd bōl ügei bolboči : amaraq uχātai nökür bui bolbolā : adousun čü üyile bütēkü bögōsü : kümün amitani youn ögüülekü ::* **366** *ali medeqčin-dü üyile üyiledküül : ülü čidaqčin-du olo bü üyiledküül : usun-du türgen ülü yabuχu : taladu ongγoco yamāru yabuχu ::* **367** *önidö ebdereqsen dayisunluyā : amaraqlan üyiledbečü neyilen bü üyiled : maši χaloun usun čü : yalluyā učirχulā : ülü untarāχu buyu ::* **368** *sayin āli ičekü ǰiqšikü bui bolχulā : dayisuni čü itegeǰi bolχu : sayin ālitai dayisuni ibēl bariqsanyēr : amin kürtele aburaqsani sonosboi ::* **369** *öbörtü mou sedkil ügei kemēn : egel büküni itegen bü üyiled : görōsün ürgülǰide sayin sedkiltei bolboči : arātan noγoud idēn-dü sedkimüi ::* **370** *mungχaq buruu mör-yēr yabuχulā : mün mungχaq-tu medekülē bolχu : mergen buruu mör-yēr yabuχulā : učir šiltān* [29b] *yamāru-yi šinǰilekü kereqtei ::* **371** *merged yeke ǰiryalangtai yazartu orošiχu : ese öqböči bulāχu ügei : ǰiryalang buuraqsan yazariyin tebčikü : ese bulābaču erlige-bēr doroyi tuulχu ::* **372** *öbörōn sayitur medebečü : χamuq üyile-yi zöblöldün bütē : zöblöldüküi ali ülü tālaqči kümün : gemšöüleng üne-bēr χudalduǰi abχu mün ::* **373** *ayoultai zöblöl üyiledküi-dü : amaraq bolboči yurban zöblöl bü üyiled : bider bütēküi nökür osoldoχulā : urid bütēqči-yi idekü boluyu ::* **374** *abχui meden teqši öküi-dü mergen : nomoγon büküni önggülöl čidaqči : ayoul ügei üyiledüqsen ülü χomsodχu : tere kümün duralχulā yazar büküni olχu ::* **375** *kerbe dayisun ibēküye irekülē : töüni takiχulā sayin nere dourisχaχu : kerē χuluγuna šütüqsen-yēr : amuγuulanggi olbo kemēn urida ken ögüülemüi ::* **376** *mou nökür kigēd mou sonosuqsan :*

mou seǰiq kigēd mou üyile : merged ülü üyiledkü : üyiledkülē mungχaq öbörö ügei :: **377** *sayitur šinǰileǰi üyiledküi-dü : üyile buuraχu χamiyā bolχu : nidüten šinǰileǰi yabuχui-du : kiyiskedü alχudal gišikü buyu youn ::* **378** *öbör busud χoyor örgüǰiküi : erdem surχulā mergeni belge : zarim kümün uχāni sumuči metü : medekülē nöküd daχoula ebderekü ::* **379** *öbörōn yeke* [30a, yučin] *bolχui mayad tālaχu bögōsü : busud-tu salaχui imaqta üyiled : beyeyin yanzu orčin üyiledüqčin : urid toli ülü arčiχu buyu ::* **380** *činaduši mayad ebdeküi tālaχulā : öbörōn erdem kičēn bütē : dayisuni alaχui duralaqčin : mese kičēǰi bütēküi üze ::* **381** *aryačin üge-bēr kōqdön üyiledküi-dü šuduryu : töüni bolyōn šinǰileküi kereqtei :: χourtaqsan χoyino bi šuduryu kemēn : öböri maqtaqsan youn tusa bolχu ::* **382** *aryači terigüüten-dü arya terigüüten : šuduryu terigüüten-dü šuduryu : urbamtayai-du batu kereqtei :: kemēn ögüülekü uridani bičiq-tü bui ::* **383** *merged dayisun-du nasuda čü : uyan zōlönō üyiledkülē sayin : tere zokicoχui-du tusa ese bolboči : mayad χorloχui sedkil arilyaχui em bolχu ::* **384** *mou üge ögüüleqsen-yēr yertüncü-dü : kereq bütüqsen ügei bui : sedkil-dü öböriyin kereq bütēbečü : üge-bēr χamuq-luyā zokildun üyile ::* **385** *öbör kigēd busudiyin tusa bütēkülē : zōlön šürüün yamāru üyiledbečü bolχu : uran arya-yin yabudali : arya zali-du burχan ese nomloboi ::* **386** *ecüs-*[30b]*-tü maši tusatai zöblöl : tulyurtan šidardaba-ču mergeni šütü : köqširön enelkülē erdemēn : yaqca köündēn merged suryumui ::* **387** *ǰiryalang neng yeke delgerekülē : töün-dü buural maši šidar : usun-yēr maši döüreqsen : köb bariχu buyu : ese bögōsü cumaraχu ::* **388** *zarim kümün-dü tusa bolχui üyile : töün-dü zarim oroǰi ülü bolχu : sarimsaq kei-dü tusa bolbo : cösün ebečin-dü χoron bolχu ::* **389** *nasuda tedkükü kereqtei ǰilya ügei-lügē : χanilχula yeke buruu seǰiq bui : gere saba-du talbiχulā : sabāgi χuluγuna zouχu buyu :* **390** *mou uluši šütün üyiledkülē : mungχagiyin uršiq öbörtü χor bolχu : subagiyin usu šütüqsen-yēr : zayasun noyoud tarālang-du tarχaχui üze ::* **391** *mou ālitan öböri šütē bariχulā : töün-dü üčüüken öqči yabuul : gerte mou iro bolχulā : edtü daχoulǰi χariulχu kereqtei ::* **392** *dēdüs busudu odboči : sayin kündülel üyiledǰi sayitu toqtōχu : maṇi erdeniyigi nasuda takiχulā : coq ölzöi üyile bükün bütükü ::* **393** *dorodu kümüni neng maqtaχulā : χoyino töüni doromǰiloχu :* [31a, yučin nigen] *merged burtagi sacaχulā : ösöröqsön töüni oroi-du tusχu ::* **394** *uχātai kümüni uruu daruχulā : moudχaqči töün-dü gem bolχu : zula uruu χandoulχulā : χandouluqčiyin yar tülekü ::* **395** *ali aliyin orotoyigi : tede tedeni oron-du talbi : oroyin čimeqgi köl-dü ülü uyaχu : köliyin čimegi oroi-du ügei ::* **396** *yeke üyile bütēküi caqtu : kičēl-yēr sayin nöküri šütü : yeke öi šuyui tüyimer tüleküi-dü : nökürtü nigen kei mayad kereqtei ::* **397** *asaraχui-bēr tügēmel üge ögüüleküi : bütēkü kilbar busud bayasun χurāχuyin dēdü : ed-yēr ken bayasχan čidaχu : amin beyēn öqböčü dunduur ülü χangχu ::* **398** *yadourabaču enelün bü üyiled : örgöǰibečü bayasχulang-yēr bü omorχo : üyileyin tusχal öüni χoloyin tula : eldeb zobolong ǰiryalang χoyino bolχu boluyu :: : ::*

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce üyile šinǰileküi inu sayitur üyiledkü nayimaduγār bui ::

399 ᠤ *amitani itegel burχan soun atala : busu baqšidu süzülün üyiledüqčin : nayiman üyetei usuni zaχa-du : χuǰirtai χuduq uχuχu mün* :: **400** *ali* [31b] *kigēd ali youman-du čü bišilyaχula berke ori ügei : urani uχān üyiledküi sudulχu metü : dēdü nom berke ügei bütēkü* :: **401** *ken cōn-yēr caqlan čidaχulā : töüni ǰiryalang baraqdaχu ügei : caqlan čidaχu ügei eriküi-dü : zobalang χura metü ürgülǰide bolχu* :: **402** *kezē kereqtei caqtu abχu edi : öq kemēn čidaqči nomloboi : χurāqsan edi bal metü : kezē nigen-dü busud edlekü boluyu* :: **403** *yertüncü ende orčiulun ögüqsen : youma abχu mayad ügei : erilge-či-dü örgükülē ügei : üčüüken čü zoun-du ürečin oldoχu boluyu* :: **404** *χaramnaqčin bayan bolχu ügei : ögüqčin yadou bolχu ügei : χaram ed-ēce bultayiχu : ögüqčin edtü telöülküi-lügē adali* :: **405** *ökülē yadou bolχu kemēn : χaram öqligü ülü ögün : χaram-yēr mayad yadou bolχu : uχātan üčüüken oluqsān ökü* :: **406** *talbiχulā ed üreǰin ülü örgüǰikü : χudaldučin ed noyoud-yēn tarχāχu metü : χurāχulā erke örgüǰiküi ülü olχu : merged χudaldūči metü arban züq ökü* :: **407** *mingγan byevā sang bui bolboči : kendü čü ögün ülü üyiledüqči : tede yertüncü ende yadou* [32a, γučin χoyor] *kemēn : olo sonosoqsad teyin kemēn nomlomui* :: **408** *üre ündüsün-yēn buuraχu bolouzai kemēn : čuχul oyoutan üčüüken oloqsān χurāχu : merged üre ündüsün-yēn yeke bolχuyin tula : γar-yēr ögün busudtu ögkü tügēmüi* :: **409** *üre ündüsün-yēn bayaǰiuluya kemēn sedkiǰi : öböri χudalduǰi köböün-dēn ökü : mou köböün ečigedü esürgeceqsēr : ed noyoudi ügei bolγon noχoi metü tenekü* :: **410** *ečige eke yamāru köböün-yēn asaraχu : tere metü ači köböün ečige eke-yi χamiyā sanaχu : ečige eke ači köböün tedkü tedkēd : ečige eke ötölküi-dü köböün ači doromǰiloχu* :: **411** *ed χurāqči χaram bayan kigēd : kereqtei γazar-tu öqči bayan χoyor : öbör kigēd üre ündüsün χoyortu : busu yertüncüyin ilγal ilaγamui* :: **412** *dengseleküyin bōl boluqsan noyoud : amin-luγā arilǰiǰi ediyin χoyino-ēce daχaχu : caqlan čidaqči kümün ed olboči : mayad busudtu ülemǰi ökü* :: **413** *bui gēn ögüqsen-yēr öqligü dousχu : töün-dü ülü kilinglekülē külicenggü örgüǰikü : χaχulā daχan bayasulcaχui bišilγan : töüni tula öqligü nomiyin dēdü* :: **414** *zobolonggiyin dalayin saba boluqsan : ene beye dayisun-luγā adali bolbo* : [32b] *medeküi uχātan zarun čadaχulā : ene buyani šütēn bolχu* :: **415** *nige aqšin-du ebdereküi nasun-du čü : buyani abiyās χolo odumui : kei ködölgüqsön zandani üner : χolo anggilbaču bayasχulang öüsgemüi* :: **416** *önidö amuγuulang edlen edleqsen-ēce : χayacaχu zobolong ülemǰi yeke : öbörtü erke ügei ükükü : öüni mōngkü-bēr bariqči tede γutuχu* :: **417** *nökür sadun bükün orčin kürēlen : meqden nidüni zubki maši ǰimiyin : ömölön odχu nuta ügei : tere caqtu buyan-ēce busu anaχu* :: **418** *γurban mou zayātani ebečin noyoudi : bolχuyin urida-ēce sedkin üyiled : oqtorγuyin tömör teriün-dü tusχu metü : dēre buuχulā you üyiledkü bui* :: **419**

amaraq nökür bükün-ēce χayacan : mayad ükükü̈i meden atala : ödögē čü amuγuulang untan kebdeqči : mini züreken-dü youn oroqson bui :: **420** *öbörön kičēn ese čidaba-ču : mou amitan-du ülü unaχui mayad üyiled : bātur dayisuni ayimagi ese nomoγodγoboči : öböri-yin zügi alan üyiledkü buyu youn ::* **421** *daruyida üčüüken zobobоči : nasuda amuχuugi merged šütükü : χanaχu tönökübēr ebeči yaryaχu : mergen emči-ni yoliyin yosun bui ::* **422** *berke busudiyin χoloto* [33a, γučin γurban] *ǰiryalanggi : öböriyin sedkil-dü ülü külicedkülē : töügēr öböriyin ǰiryalang ebdeküyin tula : öbörtü üzē yaduχuyin tödüi bolχu ::* **423** *χor üyiledüqseni tula dayisuni daruχu bögösü : yaqca öböriyin kiling daru : kiling orčilong terigüüleši ügei-ēce : öbörtü χor üyiledüqsen tō ügei ::* **424** *kerbe dayisun bügüdeyigi daruχui duralba-ču : alaqsan-yēr dayisun bügüdeyi χamiyā bariχu : yaqca öböriyin kiling daruχulā : bügüde dayisuni χamtu alaχu bui ::* **425** *yeke küčitei sanāyār üyiledüqčiyin yabudaldu : kilinglekülē öbörtü χor bolχu : sayitur amurliqsan dēdüs : kilinglen üyiledkü χamiyā bolχu :* **426** *nige eši-ēce uryuqsan : öbösün noγoudi kei arban züq tarχāmui : töünčilen χamtu töröqsön : kümün zayāni küčün-yēr öbörö χayacamui ::* **427** *urida ese üzeqsen uruq tanil noγoud : ende ese χarin basa öbörö odumui : kümün tede öböri-lügē barildun neyilēd : üküqsen χoyino yeke yaslang törökü ::* **428** *öböriyin üyile kičēǰi bütēkü̈i tālχulā : töüni urida busudiyin üyile bütē : onco öböriyin üyile erkilen üyiledüqči : tere öböriyin üyile bütēkü ügei ::* **429** *ali kümün busudiyin tusa erkilen üyiledüqči : aryatan öböriyin tusa bütēkü̈i-lügē adali : onco busudiyin tusa* [33b] *erkilen üyiledüqči : busudi tusalan üyiledküyin tula ünenči--lügē adali ::* **430** *uχātan ene nasu-ni üyile bütēbečü : nom-yēr bütekülē kilbar bütükü : dēdüs kigēd dērme χuluyayiči ni : tögüs ǰiryalang-giyin ilayal üze ::* **431** *kümün noγoudiyin nasun oχor töüni dunduur : söni untaχu üküqsen-lügē adali : ebedkü ötölkü eldeb zobolong-yēr : dunduur-tu amuγuulang edlekü čü ügei ::* **432** *bügüde ulušiyin dergede orošiχui : Üküliyin ezeni kerbe ilerkei üzekülē : busu üyile-yi ögüülekü : idē sanaχui küčü ügei ::* **433** *či üyile dousuqsan buyu kemēn : Üküliyin ezen ülü külīkü : mayad üyiledkü kereqtei bögösü : mün ene ödür medkün üyiled ::* **434** *bi üyile ese dousbai : χoromχan ene ödür či sou kemēn : ükükü̈i soyirχo kemēn zalbaribaču : Üküliyin ezeni χamiyā zasan čidaχu ::* **435** *düyibür tebčiqsen amuγuulang : ese bögösü sayid--luyā nökücö : χorotu moγoi teǰēkü youn sayin : teǰēkü bögösü tarni ungšiχui--du kičēn üyiled ::* **436** *sedkil maši alyasaqčin-du : dēdü nom bütēkü colo ügei : maši amurlin orošiχui-du : sedkil üyiledǰi bolχu maši dötö ::* **437** *zöriq bükündü sayitur mergeǰin : diyān-yēr sedkil nomoγodχon : χutuqtani nom-du maši sudulχulā : erdem büküni tarālang mün ::* **438** *mungχaq surχui-gi ičiüri bariχu : mergeď ülü surχuyigi ičiüri bariχu : töüni tula merged ötölböči : χoyituyin tula uχāni surχu ::* **439** *biliq ügei učir šiltān-yēr : mungχaq erdem ülü surumui :* [34a, γučin dörbön] *sinǰilekülē biliq ügeiyin tula : mungχaq ülemǰi kičēkü kereqtei ::* **440** *urida töröl-dü ese suruqsan tula : ene nasun-du mungχaq boluqsani üzēd : χoyitu töröl-dü mungχaq boluuzai kemēn : ene töröl-dü*

berke bolboči kičēǰi surtayai :: **441** *bišilyaχulā sonosχu kereq ügei kemēn* : *mungχaq oyouni caq χasun ögüülemüi* : *sonosul ügei bišilyaχu zāla* : *kičēbeči adousuni bütekü arya mün* :: **442** *zayān üre ündüsün ontoya ügei ene* : *χamugi medeqčiyin nomiyin ilyal mün* : *surul ügei χamugi medeqči bolχulā* : *zayān üre ündüsün χamiyā ünen bolχu* :: **443** *sonosol ügei bišilyaqči tere* : *χoramχan bütēbeči ötör ebderekü* : *altan mönggüni sayitur χayilabaču* : *yal-ēce χayacaχulā batu bolχu* :: **444** *biliq-yēr dotoro-ēce šinǰileǰi* : *gemiyin ündüsü tebčikü bišilyal* : *beyeyin kir ukāχu metü* : *bišilyaba-ču χorumχan bolōd urbaχu* :: **445** *ketürkei üre ese büridkülē* : *bi ügei-yi onobači burχan ülü bolχu* : *dēdü arya öbörōn ese büteqsen* : *üneni üzebečü dayini daruqsan bolχu* :: **446** *töüni tula nom noγoudi sayitur onon* : *diyān-du sedkil ayoulād* : *gem abiyas-luyā selte* : *ken tebčikülē dousuqsan burχan* :: **447** *ken-dü biliq ügei bögōsü* : *šaštir sayin bolboči ken abχu* : *erdeni-bēr čimeqsen altan čimeq* : *kē bolboči üker üzekü buyu* :: **448** *merged sayitur nomloχui büküni* : *maši kilbar medekü metü* : *töüni udχa angχaryana ülü abχulā* : *saštir medebečü you kekü* :: **449** *öbörtü kereqtei šaštir noγoudi* : *ödür büri niǰēd üge toqtōχulā* : *šoryolǰini öür kigēd bal metü* : *öni udal ügei mergen bolχu* :: **450** *buruu yabudal-du oroχui tālaǰi* : *mayad töügēr amtašin* : *caq bükün-dü χatouǰin üyiledǰi* : [34b] *amin-du kürbeči yosun metü tedkümüi* :: **451** *tere metü kičēl-yēr yol yosun-ēce* : *nomloχu metü darulya-bēr bütēn čidaχulā* : *merged χudal zarliq ülü bolχu* : *öüni ači tusa-yi χoyino üzeqten* :: **452** *urida čü ene metü üyiledüqčin örgüǰiböi* :: *ödügē tere metü üzeqdemüi* : *nuta sayin üge öün-yēr* : *irē ödüi noγoud-ču χotolo tögüši olumui* :: **453** *uχātan öbörōn medebeči* : *mergeni yol yosu süzülün üze* : *erdeni maši sayin bolboču* : *getele üne üčüüken* :: **454** *öi šuγui maši olon bolboči* : *yazariyin züqtü zandan uryuχui cōn* : *tögünčilen mergen olon bolboči* : *sayitur nomloχui yarχu maši berke* :: **455** *sayin mörin yabuχui caqtu medekü* : *altan mönggün χayilaχulā medekü boluyu* : *zāni bayilduγandu medekü* : *mergeni sayitur nomloχui tuurbiχulā medekü* :: **456** *ali yertüncü bükün* : *öböri kemǰil-dü medeküi duralχulā* : *tere ene yoli sayitur šinǰileǰi* : *darulya öüskeǰi kičēn bütē* :: **457** *yirtüncüyin üyile sayitur medeqsen* : *töügēr dēdü nomiyin yosun bütükü* : *töüni tula nomiyin yosu edleqči tere* : *bodhi-sadva-yin touǰi mün* ::

Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang-ēce : nom šinǰileküi kemēküi inu sayitur üyiledkü yesüdügēr bui :: : ::

Colophon

[Col. I, 1] *emči idēn-dü nere χadaǰi* : *em-yēr yeke ebečini edegēküi metü yertüncüyin yosuni χoyino-ēce daχan* : *bi dēdü nom öüni üzöülbei* :: [Col. I, 2] *sonusuqsan dalayin tib-ēce sayitur törön* : *biliq Kluyin erketü oγōto bariqsan* : *caqtu Sayitur nomlaχui erdeniyin sang* : *todorχoi oyoutani oyouni sang döür-*

gen :: [Col. I, 3] *mergediyin yesün kücel büteküyin tula* : *Sākyin dgeslong Coq sayin bügüde tālaχui* : *ilayuqsan belge buyantu sedkil-yēr sayitur šinǰileǰi* : *coq noyoudi geyigüülün üyiledküyin tula öüni üyiledbei* :: [Col. I, 4] *töün-ēce boluqsan kir ügei buyan seriün zali Enedkegiyin gerel metü maši geyigüülküibēr* : *törölkitöni zürkeni χarangyui yadaqši arilyaǰi* : *todorχoi oyoutani oyouni gümada delgerekü boltuyai* :: [Col. I, 5] [35a, *yučin tabun*] *medelge bükün-dü maši suduluqsan-yēr* : *χamugi medeqčiyigi olχuyin tula bi šaštir öüni* : *dousuqsan burχani olχuyin tula üyiledbei* :: [Col. I, 6] *Sayitur nomloχui erdeniyin sang kemēkü šaštir öüni* : *Sākyin dgeslong bolχuya ögüüleqči* : *Coq sayin bügüde tālaχui ilayuqsan belge Saskyāgiyin keyidtü nayiroulbai* :: [Col. II, 1] *erketü burχani yurban suduriyin šime χurāqsan* : *ezen boqdu Saskyāgiyin Paṇḍida emiyin cöcögüi ilayuqsan* : *eldeb süzügteni nisvānišiyin ebeči arilyaχui em* : *Erdeni sayitur nomloχuyin sang subha-ṣeda öüni* :: [Col. II, 2] *arban buyani ayouda χurāqsan-yēr sayin šütēni olon* : *ariun süzüg-yēr dēdü dēdü yurbani takiqči öqligüyin ezen* : *arya biliq-yēr χoyor tusa tögüs χurāqči* : *Aryā burχani kereqleküi Aχai čüüker duraduqsan-du* :: [Col. II, 3] *onomoyoi sayin uχātan zöb buruu-gi ilyaǰi* : *ontoyo ügei dēdü yurban-du bišireküi süzüg öüsken* : *onco sayin yabudal-yēr burχani χutuq olχuyin tula* : *Oqtoryuyin dalai rab-'byam Za-ya paṇḍida orčiulbai* ::

Sarva maṁ-gha-laṁ [bis]

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LE DIALECTE TURC D'OHRID EN MACÉDOINE

PAR

SUZANNE KAKUK

En 1963 j'ai eu l'occasion de faire en Yougoslavie un voyage d'étude de quatre semaines pendant lesquelles je me suis proposé d'étudier les ouvrages serbes relatifs aux éléments turcs-osmanlis de la langue serbo-croate. A cette époque je m'occupais intensivement de la question des éléments turcs osmanlis de la langue hongroise. L'étude des dialectes de la Roumélie occidentale m'avait déjà montré que la connaissance de ces dialectes archaïques pouvait contribuer à résoudre les problèmes linguistiques du turc des XVI—XVIIe siècles — l'époque de la domination turque en Hongrie. Aussi était-ce avec le plus grand plaisir que j'ai profité de cette occasion pour me rendre en Macédoine, un des territoires habités par des Turcs parlant le dialecte de la Roumélie occidentale.

Malheureusement les circonstances n'étaient pas des plus favorables. La capitale de la Macédoine, Skoplie (en turc: Üsküb, Üsküp) avait été frappée deux mois plus tôt par le catastrophique tremblement de terre, dans la ville détruite on ne pouvait faire aucun travail de recherches. Conseillée et aidée par mes collègues yougoslaves j'ai cependant réussi à atteindre Ohrid, ville située au bord du lac d'Ohrid, à l'extrémité sud de la Macédoine. Bien qu'il y ait des Turcs à Ohrid même, j'aurais aimé rejoindre les Turcs vivant dans les montagnes, isolés du monde, convaincue que leur dialecte présentait davantage de traits particuliers que celui des Turcs citadins. L'accès des agglomérations de montagne aurait malheureusement exigé des préparatifs spéciaux et des compagnons de route faute desquels j'ai dû renoncer à la réalisation de ce projet, et me contenter d'un séjour de six jours à Ohrid, ainsi que d'une excursion d'un jour dans la ville de Struga, située au nord-ouest du lac d'Ohrid. En ce qui suit je voudrais résumer les résultats scientifiques de ce bref voyage.

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Les recherches dialectologiques macédoniennes furent amorcées par deux savants bulgares, bien qu'aujourd'hui les travaux de Gadžanov[1] et de Čilin-

[1] D. G. Gadžanov, *Izučavane na Makedonija v etnografsko dialektološko* (*turski dialekti*) *otnošenie*. Organičeno izdanije na Geografskija In-t Oficialna Bălgarija prez 1916.

girov[2] ne constituent guère plus que des curiosités intéressantes au point de vue de l'histoire de la science. Čilingirov communique un grand nombre de textes (455 proverbes) qu'il recueillit en Bulgarie, dans la région de Sviščov, Ruse, Tărnovo, Razgrad et Šumen, chez des Turcs transmigrés de la Macédoine. Malheureusement il a omis de donner des indications concernant ses sources. C'est pourquoi Dmitirev qui a élaboré les matériaux de Čilingirov au point de vue phonétique[3] n'a pas pu séparer les matériaux de Macédoine de ceux de Bulgarie. Notons toutefois que dans sa description phonétique, Dmitriev signale quelques caractéristiques phonétiques qu'il n'a pu relever que sur la base de données macédoiennes [par exemple le changement *ö* > *ü* (p. 211), la conservation du *g* (p. 213), la disparition de l'initiale *h* (ibid.)]. A un endroit, notamment à propos de la disparition de *y* dans les initiales *yi-*, *yï-* (p. 212) il se réfère même à l'étude de Kowalski déjà parue à cette époque.

En effet T. Kowalski avait recueilli en 1917 et 1918 de la bouche de soldats hospitalisés à Cracovie et à Vienne 141 devinettes qu'il publia en suite en 1919 dans un ouvrage de langue polonaise.[4] De ces devinettes notées avec une très grande exactitude phonétique les 28 premières proviennent de personnes nées en Macédoine, les neuf premiers d'un homme de Tetovo (de son nom turc Kalkandelen), les autres dix-neuf d'un homme de Radoviš. C'est à ce dernier que Kowalski doit les 63 chansons populaires et un bref récit qu'il nota à Cracovie et qui constituent la matière de sa célèbre étude dialectologique.[5] Dans l'introduction de cet ouvrage si souvent cité, Kowalski expose les principales caractéristiques du dialecte turc de Macédoine: le *h* en initiale disparaît; la différence entre le *ï* vélaire et le *i* palatal est à peine perceptible; en position finale (même dans les mots à système consonantique labial) il ne peut y avoir qu'un *i*; *g*, abstraction faite de certaines positions phonétiques, reste conservé; dans les initiales *vu-* et *yi-* le *v* ou le *y* manquent (pp. 167—169).

Après cette étude qui n'a rien perdu de son intérêt jusqu'à nos jours, il y eut un assez long intervalle dans les recherches dialectologiques turques de Macédoine. Ce n'est qu'en 1954 que parut un article de la plume d'un auteur yougoslave,[6] qui ne se propose toutefois pas d'étudier de manière systématique le dialecte, mais s'occupe en premier lieu de l'origine et des

[2] S. Čilingirov, *Turski poslovici, pogovorki i charakterni izrazi.* Dans: *Izvestija na Narodnijat Etnografski Muzej v Sofija* II (1922), pp. 157—171, III (1923), pp. 59—65.

[3] N. K. Dmitriev, *Zametki po bolgarsko—tureckim govoram*: *DAN.* B. 1927 N° 10 pp. 210—215.

[4] T. Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie* (*Enigmes populaires turques*). Krakow 1919.

[5] T. Kowalski, *Osmanisch-türkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*: *WZKM* XXXIII (1926), pp. 166—231.

[6] T. Manević, *Prilog proučavanju govora Juruka u Makedoniji*: *Južnoslovenski Filolog* XX (1—4) (1954), pp. 334—341.

groupes ethniques des Yürük en Macédoine. T. Manević a aussi recueilli de riches matériaux dialectaux parmi les Yürük, mais, autant que je sache, il n'ont pas été publiés.

J. Németh tout en ayant étudié pendant longtemps et de manière approfondie les dialectes turcs des Balkans, ne s'est pas occupé en particulier des dialectes de la Macédoine. Dans son ouvrage fondamental consacré à la division et au classement des dialectes turcs des Balkans,[7] ainsi que dans la monographie du dialecte de Vidin[8] il se réclame cependant plus d'une fois de Kowalski, et il utilise aussi les données publiées par Dimităr Šalev qui, à cette époque, vivait à Sofia. (Šalev ayant été auparavant employé à Skoplie, connaissait fort bien le dialecte turc de cette ville.) J. Német constate que le dialecte de la Macédoine relève des dialectes de la Roumélie Occidentale dont les caractéristiques sont en grande partie attestées aussi dans les matériaux de Kowalski.

Les conclusions de J. Németh sont étayées par les résultats de G. Hazai,[9] qui, en 1957, fit un bref séjour en Macédoine où il étudia en premier lieu le dialecte d'Üsküp (= Skoplie), mais il eut également la possibilité de faire connaissance avec la langue des Yürük habitant la localité de Šašavarli. Selon les observations de Hazai, le dialecte d'Üsküp reflète fidèlement les particularités dialectales de la Roumélie Occidentale, tandis que le dialecte de Šašavarli offre un certain nombre de traits différents, dont le plus intéressant est l'existence du phonème η, tout à fait insolite sur le territoire de la Roumélie.

Au cours d'un voyage d'étude dialectologique effectué en 1959 en Thrace, J. Eckmann et M. Mansuroğlu rencontrèrent dans les environs d'Edirne et de Kırklareli des Turcs originaires de la Macédoine.[10] Leur dialecte a fait l'objet de deux études de J. Eckmann. La première qui est plus courte a comme base les communications d'un sujet venu de Dinler se fixer à Edirne.[11] Dinler est un petit village dans le canton de circonscription d'Ovčepole, district de Štip (en turc: İštip). L'article plus important traite du dialecte des Turcs originaires de Kumanovo.[12] Eckmann a pu constater que le dialecte de Kumanovo se rattache par toutes ses caractéristiques aux dialectes de l'Ouest des Balkans, alors que celui de Dinler doit être considéré comme un

[7] J. Németh, *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens*. Sofia 1956.

[8] J. Németh, *Die Türken von Vidin. Sprache, Folklore, Religion*. Budapest 1965. BOH X.

[9] G. Hazai, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der türkischen Mundarten Mazedoniens*: *ROr.* XXIII (1960), pp. 83—100.

[10] J. Eckmann ve M. Mansuroğlu, *1959 yılı Trakya dialektoloji gezisi raporu*: *Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi* IX (1959), pp. 113—118.

[11] J. Eckmann, *Dinler (Makedonya) türk ağzı*: *TDAYB* 1960, pp. 189—204.

[12] J. Eckmann, *Kumanova (Makedonya) türk ağzı*: *Németh Armağanı* (Ankara 1962), pp. 111—144.

dialecte de «transition». Ils ont une des caractéristiques communs, comme par exemple que parmi les voyelles palatales seul *i* peut se trouver en position finale, que plusieurs désinences et formants à double forme n'ont qu'une variante palatale, que le praeteritum indefinitum existe seulement sous forme de *-miş*, qu'on emploie le présent *y*, etc. Le dialecte de Kumanovo offre des traits particuliers comme par exemple la vélarisation du *ö* (*kö-*, *gö-* > *ko-*, *go-*), le changement *ö* > *ü* et la conservation du *g*, — autant de phénomènes qui viennent corroborer le fait déjà reconnu plus tôt que les dialectes turcs parlés en Macédoine sont loin d'être homogènes.

Dans les années 1920, des Turcs venus de la ville de Florina et de ses environs situés dans le Nord de la Grèce, à proximité de la frontière macédonienne s'établirent sur le bord de la mer Égée dans les environs d'Izmir, de Menemen, de Bergama, d'Ayvalık et d'autres villes. Ces Turcs transmigrés conservèrent relativement bien les particularités originales de leur dialecte. C'est parmi eux que Š. Elçin[13] alla recueillir des matériaux qui furent ensuite étudiés au point de vue linguistique par M. Mollova.[14]

Wł. Zajączkowski, au cours d'un bref séjour qu'il fit en Macédoine en 1960, réunit des matériaux folkloriques provenant d'un homme de Skoplie et des élèves d'une école de cette ville, matériaux qu'il ne publia d'ailleure qu'en 1968.[15]

Parmi les chercheurs locaux il faut faire état d'Olivera Jašar-Nasteva, professeur chargé de cours à l'université de Skoplie, spécialiste des rapports linguistiques macédoniens et turcs, qui effectua des recherches dialectologiques sur tout à Gostivar.[16]

En 1957 L. K. Katona séjournant au bord du lac de Prespa, s'intéressa, en tant qu'ancien turcologue, aux Turcs vivant dans la région, et se rendit notamment dans les villes de Bitola, Resen et Ohrid. A Bitola et à Resen il recueillit de riches matériaux dialectaux, à Ohrid des matériaux moins abondants. Plus tard il passa aussi à Skoplie et à Gostivar. Sur la base de ces enquêtes il publia une étude intéressante sur le dialecte turc de la Macédoine Occidentale,[17] dont le résultat le plus important est son esquisse

[13] Şükrü Elçin, *Florina ağzı*: *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* I/2 (1964), pp. 244—253.

[14] M. Mollova, *Parler turc de Florina*: *Linguistique Balkanique* XII (1969), pp. 95—128.

[15] W. Zajączkowski, *Türkische Sprachproben aus Mazedonien*: *Folia Orientalia* IX (1968), pp. 19—51.

[16] O. Jašar-Nasteva, *Za nekoi fonološki izmeni vo govorot na turskoto naselenie vo Gostivarsko*: *Godišen Zbornik na Fil. Fak. Un. Skopje*. XXI (1969), pp. 237—244; —, *Turskiot govor vo gostivarskiot kraj*: *Zbornik za Gostivar* (*Sobranie na Opštinata Gostivar*) 1970, pp. 269—306.

[17] L. K. Katona, *Le dialecte turc de la Macédonie de l'Ouest*: *TDAYB* 1969, pp. 57—194.

du système particulier des voyelles de ce dialecte qui ne connait pour ainsi dire pas le *ï* vélaire, mais qui en revanche présente nombreuses variantes du E.

A la littérature que nous venons de passer en revue il faut ajouter une publication d'Ohrid: les 52 *mâni* en transcription latine, suivis de leur traduction, qu'Abdulhak Salih, professeur au lycée d'Ohrid fit paraître dans le volume de 1959 des annales du musée local.[18] A. Salih a eu l'amabilité de

Recherches dialectologiques effectuées sur le territoire de la Macédoine



Pour les matériaux des enquêtes signalées voir les ouvrages suivants:
Bitola: Kat. pp. 101—104
Dinler [district de Štip]: Dinler
Florina: Flor.
Kumanovo: Kum.
Ohrid: Kat. pp. 98—101; S.; pp. 247—272 du présent article
Radoviš: Maz.; Zag. pp. 29—33
Resen: Kat. pp. 65—90
Skoplie: Eint. pp. 9—20; Haz. pp. 84—89; Zaj.
Struga: pp. 248—259 du présent article
Šašavarli [district de Štip]: Šaš.
Tetovo: Zag. pp. 26—29
Pour les abréviations voir p. 283.

[18] Abdulhak Salih, *Običai okolu prvi mart kaj turcite vo Ohrid*: *Lihnid* (*Godišen zbornik na narodniot muzej vo Ohrid = Year-book of the Popular Muzeum in Ohrid*); Kniga II—III, Tome II—III (1959), pp. 93—103.

m'aider personnellement dans mon travail à Ohrid, et je me réfère régulièrement à ses matériaux à propos des *mâni* que j'ai recueillis moi-même. D'autres recueils du même genre ont sans doute paru dans des publications régionales que seuls les spécialistes locaux seraient en mesure de rendre accessibles au monde scientifique.

En conclusion on peut constater que les recherches effectuées jusqu'à ce jour dans le domaine des dialectes turcs de la Macédoine ont unanimement démontré que ce dialecte présente les caractéristiques des dialectes de la Roumélie Occidentale. L'aspect de ces caractéristiques et la fréquence de leur apparition sont toutefois différents, de sorte qu'elles ne peuvent pas être chaque fois identifiées de manière schématique avec les critères élaborés par J. Németh. De plus, sur le territoire même de la Macédoine on relève certaines divergences dialectales qui toutefois ne pourront être décrites avec précision qu'au terme d'une enquête et d'une mise au point plus complètes et plus méthodiques.

Phonétique

Voyelles

1. La principale caractéristique du dialecte d'Ohrid est la richesse particulière de son système vocalique, en premier lieu du phonème E, circonstance sur laquelle tant Kowalski que Katona ont attiré l'attention.

Kowalski (Zag. p. 72) distingue parmi les voyelles palatales trois phonèmes E: *é* (comme dans *été*, par ex. *jédi* «sept»), *e* (*e* normal) et *ä* (morphème ouvert, par ex. *dišäri* «en dehors, au dehors»). Le groupe des voyelles illabiales v é l a i r e s comprend: *y* (= ɪ), *ə*, *ᵊ*, *ȧ*, *a* (p. 73). Le phonème *ə* est défini de la manière suivante: «*ə* réponde à l'*e* nord-allemand dans les syllabes non accentuées. *ᵊ* est un *ə* très court, apparaissant le plus souvent dans les terminaisons entre les consonnes fermées et les liquides.» Dans ses devinettes recueillies parmi les sujets de Tetovo on trouve des données telles que: *arabžᵊk* «petit Arabe», *bašᵊnda* «sur sa tête», *tablažᵊk* «tablette» (p. 28), *jᵊldᵊz* «étoile» (p. 29), alors que dans le texte en prose de Radoviš on a: *ziɪandɾ* «il est dommage» (Maz. p. 218), *kardašïmdɾ* «il est mon frère», *benɱ* «le mien», *ǵeldɳ* «tu es venu», *dėdɱki* «j'ai dit que» (ibid.). Il semble évident que tant le phonème transcrit par un «*ᵊ*» que le signe «$_{\circ}$» renvoyant à une consonne syllabante indiquent un E de nuance vélaire qui, au témoignage de ces données est attesté aussi bien dans des mots vélaires que dans des mots palataux.

Dans la description de L. Katona on rencontre quatre espèce de E (p. 61): *ä* (ouvert), *e* (moyennement fermé), *ë* (fermé, bref, n'est attesté que dans des dérivés), *é* (fermé, n'est attesté qu'en première syllabe). Selon Katona

l'ı vélaire n'est attesté qu'à Bitola et (exceptionnellement, chez un seul sujet) à Resen, tandis qu'à Ohrid il est inconnu. Dans les mots qui devraient offrir un ı vélaire, on trouve dans les recoupements de Katona *ë*, plus rarement *é*, par ex. *bašëni* «sa tête» (acc.), *insanën* «de l'homme», *yaparsén* «tu fais» (p. 98). Ce même *ë* est aussi attesté dans des mots à système palatal, par ex. *bilersën* «tu sais», *hepënëz* «vous tous», *pislëk* «sale» (p. 90).

Les constatations de Kowalski tout comme celles de Katona permettent d'aboutir à la conclusion que le dialecte macédonien connaît un certain E dont les variantes sont attestées aussi bien dans des mots de système palatal que dans des mots de système vélaire. Mes propres expériences ont confirmé les données de Kowalski et de Katona.

A la différence de Katona j'ai moi-même noté à Ohrid un phonème ı mais j'ai également entendu très souvent sa variante un ę vélaire, avec position intermédiaire de la langue. ı et ę vélaires alternent au cours de la flexion et de la dérivation, et ils alternent également avec leurs correspondants palataux, *i* et *e*. Si on y ajoute encore que le phonème *e* a une variante *é*, nous obtenons la série de variantes comprenant cinq possibilités: *ı* ~ *ę* ~ *i* ~ *é* ~ *e*. Cette série de variantes est attestée aussi bien dans les mots à système vélaire que dans les mots à système palatal. Par ex. *çarır* ~ *çarę̀r* ~ *çarir* ~ *çarér* ~ *çarer* «il appelle»; *gelır* ~ *gelę̀r* ~ *gelir* ~ *gelér* ~ *geler* «il vient».

Pour pouvoir expliquer ce mélange de la série palatale et de la série vélaire dans la flexion, il faut partir d'une particularité du dialecte de l'Ouest des Balkans, notamment que l'*i* palatal dans les syllabes autres que la première devient très souvent un ı vélaire (cf. Eint. p. 13, Vidin p. 52, Küst. p. 305, Kum. 17/c, Flor. p. 101, Kat. pp. 126—147). Dans ce cas tant dans les mots vélaires que dans les mots palataux on a le même phonème ı, qui, dans notre dialecte, peut apparaître sous la forme des cinq variantes en question. D'ailleurs les ouvrages antérieurs font déjà allusion à ces possibilités de variation. Voir par ex. les matériaux de Kumanovo de J. Eckmann: *birınci* «premier», mais: *ikinci* «deuxième» (p. 126), L. Katona: *sänin* ~ *senën* «le tien», *bilir* ~ *bilër* ~ *bilär* «il sait» (pp. 98, 99).

Dans notre dialecte les variantes du ı vélaire se rencontrent dans les cas suivants:

a) Dans la deuxième syllabe fermée de mots de base: *hanım* ~ *hanę̀m* ~ *hanim* ~ *haném* ~ *hanem* «femme». Pour la série vocalique palatale je n'ai qu'un seule donnée: *resém* «image, photographie».
b) Dans les désinences possessives. Mot vélaire: *yarım* ~ *yarę̀m* ~ *yarim* ~ *yarém* ~ *yarem* «mon amour». Mot palatal: *benim* ~ *benę̀m* ~ *benim* ~ *beném* ~ *benem* «le mien».
c) Dans les formes déclinées des mots munis de la désinence possessive de la 3e personne du singulier. Mot vélaire: *kocasına* ~ *kocasę̀na* ~ *kocasina*

«à son mari». Mot palatal: *evıne* ~ *evẹne* ~ *evêne* ~ *evine* «dans sa maison» (dat.).

d) Dans le génitif. Mot vélaire: *paşanın* ~ *paşanẹn* «du pacha», *padişahin* «du padishah». Mot palatal: *kelçenın* «du petit chauve», *herifẹn* «du gars», *gelinin* «de la mariée», *çiçegen* «de la fleur».

e) Dans la voyelle devant le *r* de l'aoriste. Mot vélaire: *çarır* ~ *çarẹr* ~ *çarir* ~ *çarėr* ~ *çarer* «il apelle». Mot palatal: *gelır* ~ *gelẹr* ~ *gelir* ~ *gelėr* ~ *geler* «il vient».

f) Dans les désinences personnelles des verbes. Mots vélaires: *yaptım* ~ *yaptẹm* «j'ai fait», *çardım* ~ *çardêm* ~ *çardim* «j'ai applé», *yaptın* ~ *yaptẹn* ~ *yaptin* «tu as fait», *çikardẹk* «nous avons sorti», *yandėk* «nous nous sommes enflammés»; *olayım* ~ *olayẹm* ~ *olayim* ~ *olayėm* «que je sois», *olasın* «si seulement tu étais», *bulasėn* «si seulement tu trouvais», *yapasen* «si seulement tu la faisais»; *bakalım* ~ *bakalẹm* ~ *bakalim* «voyons!». Mots palataux: *gezerım* ~ *gezerim* ~ *gezerėm* ~ *gezerem* «je marche, je me promène», *dersın* «tu dis», *gezersen* «tu marches, tu te promènes», *bilirsin* «tu sais», *derız* ~ *deriz* «nous disons», *yerêz* ~ *yerez* «nous mangeons»; *geldım* «je suis venu», *verdẹm* «j'ai donné», *ektim* «j'ai semé», *ettem* «j'ai fait», *girdın* «tu es entré», *bildẹn* «tu as su», *geldin* «tu es venu», *dedėn* «tu as dit», *geldẹk* «nous sommes venus», *gittek* «nous sommes allés»; *girsın* «qu'il entre!», *yesẹn* «qu'il mange!», *gelsen* «qu'il vienne!».

g) Dans des morphèmes. Mots vélaires: *çaldır-* «fairs voler», *şaşẹr-* «s'ébahir», *daşėr-* «verser», *ayrẹl-* «se séparer», *bakėl-* «être regardé»; *alınık* «offensé», *kapanek* «fermé». Mots palataux: *yetır-* «faire manger», *pişẹr-* «rôtir»; *ikınci* ~ *ikinci* ~ *ikėnci* «deuxième»; *gelınce* ~ *gelinces* «venant».

2. Un phénomène sinon fréquent, mais en tout cas remarquable est que le phonème *ı* peut avoir en plus des variantes mentionnées sous le pont 1. les variantes *o* et *a*. Un phénomène semblable est aussi attesté dans le recueil de Katona. Par ex. *yoldoz* «étoile», *ävona* «dans sa maison» (dat.), *häposi* «tous», *bayoldi* «il s'est évanoui»; *äfändam* «mon efendi», *ävanä* «dans sa maison» (dat.), *bënyam* «je suis», *čékéram* «je tire» (pp. 149—151).

a) Dans nos matériaux nous trouvons un *o* dans les cas suivants: Dans la déclinaison: *benom* «le mien»; *herifon* «du gars». Dans la conjugaison: *üliyom* «je suis mort», *yazılıyom* «je suis inscrit»; *gelẹrom* «je viens»; *dedom* «j'ai dit», *gitmedom* «je ne suis pas allé», *kuşidom* «j'étais un oiseau».

b) Le phonème *a* est un peu plus fréquent, surtout dans certaines formes verbales. Dans la deuxième syllabe de mots de base: *altan* «or», *kırmazi* «rouge». Dans la déclinaison: *şāhinam* «mon faucon», *cebande* «dans ta poche». Dans la conjugaison: 1ère personne: *yolciyam* «je suis voyageur», *dauciyam* «je suis tambour»; *gidėram* «je vais», *çėkėram* «je tire, je porte»,

uyanėram «je me réveille», *vėrėram* «je donne»; *gezdam* «je me suis promené». 2e personne: *başimisa* «es-tu la tête de qchose?», *taşimisa* «es-tu la pierre de qchose?», *taşirmisa* «emportes-tu?»; *anlatırsan* «tu expliques», *söylersan* «tu dis», *söylemesan* «tu ne dis pas»; *bekleyecesan* «tu attendras»; *açasan* «si seulement tu l'ouvrais», *söyleyemessa* «si seulement tu ne le disais pas». 3e personne: *ayırsan* «qu'il sépare!», *ıkansa* «qu'il se se lave!», *söylesa* «qu'il raconte!», *gitsa* «qu'il s'en aille!», *görmesan* «qu'il ne voie pas!», *gitsanler* «qu'ils s'en aillent»!. Dans des morphèmes: *sevan-* «se réjouir»; *tėrlak* «foulard».

3. On voit dominer la particularité des dialectes de la Roumélie Occidentale qui veut qu'en position finale absolue parmi toutes les voyelles avec position supérieure de la langue on trouve seulement le phonème *i* (cf. Maz. p. 168, Eint. p. 12, Vidin p. 51, Küst. p. 302, Kum. 17a, Kat. pp. 115—123). Les quelques cas particuliers où *i* se trouve remplacé par un *é* fermé ne font que confirmer la règle.

On a un *i* final dans les cas suivants:

a) Mots de base: *kari* «femme», *sari* «jaune», *kırmızi* «rouge», *kişi* «personne», *doli* «plein», *dogri* «droit», *kuzi* «brebis», *turşi* «fruits ou légumes macérés au vinaigre», *ürti* «couverture», *küpri* «pont».
b) A l'accusatif: *adami* «homme», *rubalari* «robes», *kıli* «poil», *canımi* «mon âme», *oni* «le, la» pr., *limoni* «citron», *furuni* «four», *tabudi* «planche mortuaire», *üküzi* «boeuf», *küpi* «pot», *yüzüni* «ton visage».
c) Dans les désinences possessives de la 3e personne: *başi* «sa tête», *kocasi* «son mari», *kızi* «sa fille», *hanımi* «sa dame», *karęsi* «sa femme», *yoli* «son chemin», *ogli* «son fils», *üküzi* «son boeuf».
d) Dans les formants d'adjectifs dénominaux *-li* et déverbaux *-ili*: *kınali* «teint au henné», *hayırli* «heureux, bon», *süsli* «orné», *yükli* «chargé»; *yazıli* «inscrit», *dizıli* «arrangé».
e) Dans le formant du nomen actoris *-ci* et du nom de nombre ordinal *-inci*: *hamamci* «baigneur», *furunci* «boulanger», *taş atıci* «lanceur de pierres», *yatęci* «personne couchée», *yolci* «voyageur»; *birınci* «premier», *ikınci* «deuxième», *üçünci* «troisième», *kırkınci* «quarantième», *sonunci* «dernier».
f) Dans la 3e personne du singulier du praeteritum définitum: *kaldi* «il est resté», *vardi* «il est allé», *koşti* «il a couru», *sordi* «il a demandé», *tutti* «il a tenu», *buldi* «il a trouvé», *üldi* «il est mort», *yürüdi* «il est allé».
g) Dans la particule interrogative *-mi*: *gördünüzmi* «avez-vous vu?».

Les quelques cas particuliers où on trouve *é* à la place de *i* sont les suivants: *baré* «au moins», *pęştémalé* «le fichu» (acc.), *şafké* «sa lumière»; formes du praeteritum définitum: *dédé* «il a dit», *etté* «il a fait», *gitté* «il est allé», *oldé*

«il est devenu», *varidė* «il a été». Voir encore sous point 28. les postpositions *arkasė* et *karşė*.

4. La formation du praeteritum indefinitum par *-miş* caractéristique des dialectes de l'Ouest des Balkans (cf. Eint. p. 13, Vidin p. 55, Küst. p. 305, Kum. 17/b, Flor. p. 100, Zaj. 5, Kat. p. 125) se fait cent pour cent valoir dans notre dialecte. Voir par ex. les recoupements suivants: *almiş* «il achetait», *kalmiş* «il restait», *şaşermiş* «il s'étonnait», *sıkılmiş* «il s'inquiétait», *olmiş* «il était», *dogmiş* «il naissait», *oturmiş* «il était assis», *uyumiş* «il dormait», *görmiş* «il voyait», *sökmiş* «il sautait», *ülmiş* «il mourait», *gütürmiş* «il conduisait». J'ai trouvé une seule exception: *çalmėşlar* «on le ravissait».

5. A côté des phonèmes *ç*, *c* et *ş* l'*ı* vélaire se palatalise: *açik* «ouvert» *alçacik* «bas», *ufacik* «petit», *kaşik* «cuiller», *karşida* «en face», *çirpi* ~ *çėrpi* «morceau de bois» (< *çırpı*). Voir encore *irak* «lointain», *ismalla-* «ordonner». (Cf. Maz. p. 168, Küst. p. 304, Kum. 5, Flor. p. 99, Zaj. 4, Kat. p. 123.)

6. Notre dialecte offre avec une fréquence relative l'*é* fermé, en particulier en première syllabe. Voici les cas les plus souvent attestés: à côté de *ş*, *s*, *ç*, *c*: *şėy* «chose», *ėşek* «âne», *sėnde* «chez toi», *sėrçe* «moineau», *çėşme* «source, fontaine», *çėmber* «fichu», *gėce* «la nuit», *cėp* «poche»; à côté de *y*: *ėyi* «bon», *yėr* «place», *bėyas* «blanc», *yėşil* «vert»; à côté de *p*, *b*, *m*: *pėmbe* «rose», *pėncėre* «fenêtre», *pėştėmal* «serviette de toilette», *bėnden* «de moi», *bėş* «cinq», *bėri* «ici, en arrière», *mėndil* «mouchoir», *mėrdüven* «escalier»; à côté de *t*: *tėntėne* «ornement en dentelle», *tėncėre* «plat», *tėnėke* «pot en fer»; dans d'autres cas: *dėmek* «dire», *dėmir* «fer», *ėderim* «je fais», *ėve* «à la maison», *ėfendim* «mon efendi», *ėrken* «tôt», *fėsliyen* «ceillet», *gėlin* «mariée», *hėrif* «gars». *tėl* «fil (de fer)», *vėrmek* «donner».

Dans certains cas l'*é* fermé devient *i*: *nice* «comment», *gicele* «nuit», *pėşin* ~ *pişin* «pour la première fois, d'abord», *vėrmek* ~ *virmek* «donner»; *elvidā* «adieu».

Sous l'influence de l'alternance *é* ~ *i* on voit dans quelques cas un *i* original devenir *é*: *çimen* ~ *çėmen* «gazon», *işte* ~ *ėşte* »voilà», *ikmāl* ~ *ėkmāl* «fin, achèvement». Voir encore: *mėmber* «chair». Exceptionnellement l'*i* final peut aussi alterner avec *é*, par ex. *dėdi* ~ *dėdė* «il a dit», *oldi* ~ *oldė* «il est devenu» (voir fin du point 3).

Le verbe *in-* «descendre, se poser» n'est attesté que sous forme de *en-*.

En ce qui concerne l'*é* fermé figurant comme variante du *ı* dans les syllabes autres que la première voir point 1.

7. Le changement *ö* > *ü* caractéristiques des dialectes de la Roumélie Occidentale (cf. Eint. p. 17, Vidin p. 33, Küst. p. 308, Kum. 9, Flor. p. 96,

Zaj. 1, Kat. p. 111) est représenté dans nos matériaux dans les positions suivantes:

a) En position initiale: *ügren-* «apprendre», *üküs* «boeuf», *ül-* «mourir», *üle* «à midi», *üp-* «embrasser», *ürgi* «tresse de cheveux», *ürt-* «recouvrir», *üteye* ~ *öteye* «là».

b) En première syllabe: *dükül-* «s'écouler», *dün-* «se tourner», *düşek* «lit», *küpri* «pont», *süg-* «blâmer», *süs* «dicton, proverbe». Le verbe «dire» figure en général sous la forme *söyle-*, mais je l'ai noté à plusieurs reprises sous forme de *süle-*, *süle-* aussi. Les pronoms démonstratifs *böyle* et *şöyle* ont aussi une forme *buyle*, *bule* et *şule* qui remontent sans doute à **büyle* et **şüyle* (voir 8/a).

c) Dans une partie des mots qui commencent par la syllabe *gö-* on trouve alternativement *gö-* et *gü-*, par ex. *gönlüm* ~ *günlüm* «mon coeur», *gönder-* ~ *günder-* «envoyer», *gör-* ~ *gür-* «regarder», *götür-* ~ *gütür-* «porter», *göz* ~ *güz* «oeil», sauf le verbe *göster-* «montrer» et la postposition *göre* «selon» qui ont toujours l'initiale *gö-*.

8. La vélarisation (cf. Eint. p. 14, Vidin p. 43, Küst. p. 309, Kum. 8, Kat. pp. 107, 108) se manifeste surtout dans le changement *ü* > *u*, le changement *ö* > *o* se limitant à quelques mots seulement.

a) Le changement *ü* > *u* est, dans une partie considérable des cas, en rapport avec la palatalisation des consonnes *g*, *t*, *l* (voir 17). Par ex. *gül* ~ *ǵul* «rose», *güzel* ~ *ǵuzel* «beau», *gümüş* ~ *ǵumüş* «argent»; *türk* ~ *ťurk* «turc»; *ľule çiçeyi* «une espèce de fleur». Voir encore: *üç* ~ *uç* «trois», *ucum* «attaque» (< *hücum*), *yun* «laine», *buyle*, *şuyle* «ainsi; de telle, sorte», *öp-* ~ *üp-* ~ *up-* «embrasser».

b) Les cas les plus caractéristiques du changement *ö* > *o*: *böyle* ~ *boyle* «ainsi», *öyle* ~ *oyle* «de telle sorte», *dört* ~ *dort* «quatre». L'initiale *gö-* reste en général invariablement conservée: *göster-* «montrer», *göre* «selon», ou bien devient *gü-* (voir 7/c). Dans les matériaux ohridiens d'A. Salih on trouve cependant plusieurs mots de cette catégorie transcrits par *gô-*: *gôr-* «voir», *gônül* «coeur», *gôksümün* «de mon sein». La notation *gô-* reflète la prononciation que j'ai moi-même observée dans le changement de forme du terme *göl* «lac» en *ǵol*. Parmi les recoupements d'A. Salih voir encore: *kôr* «aveugle».

9. Les autres transformations des voyelles labiales.

a) Palatalisation: *hülya* «rève» (< *hulya*), *süçüm* «mon crime» (< *suçum*); *söra* «après» (< *sora* < *sonra*). Le mot *çocuk* «enfant» apparaît unique-

ment sous la forme de *çöcük*; cf. encore *çölük çöcük* «les petits et les grands de la famille».

b) Labialisation: *zeytün* «huile», *mektüp* «lettre», *obirüni* «l'autre parmi eux» (acc.); *Nüsredin* «Nasreddin»; *dövlet* «chance, bonheur».

c) Délabialisation: *koyin* «mouton», *bülbül* ~ *bilbül* «rossignol».

d) *o* > *u*: *buynuni* «ton cou» (acc.), *kumunis* «communiste».

e) *u* > *o*: *bolaʳ* «ceux-ci», *boraya* «ici» (dat.), *ograşma* «séjour, occupation», *kompanya* «compagnie».

f) *ü* > *ö*: *köçük* «petit», *bütön* «tous».

10. La confusion de l'harmonie vocalique dans les désinences et formants du type *a* — *e* (voir Eint. p. 15, Vidin p. 44, Küst. p. 307, Kum. 6, Flor. p. 102, Kat. pp. 151—154) est fréquence, mais ni générale ni régulière.

a) Le signe du pluriel *-lar* ~ *-ler* dans les mots vélaires est attesté aussi bien dans les formes dénominales que dans les formes verbales sous les formes assimilées et non assimilées. Par ex. *saçlar* «cheveux», *yolcular* «voyageurs»; *anlarlar* «ils comprennent», *olurlar* «ils sont» ~ *canler* «âmes», *yaşler* «larmes»; *soyarler* «ils pèlent», *koyarler* «ils posent». Le même mot peut figurer tantôt sous une forme assimilée, tantôt sous une forme non assimilée: *agalar* ~ *agaler* «aghas», *daglar* ~ *dagler* «montagnes», *mallari* ~ *malleri* «leur fortune»; *yapmazlar* ~ *yapmazler* «ils ne le font pas». Une comparaison quantitative des données indique que la non assimilation est plus fréquente dans les verbes que dans les noms.

A la troisième personne du pluriel du praeteritum définitum, le suffixe *-dilar*, *-tilar* est général, par ex. *baktilar* «ils ont regardé», *oturdilar* «ils ont été assis», *bozdilar* «ils ont gâté», mais on trouve aussi une forme telle que: *çardiler* «ils ont appelé». A la troisième personne du plurier du praeteritum indefinitum on a par contre, en règle générale *-mişler*, par ex. *yapmişler* «ils faisaient», *konuşmişler* «ils bavardaient», mais on trouve aussi des formes telles que *olmişlar* «ils étaient». De même, les noms à série vocalique vélaire offrant un *i* dans leur dernière syllabe fermée, sont également munis du suffixe *-ler*, par. ex. *kaşikler* «cuillers», *ufacikler* «petits».

Dans les mots vélaires qui se terminent par le phonème *i*, la désinence *-ler* s'ajoute à ce *i*, par ex. *kariler* femmes», *kınaliler* «teints au henné», *komşiler* «voisins», *kuziler* «brebis».

Dans les mots palataux, le signe du pluriel montre toujours une assimilation régulière, par ex. *evler* «maisons», *kimler* «qui?»; *giderler* «ils vont», *yediler* «ils ont mangé».

b) Les désinences à deux formes du locatif, de l'ablatif et du datif ont aussi une forme assimilée et non assimilée, mais ici les mots à série vocalique palatale offrent aussi des cas de non assimilation: Dans les mots vélaires:

dagda «sur la montagne», *yolda* «sur la route», *harptan* «de la guerre», *yardan* «du bien-aimé», *furuna* «dans le four» (dat.), *hamama* «dans le bain» (dat.) ~ *malde* «dans la fortune», *halde* «dans la situation», *babamden* «de mon père», *düvare* «au mur», *tabage* «dans l'assiette» (dat.). Formes attestées alternativement: *saatta* ~ *saatte* «à cette heure», *hamamdan* ~ *hemamden* «du bain», *yara* ~ *yare* «au bien-aimé». Dans les mots à série vocalique palatale la non assimilation est plus rare, par ex. *birda* «ensemble», *dörtta* «en quatre», *nereya* «ou?» (dat.).

c) La désinence *-ile* «avec», ainsi que le *-çe* adverbe et *-çe* suffixe diminutif (voir 29) n'ont que des formes palatales, c'est aussi sous cette forme que les désinences et formants s'ajoutent aux mots vélaires: *aylen* «avec la lune», *kuşlarle* «avec les oiseaux», *limonle* «avec du citron», *benẹmlen* «avec moi»; *arapçe* «en arabe», *arnautçe* «en albanais», *turkçe* «en turc»; *insançe* «petit homme», *adamçe* «id.», *bonçuce* «petite houle de verre».

d) Le formant de verbe dénominal *-la* ~ *-le*, tout comme le signe du pluriel *-lar* ~ *-ler*, se présente sous des formes alternatives: *dagladi* ~ *dagledi* »il m'a marqué d'un signe», *katlar* ~ *katler* «il est entassé», *patlar* ~ *patler* «il crève», *damlar* ~ *damler* «il dégoutte», *ayler* «il pleure».

e) Dans le domaine de la conjugaison on observe l'absence d'assimilation dans les doubles formes du conditionnel, dans la négation de l'impératif et du futur. Ou conditionnel et au futur elle apparaît et dans des formes vélaires et dans les formes palatales, par ex. *ayırırsem* «si je sépare», *yatırsen* «si tu te couches», *tutarse* «s'il saisit», *yaparsek* «si nous faisons», *versalar* «s'il donnent»; *deversam* «si je dis», *gelsa* «s'il vient»; *atacem* «je jetterai», *gidecam* «j'irai», *bekleyecam* «j'attendrai». Dans la négation de l'impératif le radical palatal peut être suivi d'un signe vélaire: *gitma* ~ *gitme* «ne va pas!».

f) Il arrive que le mot *da* «aussi» après un mot palatal soit attesté aussi sous la forme de *da*: *sen da* «toi aussi», *sẹrçe da* «le moineau aussi», *üş ta* «et trois».

11. Alors que l'assimilation palatale et vélaire est perturbée par nombreux facteurs (voir 10), l'assimilation labiale et illabiale est — sauf quelques exceptions près — parfaitement régulière.

a) Assimilation lablale. Dans la déclinaison: *dostum* «mon ami», *gönlüm* «mon coeur», *yüzüm* «mon visage»; *zorundan* «obligé par qchose», *dördünde* «en quatre», *üstünde* «dessus»; *koynumun* «de mon sein», *gönlümün* «de mon coeur». Dans la conjugaison: *uzunsun* «tu es long», *gündür* «(il est) jour», *olurum* «je suis», *bulurum* «je trouve», *kauşuruz* «nous nous unissons», *görürüm* «je vois», *düşünürsün* «tu penses»; *oldum* «je suis devenu», *vurdum* «j'ai abattu», *gördüm* «j'ai vu», *düştüm* «je suis tombé»; *olsun* «soit!»,

tutsun «qu'il saisisse!», *sürsün* «qu'il tire!», *çürüsün* «qu'il pourrisse!». Dans la formation des verbes: *tutul-* «être pris», *durul-* «être debout».

Exceptions: *oglunẹm* «mon fils», *yolẹna* «sur son chemin» (dat.), *vücudin* «du corps»; *görir* «il voit», *gütürim* «je conduis», *olsın* «soit!». Dans quelques cas le verbe être ne s'assimile pas: *gün dır* «(il est) jour», *gümüş dır* «(il est) argent», *haydut iyis*, *haydutyis* «nous sommes des voleurs». Il n'y a naturellement pas d'assimilation labiale pour le *-i* à la fin du mot (voir 3.) ni le *-miş* du praeteritum indefinitum (voir 4).

b) L'assimilation illabiale est absolument régulière. Voici quelques exceptions: dans des mots vélaires: *nazuk* «finement», *kabur* ~ *kabir* «tombe», *hacılık* ~ *haculık* «condition de haci, pélerinage»; dans des mots palataux: *gendisüne* «à lui-même», *obirüni* «l'autre» (acc.), *güzdanümi* «mon portemonnaie» (acc.), *dengöni* «celle qui est assortie à toi» (acc.); *bilür* «il sait», *gelür* «il vient», *bitirür* «il termine».

12. Un phénomène plutôt rare, mais digne d'attention est la diphtonguisation de *a* devant une consonne: *a^{u}tmiş* «il jetait», *da^{u}lli* «brodé de branches»; *ka^{u}di* «il est resté», *ka^{u}kar* «il se lève», *ka^{u}kti* «il s'est levé». (Pour l'élision du *l* voir point 19/b.) Cf. encore: *kı^{e}rlere* «dans les déserts» (dat.).

La monophtonguisation des diphtongues est partielle: *boyle* ~ *bo^{y}le* ~ *bule* «ainsi», *oyle* ~ *o^{y}le* ~ *ole* «ainsi», *üledе* «à midi», *söyledi* ~ *süledi* «il a dit», *gīdi* et *gimiş* «il a mis, il mettait (la robe)», *bēgir* «cheval de charge», *vās* «prédication» (< *vaız*). Mais: *leylek* «cigogne», *peygamber* «le prophète».

13. L'*i* en position initiale, devant un groupe de consonnes contenant *s*, *ş* disparait: *skemli* «chaise sans dossier», *Istanbol* ~ *Stambol* «Istanboul», *işte* ~ *şte* «voici».

14. Assimilation vocalique: *barabar* «ensemble», *boyla* «ainsi, tel» (< *boyle*).

Dissimilation vocalique. Progressive: *gefan* «linceul» (< *kefen*), *skemli* «chaise sans dossier» (< *iskemle*), *biresi* «l'un des», *ikėsi* «deux de ses», *parėsi* «son argent»; *annem babem* «mon père ma mère»; *ayney* «le miroir» (acc.); *lambä* «lampe», *gonce* «bouton de fleur». Régressif: *fekat* «mais», *sebā* «aube»; *kınadında* «sur son aile» (< *kanadında*).

Consonnes

15. Tout comme dans les dialectes de l'Ouest des Balkans, le *g* du vieil osmanli se maintient dans toutes les positions phonétiques (voir Eint. p. 17, Vidin p. 65, Küst. p. 311, Kum. 25, Zaj. 8). En position intervocalique: *agaç* «arbre», *sagır yılan* «vipère», *kapagi* «son couvercle», *dogar* «il naît» *yogurum*

«je pétris», *degil* «il n'est pas», *ciger* «organes intérieurs», *eger* «si», *dügün* «noces». Devant une consonne: *agda-* «pleurer», *dagda* «sur la montagne», *dogri* «droit», *dügme* «bouton», *ograşma* «occupation», *yagmur* «pluie». A là fin du mot: *dag* «montagne», *sag* «du côté droit».

Des dérogations à cette règle n'apparaissent que dans quelques cas isolés. Dans une chanson populaire (55) on a au lieu de *daglar* «montagnes» *dayler*, au lieu de *aglar* «il pleure», *ayler*, et à ce même endroit on a *g* sous une forme réduite: *dāᵍler* «montagnes». Deux mots palataux offrent *y*: *fesliyen* «oeillet», *ľule çiçeʸi* «une sorte de fleur». Le mot *kâğıt* «papier» a toujours un *h* au lieu d'un *g*: *ťahat*, *ťahadi*. A Struga j'ai noté le mot *oğlan* «garçon» sous la forme de *olan*.

16. Une autre caractéristique est la disparition du phonème *h* dans n'importe quelle position phonétiques (cf. Maz. p. 167, Küst. p. 312, Kum. 24, 26, Flor. p. 97, Zaj. 9, Kat. p. 158), ce phénomène ne se fait cependant pas valoir de manière conséquente, on rencontre indifféremment des formes offrant un *h* et d'autres qui n'en ont pas.

a) En position initiale: *hālā* ~ *ālā* «encore», *hali* ~ *alli* «tapis», *halka* ~ *alka* «anneau», *hazır* ~ *azır* «prêt», *hemen* ~ *emen* «tout de suite», *hiç* ~ *iç* «rien». Sous forme réduite: *haydut* ~ *ʰaydut* «voleur», *ʰambar* «coffre contenant des vivres», *hem* ~ *ʰem* ~ *em* «et, aussi», *hep* ~ *ʰep* ~ *ep* «tous». On rencontre toujours sans *h*: *esap* «calcul», *oca* «hodja».
b) En position intervocalique: *Muhammet* ~ *Muammed* nom de personne, *cevāhir* ~ *cevair* «pierre précieuse»; le *h* est maintenu: *cehennem* «enfer», *muhabbet* «amour»; on ne trouve jamais de *h* dans: *çiçegen toumi* «graine de la fleur»; *h* réduit: *daʰa* «encore».
c) Devant une consonne: *kahve* ~ *kaʰve* ~ *kāve* «café», *mahle* ~ *maʰle* ~ *māle* «quartier», *ihtiyar* ~ *itiyar* «vieux», *Ohrida* ~ *Oriya* «à Ohrid»; *anatar* «clé», *mirab* «mihrab», *tāta* «planche».
d) En position postconsonantique: *levʰa* «inscription ornée accrochée au mur», *musaf* «exemplaire du Coran».
e) A la fin des mots: *allah* ~ *allā* ~ *alla* «Allah», *padişah* ~ *padişa* «padishah», *sabah* ~ *sabaʰ* ~ *sebā* «matin».

Dans deux mots nous trouvons un *h* destiné à remplir un hiatus: *sahat* «heure» (< *saat*), *itahat* «prédication» (< *itaat*).

Dans deux mots le *h* en position préconsonantique devient *y*: *ťervanın saybi* «le chef de la caravane» (< *sāhibi*), *ayd et-* «promettre» (< *ahdet-*)

17. La palatalisation caractéristique des dialectes de l'Ouest des Balkans (cf. Zag. p. 73, Maz. p. 170, Küst. 312, Kum. 8, Zaj. 7, Kat. pp. 154,

156) se manifeste dans notre dialecte à propos des consonnes suivantes: *k, g, t, l.*

a) *k* > *ḱ* > *t́*. Elle est générale dans la combinaisont *kâ*: *beḱār*, *beťār* «célibataire», *kābe* «la pierre Kaaba», *hikāye* «récit», *ťār et-* «employer, aider», *ťāhat* «papier», et assez fréquente aussi dans la combinaison *ki*: *iki* ~ *iḱi* «deux», *kilim* «tapis», *faḱir* «pauvre», *haťim* «juge»; le pronom interrogatif *kim* est attesté aussi sous la forme de *ḱim*, *t́im* et même *çim*. Dans la combinaison *ke*: *teḱe* «couvent», *ťervān* «caravane»; enfin dans la combinaison *kü*: *kül* «cendre», *K'üpürli* nom de lieu (< *Küprüli*).

b) *g* > *ǵ*. Apparaît en premier lieu dans les initiales *gö-*, *gü-*, mais là non plus elle n'est pas générale: *gönül* «coeur», *gör-* «voir», *gözler* «yeux», mais: *ǵol* «lac», *gül* ~ *ǵül* ~ *ǵul* «rose», *güzel* ~ *ǵuzel* «beau», *gümüş* ~ *ǵumüş* «argent» (voir 8.). Rarement elle est attestée dans l'initiale *ge-*: *gene* ~ *ǵene* «de nouveau», *gelir* ~ *ǵelür* «il vient».

c) La palatalisation du *t* ne se rencontre que dans le mot *türk* ~ *turk* ~ *t́urk* «turc».

d) Le *l* se palatalise dans le cas des phonèmes *l* qui dans la langue commune aussi devient doux: *kaĺe* «château-fort», *haĺ* «état», *kaĺbim* «mon coeur», ainsi que dans un changement lié à la vélarisation (voir 8.). *lü* > *ĺu*: *ĺule çiçeyi* «une sorte de fleur».

Dans le cas du mot *güzdan* «porte-monnaie» (< *cüzdan*) on relève un processus de dépalatalisation.

18. La sonorisation est caractéristique des phonèmes *k* et *t*.

a) La sonorisation du *k* est un phénomène fréquent au début du mot: *gaybet-* «perdre», *genden* «toi même», *gefan* «linceul» (< *kefen*), *gurna* «bassin, bain» et en position intervocalique: *bragar* «il laisse», *bragip* «laissant», *merag etté* «il se montrait curieux», *yogidi*, *yogimiş* «il n'a pas été, n'était pas». Cf. Kum. 18/b, Flor. p. 106, Kat. p. 154.

b) La sonorisation du *t* en position initiale ou intervocalique est plus rare: *dāne* «morceau», *daşér-* «laisser déborder»; *yaradan* «le créateur».

Assourdissement.

a) Ne se présente qu'exceptionnellement en position initiale: *bal* ~ *pal* «miel», *ben* ~ *pen* «moi», *bu* ~ *pu* «celui-ci»; *zannet-* ~ *san et-* «penser».

b) L'assourdissement en position finale absolue, générale dans la langue commune n'est pas toujour attesté: *cep* «poche», *esap* «calcul», mais: *kitab* «livre», *mirab* «mihrab». A la place du *d* final il y a en revanche toujours un *t*: *evlat* «enfant», *dert* «souci». L'assourdissement du *z* en position finale

est fréquent: *beyaz* ~ *beyas* «blanc», *üküz* ~ *üküs* «boeuf», *bis* «nous», *cevis* «noix» *süs* «voix», *yeres* «nous mangeons», *uymas* «ne sied pas».

19. Changements dans les combinaisons de consonnes.

a) Certaines combinaisons de consonnes présentent des changements particuliers. *-gç-* > *-şç-*: *başçe* «jardin», *başçivan* «jardinier», *boşça* «fichu». La combinaison *t-s* se transforme en affriquée: *yatsi namazi* «le namaz du soir», *ürtsün* «qu'il le couvre!». Voir encore *pütülitsa* «chou à la crème» (< serbo-croate *pituljica*); *-lk-*, *-ld-* > *-ᵘk-*, *-ᵘd-*: *kaᵘkar* «il se lève», *kaᵘkti* «il s'est levé», *kaᵘdi* «il est resté» (cf. 12.).

b) Dans certaines combinaisons de consonnes la première consonne est réduite ou élidée. *k* > *Ø*: le traitement est particulièrement fréquent à la 2ᵉ personne du futur: *bekleyecesan* «tu resteras», *yapacasen* «tu feras», *ülecesen* «tu mourras». *l* > *Ø*: *oldi* ~ *oˡdi* ~ *odi* «il est devenu», *ōsun* «soit!», *biˡmem* «je ne sais pas», *doˡdurdi* «il a rempli», *dauci* «tambour». *r* > *Ø*: *türk* «turc», *gerçek* «vraiment», *kıerlere* «dans les déserts» (dat.), *bi şey* «quelque chose». *n* > *Ø*: *işalla* «si dieu le veut», *sora* «ensuite», exceptionnellement aussi attesté sous la forme de *sona*. *z* > *Ø*: *kurnasın* «tu es rusé», *almasen* «tu ne prendras pas», *söylemesan* «tu ne dis pas».

c) Élimination de la rencontre de consonnes par intercalation d'une voyelle: *amuca* «oncle», *tarabozan* «barrière», *tahᵃminlen* «par hasard», *gayıpter* «il est perdu», *Beligratta* «à Belgrade»; à la fin du mot disparition de la dernière consonne: *kumunis* «communiste».

d) Assimilation consonantique. Assimilation totale: *alli* «cour» (< *avli*), *halli* «fichu» (< *havli*), *ismalla-* «commander» (< *ısmarla-*). Assimilation partielle: *ç-d*, *t* > *ş-d*, *t*: *üş dāne*, *üş tāne* «trois pièces», *üş ta* «trois aussi»; *v-h* > *f-h*: *ef hayati* «la vie au foyer», *ef halile* «selon les circonstances au foyer»; *rb* > *rv*: *gurvete* «à l'étranger»; *n-b* > *m-b*: *em büyük* «le plus grand».

20. La gémination intéresse surtout le phonème *l*: *alaturka* ~ *allaturka* «à la manière turque», *alınık* ~ *allanek* «offensé», *hali* ~ *alli* «tapis», *oyallari* «ses dentelles». Voir encore: *efendi* ~ *effendi* «efendi», *aman* ~ *amman* «mais s'il vous plaît».

Simplification des géminées: *akıli* «intelligent», *cübe* «manteau», *secade* «tapis de prière», *münecim* ~ *müneccim* «astrologue», *Nüsredin*, exceptionnellement *Nüsreddin* «Nasreddin», *şeboy* «giroflée», *tekke* ~ *teke* «couvent». Voir encore: *muşama* «couverture en matière synthétique» (< *muşamba*).

21. Réduction ou amuissement du *y* en position initiale: *ık-* «détruire», *yıkan-* ~ *ıkan-* «se laver». Cf. Maz. p. 69.

22. Changements des consonnes intervocaliques.

a) *-y-* > *Ø*: *olaʸém* «si seulement j'étais», *öteʸe* «là», *gurnaa* «dans le bassin» (dat.). Il est fréquent à la première personne du singulier du futur et de l'optatif, où en plus on a une contraction: *düşecem* «je tomberai», *gidecàm* «j'irai»; *vereim* ~ *verim* «je veux donner», *yapeim* «je veux faire». Voir encore: *ne ʸᵃpeim* «que dois-je faire?», *ne aptın* «qu'as-tu fait?».
b) *-v-* > *Ø*: *kauşuruz* «nous nous unissons», *kaurma* «ne me brûle pas!», *dauci* «tambour», *tauk* «poule».
c) *-r-* > *-l-*: *evāle* «errant, sans foyer» (< *avāre*).
d) *-v-* > *-f-*: *martufal* «paroles fallacieuses» (< *martaval*), *tufal* «tissu teint» (< *tuval*).

23. Réduction et disparition de la consonne finale.

a) *-r* > *Ø*: *kacaʳ* «il s'en va en courant», *çiktilaʳ* «ils sont sortis», *biʳ* ~ *bi* «un».
b) *-n* > *Ø* est attesté surtout dans la désinence personnelle verbale *-sin* qui se présente souvent sous forme de *-sa*: *söylersa* «tu dis», *taşimisa* «es-tu la pierre de qqun?», *ıkansa* «qu'il se lave», *söylesa* «qu'il dise», *gitsa* «qu'il aille». Voir encore *gidé* «allez!» (< *gidin*).

24. Métathèse: *K'üpürli* nom de lieu (< *K'üprüli*), *pezenvek* «rufian» (< *pezevenk*).

25. Contraction, raccourcissement. A la fin du mot: *buka* «tant», *oka* «tant». A l'intérieur du mot: *çarir* «il appelle», *dīmi* «n'est-ce pas?», *māle* «quartier». Dans des composés: *onçin* «c'est pourquoi».

Morphologie

Les phénomènes phonétiques se présentant au cours de la flexion et de la formation des mots ont été traités dans le chapitre consacré à la phonétique. Ainsi par ex. la non assimilation des désinences et formants du type *a* – *e* (10.), la non assimilation des désinences et formants du type *ı* – *i* – *u* – *ü* (1.) et le phonème *o*, *a* se présentant comme leur variante (2.), l'absence totale de l'assimilation dans les désinences et formants se terminant par *-i* (3.), le signe *-miş* du praeteritum indefinitum (4.), l'assimilation labiale (11.), la contraction des formes du futur et de l'optatif (22.), la réduction du *-r* et du *-n* au cours de la conjugaison (23.), etc. Les autres phénomènes relevant de la morphologie peuvent être résumés comme suit:

26. Accusatif. Si les noms se terminent par une voyelle, le signe de l'accusatif subit souvent une réduction ou n'est pas du tout prononcé: *komşiyi* «le voisin», *güzdaneyi* «le portemonnaie», mais: *tamburay*^{i} «la tambourah», *ayney* «le miroir», *hazney* «le trésor», *karıy* «la femme», *paray* «l'argent», *efendi*^{y} «l'efendi». Cf. Dinler 30, Flor. p. 108, Kat. p. 161.

27. La fonction du datif est remplie par le désinence du locatif: *gittık Selanikte* «nous sommes allés à Salonique»; *gefan üstünde | dükülür yaşler* «les larmes coulent sur le linceul» (56); *mendilim dalde koma | beni bu halde koma* «ne mets pas mon foulard sur la branche | ne me mets pas dans une situation pareille» (40); *ne düşecek cübende senındır* «ce qui tombe sur ton manteau est à toi» (60); *bu kelçe . . . padişada gider* «le petit chauve . . . se rend chez le padishah» (63).

Désinence du datif dans la fonction du locatif: *Orida, Oriya* «à Ohrid».

28. Plusieurs postpositions sont attestées dans la fonction du locatif sans la désinence du locatif: *ürti üsti kediler* «sur la couverture (il y a) des chats» (54); *^{h}ambar altı dari var* «au fond de la caisse il y a de la semoule» (64); *köşküm varder ayė karşė* «j'ai un palais en face de la lune» (58); *haydutun bi^{r} tānesi geler kapi arkasė saklanır . . . birer dāne kapi arkasė dinlėr* «vient un voleur et il se cache derrière la porte . . . un (voleur) écoute derrière la porte» (58).

La postposition *-ile* «avec» est attestée en règle générale sous la forme de *-ilen, -len*, exceptionnellement sous la forme de *-le*. Nous n'avons noté d'assimilation que dans un seul cas: *kafayla* «avec la tête» (voir 10/c).

29. Parmi les formants nominaux il faut en signaler quelques-uns moins fréquents dans la langue commune, avant tout le diminutif *-çe, -ce* d'origine slave: *adamçe* «petit homme», *insançe* «petit homme», *çöyce* «petit enfant», *bonçuce* «petite boule de verre», *kelçe* «petit chauve», *kutiçe* «petite boîte». Le formant de nom déverbal *-ili* et *-ik* est relativement productif: *dizıli* «arrangé», *yazıli* «inscrit»; *kapanık* «fermé», *alınık* «offensé».

30. En ce qui concerne la conjugaison, il faut en premier lieu mentionner que le *y* présent caractéristique des dialectes de l'Ouest des Balkans (cf. Eint. p. 19, Vidin p. 84, Küst. p. 315, Kum. 9, Zaj. 21) est inconnu dans notre dialecte qui exprime le présent uniquement par l'aoriste. Dans deux chansons populaires on trouve bien les formes celles que: *gidiyorum* (56); *akmiyor, bakmiyor, çikmayor* (57), mais ce ne sont pas là des recoupements du langage parlé. Dans les matériaux d'A. Salih qui ne figurent pas dans mon étude j'ai également noté quelques formes verbales de ce genre: *bakiyur,*

geliyur, döniyur, yakiyur, et dans les matériaux recueillis par Katona à Ohrid on trouve cette expression: *istiyorsun* «tu veux» (p. 99).

31. Parmi les participes et les gérondifs il faut faire état de l'emploi du participe passé formé à l'aide de *-di*: *sevdi canım* «mon amour chéri», les changements de forme du gérondif *-ince, -dikçe*: *gelince, gelınces*; l'emploi de *geldıkçe, geldıkçes* «en venant» et du gérondif en *-a* dans le sens d'un complément du temps: *bu ayın çikasında* «avant que le mois ne s'écoule» (36).

Syntaxe

Le phénomène le plus intéressant dans le domaine de la syntaxe est l'emploi des constructions subordonnées, étrangères à la langue turque, à la place des participes et des gérondifs. Cf. Küst. pp. 217—321, Flor. p. 117.

32. Les subordonnées complétives d'objet et les subordonnées finales sont rattachées à la proposition principale sans aucune conjonction, le verbe de la subordonnée se met à l'optatif lorsqu'il s'agit de la 1ère ou de la 2e personne, et à l'impératif lorsqu'il s'agit de la 3e personne.

a) *isterım yarıma varayim* «je veux aller chez mon amour» (4); *ben sėni isterim şimdi bir müneccim olasın* «je veux que tu sois maintenant un astrologue» (59), *sen lazim bilesėn* «il faut que tu saches» (62), *ben çardem seni . . . sen taksem yapasen* «je t'ai fait venir pour que tu fasses le partage» (60).
b) *başladi yalan söylesa* «il a commencé à dire des choses fausses» (59), *korkarki kocasi anlāmasın* «elle craint que son mari ne comprenne» (64), *em büyük ogluni kövermiş beklesın mallerini* «il envoya son fils aîné pour garder sa fortune» (63), *hamama gider ıkansa* «elle va au bain pour se laver» (59), *ne yaptẹn kaynata yesẹn* «qu'as-tu fait à manger au beau-père?» (60), *yaparım bir büyük duvar oni atlasınlar* «je fais un grand mur pour qu'ils sautent par dessus» (63), *azır olurlar üteye gitsanler* «ils sont prêts pour y aller» (63), *adamda uzanmiş yatsın* «l'homme s'étendit pour se coucher» (64).

Exceptionnellement il arrive que la finale soit construite régulièrement: *kocasi gider çalişmaga* «son mari s'en va pour travailler» (64), *ka^{u}ktilar orda Nüsredin efendi^{y} aramaga* «ils partirent pour retrouver Nasreddin efendi» (62).

33. En dehors de la conjonction *ki* «que» courante aussi dans la langue commune, le dialecte emploi aussi des pronoms et des adverbes en tant que conjonction:

ki «que»: *sen nerden bilḍen ki ben gelirim* «comment as-tu su que je viendrais?» (59), *bilirem ki almasen* «je sais que tu ne m'épouses pas» (41).

ne «qui»: *ben sana paray atacam, ne düşecek cübende senınḍer ne düşecek yere çocuklarındır* «je te jetterai de l'argent, ce qui tombe sur ta robe est à toi, ce qui tombe par terre est aux enfants» (60), *o dali ne keser ona binmiş* «il avait grimpé sur la branche qu'il coupait» (62), *o dalla ne binmiş idėn oni keserdėn* «tu coupais la branche sur laquelle tu avais grimpé» (62), *kim ister benım kızlarımi ne deyecim yapsẹn* «celui qui veut mes filles doit faire de que je dirai» (63).

nerde «où»: *sana haznė anlatacis nerde dẹr* «nous t'expliquerons où est le trésor» (59).

ne vakit «lorsque»: *ne vakit gittiler* «lorsqu'ils allèrent» (62), *ne vakẹt o dali kesti* «lorsqu'il coupa cette branche» (62).

ne zaman «lorsque»: *ne zeman bekler* «lorsqu'il attend» (63), *ne zeman eve giderler* «lorsqu'ils rentrent» (63), *ne zaman camida vas söylersan* «lorsque tu prèches dans le djami» (60).

açan «lorsque»: *açan o büyükleri beklemedi* «lorsque les grands ne l'attendirent pas» (63).

niçin «parce que»: *sıkılmiş niçin paşadan bir ay mektüp yogimiş* «elle était enxieuse parce que depuis un mois il n'y avait pas de lettre du pacha» (59).

Textes

Mâniler

1. Ohrid

akılısın kurnasın[1]	Tu es intelligent, tu es malin,
fakat biraz aylasın[2]	mais un peu paresseux.
bu kafayla gidersen	Si tu continues à te promener avec cette tête,
sen adam olamasın	tu ne deviendras jamais un homme.

2. Ohrid

alçacik duvar atladım	J'ai sauté par-dessus un mur bas
kırmızi güle sarmandım	j'ai embrassé une rose rouge.
kırmızi güli diderken[3]	Pendant que j'arrachais la rose rouge
hasretemle kalıştım	je suis resté là avec mon désir.

[1] Cf. TS. *kurnaz* «kolayca kanmayıp başkalarını kandırmasını ve ufak tefek oyunlarla amacına erişmesini beceren».

[2] Cf. TS *aylak* «işsiz, boş gezen».

[3] Cf. TS. *ditmek* «yün, pamuk gibi lifli şeyleri tutam tutam ayırıp liflerini seyreltmek».

3. Struga

alçacik kıraz dali	Basse branche de cerisier,
altında yeşil hali	tapis vert en-dessous.
ya Muammed ya Ali	Oh Mahomet, oh Ali,
kavuştur iki yari	fais que les deux amants soient unis.

Le même *mâni* figure dans le recueil d'A. Salih d'Ohrid, avec un texte pour l'essentiel identique, mais offrant quelques différences phonétiques: *alçacik kirez dali* | *altında yeşil alli* | *ya Muhamed ya Ali* | *sen kauştur iki yari*. Voir encore Küst. 10, Vidin p. 257.

4. Ohrid

altın tas altın tarak	Plat en or, peigne en or,
canımi aldi firak	mon coeur languit.
isterım yarıma varayim	Je voudrais rejoindre mon amour
yollarımdir pek irak	mais mes chemins sont très loin.

5. Struga

ay çinçini çinçini	Ah porcelaine de Chine, porcelaine de Chine.
upėyim agzinin içini	Que j'embrasse les lèvres au milieu.
nerde ıdın dün gece	Où étais-tu cette nuit
koynumun güvercini	pigeon de mon coeur?

Le même *mâni* figure dans le recueil d'A. Salih d'Ohrid, avec de légères différences dans le texte et la phonétique: *mavi çini çin çini* | *üpim agzının çını* | *neyerde kaldin bu gece* | *gôksümün güvercini*. Voir encore Mich. 84.

6. Ohrid

ay dogar açik açik	La lune se lève claire, claire,
sofralar dōli kaşik	les tables sont pleines de cuillers.
zaptet komşi ogluni	Voisin, enferme ton fils,
zere[1] *dir bana āşik*	parce qu'il est amoureux de moi.

Le même *mâni* dans le recueil d'A. Salih se termine par les lignes suivantes: *halt etmesın kaynanam* | *ogli bana kôr aşik*. «Que ma belle-mère ne dise pas de bêtises | son fils est aveuglément amoureux de moi». Pour la signification de l'expression *halt etmek* voir TS. *halt* «bu kelime kaba konuşmada «uygunsuz söz söylemek veya iş görmek» anlamına gelen *halt etmek*, *halt karıştırmak*, *halt yemek* deyimlerinde gecer». Voir encore Mich. 82; là encore il n'y a que les deux premières lignes qui soient identiques.

[1] Cf. TS. *zira* «çünkü şundan dolayı ki».

7. Ohrid

ay dogar aydır alla	La lune se lève, Allah la lune,
gün dogar gündẹr alla	le soleil se lève, Allah le soleil.
ya müradẹmi vẹr alla	Ou tu exauces mon voeu Allah,
ya canẹmi al alla	ou bien prends ma vie Allah!

Le *mâni* figure aussi dans le recueil d'A. Salih, avec un texte analogue, mais de nombreuses différences phonétiques: *ay dogar ay dır allah* | *gün dogar gündür allah* | *ya müradımi ver allah* | *ya canimi al allah.*

8. Ohrid

aynay attim çayẹra	J'ai jeté le miroir dans le champ
şafkẹ vurdi bayẹra	sa lumière est tombée sur la pente.
işeden beyler agaler	Entendez beys et agas,
işem dündi hayẹra	mes affaires tournent en bien.

J'ai entendu ce *mâni* de deux personnes à Ohrid et il figure aussi dans le recueil d'A. Salih. Les trois textes sont parfaitement identiques et n'offrent que quelques différences phonétiques. La deuxième variante et le texte d'A. Salih disent notamment: *ayney* (S: *aynay*) *attım çayira* | *şafki vurdi bayira* | *işidẹn* (S: *işıdın*) *beyler agalär* (S: *agalar*) | *işım dündi hayira.* Voir encore Küst. 12, Zaj. 101.

9. Ohrid

ben bir ufak kuşidẹm	J'étais un petit oiseau,
asmaya kommiş idẹm	je me suis posé sur la tonnelle.
erẹnler[1] *olmayaidi*	Si seulement il n'y avait pas eu d'hommes éminents
yerẹmde kalmiş idẹm	je serais resté à ma place.

Ce *mâni* figure dans le recueil d'A. Salih, il offre quelques divergences insignifiantes de texte et de phonétique: *bir ufacik kuş idım* | *asmaya konmiş idım* | *erenler olmasaydi* | *ben orada kalmiş idım.*

10. Ohrid

bir el vurdum musafa	J'ai frappé une fois dans mes mains pour le Coran,
sürenler sürsün sefa[2]	ceux qui s'amusent, qu'ils s'amusent à l'air libre.
kimdir senın baş dostun	Qui est ton meilleur ami?
Muhammetlen Mustafa	Mahomet et Moustafa.

[1] Cf. TS. *erenler* «ermiş olan kimseler; eskiden dervişler arasında bir seslenme sözü olarak kullanılırdı».

[2] Cf. HŞ. *safa sürmek* «sich im Freien vergnügen».

11. Ohrid

bir el vurdum zeytüne — J'ai frappé une fois dans mes mains pour l'olivier
zeytünün tanesıne — pour l'un des oliviers.
nice gönül virmeyim — Comment ne donnerais-je pas mon coeur
ana bir tanesıne — au fils unique de la mère?

Le *mâni* se retrouve dans le recueil d'A. Salih et je l'ai noté aussi à Struga. Les trois variantes offrent une concordance littérale à côté de divergences phonétiques. Voici la variante de Struga et celle notée par A. Salih: *bir el vurdum zeytüne* | *zeytünün danesıne* (S: *danesine*) | *nice gönül vėrmeyim* (S: *vermeyim*) | *ana bir danesıne.*

12. Struga

çin tabakta rėçel — Compote dans un plat de porcelaine,
oturmiş gaylė[1] *çeker* — il s'est assis, il a de graves soucis.
ne çekersın be garip — Pourquoi traines-tu le chagrin, mon pauvre?
bu günler gelęr geçer — les jours viennent et s'en vont.

13. Ohrid

dagler dagledi[2] *beni* — Les montagnes m'ont imprimé une marque,
gören agladi beni — ceux qui m'ont vu m'ont pleuré.
dėmir zincir t'ār etmes — Les chaînes de fer ne servent à rien,
gönül bagladi beni — c'est le coeur qui m'a enchaîné.

Dans le recueil d'A. Salih on a, au lieu de *demir zincir, gümüş zincir*, et le texte offre aussi quelques divergences phonétiques: *daglar dagladi beni* | *gôren agladi beni* | *gümüş zincir kâr etmes* | *gônul bagladi beni.* Voir encore Küst. 13.

14. Ohrid

effendım ülmeyesęn — Dame, si seulement vous ne deviez pas mourir,
dert belâ görmeyesęn — si vous pouviez ne pas connaître les soucis, le malheur!
duragın cennet olsın — Que le paradis soit autour de vous
cehennem görmeyesęn — si seulement vous ne deviez jamais voir l'enfer!

[1] Cf. TS. *gaile* «üzüntü veren pürüzlü iş, baş derdi, baş belâsı».
[2] Cf. TS. *dağ* 1. «kızgın bir şeyle vurulan damga». 2. «tedavi için vücuda kızgın bir aletle yapılan yanık». *dağlamak* «dağ yapmak, dağ vurmak».

15. Struga

ekseride[1] *bir elek* — Un tamis est accroché au clou,
yar gimiş pembe yelek — le bien-aimé a mis un gilet rose.
ben o yardan ayrılmam — Je ne veux pas quitter mon amour,
ayırdi zalım felek — le sort cruel m'a séparée de lui.

Il figure aussi dans le recueil d'A. Salih: *ekseride bir elek* | *yar giyer pembe yelek* | *ben yarimdan ayrılmam* | *ayırdi çarkı felek*. Pour cette dernière expression voir TS. *çarkıfelek* «yakılınca döne döne kıvılcım saçan donanma fişeği»; HŞ: «die Sonne (das Feuerrad bei dem Feuerwerk)».

16. Ohrid

fėsliyen ėktim duvare — J'ai planté des oeillets sur le mur de pierre,
gėlen gėçen suvare[2] — divertissement du soir qui va et vient.
yarẹm küçük ben küçük — Ma bien-aimée et petite, je suis petit
ikẹmẹzda evāle[3] — tous les deux nous sommes sans foyer.

17. Ohrid

inciyėm dizıliyim — Je suis une perle, je suis arrangée,
zümrütlen süzüliyėm — je suis ornée d'émeraudes.
ister al istėr alma — Que tu me prennes ou que tu ne me prennes pas,
alnında yazıliyom — je suis inscrite sur ton front.

18. Struga

kadıfedır kesesi — Son sac est en velours,
kāveden gelır sesi — sa voix vient du café.
oturmiş kāve içer — Il s'est assis et il boit du café
cigereẹmẹn köşesi — le trésor de mon coeur.

19. Struga

kadıfe yastıgim yok — Je n'ai pas de coussin en velours,
odana bastıgim yok — je ne suis pas encore allé dans ta chambre.
geter kitab el vurayim — Que je frappe dans la main, apporte le livre,
senden gayri dostum yok — je n'ai pas d'amis en dehors de toi.

[1] Cf. TS. *ekser* «büyük çivi, enser». A Struga et à Ohrid le mot est employé sous la forme *ekseri*.
[2] Cf. TS. *suvare* «akşam yemeğinden sonra yapılan eğlence».
[3] Cf. TS. *avare* «işsiz, kararsız ve şaşkınca dolaşan»; HŞ. *âvâre* «vagabundierend».

20. Struga

kaladan atma bėni — Ne me chasse pas du château,
çamura katma bėni — ne me jette pas dans la boue!
kaç karşımdan bre olan — Fuis moi, garçon,
yakma kaurma bėni — ne m'enflamme pas, ne me consume pas!

21. Struga

kalanın ardındayim — Je suis derrière le château
saatın dördündeyim — j'y suis à quatre heures.
gam çėkme nazli yarim — Ne t'afflige pas mon cher amour,
ben senin derdindeyim — j'ai des soucis à cause de toi.

22. Struga

karanfıl katır[1] *oldi* — Les oeillets sont arrangés
hasretlik yeter oldi — j'en ai eu assez de te désirer.
senin māhi cemālın — Ta beauté pareille à celle de la lune
gözümde tüter oldi — s'est évaporée à mes yeux.

23. Ohrid

kar yagar biber biber — La neige tombe comme des grains de poivre,
benęm agam binėr gidėr — mon seigneur monte à cheval et s'en va.
gitmà agam başın içün[2] — Ne t'en va pas mon mari, pour l'amour de dieu,
ben gidecàm senin içün — c'est moi qui m'en vais à cause de toi.

Dans le recueil d'A. Salih: *kar yagar biber biber | benım agam biner gider | gitme agam başın için | ben gideyim senın için.*

24. Struga

karşida durma olan — Ne reste pas là debout, en face garçon
buynuni burma olan — ne te tords pas le cou, garçon!
bėni sana virmėzler — On ne me donnera pas à toi,
dengöni[3] *ara olan* — cherche en une qui soit assortie à toi, garçon!

25. Ohrid

kāve pişţegi yėrde[3] — A l'endroit où l'on fait le café,
telve daştegi yėrde — à l'endroit où le marc de café déborde.
güzel çirkin bakilmas — Beau ou laid, cela ne compte pas
gönül düştügi yėrde — là où le coeur succombe.

[1] Cf. Kaz. p. 264.
[2] Cf. TS. *için* «ant deyimleri meydana getirir: *çocukların başı için . . .*».
[3] Cf. TS. *denk* «uygun».

Une autre variante notée également à Ohrid et le texte d'A. Salih ont le texte suivant: *kahve piştégi* (S: *piştıgi*) *yérde* (S: *yerde*) | *telve daştégi* (S: *daştıgi*) *yérde* (S: *yerde*) | *güzel çirkin bakélmas* (S: *bakılmas*) | *gönül* (S: *gônül*) *düştügi yérde* (S: *yerde*). Voir encore Küst. 21.

26. Ohrid

kāve yémenden gelér	Le café vient du Yemen,
bülbül çémenden gelér	le rossignol vient du pré.
benım bir efendım var	J'ai une dame,
her gün hemandén gelér	elle vient tous les jours du bain.

La variante notée par A. Salih ne diffère que par quelques traits phonétiques de ce texte: *kahve Yemenden gelır* | *bülbül çimenden gelır* | *benım bir efendım var* | *her gün hamamdan gelır*. Voir encore Vidin p. 263.

27. Ohrid

kāvéyi pişęręrim	Je fais le café
telvéyi daşérérém	je fais déborder le marc.
desalar yarım gelér	Si on me disait que mon amour va venir
aklęmi şaşęrirım	mon esprit se troublerait.

Selon une autre version que j'ai notée et qui est identique au texte d'A. Salih: *kāveyi* (S: *kahveyi*) *pişirirım* (S: *pişırırım*) | *telveyi daşırırım* (S: *daşırırım*) | *deselar* (S: *desalar*) *yarım geler* (S: *gelır*) | *aklımi şaşırırim* (S: *şaşiririm*). Voir encore Küst. 22.

28. Ohrid

leylek uçar alka alka	La cigogne vole en rond, en rond,
kınadında ġumüş alka	sur son aile il y a une bague en argent.
ben alkayi vireyim	Si seulement je pouvais donner la bague,
alka sadaka vireyim	si seulement je pouvais donner bague et monnaie.

Dans la variante recueillie par A. Salih, la première et la troisième ligne sont différentes quant à leur sens: *leylek uçar kalka kalka* | *kinadında gümüş halka* | *ben bu mürade ileyim* | *halka sadaka vereyim.*

29. Struga

limoni sıktım su akti	J'ai pressé le citron, il en est sorti de l'eau,
éfendim kime tapti[1]	qui ma dame a-t-elle adoré?
söyleyénler söylesın	Il faut laisser parler ceux qui parlent,
ak ġuli bala takti	elle a trempé la rose rouge dans le miel.

[1] Cf. TS. *tapmak* «Tanrı diye tanımak, kulluk etmek».

30. Struga

mahinci başi mi sen	Es-tu le chef des sorciers,
cevāhir taşi mi sen	es-tu une pierre précieuse?
yazdırayim bir muska	Je voudrais faire faire un talisman,
koynunda taşırmisen	le portes-tu au cou?

31. Struga

māni mānilari aşar[1]	Un mâni suit les autres mâni,
māni bilmeyen şaşar	celui qui ne sait pas de mâni, s'étonne.
gel bir māni söylėyim	Viens donc, que je te dise un mâni,
hep mānilari aşar	il surpasse tous les autres mâni.

32. Ohrid

martufal[2] *başımisẹn*	Es-tu un chef martufal?
cevair taşimisẹn	es-tu une pierre précieuse?
gel bir māni söyleyim	Viens donc que je dise un mâni,
cebinde taşirmisẹn	l'emporteras-tu dans ta poche?

J'ai noté ce *mâni* de la bouche de deux autres personnes à Ohrid et il figure aussi dans le recueil d'A. Salih. Parmi les quatre variantes, les deux notées par moi et celle notée par Salih ne se distinguent l'une de l'autre que par quelques caractéristiques phonétiques, tandis que la quatrième est différente par le texte de ses deux dernières lignes. Prenant le texte ci-dessus communiqué comme base, nous avons les quatre variantes: *martufal başimisẹn* (2.: *başımısa* 3.: *başimi sen*, S: *başi mi sın*) | *cevaır* (2.: *cevahır*, 3.: *cevahir*, S: *cevair*) *taşimisẹn* (2.: *taşımısa*, 3.: *taşimi sen*, S: *taşi mi sın*) | *gel bir māni* (2., S: *mani*) *söyleyim* | *cebinde* (2.: *cebande*, S: *cebında*) *taşirmisẹn* (2.: *taşırmisa*, S: *taşır mi sın*). Les deux dernières lignes de la troixième variante sont les suivantes: *bahtilen dövletilen* | *ya çikalım bakalım* «avec de la chance, du bonheur | allons, allons voir!» Ces deux lignes reviennent aussi dans le *mâni* suivant, no. 33.

33. Ohrid

martufalım tufalım[3]	Mon *martufal*, mon *tufal*,
kime düşer bu falım[4]	à qui se rapporte ma divination?
bahtilen dövletilen	Avec de la chance, avec du bonheur,
hay açalẹm bakalẹm	ouvrons-le, regardons-le!

[1] Cf. TS. *aşmak* «yüksek, uzak veya geçilmesi güç bir yerin öte yanına geçmek».
[2] Cf. TS. *martaval* (argo) «yalan, uydurma söz». *martaval atmak* veya *okumak* «inanılmayacak sözler söylemek».
[3] Cf. TS. *tuval* «yağlı boya resim veya bu resmin yapıldığı muşamba».
[4] Cf. TS. *fal* «oyun kâgidi, kahve telvesi, el ayası gibi şeylere bakıp, veya baktırıp sözde gelecekten, yitikten, talihten haber alma işi: *fal açmak, fala bakmak*».

Voici la dernière ligne d'une variante d'Ohrid: *ya çikalım bakalım*. Voir la variante no. 3 du *mâni* no. 32.

34. Ohrid

mavi ilik mor dügme Boutonnière bleue, bouton violet,
ne tez girdın gönlüme comme tu es vite entré dans mon coeur.
geçme kapım önünde Ne passe pas devant ma porte,
kan damlar yüregimde car des gouttes de sang tombent sur mon coeur.

Ce *mâni* se retrouve dans la recueil d'A. Salih, à Struga j'en ai noté moi-même trois variantes. Prenant comme base celle d'Ohrid, les cinq variantes sont les suivantes: *mavi ilik* (Struga 1.: *dügme*, S: *iplik*) *mor dügme* | *ne tez* (Struga 1.: *gayet*, 2.: *yetir*, 3.: *şimdi*) *girdın gönlüme*. La troisième ligne diffère de celle de la variante d'Ohrid, mais les quatre autres sont identiques: Struga 1.: *her aklıma gelınce*, 2.: *her gönlüme girdıkçe*, 3.: *her aklıma geldıkçes*, S: *sen aklıma geldıkçe*. La quatrième ligne est identique dans toutes les variantes: *kan damlar yüregime* (S: *yüregıme*). Voir encore Mich. 91, Vidin p. 261.

35. Struga

mavi ilik mor yaka Boutonnière bleue, col violet,
bayıldım baka baka je me suis évanoui en regardant, en regardant.
çarşida muhabbet olmas Sur le marché l'amour est impossible,
buyrun hanım yataga entrez madame, au lit!

36. Struga

mavi şāmi başımda Fichu bleu sur ma tête,
oyallari[1] *kaşımda* son bord dentelé sur mes sourcils.
bir müradẹm olacak Un de mes désirs va se réaliser,
bu ayın çikasında avant que ce mois ne s'écoule.

37. Struga

mavi tabak maşalla Assiette bleue, grâce à Dieu,
sen benımsın işalla tu es à moi, si Dieu le veut.
yolcular yola gider Les voyageurs s'en vont,
kauşuruz işalla nous nous appartiendrons, si Dieu le veut.

38. Ohrid

mektübimi yazdẹm acẹle J'ai écrit ma lettre en hâte,
okuyamasẹn hecele tu ne pourras pas en lire les syllabes.

[1] Cf. TS. *oya* «mendil, yazma, başörtüsü gibi kadın eşyasının kenarına iğne ile örülen veya örüldükten sonra dikilen bir çeşit daracık tentene».

hecelemeyesen — Ne veuilles pas la déchiffrer,
sok koynuna gicėle[1] — cache la dans ton sein la nuit.

39. Ohrid

mendilim da^{u}lli[2] *pembe* — Mon fichu est rose, il est brodé de branches,
vallahi gönlüm sėnde — par Dieu, mon coeur est à toi.
ya ondan ol ya bėnden — Reste avec elle ou avec moi,
kan ėderim orta yėrden — je vais répandre du sang si tu restes au milieu.

40. Ohrid

mėndilin dalde koma — Ne mets pas ton fichu sur la branche,
bėni bu halde koma — ne me mets pas dans une situation pareille!
gidėrisen çabuk gel — Si tu t'en vas, reviens vite,
gözlerim yolda koma — ne me laisse pas les yeux attachés au chemin!

41. Ohrid

odada yeşil minder — Dans la chambre un matelas vert,
yüzüni bana dünder — tourne ton visage vers moi!
bilirem ki almasen — Je sais que tu ne m'épouses pas,
barė bir selam günder — envoie-moi au moins des salutations!

42. Ohrid

odada yeşil sandęk — Dans la chambre un bahut vert,
mėdet aşkęna yandęk — au secours, nous sommes amoureux!
aldandım gönül verdęm — J'ai été trompé, j'ai donné mon coeur,
ben sėni adam sandęm — j'ai cru que tu étais un homme (bien).

43. Ohrid

pėncėrede ay dogmiş — Par la fenêtre la lune est apparue,
san ettėm sebā olmiş — j'ai pensé que c'était l'aube.
al yanaktan üperkėn — En embrassant le visage rouge,
dudaklarėm bal olmiş — mes lèvres se sont transformées en miel.

44. Ohrid

pėncėreden bakişırız — Nous nous regardons de la fenêtre,
limonle ateşęręz — nous nous jetons des citrons.

[1] Cf. TS. *geceleyin* «gece vakti».
[2] Cf. TS. *dallı* «üzerine dallar işlenmiş».

annem babem görmesan Que ma mère, mon père ne le voient pas,
gizliden seveşeŗez nous nous aimons en secret.

45. Ohrid

pėncėreden kar geleŗ Il neige par la fenêtre,
tufa tufa[1] *gül geleŗ* une fleur de tubereuse approche,
benėm bir effendėm var J'ai un efendi,
ayda yılda bir geleŗ il vient une fois par mois, une fois par an.

Le *mâni* en question figure chez A. Salih avec le texte suivant: *pencereden yel gelır | tufa tufa gül gelır | benım bir efendım var | ayda yılda bir gelır.*

46. Ohrid

pėncėremen ťāhadi Le papier de ma fenêtre,
yok gönlümün rahadi mon coeur n'a pas de repos.
desalar yarim gelėr Si on disait que mon amour va venir
yaptırırim koyun sahadi je ferais faire une montre.

Dans le recueil d'A. Salih, le texte est légèrement différent: *penceremın kâhadi | gitti gönlümün rahadi | seni bana versalar | yaparım koyun sahadi.*

47. Struga

sari sandal sabırsız La sandale jaune est impatiente,
sabrim kalmadi sensız je n'ai plus de patience sans toi.
sagır yılan[2] *ısırsın* Que la vipère te morde
eger yatırsen bensız si tu te couches sans moi!

48. Ohrid

süpürge teli Comme les tiges du balai,
incedėr beli sa taille est mince.
seversen beni Si tu m'aimes,
gelėrsen beri tu viens près de moi.

Cf. Zaj. p. 111.

49. Struga

şu dagin yoli ince Le chemin de cette montagne est étroit,
çiçegi açar gonce sa fleur a des boutons.
uçan kuşlarle haber alsam Si je pouvais avoir des nouvelles par les oiseaux qui volent
yarimin kėyfi nice comment se porte mon amour.

[1] Cf. TS. *Tuba* «cennette bulunduğuna inanılan, kökü yukarıda, dalları aşağıda büyük bir ağacın adı olup gücünü yüksekten alan şeyler için bir benzetme örneği olarak kullanılır».

[2] Cf. TS. *sağır yılan* «bir cins engerek yılanı (Vipera aspis)».

50. Struga

şu daglar olmayaydi	Si seulement ces montagnes n'avaient pas existé,
çiçegi solmayaydi	si seulement sa fleur ne s'était pas fanée!
ülüm allahın emri	Ma mort est commandée par Allah,
ayrılmak olmayaydi	si seulement il n'y avait eu de séparation!

51. Ohrid

uzunsun sęręk gibi	Tu es grande comme une perche,
ekşisin koruk gibi	tu es aigre comme du raisin pas mûr.
ne gezersėn mālelėri	Pourquoi te promènes-tu dans les quartiers
alınık[1] *tauk gibi*	comme une poule offensée?

Une autre variante d'Ohrid et la variante correspondante qui se trouve dans le recueil d'A. Salih ont le texte suivant: *uzun sun sęręk* (S: *sırik*) *gibi* | *ekşisin* (S: *ekşi sın*) *koruk gibi* | *ne gezersėn* (S: *ne gezersın*) *yollarin* (S: *mahlelėri*) | *alınık* (S: *allanek*) *tauk gibi.*

52. Struga

uzun uzun hayatlar	De longues longues vies.
altında minder katler	Le matelas au-dessous est plié.
gel sarılalım yatalım	Viens embrassons-nous, couchons-nous,
belki duşmanler patler	peut-être nos ennemis von-ils éclater.

Dans la variante notée par A. Salih les terminaisons *-lar* figurent sous une forme assimilée: . . . *hayatlar* | . . . *katlar* | . . . *duşmanlar patlar.*

53. Ohrid

ürtilerde gezerėm	Je marche sur des couvertures,
altın inci dizerėm	j'enfile de l'or et des perles.
ben bu viran mahlede	Dans ce quartier en ruines
hālā beťār gezerėm	je me promène encore célibataire.

Dans la troisième ligne d'une autre variante d'Ohrid et de celle qui lui correspondechez A. Salih, on lit le nom de la ville d'Ohrid: *ürti üsti gezerim* (S: *gezerım*) | *altın inci dizerim* (S: *dizerım*) *bu virane Ohrida* | *ālā* (S: *hala*) *bekâr gezerim* (S: *gezerım*).

54. Struga

ürti üsti kediler	Sur la couverture il y a des chats,
attim yemek yediler	je leur ai donné à manger, ils ont mangé.

[1] Cf. TS. *alınmak* «bir sözün, bir davranışın kendisine karşı olduğunu incinmek veya öfkelenmek».

yediler yemediler Ils ont mangé, il n'ont pas mangé,
gittiler söylediler ils sont partis et l'ont raconté.

La deuxième ligne de la variante d'A. Salih est: *attım ekmek yediler.*

Şarkılar

Les quatre chansons populaires que j'ai notées à Ohrid m'ont été communiquées par Hacer Bayram.

55. *daylėr daylėr viran daylėr* Montagnes, montagnes, montagnes s'affaissant,
yüzüm güler kalbım aylėr mon visage rit, mon coeur pleure.
pen bu gėce müsafirim Cette nuit je suis invité,
yarın sebā ben yolciyam demain matin je suis voyageur,
ahrette ben dauciyam dans l'au-delà je suis tambour.
pėştėmalė serdem taşa J'ai étalé le fichu sur la pierre,
taş ayrėldi baştan başa la pierre s'est entièrement fendue.
yazılanlar gelėr başa Ce qui est écrit arrive.
ėrısın dāğler ahımdan Que les montagnes fondent de mon gémissement,
çürüsün çöller zahımdan que les déserts pourrissent de mon soupir.

56. *işte ben gidiyorum* Voilà, je m'en vais
gittıgim zaman lorsque je dois m'en aller.
dallar yėşillensın Que les branches verdoient
sardıgim zaman quand j'embrasse.

işte ben gidiyorum Voilà, je m'en vais
dėdim elvidā j'ai dit adieu.
bizi kavuşturşun Que nous soyons unis
yaradan mevlā par le Dieu du Ciel.

işte ben gidiyorum Voilà, je m'en vais,
şol damım kalsın que ma maison reste,
uçurdum şāhinami j'ai laissé envoler mon faucon,
ellerim boş kalsın que mes mains restent vides!
oturmiş üç güzel Trois belles jeunes filles se sont assises,
gel gefan[1] *işler* viens, elles brodent le linceul,
gel gefan üstünde viens, sur le linceul

[1] Cf. TS. *kefen* «ölüyü sarip gömdükleri keyaz bez»

dükülür yaşler — se répandent les larmes.
benim sevdi canım — Mon cher amour
süçüm bagışler. — pardonne mes péchés.

57. *kal'ė ka ėye bakar* — Le château regarde le château,
ka'ėden üç kız bakar — trois jeunes filles regardent au dehors du château.

bu virāne haramleri — Les ravisseurs de ces ruines
çok canler yakar — ont allumé beaucoup de coeurs.
kal'ė kal'ėye karşi — Le château est en face du château,
kal'ėnin üsti çarşi — en haut du château il y a un marché.
ben bir gonce gül olsam — Si j'étais un bouton de rose,
açılsam yare karşi — si je poussais en face de mon amour.

endim çėşme akmiyor — Je suis descendu, mais le puits ne donne pas d'eau,
yar yüzüme bakmiyor — le bien-aimé ne me regarde pas.
yar üstüne yar sevmiş — Après une amante il en a aimé une autre
hiç hatrımdan çikmayor — Je n'arrive pas à l'oublier.

Bağırma — Refrain

al bėni vir sana — Prends-moi et donne-moi à toi,
ne hoş bakarsėn bana — comme tu me regardes gentilment.
ittıgin hal' genden utan — Tu as honte de ce que tu as fait,
yarmi bulunmaz bana — n'y a-t-il pas de bien-aimé(e) pour moi?

58. *köşküm vardėr ayė karşė* — J'ai un palais d'été vis-à-vis de la lune,
durmas akar güzüm yaşi — les larmes de mes yeux ne cessent de couler.

sėnsın ġuzellėrın başi — Tu es la belle des belles,
günlüm va' gel bana söyle — mon coeur, oh viens, parle-moi!

bir aganın iki kızi — Deux filles d'un aga,
ikisida besli kuzi — toutes les deux sont des agneaux gras,
en küçügi yakti bizi — la cadette nous a embrasés.
günlüm va' gel seyran eyle — Mon coeur, oh, viens, rends-moi visite,
gel bana söyle — viens, parle-moi!

elmayi nazuk soyarler — On pèle délicatement la pomme,
altın tabage koyarler — on la place dans une assiette d'or,
güzel olani sararler — on embrasse celle qui est belle.
günlüm va' gel bana söyle — Mon coeur, oh viens, parle-moi!

Masallar

59. Ohrid (*Hacer Bayram*)

Varimiş bir vakıt bir kadın, garip, kalkar bir gün hamama gider ıkansa. Oldi. Karının başi kınali, girer gurnaa[1]*. Girer hamamci o garip karısına derki bu gurnadan çęk obir gurnaya git, burda paşanın hanımi gelır burda ıkansa. Oldė. Tekrar o gurnadan karıy çıkarırlar. Karęda maksımlaręnė alır evęne gider yıkanmadan. Kocasi sorar ne gėldin ıkanmadan. Ōda kocasına söylemiş ne yapeim bir paşa hanımi gelidi bėni gurnadan kovdilar. Sonā kocasęna dėr ki be sėni isterım şimdi bir müneccim olasın. Abe kocasi dėmiş ben okumak bilmėm, yazmak bilmėm nasęl müneccim olayėm. E sōna adam mecbur oldi bilır bilmes adam kırlere çıkmiş.*

O kırlerde paşanın hanımi orada bulunurmiş. Sıkılmiş niçin paşadan bir ay mektüp yogimiş. Bu adam çārır ben münecim ben münecim. Paşanın hanımi dėr münecim ėfendim gel bir defa bir rėmz[2] *açasan bakalım paşadan ne var. Ō da dėr hanęm efendi, adam söylemiştir, ėlif em be bilirmisėn hanim efendi. Hanėm ėfendi dėdė ki bilirim. Oda tahminlen söylediki bu gece paşa efendi gelir. Ne yapsın adam karının zorundan münecim oldi başladi yalan söylesa.*

Paşanęn hanęmi ėrken evęne kaçar paşanın istedıgi yemegęni yapar. O akşam paşa gelęr, hayirli dėr hanęma sen nerden bildęn ki ben gelirim. O dėdi hiç tahminle yaptım. Paşa dėdi olamaz dogri söyle. Oda söyledi bėn dün sıkılmiş idėm, kıęrlere çiktęm bir münecim ėfendi buldum ona bir remz açtırdęm. O anlatti ki bu akşam paşa gelęr. Paşa da söyledi yarın münecimi çaldıralım.

Sabahlen bir polis kapısına gitmiş münecimi almiş paşaya götürmiş. Paşa münecime dėmiş sėn münecim, padişahın haznesi gayiptęr. Sen bėni anladınki akşam gelırdęm şindi haznė bulasėn. Ōda dėdi paşaya bana kırk gün müsāde veresėn paşa da müsāde vėrdi. Adam evęne kaçti karęsina söyledi kırk tane pütülitsa[3] *yapsęn. Barım dėdi daha kırk gün yaşayęm.*

Sonā o haznęy çalmėşler kırk tāne haydut imiş. O haydutlar anlarki münecim bulacaktir. E sonā haydutlar ne yapsın birda konuşmişler. E kırk gün biz birer kişi gideciz anlayalęm münecimi ne söyleyecektęr. Bir sabah haydutun bir tānesi gelęr kapi arkasė saklanır. Münecim kalkar karısına dėr vėr bir pütülitsa yėyim. Hem pütülitsa yėr karısına dėr biręsi gitti. Haydut anlyıncas kaçar. Gider onlara kompanyasına anlatti ki bizi münecim buldi. Kırk gün her gün birer dāne kapi arkasė dinlėr. Ep bu kırk güne kadar der ki ikıncisi gitti tekrar üçüncisi gittė hep bu. Demek kırk güne kadar.

Kırkınci gün sonunci haydut gelmiş. Bu adam artık kırk gün biter em dir karısına kırk gün oldi. Bu haydut kapi arkasından çıkar, amman der müne-

[1] Cf. TS. *kurna* «hamamlarda, musluk altında, içinde su biriktirilen yuvarlak taş tekne».

[2] Cf. TS. *remiz* «simge»; HŞ. *remz* «Wink, Andeutung».

[3] Cf. serbo-croate *pituljica* «beignet fourré».

cime, bis kırk haydut yes. Bizi der padişaha söyleyemessa bis kırk haydut yis, sana haznė anlatacis nerdė dęr. İki dagęn araseṇda kazan altınlen dėr. Adam dėmiş ben anlatmam, o sevanmiş, haydut kaçmiş.

Bu paşaya haber gündermiş, bana bir tabır asker gündereseṇ ben haznė buldum. Asker gelęr münecimle daga gidėrler haznėy bulurler padişaha müjdeler gelęr. Münecim askerlen hazneilen padişahęn sarayęna gelėrler. Padişah müneccimi istemiş yanında tutsun. Oda rica ėtmis amān padişa[h]ım ben hiç bi şėy bilmem karımın belāsından münecim oldum, hep tahminle bu işleri buldam. E padişah ta o zaman büyük bakşis veręr o da evęne gider. Onda sonā karęsi hanım olmiş nereya gitsa ihtibari varidi.

60. Ohrid (*Hacer Bayram*)

Bir hėrifėn üç ogli varimiş üş ta gelin. O herifan karısi ülmiş kalmiş yalınıs oglularīle. Ama bu gelinler kaynataya hiç hizmet yapmazler. Bu ne yapsęn düşünür. Çarır büyük ogluni ah dėr ogluna bilirsin ne çardim sėni. Benim güzdaneṃ[1] yastıgım altęnda gayiptęr. Aman bre evladęm olmasėn aldi gelin. Ogli çarir karısini, babamęn güzdaneyi yastık altından aldęn. Vallahi billahi ben üç ay ki odaya girmemişim. Anlamiş kocasi demek ki üç ay oraya girmemiş. Der ogluna kimsėye anlatma hay gidęn.

Yarın sabahėn obir ikınci ogluni çaręr, ogluna der abe ogluneṃ olmasėn güzdaneṃ aldi gelin. Oda çarir karısini sorar yastık altından babamın güzdanını aldın. O dėmişki ben iki ayder odaya girmėmişim. Şimdi uçuncisi küçük ogluni çardırir. Ona da sormiş senin gelin benim güzdanümi aldi. Oda çarmişti karisi, o dedi ben vallahi bir ay var odaya gitmemişim. Hayde gidėn.

Yarındasi sabahlėn üş tane ogluni çardi. Ey dedi oglularim gördünüzmi karılarınız bana hiç hizmet yapmazlar. Ben deversam[2] siz inanmazdınız. Ben boyle yaptęm benım güzdaneṃ gayip dildir. Fekat anlayasınıs ki karılarınız bana hizmet yapmas. Onlarda karılarını çardiler. İsmalladilar peşin büyügüni bir hafta kaynatasına hizmet yapsęn em yemek.

Bu büyük gelin bir hafta sıra her gün ona miyāne[3] yapar. O zavalli adam bir az yer obirüni a[u]tmiş bir küpe, yermiş bir as, o ne kalır atar küpe. E büyük karın bir hafta yapti. Sorar o ikınci gelin sen de ne yaptęn kaynata yesęn. Obur gelin demiş ben bir hafta mėyāne yaptim. Hem obir hafta mėyāne yapmiş ikınci gelin. Üçünci gelin da sorar o da ayni bir [h]afta mėyāne yapar. Onlar sanırler ki o ihtiyar hep mėyāne yėr bilmezler ki ihtiyar hep küpe atar. Üç gelinin mėyānesi ihtiyaran küpini do[l]durdi, gelinler zann eder ki ihtiyar hep yėdi.

[1] Cf. TS. *cüzdan* «cebe girecek büyüklükte para ve kâgıt koymaya yarar, iki veya daha çok cebi olan çanta».

[2] Cf. Küst. *divermek* «erklären, erzählen».

[3] Cf. Vidin *miyàne çorbasi* «eine Suppe (mit der Brühe des Schafskopfes mit Nudeln)»; *meyàne* «Schenke»; HŞ. *meyane, miyane* «die richtige Konsistenz [z. B. des Teiges, des Breies]».

Ihtiyar gördüki hep onlardan hayir yok, orda çarır büyük ogluni tekrār. Der ogluna ben bugün çok hastayim giden çaręn müfti benım bir küp altınım var ben ayırırsem sız üç kardaş kapışacaksınız. Ey mufti gelsen para size ayırsan. O büyük çocuk gider müfti çarer getırir. Müfti gelėr. E der ihtiyarım ne istersen, o der ben çardem seni benım üç oglum var benım bir as parėm var, onlara sen taksem yapasen. Sen cübeni aç, ben sana paray atacem, ne düşecek cübende senınder, ne düşecek yere çocuklarımdır. Müfti da ep te cübe açmiş ihtiyar almiş küpi müftinen başından atmiş. Müfti şaşermiş ne oldi demiş, sen para dedėn sen bana miyāne atten. Ben demiş seni çardėm sen nė zaman camida vās[1] *söylersan anaya babaya itahat etsınler sen söylemesan sen anlatırsan başka hikāyeler. Onçin ben sana böyle yaptęm bakasen. Sona müfti her hafta vaz deverildi anaya babaya itahat eden.*

61. Ohrid (*Hacer Bayram*)

Varimiş bir vakıt bir sėrçe. Gider bir yola toplamiş bir az çėrpilar[2] *gitmiş bir furuncida. Demiş bragayim burda bu çėrpilari ben giderim bir yėre kadar hem gelecem alayim. Furunci çėrpilari furuna atmiş çėrpilar yanmiş. Sėrçe gelmiş furuncidan çėrpilari aramiş, furunci demiş çirpilar yandi. Sėrçe da söylemiş ya çirpilari ya furuni, alır furuni kaçar.*

Gider bir ėve görür orda bir adam, der, amuca bragayim bu furuni ben gidecem bir yere kadar em gelecem. O herifan var imiş üküzi, gelmiş üküz furuni ıkmiş. Gelir sėrçe furuni arar amuca furuni ver. Amuca demiş furuni üküs ıkti. Ya furuni ya üküzi, üküzi almiş.

Gider başka bir ėve, orda dėr bragayim bu üküzi ben gidecem bir yere hem gelecem. O ėvde bir dügün var imiş, üküzi kesmişler dügün yapmişler. Gelır sėrçe arar üküzi, eh üküzi demişler kestik dügün yaptık. Sėrçe dėr ya üküzi ya gėlini, alır gelini em gider yola.

Yolda görmiş bir çöcük tambura ile, demiş abe kardaşim vėr o tamburayi bana verim bu gelini sana. Çöcük tamburayi vermiş sėrçeye, gelini almiş kendisine. Sona sėrçe bir kavagın ucuna binmiş orda tambura çalarmiş:

çėrpi verdım furun aldım
furun verdım üküs aldım
üküs verdım gelin aldım
gelin verdım tambura aldım

tini mini tini mini, sėrçe tamburayi çalar.

[1] Cf. TS. *vaız* «tapınakta verilen dinsel öğüt».
[2] Cf. TS. *çırpı* «dal budak kırpıntısı».

62. Ohrid (*Lütfi Bayram*)

Nasredin efendi almiş dokuz dane èşek, oduna gitmiş. Oduna giderken bir eşege biner önünde sèkiz eşek gider. Ah demiş bir eşek kayb ettèm. Ener sayar dokus eşek gene. Gene biner eşege gene sayar gene sekiz eşek.

Eh daga vardi eşekten endi bir agaca bindi. O agaca bindıgi zamanda o dali ne keser ona binmiş. Bir adam geçer abe Nüsredin efendi demiş sen o daldan düşeceksen. O çikti gitti. Ne vakęt o dali kesti dallen barabar aşaya düşti.

Emen ka^{u}kti arkasına vardi koşti oni bir yerde yeteşterdi. Abe herif dèdi sen nerden bilerden beni düşecem. Abe o dalla ne binmiş idèn oni keserdèn onçin ben sana dedèm ki düşeceksen. Ole dēlder sen mademki beni bilirdèn ki düşecem hem ne vakit ülecem sen lazim bilesèn. Em ne vakit kara eşek osuracak o vakit sen ülecesęn. Oda aldi gitti eşekler yanına odunlari yapti eşekleri yükletti yola yürüdi.

E bir yokuşta kara eşek osurdi. Nüsreddin üldi eşekler gitti. Ne vakit gittiler eşekler Nüsreddin efendi eve gelmedi. Ka^{u}ktilar ordan Nüsredin efendi^{y} aramaga gittiler. Nüsredin efendi^{y} buldilar baktilar ülmiş. E Nüsredin efendi^{y} kaldırdila^{r} yola çiktila^{r} geldiler bir bataga, orda esap ederler, burdan geçelim obir taraftan geçelim. Nüsredin efendi tabudun üstüne ka^{u}kti, ben dedi ne düşünürsün dedi ben her gün burdan geçerım. Onlar tabudi çamura attilar hem evlerıne kaçtilar.

Nüsreddin efendi ka^{u}kti yola hareket etti yürüdi, kasabaya yakęn geldi orda kabristanlar varidi bir kabristan delik varimiş Nüsreddin efendi kabıra giręr. Ülmişim ben buraya girim bu kabır açik demiş oraya girdi. Bi t'ervān yükli geçer kasabaya girer. Girèrken bu Nüsreddin efendi kaburdan çikar, t'ervān korkar bütön o yükleri atar t'ervanin saybi ucum eder bu adami tutar. Ne aptın demiş bola^{r}. Ben üliyom. Yok olor yok olmas demiş sen gelesęn benęmlen, ben davaya gideyim senęnlen. Ben demis senęnlen gelęrom fakat bu rubalari sen çikar giyim ben. O mecbur oldi rubalari çikardi Nüsreddin efendi rubalari gìdi.

Yürüdiler dogri ha'im efendiye gittiler. O t'ervān saybi ha'im efendi dèdi benom bir davam var. Söyle bakayim dèdi. Ben t'ervanèmlen kasabaya gelinces birisi bir kaburdan çikti benom t'ervān korkti bütün yükleri atti. O t'im, işte bu èfendi. Abe efendi kadi söyledi ona ge^{r}çèk mi bo^{y}le dedi. Ha'im efendi dedi Nasreddin oca ona ^{h}ep mi inandęn? İnandęm dedi belki bu rubalar onundur dedi. Ya atladi dedi ki hem bu rubalar benęm, oni mi inanırse olse beni mi inanırse? Ben seni inanacam oglim dedi, t'ervān saybeni kovdi Nasreddin efendi kazandi.

63. Ohrid (*Nādire Tefik Malik*)

Varimiş yogimiş varimiş üç kardaş ve bir baba, onların varimiş büyük mallari. Ve bu babasi en büyük ogluni kövermiş[1] *beklesın mallerini. O gece bu*

[1] Cf. TS. *koyuvermek, koyvermek* «serbest bırakmak, salıvermek»; Vidin: *kůlver-kůver-, kölver-*; Küst.: *küver-*.

ne zeman beklėr uyumiş ve üç bēgir gelmiş mėyvālarini yemişler. Ne zeman sabailen kalkar babasına gitmiş babasi sormis ne yaptin bre oglum, ā baba dėmiş bēgirler yėdi.

İkıncisi dėmiş baba ben gidėcem bekleyėm, ā dėmiş babasi sen bekleyecesan büyügi ne zeman beklemedi sen da ayni yapacasẹn. Ōsun be baba gideyem. Ay be pezenvek[1] *git. Gider oda ayni bēgirlere yedirtır.*

Ücüncüsi dėr gidim bėn baba ben da^{h}*ā iyi bekleyėcam. Ay be kelçe git sen öte*^{y}*e sen bekleyecesan açan o büyükleri beklemedi sen bekleyecesan. Ābe baba gideyim. Ay bė pezenvek git. O ne zeman gider üteye yapar bir sopa ve bütün gėce uyumas. Nė zeman bēgirler gelėrler birden üçüsüni yakalar. Ve o bēgirler ayd etmiş*[2] *ki verecek üç kıl. Ve o bēgirleri salẹr, bēgirler ona ise üç kıl verẹr. Ve evė gidėr babasi sorar ne yaptẹn bre kelçe? Şte baba bekledẹm ve ne oldugini söyler o üş dane kıli gösterėr bu kıllar yardėm ėder.*

Bir padişanın üç kızi varimiş o padişa dėmişki kim istėr benım kızlarımi ne deyecim yapsẹn. Ve bu padişa dėr çim benım ėm büyük kızımi istėr yaparım bir büyük duvar oni atlasınlar. Kelçenẹn iki büyük kardaşi azır olurlar alı^{r}*ler iki bēgir ve üteye giderler. Ve bu kėlçe kara kıli yakar bir güzel at gelėr ona biner padişada gider. Duvari atlamiş başa çikmiş kızi almiş.*

Ve gene ikėnci kızına yapar bir büyük dere kim atlama^{k} *içün. Gene kėlçe yakar kırmazi kıli. Ve büyük kardaşlar em onlar azır olurlar üteye gitsanler. Gene kėlçe ikėnci kızi alẹr. Gene kėlçe beyaz kıli yakmiş bir beyaz at gelmiş. Gene da büyük kardaşlar azır olmişlar ama hiç bi şey yapmamişlar. Gene kelçe üçünci kızi almiş.*

Ne zeman eve giderler bu kelçe büyük kardaşlara sormiş ne yaptınız be kardaşlär. Ā kardaş iç bi şey yapmadẹk geldi bi^{r} *çöcük çok güzel idi güzel ati varidi ve üçüsüni o aldi. Amā o gece üçüsüni kardaşleri yeni çikarır em büyügüni birınci kardaşa verėr, ikıncısini ikınci kardaşa verėr, üçüncüsini gendisıne tutar.*

64. Ohrid (*Nādire Tefik Malik*)

Bir zaman varimiş kari koca. Kocasi gider çalışmaga. Karısi sever bir komşiyi, bir zamandan sō^{n}*ra gelėr kocasi, karısini bulur çok süsli. Niçin bo*^{y}*le buka süslenmişin? Oyle hülya ettim ki sanki sen gelecesẹn onun içün süslendim. Adamda uzanmiş yatsın. Sevdėgi pencere altında gelėr taş atar pencereye. Karida anlar korkar ki kocasi anlamasın. Kocasına söyler sorayimmi sana bir sormaca. Kocasi gene söyler sor be kari, oda sorar:*

taş atıci taş atıci
eşek dėr burda yatẹci
^{h}ambar alti dari var
görüşmegın vakti var

[1] Cf. TS. *pezevenk* (kaba) «yolsuz birleşmelere aracılık eden kimse».
[2] Cf. TS. *ahdetmek* «bir şeyi yapmak için kendi kendine söz vermek, andetmek»

Anladınmi efendim? Anladım kari nedèr bu sormaca. Yeşil pite. Bravo buldun. O aşadaki adam duyar bu süzleri hem kaçar o.

Contes

59.

Il était une fois une femme, une pauvre femme, un jour elle partit, elle alla au bain pour se baigner. Cela se fit. Les cheveux de la femme sont teints au henné, elle entre dans le bassin. Vient le maître-baigneur et dit à la pauvre femme «sors de ce bassin, va dans un autre bassin, la femme du pacha vient se baigner ici!» Cela se fit. La femme est renvoyée une fois de plus du bassin. La femme prend ses enfants et rentre sans s'être baignée. Son mari lui demande «pourquoi es-tu rentrée sans t'être baignée?» Et elle dit à son mari «que dois-je faire, la femme du pacha est venue et on m'a chassée du bassin.» Puis elle dit à son mari «je voudrais que tu sois un astrologue». «Mais» dit le mari «je ne sais ni lire ni écrire, comment veux-tu que je sois astrologue». Il finit par y être contraint, et l'ignorant alla dans les champs.

La femme du pacha se trouvait justement dans ce champ. Elle était anxieuse, n'ayant pas reçu de lettre du pacha depuis un mois. Et l'homme de crier «je suis astrologue, je suis astrologue!». La femme du pacha dit «Monsieur l'astrologue, viens, prédis-moi l'avenir, voyons ce que fait le pacha». «Madame» — dit l'homme — connaissez-vous l'eliph et le bé, Madame?» La dame dit «je les connais». Et lui dit au petit hasard que le pacha rentrerait le soir même. Qu'aurait-il pu faire, sa femme l'avait contraint à être astrologue, il se mit donc de parler à tort et à travers.

La femme du pacha se dépêche de rentrer, elle prépare le repas que le pacha aime. Le soir même le pacha rentre. «Je te salue» dit-il à sa femme «comment savais-tu que j'allais rentrer?» Elle dit «ce n'est rien, je l'ai fait par hasard». Le pacha dit «ce n'est pas possible, dis-moi la vérité!» Et elle dit «Hier j'étais anxieuse, je suis allée dans les champs et j'y ai trouvé un astrologue, je lui ai fait dire l'avenir. Il a dit que ce soir le pacha allait rentrer». Et le pacha de dire «demain nous allons faire venir l'astrologue».

Le lendemain un policier alla à la porte de l'astrologue, le saisit et l'amena devant le pacha. Le pacha dit à l'astrologue. «Eh astrologue, le trésor du padishah est perdu. Tu as su dire que je rentrerais le soir, maintenant trouve le trésor!» Et lui il dit au pacha «Donne-moi un délai de quarante jours», et le pacha lui accorda le délai. L'homme rentra et dit à sa femme de faire quarante choux à la crème. «Pourvu que je vive encore quarante jours» dit-il.

Ceux qui avaient emporté le trésor, c'étaient les quarante voleurs. Les voleurs apprirent qu'on avait trouvé un astrologue. Que faire, les voleurs

se mirent à se concerter. «Pendant quarante jours nous irons là-bas chaque jour à tour de rôle pour savoir ce que dit l'astrologue». Le premier jour un des voleurs arrive et se cache derrière la porte. L'astrologue se lève et dit à sa femme «Donne-moi un chou à la crème pour que je le mange». Il mange le chou et dit à sa femme «Eh bien, c'en est fait d'un». Le voleur en entandant ceci, se sauve. Il va chez les siens, chez ses compagnons et dit «l'astrologue nous a découverts». Pendant quarante jours chaque jour un voleur se met derrière la porte pour écouter. Tous, chacun à son tour, pendant quarante jours, donc le deuxième y alla, puis le troisième, tous. Ceci pendant quarante jours.

Le quarantième jour vint le dernier voleur. L'homme «enfin les quarante jours sont passés» et il dit à sa femme «les quarante jours se sont écoulés». Le voleur sort de derrière la porte et dit à l'astrologue «Seigneur nous sommes les quarante voleurs. Ne nous trahis pas au padishah, nous sommes les quarante voleurs, nous te dirons où se trouve le trésor. Entre deux montagnes il y a un chaudron plein d'or.» L'homme lui dit «je ne vous trahirai pas», il était tout content, et le voleur s'en fut.

L'homme manda un message au pacha «envoie-moi une troupe de soldats, j'ai retrouvé le trésor». Les soldats arrivent, se rendent sur la montagne avec l'astrologue, ils trouvent le trésor, le padishah reçoit la bonne nouvelle. L'astrologue arrive avec les soldats et le trésor dans le serail du padishah. Le padishah veut retenir l'astrologue auprès de lui. Mais celui-ci lui dit «Oh mon padishah, je ne sais rien, je suis devenu astrologue à cause des ennuis de ma femme, je n'ai deviné ces choses que par hasard». Même ainsi le padishah lui donne une grande récompense, et il retourna chez lui. A partir de moment-là sa femme était une dame et où qu'elle se rendait, on lui faisait partout honneur.

60.

Un homme avait trois fils et trois brus. Sa femme étant morte, il resta seul avec ses fils. Mais les brus ne servaient pas du tout leur beau-père. Il réfléchit à ce qu'il devait faire. Il fait venir son fils ainé et lui dit «Eh mon fils, sais-tu pourquoi je t'ai fait venir? Mon porte-monnaie a disparu de dessous mon oreiller. Aie, mieux vaudrait ne pas avoir de fils, ma bru l'a volé!» Le fils appelle sa femme «Tu as pris le porte-monnaie de mon père de dessous l'oreiller!» «Je jure par Dieu que depuis trois mois je n'ai mis les pieds dans cette chambre». C'est ainsi que son mari apprit que depuis trois mois elle n'était pas entrée dans cette chambre. (Le vieux) dit à son fils «ne le dis à personne, va-t-en maintenant!»

Le lendemain matin il fait venir l'autre, son deuxième fils, et il lui dit «Aie, il vaudrait mieux ne pas avoir de fils, ma bru a volé mon porte-smuupai!» Lui aussi appelle sa femme et dit «Tu as volé le porte-monnaie

de mon père de dessous son oreiller!» La bru dit «Voilà deux mois que je ne suis pas entrée dans la chambre». Enfin il fait venir son troisième fils, le plus jeune. Il lui dit aussi «Ta femme a-t-elle pris mon porte-monnaie?» Lui aussi appelle sa femme et celle-ci dit «Je jure, qu'il y a un mois que je ne suis pas entrée dans cette chambre». «Bien, allez-vous en!»

Le lendemain matin il fait venir les trois fils. «Oh» dit-il «mes fils, vous avez pu vous rendre compte que vos femmes ne me servent pas du tout. Lorsque je vous l'ai dit, vous ne m'avez pas cru. Alors j'ai fait cela, mon porte-monnaie n'était point perdu. Mais il fallait que vous vous rendiez compte que vos femmes ne me servent pas». Eux firent alors venir leurs femmes. Ils ord onnèrent à l'aînée de servir une semaine le beau-père, de lui donner à manger.

L'aînée fit pendant toute une semaine chaque jour de la bouillie. Le pauvre homme en mange un peu, et jette le reste dans un pot, il en mangea un peu, ce qui restait il le jetait dans un pot. Voilà ce que fit la femme la plus âgée. Vient alors la deuxième, elle demande «qu'as-tu fait pour la beau-père?». L'autre bru de répondre «j'ai fait de la bouillie pendant une semaine». La semaine suivante la seconde bru fait également de la bouillie. La troisième bru lui demande aussi, et fait de la même manière de la bouillie pendant une semaine. Elles pensaient que le vieux mangeait toute la bouillie, elles ne savaient pas que le vieux la jetait dans un pot. La bouillie des trois brus remplissait le pot du vieux, les brus pensaient que le vieux l'avait mangée.

Le vieux voyant que d'elles ne pouvait attendre rien de bon, fait de nouveau venir son fils aîné. «Je suis très malade aujourd'hui, allez, appelez le mufti, j'ai un pot plein d'or, si c'est moi qui le partage entre vous, les trois frères, vous allez vous le disputer. Que le moufti vienne et qu'il répartisse l'argent.» Le fils aîné s'en va chercher le moufti et l'amène. Le moufti arrive. «Eh mon vieux» — dit-il «qu'est-ce que tu veux», et lui de dire «Je t'ai fait venir parce que j'ai trois fils et un peu d'argent, partage le entre eux. Ouvre ton manteau, je te jette l'argent, ce qui tombe sur ton manteau est à toi, ce qui tombe par terre est à mes fils.» Le moufti ouvre son manteau, le vieux prend le pot et il le jette par-dessus le moufti. Le moufti fut étonné «Qu'est-ce que cela signifie?» dit-il «tu me parlais d'argent et tu m'as jeté de la bouillie». «Je t'ai fait venir» dit-il, «parce que lorsque tu prèches à l'église, tu ne dis pas aux gens d'honorer leur mère, leur père, tu prêches autre chose. C'est pourquoi j'ai fait cela avec toi.» Désormais le moufti précha chaque semaine «Honorez votre père, votre mère».

61.

Il était une fois un moineau. Il alla sur la route, ramassa quelques morceaux de bois et se rendit chez le boulanger. «Je voudrais te laisser ici ces morceaux de bois» dit-il, «je vais quelque part je reviendrai et je les

emporterai». Le boulanger jeta les morceaux de bois dans le four, les morceaux de bois brûlèrent. Vint le moineau et demanda au boulanger les morceaux de bois, le boulanger lui dit «les morceaux de bois ont brûlé». Alors le moineau dit «ou les morceaux de bois ou le four!» — il prit le four et s'envola.

Il alla dans une maison, vit un homme et il lui dit «mon frère, je voudrais laisser ici le four, je vais quelque part et je reviendrai». Cet homme avait un beeuf, le boeuf vint et cassa le four. Le moineau revient cherche le four «mon frère donne-moi le four». L'homme dit «le boeuf a cassé le four». «Ou le four ou le boeuf!» — et il emporta le boeuf.

Il alla dans une autre maison, et il dit «je voudrais laisser ici ce boeuf, je vais quelque part et je reviendrai». Dans cette maison il y avait une noce, on abattit le boeuf, on célébra la noce. Vient le moineau, il cherche le boeuf, «eh quoi» disent-ils «nous avons abattu le boeuf, nous avons fait la noce». Le moineau dit «ou le boeuf ou la mariée», il emporte la mariée et s'en va.

Sur la route il vit un garçon avec une tambourah, il lui dit. «Eh mon frère, donne moi la tambourah, je te donne cette mariée!» Le garçon donna la tambourah au moineau, et prit la mariée. Puis le moineau se posa sur le sommet d'un peuplier et joua de la tambourah:

J'ai donné des morceaux de bois, j'ai pris un four,
J'ai donné un four, j'ai pris un boeuf,
J'ai donné un boeuf, j'ai pris la mariée,
J'ai donné la mariée, j'ai pris une tambourah.

Tini mini tini mini — joua le moineau sur la tambourah.

62.

Nasreddin efendi acheta neuf ânes et alla chercher du bois. Lorsqu'il alla chercher du bois, il monta sur le dos d'un âne, devant lui il n'y avait que huit ânes. «Ah» dit-il «j'ai perdu un âne». Il descend, il les compte, ce sont de nouveau neuf ânes. Il remonte sur le dos de l'âne, il compte une fois de plus, de nouveau il n'ya que huit ânes.

Il alla donc dans la forêt, descendit de son âne, grimpa sur un arbre. Lorsqu'il grimpa sur l'arbre il commenca à couper la branche sur laquelle il était monté. Un homme passe «Hé Nasreddin efendi» dit-il «tu vas tomber de cet arbre!» Il continua son chemin, s'en alla. Lorsqu'il eut coupé la branche, il tomba avec elle.

Il se releva vite et lui courut après, le rejoignit à un endroit. «Hé, le gars» dit-il «comment savais-tu que j'allais tomber?» «Mais tu étais en train de couper la branche, sur laquelle tu avais grimpé, c'est pourquoi je t'ai dit que tu allais tomber». «Ce n'est pas si simple, comme tu savais que j'allais tomber, tu dois aussi savoir quand je mourrai!» «Lorsque l'âne noir lâchera

un vent, tu mourras«. Lui, il se rendit auprès des ânes, arrangea le bois, le chargea sur le dos des ânes et se mit en route.

Sur une pente l'âne noir lâcha un vent. Nasreddin mourut, les ânes continuèrent leur chemin. Lorsque les ânes arrivèrent à la maison, Nasreddin efendi ne rentra pas. Ils se mirent en route pour aller chercher Nasreddin efendi. Ils le trouvèrent, ils le regardèrent, (on vit qu')il était mort. Eh bien, ils soulevèrent Nasreddin efendi, ils se remirent en marche, et arrivèrent à un endroit marécageux, là ils se demander, ent s'ils devaient prendre cette direction ou plutôt l'autre. Nasreddin efendi se souleva sur sa planche funèbre et dit «Eh bien, pourquoi tant refléchir, j'ai toujours l'habitude de prendre cette direction-là» Et eux de jeter la planche dans la boue et de courir à la maison.

Nasreddin efendi se releva, se mit en route, marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il fût arrivé à proximité d'un village, il y avait là un cimetière, une tombe était creusée, Nasreddin efendi entra dans la tombe. «Je suis mort, j'entre ici, cette tombe est ouverte» dit-il et entra. Une caravane chargée qui allait dans le village passa par là. Comme elle passait là, Nasreddin efendi sortit de la tombe, la caravane eut peur, on jeta bas toutes les charges, le chef de la caravane se jeta sur l'homme et s'en saisit. «Qu'as-tu fait?» dirent ceux-ci. «Je suis mort». «Tu es mort, tu n'es pas mort» dit-il «tu vas venir avec moi, je te fais un procès.» «Je veux bien aller avec toi, mais enlève ces vêtement, pour que je les mette.» L'autre fut bien obligé de le faire, il ôta ses vêtements, Nasreddin efendi les endossa.

Ils allèrent droit chez l'efendi le juge. Le chef de la caravane dit «Efendi le juge, j'ai un procès». «Allons, parle!» dit l'autre. «En venant avec ma caravane vers le village, quelqu'un a sauté hors d'une tombe, ma caravane a eu peur, on a jeté bas toutes les charges.» «Qui est-ce?« «Voici, c'est cet efendi là». «Mais efendi» lui dit le kadi «est-ce réellement ainsi?» dit-il. «Efendi le juge» dit Nasreddin hodja «tu crois tout-cela?» «Je le crois, car il est possible que ces vêtements soient à lui». «Voyons, il t'a trompé» dit-il «ces vêtements sont tous à moi, est-ce lui où moi que tu crois?» «C'est toi que je crois mon fils» dit-il et il chassa le chef de la caravane. Nasreddin hodja avait gagné.

63.

Il était une fois trois frères et un père, ils avaient une grande fortune. Et ce père dit à son fils aîné de bien garder leur fortune. Cette nuit-là, pendant qu'il était de garde, il s'endormit, vinrent trois chevaux qui mangèrent les fruits. Lorsque le matin il se leva et alla trouver son père, le père lui demanda «Qu'as-tu fait mon fils?» «Oh mon père» — dit-il «les chevaux les ont mangés«.

Le deuxième dit «Mon père, je m'en vais et je veillerai». «Ah» — dit le père «toi tu sauras les garder, alors que le plus grand n'as pas réussi à les garder, tu feras de même!» «Soit, mon père, je m'en vais». «Ah rufian, va

donc!» Il s'en alla et lui aussi les laissa manger par les mêmes chevaux.

Le troisième dit alors «J'y vais mon père, je veillerai mieux!» «Oh toi, le chauve, vas-y, c'est bien toi qui sauras les garder, quand les plus grands ne l'ont pas fait, c'est toi qui sauras les garder!» «Mais oui mon père, j'y vais». «Eh bien, va rufinan«. Il y va, se taille un bâton et de toute la nuit il ne s'endort pas. Et lorsque viennent les chevaux, il les attrape, tous les trois à la fois. Les chevaux lui promirent de lui donner trois poils. Il lâcha alors les chevaux, et ceux-ci lui donnèrent trois poils. Et il rentre, son père lui demande «Alors qu'as-tu fait, chauve?» «Voilà père, j'ai veillé» et il raconte ce qui s'est passé, montrant les trois poils. «Ces poils vont aider».

Un padishah avait trois filles, et ce padishah dit «Celui qui veut mes filles, fera ce que je dis». Et le padishah dit «Je fais faire un immense mur, pour que celui qui veut ma fille aînée, saute par-dessus». Les deux frères aînés du chauve se préparent, ils prennent deux chevaux et y vont. Le chauve brûle le poil noir, apparaît alors un cheval merveilleux, il l'enfourche et se rend auprès du padishah. Il sauta par-dessus le mur, il réussit et obtint la fille.

Alors pour la deuxième fille il fait faire un immense lit de fleuve pour qu'on saute par-dessus. Le chauve brûle le poil roux. Et les frères aînés sont aussi prêts pour y aller. Une fois de plus c'est le chauve qui obtient la deuxième fille. Le chauve brûle alors le poil blanc, vient un cheval blanc. Les grands frères se préparent aussi, mais ne font rien. C'est de nouveau le chauve qui obtint la troisième fille.

Lorsqu'ils rentrent, le chauve demanda ses grands frères «Qu'avez-vous fait mes frères?» «Ah frère, nous n'avons rien fait, un garçon est venu, il était très beau, il avait une belle monture, il les a obtenues toutes les trois». Mais le même soir il fait venir encore une fois ses frères, et donne l'aînée au premier frère, la seconde au deuxième frère, et garde pour lui la troisième.

64.

Il était une fois un mari et une femme. Le mari s'en va au travail. La femme aime un des voisins, mais quelque temps après survient le mari et trouve sa femme toute parée. «Pourquoi t'es-tu tellement pomponnée?» «Je pensai que tu rentrerais, c'est pourquoi je me suis faite belle». L'homme s'étendit pour dormir. L'amant arrive sous la fenêtre et lance une pierre contre celle-ci. La femme l'aperçoit et craint que le mari ne le découvre. Elle dit à son mari «Dois-je te dire une devinette?» Le mari lui dit «Demande toujours femme!» Et elle de demander:

Lanceur de pierre, lanceur de pierre,
l'âne est couché là,
au fond de la caisse il y a de la semoule,
le rendez-vous a son moment.

«As-tu compris seigneur?» «J'ai compris femme ce que signifiait cette devinette. Des galettes fraîches». «Bravo, tu as deviné!» L'homme sous la fenêtre comprit ces paroles et s'en alla en courant.

Glossaire

acèle «hâtif, en se hâtant» ~ *acele*
açan «lorsque» ~ *haçan*
açik «ouvert»; *açik açik* «très clairement» ~ *açık*
aga «aga» ~ *ağa*
agaç «arbre» ~ *ağaç*
agla- «pleurer» ~ *ağla-*
agri «douleur» ~ *ağrı*
agzin «ta lèvre» ~ *ağzın*
akıli «intelligent» ~ *akıllı*
alafrenge «à la manière européenne» ~ *alafranga*
alaturka, allaturka «à la manière turque» ~ *alaturka*
alçacik «petit, bas» ~ *alçacık*
alınık, allanek (S) «offensé» ~ *alın-* «s'offenser»
alka, halka (S) «anneau, bague»; *alka alka* «en rond» ~ *halka*
allah, allā, alla «Allah» ~ *Allah*
altın, altin, altan «or» ~ *altın*
ama, amā «mais» ~ *ama, amma*
aman, amān, amman «mais s'il vous plaît» ~ *aman*
amuca «oncle du côté du père» ~ *amca*
anatar «clé»; *anatar dèligi* «trou de la serrure» ~ *anahtar*
ane, anne «mère»; *annem babem* «ma mère, mon père» ~ *ana*
arapçe «en arabe» ~ *arapça*
arnautçe «en albanais» ~ *arnavutça*
as «peu» ~ *az*
asma «tonnelle» ~ *asma*
āşik «amoureux» ~ *âşık*
at-, a^{u}t- «jeter»; *ateş-* «se jeter réciproquement qch»; *taş atıci* «lanceur de pierres» ~ *at-, atış-*
avan «mortier» ~ *havan*
avli, alli «cour» ~ *avlu*
ayd et- «promettre, jurer sur qc» ~ *ahdet-*
ayip «honteux» ~ *ayıp*
ayna «miroir»; *aynay, ayney* «miroir» (acc.) ~ *ayna*
ayrçl- «se séparer» ~ *ayrıl-*
bagla- «lier» ~ *bağla-*

baglanti «lien, attache» ~ *bağlantı*
bakıl-, bakil-, bakėl- «être regardé» ~ *bakıl-*
bakiş- «se regarder mutuellement» ~ *bakış-*
bakşiş «cadeau, don» ~ *bahşiş*
bal, pal «miel» ~ *bal*
barabar «ensemble» ~ *berāber*
barė, bare, barem, barım «du moins» ~ *bāri*
başçe «jardin» ~ *bahçe*
başçivan «jardinier» ~ *bahçıvan*
bayir, bayėr «pente, versant de colline» ~ *bayır*
be la deuxième lettre de l'alphabet arabe ~ *be*
bēgir «cheval de charge» ~ *beygir*
beķār, beťār «célibataire» ~ *bekâr*
Beligrat «Belgrade» ~ *Belgrad*
ben, pen «je, moi»; *beni, bėni* «me» ~ *ben*
betleş- «s'enlaidir» ~ *bed* «laid»
beyaz, beyas, bėyas «blanc» ~ *beyaz*
biberdanlik [sic] «poivrier» ~ *biberdān, biberlik*
bir, biʳ, bi «un»; *birėsi, birẹsi* «un des» ~ *bir, birisi*
biz, bis «nous» ~ *biz*
bonçuce «petite boule de verre»
boşça «fichu» ~ *bohça*
boyle, boʸle, boyla, buʸle, bule «tel, ainsi» ~ *böyle*
bu, pu «ce»; *bolaʳ* «ces» ~ *bu, bunlar*
buka «autant» ~ *bukadar*
burda «ici» (loc.); *buraya, boraya* «ici» (dat.) ~ *burada, buraya*
buynuni «ton cou» (acc.) ~ *boynunu*
bülbül, bilbül «rossignol» ~ *bülbül*
bütün, bütön «tous, tout» ~ *bütün*
cep, cėp «poche» ~ *cep*
cevāhir, cevahır, cevahir, cevair «pierre précieuse» ~ *cevāhir*
cevis «noix» ~ *ceviz*
ciger «organes intérieurs», ici «coeur» ~ *ciğer*
cübe «manteau» ~ *cüppe*
çār-, çar- «crier, appele» ~ *çağır-*
çarşi «marché» ~ *çarşı*
çārtır-, çardır- «faire appeler» ~ *çağırt-*
çayir, çayėr «champ» ~ *çayır*
çėmber «fichu brodé» ~ *çember*
çėşme «fontaine» ~ *çeşme*
çik-, çėk-, çẹk- «tirer» ~ *çık-*
çikar-, çıkar- «tirer de qpart, sortir» ~ *çıkar-*

çinar «platane» ~ *çınar*
çinçini «porcelaine chinoise» ~ *çini*
çimen, çėmen «gazon» ~ *çimen*
çirpi, çėrpi «morceau de bois, branche» ~ *çırpı*
çöcük «enfant» ~ *çocuk*
çölük çöcük «parentaille» ~ *çoluk çocuk*
çöyce «petit enfant»
dag «montagne»; *da^{g}ler, dayler* «montagnes» ~ *dağ, dağlar*
dagle-, dagla- (S) «marquer d'un signe» ~ *dağla-*
da^{h}ā «encore» ~ *daha*
dal «branche»; *da^{u}lli* «brodé de branches» ~ *dal, dallı*
damasko «tissu employé pour faire des couverture de lit» ~ *damasko*
dāne, dane, tāne, tane «morceau» ~ *tāne*
dari «bouillie» ~ *darı*
daş «déborder» ~ *taş-*
daşır-, daşir-, daşėr-, taşır-, taşir- «laisser déborder» ~ *taşır-*
dauci «tambour» ~ *davulcu*
de-, dė-, di- «dire» ~ *de-*
degil «non»; *dēlder, dīldir* «non (n'est pas)»; *dīmi* «n'est-ce pas?» ~ *değil, değildir, değilmi?*
demek, demėk «soit, c'est-à-dire» ~ *demek*
dėmir «fer» ~ *demir*
denk «convenable, qui correspond» ~ *denk*
dert «souci»; *derdi, dėrdi* «son souci» ~ *dert, derdi*
dever-, dėver-, diver- «raconter, expliquer»; cf. 60.
dit- «déchirer» ~ *dit-*
dizıli «rangé, aligné» ~ *dizili*
dog- «naître» ~ *doğ-*
dograma «planche de bois» ~ *doğrama*
dogri «droit, vrai» ~ *doğru*
dogur- «mettre au monde» ~ *doğur-*
dokuz, dokus «neuf» ~ *dokuz*
do^{l}dur- «remplir» ~ *doldur-*
doli, dōli «plein» ~ *dolu*
dört, dort «quatre» ~ *dört*
dövlet «chance, bonheur» ~ *devlet*
duşman «ennemi» ~ *düşman*
dügme «bouton» ~ *düğme*
dügün «noces» ~ *düğün*
dükül- «se répandre, couler» ~ *dökül-*
dün- «se tourner» ~ *dön-*
düşek «lit» ~ *döşek*

efendi, effendi, ėfendi «efendi, monsieur; dame» ~ *efendi*
eger «si» ~ *eğer*
ėk- «semer» ~ *ek-*
ekseri «patère constitué d'un grand clou» ~ *ekser* «clou»
ėlif la première lettre de l'alphabet arabe ~ *elif*
elvidā «adieu» ~ *elvedā*
en- «descendre« ~ *in-*
ender- «faire descendre» ~ *indir-*
eni soni «à la fin» ~ *en sonra*
eren, erėn «saint homme» ~ *eren*
ėrı- «fondre» ~ *eri-*
ėrken «de bonne heure, le matin» ~ *erken*
esap «calcul» ~ *hesap*
eşek, ėşek «âne» ~ *eşek*
ėşik «seuil» ~ *eşik*
et-, ėt- «faire» ~ *et-*
ev «maison»; *ėve* «dans la maison, à la maison»; *ef hayati* «la vie au foyer» ~ *ev*
evāle «errant, sans foyer» ~ *avare*
ėyi, iyi «bon» ~ *iyi*
fakat, fekat «mais» ~ *fakat*
fakir «pauvre» ~ *fakir*
fal «divination» ~ *fal*
familiya «famille» ~ *familya*
fars «règle, coutume religieuse» ~ *farz*
fėsliyen «oeillet» ~ *fesleğen*
Feyzulla nom de personne ~ *Feyzullah*
filcan «tasse à café» ~ *fincan, filcan*
fitil «mèche de lampe» ~ *fitil*
fukaralik «pauvreté» ~ *fıkaralık*
furun «four» ~ *fırın*
furunci «boulanger» ~ *fırıncı*
gaybet-, kaybet- «perdre» ~ *kaybet-*
gayip «perdu» ~ *kayıp*
gaylė «souci» ~ *gāile*
gayri «autre» ~ *gayrı*
gece, gėce «nuit; pendant la nuit» ~ *gece*
geceleyn, geceilen, gicėle «pendant la nuit» ~ *geceleyin*
gefan «linceul» ~ *kefen*
gel-, ġel- «venir» ~ *gel-*
gėlen gėçen «qui va et vient, qui passe»
gelin, gėlin «mariée» ~ *gelin*
gene, gėne, ġene «à nouveau» ~ *gene, gine*

getır-, geter- «apporter» ~ *getir-*
gī-, gi- «mettre (robe)» ~ *giy-*
gizliden «en secret»
ǵol «lac» ~ *göl*
gonce «bouton (de fleur)» ~ *gonca, konca*
gönder-, günder- «envoyer» ~ *gönder-*
gönül «coeur»; *günlüm* «mon coeur» ~ *gönül, gönlüm*
gör-, gür- «voir» ~ *gör-*
götür-, gütür- «mener, porter» ~ *götür-*
göz, güz «oeil» ~ *göz*
göz bayaci «sorcier, qui a le mauvais oeil» ~ *gözbağıcı*
gurna «bassin» ~ *kurna*
gurvet «endroit étranger» ~ *gurbet*
gül, ǵül, ǵul «rose» ~ *gül*
gümüş, ǵumüş «argent» ~ *gümüş*
gündüzün ««pendant le jour» ~ *gündüz*
güzdan «porte-monnaie» ~ *cüzdan*
güzel, ǵuzel «beau» ~ *güzel*
hacilık, haculik «condition du hadji; pélerinage»
hafta, ʰafta «semaine» ~ *hafta*
haĺ «état, situation» ~ *hal*
hālā, ālā «encore, jusqu'à maintenant» ~ *hâlâ*
hali, alli (S) «tapis» ~ *halı*
hamam, hemam «bain» ~ *hamam*
hamamci «baigneur» ~ *hamamcı*
ʰambar «caisse contenant des céréales» ~ *ambar*
hanım, haneṃ, hanim, hanėm, hanem «femme, dame» ~ *hanım*
haťim «juge» ~ *hâkim*
havli, halli «fichu, serviette de toilette» ~ *havlu*
haydut, ʰaydut «voleur» ~ *haydut*
hayir, hayėr «bon état; bon» ~ *hayır*
hayirli «bon, favorable» ~ *hayırlı*
hazır, azır «prêt» ~ *hazır*
hazirle- «préparer» ~ *hazırla-*
haznė «trésor, trésors» ~ *hazne*
hem, ʰem, em «et, aussi» ~ *hem*
hemen, emen «tout de suite» ~ *hemen*
hep, ʰep, ep «tous» ~ *hep*
herif, hėrif «gars, type, quelqu'un» ~ *herif*
hiç, iç «rien» ~ *hiç*
hikāya «récit» ~ *hikâye*
hülya et- «s'imaginer» ~ *hulyā et-*

ık- «détruire, démolir» ~ *yık*
ıkan-, yıkan- «se laver» ~ *yıkan-*
içün «pour» ~ *için*
ihtiyar, itiyar «vieux» ~ *ihtiyār*
iki, iki «deux»; *ikėsi* «les deux»; *ikęmęz* «nous deux» ~ *iki, ikisi, ikimiz*
ikinci, ikınci, ikėnci «deuxième» ~ *ikinci*
ikis «jumeau» ~ *ikiz*
ikmāl et-, ėkmāl et- «terminer, achever» ~ *ikmāl et-*
irak «lointain» ~ *ırak*
ismalla- «ordonner, commander» ~ *ısmarla-*
Istanbol, Stambol «Istamboul» ~ *Istanbul*
işalla «si Dieu le veut» ~ *inşallah*
işit-, işıt-, işet- «entendre» ~ *işit-*
işli «travailleur: *burda işli* «travaillant ici»
işte, ėşte, şte «voilà» ~ *işte*
itahat, ītāt «prêche, sermon» ~ *itaat*
kābe «le Kaaba» ~ *Kâbe*
kabır, kabur «tombe» ~ *kabir*
kabristan «cimetière» ~ *kabristan*
kadıfe, kādife «velours» ~ *kadife*
kadrė «photographie» ~ HŞ. *kadro*
kahve, kaʰve, kāve «café; cafeteria» ~ *kahve*
kala, kalė «château» ~ *kale*
kanepe «canapé» ~ *kanepe*
kapanık «fermé»; *kapanek yol* «chemin clos» ~ *kapanık*
kapi «porte» ~ *kapı*
kardaş, kardeş «frère» ~ *kardeş*
karşi, karşė «en face» ~ *karşı*
kaşik «cuiller» ~ *kaşık*
kaᵘk- «se lever, se mettre en marche» ~ *kalk-*
kaur- «rôtir, frire» ~ *kavur-*
kauş- «s'unir» ~ *kavuş-*
kauştur-, kavuştur- «unir» ~ *kavuştur-*
kayin «beau-frère» ~ *kayın*
kelçe, kėlçe «petit chauve» ~ *kel* «chauve»
kendi «lui-même»; *genden* «toi-même» ~ *kendi, kendin*
kėyf «humeur, bonne humeur» ~ *keyf*
kınali «teint au henné» ~ *kınalı*
kınat «aile»; *kınatli kapi* «porte à deux battants» ~ *kanat*
kır «champ», *kıęrler* «champs» ~ *kır, kırlar*
kırmızi, kırmazi «rouge, roux» ~ *kırmızı*
kıs «jeune fille» ~ *kız*

ki, ki «que» (conj.) ~ *ki*
kilim «tapis» ~ *kilim*
kim, t'im, çim «qui?»; «qui» ~ *kim*
kirez, kıraz «cerise» ~ *kiraz*
kitab «livre» ~ *kitap*
kompanya «société» ~ *kumpanya*
komşi «voisin» ~ *komşu*
koyin «mouton» ~ *koyun*
köver- «envoyer» ~ *koyuver-*
krevet «ottoman» ~ *kerevet*
kumunis «communiste» ~ *komünist*
kuri «sec» ~ *kuru*
kurşumi «gris» ~ *kurşunî*
kuti «boîte» ~ *kutu*
kuzi «agneau» ~ *kuzu*
küçük, köçük «petit» ~ *küçük*
kül «cendre» ~ *kül*
K'üpürli nom de lieu ~ *Köprülü* (Veles)
lambä «lampe» ~ *lamba*
lev^{h}ā «inscription ornée accrochée au mur» ~ *levha*
l'ule çiçe^{y}i «une sorte de fleur»
maf it- «anéantir, annuler» ~ *mahvet-*
magara «cave; grotte; trou» ~ *mağara*
mahinci «sorcier»
mahle, ma^{h}le, māle «quartier, district» ~ *mahalle*
maksim, maksım «enfant» ~ Küst. *maksim*
martufal «paroles fallacieuses» ~ *martaval* (voir 32)
maşalla «grâce à Dieu» ~ *maşallah*
mėdet «aide» ~ *medet*
mektüp «lettre»; *mektübim* «ma lettre» ~ *mektup, mektubum*
mėmber «chaire» ~ *mimber*
mendil, mėndil «mouchoir» ~ *mendil*
merag et- «s'intéresser» ~ *merak et-*
mėrdüven «escalier» ~ *merdiven*
miyāne, mėyāne «bouillie» ~ HŞ. *meyane, miyane* (voir 60)
mėyvā «fruit» ~ *meyva*
mēzinlik «place réservée aux femmes à l'église» ~ *mezun* «permis»
mindėr «matelas» ~ *minder*
mirab «niche dans le mur est de l'église» ~ *mihrap*
muşama «couverture en matière synthétique» ~ *muşamba*
müfti, mufti «moufti» ~ *müftü*
münecim, müneccim «astrologue» ~ *müneccim*

Muhammet, Muhamed (S), *Muammed* nom de personne ~ *Muhammet*
musaf «exemplaire du Coran» ~ *mushaf*
muska «talisman» ~ *muska*
mürad «désir, but» ~ *murāt*
müsāde «permission» ~ *müsaade*
nakşibendi nom d'un ordre religieux musulman ~ Sāmi bey: *nakş-bendī*
nasel «comment» ~ *nasıl*
nazli «cher, aimé» ~ *nazlı*
nazuk «fin; finement» ~ *nazik*
nerde, nerdė, nėyerde (S) «où?» ~ *nerde, nerede*
Nüsredin, Nüsreddin, Nasredin nom de personne ~ *Nasrettin*
ō «il; lui»; *ōda* «lui aussi» ~ *o, o da*
obir, obur «l'autre» ~ *öbür*
oca «hodja» ~ *hoca*
ogli «fils de qqun»; *oglun* «ton fils» ~ *oğlu, oğlun*
ograşma «métier; activité» ~ *uğraşma*
Ohrida, Ohriya «à Ohrid» ~ *Ohridda*
oka «tant» ~ *okadar*
olan «garçon» ~ *oğlan*
olse «ou, ou bien» ~ *olsa*
onçin «c'est pourquoi» ~ *onun için*
orda, orada «là» ~ *orada, orda*
ōsun «soit» ~ *olsun*
oya «bordure ornée de broderies» ~ *oya*
oyle, oÿle, ole, öÿle «ainsi» ~ *öyle*
öteÿe, üteye «là» ~ *öteye*
padişah, padişa, pādişa «padishah» ~ *pādişāh*
pāli «cher» ~ *pahalı*
para «argent»; *parėm* «mon argent»; *parėsi* «son argent» ~ *para, param, parası*
peki «très bien» ~ *peki*
pembe, pėmbe «rose» ~ *pembe*
pencere, pėncėre «fenêtre» ~ *pencere*
pėrde «rideau» ~ *perde*
peşin, pişin «pour la première fois, d'abord» ~ *peşin*
pėştėmal «foulard, essuie-main» ~ *peştamal*
pezenvek «rufian» ~ *pezevenk*
pişir-, pişır-, pişer- «cuire, rôtir» ~ *pişir-*
pite «galette» ~ *pide*
posteki «couverture en cuir» ~ *pösteki*, Küst. *posteki*
pufla «coussin rempli de plume» ~ *pufla*
püskül «frange» ~ *püskül*
pütülitsa «chou à la crème» (voir 59)

rėçel «compote» ~ *reçel*
rekāt «génuflexion prescrite lors de la prière» ~ *rekât*
remz, rėmz «divination» ~ *remiz*
resėm «photographie» ~ *resim*
rėze «serrure» ~ *reze*
ruba «robe, vêtement» ~ *ruba*
saat «heure, montre»; *sahadi* «sa montre» ~ *saat, saatı*
sabah, saba^h, sebā «matin» ~ *sabah*
sabahėn, sabahlėn, sabahle^n, sabailen «le matin» (adv.) ~ *sabahleyin*
saçak «frange» ~ *saçak*
sag «de droite; sain» ~ *sağ*
sagır yılan «vipère» ~ *sağır yılan*
sāhip «maître»: *ťervanın saybi* «chef de la caravane» ~ *sāhip, sāhibi*
sandık, sandęk «bahut, caisse» ~ *sandık*
sarı «jaune» ~ *sarı*
sarman- «être embrassé»
sas «en jonc» ~ *saz*
secade «tapis de prière» ~ *seccade*
sefa sür- «s'amuser, se divertir à l'air libre» ~ *safa sür-*
sekiz, sėkiz, sekıs «huit» ~ *sekiz*
Selanik «Salonique»
sėmavėr «samovar» ~ *semāver*
sen, sėn «tu, toi» ~ *sen*
sėrçe «moineau» ~ *serçe*
sėrgen «étagère» ~ *sergen*
sevan- «se réjouir» ~ *sevin-*
seveş- «s'aimer» ~ *seviş-*
sevınç «l'amour» ~ *sevinç*
sęręk «perche, barre» ~ *sırık*
sicim «corde» ~ *sicim*
siz, sız «vous» ~ *siz*
skemli «tabouret» ~ *iskemle*
songra, sō^{n}ra, sōna, sonā, sona, sõra, sorā, sora, söra «après» ~ *sonra*
sonunci «dernier» ~ *sonuncu*
sormaca «devinette»
söyle-, sȳle-, süle- «dire» ~ *söyle-*
suvare «divertissement du soir» ~ *suvare*
süfür «repas à l'aube pendant le mois de jeûne» ~ *sahur*, Vidin *sufur*, Küst. *süfür*
süg- «blâmer, invectiver» ~ *söv-*
sürgi «commode» ~ *sürgü*
süsli, süzüli «orné» ~ *süslü*
süs, süz «dicton» ~ *söz*

ṣafak «crépuscule du matin»: *ṣafki*, *ṣafkė* «sa lumière» ~ *safkı*
ṣāhin «faucon» ~ *ṣahin*
ṣāmi «fichu» ~ *ṣāmi* «de Syrie, de Damas»
ṣarki «chanson, populaire» ~ *ṣarkı*
ṣaṣır-, *ṣaṣir-*, *ṣaṣęr-* «se troubler, s'étonner» ~ *ṣaṣır-*
ṣeboy «giroflée» ~ *ṣebboy*
ṣėy «chose» ~ *ṣey*
ṣimdi, *ṣindi* «maintenant» ~ *ṣimdi*
ṣol «ce» ~ *ṣol*
ṣule bule «ainsi, de cette manière» ~ *ṣöyle böyle*
tabır «armée, camp» ~ *tabur*
ťahat «papier»; *ťāhadi* «son papier» ~ *kâğıt*, *kâğıdı*
tahminlen, *tahminle*, *tah^{a}minle* «au hasard, au petit bonheur» ~ *tahminen*
taksem «répartition» ~ *taksim*
tambura «tambourah» ~ *tambura*
tarabozan «garde-fou, barrière» ~ *tırabzan*
ťār et- «employer, aider» ~ *kâr et-*
tāta «planche» ~ *tahta*
tauk «poule» ~ *tavuk*
tekke, *teke* «monastère musulman» ~ *tekke*
tėl «fil (de fer)» ~ *tel*
tėncėre «plat» ~ *tencere*
tėnėke, *tėnėki* «pot de fer» ~ *teneke*
tėntėne «ornement en dentelle» ~ *tentene*
tėrbiyeli «bien élevé» ~ *terbiyeli*
tėrlak «fichu blanc sous le fichu en couleur» ~ *terlik*
ťervān, *ťervan* «caravane» ~ *kervan*
testiçe «petite cruche» ~ *testi* «cruche»
toum «grain» ~ *tohum*
tufa «arbre du paradis» ~ *Tuba* (voir 45)
tufal «tissu teint» ~ *tuval*
turşi «conserve au vinaigre» ~ *turşu*
tuzli «salé» ~ *tuzlu*
tü^{r}k, *turk*, *ťurk* «turc» ~ *türk*
tü^{r}kçe, *tur^{k}çe*, *ťur^{k}çe* «en turc» ~ *türkçe*
tüter ol- «se transformer en fumée» ~ *tüt-* «fumer»
ucum et- «attaquer» ~ *hücum et-*
üç, *uç* «trois» ~ *üç*
üçünci, *uçunci* «le troisième» ~ *üçüncü*
ügren- «apprendre» ~ *öğren-*
üküz, *üküs* «boeuf» ~ *öküz*
ül- «mourir» ~ *öl-*

ūlede «à midi» ~ *öylede*
üli «la mort»; *ülüm* «ma mort» ~ *ölü, ölüm*
üp-, up- «embrasser» ~ *öp-*
ürgi «tresse de cheveux» ~ *örgü*
ürt- «recouvrir» ~ *ört-*
ürti «couverture» ~ *örtü*
üsküpli «d'Üsküp». Cf. *Üsküp* (Skoplie)
üsti «la partie supérieure de qchose»; «dessus» ~ *üstü*
vakıt, vakit, vaḳet «temps» ~ *vakit*
vaz, vās «sermon, prédication» ~ *vaız*
ver-, vėr-, vir- «donner» ~ *ver-*
viran «délabré, en ruine» ~ *vīrān*
virāne «ruine, éboulis» ~ *virāne*
yagmur «pluie» ~ *yağmur*
yaḳın «proche» ~ *yakın*
yalınıs «seul» ~ *yalınız*
yap- «faire»: *ne yapeim* «que faire?», *ne aptın* «qu'as-tu fait?» ~ *yap-*
yaradan «le créateur» ~ *yaratan*
yardėm «aide» ~ *yardım*
yastik «coussin, oreiller» ~ *yastik*
yaṭḳci «personne qui se couche» (voir 63)
yatsi namazi «prière du soir» ~ *yatsı namazı*
yazıli «inscrit» ~ *yazılı*
ye-, yė- «manger» ~ *ye-*
yedirt- «faire manger» ~ *yedir-*
Yemen, Yėmen «Yemen» ~ *Yemen*
yer, yėr «place, endroit» ~ *yer*
yeṣil, yėṣil «vert» ~ *yeṣil*
yėṣillen- «verdoyer» ~ *yeṣillen-*
yeteṣter- «faire parvenir qqpart» ~ *yetiştir-*
yıldız, yıldis «étoile» ~ *yıldız*
yogur- «pétrir» ~ *yoğur-*
yolci «voyageur» ~ *yolcu*
yolluk «couverture de voyage» ~ *yolluk*
yun «laine» ~ *yün*
yükli «chargé» ~ *yüklü*
yüs «cent» ~ *yüz*
zāh «soupir» (voir 55)
zaman, zeman «temps» ~ *zaman*
zann et-, san et- «penser, estimer» ~ *zann et-*
zere «parce que, car» ~ *zira*
zeytün, zeytin «olivier» ~ *zeytin*

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ZUR SPRACHE DER URKUNDEN SÜLEYMĀNS DES PRÄCHTIGEN[1]

VON

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(Freiburg i. Br.)

Eine Beschäftigung mit der Sprache der Urkunden des Osmansultans *Süleymān* I. (1520—1566) kann aus zwei, voneinander in der Motivation diametral entgegengesetzten Positionen geschehen.[2] Nähern wir uns dem Problem vom Standpunkt der Diplomatik aus, also mit historischer Fragestellung, so kann uns die Urkundensprache — ähnlich wie auch das Urkundenformular, welches jüngst immer mehr auf das Interesse der Sprachwissenschaft rechnen darf[3] — als besonders geeignetes Mittel dienen, die ungefähre Entstehungszeit eines Schriftstückes annäherungsweise genau zu bestimmen und kann somit für die Echtheitsfrage wertvolle Anhaltspunkte beisteuern, vor allem bei der Bestimmung von Urkunden, die uns nicht im Original, sondern lediglich in Abschriften überliefert wurden.[4]

Diesen Erwägungen scheint vorerst allerdings die Tatsache zu widersprechen, daß die Sprache der osmanischen Urkunden — nach Feststellung der bisherigen Forschung — im Laufe der Zeit immer mehr erstarrte. Dieser Vorgang erreichte aber seinen Gipfelpunkt jedoch erst etwa ein Jahrhundert nach der Herrschaftszeit Sultan *Süleymāns*.[5] Aber selbst in der Zeit der «totalen» Erstarrung gibt es immer wieder geringfügige Wandlungen in der Sprache

[1] Referat, gehalten an der 14. Tagung der Permanent International Altaistic Conference in Szeged.

[2] Im Laufe der Bearbeitung meines Themas hatte ich Gelegenheit, mit meinem Freunde, Professor Georg Hazai, einen nützlichen Meinungsaustausch über diese Problematik zu führen. Ich bedanke mich herzlich für die sprachhistorischen Anregungen und Aspekte, die ich daraus gewonnen habe.

[3] Vgl. Papp László, *Magyar nyelvű levelek és okiratok formulái a XVI. században* [Ladislaus Papp, Formen von Briefen und Urkunden in ungarischer Sprache im 16. Jh.], Budapest 1964 (= *Nyelvtudományi értekezések*, 44. sz.). Siehe dazu unsere Besprechung für die *Études Finno-Ougriennes*.

[4] Etwa in Briefmustersammlungen (*inšā'*-Werke), Gesetzbüchern des weltlichen *Rechts* (*qānūn-nāme*), Kopialbüchern (*siǧillāt defterleri*), usw.

[5] *EI*², II, S. 315 der englischen Ausgabe, Artikel von Reychman und Zajączkowski über die osmanische Diplomatik.

— man spürt das bei einem intensiven Studium der Urkunden — die eine grobe Zeitbestimmung ermöglichen könnten.

Solange jedoch die sprachgeschichtliche Erforschung des Osmanisch-Türkischen in den Kinderschuhen steckt,[6] kann man von dieser leider keine Hilfe für die Bestimmung von Urkunden erwarten. Gerade umgekehrt, — und das ist der zweite Annäherungspunkt — die Sprache der Urkunden ist für die sprachgeschichtliche Forschung wichtig, indem die Entstehungszeit der Urkunden an Hand nichtsprachlicher Merkmale wie etwa Datierung oder Ausgestaltung der großherrlichen Handfeste, der *ṭuġra*, normalerweise ziemlich leicht zu ermitteln ist, das ist ein wertvolles Faktum, das bei Sprachdenkmälern anderer Art oft fehlt.

Dem könnte man entgegenhalten, daß die osmanisch-türkische Literatursprache sich im Laufe der Zeit von der lebenden Sprache immer mehr entfernt hat. Diese Entfremdung ist nicht nur hinsichtlich der verschiedenen Dialekte der anatolisch-rumelischen Volkssprache bemerkbar, sondern auch in der Umgangsprache gebildeter Schichten.[7] Sie erreichte bis zur Regierungszeit unseres Sultans einen solchen Stand, daß der türkische Anteil sich bei der mit arabischen und persischen Elementen durchwobenen literarischen Hochsprache, die den Stilgeschmack der gebildeten Kreise voll befriedigte, im Wesentlichen nur auf einen minimalen genuintürkischen Wortschatz sowie auf das türkische morphologische Repertoire bzw. auf das syntaktische Gerippe beschränkte.[8]

So weit, so gut. Die Sprache der Urkunden, d. h. die Kanzleisprache, wäre dabei nichts anderes, als eine spezifische Abart dieser von der gesprochenen Sprache völlig entfremdeten Literatursprache. Die Produkte der Kanzlei, genauso wie die anderen Denkmäler dieser Literatursprache, würden sich mit-

[6] Nur ganz wenige der wichtigsten osmanischen Sprachdenkmäler sind so ediert worden, daß sie für eine deskriptive Untersuchung herangezogen werden können. Die Sprache der Urkunden selbst wird in den osmanistischen diplomatischen Arbeiten zwar berührt, jedoch nicht eingehend behandelt. Auch der einschlägige Aufsatz von Fekete beschränkt sich darauf, auf einige Eigentümlichkeiten der osmanischen Urkundensprache hinzuweisen, ohne in diesem beschränkten Rahmen die einzelnen Phänomene eingehend zu untersuchen. Fekete Lajos, *A török oklevelek nyelvezete és forrásértéke* [Sprache und Quellenwert der türkischen Urkunden]: *Levéltári Közlemények* III (1926), S. 206—224.

[7] Die osmanisch-türkische Umgangsprache des späten 16. Jh. wird uns nahegebracht durch die im volkstümlichen Stil abgefaßte Chronik eines hohen Finanzbeamten (*defterdār*). Siehe *L'Ouvrage de Seyfī Çelebī, historien ottoman du XVIe siècle*, édition critique, traduction et commentaires par Joseph Matuz, Paris 1968 (= *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul*, XX).

[8] Von diesem Sprachstil gibt uns etwa das *Mohāč-nāme* des Kemālpašazāde eine genauere Vorstellung. Diese Chronik ist von Pavet de Courteille unter dem Titel *Histoire de la Campagne de Mohacz* ediert und in französischer Übersetzung in Paris 1859 veröffentlicht worden. Vgl. außerdem Herbert Jansky, *War das Hochosmanische eine archaisierende Sprache?*: *WZKM* 58 (1962), S. 134—164.

hin kaum eignen, bei dem Entwerfen der eigentlichen osmanisch-türkischen Sprachgeschichte, nämlich der Geschichte des anatolisch-rumelischen türkischen Idioms mit verwendet zu werden. Das bisher Gesagte würde soviel bedeuten, daß wir die Untersuchung der Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Kanzleisprache nicht in der Dimension der osmanisch-türkischen historischen Grammatik vornehmen könnten, sondern vielmehr im Rahmen der Entwicklung der Kanzleisprache selbst, bzw. der vorhin skizzierten literarischen Hochsprache, u. zw. sowohl bei einer synchronischen, als auch bei einer diachronischen Betrachtungsweise.

Eine solche Betrachtungsweise würde jedoch nur einen Teil der Wirklichkeit erfassen. Denn die Sprache der Urkunden Süleymāns war keineswegs homogen. Nicht nur, weil Urkunden — wenn auch nur in äußerst geringer Zahl — noch in anderen Sprachen als türkisch erstellt wurden,[9] sondern auch weil die verschiedenen Urkundengattungen mit ihren jeweiligen sprachlichen Verwirklichungen eine Differenzierung bedingten. Bekanntlich gab es ja im Osmanischen Reiche des 16. Jh. vier Hauptgattungen von Sultansurkunden: 1. das großherrliche oder edle Handschreiben (*ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* oder *ḫaṭṭ-i šerīf*), 2. das großherrliche Schreiben (*nāme*), 3. die Ernennungsurkunde (*berāt* oder anders *nišān*) und schließlich 4. den großherrlichen Befehl (*ḥükm*, *fermān* oder *emr*).

Über die Sprache der großherrlichen Handschreiben der fraglichen Epoche wissen wir nicht viel. Solche sind uns m. W. nicht überliefert, bzw. bisher nicht aufgefunden worden,[10] bis auf einen gereimten Brief des Sultans an seinen rebellischen Sohn Bāyezīd.[11] Die Erörterung der Eigenschaften der Sprache dieses Gedichts gehört m. E. nicht hierher, sie sollte vielmehr im Rahmen einer Untersuchung der Dichtersprache «Muḥibbīs» — das war der Dichtername Süleymāns des Prächtigen[12] — erörtert werden.

[9] So vor allem in arabischer Sprache. Unter den von Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, S. 167 ff. angegebenen osmanischen Urkunden in arabischer Sprache finden sich — wie ich selbst feststellen konnte — mehrere Fermane unseres Sultans. Persischsprachige Sultansurkunden sind uns dagegen aus dieser Zeit nicht bekannt, dafür jedoch eine Originalurkunde in südslavischer Sprache, die von Ć. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačkog arhiva: Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 23 (1911) herausgegeben wurde.

[10] Die auf S. 19 f. des *XXII. Milletlerarası Müsteşrikler Kongresi Münasebetiyle Başbakanlık Arşivinde Tertiplenen Tarihî Vesikalar Sergisi Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1951, angegebenen *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* sind keine rechtskräftigen Urkunden, sondern lediglich Beurkundungsbefehle.

[11] In lateinischer Transkription mitgeteilt von Şerafettin Turan, *Kanunî'nin Oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, Ankara 1961 (= *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları*, No. 80), S. 209 f.

[12] Zu Muḥibbīs Dichtung s. *Dīvān-i Muḥibbī*, Konstantinopel 1308 H.; *Sultan Soliman des Grossen Divan in einer Auswahl.* Mit sachlichen und grammatischen Ein-

Was vorhin über die völlig entfremdete Sprache osmanischer Urkunden gesagt wurde, trifft vor allem auf den zweiten Urkundentyp, das *nāme* zu. Diese Gattung ist nämlich bei feierlichen Anlässen verwendet worden, wie etwa bei der Korrespondenz mit auswärtigen Souveränen,[13] bei Verträgen (*ʿahdnāme*), bei Siegesschreiben (*fetḥnāme*) u. dgl. Die wichtigsten Stücke dieses Typs sind von dem *nišānǧï*, einem hohen Würdenträger, der damals etwa dem Kanzler europäischer Staaten entsprach, oder mindestens dem Vorsteher der Kanzleisekretäre, dem *reʾīsülküttāb*, persönlich abgefaßt worden. Es war eine Prestigefrage für diese Hoffunktionäre, ihr gesamtes stilistisches und rhetorisches Können, ihre künstlerische Veranlagung und ihren an persischen Vorbildern geschulten literarischen Geschmack bei einer solchen Urkunde aufzubieten. Schöne Beispiele dafür sind etwa die Schreiben unseres Sultans an die Safawidenschahs[14] Ismāʿīl I. bzw. Ṭahmāsb I. Bei einfacheren Stücken dieser Gattung ist auch die Sprache simpler, wie etwa bei dem Staatsschreiben, das an den Dogen von Venedig über das Eintreffen eines Botschafters gerichtet wurde.[15] Ob so oder so, die Sprache dieser Urkundenart ist für die damalige Kanzleisprache nicht typisch, denn es wurden jährlich kaum einige Dutzend *nāme* erlassen, eine Anzahl, die einen verschwindend kleinen Bruchteil der hier folgenden weiteren Gattungen ausmacht.[16]

Die nächstfolgende Gattung, das *berāt*, war wesentlich häufiger. Kein Wunder, denn eine solche Ernennungsurkunde erhielten nicht nur die obersten Würdenträger des Reiches, sondern auch die Inhaber von Groß- bzw. Kleinpfründen, d. h. von *ziʿāmet* bzw. *timar*.[17] Auch bei dieser Gruppe kann

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leitungen und Erläuterungen sowie einem vollständigen Glossar (in Lateinschrift) hrsg von G. Jacob, Berlin 1903.

[13] An auswärtige Souveräne wurden jedoch in minder wichtigen Angelegenheiten auch *ḫükm* gerichtet. Den diesbezüglichen Usus erörtern wir in unserer in Vorbereitung befindlichen Monographie über die Staatskanzlei Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen.

[14] Vgl. etwa Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Münše'āt üs-Selāṭīn*, ²I, S. 526 f., 541 ff., 619 ff., 625 f.; ²II, 11 f., 14 f., 19 f., 45 f., 104 f. Schon Vámbéry hat darauf hingewiesen, daß etwa im Siegesschreiben nach der Schlacht von Mohács von vierzig Wörtern kaum eins türkisch-tatarischen Ursprungs sei. Auch die Sätze seien unendlich lang und schwülstig; *Solimán zultánnak a mohácsi ütközetnél nyert győzelmét hirdető levele. A törökből fordította* Vámbéry Ármin. [Ein Brief Sultan Süleymāns, der seinen Sieg bei der Schlacht von Mohács verkündet. Aus dem Türkischen übersetzt von Hermann Vámbéry.]: *Hazánk* 1859, II, S. 195—199.

[15] Diese Urkunde ist beschrieben von Hanna Sohrweide auf S. 288 des Katalogs: *Die Blankenburger Handschriften*. Beschrieben von Hans Butzmann. Frankfurt am Main 1966 (= *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, Die neue Reihe. Der ganzen Reihe elfter Band.)

[16] Dazu vgl. Matuz, *Staatskanzlei*.

[17] Bis auf die kleinsten der Kleinpfründen (*tezkeresüz timar*), die von den Beglerbegs vergeben werden konnten. Vgl. Belin, *Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'islamisme, et principalement en Turquie*: *JA* 1870, S. 187—301, insbesondere S. 243 ff.

man hinsichtlich der Sprache zwei verschiedene Niveaus unterscheiden. An einen sehr hohen Würdenträger ist ein *berāt* in der gleichen stark literalisierenden Sprache abgefaßt worden, wie das bei den wichtigeren *nāme* der Fall war. Als schönes Beispiel hierfür sei Ibrahim Paschas Ernennungsurkunde zum *ser'asker*[18] angeführt. Die Sprache der *berāt*, die für subalterne Würdenträger u. dgl. ausgestellt wurden, scheint dagegen wesentlich einfacher gewesen zu sein, insofern sich eine solche Feststellung von dem uns derzeit allein bekannten Stück für die Sinai-Mönche ableiten läßt.[19]

Die für uns aber bei weitem wichtigste Gruppe stellen die großherrlichen Befehle dar. Denn Exemplare dieser Gattung sind jährlich mehrere Tausend erlassen worden. Wegen seiner Häufigkeit kann m. E. gerade die Sprache dieses Typs als charakteristische Kanzleisprache in der fraglichen Zeit aufgefaßt werden. Anstelle allgemeiner Betrachtungen haben wir nun einen einzigen großherrlichen Befehl, dessen Sprache uns typisch erschien, ausgesucht und im Hinblick auf den Wortschatz genauer untersucht. Es handelt sich um eine Urkunde, die auf die an den Großherrlichen Diwan gerichtete Beschwerde einiger Schutzgenossen (*zimmī*) promulgiert wurde.[20] Dabei ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

Es besteht ein erheblicher Unterschied zwischen der Sprache des stereotypen Formulars und der des eigentlichen Urkundentextes. Das Formular, welches wohl kaum gelesen, sondern vermutlich nur überflogen wurde, ist auch in diesem Falle mehr oder weniger entfremdet. Daß mindestens das Eingangsprotokoll,[21] bestehend aus der Invocatio, der Anrufung des Namens Gottes,[22] der *tuġra* und der Inscriptio, d. h. der Anrede des Adressaten (*elqāb*) und des Segenswunsches (*du'ā*) selbst von den Verfassern der Urkunde nicht unmittelbar zum Urkundentext gehörig erachtet wurde, geht daraus hervor, daß es bei der Eintragung in das Kanzleiregister, wie etwa in das Register der wichtigen Staatssachen (*mühimme defteri*) einfach fortgelassen wurde.[23] So dürften wir auch wohl richtig verfahren, wenn wir das Eingangsprotokoll bei

[18] Abgefaßt von dem berühmten Ǧelālzāde Muṣṭafā, s. Ferīdūn, [2]I, S. 544 ff.

[19] Diese Urkunde ist von Klaus Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970 (= *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Band 7), S. 122 in Regestenform erfaßt worden. Die Sprache dieses Stückes weist kaum Unterschiede zum *berāt* gleichen Inhalts des Sultans Selīm I. auf, in extenso veröffentlicht ibid., S. 25 ff.

[20] Im Anschluß an dieses Referat veröffentlichen wir die Urkunde in Faksimile, lateinischer Transkription und Übersetzung.

[21] Zeile 1, bis einschließlich das Wort *faẓluhumā*. Diesen Teil des Formulars haben wir in der Edition zwischen geschwungene Klammern gesetzt, genauso, wie das Datum.

[22] Bei dem Typ *ḥükm* in der Regel *hū* (auch *hüve* gelesen) «er» (d. h. Gott); in unserem Falle ist von der Aufnahme fast völlig weggeblieben.

[23] Vgl. Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552—1615*. A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri. Oxford 1960, S. 7.

der hier folgenden Untersuchung ebenfalls als eine besondere Einheit behandeln. Ähnlich möchten wir den zeitlichen und den örtlichen Teil des Datums behandeln, da sie ebenfalls nicht direkt zum Text der Urkunde gehören. Mit der Abtrennung dieser Formularteile haben wir aber noch nicht alles Formelhafte eliminiert. Denn als solches erweisen sich in unserer Urkunde[24] nahezu Dreiviertel des gesamten Textes,[25] *elqāb* und *duʿā* bzw. *tārīḫ* dabei mitgerechnet, *tuġra* allerdings nicht. Auch ohne diese Elemente verbleiben als der Anteil des Formulars am Gesamttext noch immer 58%.[26] Hierzu gehören nämlich m. E. noch folgende Teile, wenn bei ihnen auch freilich keine so vollständige Erstarrung zu beobachten ist, wie bei dem Eingangsprotokoll oder bei der Datierung:

1. Notificatio: *tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn vāṣıl olığaq maʿlūm ola ki* «bei Ankunft des erhabenen großherrlichen Handzeichens sei kund»

2. Expositionsformel, Einleitung, 1. Teil: *el-ḥāletü'l-hāzihi dārendegān-i fermān-i hümāyūn . . . nām ẕimmīler* «Die Inhaber des [vorliegenden] großherrlichen Befehls, die Schutzgenossen namens . . .»

3. Expositionsformel, Einleitung, 2. Teil: *dergāh-i muʿallāma ʿarż-i ḥāl ėdüb* «haben an meine hohe Pforte ein Gesuch gerichtet»

4. Expositionsformel, Schluß: *dėyü bildürdiler* «[das und das] haben sie mitgeteilt»

5. Allgemeine Dispositionsformel: *eyle olsa buyurdum ki* «wenn es so ist, dann befehle ich»

6. Spezielle Dispositionsformeln:

   a) Die Frage, ob der Fall bereits entschieden wurde: *bu qażiye bundan evvel bir defʿa ṣorülub šerʿle faṣl olınmamıš ise* «insofern diese Sache vorher noch nicht geprüft und gemäß dem Religionsgesetz entschieden wurde»
   b) Gegenüberstellung: *ḫuṣemāyi berāber ėdüb* «[ihr] stellt die Parteien gegenüber»
   c) Allgemeine Anweisung, den Fall zu untersuchen: *ber mūğeb-i šerʿ-i qavīm teftīš ve tefaḥḥuṣ ėdüb göresüz* «ihr sollt [die Angelegenheit] auf Grund des feststehenden Religionsgesetzes prüfen und untersuchen»
   d) Fallbezogene Bedingungsformel: *muqarrer ise ki temām ṣābit ve ẓāhir ola* «sollte es sich herausstellen, daß die Tatsache, daß . . . erwiesen und offenkundig ist»

[24] In unserer Edition kursiv gesetzt.

[25] 72 % des aus 198 Worten bestehenden Gesamttextes. *elqāb*, *duʿā* und *tārīḫ* (insgesamt 27 Wörter) machen 14% des Gesamttextes der Urkunde aus.

[26] 115 Wörter.

e) Fallbezogene Ausführungsformel: *šerʿle ḥükm ëdüb girü alïvëresüz* «ihr sollt gemäß dem Religionsgesetz entscheiden und sie ihnen zurückgeben»

7. Sanctio (getrennt durch die Comminatio): *kimesneye ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm iš ëtdürmeyesüz* «ihr sollt nicht zulassen, daß irgendjemand im Widerspruch zum feststehenden Religionsgesetz etwas unternimmt» . . . *geregi gibi temām ihtimām ëdesüz. Tekrār šikāyete gelmelü eylemeyesüz* «wie es nötig ist, sollt ihr volle Sorgfalt anwenden. Ihr sollt es nicht noch einmal zu einer Klage kommen lassen.»

a) Comminatio: *temerrüd ëdeni segidüb eslemeyeni yazub ʿarż ëdesüz* «Diejenigen, die sich [diesem Befehl] widersetzen, sollt ihr rügen, solche, die nicht gehorchen, sollt ihr schriftlich melden.»
b) *mübāšir*-Formel: *bu bābda dergāh-i muʿallām čavušlarïndan qulum . . . bile mübāšir ola. Emr-i šerʿ-i šerīfden teǧāvüz ëtmeye. Ëderse, ʿarż ëdesüz.* «In dieser Sache soll zugleich einer der Tschausche meiner hohen Pforte, mein Diener, . . . Inspektor werden. Er soll von den Bestimmungen des edlen Religionsgesetzes nicht abweichen. Wenn er [abweichen] sollte, so sollt ihr es melden.»
c) Die Formel: *šöyle bilesüz* «das sollt ihr wissen»

8. Corroboratio: *ʿalāmet-i šerīfeye iʿtimād qïlasuz* «dem edlen Zeichen sollt ihr Glauben schenken»

Dazu gesellt sich noch eine stereotype Floskel, die ebenfalls zum Formular gerechnet werden kann, namentlich: *ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm* «im Widerspruch zum feststehenden Religionsgesetz», eine Floskel, die in unserer Urkunde gleich dreimal vorkommt. Demnach ist der Anteil des eigentlichen Urkundentextes in unserer Urkunde verhältnismäßig gering, er macht lediglich knapp ein Viertel aus.[27]

Wie ist nun die Sprache dieser drei verschiedenen Textschichten beschaffen? Wir deuteten schon an, daß Eingangsprotokoll und Datum ganz formelhaft wirken. Die insgesamt 27 Wörter dieser Teile sind ohne Ausnahme arabischen Ursprungs. Auch die dabei verwendeten morphologischen Mittel sind arabisch, bis auf das türkische Suffix *-larï* (3. Pl. des Possessivsuffixes) im Wort *qāḍïlarï* und auf die *iżāfet*-Konstruktion und die persische Präposition *be-* im örtlichen Teil des Datums: be-*maqām*-i *Edirne*. So ergibt sich, daß einschließlich der *elqāb*, des *duʿā* und beider Teile des Datums und ausschließlich der insgesamt acht Eigennamen der Prozentsatz der arabischen Wörter bei

[27] 48 Wörter, d. h. genauer 24%. Der Anteil der Eigennamen (insgesamt acht) ist 4%.

54%, der persischen bei 8% und der genuintürkischen bei 38% des Gesamttextes liegt.[28]

Das insgesamt aus 115 Wörtern bestehende Formular, *elqāb*, *duʿā* und Datum nicht mitgerechnet, wobei die Eigennamen ebenfalls unberücksichtigt bleiben, besteht zu 51% aus arabischen, zu 9% aus persischen und zu 40% aus genuintürkischen Wörtern.[29] Auch die verwendeten grammatikalischen Mittel ergeben hier ein buntes Bild. Neben zahlreichen persischen Elementen — wie der *iżāfet*-Konstruktion[30] und dem Pehlewi-Plural *-gān*[31] — kommt nur einmal eine stehende arabische Konstruktion *el-ḥāletü'l-ḥāzihi* «gegenwärtig, nun» vor. Sonst sind die morphologischen und syntaktischen Elemente durchwegs türkisch, wobei allerdings auf die zahlreichen Verbalkomposita[32] mit einem meistens arabischen nominalen und türkischen verbalen Teil, in der Regel mit *ëtmek* bzw. *olmaq* und *olïnmaq*, zu verweisen ist.[33] Lassen wir nun *elqāb*, *duʿā*, das Datum und die Eigennamen fort, so beträgt von den restlichen 163 Wörtern der Urkunde das arabische Element 47%, das persische 10% und das türkische 43%.[34]

Nun aber zum eigentlichen Urkundentext. Dieser Teil der Urkunde besteht aus insgesamt 48 Wörtern, deren Mehrzahl (52%) genuintürkisch ist. Der arabische Anteil ergibt rund 35% und der persische 13%.[34] Ein nicht zu unterschätzender Teil der arabischen bzw. persischen Lehnwörter (26%) dient zur Bildung von Verbalkomposita. Der Anteil solcher Verbalkomposita liegt übrigens etwas höher, als der der genuintürkischen Verben, nämlich bei 55: 45%.[35]

Nicht nur der Wortschatz weist eine verhältnismäßig geringe Entfremdungsstufe auf, sondern auch die grammatikalische Komponente. Fremde Konstruktionen, wie etwa die *iżāfet*, kommen gar nicht vor. Auch syntaktisch erscheint die Sprache recht einfach. Die von der stark entfremdeten Literatur-

[28] 190 Wörter ohne die acht Eigennamen, davon 103 arabischen, 16 persischen und 71 türkischen Ursprungs.

[29] In absoluten Zahlen: 59 arabische, 10 persische und 46 türkische Wörter.

[30] Z. B. *tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn* «das erhabene großherrliche Handzeichen»; *dergāh-i muʿallāma* «an meine hohe Pforte»; *ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm* «im Widerspruch zum feststehen den Religionsgesetz», usw.

[31] In *darendegān* «die Besitzer».

[32] In unserer statistischen Untersuchung haben wir Komposita dieser Art immer als zwei Wörter genommen.

[33] Z. B. *teftīš ve tefaḥḥuṣ ët-* «prüfen»; *ṣābit ve ẓāhir ol-* «erwiesen und offenkundig sein»; *faṣl olïn-* «entschieden werden», usw. Persischer nominaler Teil kommt nur in *berāber ët-* «gegenüberstellen» und in *ʿarż-i hāl ët-* «ein Gesuch richten» vor. *qïl-* erscheint nur in *iʿtimād qïl-* «Glauben schenken».

[34] In absoluten Zahlen: 76 Wörter arabischen, 16 persischen und 71 türkischen Ursprungs.

[35] D. h. aus 25 türkischen, 17 arabischen und 6 persischen Wörtern.

sprache wohlbekannten endlosen Schachtelsätze fehlen nicht nur im Textteil, sondern auch im Formular. Im Textteil selbst fallen auf acht Partizipial- bzw. Gerundialkonstruktionen noch immer drei Verbalsätze[37] (73: 27%).

So erweist sich die Sprache der hier untersuchten Urkunde als eine verhältnismäßig einfache, nicht sehr stark entfremdete Sachsprache. Sie ähnelt keineswegs der gekünstelten Literatursprache der Epoche, sondern vielmehr der Konversationssprache gebildeter Kreise. Vergleicht man diese Sprache etwa mit der volkstümlich gehaltenen Sprache[38] der Chronik des Seyfī Čelebi vom Ende des 16. Jh., so ergibt sich, daß auf einer zufällig ausgewählten Seite[39] dieser Chronik — nach Fortlassung der sieben Egennamen — nahezu die Hälfte der Wörter (49%) türkischen, 26% arabischen und 24% persischen Ursprungs sind,[40] ein Befund, der von den sprachlichen Verhältnissen des eigentlichen Textteils in unserer Urkunde nur unwesentlich abweicht.

Nunmehr stellt sich die Frage, wieso verwendete man bei der Abfassung einer gewöhnlichen Sultansurkunde um die Mitte des 16. Jh. eine einfache, schmucklose und kaum entfremdete Sprache. Waren die Verfertiger der Urkunden, die Diwansekretäre (*kātibān-i dīvān-i hümāyūn*) etwa nicht imstande, eine gekünsteltere Sprache zu verwenden? Eine solche Vermutung müssen wir sogleich verwerfen, denn die Sekretäre der Kanzlei waren im Osmanischen Reiche zu dieser Zeit — nach Zeugnis der Quellen — ohne Ausnahme literarisch hochgebildete Personen, die die drei islamischen Hauptkultursprachen (Arabisch, Persisch, Osmanisch-Türkisch) einwandfrei beherrschten. So können wir in der Verwendung einer so einfachen Sprache nur eine bewußte politische Maßnahme der Hohen Pforte sehen. Die Zentralgewalt wollte — allem Anschein nach — so klare und unmißverständliche Anweisungen erteilen, daß ihre Durchführung nicht an der Barriere einer unklaren, die Tatsachen verdunkelnden literarischen Sprache scheitern sollte, zumal von den Direktiven häufig — wie auch wohl in unserem Falle — auch ungebildete Leute betroffen wurden.

Wir haben gehört, daß ähnliche Urkunden jährlich zu Tausenden ausgestellt wurden. Es kann kaum ein Zweifel bestehen, daß die Sprache dieser Urkunden, die nicht nur höhere und niederere Würdenträger des Reiches, wie

[36] Auf 6 Verbalkomposita fallen 5 genuintürkische Verba.

[37] Es ist kein Nominalsatz in unserer Urkunde vorhanden.

[38] Zum Charakter der Sprache Seyfīs vgl. unseren Aufsatz *Notes relatives à l'édition de la chronique de Seyfi Tchelebi*: *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, vol. XLV (1966—67) sowie die Besprechungen von V. L. Ménage und G. Hazai zu Matuz, *L'Ouvrage de Seyfī Çelebī* in: *BSOAS* 32 (1969), 620 ff. bzw. für die *MIO*.

[39] Fo. 53b; siehe Matuz, *L'Ouvrage de Seyfī Çelebī, historien ottoman du XVIe siècle*, S. 137.

[40] Es gibt 23 arabische, 22 persische und 43 genuintürkische Wörter neben den 7 nicht mitgerechneten Eigennamen.

Beglerbegs, Sandschackbegs, Kadis, Polizeivögte (*subašï*), Stiftungsverwalter (*mütevellī*) usw. usw. erreichten, sondern auch die breitesten Schichten der Bevölkerung, auf deren Sprache wie auch auf die der Adressaten normativ wirkte. Die Herausbildung der Eigenarten des anatolisch-rumelischen türkischen Idioms späterer Zeiten kann daher m. E. ohne Berücksichtigung des Einflusses der hier erörterten Urkundensprache kaum richtig erfaßt werden.

Anhang

Ferman Süleymāns I. vom 11.—20. Ramażān 953 (5.—14. November 1546) an die Kadis von Kratovo und Ilıca: Drei Schutzgenossen hatten folgende Klage in einem Gesuch erhoben: Während ihrer Abwesenheit sei ihr Vater verstorben. Andere Leute hätten sich in den Besitz ihres Erbes gesetzt. Es wird befohlen, den Fall zu untersuchen.

Die Urkunde wird im Başvekalet Arşivi, İstanbul unter Nr. 304 der Sammlung «Ali Emirî Tasnifi, Kanunî» aufbewahrt.

Die Pleneschreibung von Vokalen in genuintürkischen Wörtern und Suffixen wird im Transkriptionstext mit einem diakritischen Punkt unter dem Buchstaben bezeichnet.

{*Süleymān bin Selīm Ḫan muẓaffer dāymā.*

(1) *Mufaḫḫareyi'l-quẓāt ve'l-ḥükkām, maʿdeneyi'l-faẓl ve'l-kelām, mübeyyineyi'š-šerāyiʿ ve'l-aḥkām, mevlānā Qaraṭova ve Ïlïğa qāḍïlarï, zīde faẓluhumā.*} *Tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn*

(2) *vāṣïl ọlïğạq maʿlūm ọlạ ki el-ḥāletü'l-hāẕihi dārendẹgān*[41]*-i fermān-i hümāyūn Petrị ve Pavlị ve Nịqọlị nām ẕimmīler dergāh-i muʿallāmạ ʿarż-i ḥāl ẹdụb*

(3) biz āḫar vilāyetdẹ ịken baḅamuz fevt ọlụb bir göz mülk degürmenin ve bir bāġčesin ʿAlī nām kimesnẹ ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm ạlụb żabṭ ẹylemiš. Ve bir bāġïnï

(4) daḫị Qosṭanṭịn nām ẕimmī ạlụb żabṭ ẹylemiš. Ḫāliyā bụ ḫusūṣlaruŋ šerʿlẹ görilmẹsin ṭaleb ẹdẹrüz *dëyü bildürdiler. Eylẹ ọlsạ buyurdụm ki*

(5) *bụ qażiye bụndan evvel bir defʿa ṣorïlub šerʿlẹ faṣl ọlïnmạmïš ịsẹ, ḫuṣemāyï berāber ẹdụb ber mūğeb-i šerʿ-i qavīm teftïš ve tefaḥḥuṣ ẹdụb göṛẹsüz.*

(6) Bụnlaruŋ baḅaṣïnuŋ ẕikr ọlạn degürmenin ve bāġčesinị ve bāġïnï mezbūrān kimesnẹler *ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm* ạlụb żabṭ ẹyledükleri

(7) *muqarrer ịsẹ ki temām ṣābit ve ẓāhir ọlạ, šerʿle ḥükm ẹdūb gịrü ạlïvẹrẹsüz. Kimesnẹyẹ ḫilāf-i šerʿ-i qavīm ịš ẹtdürmeyẹsüz.*

[41] Hier wie im Folgenden sind arabische Dualformen verwendet.

(8) *Temerrüd ėdenį segidüb eslemeyenį yazub ʿarż ėdęsüz. Geregį gibį temām ihtimām ėdęsüz. Tekrār šikāyetę gelmelü ęylemeyęsüz. Bu bābda dergāh-i muʿallām čavušlarından*

(9) *qulum ʿĪsā čavuš bilę mübāšir olą. Emr-i šerʿ-i šerīfden teğāvüz ėtmeyę. Ėdersę, ʿarż ėdęsüz. Šöylę bilęsüz. ʿAlāmet-i šerīfeyę iʿtimād qïlasuz.*

(10) {*Taḥrīren fī evāsiṭ-i ramażān sene ṣelāṯ ve ḫamsīn ve tisʿamiye be-meqām-i Ėdirnę.*}

Süleymān, Sohn Selīm Khans, immer siegreich.

(1) Ruhmvolle Kadis und Richter, Fundgruben von Tugend und Beredsamkeit, Ausleger der Religionsgesetze und der Vorschriften, Mevlānā Kadis von Qaraṭova[42] und von Ïlïğa[43] — mögen ihre Tugenden wachsen. Bei Ankunft des erhabenen großherrlichen Handzeichens

(2) sei kund: Die Inhaber des [vorliegenden] großherrlichen Befehls, die Schutzgenossen (*zimmī*) namens Petri, Pavli und Niqoli haben an meine hohe Pforte ein Gesuch gerichtet, in dem es heißt:

(3) «Während wir in einem anderen Wilajet waren, verstarb unser Vater. Ein gewisser ʿAlī bemächtigte sich im Widerspruch zum feststehenden Religionsgesetz seiner einäugigen Eigentumsmühle und eines seiner Gärten.

(4) Ein Schutzgenosse namens Qoṣtanṭīn bemächtigte sich eines seiner Weinberge. Wir verlangen daher die Prüfung dieser Angelegenheiten gemäß dem Religionsgesetz.» Wenn es so ist, dann befehle ich, daß

(5) — wenn diese Sache vorher noch nicht geprüft und gemäß dem Religionsgesetz entschieden wurde — ihr die Parteien gegenüberstellen und [die Angelegenheit] auf Grund des feststehenden Religionsgesetzes prüfen und untersuchen sollt.

(6) Sollte es sich herausstellen, daß die Tatsache, daß die beiden erwähnten Personen sich der aufgeführten Mühle, des Gartens und des Weinbergs ihres Vaters [= von den Erben] im Widerspruch zum feststehenden Religionsgesetz bemächtigten,

[42] Kratovo — östlich Skopje (Üsküb), im vormaligen Sandschak Üsküb — war ein bedeutendes Bergwerk des Osmanischen Reiches; vgl. N. Beldiceanu, *Les Actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, Bd. II, Paris 1964, S. 406 (Index).

[43] Unter diesem Namen gibt es mehrere Kleinstädte in der Türkei. Eine von diesen ist die Hauptstadt des Kadi-Bezirks (*qażā*) Ova in dem Wilajet und dem Sandschak Erzurum. Eine weitere Stadt des gleichen Namens findet sich im Sandschak Saruhan, eine im Sandschak İzmir. Vgl. Š. Sāmī, *Qāmūs al-aʿlām*, Bd. II, Istanbul 1306 H., S. 1160 f.

(7) erwiesen und offenkundig ist, so sollt ihr gemäß dem Religionsgesetz entscheiden und sie ihnen [= die weggenommenen Immobilen den Erben] zurückgeben. Ihr sollt nicht zulassen, daß irgendjemand im Widerspruch zum feststehenden Religionsgesetz etwas unternimmt.

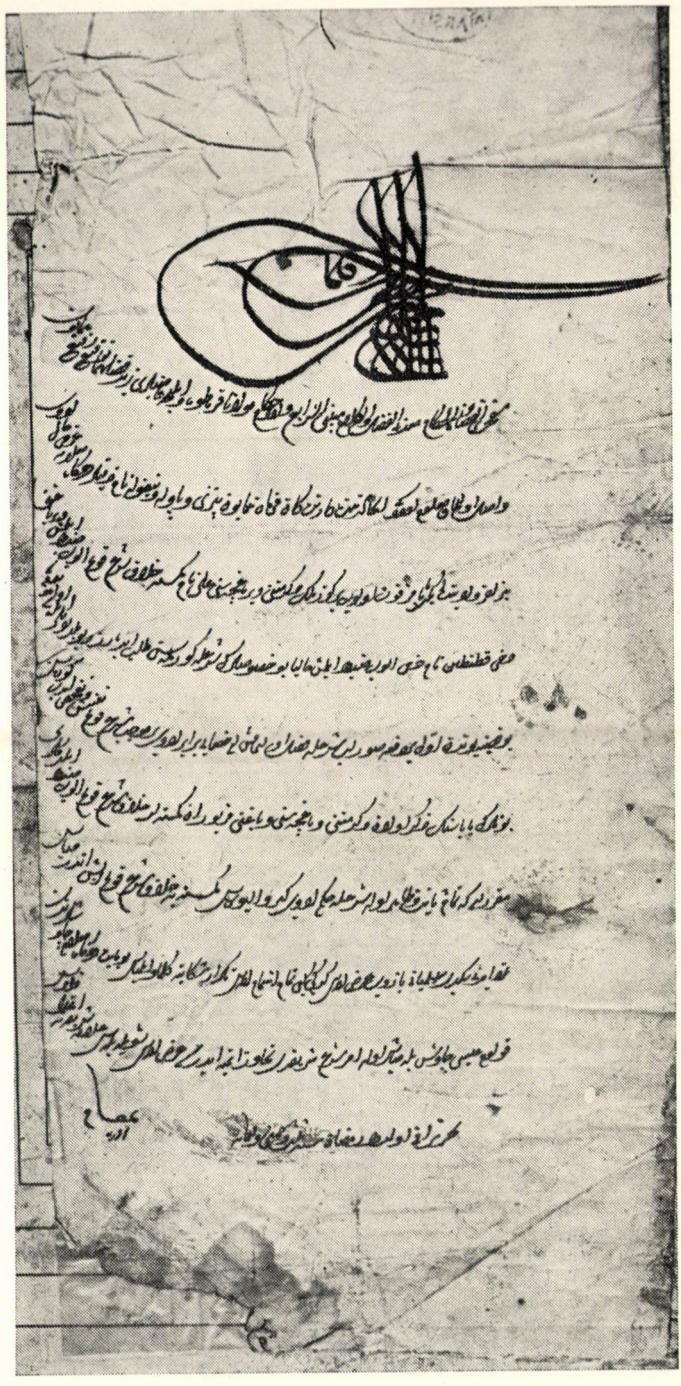
(8) Diejenigen, die sich [diesem Befehl] widersetzen, sollt ihr rügen, solche, die nicht gehorchen, sollt ihr [mir] schriftlich melden. In dem Maße wie es nötig ist, sollt ihr volle Sorgfalt anwenden. Ihr sollt es nicht noch einmal zu einer Klage kommen lassen. In dieser Sache soll zugleich einer der Tschausche meiner hohen Pforte,

(9) mein Diener, der Tschausch ʿĪsā Inspektor (*mübāšir*[44]) sein. Er soll von den Bestimmungen (*emr*) des edlen Religionsgesetzes nicht abweichen. Wenn er [jedoch davon abweichen] sollte, so sollt ihr [diese Tatsache] melden. Das sollt ihr wissen und dem edlen Zeichen Glauben schenken.

(1) Geschrieben in der mittleren Dekade des Ramażān im Jahre 953 [= 5.—14. November 1546]

in der Residenz
Edirne.

[44] Zur Funktion des *mübāšir* vgl. Beldiceanu, *Actes*, I, 165; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 3 Bde, Istanbul 1946—54, Bd. II, S. 592.



Ferman Süleymāns I.

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ON SOME PROBLEMS OF A GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY OF MIDDLE SINO-KOREAN

BY

F. MÁRTONFI

It is far from unnatural to suppose that the relations of things and matters in the form they appear do not necessarily reflect their essential properties. What seems to be hazy and confused on the surface is often simpler and more systematic at its roots. The foundation of things and relations and the way in which these can be converted into the shape in which they appear on the surface may be regarded as an explanation of phenomena. As far as language is concerned we have no reason to doubt this. In addition to these general theses, a language (in the form it appears through speech) is extremely redundant for natural reasons: it is closely connected with the exchange of information. The knowledge of a language, on the other hand, lays a heavy burden upon the human memory. Obviously we must assume that to put up with this contradiction the memory tends to contain only the necessary, non-redundant items, *i.e.* items between which it is indispensable to make distinctions.

In accordance with the above I wish to present some crucial points of the underlying lexical forms and also to outline a few characteristic feature of the morpheme-structure — and phonological rules. Having accomplished these, the forms of Middle Sino-Korean (MSK), *i.e.* the monosyllabic morphemes of Korean borrowed from Chinese are to be obtained in the shape they were found in the source of the present study.[1]

Transliteration

Vowels:	*i*	*ü*			*u*	*ŭ*
	e	*ö*	*ă*	*ă*	*o*	*ŏ*
		ä			*a*	

[1] *Wŏl-in sŏk-po* (from 1459), a facsimile edition of an edition from 1572: *Sa-hŏ kwa-hak-wŏn chul-phan-sa*, Pyongyang 1966. Preface: pp. 35—98. As for the data found in the Preface, their short description from a sinological point of view and a bibliography cf. F. Mártonfi, *On Sino-Korean Finals*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXV (1972), 83—99.

where *ŭ*, *ŏ* are unrounded vowels;
ă is for the «are-*a*» (*a* written with a dot);
ă̆ is for the letters *ă* + *i*.

Glides: *y*, *w*

Consonants:

k	*kh*	*kk*	*ng*	*h*	*hh*	ʔ				
t	*th*	*tt*	*n*	*s*	*ss*	*ž*	*l*	*c*	*ch*	*cc*
p	*ph*	*pp*	*m*							

where *ž* is for the «triangle-*s*»;

ʔ is for the «*h* without dot», the sound that stands for ACh. glottal stop; and
is syllable boundary;
∅ denotes the lack of a phoneme.

The main principle in discovering underlying structures and redundancy- and phonological rules will be that of simplicity by which, for lack of any better term, a simple enumeration of distinctive features (DF) and rules are meant. Simplicity is closely connected with the notion «structural regularity», *i.e.* with the principle according to which the system in which more structural possibilities are realized is provided with a higher value; such an (underlying) system is less redundant and more regularly redundant. This principle seems to be particularly plausible in the case of languages like Chinese and Sino-Korean (SK), since even considering but forms of the most immediate surface they are unusually rich in homophonic morphemes and realize an unusually great number of the highly limited possibilities afforded by their structures. Simplicity and structural regularity are intended always to be carried out on such conditions that the results thus obtained should correspond to, or at least should not contradict, (a) the implicational universals, (b) the universals of linguistic (diachronic) change and (c) the intuition developed in studying surface forms.

To discover underlying structures might be begun with studying their linear peculiarities. A morpheme (syllable) begins with or without a consonant (C). Before the vowel (V) the consonant (or its lack) is followed or not by a *y*- or a *w*-glide (G) or by both in the defined sequence *y* + *w*. Back round vowels may be followed by a *w*-glide and the high, back and unrounded *ŭ* by a *y*-glide. It is not clear whether the front vowels of Modern SK were front one already in MSK or diphthongs with back vowels followed by a *y*-glide. In the present study they are regarded as diphthongs since it seems to be very likely that diphthongs of heteroorganic type did once exist if diphthongs of homorganic type existed as in the latter case the contrast (between *o*, *u* and *w*) was relatively hardly perceptible. If this assumption is right, *y*-glide may also stand between a vowel and the final consonant *-ng* (*-ăyng*, *-oyng*, *-uyng*). If natural generalizations of the following type are made: the particular qualities of vowels, consonants and glides [defined by a (or by a set of) lower DF(s)] are not to be regarded, and they are to be taken for vowels, consonants and

glides respectively (defined by higher/main DF-s), the following morpheme structure types may be assumed: any part of the sequence $(C)(G)(G)V(G)(C)$ is a wellformed sequence on the conditions that (a) the vowel may not be omitted, (b) the sequence GG is necessarily that of $y + w$ and (c) a final consonant cannot be preceded by the sequence $GGVG$ (three glides simultaneously). The latter two restrictions correspond to the surface and omitting them does not permit us to assume better underlying structures. According to the possibilities thus obtained, the non-consonantal groups ($GGVG$, GGV, GVG, GV, VG, V) of surface forms may be rearranged. As a result of such a rearrangement the underlying lexical forms will contain the only grave—non-grave (w—y) opposition for glides and the only diffuse—non-diffuse opposition for vowels (denoted by *a* and *ŭ*). (Cf. Fig. 1, Fig. 2.)

	a	*ä*	*ŏ*	*o*	*e*	*ö*	*ŭ*	*u*	*i*	*ü*
diffuse	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
compact	+	+	—	—	—	—	(—)	(—)	(—)	(—)
grave	+	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	—
flat	(—)	(—)	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+

Fig. 1. Vocalic phonemes of MSK (without allophones)[2]

a→*a*	*ay*→*ay*, *ăy*[3]	or *ä*, *ă̈*	*aw*→*o*
ya→*ya*, *ă*[4]	*yay*→*yŏy*	*ye*	*yaw*→*yo*
wa→*wa*	*way*→*oy*	*ö*	*waw*→*ow*
ywa→*ywa*	*yway*→*ywŏy*	*ywe*	*ywaw*→*yow*
ŭ→*ŏ*, *ă*[5]	*ŭy*→*ŭy*, *ŭ*[6]		*ŭw*→*u*
yŭ→*yŏ*	*yŭy*→*i*		*yŭw*→*yu*
wŭ→*wŏ*	*wŭy*→*uy*	or *ü*	*wŭw*→*uw*
ywŭ→*ywŏ*	*ywŭy*→*yuy*	*yü*	*ywŭw*→*yuw*

Fig. 2. Underlying non-consonantal groups and their equivalents on the surface. (Underlying a and ŭ do not denote phonemes, they stand for [—diffuse] and [+diffuse] DF-s, respectively.)

The introduction of a new segment is not necessarily accompanied by increase of DF-s in number. It is sufficient to assign [+ vocalic] and [+ consonantal] DF-s to the underlying segments, since [— voc] and [— cons] can

[2] The so-called «are-*a*» seems to be an allophone (only in SK?), now that of *a*, now that of *ŏ*, except *KăN* (*K* for velars, *N* for final *n* and *l*). I propose an *ad hoc ya* for *ă* in *KăN*.

[3] After velar and dental fricatives and after labials in open syllables, before **-*ng*, -*k***.

[4] Cf. Note 2.

[5] After dental fricatives in open syllables. If preceded and followed **simultaneously** by dentals.

[6] Before consonants.

be derived by means of rules. Such an assumption gives a simple and natural account for the fact that in a SK morpheme/syllable only one vocalic segment/one vowel occurs[7] and it may stand in the environment of non-vocalic segments and that, furthermore, consonants, if any, take peripheral positions whereas the central segments are non-consonantal. This assumption may be generalized if we introduce the syllable (syllable boundary) into the phonological universals. In a general case more than [one + voc] segment must be admitted in the centre of a syllable (because of liquids) and two kinds of liquids must be assumed in the underlying structures, one as $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voc} \\ + \text{ cons} \end{bmatrix}$ and the other as a pure dental consonant. The latter type of liquids is motivated by linguistic changes as a result of which dentals become liquids.

As to the sequence of two glides, it can be predicted as always that of $y + w$. This, however, requires the following formal universal: a segment in an underlying structure may be completely blank.

Underlying structures as presented above are simpler and structurally much more regular than those without segmental rearrangement. Instead of four DF-s (diffuseness, compactness, gravity, flatness) we have only one for vowels (diffuseness) and two for the whole non-consonantal group (diffuseness, gravity). Instead of the maximally five DF assignments we have three for the non-consonantal group at the worst. Instead of minimally 59 DF-assignments (if the hierarchy of DF-s is regarded as obligatory formal universal: instead of 66 DF-assignments) we have only 52 if counting the DF-s of the realized non-homophonous non-consonantal groups (the majority of these groups occuring several dozen times in the different consonantal environments). Structural regularity is extremely high: 24 realizations in 24 possibilities whereas the system near to the surface is very specific: unrounded non-high *a* and *ŏ* are preceded by each of the possible glides and glide combinations (*y*, *w*, *yw* and the lack of these); middle *e* is preceded by *y*(*w*); *ow*, *uw*, *o*, *u* and *ü* by a *y*-glide or by its lack; low *ä*, middle round front *ö*, high unrounded *ŭ* and *i* are never preceded by glides; and *o* and *u* are followed by a *w*-glide. Another regularity of the system is the following: the underlying vowels not followed by glides are lower on the surface than the ones followed by them. (Cf. Fig. 3, Fig. 4.)

	a	*ä*	*ŏ*	*o*	*ö*	*ŭ*	*i*	*u*	*ü*	*ya*	*yŏ*	*ye*
diffuse	(−)	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
compact	+	+	−	−	−					+	−	−
grave	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−+	−
flat			−	+		−	−	+	+		−	

[7] In Chinese and SK the *l* and the ʔ, considering their structural characteristics, are pure consonants, the former being a member of dentals, the latter that of velars.

	yo	*yu*	*yŭ*	*ywa*	*ywŏ*	*ywe*	*wa*	*wŏ*	*ow*	*yow*	*uw*	*yuw*
diffuse	−	+	+	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	−	−	+	+
compact	−			+	−	−	+	−				
grave	+	+	−		+	−	+	+				
flat	+											

Fig. 3. DF assignments of the non-consonantal groups in a system near to the surface

	a	*ya*	*wa*	*ywa*	*ay*	*yay*	*way*	*yway*	*aw*	*yaw*	*waw*	*ywaw*
diffuse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
grave		−	+		−	− −	+ −		− +	− +	+ +	+

	ŭ	*yŭ*	*wŭ*	*ywŭ*	*ŭy*	*yŭy*	*wŭy*	*ywŭy*	*ŭw*	*yŭw*	*wŭw*	*ywŭw*
diffuse	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
grave		−	+		−	− −	+ −	−	+	− +	+ +	+

Fig. 4. Underlying DF assignments for the non-consonantal groups

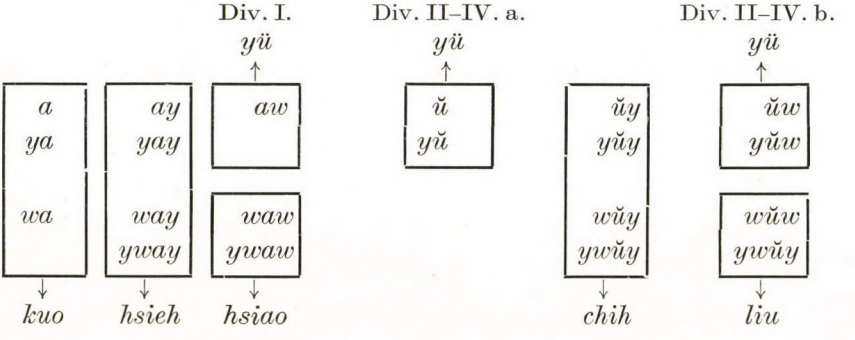
These underlying structures of non-consonantal groups do not contradict the universals and are plausible. The only opposition dominated by the [+ voc] DF is that of diffuse—non-diffuse, *i.e.* the primary vocalic opposition. This assumption, however, is not necessarily equivalent to assuming a language with two phonemes. It only means that one single feature is distinctive for vowels, the others, being redundant, are not assigned to as is the case in a large number of languages where a DF like compactness is not assigned to liquid segments though certainly they are non-compact. Other vocalic features of MSK can be derived by means of redundancy rules just as the non-compactness of the above-mentioned liquids. This instance, moreover, clearly illustrates the difference between a phonology in terms of phonemes and one in terms of DF-s. DF-assignment in underlying forms is not equivalent to enumerating phonemes. This might be illuminated by the following example: in English, *e.g.*, in initial position it is enough to assign a [+ cons] DF before a *-tr-* cluster «to denote» *s*, but *s* requires half a dozen DF-s before vowels. This does not mean, however, that English should have two «*s*-phonemes», one denoted by one DF, the other by six DF-s though they are assigned differently to underlying forms. In a grammar based on DF-s, phonemes may be regarded as *particular* units between (1) DF-s and natural classes which are more *general* entities; and (2) phonetic realizations which are more *individual* entities.

The changes that are accomplished by the MS- and P-rules seem to be plausible. First of all, they are shifting the DF-s from the syntagmatic axe to the paradigmatic one. Changes in the direction of movements betw etheen two axes, particularly monophthongization, are very common in the history

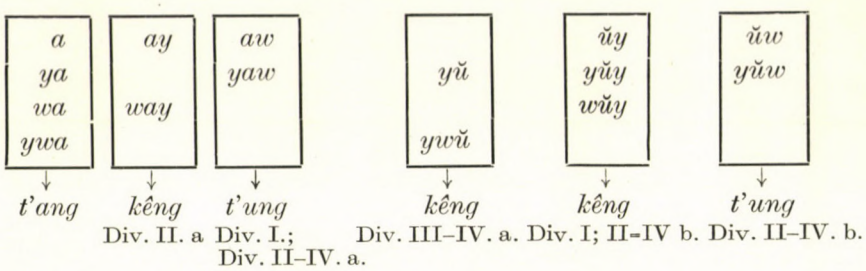
of languages. This shifting, however, is not a speculation in itself as the system thus obtained is simpler and structurally more regular. The specific changes are natural, too: vowels followed by glides become higher than those not followed by glides; diphthongs containing back vowels followed by a *y*-glide become front vowels; and those followed or (sometimes) preceded by a *w*-glide become round vowels; the *y*-glide after a front vowel and the *w*-glide in the environment of a round vowel are to be deleted.

The proposed underlying structures, MS- and P-rules reflect several important historical facts. We have one vocalic opposition in line with ancient Chinese (ACh.) where there are generally two rimes with the same final consonant or glide, the vowel of the one being lower, that of the other being higher (*kuo* and *yü*; *hsieh* and *chih*; *hsiao* and *liu*; *hsiên* and *shên*; *shan* and *chên*; only the rimes ending in *-ng* are somewhat confused). The characteristic equivalents of different ACh. finals within the same rimes are arranged in our system in a way that they mostly result in natural classes. In other words, our underlying structures have maintained the ACh. rimes in most of the cases (cf. Fig 5). In our underlying forms the differences of the four glides (Ø, *y*, *w*, *yw*) are of fundamental importance just as in ACh.: the *y*-glide (medial -*i̯*-) distinguishes the so-called div. I—II from div. III—IV; while the *w*-glide distinguishes the so-called *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* (medial -*i̯*-, *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* are characteristic of almost every ACh. rime). The existence of underlying diphthongs of the sequence back vowel + glide reflect the fact that diphthongs of this kind existed in ACh. (Their environments are partially identical as it is very likely that diphthongs of this kind did not occur before final consonants.) The diphthongic origin of Modern (also Middle?) Korean front vowels is also shown by the same assumption. Several other details of ACh. are also preserved in the underlying structures, *e.g.* shifting the main vowel upwards influenced by the *y*-glide (medial -*i̯*-) in the case of ACh. *hsieh*-rime (cf. underlying *yay*# and *yway*#); triphthongic origin of MSK *oy*/*ö* (ACh. *-uai*, underlying *-way*) and so on.

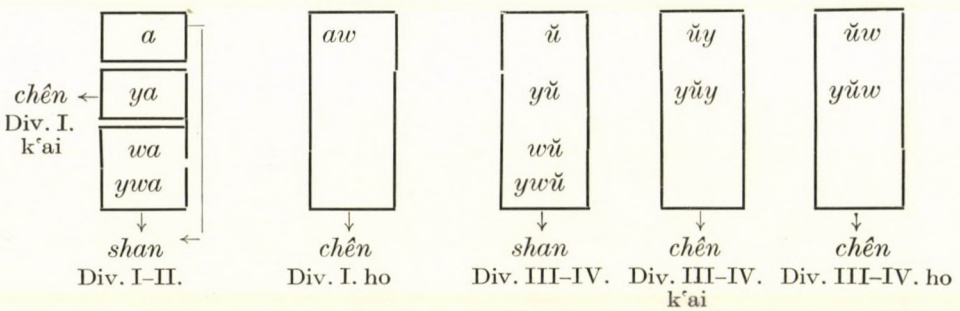
(1) Finals without final consonant:



(2) Finals ending in velar consonants:



(3) Finals ending in dental consonants:



(4) Finals ending in labial consonants:

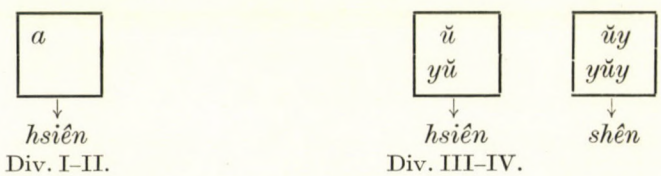


Fig. 5. MSK underlying structures and ACh. rimes

For the sake of simplicity of the underlying structures and MS-rules three main natural classes have been assumed: vowels, consonants and glides in the underlying structures. The liquid (*l*) and the phoneme standing for ACh. glottal stop are treated as real consonants since their environment is the same as that of other consonants. One of the final rules converts [— voc] of *l* into [+ voc] and the [+ cons] of glottal stop into [— cons]. This, fairly simple, solution is identical with the one required in ACh.

Double consonants are thought of as voiced ones since they stand for Chinese voiced consonants and since the equivalents of Modern Korean tense consonants (spelt with double letters) are nearly always put down in consonantal clusters in our source. Double consonants and clusters are strictly distinguished, in orthography at the worst. Even if supposing that the double

consonants of MSK stood for tense ones we need not rearrange the DF-s in. the matrix, simply *kk*, *hh*, *tt*, *ss*, *cc*, *pp* are to be written instead of *k*, *h*, *t*, *s*, *c*, *p* and vice versa.

The «triangle-*s*» (which stands for ACh. nasal palatalized fricative) is voiced and is treated here as nasal to distinguish it from *ss*, and as sharp to distinguish it from *l*. To take *l* for nasal in the underlying structure is motivated by assimilation rules: the latent nasality appears on the surface in certain environments; besides, it nasalizes the consonant of the preceding morpheme. If the same hierarchy of DF-s is not required for the whole phonological system we may have a more simple DF arrangement: $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ strident} \\ - \text{ continuant} \end{bmatrix}$ is followed by the aspiration DF, [+ asp] being grave (*ch*) or non-grave (*p*), and [— asp] being voiced (*cc*) or non-voiced (*c*). As to the dental fricatives, they are either nasal or non-nasal, the nasals being sharp («triangle-*s*») or non-sharp (*l*), and the non-nasals being lax (*ss*) or non-lax (*s*). In this case we have 96 instead of 98 DF-s (for 22 consonants) in the consonantal subsystem. (Cf. Fig. 6.)

	t	*th*	*tt*	*n*	*p*	*ph*	*pp*	*m*	*k*	*kh*	*kk*
strident	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
continuant											
grave	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
compact					—	—	—	—	+	+	+
lax	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	+
aspirated	—	+			—	+			—	+	
nasal			—	+			—	+			—
sharp											

	ng	*c*	*ch*	*cc*	*p*	*s*	*ss*	*l*	*ž*	*h*	*hh*
strident	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
continuant		—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+
grave	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
compact	+										
lax	+	—	—	+		—	+	+	+	—	+
aspirated		—	+								
nasal	+						—	+	+		
sharp								—	+		

If double consonants stand for tense ones:

	tt	*th*	*t*	*n* . . .
lax	—	—	+	+
aspirated	—	+		
nasal			—	+

If rearranging the hierarhy of DF-s:

	c	*cc*	*ch*	*ɔ*	*s*	*ss*	*l*	*ž*
aspirated	—	—	+	+				
nasal					—	—	+	+
lax	—	+			—	+		
grave			—	+				
sharp							—	+

Fig. 6. MSK consonants

There are six final consonants in MSK: *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *k* and *l* followed by «*h* without dot». Since *n* and *l* occur in common environments just as labials (*m*, *p*) and velars (*ng*, *k*) do and for the sake of structural regularity *l* may be considered in the underlying structure as «*t*», *i.e.* as non-nasal dental. If doing so, a natural account can be given for the probable voicelessness of final *l* on the surface in MSK (cf. its orthography). The underlying final consonants are identical with ACh. final consonants.

If comparing the consonantal systems of MSK and ACh., that of the former (with the exception of «triangle-*s*») is the same as one of the subsystems of the latter (the subsystem without palatals and cerebrals).

The following proposal might be made: be assumed palatalized and labialized consonants instead of *y*- and *w*-glides that follow initial consonants. Though the number of consonants increases to three times as many, only two DF-s (sharpness and flatness) must be added to consonantal segments at the worst. This would result in the following advantages: (a) the one or two segments of glides can be omitted (since they can be derived by means of rules) whereby (b) the underlying forms become much simpler (we have CVGC segment as the longest one), and (c) the highly limited sphere of activity of the sharpness DF (it is only for distinguishing *l* from *š*) may be extended to a large extent. Besides, the above proposal reflects (a) the existence of sharpness and flatness DF-s in ACh.; (b) the change of SK dental stops to (palatal) affricates before *y*-glide and (c) it corresponds to an assumed underlying system of Modern SK.

The proposal, however, has two disadvantages and thus provisionally it might be rejected. One motivation, though not decisive and less important, is the introduction of a new DF (flatness) into the underlying structure. The decisive reason to refuse this idea is the universal improbability of a consonant that simultaneously has [+ flat] and [+ sharp] DF-s, *i.e.* a consonant with two secondary features. As long as a $y + w$ sequence exists, this proposal is rather improbable. (The $y + w$ has ceased to be in Modern SK.) To maintain but one glide (this being the case it would be to suggest keeping the *w*-glide only) or to give an *ad hoc* solution for *yw* sequence would result in a high degree of inconsistency.

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STRESS RELATIONS OF SIMPLE AND COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS IN HINDI

BY

Á. DEBRECZENI

1. Only few investigators have discussed in more detail and separated from other categories of words, the stress relations of Hindi verbs. A. P. Barannikov and P. A. Barannikov[1] clearly show that in Hindi verbs stress is always on the verbal root and if the verbal root consists of two or more syllables, then the stress falls on the last syllable of the verbal root. However, they do not deal in detail with the stress relations of the certain verbal forms, various verbal nouns (participles, absolutive), and especially with the compound verbal forms and the compound verbs. Besides these one might also mention Kāmtāprasād Guru,[2] Dhirendra Varmā,[3] Āryendra Sharma,[4] as well as S. G. Rudin[5] and Z. M. Dymšic,[6] who have also dealt with the question. For example Rudin[7] and Varma[8] characterize the stress relations of the verbal root by comparing the monosyllabic and derivative polysyllabic (so called causative) verbal roots, but they do not offer a more detailed and systematic explanation either.

2. The stress relations of Hindi verbs differ, to a certain extent from the stress relations of the other word categories. We, therefore, regard it as important to analyse and elaborate this question in greater detail. This seems even more essential since because of the analytic character of declension, and

[1] A. P. Barannikov—P. A. Barannikov, *Hindustani* (*Hindi i urdu*), Moscow 1956, pp. 7—8.

[2] Kamtaprasad Guru, *Grammatika chindi* I, Moscow 1957, pp. 65—66.

[3] Dhirendra Varmā, *Hindībhāṣā kā itihās*. Hindustānī ekedemī, Prayāg 1958, pp. 219—221.

[4] Āryendra Sharma, *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi*. Government of India, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1958, pp. 12—14: Accent.

[5] S. G. Rudin, *Nekotorye voprosy fonetiki jazyka chindustani*: *Učenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija*, XIII (1958), pp. 239—240, 242—246, 259—260.

[6] Z. M. Dymšic, *Jazyk urdu*, Moscow 1962, pp. 20—21.

[7] S. G. Rudin, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[8] D. Varmā, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

partly of the formation of verbs in Hindi, the certain verbal forms very frequently consist of several constituent elements and thus the study of the stress relations of these goes beyond the framework of word stress in the stricter sense. Besides this, the clarification of the stress relations of verbs and complexes of verbs is important also from the practical point of view. In fact, because of the phonemic character of stress, correct accentuation promotes, while incorrect accentuation disturbs the intelligibility of speech.

3. The general rule mentioned by A. P. Barannikov and P. A. Barannikov hold good in many cases but not in *all* cases. Therefore let us take the monosyllabic, bisyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots one after the other and let us see where the general rule holds good and where it does not. In the following the stress relations of monosyllabic, bisyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots will be examined in the verbs below.

Monosyllabic verbal roots

sunnā «to hear» — verbal root: *sun-*
ānā «to come» — verbal root: *ā-*
dekhnā «to see» — verbal root: *dekh-*
Bisyllabic verbal root
sunānā «to relate» — verbal root: *sunā-*
Trisyllabic verbal root
pəhuⁿcānā «to convey» — verbal root: *pəhuⁿcā-*

In the examples after the verbal root the following verbal forms will be enumerated, in which all the morphologically different elements of the Hindi verbs occur: (1) infinitive; (2) present participle; (3) past participle; (4) indicative present, general; (5) indicative present, progressive; (6) present perfect; (7) future tense; (8) optative; (9) imperative, simple; (10) imperative, polite; (11) absolutive (verbal root) + *kər*; (12) infinitive + *vālā*; (13) absolutive (verbal root) + subsidiary verb.
Monosyllabic verbal roots

sún- (1) *súnnā*; (2) *súntā*; (3) *súnā*; (4) *súntā hūⁿ*; (5) *sún rəhā hūⁿ*; (6) *súnā hɛ*; (7) *súnūⁿgā*; (8) *sunúⁿ*; (9) *sunó*; (10) *sunié*; (11) *sún kər*; (12) *súnne vālā*; (13) *sún lenā*.

As can be seen, the monosyllabic verbal root consisting of a short closed syllable does not preserve its stress in every case. In the case of the optative (8), the simple imperative (9) and the polite imperative (10) the stress shifts

from the verbal root to the last syllable of the verbal form. This applies to all those verbs whose root consists of one short closed syllable.

E.g.: *cə́lnā* «to go», *gírnā* «to fall», *líkhnā* «to write».

verbal root:	*cə́l-*	*gír-*	*líkh-*
optative:	*celű̃ⁿ*	*girű́ⁿ*	*likhű́ⁿ*
simple imperative:	*cəló*	*giró*	*likhó*
polite imperative:	*cəlié*	*girié*	*likhié*

Let us now look at the stress relations of the monosyllabic verbal roots consisting of a long open syllable and a long closed syllable, respectively, or more exactly the stress relations of the synthetic and analytic verbal forms of these verbs, on the basis of the examples mentioned above.

á- — (1) *ánā*; (2) *átā*; (3) *áyā*; (4) *átā hūⁿ*; (5) *á rəhā hūⁿ*; (6) *áyā hūⁿ*; (7) *áūⁿgā*; (8) *áūⁿ*; (9) *áo*; (10) *áie*; (11) *á kər*; (12) *áne vālā*; (13) *á jānā*.

də́kh- — (1) *dékhnā*; (2) *dékhtā*; (3) *dékhā*; (4) *dékhtā hūⁿ*; (5) *dékh rəhā hūⁿ*; (6) *dékhā hɛ*; (7) *dékhūⁿgā*; (8) *dékhūⁿ*; (9) *dékho*; (10) *dékhie*; (11) *dékh kər*; (12) *dékhne vālā*; (13) *dékh lenā*.

Thus the above monosyllabic verbal roots consisting of a long open and a long closed syllable respectively, preserve their stress in each case.

As we have already mentioned, in the case of the bisyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots, according to the rule, the stress is always on the last syllable of the verbal root. In the following we shall see that there is no exception to this rule.

Bisyllabic verbal root

sunǻ- — (1) *sunǻnā*; (2) *sunǻtā*; (3) *sunǻyā*; (4) *sunǻtā hūⁿ*; (5) *sunǻ rəhā hūⁿ*; (6) *sunǻyā hɛ*; (7) *sunǻūⁿgā*; (8) *sunǻūⁿ*; (9) *sunǻo*; (10) *sunǻie*; (11) *sunǻ kər*; (12) *sunǻne vālā*; (13) *sunǻ denā*.

Trisyllabic verbal root

pəhuⁿcǻ- — (1) *pəhuⁿcǻnā*; (2) *pəhuⁿcǻtā*; (3) *pəhuⁿcǻyā*; (4) *pəhuⁿcǻtā hūⁿ*; (5) *pəhuⁿcǻ rəhā hūⁿ*; (6) *pəhuⁿcǻyā hɛ*; (7) *pəhuⁿcǻūⁿgā*; (8) *pəhuⁿcǻūⁿ*; (9) *pəhuⁿcǻo*; (10) *pəhuⁿcǻie*; (11) *pəhuⁿcǻ kər*; (12) *pəhuⁿcǻne vālā*; (13) *pəhuⁿcǻ denǻ*.

Following this it can already be seen that, taking into consideration all the categories of the enumerated verbs, in the synthetic forms (consisting of one element) and in the analytic forms (consisting of several elements) of Hindi simple verbs the stress is mostly on the verbal root (in the analytic verbal forms on the root of the main verb). In the bisyllabic and trisyllabic

verbal roots the vehicle of stress is always the last syllable of the verbal root. However, the group of monosyllabic verbal roots consisting of a short closed syllable (*sun-*, *cəl-*, *gir-*, *likh-*, etc.) is an exception to this rule. Here, in those verbal forms, which by their nature contain a certain degree of emotion, *viz.* optative, simple imperative, polite imperative, the stress shifts from the verbal root to the last (second or third) syllable of the verbal form, *viz. sunū́ⁿ*, *sunó*, *sunié*. It is noted that the last syllable of the bisyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots (*sunā́-*, *pəhuⁿcā́-*, etc.) is almost always a long open syllable (*-ā-*), which is generally the longest syllable of the verbal root. Thus, in this case, the stress also corresponds to the general rules of stress in Hindi.

It is also an important observation that in the analytic verbal forms, those consisting of several elements (e.g. *sún̄tā hūⁿ*, *sún rəhā hūⁿ*, *sunā́tā hūⁿ*, *sunā́ rəhā hūⁿ*, etc.), the stress, the main stress, is always on the root of the verb, the main verb. This is especially important in the case of the verbal structure consisting of the absolutive (root of the main verb) + a subsidiary verb. It is more or less the Hindi equivalent of the verbs with prefixes in Hungarian and in certain other European languages. In this structure in Hindi one verbal concept is expressed with two verbs, *viz.* the root of the main verb (absolutive), which is the vehicle of the meaning of the verb, and an additional, «subsidiary», verb which, on the one hand, ensures the conditions of conjugation and, on the other hand, expresses the perfective aspect, definiteness, and eventually the direction and other circumstances of the action. *E.g.*

súnnā «to hear»	— *sún lenā* «to come to hear»
sunā́nā «to tell» (a story)	— *sunā́ denā* «to relate»
rə́khnā «to put»	— *rə́kh denā* «to put down»
gírnā «to fall»	— *gír jānā* «to fall down»

In this case verbal forms consisting not only of two but also of three elements can arise. *E.g.*

sún letā hūⁿ «I come to hear»
sunā́ detā hɛ «he relates»
rə́kh dete hɛⁿ «they put down»
gír gəyā thā «it has fallen down»

As can be seen, here the stress, the main stress, is always on the root of the main verb. The verbal forms appearing in the structure absolutive (root of main verb) + subsidiary verb are such stressing units, in which the connection of the certain elements is indicated by the main stress.

4. The Hindi language — like Urdu, Persian and Turkish, and probably directly or indirectly influenced by these languages — expresses a consider-

able part of the verbal concepts not in a synthetic but in an analytic way, *viz.* by compounding. The first, main element of such compound verbs, which is the vehicle of the meaning of the verb, is a *noun* or an *adjective*. The second element is some *simple verb*, which ensures the conditions of conjugation, e.g. *kərnā* «to do, to make», *honā* «to be», etc. In these compound verbs the analytic character of Hindi conjugation asserts itself to an even greater degree. Thus here it is even more important to include the verbal forms of compound verbs consisting of more, different elements, in one unit. This is also ensured here by the main stress, which is always on the vehicle of meaning, *viz.* the *noun* or *adjective*. Thus in the compound verbs, from the viewpoint of stressing, the *noun* or the *adjective* plays the role of the verbal root. Let us see for example the stress relations of the following compound verbs:

bát kərnā «to converse» (to make conversation)
śurú kərnā «to begin» (to make beginning)
kóśiś kərnā «to try» (to make trial)
səfáī kərnā «to clean» (to make cleanness)
lájjit honā «to feel shame» (to be bashful)
səmápt honā «to end» (to be completed)

In the examples given below the forms of compound verbs in themselves represent incomplete sentences.

bát kər rəhā hū̃ «I am conversing»
śurú kərtā hɛ «(he) starts (in general, not just now)»
kóśiś kərū̃gā «I shall try»
səfáī kər de̊ge «we shall clean» (absolutive + *dena* as subsidiary verb)
lájjit ho rəhā hɛ «he is feeling ashamed»
səmápt ho gəyā thā «it has ended»

The increased analytic character of the compound verbs is apparent well even from the above examples. Here we also find verbal forms which consist of four elements. The stress (the strongest stress) is always on the first element of the compound verb, *viz.* on the noun or adjective. This stress is on the syllable of the noun or adjective, which would also be stressed according to the general rules of word accent, viz. *bát*, *śurú*, *kóśiś*, *lájjit*, *səfáī*, etc. The verbal forms consisting of three or four elements brought about in the course of conjugation are combined by the stress into larger *stressing units*, just like the verbal forms of the simple verbs consisting of several elements.

Summing up:

1. In the forms of simple verbs consisting of several elements the accent (the strongest accent) is always on the verbal root, which is the first element of the verbal form.

2. In the case of monosyllabic verbal roots consisting of a short closed syllable, in those synthetic verbal forms consisting of one element, which by their nature carry a certain degree of *emotion* (optative, simple and polite imperatives), the stress shifts from the verbal root to the last syllable of the verbal form.

3. In the verbal structure consisting of the absolutive (root of the main verb) + subsidiary verb, the stress is always on the root of the main verb.

4. In the verbal forms of simple verbs consisting of several elements, as well as in all verbal forms of the compound verbs the stress (the strongest stress) is on the first element of the verbal form, *viz.* in the case of simple verbs on the verbal root, and in the case of compound verbs on the noun or adjective. Such verbal forms are combined by the stress into *stressing units*.

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GANDHARA STONE CARVINGS IN THE FERENC HOPP MUSEUM OF EASTERN ASIATIC ARTS

BY

VERA HORVÁTH

Many questions concerning Gandhara art, first of all its origin — the significance which its influence attained in Indian and Asian art, its role in the art of the Kushan Empire — all these are questions which have produced penetrating debates in both the Indian and international professional literature of the past as well as today.

The research into Gandhara art encompases numerous as yet unsolvable problems. The most important question among those already mentioned waiting to be solved is the question of origin and the closely related question of chronology. However, as noted, the main directions of the current and its dimensions are unclarifiable; *i.e.*, questions concerning the geographical location of a particular workshop and its date of operation, to mention just the most significant of the problems. The questions mentioned above could not be adequately concluded primarily because of publication inadequacy. Certain publications can only be considered fragmentary because of continuously growing findings and the fact that very few complete publications of site origins have appeared with information published on Gandhara objects.

Also making research into Gandhara art extremely difficult is the fact that a large number of the objects of Gandhara art which can be found in museums actually took their place in the collections as scattered material. Thus, an entire section of the historical and archeological data needed for our use which would be most significant in helping to solve these fundamental questions is missing.

Until the first third of the last century, portrayals of Buddha as a man were known to exist only from relics of the centuries considered as the Middle Ages of India. Also unknown at that time were the Mathura sculpture works, today quite well known, whose date of origin is presumed to be about the same as that of Gandhara art. Considerably great interest was aroused in international scholarly circles by certain objects — reliefs and sculptures which were on the same artistic level as and showed a hellenistic graeco-roman artistic influence — these were initially objects which were accidentally brought to light by the excavations intended to discover Indian historical memorials,

but which with many other objects later discovered came to be known from the most important place of their occurence as the relics of Gandhara art.

The stages of investigation of Gandhara art are well-known; yet, perhaps it is not superfluous to mention that one of its most outstanding researchers was A. Foucher whose volumes of studies which appeared continuously from 1906 until 1922, as well as the final work which was published in 1951, are still today works which are fundamental and indispensable in questions dealing with Gandhara art. One of the most significant excavations in the Gandhara district took place under Marshall's supervision in Taxila from 1913 to 1934.

In the course of the 1930's, an expedition of French archeologists achieved great results in researching Gandhara art in the territory of Afghanistan; this date is usually linked to the names of Foucher and Hackin.

During the period following the Second World War up to the present, among Soviet archeologists, Šiškin has uncovered Gandhara frescoes in Samarkand which up to now were known only in Miran. Pugačenkova and Rempel also have uncovered many outstanding specimens of Gandhara architecture and sculpture in various settlements of South Uzbekistan.

In Northeastern Afghanistan the French archeological expedition proceeds in the work of uncovering findings which were halted in the midst of work during the Second World War. The most significant among these discoveries are those of Schlumberger in Surkh-Kotal.

Since the beginning of the 1960's, the Italian expedition under the guidance of Tucci has uncovered locations for Gandhara art in numerous settlements of the Swat-valley.

The formation of the collection of Gandhara art at the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts is traced to the years 1919, 1936 and 1939. The first Gandhara objects were received by the (Budapest) Museum of Applied Arts, which at the time was the most important center for the collecting of eastern art objects, as gifts of Imre Schwaiger in 1919. The Gandhara collection of the Museum of Applied Arts was given over the to East Asian Museum several months after the founding of the Hopp Museum in 1919.[1]

Imre Schwaiger (1864—1940), then living in Delhi as well as London, was of Hungarian origin, and had already in 1936 and 1939 sent his later gifts, among them relics of Gandhara art, to the Hopp Museum. The date of Schwaiger's last gift is 1939; this is the year in which he retired from the business world. In August of 1939 F. Z. Takats selected the gifts to be sent to the Ferenc Hopp Museum before the dissolution of the London business

[1] Museum of Applied Arts, Inventory Book V, in the volume numbered 13223 through 16389 under the notations numbered 12235—12247, «Gift of Imre Schwaiger, Delhi, presented to the Hopp Museum, November 11, 1919».

in 1939. The packing of the art objects selected was completed by August 25. It is to the credit of Schwaiger and Takáts' foresight that the shipment of the valuable package was not made immediately, but rather, placed in storage in the basement of the Hungarian Embassy in London. This is where it survived the Second Word War unharmed and arrived in Budapest only in April, 1950.[2] It is well known that Zoltán Takáts' role in the gifting which Imre Schwaiger undertook was great. It is primarily due to their personal relationship that the Museum now has a representative work for every significant era of Indian art.

The treatment of the Gandhara art objects in the Ferenc Hopp Museum, as well as questions concerning Gandhara art, were of constant concern to Zoltán Takáts (1880—1964) throughout the years since he was the Museum's first director between 1919—1950.[3] These questions also concerned Ervin Baktay (1890—1963),[4] the well known Indian explorer who was the director of the Museum's Indian collection between 1947—1959. This is why we have often relied on their appraisals in our work. The present study describes twenty-five up to now unpublicized stone carvings of the collection. One of important characteristics of the collection is its greatly similar substance. Twenty-three of the reliefs are schist-type grey stone which is prepared from Himalayan schist under a common name. One of the reliefs is made of green schist and another from yellow-grey limestone. From their dimensions it can be universally presummed of all the objects that they were probably part of a stūpa.

We know next to nothing of the circumstances of how these objects came to be placed in these provinces. Like the great majority of Gandhara art objects placed into other museums throughout the world in the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, we know nothing of the plac of origin nor the excavation circumstances, and the most important of all, of the arrangement of how the objects were placed when found. This is also true of the objects in the Ferenc Hopp Museum Gandhara stone carving collection. It is well known that Fergusson in his History of Indian and Eastern Architecture work published in 1876 strongly indicts Cunningham, the supervisor of the Gandhara excavations because of the fact that already at the time of publication of the findings in 1863—64, he could not indicate

[2] Information received with gratitude from Tibor Horváth.

[3] F. Z. Takáts, *Gandhara Relics in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of the Eastern Asiatic Arts: the style of Gandhara and the style of Keszthely*: *Arch. Ért.* XLII (1928); Z. de Takáts, *L'art des grands migrations en Hongrie et en Extrême-Orient*: *Art Asiatiques*, Paris 1931; Felvinci Takáts Zoltán, *Links between Indian and Chinese Buddhist Art*, published separately from the *Károly Lyka Album*, Budapest 1944.

[4] Imre Schwaiger's last gift of 1939 arrived in Budapest in April, 1950 on account of the Second World War. Baktay, E., *Recent Acquisitions of the Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* I (1953), p. 192.

a location. These excavations which took place in the second half of the 19th century without proper sensitivity and expertise which uncovered several thousand stone carvings and stuccoes, today cause the greatest problems in the history of Gandhara art. That being, that now the only way in which these art objects which have already been placed into museums can be dated and placed for origin even approximately is exclusively on the basis of comparison with some other art objects that have similar features and were excavated under more favorable circumstances. We attempt to get a little closer to the place of origin, perhaps even to the workshop of the stone carvings' collection first by a detailed description and analysis, then by an attempted approximation of the date of origin based on the particulars thus made available.

There is not a single piece among our stone carvings which is without an analogy. Writing a detailed description of the similarities and in some cases identicalities between sculptures and reliefs where the place of origin is known and our reliefs, gives us the opportunity to detect identical locations of our carvings with that of already known specimens and in some cases to think even of identical workshops and thus sources of origin. Another group of the analogies cannot be used in the question of discerning places of origin since they come from an unknown place. Thus these stone carvings could have been left out of our study. On the contrary, however, we decided to make use of them for the sake of comparative material since this does not negate their usefulness as comparative evidence but simply makes them useless for the purposes of placing origin.

We rely on H. Ingholt's work which appeared in 1957[5] for the job of comparison since it is a comprehensive work which describes the Gandhara material collected in the museums of the territory of Pakistan. He makes use of the first rate sources on Gandhara art in his work — among them the work of Spooner, Foucher, Stein, Marshall, Hargreaves to mention just the most significant authors. The earlier revealed material on Gandhara art was republished. In addition, he gives a precise and basic bibliography for each object. Thus, in an attempt to iron out unnecessary repetition, we are not relying on the publications in which these works of art first received light, and in some cases we do not mention the repetitive publication of a specific object, rather, we direct our reader to the number appearing in Ingholt's work where he can find all the necessary material relating to that particular object.

Also for the sake of comparison, we have made use of the results of the latest excavations in the Swat-valley by the Italian team which are reported in D. Faccena's volumes.[6]

[5] Lyons, Islay—Ingholt, Harald, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, 1957.

[6] Faccena, Domenico, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, Vol. II/2, Vol. II/3, Rome 1962—65.

We have completed the comparison partially on the basis of a critique of the signs or marks of style and partially we have relied on the findings which were similar but came to light under more favorable circumstances.

Particularly in the critique of style, we have compared the following features: the styling of the hair, format of the headdress, format of the face, modeling of parts of the face, the hands, the clothing worn and the jewelry. We have taken note of the reality of style, the degree to which the model expresses its individual characteristics. Can the Buddha and Bodhisattva portraits also be viewed as portraits of an individual? How long can the slightly idealized realism be viewed as a transfigured portrait, and when does it turn into a rather iconographic, now traditional method of depiction? When and how does the artistic stylization and mannerization appear? To what extent is artistic rigor, closed or open form, characteristic in the portrayal?

The common traits which serve to carry out the comparison are such as the type of the modeling, the depth and fineness of the carving, the dimensions, the ornamental elements, akanthusleaves, lanceolate leaves, rows of dentils, rows of saw teeth, rows of pearls, etc. The separating or linking pieces of each individual scene are such as arcades, Indo-Corinthian pillars, Indo-Persian pillars, the working out and decoration of the pilaster. We have searches for identicalities, close relationships, similarities, or the elements within the motifs which would remind us of our specimens; that is, in summary, the forms, the methods of ornamentation, the similar aspects of the execution and the technical lines first of all with respect to the above, but also in the graphic features which are reflected by the depictions. The comparison did not restrict itself to the comparison of formal features only, but rather, it made possible approaches toward and comparisons of the technique and the standards of the various portrayals.

It is well known that the dating of Gandhara objects is the most critical question in this area. With the exception of four stone carvings which are engraved, all other important facts for dating Gandhara art objects are missing. This is why the date of origin for Gandhara objects is approximated in such a wide range. Indian, English, French, Soviet, and Italian archeologists spread the date of their origin between the 1st and 6th centuries. Gandhara art objects from this period have been brought to the surface in large numbers in the territories of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan. Ingholt distinguishes I through IV Periods in dating the stone carvings. In the basis of his periodization, our specimen stone carvings were probably made in two periods: the III Period between 300—400 and the IV Period between 400—460.

In determing the dates, we accept Marshall's proof concerning the early and late Gandhara Periods as well as the centering of the later period in

Afghanistan. All this is described in his The Buddhist Art of Gandhara. Marshall supports his propositions with weighty arguments and states that the majority of the Gandhara stone carvings found in museums throughout the world originate from this flowering period of the second half of the 4th century in the territory of Afghanistan. He has also analyzed the main features of the later period — such as the half-closed eye on the Buddha instead of an open eye which cuts off the glance away from the ground — this was a required iconographic rule of the period. Another distinctive feature is the shaven face with a combed back wawy hairstyle which covers an uṣnīṣa followed by hair combed in tight rings. Buddha's face became an individual portrait on the best stone carvings.

The high level of the stone carvings indicates the general achievement of the era. Depictions of Buddha and Bodhisattva may be found many times and in numerous dimensions as they are the primary objects of this cult. An outstanding example of this is the sitting row of Buddhas. Parallel with this development, the individual characteristics of the Buddha and Bodhisattva portraits cease, and in slow steps the elegant and handsome Buddha and Bodhisattva type-figure developes. This type is characterized by peace, good-will and tranquility. This peace and good-will becomes the stereotype main feature of the older faces. On the basis of a critical comparison of the style, we can place the origin of our Gandhara specimen stone carvings in the later period. Luckily, a large portion of our stone carvings are congruent with sculpture relics which are datable by use of the dates of coin pieces found at the time and place the sculptures were uncovered. Thus, the date of origin of the stone carvings was determined to be between the 4th and 5th centuries.

The description of the unpublicized objects of our collection will start with the depictions of Buddha and Bodhisattva. Outstanding among them is a *Head of the Buddha* (picture 1) slightly smaller than life-size. Great tranquility characterizes the noble head. His loosely waved back-combed hair covers the high usnisa like a bun after the krobulos model, and there is a narrow ribbon under the bun. The hair stands out sharply and is separated from the skin of the head by a continuous line. Its forehead is a large wide mass with a large protruding urna. Its sharply drawn semicircular arched eyebrow protrudes close above the eyes. Its elongated eyes are half covered by the heavy eyelids. The iris and pupil are unmarked. The bridge of the nose is a straight line. Its mouth is thin-lipped and tightly closed. Its chin is full and its ears are smoothed close to the head.

The expression on the longish face is tranquil and thoughtful. This is emphasized by the halfclosed eyes which give a distant out-of-this-world glance and produce a sense of timelessness. The slightly smaller than life-size head is a well-recreated, but slightly idealized portrait in which we can strongly

sense the technique of the carving and the moulding of the stone. Grey schist.[8]

Chipped on the nose and the chin; broken at the neck.

Numerous such beautiful, highly artistic Buddha heads are well-known in Gandhara art. In the publication of Ingholt, three statues of Buddha remind us most of our likeness of Buddha; all three were found in Sahri Bahlol.[9] The form of the head and the similarity of the pose of the head are common traits. Also similar is the way in which the hair is combed back in soft waves. This covers a rather high usnisa which has a narrow ribbon on the bottom. Likewise, the long type of face, wide forehead and the bulging eyebrow represented by the use of only one line, and the full chin, all resemble each other.

The primary differentiation is that on our Buddha's head, the hair is parted in one straight line from the forehead as though it were a wig unattached to the forehead and the temple. The iris and pupil are not shown in the elongated eye; the mouth is narrower but larger and the ear nestles close to the head.

The common characteristic traits of this style reflect an idealism based in reality. The similarities reveal themselves first of all in conception and in the fineness of the carving. Our Buddha's head belongs to this group of Buddha representations which display a lofty conceptualization together with a carefully sculptured portrayal. On the basis of the common traits in the conception and the realization, we can think of searching for its place of origin at Sahri Bahlol, although many such images of Buddha, lofty in conception and portraying a realistic model, yet with a little transfiguration apparent are know to exist in other regions of the Gandhara territory. Ingholt determines the date of origin for these reliefs between 300—400. The halfclosed eye indicates that this Buddha depiction stems from the latter era when the distanced glance had already become formula for portrayal.

Head of the Buddha (picture 2). This is a three-quarter profile facing the right. Short hair that is a bit wavy; wide forehead with a strongly protruding plastic urna in the middle. The eyebrow is strongly distinguished through a sharp line in a semicircular arch close to the eye; its eye is slightly open despite the heavy eyelid. The iris and pupil are unmarked. The back of the nose is finely curved. Its close mouth has a wavy line and the upper lip is thicker than the lower. Its full chin is noticeably large in proportion. Its straight ear stands out from the head. The face is wide and fleshy. Grey schist.[10]

[7] Marshall, Sir John, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge 1960.

[8] Height: 18 centimeters, inventory number 50.28.

[9] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 268—69, 270, 271, Peshawar Museum, p. 130.

[10] Measurements, 21 × 15.5 centimeters, inventory number 6347.

Chipped the back of the nose, the nose tip, the point of the chin and the uppermost lobe of the ear; the usnisa is missing; broken at the neck.

This head of the Buddha which is close to life size is obviously not an idealized portrait, but rather the portrait of a strong individual model. Its glance is full of dignity and brightness.

It reminds us so much in its conception and sculpture of a Buddha portrait originating in Sahri Bahlol[11] that we can think of this as the common point of origin. Foucher dates it in the 4th century. This is supported by the stylistic traits of the head: the half closed eye, the wavy hair and the realistically captured portrayal.

Left hand of the Buddha (picture 3). The cloth drapped over the left lower arm forms wide flat folds. It holds the end of the drapery between its thumb and forefinger. The fold repeats the line and manner of the thumb. The nobly proportioned well-modelled hand is a creative work of extraordinary artistic value, in which the keeping of respect for reality is paired with the love for the effects of decoration. Grey schist.[12]

Only the lower part of the arm and the hand have remained intact; its upper part is missing.

We find a very close resemblance to the gesture of the hand and the form of the hand and drapery in a colossal Buddha statue from Sahri Bahlol[13] — which is one of the most outstanding statues of Buddha (in the quality of the artistry). In the left hand[14] fragment, the formation of arm and the gesture of the hand and the drapery are once again repeated in the same manner.

It follows from the already mentioned similarities that we can think of not only an identical point of origin but also of an identical workshop for the above mentioned hands of Buddha. Ingholt dates them between 300—400.

Fragment of the Buddha figure from a relief (picture 4). Its hair is combed back in waves and on top of the head a wavy bunch of hair tops the high usnisa. Its forehead is wide, its semicircular arched eyebrows are a sharply drawn continuous line; the iris and the pupil are unmarked in its drawn half-closed eyes. Its nose is straight, its curved lips are narrow, its chin is large and wide and its ears stand out from its head. Its clothing falls in dense folds which seem to have a supple protrusion. The folds starting vertically from the left shoulder form semicircular mounts above the chest on the right. The form of the body can only be guessed at under the clothing. Grey schist.[15]

[11] Foucher, A., *L'Art Grëco-Buddhique du Gandhara*, Paris 1918, II/1, fig. 449, Peshawar Museum, p. 130.

[12] Measurements 20 × 7 centimeters, inventory number 6338.

[13] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 210, Peshawar Museum, p. 111.

[14] *Ibid.*, fig. 220, Peshawar Museum, p. 113.

[15] Height: 32 centimeters, inventory number 50.26.

Chipped especially on the nose, the halo is broken, the left arm and the lower part of the body are missing.

We found the depictions of Buddha most closely resembling our relief on the reliefs of two large preaching Buddhas. One relief originates somewhere near Yakubi,[16] the other from an unknown location.[17] It fashions its close relationship to our bas-relief not through the head forms or facial expressions of the above mentioned Buddha depictions, but rather through the characteristic manner in which the folds of the drapery are formed. Besides this, our Buddha's robe leaves the neck and a part of the chest free, thickening around the neck deeply to form a sort of collar. We do find similarly moulded drapery on a Buddha from Sahri Bahlol[18] and on several other from Takht-i Bahai.[19] The formation of the folds in this manner is characteristic of Buddha figures which stem primarily from the 4th and 5th centuries. According to Ingholt, their date of origin is between 400—460.

Head of the Buddha from a relief (picture 5). Short somewhat wavily drawn hair, stylistically marked by lines which are carved faintly on the surface, the usnisa is very low on the top of the head. The face which belongs to the oval-type is the portrait of a pleasant and friendly young man which is more expressively modelled than is common. Thus, because of this, it transmits emotions which are a little warmer and more human. Its facial expression stares straight ahead in meditation. Its forehead is high and wide. Its elongated eyes are half-closed under the heavy eyelids, the iris and pupil are unmarked. Its nose is straight, its broad lipped mouth smiles moderately Its short chin is strong. Grey schist.[20]

Chipped especially on the nose; the usnisa is broken; the left side of the face and the urna are missing.

The hairstyle and primarily the very low usnisa of a head of Buddha originating from Karamar are quite similar to our figure.[21] There is all in all 1.5 cm differentiation in the dimensions of the two reliefs.

In our collection, we find such a slightly wavily drawn, hardly sinking into the surface, hairstyle carved with stylized lines on the head of a woman (picture 16). Yet, we can scarcely determine the region of its origin. The separately shaped usnisa stands by the supposition that this work came into being in an era later than that of our Buddha head. The usnisa is also very low and the informal facial expression of the half-closed eye transcends the general level of the Buddha portraits of that era which were produced in great quant-

[16] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 256, Peshawar Museum, pp. 123—25.
[17] *Ibid.*, fig. 252, Lahore Museum, p. 120.
[18] *Ibid.*, fig. 233, Peshawar Museum, p. 115.
[19] *Ibid.*, fig. 234, 235, 239, Peshawar Museum, pp. 115—116.
[20] Height: 10.5 centimeters, inventory number 50.29.
[21] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 229, Lahore Museum, p. 114.

ities. According to Ingholt the relief from Karamar dates between 300—400.

Head of the Buddha from a relief (picture 6). Long hair, combed back in loose waves. It shows a distinct almond in the middle of the forehead. A high usnisa covers the head; there is a rosette design on the ribbon of the bun in the front middle. In the middle of the low wide forehead, the urna is unaccented. Its elongated arched eyebrow is finely drawn in one barely noticeable continuous line. Its eyes are drawn and half-closed. The iris and pupil are unmarked. Its nose is straight. Its curved broad lipped mouth smiles moderately. Its ears stand straight and sloped close to the head with lobes that stand out. Its heavy eyelids and half-closed gaze stares straight ahead. The form of its face is summarized in the mass of its body; its effeminate lines are softened; its facial expression is peaceful and full of good will. Grey schist.[22]

Chipped on the nose and on the eyelids; broken at the neck.

This work belongs to the depictions of Buddha which are uniformly handsome and often repeated in the latter era. In these, the individual features of the portrait are replaced by the stereotyped characteristics of a peaceful, well-meaning, benevolent and calm Buddha.

On the basis of its small measurements, it is very likely that it was once a part of a larger relief consisting of several figures on which the large Preaching Buddha in the central position is surrounded by numerous minor figures including several more recent small Buddha figures. First of all, we are thinking of two Preaching Buddhas from Sahri Bahlol,[23] one from Yakubi,[24] and one from Mohammed Nari[25] in the case of the large sized reliefs surrounded by numerous small figures. It would be very unwise to tie these figures to a specific location because of the large number of similar small Buddha figures. According to Ingholt the date of origin for the large bas-reliefs is between 400—460.

Part of a curvilinear frieze (picture 7) with successive scenes separated by panels with Corinthian columns. Above is a cornice with overlapping lanceolate leaves. Both scenes depict the Buddha among worshippers. The Buddha sits in dhyanasana and dhyanamudra. The two standing figures are at the sides in an attitude of prayer, looking at the Buddha. Grey schist.[26]

Chipped and corroded, part of the body of the figure on the left is missing.

The variation of the Corinthian columns seen here and the overlapping fanceolate leaves decorating the cornice is familiar from reliefs originating from Sikri.[27] Further strong similarities appear in the moulding between the

[22] Height: 4.7 centimeters, inventory number 50.30.
[23] *Ibid.*, fig. 254, 257, Peshawar Museum, pp. 120—121, 125—26.
[24] *Ibid.*, fig. 256, Peshawar Museum, pp. 123 ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, fig. 255, Lahore Museum, pp. 121 ff.
[26] Measurements: 26 × 12 centimeters, inventory number 50.39.
[27] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, 29, 147, 149. Lahore Museum, pp. 54, 55, 96, 97.

slightly awkward proportions of the columns and the akantus leaves on the capital. This is why we can include our relief in the group originating from Sikri. The repetitive Buddha figures indicate the latter era of Gandhara art. Ingholt dates their origin between 300—400.

Head of a haloed Bodhisattva Maitreya (picture 8). A young man's character portrait worthy of attention. The relief stands out not only in the modelling of the face, but also in the fluid and fine carving of the shoulder length soft waves of hair. Beside the strictly close disciplined Buddha compositions, it represents a freer less restricted style of sculpture. Its hair is tied into large loose locks in the front under which there is a diadem set with pearls in the front with a middle decoration. In the middle of its wide forehead the urna protrudes moderately. Its eyebrow ending in an arch is a barely protruding continous line. The iris and pupil are unmarked in its elongated eyes. Its mouth is broad and curved with fleshy and sensitive lips yet the expression of the mouth is hard. The moustache follows and rhythmically repeats the stylistically arched line of the upper lip. Its chin is large and strong, its ears stand out.

It is the individual portrait of a young face. The half-closed eyes which have become formula in Bodhisattva depictions have neither a clam nor peaceful glance. Rather, they give the sense of the restrained tranquility of a very lively and earthy man. It is one of the exceptional stone carvings of the collection, one of the most distinctive of the pieces recently made public, a very high level creative work. Grey schist.[28]

Chipped especially on the nose and the chin, the halo is broken and missing; broken at the neck.

We are familiar with several other Bodhisattva Maitreya portraits which the distinctive bearing of the hair, the jewelry, the facial expression, and the manner in which the folds of the drapery have been placed bring them together to form one group. The facial expression of the standing Maitreya from Sikri,[29] and the facial expression of the standing Maitreya from Takht-i Bahai[30] whose hair is combed into locks around the forehead are divergent. Two standing Maitreyas, one originating from Sahri Bahlol[31] and one from an unknown location[32] show a strong relationship to each other as well as to our specimen. The modelling of the hairstyle, the diadem, the moustached face, the elongated eyes and the strong chin are so similar that on this basis we can group our Bodhisattva Maitreya in this category also. Ingholt placed the date of all the described fragments between 300—400.

[28] Height: 20 centimeters, inventory number 50.32.
[29] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 291, Lahore Museum, pp. 135—136.
[30] *Ibid.*, fig. 296, Lahore Museum, p. 136.
[31] *Ibid.*, fig. 294, 306, Peshawar Museum, pp. 136, 138.
[32] *Ibid.*, fig. 295, Peshawar Museum, p. 136.

Fragment of a sitting Bodhisattva (picture 9). It has a head decoration which is tied up high and with long dangling shoulder-length earrings. On top of the turban-like head decoration in the front there is a large buckle. The forehead is wide; the iris and pupil of the eyes are unmarked. The youthful round, pleasant, and well-meaning face is loosely modelled. The nose is straight; the close mouth smiles moderately. On its neck lies a short band shaped necklace and another longer one which dangles down to the breast. He is sitting in the dhyanasana position with a wide scarf full of folds between his legs and a fragment remaining on the left shoulder behind which rests a halo. The pedastal is decorated by a flatly carved row of lotuses. Grey schist.[33]

Chipped and corroded; part of the halo, the right arm, left shoulder and the entire left side are missing.

We are familiar with many pieces among the representations of a sitting Bodhisattva in which the scarf is folded in between in a similar manner to that of our specimen. Between them, we find a sitting Bodhisattva from the Nathu monastery[34] and another of unknown location; in his hand is a bouquet of flowers.[35] Also from an unknown location is the teaching Bodhisattva,[36] and further, a preaching Bodhisattva from an unknown location[37] and two preaching Bodhisattvas from Sahri Bahlol[38] whose folded scarf is most similar to that of our figure. Nevertheless, further similarities with the above mentioned Bodhisattva portraits cannot be discerned. His pleasant, well mannered and handsome face reminds us of other Bodhisattva portraits outside of those already mentioned. Because of the broken off hands of this Bodhisattva relief, his attitude can be most easily discovered rather on the basis of his highly tied hair ornament, since it is possible that a small sitting Buddha figure was placed in the forefront of the high headpiece. This Bodhisattva figure's head ornament is so damaged, that one could not ascertain with what its middle section might have been once decorated with or if it was ever decorated at all. The pedastal of the throne of our figure is decorated by a row of lotuses. Though the flatly carved row of lotuses does decorate the pedastal of various other Bodhisattva depictions, its closest relationship is shown with a Bodhisattva Maitreya from an unknown location.[39] On the basis of the form of the lotus decorated throne, we can conclude that our relief could have been one of the minor figures of a larger bas-relief as we can see this in a Bodhisattva

[33] Height: 28 centimeters, inventory number 50.37.

[34] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 301, Lahore Museum, p. 137.

[35] *Ibid.*, fig. 309, Lahore Museum, p. 139.

[36] *Ibid.*, fig. 319, Lahore Museum, p. 141.

[37] *Ibid.*, fig. 325, Peshawar Museum, p. 142.

[38] *Ibid.*, fig. 306—7, Peshawar Museum, p. 138.

[39] Bussagli, M., *Arte del Gandhara*, Rome 1965, fig. 17, Muzeo-Nazionale d'Arte Orientalia, Rome.

relief stemming from the Dharmarajika stūpa.[40] We find sitting Bodhisattva figures appearing in various attitudes on lotus thrones with throne workmanship very similar to that of our original bas-relief on other large-scale reliefs, two reliefs originating from Sahri Bahlol,[41] one from the Yakubi district,[42] as well as one from Mohammed Nari[43] portraying a teaching Buddha. On this basis, we contend that our relief could have been a smaller side piece on a large scale bas-relief. The probability that it portrays a preaching Bodhisattva is supported by the direction of the breaking off point of the arms. The date of origin for the herein discussed bas-reliefs has been placed by Ingholt between 400—460.

Head of a Bodhisattva (picture 10), wearing a turban. Wide, low forehead from the middle of which a flat urna protrudes moderately. Its semicircular arched eyebrow is a hardly prominent flowing line, and in the elongated half closed eyes the iris and pupil are unmarked. Its nose is straight and its uniformly modeled upper and lower lip forms a small wavy line fo the mouth. An outstanding feature of the face is that the space between the nose and mouth is extremely small; there is no room for the straight threaded little moustache, thus it is marked only between the ala of the nose and the face. The proportion between the mouth and the chin is the usual. Though the relief marks distinctive individual features of the face, it nevertheless belongs to the flood of the latter period of Buddha and Bodhisattva portrayals which radiate an atmosphere of peace and serenity. Grey schist.[44]

Chipped on the eyebrow, eyes and the nose; broken at the neck.

In this case, the high turban crest does not serve to hold a medaillon; the head ornament symbolizes the fact that its wearer is a Bodhisattva but does not indicate which. Perhaps a relief originating from Sanghao[45] can provide some clues toward the determination of this. The turban of the Sanghao figure is decorated with pearls and portrays a Bodhisattva Padmapani. Its headpiece reminds us very much of the crest of the turban of our above mentioned figure. Ingholt places the date of origin between 300—400.

Fragment of a Bodhisattva figure (picture 11), turning to the right, wearing a turban, whose crest is decorated with the image of Buddha Amitabha. Under the turban, huge earrings dangle from his ears to his shoulders. On the left, behind the turban there is a framed halo decorated with a line carved on the edge. Its forehead is low, its eyes far apart from each other and thus, the bridge of the nose is very wide. In the eyes, the iris and pupil are

[40] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 322, Taxila Museum, p. 142.
[41] *Ibid.*, fig. 254, 257, Peshawar Museum, pp. 120—21, 125—26.
[42] *Ibid.*, fig. 256, Peshawar Museum, pp. 203 ff.
[43] *Ibid.*, fig. 255, Lahore Museum, pp. 121 ff.
[44] Height: 20 centimeters, inventory number 50.31.
[45] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 324, Lahore Museum, pp. 142—43.

unmarked. The nose is straight; the mouth pressed together. Its distinctive feature lies in the low lip which curls upward in a strong wavy line. Its fat neck is noticeably wide. A richly folded drapery covers its narrow shoulders. Its necklace is short. The distinctive feature of the face is that the left axis of the mouth is higher than the right.

This face is the portrait of an aging man and does not belong to the list of pleasant and cheerful Bodhisattva portraits. Grey schist.[46]

Chipped especially on the nose; under the shoulder the lower part of the body is missing. The highly wrapped turban defines the attitude of the middle ornament picture of Buddha Amitabha on the Bodhisattva figure. From its small dimensions, we can conclude that it could have been a minor piece on one of the large-scale bas-reliefs originating from the latter period. The non-frontal pose turned to the right also serves to support this viewpoint. Very possibly this Bodhisattva Amitabha portrayal could be one of the small figures of a large scale preaching Buddha relief which also contained many small figures. The most well-known already mentioned such reliefs are from Sahri Bahlol, Yakubi, and Mohammed Nari,[47] Ingholt places the date of origin at 400—460.

Fragment of a haloed Bodhisattva Maitreya (picture 12). The hair high and on top of the head forms two loops, below of it is a wide ribbon or ring. Its long hair is combed around the face in loose waves; in curls on the forehead, forming a characteristic almond shape in the middle. Its forehead is a large and wide mass with the mark of a large urna; its semi-circular arched elongated eyebrows are formed by strongly prominent lines but the iris and the pupil of the eyes are unmarked. Its nose is straight, its mouth wavily drawn, its moustache curved; its huge earrings are ornamented by lions an behind its head is a rayed halo. On its left shoulder, the folds of the drapery fall in parallel lines. Grey schist.[48]

Chipped especially on the nose and left eye; the halo is broken and reconstructed from two fragments; the arms and the lower part of the body are missing.

The unusual hairstyle of the Bodhisattva is tied on top of the head and the two loops reminds us most of a Bodhisattva Maitreya which originates from the Nathu monastery.[49] Like the loose waves of our Maitreya, its hair is also combed in folds around the face but very distinctly separated from the face and it is not parted in front. The halos is also rayed. But this rayed halo may also be found on other Maitreya reliefs from unknown locations.[50]

[46] Height: 8.5 centimeters, inventory number 50.36.
[47] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 254—55—56—58. See also notes 41—43.
[48] Height: 33.5 centimeters, inventory numbers 6336 and 6337.
[49] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 301, Lahore Museum, p. 137.
[50] *Ibid.*, fig. 225, Lahore Museum, p. 114.

We find the very same characteristic bun on a Siddhartha relief which originates from the Dharmarajika stupa; also on a Bodhisattva Maitreya from unknown location[52] and one from Mohra Moradu.[53] The latter wears large lion decorated earrings. The parted bun is also found on a relief uncovered in the Swat-valley whose original location is unknown.[54]

Head of a young man (picture 13). He has a round headpiece and large cylindrical earrings. Its headpiece is decorated in the middle front by a large eight-tiered rosette and on the two sides by two each vertically marked fields. From its hair, parted in the middle, two small wavy folds are combed around its forehead. Little of its waved hair can be seen under the headdress. Its forehead is very low; its straight lined eyebrows protrude strongly near the eyes. The iris has been carved in its unusually large wide-open eyes with a courageous glance. The nose is moderately bent, its fleshy lower lip is firmly closed and its chinisi short. Grey schist.[55]

Chpped on the right side of the face as well as the nose; of the headpiece, only the front remained; broken at the neck.

A similar round headdress may be found on a portrait of an Indra relief from unknown location[56] as well as one from Sahri Bahlol.[57]

The round and flowered headdress of our young man's portrait remind us of two

Certain parts of the above mentioned reliefs resemble for the most part or remind us of the loosely tied bun of our Bodhisattva Maitreya figure where the bun is characteristically parted into two loops and the hair is styled around the face while the earrings are decorated with lions and the halos is rayed. A closer relationship or similarity between our relief and the above mentioned pieces cannot be affirmed. The shape of our relief does not go beyond the artistic level of products of the customary workshop. The hairstyle of the Maitreya, the eyebrows, the modeling of the mouth and moustache are affected and in this, somewhat resemble the reproduction previously discussed which originates from the Nathu monastery. The one from Mohra Moradu and the Bodhisattva Maitreya portrait from unknown location represent a much higher level of artistry. Similar lines show up in the details which are required iconographic elements of this era's customary Bodhisattva Maitreya portraits. This is why we cannot even think of a common point of origin for these reliefs. Ingholt places their date of origin between 300—400.

[51] *Ibid.*, fig. 37, Taxila Museum, p. 58.
[52] *Ibid.*, fig. 290, Karachi Museum, pp. 125—126.
[53] *Ibid.*, fig. 292—93, Taxila Museum, p. 136.
[54] Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/2, CCLXXXVII.
[55] Height: 5.5 centimeters, inventory number 50.34.
[56] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 13, Peshawar Museum, p. 52.
[57] *Ibid.*, fig. 253, Peshawar Museum, p. 120.

The round and flowered headdress of our young man's portrait remind us of two Indra reliefs originating from the Taxila Dharmarajika stūpa.[58] It strangely resembles the headdress of the second portrait which is divided into fields; also the front middle section is decorated by a many-tiered flower as well and this is followed by vertical lines on the two sides of the headdress.

The shape of the head of the other Taxila Indra relief as well as its sections remind us of our above piece to such an extent that we can speculate on a common source of origin. The date at which Ingholt places these analogies is between 300—400.

Fragment of a male figure (picture 14). It is a potrayal facing the left. Its long hair is covered by a richly folded turban whose crest rises high in the front, bound at the base by a ribbon. Its forehead is wide and the iris and pupil of the eyes are unmarked. Its nose is small, its young face is charming and attractive. The characteristic feature of its soft lipped mouth is the firmness of the upper lip over the lower. Large and heavy cylindrical earrings dangle from its ears. Its entire bearing, slightly forward bent body, seems elegant. Its right hand reaches across its chest in a closed gesture. On its neck is a short wide necklace and a long one which dangles at length on its chest. Grey schist.[59]

Chipped, the arms and the lower part of the body are missing.

On the basis of its highly crested headdress, it could be taken for a Bodhisattva portrait if its attitude could be determined from the Buddha portrait placed within the crest. This, however, cannot be determined from the decorative figure of the turban. Also, every attribute of a Bodhisattva is missing from the figure and it is very difficult to link the movement of its remaining right hand with the iconographic significant signs of any extant Bodhisattva portrait. Thus, this is why we consider it to be rather a secular minor figure from a larger bas-relief.

We are familiar with many Bodhisattva figures, also figures of the worshipper and deva figures similar in appearance and form; these are all minor figures from larger bas-reliefs. The minor figures of two reliefs from Sahri Bahlol,[60] one from the district of Yakubi,[61] and one originating from Mohammed Nari[62] can be related to our figures. Their date of origin is placed by Ingholt between 400—460.

Head of an aged man (picture 15). The long hair wavily combed back is wound into a spiral bun on the stylish top. The elderly face sports a long

[58] *Ibid.*, fig. 331, 332, Taxila Museum, p. 143.

[59] Height: 12 centimeters, inventory number 50.35.

[60] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 254, Peshawar Museum, pp. 120—21; fig. 257, Peshawar Museum, pp. 125—6.

[61] *Ibid.*, fig. 256, Peshawar Museum, pp. 124—25.

[62] *Ibid.*, fig. 255, Lahore Museum, pp. 121 ff.

moustache and beard; the long beard folds under the chin toward the neck. The iris and pupil of the eyes are unmarked. Its nose is straight and mouth is fleshy. Grey schist.[63]

The face is much injured; broken at the neck.

Among the many portrayals of a brahman ascetic in Gandhara art,[64] the face and hairstyle most resembles a brahman ascetic with beard and moustache whose source of origin is unknown.[65]

Another moustached and bearded head of a brahman ascetic whose face is also similar to that of our specimen but whose hair is combed in a different manner originates from Sikri.[66]

The above discussed reliefs indicate that our aged male head belongs to a group of portraits of brahman ascetics, however, differs from these in hairstyle and facial expression. We cannot conclude from the already mentioned similarities that the brahman head works discussed above are related or stem from the same point of origin. Ingholt places the date of origin between 300—400.

Head of a woman (picture 16). Its hair has been indicated by wavy lines and reaches down low over the forehead and curls into the face above the ears on both sides. On top of the head is a flat hair band and a protruding hair ornament on the left side. Its eyebrows are marked. Its eyes are completely open — almost childlike. The eyes are damaged. Thus, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not the iris and pupil were ever carved. Its nose is short with mouth round and fleshy lips. Its chin is large and there are large heavy earrings in the ears. The young face has been modelled lightly and its strong neck is quite cylindrical. Grey schist.[67]

The face is much injured; the head ornament on the right, one of the earrings are missing; broken at the neck.

A very similar hairstyle to our specimen may be found on the head of a young woman from an unknown location.[68] Ingholt places the date of origin for our specimen between 300—400.

Fragment of a false gable (picture 17). The remaining piece, one part of a trefoil is dissected into several quarter circle sections. Each individual inner circle is decorated by a row of saw teeth, a foliated scroll, a row of lotuses and another row of saw teeth. In the innermost quarter-circle Buddha sits in the dhyanasana position with hands in dyanamudra and above his head in the

[63] Height: 7.7 centimeters, inventory number 2153.

[64] Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/2, CDLIX, location in the Swat-valley, II/3, LXIV—VI, CCIIa—b, location in Butkara I.

[65] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 436, Peshawar Museum, p. 166.

[66] *Ibid.*, fig. 11, Peshawar Museum, pp. 52—53.

[67] Height: 8.1 centimeters, inventory number 6341.

[68] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 448, Gai Collection, Peshawar, p. 170.

mode of baldahin on both sides is a fig leaf. On the left side of Buddha sits a turban-headed man clad in princely robe in lalitasana with a lotus in front of him and hands in namaskaramudra. On the jamb at the left is a vertical row of small naked amorino figures framed by two rows of lotuses. Probably they indicate elements divided in space between two scenes. The relief is defined below by the stylized head of a bird. Grey schist.[69]

Part of it is missing; broken at the right side.

The scene and the composition within the closed quarter-circle are familiar from two fragments originating from Takht-i Bahai.[70] Showing a strong kinship with our above piece is the composition enclosed within the quarter-circle; also its decorations, the foliated scroll and the row of saw teeth, as well as the further delineated theme of the meditating Buddha and modelled before him the kneeling and praying figure show kinship. Though on our specimen the quarter-circle has been expanded and decorated with an additional row of saw teeth. Buddha is placed outside of this inner quarter-circle. Further, enriching the Budapest relief is the fact that there stands a fig leaf on both sides above Buddha's head, while this is missing from the other two mentioned reliefs as well as on the fragment from Takht-i Bahai in the scene closing off the quarter circle in which the individual separating pieces are undecorated. On our specimen, however, the separating pieces are ornamented by two amorino figures.

There is a bas-relief originating from Sahri Bahlol[71] with one circular side closing it off by decorations. Here also each side shows two figures. The difference being, however, that on this relief the worshipper or rather the figure of the monk, is enclosed within the circular side and the Buddha has been placed outside of the circle. Another distinction is that the dividing parts between the main scene and the finishing decorations of the circle are ornamented by a vertical row of Buddha figures.

Also uncovered in Takht-i Bahai is another quarter circular composition[72] whose divisions and ornamentations are similar to the aforementionel except that it portrays only one figure.

We also know of a quarter circular composition[73] which is defined by the stylized head of a bird. Finally, on a bas-relief of unknown location,[74] the composition is defined with a quarter circle closed with the stylized head of a bird as on our specimen. Other than on the above mentioned reliefs, the

[69] Measurements, 28×19.5 centimeters, inventory number 6343.

[70] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 167/a, Peshawar Museum, p. 102, fig. 181, Peshawar Museum, p. 105.

[71] *Ibid.*, fig. 262, Peshawar Museum, pp. 127 ff.

[72] *Ibid.*, fig. 166, Peshawar Museum, p. 101.

[73] *Ibid.*, fig. 169, Gai Collection, Peshawar, pp. 102—3.

[74] *Ibid.*, fig. 168, Lahore Museum, p. 102.

decoration of foliated scroll also appears on a fragment from unknown location.[75] The composition, theme and ornamentation and execution of the above mentioned specimens originating from Takht-i Bahai and Sahri Bahlol constitute a unified group. Our number 17 specimen belongs to this group also. These latter examples indicate that the defining decoration for the edges of the quarter circles ornamentation was generally a stylized animal head or as in the case of our specimen, a bird's head. The date of their origin was most likely between 400—460 according to Ingholt.

Fragment of a relief preserving a figure of a horseman and a worshipper (picture 18). It is divided into three horizontal panels with two toruses. The lower torus is decorated by a row of leaf-and-dart moulding; the upper by a row of overlapping lanceolate leaves.

The lower panel portrays a horseman preparing to ride, his costume consists of Parthian-Scythian pants and caftan and on his head he wears an Iranian style high pointed cap. Before him walks a man whose hands are folded in front of his chest in the gesture for prayer; this man's head is uncovered but his costume is again the same Parthian-Scythian pants and caftan. His hair is combed back and stylized. The entire lower panel was chiseled into a deep niche. The deeply drilled panel depicts a wooden ballustrade. The upper panel showes a naked amorino. Grey schist.[76]

Broken at the four sides; the face of the second amorino is missing.

This fragment makes especially difficult the task of determining the thematic substance of this relief, i.e. which scene of the Buddha legend it represents. Very few scenes have been portrayed in the Buddha legend in which the participants appear on horseback. Considering this specimen akin to these is barred by the type of costume and headdress which the horseman wears. One scene would remain as a possibility wherein «offering of the merchants». Here we can imagine the role of a foreign outfitted horseman. Yet, throwing doubt on this assumption is the figure which precedes hands folded in prayer. Our relief specimen is rather like one which originates in Sikri[77] and shows a strong kinship with the dress of another horseman in another «shipment of relics» scene from an unknown place of origin.[78] This is the Parthian-Scythian horseman's dress — pants and caftan, but the pointed headdress of our horseman is missing on this fragment. The deeply drilled middle panel which simulates a wooden balustrade also appears in numerous scenes and we have only employed those among them for the sake of com-

[75] Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 78, plate 54, Peshawar Museum. See also **Faccena, *op. cit.***, II/2, XXa—b, XXI—b, XXIIa.

[76] Height: 21.5 centimeters, inventory number 50.40.

[77] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 145, Lahore Museum, pp. 95—96.

[78] *Ibid.*, fig. 150, Lahore Museum, p. 97.

parison in which the depth of the inner field comes close to our specimen, to the extent to which this is determinable from comparison by photograph, on which the toruses between the panels are also decorated by leaf-and-dart moulding and overlapping lanceolate leaves.

We are familiar with one relief from Jamal Garhi[79] in which the overlapping lanceolate leaves are above the ballustrade and one other relief from Butkara I[80] in which the same decoration is below the ballustrade.

Four such specimens were uncovered from Sikri[81] in which the chiseling of the ballustrade as well as the decorations of the dividing toruses correspond. The decorative motifs are reversed in each case the lower torus is decorated with the overlapping lanceolate leaves and the upper with leaf-and-dart moulding.

On the basis of the above comparison, we can consider that our relief specimen probably depicts a «shipment of relics» scene for the composition shows closest kinship to the «shipment of relics» scene which originates from Sikri. Further support for this is the fact that the dress of our horseman shows close kinship to the outfitting of the horseman of another «relic» scene although his headdress is dissimilar from it. Some parts of the individual motifs of this Budapest relief as follows for example, the middle panel which depicts a wooden ballustrade and the two toruses of leaf-and-dart moulding and overlapping leaves show strong kinship to the four reliefs stemming from Sikri which constitute a unified whole. In our opinion our specimen can be included in this group. Ingholt places the date of origin for all the above mentioned reliefs between 300—400.

Fragment of a relief (picture 19), preserving a Persepolitan column; crowded by a voluted element and carinated and voluted arch with pine-cones hanging from the volutes. Above is a cornice with a row of dentils. Inside the arch, which has a course of saw-teeth on the frame, is a standing male fgure facing left, hands in the attitude of prayer. His wavy hair extends down to his shoulder and his robe is richly folded. Grey schist.[82]

The left leg, the pine-cone on the right and the Persepolitan column with the exception of the capital are missing; broken at the right.

Our specimen shows its closest relationship to the yaksha figure of a bas-relief originating from Sikri.[83] Also bearing a close kinship to our specimen is a relief from unknown origin where the cornice is ornamented by a row of saw teeth, and it also has a carinated and voluted arch. Inside the arch appears

[79] *Ibid.*, fig. 18, Lahore Museum, p. 54.
[80] Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/3, CCCLXXXIX.
[81] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, 29, 56, 145, Lahore Museum, pp. 54, 56, 63, 95—96.
[82] Measurements 16 × 15.5 centimeters, inventory number 6328.
[83] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 81, Lahore Museum, p. 71.
[84] *Ibid.*, fig. 10, Gai Collection, Peshawar, p. 51.

the figure of a male worshipper. On this last relief, the individual arches are separated by Persepolitan columns just as on our specimen.

The carinated and voluted arches and the Persepolitan columns are frequently found elements of Gandhara art. It has appeared in several variations from Butkara I also.[85] Sikri is also the place of origin of the four reliefs[86] whose construction shows the identical type of composition — the Persepolitan columns between voluted arches with pine-cones hanging from the volutes — as our specimen with the exception that the sharply empanelled columns are placed in separate panels. The following distinction shows up in the objects within the depiction: on the four reliefs from Sikri there appears a naked yaksha-amorino figure.

On a relief of unknown origin we find a variation where the columns between the arches are not empanelled.[87] On another relief originating from the Peshawar-valley[88] and also on one from unknown origin we find identical styled and chiseled arches.

We can also find the row of dentils carved on the cornice of our specimen in five other reliefs. Among these one is from an unknown location,[90] two are from Sikri, and two from the Sikri stūpa.[91]

The bas-reliefs mentioned from Sikri show a strong kinship with our specimen in their composition; in the variations of the arches and columns in their ornamental elements; in the pine-cones hanging from the volutes; in the row of saw teeth decoration on the frame of the arches as well as the row of dentils on the cornice of the relief to such an extent that it forms a unified group with them. On this basis we can presume that the Budapest relief was created in the same workshop as those from Sikri. Our specimen is one single figure of a worshipper, and this is not adequate enough for us to be able to determine its theme precisely. We can consider it either the depiction of a worshipper in homage before Buddha or perhaps the figure of a worshipper following the «relics». Ingholt places the date of origin for the fragments from Sikri between 300—400.

Fragment of a relief (picture 20), preserving part of an elephant framed by a panel containing an Indo-Persian column. The elephant is moving towards the left, on his back is a fringed string. The panel is framed by a row of pearls. The base of the column is decorated with lotuses, above is a standing

[85] Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/3, DCLVIb, DCLXVIIIb, DCLXIXa—b, DCCb, DCLXXI.
[86] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, 29, 147, 149, pp. 54, 56, 96, 97.
[87] *Ibid.*, fig. 98, Lahore Museum, p. 76.
[88] *Ibid.*, fig. 156, Lahore Museum, p. 98.
[89] *Ibid.*, fig. 239, Lahore Museum, p. 117.
[90] *Ibid.*, fig. 51, place of origin unknown, Lahore Museum, p. 62.
[91] *Ibid.*, fig. 60, 68, 70, 80, Lahore Museum, pp. 64, 67, 68, 70—71.
[92] Measurements 28 × 13 centimeters, inventory number 6342.

naked yakhsa-amorino figure. In his hand is a cup and above his head is a decoration of rays on the pillar. Grey schist.[92]

The front legs as well as the tusks of the elephant and the Indo-Persian column are broken and missing.

We were able to find very few similar pieces or specimens which remind us of our specimen among the publicized reliefs of Gandhara art.[93] On a relief of unknown location[94] the row of pearls decorating the panel and the lotus leafed foundation of the figure which is the pedastal of the column is nearly identical with the row of pearls decorating the single niche and the ornamentation of the pedastal decoration of our specimen.

Generally, very few reliefs hold a figure inside the panel and on these too, the frame of the panel is flat and the pedastal of the figure was formed from a water container either in simple form or with elaborations.

It is interesting to note that of these, the place of location for three is Taxila and its territories[95] and the others stem from unknown sources of origin.[96] There are many round columns inside panels without figures. Of these the place of origin for 19 is Sikri or the Sikri Stūpa. From Jamal Garhi three pieces, and finally, three specimens from unknown location.[97] On the basis of the large majority of the specimens from Sikri, we can contend that the round column depicted inside the panel became widely spread primarily through this district. We can hold it probable that our specimen stems from this district as well and that it belongs to the Sikri group. The lack of a bas-relief of similar theme for the time being prevents us from ascertaining the exact theme portrayed on the Budapest relief. Most likely it is a scene from one of the elephant scenes of the Buddha legend but the object is much too fragmented for us to be able to determine the scene exactly. If the fringed string is a part of a haudah, the scene depicts «the sending of the State elephant» episode. The modelling of the elephant on a relief of unknown origin

[93] Foucher, *op. cit.*, fig. 267: «the taming of a wild elephant», Lahore Museum, further Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 268, 269, original location: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, p. 130.

[94] *Ibid.*, fig. 360, Lahore Museum, pp. 150—51.

[95] *Ibid.*, fig. 359, place of origin: Kalawan, Taxila Museum, p. 150; fig. 370, 371, place of origin: Dharmarajika Stūpa, Taxila Museum, p. 152.

[96] *Ibid.*, fig. 360, place of origin unknown, Lahore Museum, pp. 150—51; fig. 361, place of origin unknown, Peshawar Museum, p. 151; fig. 364, place of origin unknown, Lahore Museum, p. 151; fig. 365, place of origin unknown, Lahore Museum, p. 151; fig. 367, place of origin unknown, Peshawar Museum, p. 152.

[97] *Ibid.*, fig. 7, 8, 9, 11, 22, 29, 36, 49, 56, 68, 70, 96, 104, 115, 126, 129, 136, 149, place of origin: Sikri; fig. 18, 30, 97, 99, place of origin: Jamal Garhi; fig. 44, 117, 124 place of origin: Sahri Bahlol; fig. 10, 16, 38, place of origin unknown Columns with niches also: Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/3, fig. CCCLXXXVIII, DXXV, DXXVII.

[98] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 451, Lahore Museum, p. 170.

shows a relationship to our bas-relief.[98] All the above mentioned relief are dated for origin by Ingholt between 300—400.

Corner block of a frieze (picture 21) with Corinthian pilaster, on the front is a worshipper, hands in namaskaramudra. His long hair is combed in locks, his clothing on the torso is a folded shroud on the right side, there is yet another standing figure. Yellow-grey limestone.[99]

The front side is intact, only one corner of the capital is missing. The right side so much injured that it makes entirely impossible whether the figure depicts a man or a woman.

On another relief from Sikri[100] we recognize a yaksha figure with hands folded before the breast in an attitude of prayer before a Corinthian pilaster. Showing lines similar to those of our relief is the form of the man's body, his dress, shape of the head and hairstyle. On the capital of the pilaster, the dissection of the akanthus leafed decoration and, as far as may be determined, from the photographs, the depth of the carving in the stone is also similar.

On another depiction originating from Bau Darra Karki[101] a praying yaksha is placed on both sides, on the right and left between the Indo-Corinthian pilaster. Similar to that of our specimen is the movement of the yakshi on the left, the sectioning of the base of the pilaster and the ornamentation of the capital.

The following relief originates from Karamar.[102] On it a corner decoration is moulded in a manner very similar to ours. It defines the scenes presented in five horizontal fields. The front and sides of each pilaster show an amorino figure each, as on our specimen. The corner ornamentation and the portrayal of the figure show a close kinship to our specimen.

Also from an unknown location is another bas-relief[103] on which the Corinthian corner pilaster and the workmanship of the two amorino figures depicted on it is similar to our relief. On a relief originating from the district of Sanghao[104] is depicted a monk figure on the Corinthian pilaster.

Outside of those mentioned, we find yet 22 reliefs noted by Ingholt in which there are no figures depicted on the Corinthian pilasters, but the base sectioning of the pilaster or the akanthus leaf decoration of its capital are similar to ours. In some cases both are similar. Among these, the place of location of one is Sikri[105] and that of six are unknown.[106] Three reliefs come

[99] Heighth: 17 centimeters, inventory number 50.41.
[100] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 81, Lahore Museum, p. 71.
[101] *Ibid.*, fig. 61, Peshawar Museum, pp. 64—65.
[102] *Ibid.*, fig. 162, Lahore Museum, p. 100.
[103] *Ibid.*, fig. 76, Lahore Museum, pp. 69—70.
[104] Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 71, Lahore Museum.
[105] *Ibid.*, fig. 80, Lahore Museum, p. 71
[106] *Ibid.*, fig. 82, 90, 93, 100, 114, 230, Lahore Museum, pp. 71, 73, 74, 77, 81—2 115.

from Takht-i Bahai,[107] one from Sahri Bahlol[108] and finally seventeen reliefs from Butkara I[109] or rather, the Swat valley where the exact location is not known.

On the basis of the mentioned examples, it appears that this decorative element is frequent and is found in a relatively large area. Marshall has determined that the flat and round variations of the Indo-Corinthian pilasters are known from Sirkap from beginning of the first century onward. The flat pilaster with figurines on the front sides is the later variation which appeared in the second half of the first century A.D. This is found on the Sanghao-Nathu group and probably, according to Marshall, spread from here. On the basis of the figurine portrayed on our relief specimen, it was probably from Sikri. The date of origin of the mentioned specimens with the exception of the relief from Takht-i Bahai, according to Ingholt is probably between 300—400.

Part of a curvilinear frieze (picture 22) with successive scenes, separated by panels with Indo-Corinthian columns. Above is a cornice with overlapping lanceolate leaves. Both scenes depict two groups of male worshippers. The round Indo-Corinthian column is full, within the panel, but its foundation is common to the entire scene. The relief is defined below by a plain fillet. Grey schist.[110]

The entire frieze is heavenly chipped; some faces and a part of the body of the figure on the right are missing.

This relief shows a very close kinship to the relief depicting two Buddhas and four worshippers (picture 7). The modeling of the forms of the worshippers, the workmanship of the round Indo-Corinthian columns comes so close that we can think not only of the work of one workshop, but also, that it is likely that the two specimens represent individual sections of the same stūpa. The next most close relationship and analoguous work was found in several other reliefs originating from Sikri.[111] Their date of origin is probably 300—400.

False bracket with winged amorino (picture 23). On the volute shaped bracket stands the figure of a naked winged amorino; its feet lean sideways toward the base on the inversed lotus formed bracket. The naked figure leans on his left leg; his right leg is mildly bent and held out. His locks of hair are combed in stylized ringlets. His face is serious, the iris and pupil are unmarked in the eyes. He is beating a cylindrical drum with his two hands. His necklace, bracelet and anklet are as smooth as a ribbon. Green schist.[112]

[107] *Ibid.*, fig. 53, 67, 84, Peshawar Museum, pp. 62, 67, 72.

[108] *Ibid.*, fig. 86, Peshawar Museum, p. 72.

[109] A Corinthian pilaster with a common pedastal along with the scene: Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/3, CCCLXXXIVb, DXXIIa—d, DXXIII, DXXVI, DXXVIII, DXXIX—DXXXII. Corinthian pilaster without figures: *ibid.*, DXXXIII—DXXXIX.

[110] Measurements 22.5 × 12 centimeters, inventory number 50.42.

[111] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, 29, 147, 149. See also note 85.

[112] Measurements 19.5 × 18 centimeters, inventory number 50.45.

Almost perfectly preserved.

We are familiar with many brackets ornamented with figurines, but the majority of these do not depict a winged amorino. The winged amorino figure of a voluta shaped bracket originating from Butkara I[113] shows close relationship in the position of the legs as well as wearing identical jewelry. Also in his right hand he holds a lotus bunch; two fingers of his left hand cover his mouth, and his motion reminds us of Harpokrates. His face is too large for his body and the expression on his face is awkward. Another bracket which shows close kinship stems from Saidu Sharif I.[114] It is decorated by a winged amorino. This figure also stands on inversed lotus and his hair is combed in locks. The naked amorino figure has spread over a wide territory in the area of Gandhara art. We can recognize its close relatives from the Swat-valley in various reliefs. One is on a relief originating from Palatu Dheri[115] where the body types of the yakhsa-amorino figures and the modelling of the jewelry as well, shows a close relationship to that of our figures. Similar amorino figures are known from a relief of Nathu[116] origin, and one from Dharmarajika and one from Kalavan.[117] Due to the extensive forward leaning of our winged amorino bracket, it would be difficult to tie it to a place of origin, according to Marshall, since it is a very popular decorative element of the 2nd and 3rd century. Ingholt places the date for the mentioned analogies between 300—400.

Fragment of a frieze preserving amorino figures (picture 24). This specimen depicts three naked amorino figures among akanthus leaves. In the middle are two amorinos and the hand of one grips the other around the waist; his other hand rests on the shoulder of the other. Further to the right, the third amorino holds the end of the curled-back akanthus leaf with his right hand and with his left he holds a cup. Grey schist.[118]

The body of the second amorino wrestler on the left is missing; broken at the bottom and at the left.

The wrestling motif appears in several variations throughout Gandhara art and all of them have in common a depiction of the moment at which wrestling begins when the wrestlers grip each other with one hand on the other's shoulder and the other on the waist.

A relief originating from Bau Darra Kharki[119] shows a close relationship to our amorino specimens in the body type and formation of the two yakhsa

[113] Faccena, *op. cit.*, II/3, DLXXVIII.

[114] *Ibid.*, II/3, DLXXVII.

[115] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 396, Peshawar Museum, pp. 156—57.

[116] Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 91, Calcutta Museum.

[117] *Ibid.*, fig. 148, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, further Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 149, Lahore Museum, p. 83.

[118] Measurements 39 × 15 centimeters, inventory number 6339.

[119] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 61, Peshawar Museum, pp. 64—65.

figures shown between the Indo-Corinthian pillars separating the two man scenes.

Originating in Palatu Dheri is another relief[120] on which the body type and formation of the yaksha amorino on the right side is related to our specimen which holds a cup.

The origin is also unknown of a wrestling scene which depicts wrestling figures in a relationship similar to that our singular figures.[121]

It does not follow from the above mentioned similarities that wç can tie our relief to a specific place of origin. Their date of origin is placed by Ingholt between 300—400.

Fragment of a relief showing an Atlas (picture 25). This is a scarcely defined mass-produced portrayal. The upper portion is over-emphasized, i.e., the shoulders and the arms. The right leg stands; the left leg is knocked over. Its hair is combed back and the iris is marked in the eyes. Its facial expression is serene. Gey schist.[122]

Chipped on the face and right arm; broken at three sides.

We have found identical body positions on Atlas figures from several various other places of origin, but the body construction and head of those are completely different from ours. Our Atlas relief belongs to that later type which does not even wish to eminate the function of the figure or the weight it holds; rather, it has become a decorative or a space-occupying element. If we compare our specimen with the two Atlas figures mentioned by Marshall as stemming from the later period,[124] it is a superficial and weak work even in comparison to them. Its schematic hands and feet remind us of the first Atlas and its face a little of the second. The facial expression of the Budapest Atlas is serene, while on most Atlas figures the face is sad; its hair is not the stylized model, but rather, it is marked on the surface with lightly carved lines.

The composition and craftsmanship of the above mentioned Atlas reliefs are linked to our specimen so distantly that we cannot even think of a common source of origin. Ingholt places the date of origin for the first two bas-reliefs between 225—300, and the third piece he places between 300—400.

Summarizing the results of this individual analysis of each of the stone carvings, we can determine that the geographical location of the greater portion

[120] *Ibid.*, fig. 396, see also note 115.

[121] *Ibid.*, fig. 151, Lahore Museum, p. 97. Wrestling figures also: Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 360, 445.

[122] Measurements 11 × 14 centimeters, inventory number 50.40.

[123] Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 383, place of origin, Nathu, Lahore Museum, p. 155; fig. 383, place of origin unknown, Lahore Museum, p. 155; fig. 385, place of origin unknown, Peshawar Museum, p. 155.

[124] Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 145, place of origin: Kali Ghund, Peshawar Museum, p. 106; fig. 146, place of origin: Jamal Garhi, Calcutta Museum, p. 106.

fo our Gandhara stone carvings must be sought after in the district of Mardan, famous for its buddhist relics. The Bodhisattva Maitreya relief (picture 8) which is a specimen of unusually high artistic quality and also the fragmented hand of Buddha (picture 3) can be most closely linked to the stone carvings from Sahri-Bahlol-Mardan. It is also most likely that the original location of one of the most beautiful Buddha portraits (picture 1) is also Sahri Bahlol or nearby Takht-i Bahai, although it is difficult to pinpoint this Buddha head to a specific location since numerous such Buddha portraits of lofty conception are familiar among other buddhist relics of the Mardan district.

It would seem also that the three-quarter portrait of Buddha with distinctively outstanding characteristics (picture 2) is linked to Sahri Bahlol or Takht-i Bahai, as well as the small head of Buddha (picture 6), the Sitting Bodhisattva (picture 9), the Bodhisattva Amitabha. (picture 11) and the deoiction of the young man turning to the left.

The following reliefs can be grouped together as having originated in the district of Mardan and forming an independent workshop or possibly a kind of school of stone carvings from Sikri: Two Buddhas and four worshippers (picture 7), Horseman and worshipper (picture 18), A worshipper under an arch (picture 19), An elephant and a yakhsa (picture 19), Seven worshippers (picture 22), A corner block with the figure of two worshippers (picture 21), We have found analogies for our corner block not only in Sikri, but elsewhere also. This is why it cannot be tied to a specific location, but it is likely that we should look for its roots in the Mardan district.

The remaining ten stone carvings are not without analogies, but its relationship to publicized specimens is in part so loose that it cannot be listed in a common group with them, and in part, a significant number of them also stem from unknown locations.

The dating of our Gandhara stone carvings in the later period is also supported by the most recent excavations carried out in the Mardan district between 1959—67. Among the findings of Chanaka Dheri, Mekha Sanda and Thareli, the datable stone carvings, ceramic fragments, as well as the coin pieces are late Kushan, showing an origin from the 4th—5th century.[1,5]

We view the above mentioned analogies as a first step toward a knowledge of these works of art, just as this study, too, was intended as an initial step which we wish to further elaborate through closer scrutiny of the art works which make up the analogies. The work of further parallel comparison would be a lengthy task and it is uncertain how the appropriate conditions for the undertaking can be created. This is the reason we have not made the publicizing of our Gandhara stone carivings dependent on the final results of this further refined process.

[125] *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 5, 1968, pp. 143 ff.



Fig. 1. Head of the Buddha, cca 300—400



Fig. 2. Head of the Buddha, cca 4th century



Fig. 3. Left hand of the Buddha, cca 300—400



Fig. 7. Part of a curvilinear frieze, cca 300—400



Fig. 4. Fragment of the Buddha figure, cca 400—460



Fig. 5. Head of the Buddha from a relief, cca 300—400



Fig. 6. Head of the Buddha from a relief, cca 400—460



Fig. 8. Head of a haloed Bodhisattva Maitreya, cca 300—400



Fig. 9. Fragment of a sitting Bodhisattva, cca 400—460



Fig. 10. Head of a Bodhisattva, cca 300—400



Fig. 11. Fragment of a Bodhisattva figure, cca 400—460



Fig. 12. Fragment of a haloed Bodhisattva Maitreya, cca 300—400



Fig. 13. Head of a young man, cca 300—400



Fig. 14. Fragment of a male figure, cca 400—460



Fig. 15. Head of an aged man, cca 300—400



Fig. 16. Head of a woman, cca 300—400



Fig. 17. Fragment of a false gable, cca 400—460



Fig. 18. Fragment of a relief, cca 300—360



Fig. 19. Fragment of a relief, cca 300—400

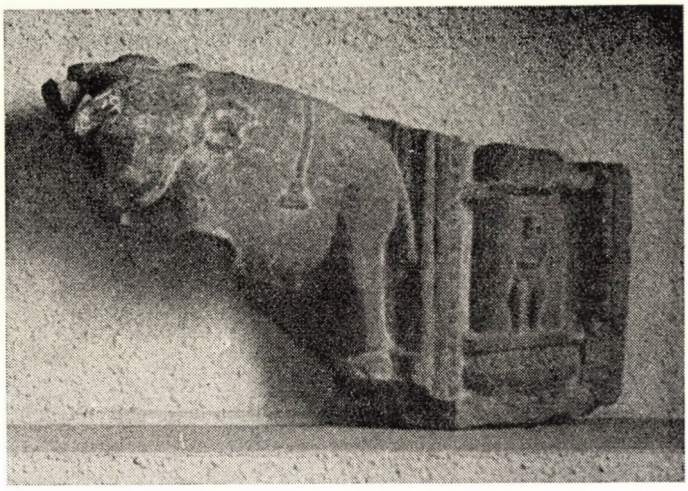


Fig. 20. Fragment of a relief, cca 300—400



Fig. 21. Corner block of a frieze, cca 300—400



Fig. 22. Part of a curvilinear frieze, cca 300—400



Fig. 23. False bracket with winged amorino, cca 300—400



Fig. 24. Fragment of a frieze, cca 300—400



Fig. 25. Fragment of a relief showing Atlas, cca 4th—5th century

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXVI (2—3), pp 357—370 (1972)

HEBRÄISCHE GEDICHTE VON OST UND WEST

AUS DER KAUFMANN-GENISA

VON

A. SCHEIBER

I. Eine Elegie von Samuel dem Dritten

Samuel b. Hoschana war ein Mitglied des Synhedrion von Jerusalem. Er war ein guter Freund von Schemarja b. Elchanan. Im Jahre 1012 nahm er teil am Begräbnis des Chazzan Putiel in Ägypten. Die Teilnehmer der Trauerzeremonie wurden überfallen und eingekerkert. Unter ihnen war auch er. Nach seiner Befreiung schrieb er die Geschichte der ihm zugefügten Unbilden in der מגילת מצרים. Aus mehreren Handschriften erschien sie unlängst zum erstenmal in vollständigem Text.[1]

Er selbst starb auch in Ägypten. Gelegentlich seines Todes verfasste Sahlan b. Abraham ein Trauerlied, in dem er Wissen und Wirken des Verstorbenen würdigte.[2]

Er war ein fruchtbarer Dichter. Das erste Fragment seiner Jozerot fand 1924 M. Weiss in der Kaufmann-Genisa.[3] M. Wallenstein rekonstruierte ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt und legte weitere Kompositionen vor.[4]

M. Zulay machte auf die auffällige Tatsache aufmerksam, dass die Kaufmann-Genisa perzentuell am reichsten an Samuels Werken ist.[5] Er sammelte ungefähr 400 Pijjutim.[6] Ihre Herausgabe verhinderte sein früher Tod. Diese Zahl wuchs in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten.[7]

[1] Z. Malachi, *Studies in Medieval Hebrew Literature* I (Tel-Aviv 1971), pp. 33—39 (Hebräisch); A. Scheiber, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* XXVI (1972), pp. 161—162.

[2] J. Schirmann, *New Hebrew Poems from the Genizah* (Jerusalem 1965), pp. 77—78 (Hebräisch).

[3] M. Weiss, *Hazofeh* VIII (1924), pp. 154—202; *Geniza-Fragmente der Bibliothek David Kaufmann, s. A.*, I (Budapest 1924), pp. 50—98; zweite Auflage (Jerusalem 1969), pp. 50—98.

[4] M. Wallenstein, *Some Unpublished Piyyutim from the Cairo Genizah* (Manchester 1956); A. Scheiber, *Vetus Testamentum* VIII (1958), pp. 445—446.

[5] S. Lőwinger—A. Scheiber, *Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann* I (Budapest 1949), p. 95; zweite Auflage (Jerusalem 1971), p. 95.

[6] M. Zulay, *Alei Ayin. Salman Schocken Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem 1952), pp. 100, 123.

[7] J. Schirmann, *Op. cit.*, pp. 63—69.

Seitdem habe ich auch ein unbekanntes Stück in der Kaufmann-Genisa entdeckt (No. 149.).[8] Zahlreiche andere Handschriften davon fand ich in ausländischen Genisa-Sammlungen.[9]

Das vorliegende Stück stammt ebenfalls aus der Kaufmann-Genisa (No. 168.). 2 Blätter, Papier, 11×15 cm. Der kursiven zuneigende Quadratschrift.

Auf den Seiten 1b—2b ist diese Elegie zu lesen: אפטרא לרבינו שמואל הישלישי ז"ל. Das Gedicht folgt der Reihenfolge des Alphabets bis zum צ. Die letzte Strophe fehlt, dafür trifft den Kopisten die Schuld. Aus dem Buche Genesis führt er Beispiele für den Tod an. Die Elegie wurde anlässlich des Todes einer Frau geschrieben, denn es sind darin nur Frauen erwähnt: Eva; Debora, die Amme von Rebeka; Rebeka selbst; Rachel und Judas Frau, Bat Schua. Das Gedicht schliesst mit Worten des Trostes.

Keine solche אשכבה findet sich von unserem Verfasser anderswo. Sie ist ein individuelles Stück seiner Tätigkeit. Deshalb ist ihre Veröffentlichung von Bedeutung.

II. Maariv für Schemini Azeret

Die Handschrift No. 170. in der Kaufmann-Genisa besteht aus einem Blatt. Papier, 10×24 cm, schöne Quadratschrift.

Die eine Seite is leer. Auf der anderen befindet sich ein Gedicht: מעריב לש[מ]ני עצרת. Sein Akrostichon gibt das Alphabet zur Gänze. Er macht die Sukkot-Stimmung mit edler Einfachheit fühlbar.

Seinen Verfasser kennen wir nicht. Aus dem Stil ersichtlich, scheint es aus der Frühzeit zu stammen. Zweifellos entstand es im Osten. Auffallend ist, dass die זולת nicht grösser ist als die übrigen Teile, das doch sozusagen eine Regel bei den Maariv-Pijjutim ist.[10]

III. Josef Ibn Scheschet

Die Handschrift No. 172 in der Kaufmann-Genisa besteht aus zwei Blättern. Papier, 14×19 cm, kalligraphische Quadratschrift.

1a: Das Gedicht des Abraham Ibn Ezra: שמש בזום.[11]

2b: קדוש פסח.

Die Seiten 1b—2a sind umgelegt und enthalten das Gedicht des spanischen Josef Ibn Scheschet (XII. Jahrhundert) רחמי ידיד בליל. Dieses wurde

[8] A. Scheiber, *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* II (Jerusalem 1958), Hebräischer Teil: pp. 55—58.

[9] A. Scheiber, *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, XIX (1966), p. 382.

[10] E. Fleischer, *Sinai* LXIX (1971), p. 125.

[11] Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry* III (New York 1930), p. 495. No. 1894.

von J. Schirmann aus zwei Handschriften bereits veröffentlicht (MS. Kopenhagen, No. 30; MS. Cambridge, Add. 1745[8]).[12]

Unser Text ist kürzer und zeigt zahlreiche Abweichungen. Deshalb hielten wir seine Veröffentlichung für notwendig.

[12] J. Schirmann, *Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry* II (Berlin 1936), pp. 182—183, 193. Siehe noch A. I. Katsh, *Yiggal Hazon* (Jerusalem 1964), pp 81—82 (aus MS. Günzburg).

I. MS Kaufmann No. 168.

[1b] אפטרא לרבינו
שמואל השלישי ז"ל

אצדיק דין דיין האמת בכל פעולה
באמת שאין לפניו לא שכחה ולא עולה
גורמת מיתה לגולם צדיק מיתה בתחלה
מי גבר ולא יר' מות ימלט נפשו מיד שאול סלה

דבורת אב המון שולחת יד בכשרון
הופקדה לתשעים והפריחה כחבצלת השרון
ולסוף מאה ועשרין ושבע בטוב סברון
ותמת שר' בקרית ארבע היא חב(רון)

זכת אומנת עקרה עם הצדיקות להחקיקה
חשה לכת אחרי תם בחשיקה

3 גורמת מיתה] חוה.
4 מי] תה' פט, מט.
5 אב המון] זה אברהם, ע' ולנשטין Some Unpublished Piyyutim from the Cairo Genizah מנצ'סטר, 1956, עמ' 110.
6 הופקדה] בר' כא, א. כחבצלת] שה"ש ב, א.
7 מאה] בר' כג, א. בטוב סברון] ב"ר נח, א, עמ' 618—619; ע"י מ. צ. וים בשרידים מהגניזה, בודפשט, תרפ"ח, עמ' 59: ,,דעת קושטה".
8 ותמת] בר' כג, ב.
9 אומנת עקרה] דבורה, ע' בר' לה, ח.
10 תם] פסיקתא דרב כהנא, הוצ' מנדלבוים, כרך א, ניויארק, תשכ"ב, 40: ,,עד שיעקב יושב ומשמר אבלה של מיניקתו באת לו בשורת אמו"; ע' עוד לוי גינצבורג: Legends of the Jews, ה', עמ', 318, הערה 302. ע' רש"י לבר' לה, ח.

טומנה גם היא ובמינקתה דובקה
ותמת דבו מנ רבקה

יוחמת אוחז בעקב אח בצאתו
[2a] כישרה צניעותו || יעצתו קחת מאב ברכתו
לסוף גם היא נאספה כבט בנה ברחישתו
שמה קברו את יצחק ואת רבקה אשתו

מחנטת איש מצליח אשר להורו עמותה
נוקשה ובלידת צעיר נתקשתה
ספה גם היא בגזרת מות כהובעתה
ותמת רחל ותקבר בד אפרתה

עד איש עדולמי בנטות גור צעודה
פוריה נשא שם ושלשת בנים ילדה
צומת ראשון ושני וגם האם הוכחדה
ותמ בת שוע אשת יהו[דה]

11 ובמינקתה] כי יו לאדמה.
12 ותמת] בר' לה, ח.
13 אוחז] זה יעקב.
14 צניעותו] ז. א. של יעקב.
15 היא] זו רבקה. כבט] לשון בטוי שפחים במקום אמר.
16 שמה] בר' מט, לא.
17 מחנטת] זו רחל, עי' ולנשטין, שם, עמ' 111. איש מצליח] זה יוסף עס"י בר' לז, ג, כג. עמותה] עי' ולנשטין, שם, עמ' 34, שורה 120.
18 נוקשה] רחל. אחר כך "לבת אחרי תם בחשיקה" שיבוש משום טור 10.
20 ותמת] בר' לה, יט.
21 עדולמי] זה יהודה עס"י בר' לח, א.
ותמ] שם, לח, יב.

25 כולא מאית וכולה בלה ואתה חי וקים לעלמי עלמין
מלכותך מלכות עלם ושלטנותך לדרי דרין

מנחם יצמח ויתי מן קריב
ולב האבלים ינחם בזמן קריב
ביה יתנחמון כל דרחיק מישראל וכל מן דקריב
30 במשמר ביתא דחריב במשמר יהויריב

[2b] יהי שלום יהי שלום וג׳ וירחם ויקול יתגדל וג׳
אחינו קהל גומלי החסד יפה עשיתם שלמ
החסד שכר טוב תמצאו מלפני שומר הברית
וה⟨ח⟩סד מרשות רבותי וג׳ העמו לשלום:

25 חי] דנ׳ ו, כו.
26 מלכותך] שם, נ, לג.
30 יהויריב] אחד מן הכהנים, עפ״י נח׳ יא, יג דכה״י א׳ ט, י.

II. MS Kaufmann No. 170.

[1a] מעריב לש[מ]ני עצרת

אלוה הנאדר בשמי עריץ
בחר בגוי אחד בארץ
ג[דול]תו אספר יום זה במריץ
דגול מעריב ערב לך שמים אף לך ארץ
בי
הן שבעה סיככנו בחיבה
ובשמיני חג בפני עצמו סים לחולת אהבה
זכר פזר קשב חיכמנו לקשבה
חי ועל כל [פשע]ים תכסה אהבה
בי [אוה]ב עמו
אמת אמונה בריתך קיימת
טיעת עצי שלחים עמסו ישרים
יום יום מיחדים לך משפיל ומרים
כוללים שבחך ולך מאדירים

2 בגוי] שמ׳ ב׳ ז, כ:.
3 גדולתו] תה׳ קמה, ו.
4 לך] שם, פט, יב.
5] חס׳: המעיב.
7 לחולת] זה ישראל עפ״י שה״ש ב, ה. עי׳ שהש״ר לפסוק. השווה התנלות הסודות והופעת המאורות לר יוסף בן יהודה בן יעקב אבן עקנין, הוצ׳ א. ש. הלקין. ירושלם, תשכ״ר, עמ׳ 72—73.
8 פז״ר קש״ב] דהיינו: פיום, זמן, רגל, קרבן, שיר, ברכה.
9 ועל] משלי י, יב.
13 משפיל] שמ׳ א׳ ב, ז.

15 לסלדך לשוררך בעל קריעת גזרים

בגילה

מהלליך יפיקו עם לך מנשאים
נהלם לעירך מכל קצוות ופיאים
סיחם היום ערוב והראם גוראים
20 עזומו אתה אל מפליא פלאים

זה צור

פאר יפציחו בשבה והלל
צפה צעקתם אל רם על כל אל
קראם ענה וחיש למו גואל
25 יי) צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל

בי גאל ישראל

רוממותיך נרנן קדושינו מלכנו
שדי בגדלך מכל צר תחשכינו
תיפן לתפלתינו ובימינך תתמכינו
30 תחנתינו תקשיב ובשלומך תסוככנו

בי פורש סוכת שלום

29 ובימינך] יש מא׳, י.
30 תחנתינו] תה׳ פו, י.

III. MS Kaufmann No. 172.

[1b] [יוסף א]בן ששת ל רחמאך כם תטיל

רחמי ידיד כליל · הוד אחזה ויגדל · על דל על דל
מלכי וצור לבבי · עת אשקדה כדל · על דל על דל

בי אוהבי וצורי · רום פן ינכרו
אויבי בצאת הדרי · מני ונעזרו
אל ישמחו לשברי · אויבי ויאמרו

רמה ימין כסיל · על עזבוי יליל · נבדל נבדל
להיות לאל לנביא · מדתך חדל · נבדל נבדל

שוקד עלי שקריו · נתעב ונאלח
שוקט עלי שמריו · עין רענן ולח
קום וחשוף סתריו · והדרך צלח

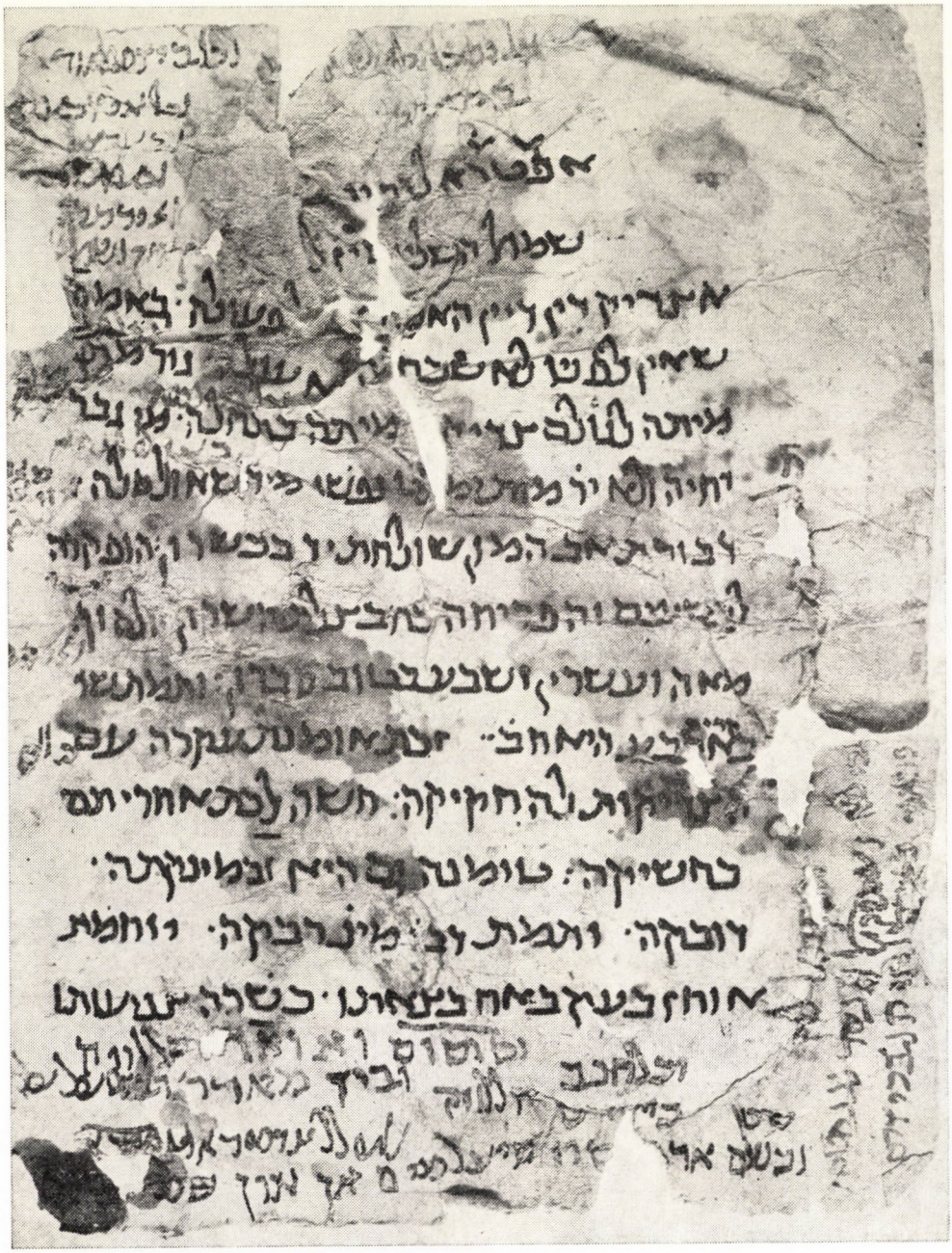
קום ישרה שביל · ונתיב אמת ומעגל · נדגל נדגל
כנס יהי סביבי · צדק אשר תגל · נדגל נדגל

[2a] שוא העבר וגרש · ליץ מזבולך
נטעי נטע והשרש · שרשי בטלך
איך אויבי ישורש · גזע שתילך

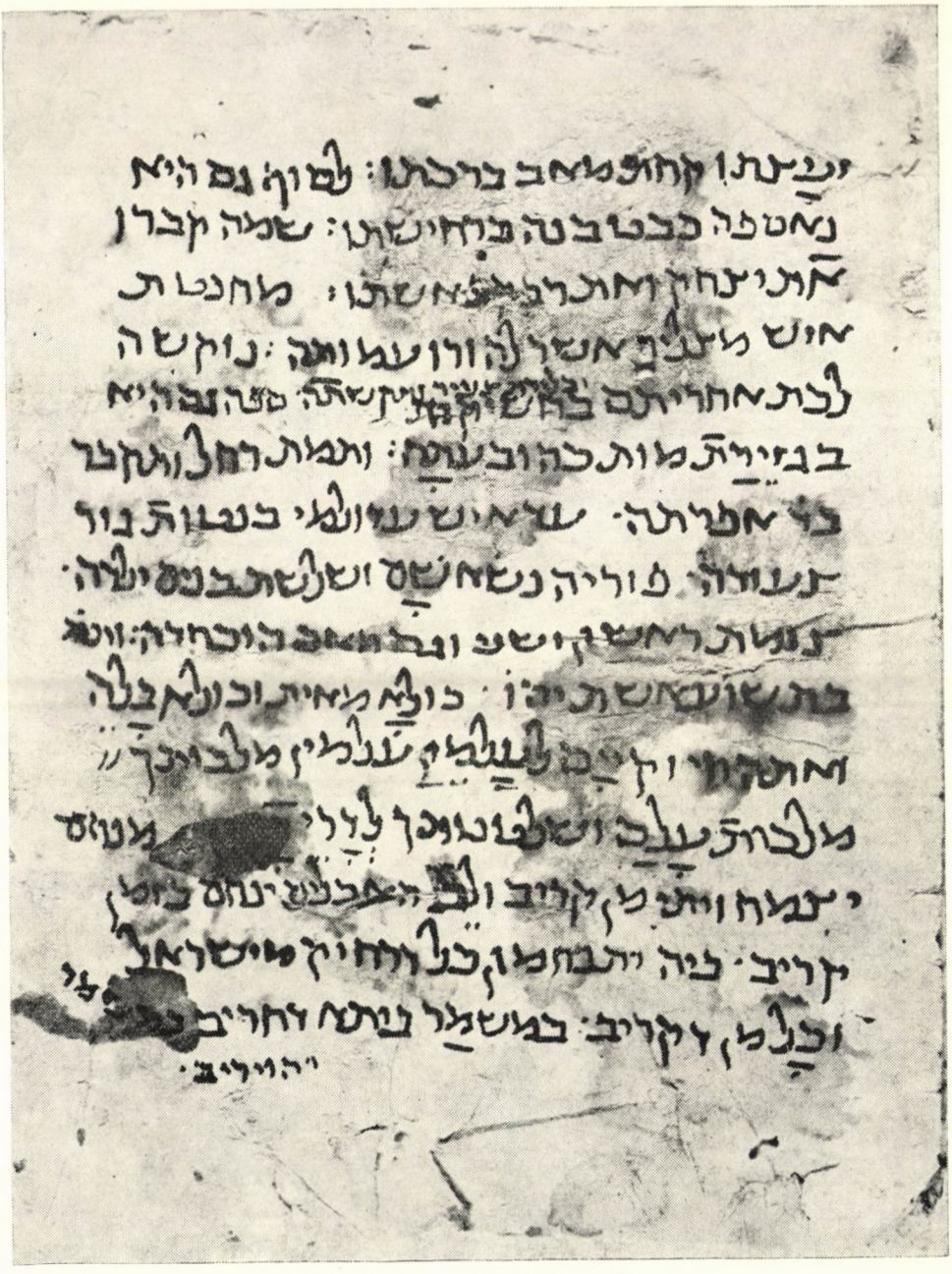
איך אשמעה צליל · שירי בפי צלצל · צלצל צלצל
צר ועדי כרובי · נצל ונאצל · צלצל צלצל

עבד לצל אדוניו · ישאף לצלך
חטאו ורוב עוניו · תסלח בגדלך
נמכר אלי מעניו · חנם גאל לך

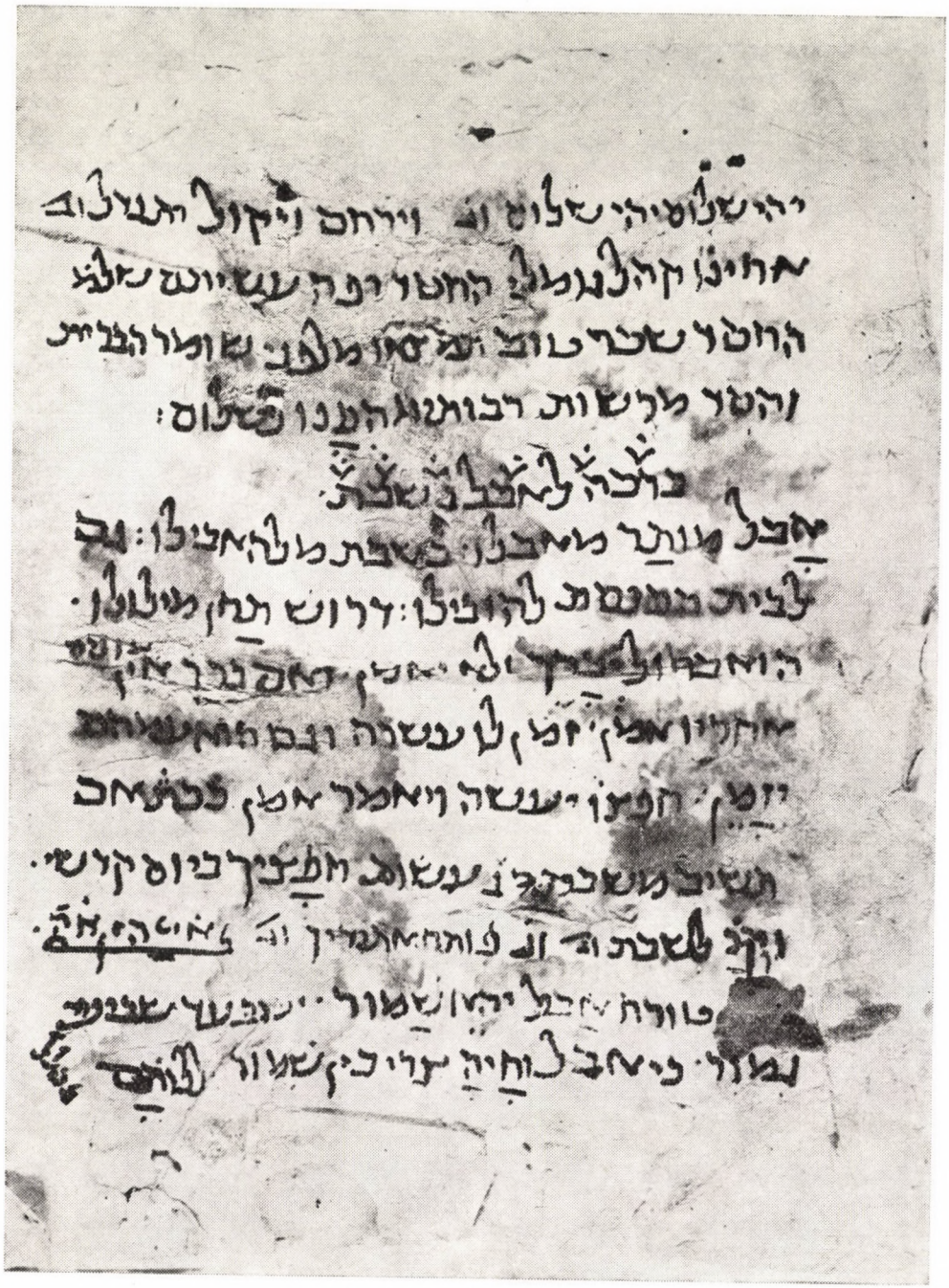
נסגר ביד עויל · יום יעמיק במשאל · ישאל ישאל
מיד זאב ולביא · את עבדך גאל · ישאל ישאל



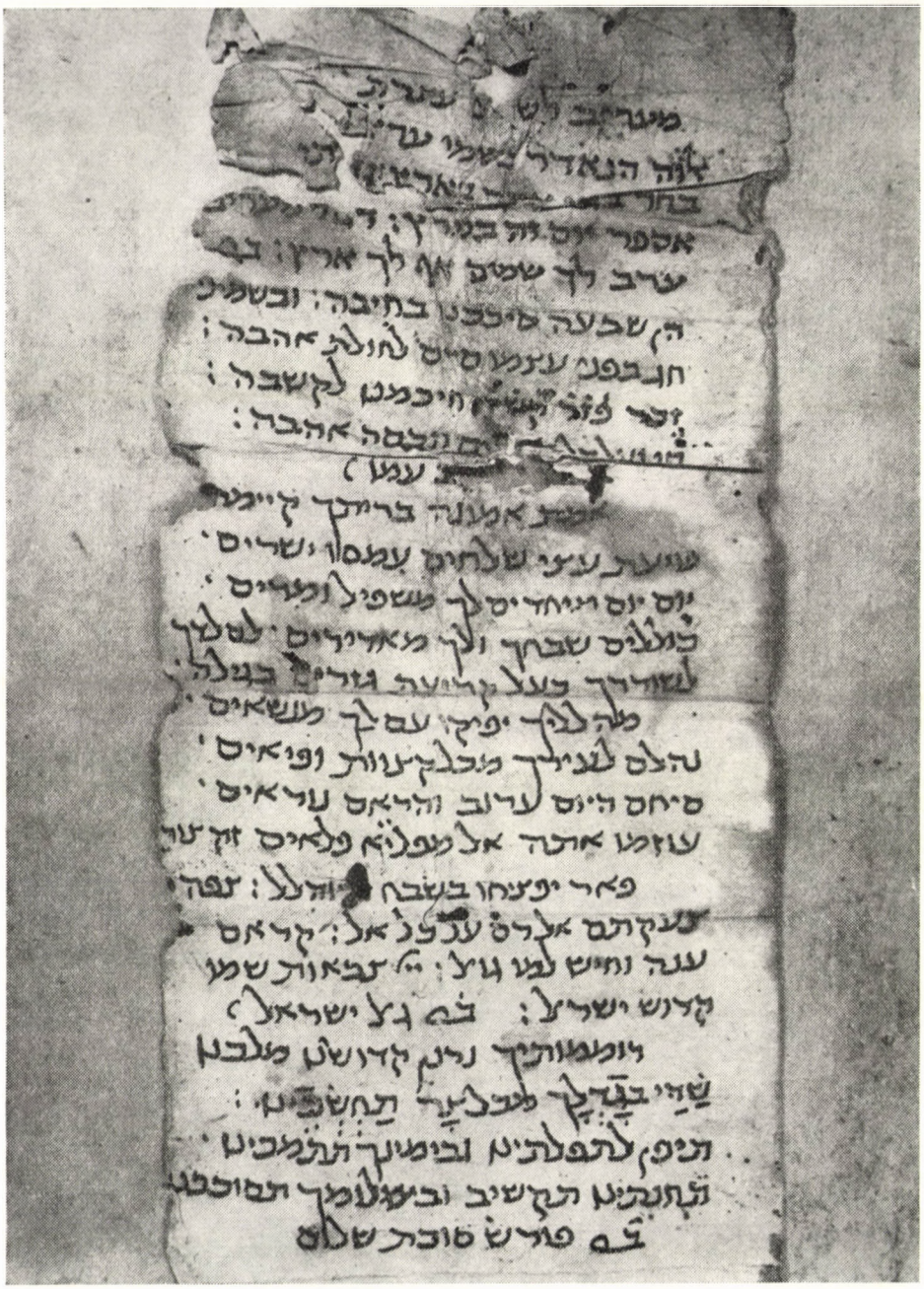
MS. Kaufmann, No. 168. p. 1b



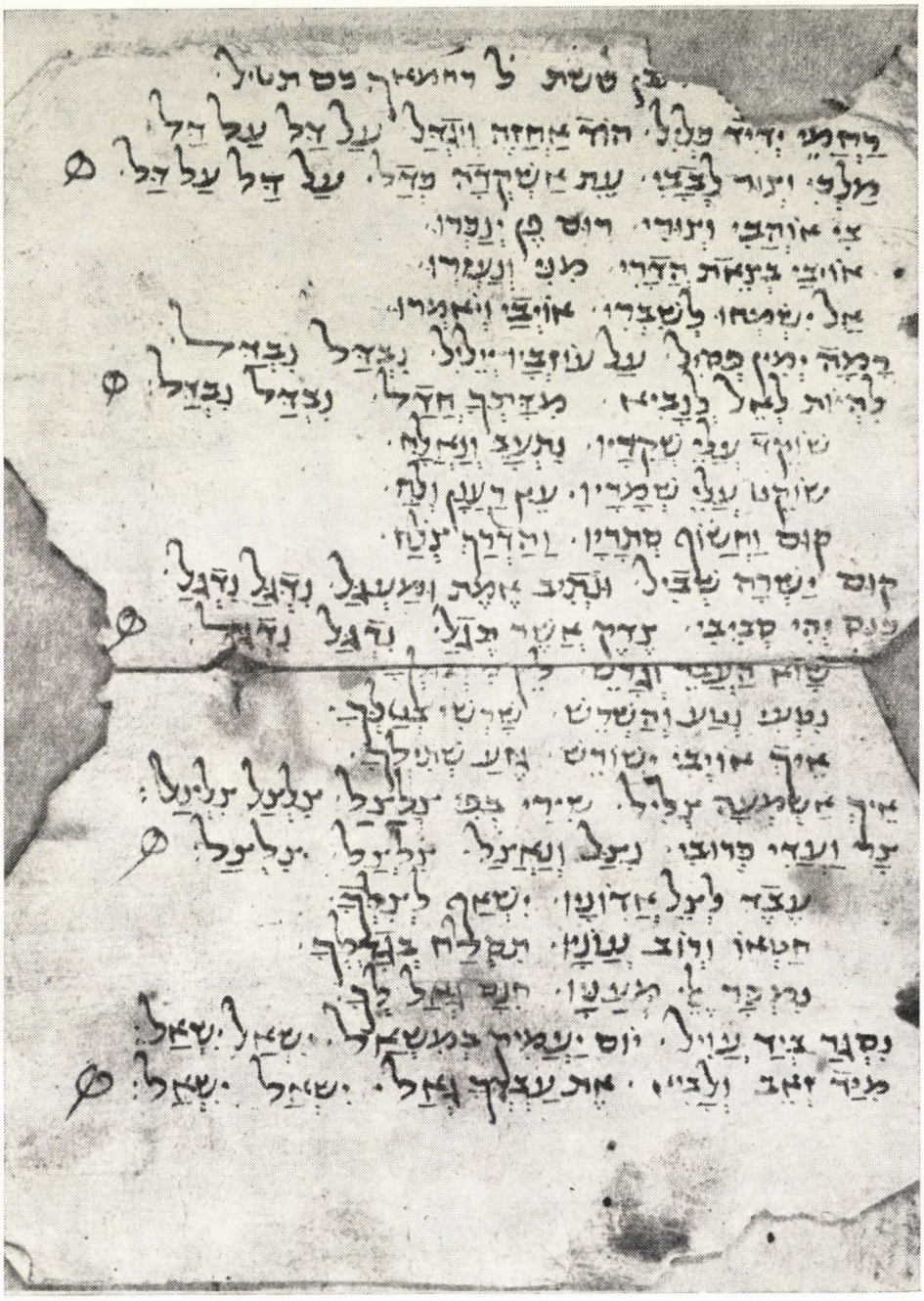
MS. Kaufmann, No. 168. p. 2a



MS. Kaufmann, No. 168. p. 2b



MS. Kaufmann. No. 170



MS. Kaufmann, No. 172. pp. 1b—2a

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MISCELLANEA

LES NOMS KALMOUKS DES JOURS DE LA SEMAINE

Bernhard Munkácsi, l'éminent savant hongrois a jadis consacré une notule à cette question. Il a bien vu que les noms kalmouks des jours de la semaine remontent en dernière analyse au système indien, mais il n'a pas su trancher s'il fallait les expliquer par un intermédiaire tibétain ou chinois.[1]

La terminologie des noms des jours de la semaine a, en effet, été véhiculée chez les Kalmouks aussi par le bouddhisme ainsi que l'a supposé B. Munkácsi. Quant à l'intermédiaire, le chinois, cette fois, il n'a rien à voir à l'affaire, et il n'est pas douteux que dans le kalmouk les noms en question proviennent directement du tibétain, soit sous leurs formes tibétaines, soit en traduction. Il s'agit en réalité des noms des sept planètes, qui, sous leur forme tibétaine, peuvent désigner à eux seuls les noms du jour, en traduction ils sont suivis du kalm. *ödör* «jour».

Voici les noms des jours de la semaine discutés par B. Munkácsi; pour chaque nom nous nous référons à ses équivalents dans les autres dialectes mongols.[2]

D i m a n c h e: *naran ödör* (Pozdn. 64); *narɳ ödɽ* (Ramst. 272); *narn* (*ödr*) (Bas. 43); *narn ödr* (désuet) (Ili. 81).

C'est la traduction du tib. *gza' ñi-ma* «Sunday» (Jäschke, Das) où *gza'* signifie «planète» et aussi «le jour correspondant de la semaine». Le tib. *gza'*

[1] Bernhard Munkácsi, *Kalmükische Namen der Wochentage*: *Kőrösi Csoma Archívum* I, 1925, pp. 412. Wl. Kotwicz, dans son travail important, intitulé *O chronologi mongolskiej*, dans *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* II, pp. 220—239, n'a pas discuté la question des jours de la semaine.

[2] B. Munkácsi, peu versé dans les choses tibétaines, tout en se référant au dictionnaire tibétain de Jäschke n'y a pas retrouvé les noms tibétains de la semaine. Abréviations: kalm. Pozdn. = kalmouk littéraire, d'après A. Pozdneev, *Kalmycko-russkij slovarj*, St. Pbg. 1911; Ramst. = G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmükisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935; Bas. = B. B. Basangov, *Russko-kalmyckij slovarj*, Êlista 1963; Ili. = I. K. Iliškin, *Russko-kalmyckij slovarj*, Moskva 1964; khal. Sanž. = khalkha, d'après *Russko-mongoljskij slovarj*, sostavili A. R. Damba-Rinčinê i G. S. Mupkin, pod redakciej prof. G. D.

répond au mong. cl. *gray, grag, garay, yaray* «a planet; day of a week; week» (Less. 387), «planète» (Kow. III, 2655).

Le terme tibétain a été maintenu, entre autres, par le khalkha sous la forme *njam* [*garag*] (Sanž. 84), *njam garig* (DL I, 96), *njam* (DLuv. 41).

L u n d i: *sara ödör* (Pozdn. 148); *sarŋ* (*ödr*) (Ramst. 344); *sarn* (*ödr*) (Bas. 221).

Traduit du tib. *gza' zla-ba*; *zla-ba* a le sens de «lune».

Le terme tibétain apparaît en kalm. sous sa forme parlée, comme *dawā* (Ramst. 80); cf. Jäschke, p. XVIII. La même forme est signalée en khalkha: *davaa* (Sanž. 500, DL II, 160) et *davá* (DLuv. 273). Cf. mong. lit. *daba, daba garay* «Monday» (Less. 211, 387).

M a r d i: *mingmar, mingmer* (Pozdn. 234); *miŋmā* (Ramst. 263); *migmr* (*ödr*) (Bas. 47).

Emprunté au tib. *mig-dmar* «the planet Mars»; «Tuesday». (Jä. 412, 492).

Le mot tibétain existe en khalkha sous une forme conforme à l'évolution phonétique de cette langue comme *mjagmar* (Sanž. 97; DL I, 120; DLuv. 45).

M e r c r e d i: *ülümǰi ödör* (Pozdn. 58); *ülŋdzı* (Ramst. 457); *ülmǰ* (Bas. 289); *ülmǰ ödr* (désuet) (Ili. 680).

Traduit du tib. *gza' lhag-ma* où *lhag-ma* signifie, en dehors de «1. Mercury; 2. Wednesday», encore «more, beyond; surpassing, exceeding, superior» (Jä. 600), répondant au mong. lit. *ülemǰi* «more, much, many, abundant, in abundance» (Less. 1005).

En khalkha nous avons la forme tibétaine *lchagva* (Sanž. 656; DL II, 550); *lhavag garag* (DLuv. 358).

J e u d i: *burbu* (Pozdn. 138); *burwə* et *pürwē* (Ramst. 63); *pürv* (*ödr*) (Bas. 330); *pürv ödr* (désuet) (Ili. 771).

Le mot kalmouk remonte au tib. *gza' phur-bu* «Thursday» (Jä. 492); *phur-bu* «the planet Jupiter; its day; Thursday» (Jä. 344).

Le terme tibétain est attesté dans le kalkha sous sa forme prononcée, dialectale: *purêv garag* (DLuv. 416).

V e n d r e d i: *basang* (Pozdn. 118); *bāsŋ* (*basŋ*) (Ramst. 37); *basn* (Bas. 247).

Le kalm. remonte, cette fois encore, au tibétain où l'on a *pa-saṅs* et *pa-wa-saṅs* «1. the planet Venus; 2. Friday» (Jä. 321; Das 777). Le kalm. *bāsŋ*. remonte évidemment au tib. *pa-wa-saṅs* et kalm. *basŋ* reflète le tib. *pa-saṅs*

En khalkha c'est la forme trisyllabique tibétaine qui réapparaît avec une voyelle longue en première syllabe: *baasan*[*g*] (Sanž. 558), *baasan* (DL

Sanžeeva, Moskva 1960; DL = C. Damdinsurên—A. Luvsandêndêv, *Russko-mongoljski slovarj*, I—II, Ulaanbaatar 1967, 1969; DLuv. = C. Damdin-Surên—Š. Luvsan-Vandan *Oros-mongol toli*, Ulán-Bátar 1942.

II, 325), *básan* (DLuv. 307).

En mong. lit. on peut signaler *bayasang*, *basang* «Friday» (Less. 90).

S a m e d i: *bembe* (Pozdn. 125); *bembə* (Ramst. 42); *bemba* (*ödr*) (Bas. 294).

Emprunt fait au tib. *spen-pa*, *gza' spen-pa* «1. the planet Saturn; the proper meaning is said to be a broom, hence the sign for it is somewhat resembling that implement; 2. Saturday» (Jä. 331; Das 800). Ramstedt veut rattacher le mot kalm., par un intermédiaire non déterminé, au skr. *bimba*, cependant cette étymologie n'est pas à retenir.

En khalkha, le tib. *spen-pa* apparaît comme *bjamba* (Sanž. 667; DL II, 579; DLuv. 365). Le khal. *bjamba* remonte à une forme **bimba*; pour le traitement phonétique, voir *mjagmar* < **migmar*.

Bour. *bimba garag* «samedi» (Čer., BRS 103).

Cf. encore mong. lit. *bimba*, *bimba gray* «Saturday» (Less. 105).

La réponse à la question posée par B. Munkácsi est donc simple et sans équivoque: les noms kalmouks des jours de la semaine s'expliquent en effet par le tibétain, et les noms tibétains eux-mêmes sont traduits de l'indien. Cependant ce n'est point le seul chemin que s'est fait le système indien pour arriver chez les Mongols: les termes sanskrits apparaissent dans la chronologie et dans l'astrologie des Mongols soit sous leurs formes proprement dites, soit, par l'intermédiaire de l'ouigour, sous les formes de leurs correspondants iraniens.

Le système indien, sous cet autre aspect, se présente dans le mongol comme suit.[3]

S o l e i l (d i m a n c h e): skr. *adityaḥ* «soleil» (Mvp. 3177); mong. lit. *adiy-a* «soleil; dimanche» (Kow. I, 70; Less. 11); KM *adity-a* (104b; BN 97b); Astr. Bp. I *adiy-a gray* (20a); kalm. *aďā* (< *adiya*) «dimanche» (Ramst. 1a); khal. *adjjaa*, id. (DL I, 96), *adjá*, id. (DLuv. 41); ouig. *adity-a* «soleil» (TT VII, p. 20, nr 10: 1), *adity-a garχ* (pp. 26, 27, n° 16: 8, n° 17: 15), *adty-a graχ* (p. 15, n° 4: 43), *adit*[*ya*] *graχ* (pp. 15—16, n° 4: 43, 70), *aṭiḏy-a* [*graχ*] (p. 22, n° 13: 26), *adity-a* «dimanche» (pp. 16—17, n° 5: 2, 5, 8, 12, 15, 20, 25, 28, 32, 41, 46, 49, 51, 58, 65); tib. *ñi-ma*.

L u n e (l u n d i): skr. *somaḥ* «Lune» (Mvp. 3178); mong. lit. *somay-a* «lune» (Kow. II, 1403), *sumiy-a*, *sumay-a* «moon; Monday (obs.)» (Less. 136); KM *somiy-a* 104b; BM 97b); astr. Bp. I *somiy-a gray* (20b); khal. *sum'jaa* «lundi» (DL II, 160), *sum'já* (DLuv. 273); ouig. *soma* «lune» (p. 19, n° 6: 13;

[3] Abréviations: KM = L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé*, Budapest 1942—1944; BN = L. Ligeti, *Le Kanǰur mongol imprimé dans la Bibliothèque Nationale*: *Journ. As.*, année 1965, pp. 329—339; Astr. Bp. I = traité astrologique de Budapest = L. Ligeti, *Preklasszikus emlékek* 3: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár, Textes préclassiques* 3, dans *Recueil des Monuments de la Langue Mongole*, vol. V, Budapest 1967, pp. 172—179; ouig. TT VII = G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte* VII, Berlin 1936.

p. 20, n° 10: 1), *soma garχ* (p. 11, n° 4: 49), *soma graχ* (p. 22, n° 13: 41), *som-a garχ* (p. 26, n° 16: 9); tib. *zla-ba*.

M a r s (m a r d i): skr. *aṅgārakaḥ* «Mars» (Mvp. 3179); mong. lit. *anggaray* «nom de la planète de Mars; mardi» (Kow. I, 18); *angyaray*, id. (Less. 44); KM *anggaray* (104b; BN 97b), Astr. Bp. I *anggaray gray* (21a); khal. *angarag* «mardi» (DL I, 119; DLuv. 45); ouig. *angar-ak* «Mars» (p. 20, n° 10: 1), *angarak* (p. 14, n° 4: 19), *angarak graχ* (p. 22, n° 13: 31), *anggarak garχ* (p. 26, n° 16: 10); tib. *mig-dmar*.

M e r c u r e (m e r c r e d i): skr. *budhaḥ* «Mercure» (Mvp. 3180); mong. lit. *buḍ*, *bud* «planète de Mercure» (Kow. II, 1173), *bud* «the planete Mercury; Wednesday (obs.)» (Less. 129); KM *bud* (104b; BN 97b), Astr. Bp. I *bud gray* (21b); khal. *bud* «mercredi» (DL II, 550), *bùd garχ* (p. 14, n° 4: 25, 27; p. 25, n° 15: 2; p. 26, n° 16: 11), *bud* «mercredi» (p. 19, n° 7: 2); tib. *lhag-ma*.

J u p i t e r (j e u d i): skr. *brhaspatiḥ* «Jupiter» (Mvp. 3181); mong. lit. *briqasbadi* «planète de Jupiter» (Kow. II, 1266), *barχasbadi* «the planet Jupiter; Thursday (obs.) (Less. 90); KM *braqasbadi* (98b), *braqasabadi* (BN 98b); Astr. Bp. I *braqasbadi gray* (21b); tib. *phur-bu . . . . br-ha-spa-ti*, mong. *yadasun yaray braqasbadi* (Sumatiratna II, 98); tib. *phur-bu*, mong. *pra-ha-wa-ti* (Ye-šes rdo-rje, p. 345); ouig. *barχasivaḍi garχ* «Jupiter» (p. 25, n° 15: 9), *barχasuvaḍi garχ* (p. 26, n° 16: 12), *braχasvaḍi garχ* (p. 15, n° 4: 30), *braχsivaḍi* (*graχ*) (p. 18, n° 6: 3), *braχsvaḍi* (p. 20, n° 10: 2; p. 22, n° 13: 32), [*bra*]*χsvati* (p. 27, n° 17: 12); tib. *phur-bu*.

V é n u s (v e n d r e d i): skr. *sukraḥ* «Vénus» (Mvp. 3182); mong. lit. *šugr-a* «planète de Vénus» (Kow. II, 1542), *suḳar-a* «the planet Venus; Friday (obs.)» (Less. 736); KM *Šugir-a* (98b), Astr. Bp. I *Šugir-a gray* (22a); tib. *u-ša-nā . . . pa-saṅs . . . šu-kra*, mong. *basang*, *bawasang*, *sugra* (Sumatiratna II, 9); khal. *sugar* «vendredi» (DL II, 325; DLuv. 307); ouig. *šükür* «Vénus» (p. 20, n° 10: 2), *šụkür graχ* (p. 22, n° 13: 22), *šụkür garχ* (p. 26, n° 16: 12; p. 27, n° 17: 20), *šụkür* lire *šukur*; tib. *pa*(*-wa*)*-saṅs*.

S a t u r n e (s a m e d i): skr. *śanāiścaraḥ* «Saturne» (Mvp. 3183); mong. lit. *saničar* «Saturne ou Sani (fils du soleil et de Tchhâyâ)» (Kow. II, 1285), «the planet Saturn; Saturday (obs.)» (Less. 673); KM *Sanačar* (98b)[4], *Saničar* (BN 98b); Astr. Bp. I *Saničir* (23a); tib. *spen-pa . . . ša-nai-šča-ra*, mong.

[4] La même version de sept planètes, mais dans une autre rédaction, se retrouve dans un manuscrit publié par A. Mostaert, *Manuel of Mongolian Astrology and Divination*, with Critical Introduction (An Editor's Foreword by F. W. Cleaves), dans Harvard-Yenching Institute, *Scripta Mongolica* IV (Cambridge Mass. 1969), pp. 9—11 et 87—90. Dans la version publiée par Mostaert les noms d'origine indienne des planètes sont toutefois passés sous silence, ici ils sont appelés: *Naran odun*, *Saran odun*, *Γal odun*, *Usun odun*, *Modun odun*, *Altan odun*, *Siroi odun*. La comparaison des deux versions est d'ailleurs fort instructive.

spenpa anu šaniščar-a (Sumatiratna II, 56); tib. *spen-pa*, mong. *ša-ni-šča-ra* (Ye-šes rdo-rje, p. 333); khal. *sančir* «samedi» (Sanž. 667; DL II, 579; DLuv. 365); ouig. *saničar* «Saturne» (p. 20, n° 10: 3), *saničar graχ* (pp. 14, 15, n° 4: 4, 38; p. 22, n° 13: 12), *saničar garχ* (p. 27, n° 17: 6), *šaniščar garχ* (p. 26, n° 16: 13), tib. *spen-pa*.

Les termes mongols[5] examinés plus haut désignaient et continuent à désigner avant tout les sept planètes. Dans les documents écrits, remontant à des modèles préclassiques, ainsi que dans certains dialectes ils servent à rendre, du moins partiellement, les noms des jours de la semaine; il convient de faire remarquer qu'aujourd'hui ces noms sont ici comme là désuets, c'est-à-dire en voie de disparition.

Les formes mongoles de certains noms (*adiy-a*, *somay-a*, *sumiy-a*, *šugir-a*, *šanaiščar-a*) posent des problèmes spéciaux, d'autres (*anggaray*, *bud*, *saničar*) renvoient à un intermédiaire ouigour.

Quant aux noms ouigours, eux aussi, désignent en règle générale, les dénominations des planètes et actuellement on n'a que quelques textes fragmentaires où ils figurent au sens des noms de la semaine. Ainsi, le texte n° 5, fragment d'un calendrier pour 1367 et 1368, nous fournit le nom du dimanche, un autre fragment, le n° 7, non daté, le nom du mercredi. Enfin on a établi que dans le n° 4, fragment du calendrier pour 1202, le premier jour de chaque mois est défini par une planète, et que ces planètes reflètent exactement les mêmes jours auxquels ils correspondent dans le système hebdomadaire.[6]

[5] On peut toutefois signaler, dans les langues mongoles, plusieurs nomenclatures hebdomadaires indépendantes du système indien. Ainsi, dans le kalm., plus exactement dans le torgoute, nous avons pour «dimanche» *kišiG*, mot signifiant en même temps «bonheur» (cf. Ramst. 233)), dans le khal. on a enregistré, entre autres, *gišig ȯdȯr* (DLuv. 41), *chišig ȯdȯr* (Luv., MRS 527). Nous avons encore kalm. *dolan chongin sän ödr* «dimanche» (Bas. 81; Ili. 81); kalm. *sajn ȯdȯr*, *bütên sajn ȯdȯr* «dimanche» (DL I, 98), *sajn ödör*, id. (DLuv. 41), *chagas sajn ödör* «samedi» (DL 160). Parfois les jours de la semaine sont numérotés: kalm. *dolan ödrin tavdgač ödr* «vendredi» (Ili. 374); khal. *neg-dêch ȯdȯr* «lundi» (DL II, 160), *chojerdoch ȯdȯr* «mardi» (I, 110), *dȯrȯvdêch ȯdȯr* «jeudi» (II, 781), *tav-dachi ȯdȯr* «vendredi» (II, 325), *zurgaan-dachi ȯdȯr* «samedi» (II, 579); bour. *garagaj nêgên* «dimanche» (Čer., BRS, 72; *garag* «jour de la semaine»), *g. chojer* «lundi» (453), *g. gurban* «mardi» (81), *g. dürbên* «mercredi» (625), *g. taban* «jeudi» (720), *g. zurgaan* «vendredi» (514), *g. doloon* «samedi» (635). Enfin dans le kalmouk et dans le bouriate, les noms de la semaine sont aussi connus sous les formes empruntées au russe: kalm. *voskresenj* «dimanche» (Ili. 81), *ponedeljnik* «lundi» (500), *vtornik* «mardi» (91), *sreda* «mercredi» (680), *četverg* «jeudi» (771), *pjatnic* «vendredi» (574) *subbot* «samedi» (691); bour. *voskreseni* (Čer., *RBS* 72), *ponedeljnik* (453), *vtornik* (81), *sreda* (625), *četverg* (720), *pjatnica* (514), *subboto* (638).

[6] G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte* VII, p. 60.

Les noms ouigours reproduisent, cette fois encore, les noms indiens par un intermédiaire iranien; tels sont *angarak*, *bud*, *šukur*, *saničar*, *šaniščar*. L'orthographe *anggarak*, avec son *-gg-* nous reporte à l'époque mongole; pour la même chronologie milite le fait que le fragment provient d'un livre xylographique.

Les textes ouigours de l'époque mongole: traductions, oeuvres littéraires indépendantes, documents ecclésiastiques et séculiers mériteraient une monographie.

Louis Ligeti

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IN MEMORIAM

VILMOS DIÓSZEGI

1923—1972

Stumm und bestürzt umstanden wir das Grab, das viel zu früh unseren Kollegen, den Orientalisten und Ethnologen V. Diószegi in der Blüte seiner Schaffenskraft verschlungen hatte. Das Leben des außerordentlich pflichtbewußten Forschers war nach einer langen und schweren Krankheit am 22. Juli 1972 zu Ende gegangen, bevor er noch die sich gesetzten wissenschaftlichen Ziele hätte erreichen können.

V. Diószegi war am 2. Mai 1923 in Budapest geboren. Schon das Universitätsstudium forderte von ihm eine große Opferbereitschaft, und bereits damals zeigte es sich, daß er seinen Kräften immer mehr zutraute als menschlich möglich war. Ungeachtet der Schwierigkeiten der Kriegs- und Nachkriegsjahre stürzte er sich mit einer Art Fanatismus auf das Studium der mandschu-tungusischen, der türkischen, der mongolischen Philologie unter der Anleitung der Professoren L. Ligeti und J. Németh, außerdem hörte er auch Vorlesungen über das Chinesische, der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen.

Im Besitz von so umfangreichen Kenntnissen begann er sehr rasch zu publizieren. Im Jahre 1947, in dem er auch sein Doktorexamen ablegte, erschienen von ihm folgende fünf Arbeiten: *Uráli halnevek mandzsu-tunguz kapcsolatai* [Die mandschu-tungusischen Beziehungen der uralischen Fischnamen] (*Magyar Nyelv* [Ungarische Sprache] XLIII, 1947, S. 35—38); *Samán* [Das Wort Schaman] (a.a.O., S. 211—212); *Egy magyar mandzsu-tunguz kutató* [Ein ungarischer Erforscher der mandschu-tungusischen Sprachen] (*Ethnographia* LVIII, 1947, S. 144—146, über Benedek Baráthosi-Balog); dann *Le principe thérapeutique des Golds* (a.a.O., S. 217—229) und *Remarques sur la phonétique des mots d'origine russe de la langue tongouse* (*Études Slaves et Roumaines* I, 1948, S. 173—177.

Schon in diesen seinen ersten Arbeiten traten Themen auf, die auch später im Zentrum seines Schaffens standen. Er gehörte nämlich nicht zu den Forschern, bei denen die ersten Jahre die Jahre des Suchens und Experimentierens sind. Im Mittelpunkt seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit stand die Erforschung des Schamanismus der sibirischen und innerasiatischen Völker und der landnehmenden Ungarn in historischer Sicht, mit Fragen der Ethnogenese und interethnischen Berührungen dieser Völker verbunden. Obwohl er im Gebiet der Ethnologie tätig war, nahm er auch einen ganz spezifischen Platz in der ungarischen Orientalistik ein, nicht nur wegen seiner orientalistischen Bildung. Sein wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk fügt sich der «Budapester Schule» an, die es immer für wesentlich hielt, ihre Forschungen auch in den Randgebieten der orientalischen Philologie durchzuführen. So haben die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse, Teilergebnisse und die Arbeitsmethode Diószegis auch für die Orientalistik eine Bedeutung, auch wenn die Arbeit ethnologische Ziele verfolgte. Seine Tätigkeit kann also von der Ethnologie und Religionsforschung, wie von der Orientalistik, bzw. Altaistik aus gewertet werden. Sei es mir gestattet, sie hier nur vom Gesichtspunkt der Orientalistik aus zu würdigen.

Als Orientalist war V. Diószegi in erster Linie Mandschu-tungusist, das zeigt sich schon in seinen frühen Arbeiten: *Razvitie odnogo vida celyteljnych amuletov u goljdov* (*Folia Ethnographica* I, 1949, S. 176—204). Später kehrt er noch zu dieser Frage zurück in *Die Drei-Stufen-Amulette der Nanajen* (*Golden*) (*Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker*, Budapest 1963, S. 415—436; auch in englischer Sprache: *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia*, Budapest 1968, S. 387—405). Hierher gehören auch die Arbeit *Tunguso-manjčžurskoe zerkalo šamana* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* I, 1951, S. 359—383), und zwei eigentlich zusammengehörende Studien über den mongolischen, genauer burjatischen Ursprung ewenkischer Schamanen-Gegenstände (*The Origins of the Evenki «Shaman-Mask» of Transbaikalia*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX, 1967, S. 171—201, und *The Origin of the Evenki Shamanic Instruments* (*Stick, Knout*) *of Transbaikalia*: *Acta Ethn. Hung.* XVII, 1968, S. 265—311), in denen er nicht nur einen Beitrag zur genaueren Bestimmung der Bedeutung, und zur Etymologie vieler ewenkischer Wörter und Schamanen-Fachausdrücke leistet, sondern auch den kulturellen und historischen Hintergrund dieser Stämme beleuchtet. Ganz der Ethnogenese der nanaischen Sippe Samar und der negidalischen Samagir ist die ausgezeichnete Arbeit *Le problème de l'ethnogenèse des Samaghirs* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* III, 1953, S. 33—44) gewidmet. Neue Erklärungen und Übersetzungen der von Rudnev gesammelten mandschurischen und von Baráthosi-Balog aufgezeichneten nanaischen Schamanenlieder gibt er in *Schamanenlieder der Mandschu* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XI, 1960, S. 89—104) und in *A Nanai Shaman Song* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XXV, 1972, S. 115—127). Er hatte auch noch weitere Publikationen von Schamanenliedern geplant.

Immer war seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Fragen der Mandschu-tungusistik gerichtet. Davon zeugen auch seine zahlreichen Besprechungen und Übersetzungen. Wenn bei orientalistischen Beratungen vom Mandschu-Tungusischen die Rede war, konnten wir stets seiner lebhaften und wertvollen Teilnahme sicher sein. Die noch unentwickelten ungarischen mandschu-tungusischen Forschungen werden den Verlust am schwersten verschmerzen.

Die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungsreisen bei den südsibirischen Türkstämmen und später in Burjatien und in der Mongolei bereicherten auch seine orientalistische Tätigkeit: er sammelte nicht nur die türkischen, bzw. mongolischen Termini der Erscheinungen des Schamanismus, sondern auch eine Vielzahl von Schamanenliedern und Texten. Diese gaben ihm ein unvergleichliches Hilfsmittel zum Erschließen des Sinnes früher schon publizierter, aber fehlerhaft ausgelegter Schamanentexte. Zu diesen Arbeiten gehören z. B. *Ethnogenetic Aspects of Darkhat Shamanism* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XVI, 1963, S. 55—81), wo er die ethnogenetischen Zusammenhänge der Darchaten der Nordmongolei mit den Tuwinern beweist, sowie die Studien *Problems of Mongolian Shamanism* (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* X, 1961, S. 195—206) und *Songs of Bulagat Buriat Shamans* (*Mongolian Studies*, Budapest 1970, S. 103—117). Die mongolische Terminologie des Schamanismus wird auch in seinen zwei bereits erwähnten Arbeiten behandelt (*The Origin of the Evenki «Shaman-Mask»*, und *The Origin of the Evenki Shamanic Instruments*).

Ein beliebtes Feld seiner Tätigkeit war das Studium der südsibirischen Türkstämme. Hier verbinden sich seine Ergebnisse in der Erforschung des Schamanismus vielleicht am engsten mit der Klärung der Abstammungsprobleme dieser heute türkisch sprechenden Stämme, z. B. *Der Werdegang zum Schamanen bei den nordöstlichen Sojoten* (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* VIII, 1959, S. 269—291), *Tuva Shamanism: Intraethnic Differences and Interethnic Analogies* (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* XI, 1962, S. 143—190), *How to Become a Shaman among the Sagais* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XV, 1962, S. 87—96), *Denkmäler der samojedischen Kultur im Schamanismus der ostsajanischen Völker* (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* XII, 1963, S. 139—178), und *Zum Problem der ethnischen Homogenität des tofischen*

(*karagassischen*) *Schamanismus* (*Glaubenswelt und Folklore*, S. 261—357; auch englisch in *Popular Beliefs*, S. 239—329). Proben aus seiner interessanten türkischen Schamanentext-Sammlung finden wir in *Libation Songs of the Altaic Turcs* (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* XIX, 1970, S. 95—106).

Die Kenntnis der mandschu-tungusischen, der mongolischen, sowie der türkischen Sprachen befähigte ihn, die Frage des Schamanismus der sibirischen und innerasiatischen Völker mit völlig anderen Methoden zu studieren, als das in den bisherigen Schamanen-Forschungen üblich war. Diese seine Stärke zeigte sich in Arbeiten, die allgemeine Fragen des Schamanismus und seine historischen Schichten erörterten, z. B. *K voprosu o borjbe šamanov v obraze životnych* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* II, 1952, S. 304—316).

Seine wissenschaftlichen Pläne zur Erforschung des Schamanismus in der Geschichte der sibirischen und innerasiatischen Völker äußerten sich am klarsten, als die orientalistische Komission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften vor zwei Jahren eine Diskussion über die Probleme der Orientalistik und Religionsgeschichte abhielt, wo Diószegi die Fragen und Aufgaben der Schamanismusforschung vorlegte. Mit Nachdruck sprach er damals von dem reichen altaischen Lieder- und Textmaterial des von ihm geschaffenen «Schamanenglaubens-Archivs» und bat um die Mitarbeit der Orientalisten. Er plante auch eine historische Erweiterung seines Schamanenglaubens-Archivs, wobei er zur Aufarbeitung der bezüglichen Angaben historischer Quellen auch auf eine Zusammenarbeit mit den Orientalisten hoffte. Diese Bitten und Hoffnungen müssen wir jetzt als seinen letzten Willen ansehen.

Zum Porträt der wissenschaftlichen Persönlichkeit V. Diószegis gehörte auch, daß er die Erforschung des Schamanenglaubens, bzw. seiner Überreste in der ungarischen Volkskultur, ferner die Pflege der geschichte der ungarischen Schamanismusforschung immer für eine Ehrenaufgabe hielt, und diese Pflicht auch stets erfüllte, s. besonders seine Bücher *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben* [Überreste des Schamanismus in der ungarischen Volkskultur] (Budapest, 1958) und *A pogány magyarok hitvilága* [Die Glaubenswelt der heidnischen Ungarn] (*Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* [Kőrösi-Csoma-Kleinbibliothek] 4, Budapest, 1967)., und den Aufsatz *Hungarian Contributions to the Study of Shamanism* (*Studia ethnographica et folkloristica in honorem Béla Gunda*: *Műveltség és Hagyomány* [Kultur und Tradition] XIII—XIV, Debrecen 1971, S. 553—556).

Der Tod raffte V. Diószegi hinweg, bevor er seine Forschungen zur souveränen Vollständigkeit hätte bringen können. Nicht nur seine weiteren Publikationen in Zeitschriften und bei der Auswertung der Schätze seines Archivs werden fehlen, fehlen wird V. Diószegi auch aus der Kette der Forschungstätigkeit der Zeitgenossen. Schwer wird es zu verschmerzen sein, daß wir bei Besprechungen und Diskussionen auf seine Kentnisse, Bemerkungen, auf seine Begeisterung verzichten müssen. Für uns, Kollegen ist das an seinem frühen Dahinscheiden am schmerzlichsten.

Vergessen können wir ihn nie.

Käthe U. Kőhalmi

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CHRONICA

THE KŐRÖSI CSOMA SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF THE SECOND TRIENNIUM

The recent dozen or so ordinary meetings of the Society, prior to the first general assembly meeting for the re-election of officials (April 11th, 1972), made successful efforts to build a firm bridge between traditional Oriental studies, *i.e.* the Hungarian tradition in the Oriental field of scholarly activities, and other fields and branches of sciences, searching for different other aspects of Oriental culture and cultural history. The special meetings as well as the recent assembly meeting completed by significant elements the balance of our double task: to guard the eminent tradition and to open up interdisciplinary prospects for both scholars and the public.

At the first ordinary meeting, on January 12th, 1971, general secretary G. Kara illuminated a few inevitable or even regular contacts and interrelations of «Folklore, literature and schematism», by analyzing the oral art of an Inner-Mongolian bard, deceased 12 years earlier.

On February 16th, the second ordinary meeting was «A festive meeting dedicated to the commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the foundation of Iranian State». On this occasion E. Kazanlar gave a report about the wide-ranging historical and cultural connections of the «Iranian ritual puppet-theatre».

«The monuments of Turkish architecture in Hungary» were chosen as a topic by J. Molnár for his lecture held at the third ordinary meeting, on March 16th. The Turkish architectural monuments of 16th—17th century Hungary, occupied by the Ottoman Empire for more than one and a half century, their architectural and cultural-historical characteristics as well as their types were illustrated by pictures and projected slides.

On the same day, March 16th, a committee meeting pronounced judgements on admission applications of new members of the Society, and passed a resolution on the organization of a symposium in 1973 on the complex problems of Hungarian prehistory. As is usual in this period of the year, the decisions concerned the preparation for the assembly meeting.

The session of the assembly meeting of the year, April 13th, 1971, was introduced by an oral and pictorial presentation of folk-art and culture in the Tunesian North-Africa by I. Katona. His lecture was followed by general secretary G. Kara's annual report on the scholarly achievements of the Society in the year since the last assembly meeting. After the financial report given by L. Lőrincz and accepted by the meeting, seven foreign scholars were recommanded by president Ligeti to be elected by the assembly as honorary members of the Society. All of them, i.e. Nikolai Aleksandrovič Baskakov, Turcologist, researcher in the Linguistic Institute of the Soviet Union; Sir Gerard Clauson, Altaist, a member of the Board of Directors of London University, England; Tayyib Gökbilgin, Turcologist, professor in history of Ankara University, Turkey; Louis Hambis, Sinologist, professor of the Collège de France; Owen Lattimore,

Sino-Mongolist, professor emeritus of the University of Leeds, England and a member of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences; Jan Reychman, Turcologist, professor of the University in Warsaw, Poland; and Denis Sinor, Altaist, professor of the Indiana University, U.S.A. were unanimously accepted by the assembly to be honoured by the membership of the Society. At the end of the meeting the hope was expressed in the president's concluding words that the Society's successful activities will continue in the future.

The next ordinary meeting, the fourth in the year, on May 18th, acquainted the audience with a XVIIth century map with Hungarian runiform script titles from Nagyszombat. The guide of the meeting S. Vásáry set forth a few interesting details of «The afterlife of the old Hungarian runiform script».

A world-traveller motif of cultural history was traced down to its Egyptian sources at the fifth ordinary meeting, on June 15th, by L. Fóti. The lecture «Pyramid and labyrinth» served as «A contribution to the problem of the Egyptian labyrinth».

In the last week of the two month long summer holidays, an extraordinary session of the Society was held in the university town of Szeged, in the aula of the József Attila University, on August 25th, as a part of the programme of the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 22nd—28th August, 1971, Szeged. The session was centered on a celebration of the honorary members elected by the recent assembly meeting; their merits were assessed by Hungarian experts in the fields concerned. The foreign scholars present, *i.e.* Professors Sir Gerard Clauson, Tayyib Gökbilgin, Owen Lattimore and Denis Sinor were handed over personally their honorary membership diplomas by President Ligeti. N. A. Baskakov's diploma was taken over by a colleague of his, A. N. Kononov, a previously elected honorary member of the Society.

Two weeks later, the sixth ordinary meeting, on September 14th, heard a travel report by secretary G. Bethlenfalvy on his visit «At the tomb of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös» during his recent study trip in India and Nepal.

On the same day, September 14th, the second committee meeting of the year made decisions on future publications of the Society and on the proposals concerning the new honorary members to be elected. Finally, the new membership applications were discussed.

An intricate old topic of Hungarian Oriental studies: «Barbarians in the history of Inner Asia», *i.e.* different ethnic groups and cultural fields in regular historical collision in Asia were treated by Denis Sinor, Indiana University, U.S.A. during his visit to Hungary, at the seventh ordinary meeting, on October 12th.

To honour the visit of another guest, the Society held its second special meeting of the year on November 19th. On this occasion Professor Omer Asim Aksoy gave a lecture on the «Achievements of the language reform in Turkey», a field in which he has been long engaged.

The ordinary meeting of the month, the eighth in the year, November 16th, was given a memorable «Japanese atmosphere» by the journalist A. Timár with his «Travel report with projected slides».

At the concluding, ninth ordinary meeting, December 14th, A. Róna-Tas raised the interesting and thorny problem: «Who used the Turkish runic script before the Turks?» He elucidated several instructive data and developed his own hypotheses concerning the prehistory of the Turkish runic script. His lecture aroused a lively debate.

A similar ethnic sphere and territory were reviewed by Käthe U. Kőhalmi from the viewpoint of the «Weapons and periods on the steppe», at the first ordinary meeting of the year 1972, January 11th. The lecturer, currently writing a book on the same subject, gave an account, illustrated with projected slides, of the main phases and stations

of the weapon history of the livestock-breeder, militarily organized pasturing societies.

The related problems were considered also from the special angle of Hungarian prehistory, *i.e.* from the viewpoint of the history prior to Magyar tribes' conquest of Hungary, and suggestions were made in preparation for the symposium of prehistory to be held in 1973, by the committee meeting held on the same day, January 11th. As a preparation of the general meeting for the re-election of officials, the meeting set up a committee presided over by university docent T. Scher, for making proposals concerning the re-election of the Society's officials.

The subsequent ordinary meeting, the second in the year, February 8th, was presented by an expert of Ancient Near Eastern philology E. Gaál a review of the international and intercultural relations of the famous tale «Aladdin and the miraculous lamp» from the collection of tales «The Thousand and One Nights».

At the third ordinary meeting, the last meeting of the first triennium of the Society, March 7th, L. Lőrincz examined the possibility of applying the Western literary genres to Eastern literature, especially to epics, under the title «Eastern genres in a Westerner's view (The beginnings of the Mongolian novel)».

After three years of successful activity, the Kőrösi Csoma Society held its annual assembly meeting, being at the same time the first general meeting for the re-election of officials, on the anniversary day of the death of the great eponym of the Society, April 11th. As a prelude, two contributions were presented concerning Alexander Csoma de Kőrös: a contemporary offspring of the family, A. Gecse disclosed a few details from the «Documents of the family Csoma concerning Alexander Csoma de Kőrös»; and J. Terjék appreciated «Alexander Csoma, the Tibetist». The next item of the agenda, general secretary G. Kara's report, reviewing the Society's results and tasks was enlarged on this occasion so as to serve as a retrospective evaluation of the Society's life and carreer. He acknowledged the merits of both the scholarly organizers and the active members in achieving the main aims of the Society, included in the document of foundation to the effect that the Society would initiate, support and publish scientific research in Oriental fields for the benefit of wide circles interested in it. The Society's members have been invited to 37 lectures or travel reports since the first assembly meeting; they could obtain an impressive mass of information about divergent fields of research through *viva voce* reports and were enabled to put informal questions and to receive expert answers, even if debate was sometimes limited by lack of time. Further on the general secretary's report gave an account of the various channels through which the Society can get into contact with its friends or future members. Mention was made first of all about the long-standing plan of the Society to publish a learned periodical in Hungarian. As this plan was endorsed by Department I of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, only temporary financial difficulties are responsible for the delay of the first volume of those writings which would keep informed Orientalists and non-Orientalists, scholars of other social sciences or generally those interested in the recent results of Oriental research. A few publications of the Society, reviewed in the report — documents of the early history of Hungarian Oriental studies; those of the Mongolian revolution — represent but a promising beginning.

After G. Kara's report, enumerating those foreign scholars who had already been elected honorary members of the Society, three new scholars were introduced to the members present: Hasan Eren, Turcologist, professor of Ankara University, Turkey; Tadeusz Lewicki, expert of Arabic, Persian and Hebraic historical philology, Professor of the University of Cracow, President of the Oriental Committee of the Academy of Sciences of Poland; and Vera Ivanovna Cincius, Altaist, expert of Manchu-Tungusian languages, professor in the Pedagogičeskij Institut of Leningrad, researcher in the Linguistic Insti-

tute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. All three of them were elected by the assembly unanimously.

The re-election of officials followed the financial report, submitted by L. Lőrincz and accepted by the assembly. A Special Election Committee, headed by L. Kákosy, accepted the list of officials prepared by the Committee appointed earlier, and distributed the list in question to every present member of the Society, who could thus correct the list in case they disapproved any candidate or in case if they had different wishes concerning the composition of future officials. As it turned out from the result of the counting of votes, the members of the society approved by an overwhelming majority the present board of leading officials of the Society and they re-elected president L. Ligeti, vice-presidents B. Csongor and K. Czeglédy, general secretary G. Kara, secretary G. Bethlenfalvy, financial secretary L. Lőrincz, the members of the auditing commission L. Bese, A. Józsa, J. Káldy Nagy and recording secretary Hilda Ecsedy. Each of them should act — as president Ligeti said in his concluding speech — so as to be equal to the confidence of the assembly as well as to the noble aims of the Society in its second triennium.

Hilda Ecsedy

LAMAIST STUDIES IN HUNGARY*

Throughout the long history of the Hungarian Oriental studies our researchers have never devoted sufficient attention to Buddhism, but since Inner-Asian philology in this country has undergone considerable development those studying it have more and more come to deal with questions of Lamaism in the course of their research. Therefore it seems timely and necessary to survey the tasks we are confronted with this field. For a better understanding of the present stage let us see what Lamaism has achieved so far.

Lamaism, a kind of Buddhism, started long ago with such an outstanding name as Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, who made the first Tibetan-English dictionary as well as the well known Tibetan grammar and also laid the foundations for a history of Lamaist literature at the beginning of the 19th century. Scholars following Csoma de Kőrös turned to the «original» sources of Buddhism and chose to study the Buddhism of India which was a most obvious choice as the decisive role India in the birth and history of Buddhism is beyond question. This period is characterized by exceptional productivity, a skilful application of exact philological methods and a sure knowledge of the language, as a result of which the main characteristics of Buddhism have been, by and large, outlined. Every noteworthy source was published in critical editions provided with appropriate translations and philological notes. The wide-ranging and meticulous philological work at the turn of the century yielded fundamental works in both the fields of literary and religious history (e.g. M. Walleser, *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*; etc.) accompanied by a high level popularizing literature (e.g. H. Glasenapp's work).

During this period Lamaism was seen as an auxiliary discipline, especially in those cases when in want of the original Sanskrit sources Tibetan translations were available (e.g. the indologist, M. Walleser on *Mādhyamika* system). Lamaism was long prevented from developing into a separate discipline by the strongly held fallacy that it was hardly more than a deteriorated, chaotic form of Buddhism, the valuable core of which had already been dealt with in the analysis of Indian Buddhism. The Tibetan and Mongolian research into Lamaism started only in the early 20th century and this belated begin-

* This paper was read at a discussion of the Orientalist Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 16th February, 1971.

ning has left its mark on the present structure. They were, consequently, mostly of philological character and have remained so, generally speaking. Lamaists still have to go without a comprehensive history of Lamaism mostly because of the immense copiousness and inaccessibility of the lama monastery libraries. Instead they have catalogues comprising the material and different text publications as well as historical text analyses to rely on. The Hungarian Lamaist studies were started in this latter field by the compilation of a descriptive catalogue of the unexplored material of the Mongolian Canon, the Kanjur. Its author, Louis Ligeti established a school of scholars in Budapest who have already contributed to the exploration of the Lamaist literature, publishing a number of studies in the *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*. Although their subject matter was not strictly religious history they contained a lot of information relating to it.

Besides the impetus given by a well developed philology, our way to the Lamaist discipline was favourably paved by the ample Tibetan and Mongolian collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The Tibetan collection was started by the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös bequest to which as a result of Louis Ligeti's collecting activity a large amount of manuscripts as well as xylographs have been added. The Tibetan collection, comprising about 3000 items, has been completed by a Mongolian collection of about 600 items also mostly acquired by Louis Ligeti. The cataloguing work of the material in both collections is well under way.

Lamaist face various difficulties concerning to whether the literature they deal with is canonical or extracanonical. The basic descriptive catalogue of the Tibetan Canon has been accomplished and the title catalogues — by Csoma de Kőrös, I. J. Schmidt etc. — were followed by analytic works comparing the various redactions (J. Takasaki, F. A. Bischoff, etc.). A full publication of the Canonical text (by D. T. Suzuki) has made all approaches of investigation available. Unfortunately, this fundamental book is not yet at the disposal of Hungarian scholars owing to financial problems, though a microfilm of the full Tanjur in *Čo-ne* edition from the Library of Congress serves as a temporary substitute. The Budapest collection has several books of Kanjur and Tanjur, these, however, contain only separate occasional parts of the canon (especially from the Peking edition). The descriptive catalogue of the printed Mongol Kanjur was compiled by Louis Ligeti (*Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, Budapest 1942). The index of this indispensable reference book is under preparation and is to be published soon.

The Lamaist Canon has not yet been subjected to any literary historical examination. The attempts which have been made did not surpass the level of describing the contents in the original order. The Canon, as is known, is a collection of unorganized passages without regard of their subject matter or chronological order. Therefore what is applicable in the philological analysis certainly fails to reach the goal in the literary historical approach. Thus the *dkon-brcegs*, *phal-čhen*, etc. terms used in Kanjur become meaningless as they reveal neither topical nor formal features of the text in question whereas several subcategories remain uncovered in the *Rgyud* of Tanjur. The passages keep no chronological order; sometimes the commentaries precede the main parts, Tantric parts from the seventh century are mixed with the oldest Buddhist passages, etc. The classifying work is further hampered by the fact that the Lamaist literature has been traditionally devided into canonical (Kanjur and Tanjur) and extra-canonical parts. The description of the canonical part strictly followed the original order, on a formal basis, with complete disregard of the different subjects. On the other hand the commentary literature, in the extra-canonical part, was classified according to topics. This has resulted in closely related works being dispersed in different chapters (with basic texts to be found in the Kanjur while the relevant commentaries are in the Tanjur and the extra-canonical part). In literary historical analysis, even in descriptive catalogues of collec-

tions which are not complete (like our collection at the Library of the Academy) it is more rewarding to dismiss the formal division into canonical and extra-canonical and apply a consistent subject classification (exactly what Tibetan scholars do).

The description of extra-canonical texts has only started, the comprehensive, chronological description of the Tibetan Lamaist literature is non-existent and the Mongolian Lamaist literature has only been outlined. The main difficulty lies in the vastness of this literature as basic works (*rca-ba*) are greatly extended by dozens of commentaries (*'grel-ba*), extracts (*zur-bkod*), catechisms (*dmar-khrid*), which is due to the isolated literary activities in monastery schools (*grwa-chan*). The collections comprising the literary works of some outstanding authors alone are five times as large as the Canon. Taking all this into consideration a well established, appropriate classification is of utmost importance both for the literary historian and those compiling analytical catalogues. The method that lays stress on the topical classification was advocated not only by European philologists, but the Tibetan bibliographists and theorists themselves apply it regularly and it is used consistently in different bibliographies (*tho-yig*), and lexicographies (*rnam-graṅs*), etc. In accordance with the Tibetan division (e.g. *Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma*) it is customary to differentiate exoteric (*rig-pa*) and esoteric or Tantric (*rgyud*) literature. As regards the exoteric literature European philology accepts the Tibetan classification, that is beside non-religious sciences (*phyi-rig-pa*), subdivided into *gtan-chigs*, logic; *sgra*, linguistics; *gso*, medicine; *sñan-ṅag*, poetry, etc., and scholastic sciences, including *mṅon-pa*, *abhidharma*; *dbu-ma*, *mādhyamika*; *sems-čan*, *yogācārya*; *'dul-ba*, *vinaya*; etc., its grouping includes history (*čhos-byuṅ*, *deb-ther*, etc.) as well, a subdivision peculiar to the Lamaist literature. In the esoteric field, at the same time, uncertainty and inconsistency prevails, which is partly due to the fact that the Tibetan system (*bya-ba*, *spyod-pa*, *rnal-'byor-pa*, *bla-na med-pa'i rnal-'byor-pa*) is hard to follow for the European philological mind while the applied philological divisions reveal several contradictions. Challenging the views that have been held so far it would be more appropriate to devide Tantric literature into theoretic and ritual works. The term theoretic corresponds in fact to the Tibetan *bla-na med-pa'i rnal-'byor* category, that is it labels 1. *gñis-med rgyud* or *dus-'khor* (*kālacakra*), 2. *ma-rgyud* or *he-ru-ka'i rigs*, including *bde-mčhog* (*sambara*) and *kya'i rdo-rǰe* (*hevajra*), 3. *pha-rgyud* or *gsaṅ-'dus* (*guhya-samāja*). The ritual works are all consistently termed as *rims* in European philology they are, however, referred to as offering (*mčhod-pa*, *puja*; *gtor-'bul*, *bali*; *sbyin-bsreg*, *homa*; etc.), eulogy (*bstod-pa*, *stotra*; *gsol-'debs*, *prārthanā*), practice of magic (*sgrub-thabs*, *sādhana*; *mṅon-rtogs*, *abhisamaya*; *gzuṅs*, *dhāraṇī*; *phyag-rgya*, *mudrā*, etc.) initiation ceremonies (*dbaṅ-bskur*, *abhiṣeka*), etc. Tantrism has a key position in Lamaist literature not only because this makes up more than half of it in quantity but because it was Tantrism that brought about such qualitative extension that made Lamaism break away from Mahāyāna.

The Tibetan Collection in Budapest would contribute to extra-canonical studies to a very large extent. So numerous are the manuscripts and the xylographs that even the shortest enumeration would exceed the limits of the present paper; thus only a few examples will be picked out. There are collections to be mentioned in the first place such as the *gsuṅ-'bum*-s of *Coṅ-kha-pa*, *Mkhas-grub-rǰe*, *Dar-ma rin-čhen*, *Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma*, etc.; Dhāraṇī collections of different editions; *čhos-spyod*-s. The most substantial part of exoteric literature comes from the field of *phyi rig-pa*: in linguistics *Sum-ču-pa* and *Rtags-kyi 'ǰug-pa* editions and their numerous commentaries, dictionaries of Old Tibetan (e.g. *Li-ši'i gur-khaṅ*, etc.), Tibeto-Mongolian dictionaries, *Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho*'s comments on Pāṇinī, from poetry *Kāvyādarśa's* commentaries (such as the work of the fifth Dalai Lama), books on logic and medicine (among others *Rgyud-bži* and its commentaries). The manuscripts dealing with history are smaller in number compared to the ones

mentioned above but they include some outstanding works such as the *dkar-čhag* of the *Lha-khaṅ* church in Lhasa, and several other *čhos-'byuṅ*-s, etc.

Obviously, first of all a descriptive catalogue of the Tibetan and Mongolian stocks is to be compiled beside which we wish to continue the text publication of the significant works in the collection to follow the appearance of *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (published by Louis Ligeti as the 3rd volume of the *B.O.H.* with a Mongolian transcription in the *Monumenta linguae mongolicae* series). Further on a large part of the collection offers ample material for studies in certain periods of the history of Lamaist literature. In our future plans preference is given to the history of poetry and grammar.

Both the Tibetan and Mongolian collections contain a great number of iconographic texts, which are happily complemented by the Lamaist works of arts to be found in different Lamaist collections in Hungary (partly in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, partly in the Budapest Ethnographic Museum as well as in private collections). Besides identifying or describing these objects of art (icons especially) an attempt could be made to write a comprehensive history of Lamaist art, which would certainly throw some new light on existing works of similar character.

The iconographic research has achieved considerable results in the classification of god figures of the Tibetan Pantheon, in defining their attributes, deciphering their symbols (*rgyan*, decoration; *phyag-rgya*, hand position, etc.) and the god figures in Pantheons of different sects have also been described. The pictorial compositions are less explored; neither are the icons: e.g. groups of saints (*chogs-šiṅ*), figures of gods (*thaṅ-ka*), magic diagrams (*dkhyil-'khor*), the wheel of life (*srid-pa'i 'khor-lo*) etc. The reason why these have not been interpreted yet is that the icons can only be approached through their closely related texts. The icons are, in fact, not only relics but important means of meditation to which belong numerous rituals (*sgrub-thabs*, *bskyed-rjogs*, etc.) and texts describing them belong. It is the text that serves as a basis for the actual creating of the icon giving the name of the saint who inspired the figure or figures (at the same time indicating the sect) and provides other information as to the figures' names, their position, attributes, even colours and sizes. The possibility of using the texts for interpreting the icons has been utilized by Tibetists (e.g. G. Tucci, M. Lalou), but comprehensive works, their authors not being orientalists, have not benefited from this valuable source.

Lastly, a few words must be said of the cooperation with scholars abroad. Some joint work has already been carried out, and a study on the Uighur Cakraśaṃvara text by G. Kara and P. Zieme (Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte, Bereich Alter Orient, AW der DDR) is soon to be published. We follow with attention the work of the Buddhological research group at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Siberian Section, the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences (in Ulan Ude) and that of the newly founded Buddhological group at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, because their programmes run parallel with ours and are of great importance for our studies.

J. Terjék

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CRITICA

Вопросы тюркологии. *К шестидесятилетию академика АН Азербайджанской ССР М. Ш. Ширалиева* [Mélanges offerts à *M. Š. Širaliev*]. АН Азерб. ССР. Институт языкознания. Издательство «Элм». Baku 1971, 327 p.

Parmi les républiques turques de l'URSS ayant enregistré des résultats notables en matière de turcologie, l'Azerbaïdjan occupe une place éminente. Un des principaux promoteurs de la turcologie est M. Š. Širaliev, membre de l'Académie dont le 60e anniversaire vient d'être célébré par l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Académie des Sciences d'Azerbaïdjan qui, à cette occasion a publié un volume de Mélanges fort intéressant. L'activité scientifique de M. Š. Širaliev s'est surtout concentrée sur la dialectologie. Comme dans ce domaine la turcologie hongroise possède également des traditions et a obtenu des résultats, nous sommes particulièrement heureux de saluer en la personne de notre confrère, un des spécialistes remarquables des recherches dialectologiques.

Les travaux scientifiques de M. Š. Širaliev sont exposés en tête du volume par M. Ragimov (*Naučnaja dejateljnostj akademika M. Š. Širalieva*, pp. 3—14), et par M. Mollova qui résume l'activité du savant pendant son séjour d'une année à Sofia (*Akademisyen M. Şiraliev'in Bulgaristanda ilmî faaliyeti*, pp. 15—16). Les résultats de cette carrière scientifique se traduisent par une bonne centaine d'ouvrages publiés dont une partie intéresse de plus près la linguistique azerbaïdjanaise, tandis que d'autres sont essentiels pour l'ensemble de la turcologie.

En tant que spécialiste de la dialectologie azerbaïdjanaise, Širaliev esquissa dans son premier livre (*Bakinskij dialekt*, Baku 1941) son programme de recherches dialectologiques, et procéda à une classification des dialectes azerbaïdjanais du point de vue géographique et génétique, classification qui est restée valable jusqu'à nos jours. Dans le premier volume de son *Azerbajdžanskaja dialektologija* (Baku 1942) il résume les particularités phonétiques et morphologiques des dialectes azerbaïdjanais, pour traiter dans le second volume (Baku 1943) du dialecte khazak de la langue azerbaïdjanaise. Širaliev fut le premier à prendre en considération l'interdépendance des langues azerbaïdjanaise et caucasiennes (*Izučenie dialektov azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*. Dans: *Izv. OLJa. AN. SSSR*. 1947), et les rapports possibles entre les dialectes d'Azerbaïdjan et les dialectes turcs d'Anatolie (*Izučenie dialektov azerbajdžanskogo jazyka v sravnenii s dialektami tureckogo jazyka* [*na foneti-českom materiale*], Baku 1957). Un de ses ouvrages scientifiques les plus marquants et qui résume les résultats de plusieurs années de recherches a pour titre: *Osnovy azerbajdžanskoj dialektologii* (Baku 1962). Depuis 1956, où il publia le programme de l'atlas des dialectes azerbaïdjanais, Širaliev, à la tête d'une équipe de chercheurs formés par lui, dirige les travaux y relatifs avec une énergie inépuisable. Les résultats de ce travail sont exposés par M. I. Islamov

(voir plus loin). A côté de la dialectologie, l'académicien Širaliev s'occupe aussi de l'histoire de la langue et des problèmes de la langue littéraire moderne. Son intérêt va en premier lieu vers les éléments kiptchaks de la langue azerbaïdjanaise, la formation de la langue littéraire nationale et les phénomènes syntactiques de la langue littéraire moderne. Depuis quelques années il a étendu ses recherches à l'argot. Sur le plan de l'organisation l'entreprise la plus marquante de son activité est la direction de la *Sovjetskaja Tjurkologia*, premier périodique soviétique consacré uniquement à des problèmes de la turcologie. (Dans un des prochains numéros de notre périodique nous aurons l'occasion de rendre compte des cahiers parus depuis 1969.) On ne peut que regretter que l'exposé de M. Ragimov n'ait pas été complété par une bibliographie détaillée des oeuvres de M. Š. Širaliev.

En dehors des deux articles d'introduction consacrés à l'activité du jubilaire, les Mélanges contiennent 37 articles de la plume de 9 auteurs étrangers et de 28 auteurs soviétiques. Pour ce qui est de leur contenu, ils embrassent presque tous les domaines de la turcologie si vaste au point de vue du temps et de l'espace. Dix articles s'occupent de problèmes concernant l'histoire de la langue turque et trois de monuments concrets de la langue. Parmi les langues turques vivantes, ce sont naturellement les langues oghouzes qui passent au premier plan. 7 articles traitent de l'azerbaïdjanais, 6 de l'osmanli et 2 du gaghauze. Curieusement, le turkmène ne figure pas parmi les sujets traités, ce qui s'explique sans doute par le caractère incidentel du contenu d'un volume de Mélanges. Quant aux autres langues turques, les langues kiptchak (karatchaï-balkar, nogaï, tatare, bachkir) sont bien représentées, et quelques auteurs s'intéressent aussi aux problèmes de l'ouigour, du salar, du turc de l'Altaï, du chor et du yakoute.

Comme la majeure partie des articles traitent de problèmes grammaticaux, nous les avons groupé selon les sujets suivants: Phonétique, morphologie, syntaxe, lexique, dialectologie, monuments linguistiques.

Dans le groupe de la phonétique, nous trouvons deux articles consacrés essentiellement aux problèmes phonétiques de l'azerbaïdjanais. G. I. Gadžiev (*O specifike projavlenija zakona garmonii v azerbajdžanskom literaturnom jazyke načala XX veka*, pp. 323—325) étudie l'harmonie vocalique, une des caractéristiques de la langue littéraire nationale de l'azerbaïdjanais né début du XXe siècle. Ses constatations, à savoir que la langue littéraire moderne offre, au point de vue de l'assimilation labiale et illabiale, les caractéristiques propres aux dialectes de l'est, viennent étayer les vues de M. Š. Širaliev qui affirme que les dialectes de l'est ont participé très activement à la formation de la langue nationale littéraire. G. P. Meljnikov (*Neskoljko «počemu» iz oblasti azerbajdžanskogo vokalizma*, pp. 196—208) apporte la réponse à une série de questions, comme par exemple celles de savoir pourquoi dans le couple de désinences et de suffixes du type $a \sim ä/e$ il ne peut y avoir qu'un *ä* ouvert, pourquoi dans les dialectes azerbaïdjanais il existe des suffixes à trois variantes du type $e \sim o \sim ö$, pourquoi l'azerbaïdjanais ne connaît pas l'initiale *ï*, etc. P. P. Baraškov (*Nekotorye zamečanija ob akustičeskich svojstvach načaljnych i konečnych zvukov jakutskogo jazyka*, pp. 117—187) se penche sur une question qui a souvent préoccupé les spécialistes de la langue yakoute, notamment celle des consonnes en position initiale et finale. A la base de recherches acoustiques il constate que la longueur et l'intensité des consonnes yakoutes augmente progressivement et que cet accroissement harmonieux constitue la base de la mélodie de la langue yakoute. U. Š. Bajčura a effectué des essais de phonétique expérimentale concernant l'accent dans le turc d'Anatolie. Dans son article (*Vopros ob akcente v tureckom i instrumentaljnye dannye ob udarenie v drugich tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 188—195) elle présente les résultats de ses

essais en les comparant aux résultats analogues obtenus dans d'autres langues turques. A. M. Ščerbak (*Slog i ego struktura* [*Na materiale tjurkskich jazykov*], pp. 172—176) analyse la fonction, la nature, les types et la prosodie de la syllabe turque.

Les Mélanges contiennent un nombre relativement important d'études consacrées à des problèmes de caractère morphologique. Voici les principaux sujets: classification des mots, composition, formation, déclinaison, conjugaison.

Une des particularités des langues turques, à savoir que parmi les catégories de mots, le substantif, l'adjectif et l'adverbe ne se distinguent pas aussi nettement que dans les langues indoeuropéennes, est traitée par deux articles. A. K. Alekperov (*Nekotorye zamečanija o funkcionaljno-semantičeskom kriterii klassifikacii slov po častjam reči v azerbajdžanskom jazyke*, pp. 298—302) examine sur la base de critères fonctionels et sémantiques la conversion de l'adjectif et de l'adverbe, tandis que F. A. Ganiev (*K voprosu o klassifikacii častej reči v sovremennom tatarskom jazyke*, pp. 274—284) présente le phénomène de la conversion du substantif et de l'adjectif, et celle de l'adjectif et de l'adverbe dans des matériaux linguistiques tatares, en illustrant par des données indoeuropéennes, surtout anglaises et françaises. A. Ju. Juldašev s'occupe d'un autre phénomène également caractéristique des langues turques: le grand nombre des mots composés et des combinaisons de mots. Il examine leur disposition dans les dictionnaires turcs et la manière dont ils sont traités dans les grammaires. Les matériaux dont il se sert sont avant tout bachkires et tatares (*K charakteristike tjurkskich složnych slov*, pp. 148—164). E. I. Budagova (*K voprosu o složnych glagolach v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 292—297) étudie les particularités morphologiques et sémantiques des verbes composés dans le turc, en partant notamment des verbes composés de l'azerbaïdjanais. L'article de M. A. Abdurachmanov (*Nekotorie osobennosti glagola v govorach šorskogo jazyka*, pp. 255—264) a pour sujet les verbes composés formés à l'aide d'auxiliaires fréquents dans la langue chor servant à exprimer les différents aspects de l'action. Le même article traite encore du présent formé au moyen du signe *-čat* dans la langue des Chors habitant près des fleuves Kondoma et Mrass (par ex. *men anï körčat* «je le vois»). Sur la base d'exemples pris au turc de l'Altaï, au hakasse, au turc de Tchoulim et au chor (plus rarement au nogaï) A. P. Duljzon (*Padežnye formy tjurkskich glagolnych imen v funkcii predikata*, pp. 142—147) analyse les noms déverbaux turcs munis de désinences casuelles en fonction verbale — comme par ex. alt. *seniŋ kelgeniŋge bis sürekey süündibis* «ta venue (le fait que tu sois venu) nous a fait grand plaisir». Les correspondances existant dans les langues du Yenissei lui permettent de conclure qu'il s'agit là non pas d'un développement parallèle, mais d'un ancien contact linguistique qui s'est perdu au cours de l'histoire. B. A. Serebrennikov (*Tjurkologičeskie êtjudy*, pp. 108—115) s'occupe en partie aussi de la conjugaison. Dans sa première «étude» il analyse le système des doubles paradigmes de la conjugaison turque — cf. par ex. kazakh *ala-mïn*, *ala-sïn* «je prends, tu prends» etc. ~ *aldï-m*, *aldï-ŋ* «j'ai pris, tu as pris», etc. Tout comme les autres spécialistes avant lui, il ramène le premier type à des pronoms personnels, le second à des pronoms possessifs (à cet endroit il invoque aussi la conjugaison transitive du hongrois). L'évolution du second type est liée à l'histoire du *-di*: la participe praeterite défini exprime le résultat de l'action; muni de désinences possessives il a donné le second paradigme de conjugaison. Le deuxième thème de Serebrennikov est l'origine du phonème *s* dans la variante *-si* de la 3e personne du singulier de la désinence possessive. Il développe la théorie de Bogorodickij: le *s* est identique au *s* figurant dans le participe futur *-asï*, *-äsï*; il a été réduit des constructions du genre de *barasï kilä* «il a envie de partir» pour

devenir général après les radicaux se terminant par une voyelle. E. A. Grunina (*Iz istorii voprositeljnych mestoimenij i ich proizvodnych v tureckom jazyke*, pp. 265—273) s'occupe de l'histoire du pronom interrogatif turc *ne* et *qan* ~ *qaj*. Alors que dans les monuments de la langue turque osmanlie des XIIIe—XIVe siècles les deux types de pronom sont encore bien attestés, les grammairiens européens du XVIIe siècle considèrent *qan* déjà comme une forme littéraire. Dès le XVIIIe siècle *qan* disparait progressivement et cède la place à *ne* et ses dérivés. A. N. Kononov (*Umenjšiteljnye formy imen i slovoobrazovanie* [*na materiale tjurkskich jazykov*], pp. 94—101) étudie les suffixes diminutifs turcs au point de vue de leur étymologie, de leur forme et de leur signification. Dans les titres féminins tels que *χan-ïm* «princesse» → «femme» (< *χan* «prince»), *teŋri-m* «princesse» (< *teŋri* «dieu») le *-m* est à son avis un suffixe diminutif et non un suffixe possessif. En recourant à des exemples tirés d'autres langues turques, il passe en revue les multiples possibilités que les suffixes diminutifs extrêmement riches en signification offrent pour la formation de noms déverbaux. Dans un bref article (*O dvadcatiričnoj sisteme sčislenija*, p. 17) M. Räsänen évoque à propos des numéraux de système vicésimal connus du karatchaï-balkar — par ex. *ėki džyjyrma* «quarante» littéralement «deux fois vingt» — les cas analogues des langues indo-européennes et caucasiennes.

Parmi les sujets relevant de la syntaxe, on voit prédominer les problèmes de la construction des propositions. N. Z. Gadžieva (*Proischoždenie sojuza «ki» v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 216—223) constate, en étudiant le traitement de la conjonction *ki*, que le *ki* en tant que particule augmentative existait déjà dans le turc ancien et que les signes de sa transformation en conjonction peuvent déjà y être décélés. Cette transformation a été considérablement facilitée par sa concordance formelle et fonctionnelle avec le *ki* persan. Parallèlement à la diffusion de la conjonction, s'est développée la construction subordonnée qui à l'origine n'était pas caractéristique des langues turques. M. Z. Zakiev (*Sinonimičnostj analitičeskich i sintetičeskich složnych konstrukcij v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 209—215) illustre, à l'aide d'exemples empruntés à la langue tatare les constructions analytiques et synthétiques — par ex. *kem sabïr itä, šul moradïna jïtä* «celui qui a de la patience, atteint son but» (construction analytique) ~ *sabïr itkän moradïna jïtkän* «celui ayant de la patience atteint son but» (construction synthétique). L. A. Pokrovskaja (*Zadači sravniteljnogo issledovanija sintaksisa gagauzskogo jazyka*, pp. 224—230) indique comme tâche principale des recherches concernant la syntaxe gagaouze, d'étudier le gagaouze en tant que langue indépendante en même temps qu'au point de vue de ses rapports avec les autres langues turques. Pour les recherches syntactiques il faut partir des dialectes et non pas de la langue littéraire qui ne possède pas encore de normes solides. Elle est convaincue de ce que — comparée à la syntaxe des autres langues turques — en particulier à celle des dialectes turcs des Balkans, le karaïm et l'arméno-kiptchak — la syntaxe du gagaouze ne présente pas de différences vraiment marquantes. Le gagaouz fournit aussi l'objet des recherches de D. Tanasoglu (*O slovosočetanijach v sovremennom gagauzskom jazyke*, pp. 231—240) qui analyse les rapports syntactiques de cette langue au point de vue des catégories des composantes et des rapports syntactiques entre elles.

Les études lexicologiques traitent en partie de sujets qui concernent l'ensemble de la turcologie, en partie de problèmes concrets à une langue turque. J. Németh (*Türk dillerinde yıldız adları ve «ülker» kelimesinin menşei*, pp. 18—26) apporte des compléments et ajoute quelques reflexions au travaux publiés en 1963 par L. Bazin et Sir Gerard Clauson sur les noms des astres chez les anciens peuples turcs. Il s'occupe plus en détail du nom *ülker* qui selon L. Bazin dérive d'un verbe

signifiant «diviser», alors que Sir G. Clauson le fait remonter à un substantif signifiant «guet, affût». J. Németh part de la croyance populaire turque prétendant qu'il y avait au firmament à l'endroit de cet astre un trou ou un tamis par lequel soufflait le vent, et affirme qu'il faut expliquer le nom de l'astre par le verbe *ür-* «souffler». A. Tietze (*«Su» kelimesine dair düşünceler*, pp. 27—32) se penche sur le problème de l'«irrégularité» phonétique qui se présente au cours de la déclinaison du mot *su* «eau». E. A. Umarov (*Istorija odnogo frazeologizma*, pp. 250—254) démontre à partir de l'expression *äl ju-* «renoncer à qchose, refuser qchose» qu'il ne s'est pas formé sous l'influence du persan, mais qu'il s'agit d'un traitement turc intérieur, comme en témoigne aussi sa diffusion dans les langues et dialectes turcs. A. Z. Abdullaev (*Ob êtimologii slov «belä, elä»*, pp. 285—291) explique les pronoms démonstratifs de l'azerbaïdjanais *belä, elä* (à la différence des interprétations plus anciennes — F. D. Ašnin: *bu* + arabe *hile* «ruse», L. A. Pokrovskaja: *bu* + *ile* «avec») en l'identifiant à la postposition *-laj, -läj* «comme» rattaché au pronom démonstratif *bu*. Il semble cependant que le type *böyle, öyle* que l'on trouve dans les langues oghouzes, en face des formes *bulaj* des langues kiptchak ne peut en aucun cas dériver du schéma en question. M. Adilov aborde un sujet particulier, à savoir la langage enfantin (*O detskich slovach*, pp. 318—322) qu'il analyse en premier lieu sur la base de l'azerbaïdjanais, tout en renvoyant aussi à des recoupements dans d'autres langues turques. L'auteur fait quelques remarques intéressantes concernant le rôle de certains sons et morphèmes et les mots du langage enfantin international. Les variantes lexicales offertes par les manuscrits d'Imadeddin Nesimi, éminent poète azerbaïdjanais du XIVe siècle font l'objet d'un article de Dž. V. Kagramanov (*K voprosu ob izučenii leksičeskich variantov v rukopisnych spiskach proizvedenij Nesimi*, pp. 312—317). Dans certains passages analogues des manuscrits de Nesimi des mots turcs sont remplacés par leurs synonymes turcs ou étrangers (arabes ou persans) et même par des variantes dialectales, par ex. *uχu* ~ *ujχu* ~ *ujgu* «rêve». Ê. R. Tenišev (*Zametki o salarskoj leksike*, pp. 165—171) répartit le lexique salar en deux grands groupes: 1. éléments turcs, fournis par le lexique de base oghouz (!) et les éléments kiptchaks et ouigours superposés; 2. éléments étrangers, soit arabes, soit persans; emprunts chinois, tibétains et mongols.

Les études dialectales intéressent en premier lieu les dialectes turcs d'Azerbaïdjan, d'Anatolie et de Roumélie, abstraction faite de quelques articles sur les dialectes karatchaï et ouigours.

Un des articles qui présente le plus haut intérêt pour les spécialistes est le rapport de M. I. Islamov sur l'état actuel des travaux de l'atlas des dialectes d'Azerbaïdjan et sur les points de vue théoriques et pratiques qui président aux travaux (*Nekotorye voprosy principov sostavlenija dialektologičeskogo atlasa azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*, pp. 303—311). Des 120 cartons prévus pour l'ensemble de l'atlas les chercheurs ont, jusqu'à présent, mis au point les 50 cartons des dialectes de l'est. 24 cartons contiennent des données phonétiques, 17 des données grammaticales et 9 des données lexicales. Il s'agit là du premier atlas dialectal turc dont on n'appréciera toute l'importence qu'une fois qu'il sera publié, ce qui, espérons-le, ne saurait plus tarder. On sait malheureusement très peu de chose sur la langue des plus de 4 millions d'habitants qui peuplent l'Azerbaïdjan persan. Aussi, quelque modestes qu'ils soient au point de vue quantitatif, les matériaux que G. Doerfer publie sur la base de l'enquête linguistique d'un auteur iranien — parue en 1940 dans une revue persane — présentent-ils un intérêt tout particulier (*Zum Vokabular eines azerbaidschanischen Dialektes in Zentralpersien*, pp. 33—62). Doerfer conserve la répartition originale et groupe les termes selon les familles de concepts, ce qu complique un peu l'utilisation des maté-

riaux. G. Hazai (*Anadolu ve Rumeli Türk agızlarının tasnifi üstünde*, pp. 84—86) s'occupe de quelques critères linguistiques marquant la division des dialectes d'Anatolie et de Rumélie, comme par exemple l'évolution de l'assimilation vocalique, le traitement des morphèmes *η*, *ğ*, *q*. A. P. Vekilov (*Affiksy padežej v anatolijsko-tureckich dialektach*, pp. 241—249) examine les variantes des désinences casuelles dans les dialectes d'Anatolie, sur la base des enquêtes dialectales de M. Räsänen, A. Caferoğlu et Z. Korkmaz. Dans un article consacré aux noms des mois dans le dialecte turc de Meshet (*K nazvaniju mesjacev v mešchetskom dialekte tureckogo jazyka*, pp. 116—122) S. Džikija démontre que les mois dans lesquels ont lieu certains travaux agricoles sont dénommés d'après ces travaux. Par ex. juin = *kirăzay* «mois des cerises», juillet = *orayay* «mois de la faucille», août = *harmanay* «mois de la moisson», septembre = *bökrümay* «mois du meuglement de vaches», octobre = *šarabay* «mois du vin». R. Mollof (*Bir saz şairi, bir efsane ve bir ağıt üstüne*, pp. 87—93) communique des données inconnues concernant la vie et les oeuvres de Kurdoğlu, poète-luthiste du XIXe siècle. M. S. Michajlov (*O karačaevskich zagadkach poslovicach i pogovorkach*, pp. 123—141) présente un choix de devinettes et de proverbes karachaï recueillis au tournant des années 30. Il analyse les devinettes surtout au point de vue de leur contenu et essaie de fixer leur âge à partir du contenu et des motifs qu'elles offrent. A titre de comparaison il recourt à des devinettes balkares, nogaï et russes. N. A. Baskakov (*K klassifikacii dialektov sovremennogo ujgurskogo jazyka*, pp. 102—107) se penche sur une question qui a été soulevée à plusieurs reprises ces derniers temps, concernant les rapports des dialectes de Lobnor, de Khotan et de Kansou et des dialectes ouigours du centre. Contrairement à l'opinion de l'Institut des Langues des Nationalités de l'Académie Chinoise et à celle de plusieurs turcologues soviétiques, comme E. N. Nadžip ou Ê. R. Tenišev, Baskakov estime que l'ouigour jaune et le salar de Kansou ne sont pas des langues indépendantes, mais des dialectes de la langue ouigoure, bien que très différents des autres.

L'étude des monuments linguistiques turcs occupe une place relativement modeste dans les Mélanges. Les trois articles de cette catégorie sont dus à des auteurs étrangers. Vl. Drimba (*Notes sur quelques glosses du «Codex Cumanicus»*, pp. 63—68) interprète 4 termes problématiques du CC avec un appareil graphique, phonétique et de linguistique comparée extrêmement précis. A. Zajączkowski (*Legenda o proischoždenii kurdov [po starejšej tureckoj versii «Šāh-nāme»]*, pp. 69—75] présente un passage de la plus ancienne traduction turque du Šah-name, mise au point au XVIe siècle en Egypte qui contient la légende de l'origine des Turcs. Nous aurions pu classer l'article de M. Mollova (*Kırıl hurfatiyle bir Türk dili abidesinin bazı sentaktik hususiyetleri*, pp. 76—83) parmi les études intéressant la syntaxe ou la dialectologie, puisqu'il traite de quelques-unes des particularités syntactiques des dialectes turcs, dans un monument linguistique intitulé *Kratkij tursko-bolgarskij răčnik i razgovornik*, imprimé en caractères cyrilliques en 1851 à Belgrad. Le caractère archaïque du texte nous semble justifier son classement parmi les monuments linguistiques.

Les Mélanges publiés en honneur de l'académicien M. Š. Širaliev constituent grâce à la variété des sujets et à la qualité des exposés, un beau témoignage de l'activité de cette branche de la turcologie soviétique qui par ses sujets ou par des liens personnels est rattachée à la turcologie d'Azerbaïdjan.

Suzanne Kakuk

TARDY LAJOS, *Régi magyar követjárások Keleten* [Hungarian Diplomatic Missions of the Past to the Orient], Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1971, 221 p. + 15 pictures (*Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 11)

Diplomatic relations of the Hungarian Kingdom with the Orient have belonged to the lesser known fields of Hungarian historiography and cultural history. Though there is an abundance of written material concerning the relations of Hungary and Transylvania with the Ottoman Porte and the topic has been dealt with several times, Hungarian diplomatic activities outside the European parts of the Ottoman Empire have been rather neglected. Mr Tardy's book aims at giving a coherent picture of these Hungarian Oriental diplomatic contacts, from their beginnings till the end of the 16th century. He has succeeded in producing not only a thorough work revealing new data, but a highly readable and enjoyable book too. His work shows constant endeavour of mediaeval Hungarian policy to gain the support of the eastern enemies of the Ottoman Empire for a coalition against the Crescent, in order to annihilate them from two sides. Though almost none of these plans and alliances could be realized, these diplomatic attempts are not without interest for the historian. Space permits me to review only cursorily the rich material that the author gathered together.

The search for Oriental allies against the Turks began during King Sigismund's reign (1387—1437). Miklós Szerecsen and Józsa Török, Sigismund's deputies were sent to Kara-Yuluk, emperor from the Ak-koyunlu dynasty in Asia Minor. In King Matthias' time (1450—1490) these Oriental bonds strengthened, especially with Uzun Hasan, sovereign of Persia. Uzun Hasan's envoy to Hungary, the Papal See and Venice was Isaac beg, a Jewish physician. The envoy of the Venetian Republic to Persia, Caterino Zeno fulfilled diplomatic missions in Matthias' court too, where he was created a knight by the king. Several documents prove that numerous diplomatic missions were led to Uzun Hasan's court in Matthias' time. Besides, pilgrims to the Holy Land, such as János Lázói and Gábor Pécsváradi could also acquire political information for diplomatic purposes.

After King Matthias' death (1490) the central power decreased, and the country's decline began. Hungary's Oriental diplomacy also became less active. In 1512 Sultan Selim succeeded to the throne under whose reign the Ottoman Empire was greatly enlarged by the conquest of Persia and the Mameluke Egypt. The envoy of King Wladislas II, Barnabás Bélay, was eye-witness to all these historical events as a result of the Sultan's forcing him to stay in Turkey and to take part in the Ottoman war enterprises. — In c. 1507 the Hungarian king, the pope and the Persian shah, Ismail Sofi tried to create a coalition against the Ottoman power. A maronite monk from Libanon, a certain brother Petrus was the envoy between the Hungarian and Persian court. Incidentally, this Petrus was the connecting link between Persia and the European countries for a long time.

After the battle of Mohács (1526), Oriental diplomacy decreased for some decades, but the activity of two Hungarian captives is significant in the history of Turkish-Oriental-Hungarian contacts. Their travel accounts of the Ottoman Empire greatly contributed to the knowledge of the lands and peoples of the Empire, thereby facilitating diplomatic orientation too. Bertalan Georgievics (Bartholomaeus Georgievich) was well-known for his works relating his vicissitudes in Turkey, but György Huszti was a less known figure, though his unedited account of his travels deserves our attention. Mr Tardy acquaints us as with this interesting diary which contains even a description of the Egyptian pyramids.

Royal Hungary's first Habsburg monarchs followed the Hungarian tradition of trying to obtain Oriental allies against

the Ottoman power. Antal Verancsics and Ferenc Zay, legates of Ferdinand I twice visited the Ottoman Empire (1553—57 and 1567—68). Their task was to turn the Turkish offensive toward Asia. Their mission to the Sultan in Amasia was described in the diaries of Busbecq and Dernschwam, members of the deputation. In Ankara they found the famous Ancyranum monumentum, an inscription relating Emperor Augustus' reign. János Belsey (Johannes Belsius), a member of the deputation played a prominent part in discovering the monument. He was a keen observer in general, and he was raised to nobility by the king in 1557 for his scholarly merits.

István Báthori, Prince of Transylvania, later King of Poland wanted to revive King Matthias' conception, and tried to gain the support of the Georgians and Cherkess in the east against the Turks. Zsigmond Báthori, Prince of Transylvania actually made an alliance with Simon I, the Georgian king. Finally, the book concludes with the diplomatic mission of István Kakas who was sent to Persia by King Rudolf in 1602.

This short review can offer only a faint impression of Mr Tardy's book and the abundance of material contained it. We can only hope that this work will be edited in a foreign language too for the benefit of the non-Hungarian reader.

I. Vásáry

A. M. POZDNEYEV, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, volume one 1892. Editor: JOHN R. KRUEGER, Assistant Editor: FRED ADDELMAN, Translated from the Russian by JOHN ROGER SHAW and DALE PLANK: *Uralic and Altaic Series*, vol. 61, Indiana University, Bloomington, Mouton, The Hague, The Netherlands 1971.

The reprinting of the volume is justified by the rich case material, the great part of which has not been elaborated before.

The book, originally published in 1892, was written at the conclusion of Pozdneyev's travels in Mongolia in the same year. The basic task of his journey, as he himself explains in the preface of his book, was to study the social and political organization of the Mongols, closely bound up with religion, its economic aspects, criminal and civil law, simple crafts, customs and mores.

The book under review is a complete day to day diary giving detailed descriptions of the places visited, the author's experiences and the people he met. The author's knowledge of conditions in the country, based on his earlier researches and a previous journey, enabled him to give a vast amount of data, enriched by his personal experience. His route led from Kyakhta into Mongolia: the headquarters of Tse Dzasak, the monastery of Amurbayaskhulangtu, Urga, Khadaasun, Uliyasutai, Kobdo, Ulaankom, Uliyasutai, Sair-usu, Urga, Kalgan — as contained in the first volume. He then continued towards Inner Mongolia and this latter journey is described in the second part of *Mongolia and the Mongols*.

While the journal concentrates mainly on the social structure of villages and monasteries, it also deals with everything of interest in Mongolia during the last decades of the 19th century. The author describes the arrangement of monastery buildings, the sphere of the functionaries' activity, gives the copies and translations of inscriptions and documents. (Inscriptions in the monasteries Shajini badaragulukchi from 1765, Amur-bayaskhulangtu from 1737, on the suburgans of Erednidzuu, Shara-süme in Kobdo, from 1766, etc.) Unfortunately the limited time at his disposal prevented his furnishing a detailed list and description of the monastery libraries and printing offices, which would have been useful for students of the Mongolian language and literature. He sometimes refers to books, for example when he speaks of the Maidari monastery in Urga, he mentions the volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur, but adds, that he did not learn their origin. Of the printer's court-

yard he mentions that it operated on a very small scale and printed no more than twenty Mongolian works of an exclusively religious nature, consisting of Lamaist liturgical works. Unfortunately the author does not give a list of these works.

The diary gives exact and detailed information about the trade relations of Mongolia with China and Russia.

While Pozdneyev elaborated much of the collected data, there is a great deal left to investigate in those neglected spheres of Mongolian culture which, hitherto, have only been given a passing reference. There are valuable new additions to the book, which include a short foreword by the General Editor (pp. VII—X), an introduction on the authority and significance of Pozdneyev's work by Fred Adelman (pp. XI—XLI), a Glossary of Terms (pp. 475—504), some editorial notes from the Pozdneyev original, finally an Index of Objects and Persons and an Index of Geographical Names facilitates the easy use of the text.

In his introduction Prof. Adelman raises the question of whether Pozdneyev was right and realistic in finding a noticeable popular discontent with the Mongolian leadership. He opposes Murphy's thesis (*Soviet Mongolia, A Study of the Oldest Political Satellite*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966) which refutes the author's observation on the matter of social conflict. In support of Prof. Adelman's point of view I should like to mention the Mongolian laws prescribing different punishments for the same offence in accordance with the rank of the perpetrator. E.g. for the premeditated murder of a man princes, taijis and tabunangs were fined 9 nines of cattle, while commoners were liable to the death penalty (V. A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Tientsin 1937). The same discrimination obtains throughout the general State Code of 1815. Naturally even an extensive journey, like Pozdneyev's in a foreign country is too short to mention everything. B. B. Bambaev criticizes the author for his opinion, that disclaims the existence of epic songs among the Halhas, and really in this question Pozdneyev was not right. (B. B. Bambaev, *Otčet o komandirovke v Mongoliju letom 1926 goda: Materialy komissii po issledovaniju Mongolskoj i Tannu-Tuvinskoj narodnych respublik i Burjat-Mongoljskoj ASSR*, v. 4, Leningrad 1929, p. 38.)

The Glossary of Terms is not intended for detailed explanations, but serves as a necessary aid to the reader by giving the correct meaning of the Mongolian, Chinese, Manchu and Russian words contained in the text.

The Editor's Subheadings divide the text into shorter parts to improve its readability and to elicit the themes. Some of the seventy-two original illustrations are included at the end of the book, the rest have been omitted because of technical considerations.

The Editor intends to bring out the second volume of this work, which we hope will be available in the near future. References are made to the third volume of Pozdneyev's work preserved in Leningrad, though not mentioned in I. I. Ioriš's bibliography (*Materialy o mongolach, kalmykach i burjatach v archivach Leningrada*, Moskva 1966, pp. 29—40). Let us hope that the republishing of the first two volumes, beyond proving a most useful source of information, will encourage Soviet schoolars to edit the third volume of this useful work.

Alice Sárközi

DHARMENDRA KUMAR GUPTA, *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works*. Delhi 1970. XXIV, + 466 p.

Daṇḍin's life and his influence on ancient Indian literature is one of the most interesting topics of Indology. In the book under review Dh. K. Gupta not only summarizes the previous investigations, but, on the basis of his own survey, he aims at completeness.

Probably it is the first chapter which deals with the most important questions: the discrimination of the various works traditionally ascribed to Daṇḍin and the determination of the dates of his life. Following other scholars we can accept Gupta's statements that the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyādarśa* are by the same author. In the case of the works like the *Chandoviciti*, the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, the *Kalāpariccheda*, the *Mallikāmāruta* and the *Anāmayastotra* we must suppose different authors. We do not agree with Gupta's explanation on the relation of the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* and *Uttarapīṭhikā* to the *Daśakumāracarita*. It is a pity that Gupta has not taken into account the excellent study of J. J. Meyer (*Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracaritam. Die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*. Leipzig 1902) who made pertinent remarks on the structure of the *Daśakumāracarita*. We do not think that the date (A. D. 7th—8th) given by Gupta is exactly right. He accepted the *Avantisuṇḍarīkathā* as a historical source and employed it as a starting-point, though this work has a doubtful historical authenticity. An earlier period, the A. D. 6th—7th, seems to be more acceptable. Certain lacks may be noted in Gupta's sketch of Daṇḍins personality. Apparently the author is not aware of the mindful reflections of W. Ruben (*Daśakumāracarita. Die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Berlin 1952).

In the second chapter Gupta discusses the place of Daṇḍin's poetical theory in the evolution of ancient Indian poetry. He clearly points out the terminological contradictions (pp. 143—170) and gives a thorough analysis of the genres of Sanskrit literature covering the character of the literary schools (Vaidarbha and Gauḍa), the ornamental elements (*alaṃkāra*) and the doctrine of *mārga*, *guṇa* and *doṣa*. Gupta rightly emphasizes Daṇḍin's importance in establishing the *alaṃkāra*-theory. For Daṇḍin the *alaṃkāra*s were the central elements in poetry (p. 255). Here we may only mention the non-Indian way of Daṇḍin's poetical theory in the Buddhist Inner-Asia (Tibet and Mongolia).

In the third chapter, in which Gupta deals with Daṇḍin's prose, the reader finds valuable contributions concerning the origin and the growth of the Sanskrit prose (pp. 261—281). This is followed by a critical survey of Daṇḍin's style, of his character-depiction and of the supposed sources of his novel. We are also given the author's highly informative remarks on the language of the *Daśakumāracarita*. He states that its vocabulary is relatively simple, it contains many early colloquial words, unknown to the lexicographers. Daṇḍin did not apply difficult compositions, his syntax is well-formed and polished (pp. 369—380). The volume is complete with an appendix, bibliography and general index.

Gupta's book is a brilliant study of ancient Indian literature and culture.

Gy. Wojtilla

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN, *Etudes sur le persan contemporain*. Copenhague: Munksgaard 1970. 271 + 116 S.

Das Buch, das hier besprochen werden soll, A. Christensens nachgelassenes Werk, hat bis zu seiner Veröffentlichung einen bedauerlich langen Weg zurückgelegt.

Vom Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts an betritt die persische Literatur, im Zusammenhang mit der Umgestaltung der iranischen Gesellschaft, immer entschiedener und kraftvoller neue Wege. Die Erneuerung von Form und Inhalt der literarischen Produktion geht Hand in Hand mit der Erneuerung ihrer Sprache: besonders die Prosaiker bemühen sich mit wachsendem Erfolg, die Schriftsprache, ohne mit einer großen Tradition zu brechen, auf das lebende, gesprochene Persisch auszurichten.

Die Bedeutsamkeit dieser Entwicklung war in Europa vor dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges selbst unter den Iranisten nur einer Minderheit klar geworden; zu dieser gehörte Arthur Christensen.

Seine hervorragenden Verdienste um die Erforschung der iranischen Vergangenheit in ihren verschiedenen Aspekten sind wohlbekannt. Sein Interesse war aber nicht auf den alten Iran beschränkt, er verfolgte auch die Fortschritte persischer Sprache und Literatur in der Gegenwart mit herzlicher Anteilnahme. So mußte er mit zunehmender Unzufriedenheit betrachten, wie wenig die Texte, die für den Unterricht im Persischen auf der Universität zur Verfügung standen, geeignet waren, von diesen Fortschritten einen Begriff zu vermitteln. Wenige Jahre vor seinem Tode faßte er daher den Entschluß, eine Chrestomathie der modernen persischen Prosa zu verfassen.

Es gelang ihm noch, das geplante Werk zu vollenden; es enthielt über eine Auswahl von Texten hinaus, die das Leben und die sozialen Ideen des modernen Iran vorstellen sollten, verschiedene wertvolle Beilagen (über diese s. weiter unten). Anfang 1945 war schon der Druck im Gange; da mußte der Verf. wegen eines schweren Augenleidens die Korrektur und die Revision des Glossars seinem Schüler Kai Barr überlassen.

Arthur Christensen starb am 3. Marz 1945.[1] Nach seinem Tod verzögerten materielle Schwierigkeiten den Druck; dazu kam, daß Prof. Barr durch anderweitige Arbeiten von einer gründlichen Nachprüfung des Glossars, so wie er es nötig fand, lange abgehalten wurde.

Im Jahr 1957 war — dies geht aus Barrs vom Juli dieses Jahrs datiertem Vorwort hervor — auch diese Arbeit beendet, und das Buch sollte endlich erscheinen (das Copyright datiert von 1958). Warum es nicht dazu kam, und die Veröffentlichung bis zum Jahr 1970 hinausgezögert wurde, wird uns nicht gesagt. Eine kurze Notiz der Fondation Carlsberg, die die Kosten der Veröffentlichung trug, teilt bloß mit, daß Prof. Barr erst einige Monate vor seinem (im Januar 1970 erfolgten) Tod die Korrektur der letzten Bogen beendet, das Imprimatur erteilt hat.

Wir haben also ein Buch vor uns, das wohl das Datum 1970 auf dem Titelblatt trägt, in der Tat aber — abgesehen von Barrs Berichtigung und Nachträgen — in der Mitte der vierziger Jahre abgeschlossen wurde. Das müssen wir vor Augen halten, um nicht ungerecht zu werden.

2. Die eigentliche Chrestomathie sucht ein möglichst vielseitiges Bild von der modernen persischen Prosa[2] zu geben. Sie umfaßt 116 Seiten, nimmt also etwas weniger als das Drittel des Buches ein. Es sind zum größeren Teil Proben der schönen Literatur: Novellen von S. Nafisi, Seyyed M. A. Jamâlzâde, S. Hedâyat, B. Alavi; ein Kapitel aus Y. Doulatâbâdis Roman *Doulate dehqâni va xošbaxti*; und zuletzt das Schauspiel *Ja'far Xân az Farang âmade* von Ḥ. Moqaddam. Diese Gruppe von literarischen Texten wird ergänzt durch Stücke über den dritten *majles*, über das Theater in Iran (von R. Yâsemi) und über das Kino, weiter durch eine topographische und archäologische Beschreibung Teherans, endlich, damit auch die Rechtssprache repräsentiert wird, durch das Statut der i. J. 1935 gegründeten iranischen Akademie (*Farhangestâne Iran*).[3]

Chrestomathien, die zur sprachlichen Einführung in ein fremdes Schrifttum dienen und sich an Leser wenden, die den Zugang zu diesem erst durch Erweiterung ihrer Sprachkenntnisse erschließen müssen, geben den Texten, die sie vorlegen,

[1] Die Notiz der Fondation Carlsberg (S. 8.) gibt fälschlich 1944 als Todesjahr an.

[2] Für die Poesie verweist Christensen auf M. Ishaque, *Soxanvarâne Iran dar ʿaṣre ḥâżer*. I—II, Calcutta 1933, 1937.

[3] Die Wahl war insoweit nicht glücklich, als diese Institution (Christensen handelt von ihm auf S. 34—38 seines Buches) sich der ihr aufgetragenen Arbeit offenkundig nicht gewachsen gezeigt hat; Männer wie der Historiker ʿA. Eqbâl (der ohne sein Wissen zum Mitglied ernannt worden war) und der Philologe und Dichter P. N. Xânlari haben ihre Tätigkeit aufs schärfste verurteilt (s. B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 183—188).

gewöhnlich Glossare bei. Auch Christensen bemühte sich, durch ein sorgfältig bearbeitetes Glossar dem Leser ein genaues Verständnis seiner Texte zu erleichtern. Dies schien um so notwendiger, als die Wörterbücher, die zu jener Zeit zur Verfügung standen, zur Deutung modernen Texte höchst unzulänglich waren. Christensen wandte sich daher auch in zahlreichen Fällen an iranische Freunde um Auskunft; und doch hatte er, als er mit der Arbeit endgültig aufhören mußte, das begründete Gefühl, sein Glossar sei noch nicht druckreif, bedürfe noch einer eingehenden Revision.

Es ist schon erwähnt worden, daß dies von Kai Barr vorgenommen wurde; ihr Ergebnis («Corrections et additions») umfaßt nicht weniger als 50 Seiten (221—271). Barr hat vor allem eine große Anzahl von Versehen, Mißverständnissen und Irrtümern, die Christensen unterlaufen waren, berichtigt; darüber hinaus hat er das Glossar wesentlich ergänzt, indem er feste Wendungen, namentlich «zusammengesetzte Verben» (wie *âbâd sâxtan, asar dâštan, az čizi estefâde kardan, ašk rixtan, eḥtemâle . . . miravad* usw.), die Christensen zumeist weggelassen hatte, konsequent verzeichnete.

Dieses Verfahren ist zweifellos das Richtige. Es ist ein weit verbreitetes Vorurteil, die lexikalischen Einheiten den Wörtern gleichzusetzen; in der Tat gehören zu dieser Kategorie — und müssen dementsprechend in einem Glossar oder Wörterbuch, das auf Vollständigkeit Anspruch macht, verzeichnet werden — alle Ausdrücke, auch die mehrwortigen, die gesellschaftlich festgelegt, für das Individuum vorgegeben sind.

Christensen Glossar und Barrs Nachträge stellen zusammengenommen eine beispielhaft gründliche lexikalische Bearbeitung eines Korpus moderner persische Texte vor. Schade nur, daß die Form, in der uns diese geboten wird, ihre Verwertung außerordentlich erschwert. Wer das Glossar benutzen will, muß jedesmal nachschauen, ob nicht eine Bemerkung Barrs zum betreffenden Artikel vorliegt; andererseits werden die Zusätze und Berichtigungen dieses Gelehrten nur verständlich, wenn man sie mit der entsprechenden Stelle des Glossars vergleicht. Es wäre eine Neubearbeitung des Glossars auf Grund des Barrschen Materials nötig gewesen, dazu bestand aber unter den gegebenen Umständen offenbar keine Möglichkeit.

Mit der Auswahl der Texte aber und der Anfertigung eines Glossars zu ihnen fand Christensen sein Werk noch nicht vollendet. Mangels ausführlicher und wissenschaftlich zuverlässiger Darstellungen des modernen Persisch sah er sich — obgleich er, trotz verdienstlicher Beiträge zu Dialektologie des gegenwärtigen Iran, eigentlich kein Linguist war — genötigt, seiner Chrestomathie Bemerkungen über die Aussprache des Persischen und über die Eigentümlichkeiten der Umgangssprache vorauszuschicken (45—73). Die Kenntnis dieser Eigentümlichkeiten war in der Tat namentlich zum Verständnis von Ḥ. Moqaddams Komödie nicht zu entbehren.

Christensen wünschte endlich, daß der Leser seiner Chrestomathie die vorgelegten Texte als Erzeugnisse und Repräsentanten der literarischen Bewegung, aus der sie hervorgegangen sind, verstehen und schätzen möge. Nun konnte er aber auf keine zeitgemäße Darstellung verweisen; der vierte Band von Edward G. Brownes *A Literary History of Persia* war 1924 erschienen und das abschließende Kapitel des großen Werks («The Most Modern Developments») um 1940 schon gänzlich veraltet. Er schickte daher seiner Chrestomathie eine Skizze der Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur von der Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der dreißiger Jahre voraus (S. 9—44); er teilt da, unter anderem, auch seine Gedanken über das Problem der Anwendung der arabischen Schrift auf das Persische, die Möglichkeit und Nützlichkeit eines eventuellen Schriftwechsels mit.

3. Arthur Christensens anspruchsvoll angelegtes, reichhaltiges Werk wäre in den vierziger Jahren einem reellen Bedürfnis

entgegengekommen und hätte zweifellos gute Dienste geleistet; 25 Jahre nach dem Tode seine Verfassers konnte es im wesentlichen nurmehr einen historischen Wert haben.

Christensens Vorrede vom Okt. 1944 fängt mit der — damals begründeten — Feststellung an, daß im Unterricht des modernen Persisch der Mangel an verfügbarem Material immer fühlbarer wird. Seitdem sind, um diesem Mangel abzuhelfen, mehrere Lesebücher erschienen;[4] zu Unterrichtszwecken am gründlichsten bearbeitet ist der dreibändige, unter der Leitung von M. A. Jazayery und H. H. Paper verfaßte *Modern Persian Reader* (Ann Arbor 1962). Und man muß bedenken, daß ein Lesebuch der «gegenwärtigen» Sprache und Literatur notwendigerweise schnell veraltet. Christensen gab gute Proben der Literatur seiner Zeit, diese gehört aber nunmehr der Vergangenheit an: die jüngsten Stücke seiner Auswahl stammen aus den dreißiger Jahren.

Freilich hat Christensen — wie wir gesehen haben — zu der eigentlichen Chrestomathie linguistische und literarhistorische Studien hinzugefügt. Inzwischen hat aber die Erforschung des modernen Persisch und der jungen Literatur imposante Fortschritte gemacht; es genügt hier einerseits auf G. Lazards *Grammaire du persan contemporain* (Paris 1957) und L. S. Pejsikovs *Tegeranskij dialekt* (Moskau 1960), andererseits auf die Darstellungen der Geschichte der modernen Literatur durch V. Kubíčková[5] und, besonders, durch B. Alavi zu verweisen. In Anbetracht dieser Fortschritte erscheinen Christensens Studien im ganzen entschieden überholt.

Am Ende dieser Betrachtungen erhebt sich unausweichlich die Frage, ob es richtig war, Christensens nachgelassenes Werk, nachdem man so viel Zeit hat verstreichen lassen, herauszugeben. Ich fürchte sehr, dass diese Frage verneint werden muss.

4. Ich möchte noch, als Nachtrag, einige Fehler berichtigen.

«Le pionnier sur ce terrain — heißt es auf S. 28 — fut Mirzā Fāṯḥ-ʿÄli Āxūndzāde, fils d'un mollā de village de la province d'Azerbéidjan, province qui fait partie du royaume iranien [. . .] Ayant émigré au Caucase, Āxūndzāde fit son service militaire dans l'armée russe et avança au grade de colonel dans l'armée caucasienne.» Liest man diese Zeilen, so ist man versucht zu fragen: Hat denn Christensen nichts von einem russischen (bzw. sowjetischen) Aserbaidshan gehört? Axundow jedenfalls stammte nicht — wie Christensen es andeutet — aus dem iranischen Aserbaidshan. Er ist 1812 in Nucha geboren, der Residenzstadt, bis zum Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts, eines der Chanate (des Chanats von Sheki) im nördlichen Aserbaidshan; der Palast der einstigen Chane steht heute noch und gilt als ein hervorragendes Denkmal einheimischer Baukunst. Der Chanat ist 1805 in Form eines Abkommens von Rußland annektiert worden. Axundow wuchs also im russischen Reich auf und ist nicht *ausgewandert*, als er, nach Absolvierung einer russisch-aserbaidshanischen Lehranstalt, nach Tiflis *übersiedelte* und mit 22 Jahren als Übersetzer für orientalische Sprachen in den Staatsdienst trat. Auch die europäischen Orientalisten, die am Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts seine Komödien im Original und in persischer Übersetzung wieder herausgaben, wußten herzlich wenig vom Verfasser dieser Theaterstücke, sie konnten sich aber wenigstens auf die Dürftigkeit der Informationen, die

[4] A. J. Arberry, *Modern Persian Reader*, Cambridge 1944; V. Monteil, *Le persan contemporain*, Paris 1954; H. Kamshad, *A Modern Persian Prose Reader*, Cambridge 1968 (unter anderem). Auch die von Iraniern zusammengestellten Anthologien (I. Afšār, *Naṣre fārsiye moʿāṣer*, T. 1330; M. Ḥamidi, *Daryâye gouhar* T. 1330; S. Nafisi, *Šāhkārhâye naṣre fārsiye moʿāṣer I—II*; T. 1330, 1332 können im Unterricht verwertet werden, obgleich sie natürlich nicht dazu bestimmt und eingerichtet sind.

[5] In: J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordecht 1968, S. 353—418.

ihnen zugänglich waren, berufen. — «Un système (d'écriture) plus agréable à la vue et plus pratique fut proposé par Ṣādeq Hedāyät (sous le pseudonyme de Mäs'ūd Färzād) . . .» (S. 42). Masʿūd Färzād ist kein Pseudonym, sondern der Name eines Dichters und Philologen, der zu Hedâyats Freundeskreis gehörte und einigen Stücke zu *Vaǧ Vaǧ Sâhâb* beigesteuert hat. — «A présent [pour „patriote"] on dit sans doute *kešvär-päräst*, car le mot arabe *vāṭān* a été remplacé par *kešvär*» (S. 65). Das iranische Äquivalent des arabischen Lehnworts ist *mihan*, ein veralteter Ausdruck, der durch den Purismus erneuert worden ist; entsprechend heißt der Patriot *mihanparast*. *Kešvar*, ebenfalls ein «altneues» Wort, bedeutet «Land»; das Kompositum *kešvarparast* finde ich nicht in meinen Wörterbüchern, und man sieht auch nicht recht, was es bezeichnen sollte. — Der präpositionelle Ausdruck, der *br'y* (= «wegen») geschrieben wird lautet nicht *berây(e)*, wie Christensen im Glossar und sonst angibt, sondern *barây(e)*. — Barr hat recht, wenn er den Ausdruck *sahl ast ke* als eine feste Wendung verzeichnet (S. 256), er irrt sich aber in der Sinnesangabe. Der Ausdruck bedeutet nicht «bien au contraire» (d. h. «im Gegenteil»), sondern «abgesehen davon, daß . . .; nicht genug damit, daß . . .» (so Junker/Alavi), «nicht nur . . ., sondern, . . .»; vgl. Haïms Beispiel *dastur ke sahl ast maʿâniye bayân ham dars midâd* «he not only taught grammar but rhetoric as well».

Zs. Telegdi

Giljanskij jazyk. Otvetstvennyj redaktor V. S. Rastorgueva. Moskva 1971. Nauka. 319 pp. Akademija Nauk SSSR. Institut Jazykoznanija.

Once more the Soviet Iranists have done pioneering work. After publishing a whole series of grammatical sketches on scarcely known Iranian languages, now there is a new book, «The Gilan language» to be greeted. Edited by V. S. Rastorgueva this book is the result of researches by the editor in collaboration with A. A. Kerimova, A. K. Mamedzade, L. A. Pirejko and D. I. Êdeljman.

Concerning the Gilan language — or as the Gilanians call it «Gileki» — the editor considers the strict phonological analysis as the main achievement of Soviet Iranology. Of course the team of joint authors utilized the results of previous scholars such as Beresine, Christensen, Chodzko, and mainly V. I Zavjjalova [*Fonetika giljanskogo i mazanderanskogo jazykov*. Diss. Leningrad 1955; *Novye svedenija po fonetike iranskich jazykov. Giljanskij i mazanderanskij jazyki*: *TIJa* 6 (1956): pp. 92—112], T. N. Pachalina and V. S. Sokolova (*Giljanskij jazyk*: *Sovremennyj Iran. Spravočnik*. Moskva 1957. pp. 75—82).

The book divides into the following parts: Phonetics, pp. 13—28 (author: Rastorgueva) — Vocabulary, pp. 29—41 (Kerimova) — Word-formation, pp. 42—54 (Kerimova) — Morphology, pp. 55—194 (Substantives, Adjectives, Adverbs, Numerals, Pronouns by Êdeljman; Verb by Rastorgueva; Postpositions and Prepositions by Pirejko) — Syntax, pp. 195—229 (Pirejko) — Texts, pp. 230—316.

In the chapter *Phonetics* Rastrorgueva at first gives a detailed description of Gilani phonemes based on Zavjjalova's article (*ibid.*). The system of vowels consists of nine phonemes: *i*, *ī*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, *ȧ*, *o*, *u*, *ū*, and the system of consonants of 22 phonemes: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *č*, *ǰ*, *m*, *n*, *f*, *v*, *y*, *χ*, *γ*, *h*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *l*, *r*. Some remarks on vocalic assimilation, changes at the morpheme-bounds and word stress follow this description.

In the chapters *Vocabulary* and *Word-formation* Kerimova analyses the Gilani vocabulary according to its origin. We can see a basic lexical stock of «all-Iranian» (*obščeiranskogo proischoždenija*) origin; to this belong the pronouns, numerals, the main simple verbs, nouns of parts of the body, the phenomena of nature, time-units, degrees of relation, denomination of

genders, colours, qualities, fauna and flora, etc. Arabic, Turkish, and — quite new — Western European loanwords, loanwords from Russian have enriched the vocabulary. What is a typically Gilani peculiarity is the large number of simple verbs, like *fibištən*, *ʻfivištən*, *vabištən*, *dəbišten*, *dibištən* < *bištən*; *dukudən*, *fukudən*, *ǰukudən* < *kudən* etc. The two types of word-formation, compounding and affixation (pre- and suffixation) show a strong similarity with Persian.

In the chapter *Morphology* Êdeljman treats the nouns. The Gilani Substantives can be characterized by three grammatical categories: a category of determination/indetermination, and those of number and case. Of these three, compared with Persian, the category of case offers something special in Gilani. There is a three-case system in Gilani: Nominative, Accusative-Dative and Genitive. (The same in the pronouns.) The substantive in Genitive case can have two functions: 1. prepositive determination (in possessive constructions), 2. any parts of a sentence in postpositional constructions.

The Adjective has no Superlative morphologically expressed. — The Adverb as an independent grammatical category (class) is quite undeveloped. — The Numerals correspond to the Persian ones except *i* «one», but the Persian form *yak* is also used. — The system of Pronouns is very rich, and similar to Persian.

The Verbs are treated by Rastorgueva. She dintinguishes three sets of flexional endings: 1. endings of Present-Future (*-əm*, *-i*, *-e*, *-im*, *-id(i)*, *-id(i)*); 2. endings of Aorist and Past Neutral (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im(i)*, *-id(i)*, *-id(i)*) and 3. those of Past Continuous (*-im(i)*, *-i*, *-i*, *-im(i)*, *-id(i)*, *-id(i)*). The verbal system is based on two stems, Present and Past. Its description is generally in accordance with Pachalina's and Sokolova's system (*ibid.*). The conjugated verbal forms are: Imperative (*bukun*); Indicative: Present-Future (nastojaščee-buduščee vremja *kunem*), Present Continuous (nastojaščee opredelennoe vr. *kudən dərəm*), Future Categorical (buduščee kategoričeskoe vr. *χayəm kudən*), Past Neutral (prošedšee nejtraljnoe vr., at Pachalina-Sokolova: prošedšee soveršennoe, Past Perfect, *bukudəm*), Past Continuous (prošedšee-dliteljnoe vr., at Pachalina-Sokolova: prošedšee-nesoveršennoe vr., Imperfect, *kudim*), Past Perfect (prošedšee-opredelennoe vr. *kudən dubum* or *kudən dərə bum*), Pluperfect (prezdeprošedšee vr. *bukudə bum*); Subjunctive: Present-Future (Aorist) (nastojaščee-buduščee vr. *bukunəm*), Past (prošedšee vr. *bukudə bim*).

In the chapter on Syntax Pirejko gives a short summary. After showing the different ways of expressing syntactical relations (agreement, unmarked constructions, government) we find a concise description of simple and compound sentences. Prepositions and postpositions are treated in detail at the end of Morphology.

The book is completed with a collection of Gilani texts compiled by Mamedzade (Nos. 1—17), Sokolova—Zavjjalova (No. 18) and two poems from a newspaper of Rešt.

The general characteristic of «The Gilan language» is that the authors consider Gilani — one of the independent Iranian languages — as a normalized, standardized language. The authors' investigations are based on a pure Rešti material; certainly, Rešt is the largest town of Gilan province, but it is only one of the Gileki dialects. Furthermore, the informants were the Rešti intellectuals, all of them bilingual (Gilani and Persian). In this way the authors disregard other dialects like Lāhijāni, Langerudi, not to say anything about small ethnic groups in the mountains, the dialects of which are very different from each other. Even within the same town — like Rešt — there are variants: *a*, *ə*, and *e* in pronunciation do not segregate definitely, probably that explains certain inconsistencies in the transcription (*Ruznāmə̧yə̧ Čələngər*, *Pābə̧rə̧hnə̧yə̧ Rašti*, p. 306; *Ruznāmə̧yə̧ Čələngər*, *Pābə̧rə̧hnə̧yey Rašti*, p. 310). The long vowel *ū* never appears in the texts even in un-

stressed open syllables. Dealing with compound verbal forms separation of *daštən* (*dər-*) «to have» (p. 150) and a defective verb *dər-* (p. 139) «to be, to exist» does not seem to be too wellfounded.

To sum up «The Gilan language» is a long-needed book in Iranian dialectology, the first and successful attempt in a comprehensive description of Gileki.

Eve Apor

SÁNDOR FODOR, Arab legendák a piramisokról [Arabic Legends on the Pyramids]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1971, 178 p. 28 fig. (*Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 10)

Research into the connections of the age of the Pharaos and Arabic culture belongs to the most difficult tasks of Egyptology and Arabistics. Christianity and Islam seem to have completely disrupted continuity and only a thorough analysis of the Ancient Egyptian, Coptic and mediaeval sources can throw light upon the survival of certain elements of the classical cultural heritage in the various regions of the Near-East. In the present work, Sándor Fodor examines the origins and development of the motives of mediaeval 'egends on the pyramids. At first reading these legends seem rather distant from Old Egyptian and classical literature, nevertheless, the author succeeds in tracing the origin of certain elements.

The book renders the analysis of three legends. First the author deals with the stories in which the building of the great pyramid is attributed to Hermes, then he treats the legends referring to King Surid and finally he examines the Egyptian aspects of the Shaddad ibn ʿAd story.

The Hermes legends clearly reveal the fact that the Arabs preserved a relatively great number of elements of the Egyptian religion in the Hellenistic and Roman Age. Of course, Hermes Trismegistos and his predecessor Thot underwent major alterations in the course of the centuries, their most essential characteristics, however, have remained unchanged. The author points out that in the transmission of the Hermetic literature, a decisive role was played by the Harranian Sabians, who — according to certain Arabic authors — regularly went on pilgrimages to the pyramids and the sphinx of Giza.

As regards the legend of Surid, the frame story itself is of Egyptian character. According to the introduction, the history of the building of the pyramid was found in the bandages of a mummy. King Surid decided to build a pyramid in order to save the secret science of the Egyptians from the preordained great world catastrophes. The author can trace back both decisive motifs of the legend: the hiding of knowledge and the eschatological prophecies to classical origins. As regards the former, Ammianus Marcellinus XXII. 15. 30 is of decisive importance.

One of the most instructive parts of the book traces the history of the prophecies from the Admonition of Ipuwer and the Prophecy Noferti through the demotical lamb prophecy, hermetic Asclepius and Oracula Sibyllina to the universal doom of the Surid story. Beside the influence of the old Egyptian religion and syncretism, he reckons with the Late-Babylonian, Zoroastrian, Heracleitian and Stoic elements as well.

The author often refers to the Coptic traditions, since it is obvious that the Christian population of Egypt transmitted legendary stories on the pyramids to the Arabs, too. Fodor's researches reveal a new chapter in the Coptic literature and oral traditions, a chapter the original texts of which are unfortunately lost. These legends also prove that the Copts used to have a rich vernacular literature of their own, which, however, has come down to us only in fragmentary form(cf. Fragments of the legends of Alexander, story of Kambyses roman, etc.).

This excellent work will most probably attract the attention of the international scholarly wor'd, especially that of the Egyptologists, experts of Late-Classical

religions and Arabists, and it would be essential that after the publication of some parts in English (cf. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIII, 1970, 355 ff. and *ZÄS* 96, 1970, 103 ff.) the entire book should be published in a world language. The author's method would produce further significant results if he extended his examinations to the Arabic legends referring to other Egyptian monuments

L. Kákosy

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