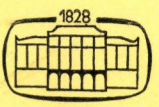
ACTA ORIENTALIA

ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

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

REDIGIT
L. LIGETI

TOMUS XXVII FASCICULUS 1



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1973

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À PROPOS D'UN DOCUMENT OUIGOUR DE L'ÉPOQUE MONGOLE

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

Dans un travail fort intéressant M. Nobuo Yamada vient de publier une série de 15 documents ouigours composée de contrats de vente et d'adoption d'esclaves.[1] Un de ces documents, le n° 10, est consacré à une affaire juridique d'adoption, d'après laquelle l'esclave chinois *Pintung*, vendu au prix de 9 *yastuq čau* (papier-monnaie équivalent à 9 lingots) par son maître *Aḏai tutung* à *Siwsai taiši*, a été adopté par ce dernier. Le document date, d'après la glose chinoise ajoutée à la fin du texte ouigour, de l'année 1280.

Chose curieuse, l'esclave chinois *Pintung* était déjà connu d'après un document ouigour trouvé en 1913 et publié par S. E. Malov,[2] où il est dit que *Pintung* désireux d'apprendre à écrire et à étudier les saintes écritures bouddhiques s'était fait moine (*kičigi-[ä]m-tä bitig už-ik nom boqšut ögränmiš üčün . . . toyïn bolup*). A cet effet il fut affranchi, mais entretemps le document concernant son affranchissement s'étant égaré, il fut revendu comme esclave, et c'est précisément contre cet acte qu'il demande grâce et protection.

En 1954 on a trouvé trois autres documents ouigours consacrés de façon évidente au même esclave *Pintung*: 1. la quittance de 9 *yastuq čau* donnée à *Sivsai taiši* par *Aḏai*; 2. le contrat de vente comme quoi l'esclave chinois *Pintung* fut vendu au prix de 9 *yastuq čau* à *Siwsai taiši* par *Aḏai tutung*; 3. le document invoqué plus haut sur l'adoption de l'esclave chinois *Pintung*.

Les documents concernant *Pintung* ont été édités et commentés dans un travail commun, par Ê. Tenišev et Fong Kia-cheng; en chinois[3] ils ont publié, outre les trois documents récemment découverts, celui de Malov, en

[1] Nobuo Yamada, *Uighur Documents of Slaves and Adopted Sons : Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters*, Osaka University, Vol. XVI, March 1972, pp. 161—268 (1—106), avec 12 planches.

[2] S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pisjmennosti*, Moskva—Leningrad 1951, pp. 201—204.

[3] Ê. 捷尼舍夫 et 馮家昇 Tsi-ni-chö-fou et Fong Kia-cheng, 回鶻文斌通(善斌)賣身契三種附控訴主人書 *Houei-hou wen Pin T'ong (Chan Pin) mai-chen k'i san-tchong fou k'ong-sou tchou-jen chou*. Dans 考古學報 *Kao-kou hio-pao* 1958, N° 2 (20), pp. 109—120, avec 4 planches.

russe[4] ils n'ont discuté que les trois documents. M. Yamada, dans son travail précité, n'a étudié que deux documents, à savoir le contrat de vente et le document d'adoption.[5] C'est à propos de ce dernier que j'ai quelques remarques à formuler. Je pars du texte ouigour établi par M. Yamada, meilleur sur plusieurs points que celui de ses prédecesseurs.

En voici, contenu dans les lignes 2—6, le passage initial (précédé par la date), qui constitue une espèce d'invocation exprimant les bons voeux à l'adresse des personnes impliquées, d'une façon ou d'une autre, dans l'affaire juridique.

2 *uluγ suu-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün anta basa aqa*[6] *ini*
oγullar-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün basa
3 *bäg*[*ä*]*d-läringä ančaši-lar-qa šaz-ïn*[7] *ay*[*γu*]*čï-qa*[8]
s[*a*]*ngta-luγ-larïnga*[9] *il-kä* . . . .
4 *quvraq-qa alqu tïnglγ oquš-ïnga*[10] *anta basa baqšïm*[11]
uluγ-um[11] *kw*[12] *baqšï*[*-qa*][13]
5 *mäning öz bodum-qa kišim-kä oγlan-larïm-qa basa*
äsän toγrïl turmïš t . . . . *n*[14]
6 *adai tutung ögrünč*[15] *siz*[15] *bašqan*[16] *bašlap uruγ-*
qa qadaš-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün

Dans sa traduction: «To the grand army the benefit shall reach! Then also, the benefit shall reach to the elder and younger brothers, the sons! Then to the *bäg*s, to the *Anchashi*s, to the law-*Ayguchi*, to the people of *Sangia*, to the natives. . . . to the assembly, to all livings, then also [to] Kew(?)-Master, who is my teacher and my leader, to myself, to my wife, to my children, also to descendants and relatives beginning with Esen Toghril, Turmish. . . . . Atai Tutung, Ögrünch, Siz Bashqan — the benefit shall reach!»

Il est fort utile de confronter cette introduction avec la partie finale, précédant les noms des témoins:

[4] Fên Czja-šên — Ê. Tenišev, *Tri novych ujgurskich dokumenta iz Turfana* : *Problemy vostokovdenija* 1960, N°. 3, pp. 141—149, avec 3 planches.

[5] Nobuo Yamada, *op. cit.*, pp. 55—57, 64—70; nos. 7 et 10.

[6] Fên-Tenišev (FT) : *aγa*. (Nous ne tenons compte que des dernières leçons reconnues correctes, adoptées dans la version russe.)

[7] FT: *sän-in*.

[8] FT: *arzï-qa*.

[9] FT: *sän-in-luq-larïnga*.

[10] FT: *uqušïnga*.

[11] FT: *baqsïm*.

[12] FT: *uluγ-un-kä* (*käw*?).

[13] FT: *bolsar*.

[14] FT: *deest*.

[15] FT: *ögrünč-siz*.

[16] FT: *bazyan*.

14 . . . . . *bu bitig-täki söz-tin öngi bolsar biz . . .*
15 *uluγ suu-qa bir altun yastuq aqa*[6] *ini tägiḍ-lär*[17]
birär kümü [*š*][18] [*yastuq*][19] *ïduq* [*q*]*ut-*[*q*]*-a*[20]
16 *bir yastuq*[1]*- šaz-ïn*[21] *ayγučï-qa*[22] *bir at*[23] *qïzγuḍ*[24]
ötünüp . . . un[25]

Dans sa traduction: «If we act against the words on this document, we must present, [as] the penalty, one gold *yastuq* to the Grand Army, one silver [*yastuq*] to each elder and younger brothers or *tägins*, one *yastuq* to the *Iduq Qut*, one horse to the law-*ayghuchi* and must . . . .»

Dans un certain nombre de cas je proposerais une nouvelle interprétation. Ainsi:

uluγ suu. — Au sens d'«armée», le mot *suu*, en écriture ouigoure, est en effet bien attesté; l'orthographe ouigoure reflète la prononciation *sü*, attestée dans les textes en écriture «runique». On a effectivement *sü aq-* «l'armée se met en route» (Kāšγ.), *sü bašï* «chef militaire» (QB), *sü bašla-* «conduire une armée» (Kāšγ.) *sü bük-* «lever, rassembler une armée» (Kāšγ.), *sü čerig* «armée» (*Uig.* II), *sü yorï-* «se mettre en campagne» (Toñ.), *atlïγ sü* «cavalerie», *čerig sü* «armée», *ič sü* «armée intérieure»; cf. *DTS*, p. 516; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 781 (il insiste sur le fait curieux que l'emploi du mot ne dépasse guère le XVe siècle, sauf dans l'expression *sü bašï* d'où l'osm. *su bašï* n'est qu'une formation ultérieure); Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 434 (il rappelle, entre autres, s.-ouig. *su čeri* «armée», IM *sü-deš* «ordu arkadaş»).[26]

Le malheur c'est que *uluγ suu* «grande armée», comme terme technique, s'explique mal (l'interprétation «grand général» proposée par Fong Kia-cheng et Tenišev n'est pas plus engageante). Qu'est ce que la «grande armée»? D'où

[17] FT: *tigit-lär.*
[18] FT: *kümüs.*
[19] FT: *yastuγ.*
[20] FT: *deest.*
[21] FT: *sän-in.*
[22] FT: *arïquči-qa.*
[23] FT: *χon.*
[24] FT: *qïzγut*
[25] FT: *deest.*
[26] A. V. Gabain, *Türkische Turfantexte* X, p. 21, a proposé, pour ce mot, la leçon *sö* (*šö*) en le faisant dériver du chin. 搜 *cheou* «chasse»; cette interprétation (cf. encore Doerfer, *TMEN* III, pp. 282–285) est écartée, à bon droit, par Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, *loc. laud.* En effet la prononciation moderne *şou*, remonte au moyen mandarin *şïu* à l'ancien mandarin *šiw* (attesté en écriture 'phags-pa), dérivé de l'ach. *šiγu*. Cela revient à dire que la graphie *o* dans *şou* est toute moderne et qu'elle est en même temps une approximation de la voyelle *ə̂* ou *ə* (dans les transcriptions mandchoues la diphtongue chinoise *-ou* est rendue régulièrement par *-eo*) et ne peut entrer en ligne de compte pour la prétendue prononciation *sõ*, à plus forte raison d'un *šõ*.

tient-elle le droit de se faire payer une amende à propos d'un acte juridique? Autant de questions sans réponse satisfaisante.

Il doit s'agir là d'un tout autre mot. Et en effet, dans quelques textes ouigours, provenant de l'époque mongole, on relève son homophone, orthographié en écriture ouigoure également *suu*, employé au sens de «bonheur, bonne fortune impériale, majesté, etc.»

Le premier recoupement du mot turc a été signalé par M. Lewicki dans le colophon rédigé en vers allitérés du «Sūtra de la Grande Ourse» (*Yitikän sudur*) où on lit:

adïnčïγ ïduq qaγan qan suu-si .
aγïr buyan-lïγ qong taiqiu qutï .
ančulayu oq qonggiu qutï .
etc., etc.
. . . . . .
alqu-nï biltäči burqan qutïn bulmaq-larï
[bolz-]un

En traduction: «Sa Majesté impériale du souverain extraordinairement saint, son Altesse l'Impératrice douairière aux vertus profondes, de même que son Altesse l'Impératrice.... qu'ils atteignent la dignité du Bouddha omniscient».[27]

Dans l'inscription ouigoure de Kiu-yong kouan, sur la paroi Ouest, le mot revient à quatre reprises (je renvoie à mon travail encore inédit; les chiffres renvoient aux stances, les lettres a—d aux lignes).

[27] Dr. G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* VII, mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von Dr. W. Eberhard. *APAW*, Jahrg. 1936, Phil.-Hist. Klasse Nr. 12 (Berlin 1936), pp. 23—25, 48—52 (nos. 14 et 40); notes: pp. 66—68, 77—78. Marian Lewicki, *Turcica et Mongolica*. 1. *Turc suu, mongol su* ~ *sü*, dans *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XV, 1949, pp. 239—245. Louis Ligeti, *Note sur le colophon du «Yitikän sudur»*, dans *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum* 65. *Geburstag* (Leipzig 1954), pp. 397—404. Rachmati ici encore a rendu *adïnčïγ ïduq qaγan suu-si* par «des auserwählten heiligen Herrschers Heer». Son interprétation est manifestement inadmissible car, dans ce passage, le terme *suu* constitue en quelque sorte le synonyme de *qut* figurant dans les deux lignes suivantes; cf. a. turc *qut* «Glück, Segen, Würde, Majestät, Geist» (Gabain, *Alttürk. Gr.*, p. 331). D'après Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 594: «*kut* is originally in a rather mystical sense 'the favour of heaven', thence, less specifically 'good fortune' and the like, and thence, more generally, 'happiness' ». Plus loin: «Bud. *kut* is very common, both in the sense of 'the favour of heaven', and in a sense of which the best equivalent is 'majesty'; the first meaning appears in such passages as (the prince reached the island) *kutï üligi üçün* 'because he enjoyed the favour of heaven and good fortune' PP 33,5, and the second in *kanım kutı* 'His Majesty my father', *do.* 6,4. Cf. encore *DTS*, p. 471; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 305: a. tü. KB. tü. AH. čag. osm. otü. kkir. *kut* «Glück», «Majestät», tel. *kut* «das geistige Leben, Lebenskraft, Seele, Geistesgegenwart», etc.

1 [*od*]*γuraq säkiz on yašayur tip viyakirit-lïγ*:
u[. . .]*ïn-ï biliglig uluγ suu-lüg Säčän qan-ïmz* (2c—d)

En traduction: «ayant la prophétie qu'il vivra sûrement quatre-vingts ans, notre *Säčän qan*,. . . . ayant un savoir et une majesté impériale».

Le passage correspondant dans l'inscription mongole de Kiu-yong kouan est ainsi conçu[28]:

oro'ad nayan nasulaqu kēn wiyagirid ögtegsen :
ôrgŏn biligtü : : *sutu botisiwid Sečen qān ber* : :
(3c—d)

En traduction: «Sečen qān, le majestueux bodhisattva au vaste savoir, à qui on a prophétisé qu'une fois né il vivrait quatre-vingts ans a accompli tels et tels actes)».

Noter l'équivalence ouig. *su̯u̯-lüg* ~ mong. *suutu*.

2 . . . *qaγan suu-si bodistv idimiz-tä söz-lämiš tüš* :
utlï arïγ tükäl täginip üs̲üksüz-in üstä[*z-ün*] : :

En traduction: «. . . que les récompenses annoncées à notre souverain bodhisattva, l'Empereur majestueux, s'accomplissent complètement, qu'elles augmentent éternellement.»

La partie mongole, cette fois, s'exprime comme suit:

ulus-un 'ihe'en : *qān sutu bodisivid eǰen-dür* :
uridu 'ügülegsen hači hüre-yin bôlburi tegüsčü :
ölǰei ǰirqalaṅ e'üri urtuda nemekü bôltuqai : (8b—d).

En traduction: «pour le souverain bodhisattva, l'Empereur majestueux, protection du royaume, que s'accomplissent les récompenses des mérites annoncés auparavant, et que le bonheur augmente éternellement».

3 *üküš-nüng idiz-i qaγan qan suu-si-ning*:
ük[*üš*] [. . . . .] [*ärdäm*]-*lig töpü ti̯dim-i* :
. . . . . .
üzüksüz alqu yirtinčü-tä mängig yara̯dz-un : : (9a—b, d)

En traduction: «Que les . . . ., le diadème du sinciput de sa Majesté l'empereur, seigneur de la multitude . . . . . répande sans relâche le bonheur dans le monde entier».

En mongol:

[28] Pour le texte mongol de l'inscription de Kiu-yong kouan je me réfère à mon édition de texte: *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise* (*Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* III, Budapest 1972), pp. 83—88.

ṭalai-yin ėǰen ulus-un qān : qān sutu-yin :
ṭalai ėrdemtü horai-yin čimeg qurban "erdinis :
. . . . . .
ṭalai amitan-i ǰirqalaṅ-dur ǰoqiyaqu bôltuqa[i] : :

En traduction: «Que les trois joyaux, ornement du sinciput à innombrables mérites de sa Majesté l'Empereur, seigneur océanique, souverain de l'empire . . . . . rendent heureux les innombrables êtres vivants».

4 *yapa-nïng küsämiš* [. . . . .] *tayaq-ï :*
yrumïš Buyan-lïγ : qaγan suu-si kalpavarakš sögüt-nüng :
[yapïrγ]aq čäčäk tüš yimiš-lig altun uruγ-larï : (10a—c)

En traduction: «que le soutien. . . . . des gens nécessiteux, sa Majesté impériale, le brillant *Buyan-liγ* et que les descendants impériaux qui sont les feuilles, les fleurs et les fruits de l'arbre *kalpavarakš* [se propagent]».

En mongol:

kereglegčin küsegčin-ü qaqča šidü'en :
gegēn Buyan-tu qān sutu galbavaraš modun-u :
keši'ün nabčin altan uruqud delgeregse'er :

En traduction: «Que le seul soutien des nécessiteux et des désireux, sa Majesté le brillant *Buyantu qān*, pendant que les descendants impériaux, les branches et feuilles de l'arbre *galbavaraš* se propagent . . .».

Enfin on peut ajouter à ces recoupements ouigours le tchag. *sü* «brillant; dignité, honneur» (PdC 350).

Il convient de faire remarquer que l'expression *uluγ suu*, dans les deux cas (lignes 2 et 15) commence plus haut que les premiers mots des autres lignes, ce qui est conforme aux usages de la chancellerie de l'époque mongole qui veut que le nom ou la mention même de l'empereur soit toujours mis en vedette par rapport aux autres lignes; de même au milieu de la ligne, avant la mention de l'empereur, on laisse un vide de respect.

Suu, *sü*, *suu-lüg* sont inséparables des termes mongols *su*, *suu*, *sutu*, *sutai*, *sutan* maintes fois discutés.[29]

Somme toute, *uluγ suu*, répondant en quelque sorte au mong. *yeke suu ǰali*, sert à désigner l'empereur.

[29] Tenant compte du jeu sémantique du turc *qut*, synonyme du turco-mongol *suu*, il convient d'admettre pour ce dernier une gamme sémantique assez large: «âme; génie protecteur; bonne fortune; bonheur; dignité, majesté; éclat». Quant au timbre vocalique, en ouigour, nous avons affaire à un flottement *u* : *ü* (*suu-qa*, en même temps *sųų-kä* et *sųų-lüg*); en mongol, dans *suu-tu*, *suu-tan*, c'est le vocalisme postérieur qui a fini par prévaloir. Pour les formes mongoles je me contente de renvoyer à l'article cité de Lewicki et aux remarques détaillées de M. Poppe dans son travail sur les monuments mongols en écriture 'phags-pa (pp. 72—76). Ici il suffira de rappeler deux détails. Vladimircov, dans

aqa ini. — Frère aîné et frère cadet», au sens général de «frères» ne pose pas de problèmes sérieux. La leçon *aya* adoptée par FT, attestée dans une série de langues turques actuelles, souvent avec un sens autre que «frère aîné» (L. A. Pokrovskaja, *Terminy rodstva v tjurkskich jazykach*, dans *Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov*, Moskva 1961, pp. 33—36; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 13) est secondaire. Il est intéressant de voir que le terme *aqa*, au sens indiqué, n'est pas attesté dans les anciens documents turcs, aussi ne figure-t-il pas dans Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* Le composé *aqa ini* n'est toutefois attesté que dans les textes turcs de l'époque mongole (*DTS*, p. 48); il s'agit là d'un calque linguistique fait sur le mongol; cf. précl. *aqa degü*, cl. *aq-a degüü*; mong. > ma. *aχôn deo* «Brüder», Hauer, p. 15. En turc, kzk. *ayaini* «Verwandte, Brüder» (Radl. *Wb.* I, 145), bar. *ayïn* (< *aya* + *ini*) «Brüder, Geschwister, Verwandte» (Radl., *Wb.* I, 155) sont des formations de date relativement récente.

Aqa ini, dans notre document, n'est sûrement pas un terme vague, il veut désigner les «frères» de l'empereur.

oγul-lar. — Au sens de «1. garçon; 2. fils; 3. petit des animaux», *oγul* est attesté dans les textes turcs les plus anciens; cf. *DTS*, p. 364; Clauson, *Etym.*

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son *Mongoljskij sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra*, p. 45, note, fait remarquer que *suu ǰali* (dans *qaγan-u yeke suu ǰali kiged qaγan-u yeke küčün-iyer*) des anciens manuscrits mongols est remplacé, dans les xylographes de date relativement récente, par *čoγ ǰali*. En réalité les deux expressions sont d'origine ouigoure; pour ce dernier, voir ouig. *čoγ yalï* «éclat, lustre; auréole» (*DTS*, p. 151). L'autre expression qui demande une explication est mong. cl. *süü sülde* «casque», qui figure dans le dictionnaire de Kowalewski (II, p. 1377), opposé au tib. *dbu-rmog*. Il est vrai que tib. *dbu-rmog*, dans les textes préclassiques a bien le sens de «helmet» (F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Textes and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, London 1955, p. 162), mais dans le cas présent, il a au figuré le sens: «image de l'autorité, puissance, chef qui ne s'incline pas» (J. Bacot — F. W. Thomas — Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940—1946), p. 200. Il est intéressant de voir que dans le vocabulaire tibéto-mongol intitulé *Li-ši 'i gur-khaṅ* (xyl. de Pékin, f. 10a) on lit tib. *dbu-rmog ni dbu-'phaṅ*, traduit en mong. *sülde inu suu ǰali*. *Dbu-rmog* et *dbu-'phaṅ* ne sont enregistrés dans les grands dictionnaires qu'au sens concret «helmet» (Das, p. 911); cf. toutefois *dbu-'phaṅ* «elevation, high rank, dignity» (Jäschke, p. 383). Le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna (II, p. 295) explique le tib. *dbu-rmog* et *dbu-'phaṅ* par mong. *sür sülde*, *buyan kesig*, *čoγ ǰali* et *gegen čoγ*; c'est le jeu sémantique comp.et en mongol; il est toutefois remarquable de trouver, au lieu du traditionnel *suu sülde*, la variante *sür sülde*. Quant à l'étymologie du mot *suu* (*sü* > *su*), les dérivations chinoises et tongouses ne s'imposent pas et l'origine prétendue ouigoure du mot reste non moins inacceptable. A l'heure actuelle, il me semble que l'ancien rapprochement proposé déjà par D. Banzarov reste toujours valable et que le mong. *suu* (*sü* > *su*) doit être rattaché aux formations *sür*, *sülde*, *sülder*, *sünesün*, malgré la difficulté que pose l'interprétation des suffixes fossiles *-r*, *-lde*, *-lder*, *-nesün*; la paléontologie des suffixes fossiles du mongol reste encore à faire. Les recoupements ouigours aujourd'hui connus ne paraissent pas remonter à une date plus haute que l'époque mongole, je serais donc enclin à considérer, jusqu'à plus ample information, le terme ouigour, isolé, sans dérivés proprement dits, comme un emprunt fait au mongol.

Dict., pp. 83—84 (ici-même *oγlan* est considéré comme un pluriel «oublié» d'*oγul*); Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 358 (*oγul* «Sohn, Knabe», *oγl-an* «junger Mensch, Jüngling, *oγla-γu* «zart», *oγu-laq*, *oγ-laq* «Zicklein»).

Cependant, à l'époque mongole, *oγul* et *oγlan* ont pris un sens spécial, celui d'un prince du sang, «fils de l'Empereur»; cf. tchag. *oγlan* «enfant, fils. Chez les Mongols, titre des prince de sang impérial, comme *mirza* chez les Persans et *sultan* chez les Osmanlis» (PdC 68). Une fois de plus nous sommes en présence d'un calque linguistique fait sur le modèle du mongol où *kö'ün*, pl. *kö'üt* (*Histoire secrète* § 270 XII 16b) signifie à la fois «fils, garçon» et «prince du sang». Cf. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, p. 168; B. Vladimircov, *Le régime social des Mongols* (Paris 1948), pp. 127—128; etc.; Paul Pelliot—Louis Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan* I (Paris 1951), p. 135; G. Doerfer, *TMEN* II, pp. 78—82.[30]

bäg[ä]d-lär. — La leçon est adoptée unanimement par tous les éditeurs, mais elle reste sans autorité. C'est un *hapax legomenon*, et fort probablement nous n'avons là qu'une erreur de scribe. Sur le fac-similé le plus lisible (ajouté à la version chinoise du travail de Tenišev—Fong Kia-cheng), le signe *d*, quoique fort distinct, paraît quelque peu effacé: résultat d'une correction peu réussie. Or *bägd* (lire *bägäd*, *bägid* ou *bägüd*), pluriel «mongol» non attesté dans l'ancien turc (comme *tigit*, *iš baras*) à cette époque serait fort aberrant.[31] A mon avis, le scribe voulait écrire *bäg-lär* (voir *infra*, document n° 1 de M. Yamada), suivi par *tägid-lär-kä* (voir *infra*, ligne 15 de notre document) et il a fini par fondre les deux mots en un seul. L'original authentique ne devait porter que *tägit-lär*, car dans la hiérarchie mongole ce titre précédait celui de *bäg-lär*.

ïduq qut. — Émendation proposée par M. Yamada, elle me paraît à la fois heureuse et authentique. C'est le titre du roi des Ouigours de l'époque mongole (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, pp. 247, 259, 260), connu encore sous les formes *ïduqut* (d'où la fausse leçon *idu'ut* dans l'*Histoire secrète*

[30] Il convient de faire remarquer que dans le corps de notre document, au point de vue sémantique, les deux formes turques sont distinguées l'une de l'autre: *oγul* signifie «prince du sang» (ligne 2), en revanche *oγlan* paraît désigner «fils» (ligne 5).

[31] Fong Kia-cheng—Ê. Tenišev, *op. cit.*, p. 147, se réclament des remarques de Malov (*Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pisjmennosti*, pp. 50—51) qui énumère quelques pluriels en *-t*, dans l'ancien turc (*tigitlär*, *tarqat*, *alpayut*, *šadapït*, *orut*, *savyat*, *qïyït*; certains de ces exemples sont toutefois sujets à caution), ils proposent de voir dans *bägäd-lär* «princes, chefs» un pluriel, plus exactement un double pluriel, pareil aux précédents. Malheureusement leur référence, pour *bägäd* «chef», à Bang-Gabain, *Analytischer Index*, p. 14, repose sur une erreur. Au passage invoqué nous trouvons au lieu d'un nom *bägäd*, un verbe *bägäd-* «Fürst werden (?), stark werden», comme premier membre d'un composé *bägäd- ärkläη-*, id. L'expression *begädmäk erkläηmäk* est aussi recueillie dans *DTS*, p. 91, interprétée comme «усиление, укрепление; renforcement, raffermissement»; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 325 interprète correctement ce même verbe *beged-* comme «to become a beg».

des Mongols), *ïdïqut* (l'étymologie qui veut rattacher cette dernière forme à *idi* «maître» ne doit pas être retenue). Comme titre royal, il est ancien: *iligimiz ïduq qut* «notre roi l'*ïduq qut*» (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* I, pp. 56—57); *Basmïl ïduqut* «le roi *basmïl*» (Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* p. 46).

Dans les documents ouigours de l'époque mongole ce titre figure aussi sous la forme d'*ïduq qut tngrikän* (W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 58—59).[31] L'*ïduqut* des Ouigours, lui aussi avait le droit d'encaisser une amende en cas d'un litige entre les contractants; cf. *infra*.

ančaši. — C'est le chin. 按察使 *ngan-tch'a-che* «inspecteur». On peut ajouter que l'office 拾刑按察司 [*t'i-hing*] *ngan-tch'a-sseu* fut supprimé en 1291 et remplacé par 肅政廉訪使 *sou-tcheng lien-fang-sseu*. Cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan* (*Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, Vol. IV, Paris 1937), pp. 169—174.

šaz-ïn ayγučï. — Émendation incontestable proposée par M. Yamada; les leçons *sän-in arzi* (ligne 3) et *sän-in arïqučï* (ligne 16) adoptées par Fong Kia-cheng et M. Tenišev restent indéfendables. La traduction de M. Yamada par «law-*Aighuchi*» est au fond correcte. M. Yamada a bien vu que *šaz-ïn* (> mong. *šasin*) signifiait «doctrine, loi, religion (bouddhique)» et que *ayγučï* constituait un titre qu'il retrouvait sur le piquet inscrit de Tourfan, publié par F. W. K. Müller (*iš ayγučï Avluč tarqan*) et dans un document ouigour publié par Radloff (*Qočo balïq ayγučï*). Mais il lui a échappé qu'il y a une dizaine d'années j'ai discuté *šaz-ïn ayγučï* en tant que titre bouddhique.[33]

J'ai montré alors, d'après le *Yuan-che*, que *Sävinč Toγril* (*Siao-yun-che T'o-hou-lien*) a rempli, dans son pays ouigour, la fonction de *uluγ ayγučï* (*wou-lou ngai-wou-tch'e*) ou «grand ministre (*ta-tch'en*)». J'ai aussi rappelé le titre *iš ayγučï* qui figure sur le piquet de Tourfan. J'ajouterais aujourd'hui que l'un des deux ambassadeurs envoyés, en 1209, chez Gengis khan par l'*ïdïqut* ouigour portait également le titre de *iš ayγučï*.[34]

[32] A ce sujet voir H. Franke, *Zwei mongolische Textfragmente aus Zentralasien*, dans *Mongolian Studies*, éd. L. Ligeti (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* XIV, Budapest 1970), pp. 142—145. Cf. encore L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* I, XIIIe et XIVe siècles (*Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* II, Budapest 1972), p. 237.

[33] Louis Ligeti, *Sur quelques transcriptions sino-ouigouires des Yuan*, dans *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, XXXIII (1961), pp. 235—244.

[34] Les noms des envoyés ouigours nous sont conservés par Rašīdu-'d-Dīn. Malheureusement ils nous sont parvenus sous des formes assez altérées. Berezin (III, pp. 15—16), avait adopté *Bwkwš 'yš 'yγwǰ'* (var.: *Brkwš '.š 'yywǰy, Skwš 'yš'yywčy, 'yš 'yγwǰy*) et *'lyγn twtwq* (var.: *'lyyn tmdd qwtwq, 'lyyn tymwr qwyw q*). Erdmann (*Temudschin der Unerschütterliche*, p. 313), a lu *Bugusch-Ais-Aighudschi* et *Alain Timur Chutuck*. Dans la traduction russe O. I. Smirnova et B. I. Pankratov (p. 152) ont opté pour *Barguš-iš* (?)-*Ajguči* et *Algin-Timur-Tutuk*. Le nom du second ambassadeur ouigour envoyé chez Gengis khan par *Barčuq art ïdïqut* peut être rétabli sans difficulté. Il s'agit d'*Alin-temür tutuq*, mentionné dans le *Yuan-che* (121, 4b), dans la biographie de 哈剌亦哈赤北魯

Par ailleurs, le titre *ayγučï* seul est très ancien, il est déjà attesté dans les inscriptions en écriture «runique» (cf. encore *DTS*, p. 28; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 271).

J'ai montré, entre autres que dans le *Yuan-che*, le fameux personnage *Pi-la-t'ö-na-che-li cha-tsin ngai-tch'e* ou *Biratnaširi šazin ayγučï* (ailleurs orthographié *Pi-lan-na-che-li cha-tsin ngai-hou-tch'e* qui peut être restitué sous la même forme, car le 2e caractère peut rendre, à cette époque, aussi bien une syllabe étrangère *ran* que *rat*), n'est autre que le traducteur bien connu *Prajñāśrī*. Le même traducteur figure dans le colophon du «Sūtra de la grande Ourse», traduit en mongol comme suit: *Pr-a-dir-a-širi*, qui, dans le même colophon, porte le titre de *Uiγur-un šaǰin-u eǰen*. Or le mong. *šaǰin-u eǰen* est la traduction de l'ouig. *šaz-ïn ayγučï* «maître de la religion (bouddhique)», ou, si l'on veut, «l'intendant des affaires bouddhiques».

s[a]ngia-luγ-larïnga. — Ni la leçon, ni la traduction («to the people of Sangia») proposée par M. Yamada ne sont convaincantes; le rapprochement du prétendu *sangia* au skr. *saṁgha*, même par un intermédiaire hypothétique, reste indéfendable. La leçon *sän-in-luq* au sens de «благодетель; bienfaiteur» adoptée par FT n'est pas satisfaisante non plus.

A mon avis, le début du mot énigmatique est très simple, il doit être lu *šaz-ïn*; pour s'en convaincre on n'a qu'à se reporter aux graphies du même mot dans les lignes 3 (après *ančašï-lar-qa*) et 16 (après *yastuq*). Après *šaz-ïn* nous avons un autre mot commençant par un *waw* imparfaitement tracé, précédé d'un aleph à peine visible; il faut donc lire *uluγ-larïnga*.

L'expression *šaz-ïn uluγ-larïnga* «aux chefs de la religion (bouddhique)» est à tout point de vue impeccable. Dans l'ancien turc (et en ouigour) *uluγ* a le sens, à côté de «grand, âge», de «chef, préposé» (Gabain, *Alttürk. Gr.*, p. 347; *uluγ* «gross, Grosser, Vorgesetzter»). On lit, par exemple, dans le *Qutadγu Bilig*: *bu mäšrik älindä uluγlar* «die Grossen des westlichen Volkes» (Radl., *Wb.* I, 1693).

oquš. — Il me paraît préférable d'adopter, pour ce mot, la leçon traditionnelle *oγuš*, au lieu de celles proposées par M. Yamada (*oquš*) et par Fong Kia-cheng et E. Tenišev (*uquš*). Par ailleurs c'est *oγuš* qu'ont *DTS* (p. 365) et Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.* p. 358). La leçon *uγuš* (Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* p. 96) repose sur *uquz, ūhūṣ*, formes reproduites en écriture brāhmī (Gabain, *TTT* VIII, p.

Ha-la yi-ha-tch 'e pei-lou c'est-à-dire *Qara-ïyač buyruq*, il est mentionné sous la forme de 阿燐帖木兒都瞥 *A-lin t'ie-mou-eul tou-tou*, donc *Alin-temür tutuq*. La même personne est mentionnée dans le *Cheng-wou Ts'in-tcheng lou* (éd. Wang Kouo-wei, *Mong-kou che-leao kiao-tchou* I, f. 73a). L'autre nom apparaît, dans ce dernier ouvrage, cette fois sans titre, sous la forme de *Pie-ki-sseu* 別吉思 ce qui donnerait *Bägis*. Il n'est pas douteux que *Begis* et *Bögüš* (qui était un *iš ayγučï*) représente un seul et même nom, aujourd'hui assez difficile à restituer sous sa vraie forme.

101). Cependant cette leçon paraît sans autorité pour établir la leçon authentique du mot, surtout dans un texte ouigour du XIIIe siècle. Il semble que Mlle Gabain n'ait pas non plus attaché une importance extraordinaire à cette variante, caractéristique des textes en écriture brāhmī, car, à son avis, c'est «ein typisches Beispiel für das Schwanken zwischen *o/ö* und *u, ü* in der Umgebung von *a/k*, *γ/g* et *n*» (*op. cit.* p. 36).

Pour l'expression de notre document, voir ouig. (Suv. 61:20) *tïnlγ oγušï* «род живых существ; la classe des êtres vivants» (*DTS*, p. 365).

kw. — Il s'agit sans doute d'un nom de famille d'origine chinoise. Tenant compte des noms de famille usuels et de leur prononciation à l'époque mongole, on peut songer à 高 *Kao* ou à 告邠 *Kao*, éventuellement à 喬 *Kiao*; ce dernier supposerait une transcription ouigoure *Käu*; cf. L. Ligeti, *Le Po kia sing en écriture 'phags-pa*, dans *AOH* VI, 1956, p. 44.

qïzγud. — Au sens de «punition; châtiment, sanction; pénalité; peine; amende», souvent combiné avec *qïyïn*, *qïïn* «souffrance, peine, tourment», est bien attesté dans les textes turcs jusqu'à Kāsγarī; cf. *DTS*, p. 450; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, pp. 681—682. Dans les documents ouigours, sous les Mongols, c'est un terme juridique courant.

Normalement, ainsi que dans notre document, l'amende consistait en une condamnation pécuniaire ou, exceptionnellement, en une prestation en nature.

L'unité pécuniaire payable en amende était le *yastuq* qui, en turc, signifiait primitivement un «coussin» (cf. *DTS*, p. 245; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, 974; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 191). Sous les Mongols, son emploi, dans l'acception de «*lingot*», est un calque linguistique fait sur le persan *bāliš*; cf. P. Pelliot, *Le prétendu mot «iascot» chez Guillaume de Rubrouck*: *T'oung Pao* XXVII, pp. 190—192.

L'équivalence est en effet parfaite. Nous avons: ouig. *yastuq* = pers. *bāliš* «coussin; monnaie mongole»; ouig. *altun yastuq* = pers. *bāliš-i zar* «bâlisch d'or, monnaie mongole, valant huit *misqâl* et deux *dânèh* d'or (le *misqâl* équivaut à une drachme et demie, le *dânèh* est la quatrième partie du *misqâl*; le *bâlisch* d'or vaut donc à peu près 12 3/4 drachmes d'or); ouig. *kümüš yastuq* = pers. *bāliš-i nuqrah* «bâlisch d'argent, monnaie mongole valant à peu près 12 3/4 drachmes d'argent»; ouig. *yastuq čau* = pers. *bāliš-i čāw* ou simplement *čāw* «nom d'un papier-monnaie mongol, de forme carrée». Pour les mots persans, voir Desmaisons I, p. 242; Vullers I, p. 181; Steingass, p. 150.

L'amende était toujours conforme au rang du personnage qui avait le droit à la prestation. Ainsi on devait payer des *yastuq* d'or à l'empereur, des *yastuq* d'argent aux princes, des *yastuq* (sans autre précision), voire des chevaux, à d'autres personnages de moindre importance. L'achat des esclaves, etc. se faisait normalement moyennant des *yastuq čau*.

Pintung. Le nom de l'ancien esclave chinois, fils adoptif de *Sivsai* est d'origine chinoise et est restitué par Fong Kia-cheng en 斌通 *Pin-t'ong*; dans la partie chinoise du document, ce nom figure sous la forme de 善斌 *Chan-pin*.

Adai tutung. — Le second élément du nom est le titre 都通 *tou-t'ong*. *Ad̲ai* est l'orthographe aberrante du nom turc bien connu *Atai* qui est la forme hypocoristique du terme *ata* «père». Dans le *Yuan-che* nous trouvons plusieurs personnages ouigours dont le nom comportait l'élément *Atai*: *Atai daruγači* (*A-t'ai ta-lou-houa-tch'e*, 124, 17a), *Atai tonga* (*A-t'ai tong-a*, 14, 2a), *Atai-sali* (*A-t'ai sa-li*, 130, 17a). Enfin, le grand-père de *Hindu* s'appelait *Atai-buqa*.[35]

Sivsai taiši. — Le second élément du nom est ici encore un titre; celui-ci peut être identifié, d'accord avec Fong Kia-cheng, en effet avec 大師 *ta-che*. En revanche 薛賽 *Sie-sai*, comme restitution de *Sivsai*, demeure inacceptable. Le chin. *sie*, ach. *si̯ät*, am. (en écriture 'phags-pa) *sä* n'a certainement rien à voir avec *Sivsai* de la transcription ouigoure. Le rapprochement proposé dans *DTS*, p. 501, est remarquable: la transcription ouigoure de notre document, *Sivšai* (qui doit être lu tout simplement *Sivsai*) y est opposé au chin. 秀才 *sieou-ts'ai*, ach. *si̯u̯-dz'âi*, am. *siv-cay*. Formellement le rapprochement est impeccable, cependant l'identification même se heurte à une difficulté: *sieou-ts'ai*, titre bien connu des lettrés confucianistes, combiné avec un titre s'explique mal au lieu d'un nom véritable (combiné avec un titre). Ce serait donc une espèce de sobriquet qui demanderait une information supplémentaire pour prouver l'authenticité de cette interprétation.

Je propose de lire les passages discutés comme suit.

1 *uluγ suu-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün anta basa aqa ini oγul-lar-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün basa*

2 *bäg⟨d⟩-läringä ančašï-lar-qa šaz-ïn ay[γu]čï-qa šaz-ïn uluγ-larïnga il-kä . . .*

3 *quvraq-qa alqu tïnlγ oγuš-ïnga anta basa baqšïm uluγ-um Kau baqšï[-qa]*

5 *mäning öz bodum-qa kišim-kä oγlan-larïm-qa basa Äsän Toγrïl Turmïš t . . . .[-q]a*

6 *Ad̲ai tutung Ögrünč-siz Basqan bašlap uruγ-qa qadaš-qa buyan-ï tägz-ün*

. . . . . .

[35] L. Ligeti, *Sur quelques transcriptions sino-ouigoures des Yuan*, p. 238. Dans mon travail intitulé *Fragments mongols de Berlin* : *AOH* XXIV, 1971, pp. 141—142, j'ai relevé plusieurs personnes mongoles qui portaient le nom d'*Adai*, entre autres un *Adai qayan* du XVe siècle. P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke* (Paris 1960), y trouve aussi le même nom. Il est fort probable que les noms mongols que j'ai invoqués alors peuvent en effet être interprétés comme *Ad̲ai* donc *Atai*.

14 .....*bu bitig-täki söz-tin öngi bolsar biz*...
15 *uluγ suu-qa bir altun yastuq aqa ini tägid-lär birär kümü* [*š*] [*yastuq*] *idiq-*[*q*]*ut-*[*q*]*a*
16 *bir yastuq šaz-ïn ayγučï-qa bir at qïzyud ötünüp* .....*un*

En traduction: «Que sa Majesté soit favorisée[36] par la fortune et ensuite (3) [que ses] frères et les princes soient favorisés par la fortune, puis les seigneurs, les inspecteurs, les maîtres de la religion, les préposés de la religion, le peuple [soumis],[37] (4) l'assemblée [ecclésiastique], toute la classe des êtres vivants, puis encore mon précepteur, mon chef, *Kao-baqšï* . . . (5) ma propre personne, ma femme, mes enfants, ensuite *Äsän Toγrïl Turmïš* . . .[38] (6) *Aḏai tutung Ögrünč-siz Basqan*[39] et que les autres descendants et parents soient favorisés

[36] En voici un mot-à-mot maladroit: «que sa fortune parvienne à sa Majesté». Pour la même construction ouigoure, cf. *oγul-ïn-qa ögkä qangqa buyan-ï tägz-ün* «the benefit shall reach (him) and mother and father» (Yamada, *op. cit.*, p. 88, No. 16: 6—7).

[37] FT ont rendu le terme *il* par «народ; peuple», Yamada l'a traduit par «natives». Il n'y a pas de doute que dans ce passage il faut compter avec un sens spécial du terme en question, et c'est *il* «peuple soumis, peuple pacifique ou pacifié» opposé à *yaγï* «peuple ennemi», en mongol, dans la même fonction, nous avons *il* (*el*) opposé à *bulγa* (*irgen*). Cette acception sémantique est caractéristique surtout des textes de l'époque mongole. Cf. tchag. *il* (*el*) «obéissant, soumis»; dans un exemple tiré d'Abu-'l-Γāzī, on lit *Otrarnï šahzadelarγa beräli taqï il bolalï* «il faut donner Otrar aux Châhzâdehs et se soumettre»; ou encore: *Giryan didi ai közüm čïrayï* | *Waχšïlara il bänimlä yaγï* «Elle dit en pleurant: O lumière de mes yeux, ami des bêtes sauvages, ennemi de moi seule» (PdC 126). Les mots turcs et mongols ont été discutés à propos de la lettre persane, adressée en 1246 par le grand khan Güyük à Innocent IV; cf. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp. 21, note 3. Le mot a aussi passé dans le persan. En effet, nous lisons dans la lettre de Güyük: *īl šavïm kūč dahīm*, traduit par Pelliot: «[A présent, vous devez dire d'un coeur sincère:] «Nous serons [vos] sujets [*īl*], nous vous donnerons notre force». Sur pers. *il*, voir la petite monographie polémique de Doerfer, *TMEN* II, pp. 194—201. Il est fort probable que dans notre document *il* désigne les Ouigours, comptés parmi les «peuples soumis» de leur propre chef. Sur *el*, voir encore *DTS*, pp. 168—169; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, pp. 121—122; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 39.

[38] Il reste à savoir combien de personnes se cachent sous les trois noms. En vérité trois? On connaît dans les documents ouigours de l'époque mongole *Esän buqa*, *Esän qaya*, *Esän temür* (*DTS*, p. 183), *Alp toγrïl*, *Ozmïš toγrïl*, *Turuq edgü toγril* (*DTS*, p. 571), *Turmïš*, *Turmïš temür*, *Turmïš tutung*, *Barča turmïš*, *Beg turmïš*, *Tesäk turmïš* (*DTS*, p. 588). Le dernier mot illisible constitue un élément important pour la compréhension du passage.

[39] FT ont interprété *ögrünč-siz bazγan* comme «не радостен, печален; sans joie, chagriné». On peut objecter à cette interprétation que le suffixe *-siz* est insolite dans cette position, on attendrait *ögrünč-süz*. Bien plus, dans les sources qui me sont accessibles, je ne vois pas de mot *bazγan* au sens indiqué plus haut. (Sur *bazγān* «blacksmith's hammer», mal interprété par les éditeurs de Kāšγarī, voir Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 390. Du reste, *DTS*, p. 652: *-γan*, nous offre le nom ailleurs non attesté *basγan* «marteau», dérivé du verbe *bas-* «presser, peser sur»; dans ce sens nous avons tourki, tchag., sarte *basqam* «der Schmiedehammer» (Radl. IV, 1533), chor, léb., sag., koïb. *pasqa* «ein grosser Hammer»

par la fortune» . . . (14) mais si nous manquions à [notre] parole [exposée] dans cet écrit (16) nous devrions apporter en amende (15) un lingot d'or à sa Majesté, un [lingot] d'argent à chacun des frères [de l'empereur] et des princes, à *ïduq qut*, (16) un lingot, au maître de la religion, un cheval».

Les sanctions à appliquer contre le violateur du contrat sont établies par une formule qui paraît stéréotypée dans les documents de l'époque mongole.

A titre de curiosité voici quelques exemples choisis un peu au hasard dans les documents publiés par N. Yamada et W. Radloff:[40]

Yamada, n° 1:

20 . . . . . *kim kim*
21 *m-ä bolup čam čarïm qïlsar*
22 *uluγ suu-kä aq yasḏuq bäg-*
23 *-lär-kä ädär-kä yaraγu aḏ*
24 *birip söz-läri yorïmaṣun*[41]

En traduction: «si quelqu'un qui que ce soit, en entamait une dispute il devrait offrir [en amende] à sa Majesté un *yastuq* blanc,[42] et aux seigneurs un cheval de selle et sa parole [sa petition] devrait rester sans effet».

Yamada, n° 13:

12 . . . . . *sav-larï yorïmaz-un-lar*
13 *Ögödäi suu-singä iki yṵrüng atan ötünüp Yangï* [?]
14 *balïq ṭaruγ-a-larïnga ädär-kä yarašu at birip Čintsu*

(Radl. IV, 1188). M. Yamada impressionné sans doute par ces difficultés a préféré y voir simplement des noms propres: «Ögrünch Siz Bashqan». Malheureusement, *Siz Bashqan*, en tant que nom de personne, n'est rien moins que rassurant. Pour le moment je ne vois pas de solution évidente, et cela nous mènerait trop loin de discuter quelques possibilités plus ou moins hardies; j'ai adopté, sous toute réserve, *Ögrünč-siz Basqan*. Il est intéressant de mentionner qu'après le mot que je lis pour le moment *Basqan*, on voit un signe spécial qui sert à le séparer sémantiquement du mot suivant.

[40] N. Yamada, *Uighur Documents of Slaves and Adopted Sons*, pp. 28—34, 80—83, 88—90; W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 133—135; 210—211, 252; 211—212, 253.

[41] Dans la traduction de M. Yamada: «Whoever it may be, if they cause troubles, they shall offer white *yastuq* to the grand army, horses suitable for saddle to *bägs*, and their words shall not pass.» Sur *uluγ suu*, voir *supra*.

[42] L'expression *aq yastuq* est insolite, tout au moins m'est-elle inconnue ne l'ayant pas rencontrée dans d'autres textes. On pourrait songer à la rigueur à *sarïγ altun ürüng kümüš*, dans l'inscription de Toñuquq (cf. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* p. 131) «yellow gold and white silver». Cependant *aq* blanc», aujourd'hui généralement répandu dans ce sens, primitivement ne désignait que la robe des animaux (surtout celle des chevaux), et, anciennement, au sens de «blanc» *aq* était caractéristique de l'oghouz. Un *yastuq* d'argent pour le trésor impérial?

15 *ayaγ-qa tägimlig-kä bir-kä iki birip ayïr qïn-qa*
16 *tägir biz*[43]

En traduction: «leur paroles doivent rester sans effet. Ils doivent offrir [en amende] à sa Majesté *Ögödei*[44] deux chameaux blancs châtrés, aux daroughas de la ville *Yangï*[45] ils doivent donner un cheval de selle et au Révérend *Čintso* ils doivent donner deux pour un[46] et nous devons subir un châtiment grave.

[43] D'après la traduction de M. Yamada: «they presenting two bright gelding camels to the army of Ögötäi, horses suitable to saddle to the darughas of the town, two times to Saint Chintso, must suffer to heavy penalty». Sur «army of Ögötäi, voir *supra*.

[44] Le nom de cet empereur mongol est encore mentionné dans un autre document ouigour sous la forme *Ögädäi qan* (Radloff, *Uig. Sprachd.*, p. 28, n° 22:15).

[45] Sur le fac-similé le mot n'est pas bien lisible. Au lieu de *amtï* proposé par M. Yamada, je lis, sous réserve, *Yangï balïq*. Sur cette dernière ville, voir *DTS*, p. 234 (d'après Kāšγarī, c'est une ville au pays des Ouigours). Sur la même ville, sous les Yuan, voir E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, p. 169; II, p. 33. *DTS*, p. 159, s. v. *daruγa*, lit notre passage comme suit: *ordu balïq taruγalarïnga . . . at berip* «aux commandants de la ville . . . donnant des chevaux». Un composé *ordu balïq* n'est pas attesté dans les textes ouigours de l'époque. *Ordu balïq*, autrement *Mau balïq*, ancienne capitale des Ouigours, en ruine à l'époque mongole, est évidemment hors de cause dans ce document. Sur *Ordu balïq*, voir E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I, pp. 254, 256.

[46] Il me paraît que «two times», traduction proposée par M. Yamada pour *birkä iki* (je ne crois pas que *birkä* appartienne au mot précédent) n'est pas assez précise. Je serais enclin d'interpréter l'expression par «deux pour (au lieu d')un». Quant à cette fonction du datif, voir Gabain, *op. cit.* p. 167, § 392. Par ailleurs, les documents ouigours de cette époque nous en fournissent d'autres exemples: *birmädin käčärsär mn bir-kä bir qošup birür mn* «verzögere ich mit der Bezahlung, so werde ich für jedes [Stück] ein Stück hinzufügend abgeben «(Radloff, *Uig. Sprachd.*, n° 8:6—8). Le dédommagement privé par une restitution double a été signalé par M. Yamada même, dans un autre travail très intéressant; cf. N. Yamada, *Uighur Documents of Sale and Loan Contracts Brought by Otani Expeditions. Appendix: The Forms of the Uighur Document of Sales Contract* (*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 23, Tokyo 1964), p. 106: «Penalty to be Effected between the Parties Concerned: Compensation for Loss . . . The loss was in no case inflicted upon the vendee». La première formule est établie par M. Yamada comme suit: *bu* <Object> *tänginčä iki* <Object> <Vendee> *-qa yaratu birip yulup alzunlar* «Prepare and give to < > two of the same <value> with this and they shall not deprive and take». En voici quelques exemples: *bu borluq täng-inčä iki borluq birip* (Radloff, *Uig. Sprachd.* n° 13: 14—15); *bu borluq tänginčä iki borluq basa Toγrïl-qa yaratu birip* (Radl., n° 109: 15—16); *bu Quotluγ täg iki kiši yaraḍu birip* (Radl., n° 116: 20—21); *bu qarabaš[ini]n tänginčä iki qarabaš birip* (Radl., n° 61: 14—15); *bu qarabaš tänginčä iki qarabaš Iničük-kä yaraḍu birip* (Radl., n° 114: 13—14); *bu kiši täg iki kiši birip* (Radl., n° 110: 17—18; Malov, n° 2: 7—8); *bu kiši tänginčä iki kišini birip* (Radl., n° 57: 16—17). Il semble que *birkä iki* [*birip*] soit est une expression abrégée à côté des variantes usuelles *tänginčä iki* [*birip*] et *täg iki* [*birip*]. Il convient de signaler qu'un des rares documents mongols de prêt nous prouve qu'à cette époque on rendait le double de la denrée etc. prêtée: *mun qoyar-i tolede bügdeǰü ögkü bolba* (pour le texte, voir mon édition: *Monuments préclassiques* I. XIIIe et XIVe siècles: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* II, Budapest 1972, p. 108), ce qui est traduit par F. W. Cleaves (*HJAS* XVIII, 1955, p. 25): «will integrally give (back) exactly the double». (à ce propos

Yamada, n° 15:

13 *kim ymä čamlamaz-un-lar . čamlasar-lar* —
14 *ičgärü ayïlïq-qa bir altun yastuq* —
15 *Qočo bägingä bir at balïq bägingä bir*
16 *ud birip ayïr qïïn-qa tägz-ün . . .*[47]

En traduction «et personne ne doit entamer une dispute. S'ils entamaient une dispute, ils devraient donner [en amende] un *yastuq* d'or au trésor intérieur,[48] un cheval au commandant de Qočo, un boeuf au commandant de la ville et subir un châtiment grave».

Fong Kia-cheng, n° 1:

9 *kim kim mä čam čarïm qïlmaz-un-lar . apam birök ärklig bäg*
10 *iši küčin tutup čam čarïm qïlsar-lar*
11 *uluy suu-kä bir altun yaetuq basïp. il bäglär-ingä ädär-kä*
12 *yarayu at birip söz-lär-i yorïmaz-un* . . . . . .[49]

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voir ses remarques, pp. 40—41). En voici quelques exemples ouigours: *Il-tämir-ṭin bir küri küničḏ alṭïm küz iki küri kün-čiḏ birür mn* «. . . habe ich von El-tämir einen Eimer Öl empfangen. Im Herbst werde ich zwei Eimer Öl zurückgeben» (Radl., *Uig. Sprachd.*, n° 7: 3—5; Radl. lit. *köni* «Eimer», cette fausse leçon est encore maintenue dans *DTS*, p. 315. Il s'agit de *küri* «boisseau»; cf. N. Yamada, *Four Notes on Several Names for Weights and Measures in Uighur Documents*, pp. 491—493, dans *Studia Turcica*, éd. Ligeti, Budapest 1971); *öz badïr bilä on iki badïr küničḏ aldïm*; *küz yangïda yägirmi iki badïr küničḏ köni birür mn*». . . habe ich . . . mit dem eigenen Padyr zwöf Padyr Öl empfangen. Zu Anfang des Herbstes werde ich zweiundzwanzig Padyr Öl richtig zurückgeben» (Radl., n° 27Ö5—8); *iki bay böz aldïm küz yangïṭa iki qata böz bärürmän* «. . . habe . . . ich zwei Bündel Baumwollenzeug erhalten. Zu Anfang des Herbstes werde ich doppelt so viel Baumwollenzeug zurückgeben» (Radl., n° 29: 3—5); *üčär böz aldïmïz küz yangï-qa alḏïrar böz-ni köni bärirbiz*» . . . haben wir . . . zu drei (Stück) Baumwollenzeug empfangen. Zu Anfang des Herbstes werden wir zu sechs (Stück) Baumwollenzeug richtig zurückgeben» (Radl., n° 34: 5—7). Le document mongol avec sa dispense de charge d'intérêt (*asiy ügei*) tout en étant assez exceptionnel, n'est pas sans analogie ouigoure (cf. le document n° 8 cité plus haut). Autrement les documents ouigours mentionnent régulièrement l'obligation de payer les charges d'intérêt: *birmädin käčürsär biz il yangïnč-a asïyï birlä köni birürbiz* «Zögern wir mit der Rückgabe, so werden wir die Zinsen, die beim Volk üblich sind, zahlen» (Radl., n° 34: 9—10). Dans ces documents les charges d'intérêt ne sont recouvrables qu'en cas de non payement à la date convenue».

[47] M. Yamada traduit comme suit: «whoever it may be, they shall not cause troubles. If they cause trouble, they shall give a gold *yastuq* to the inner treasure, a horse to the *bäg* of Qocho, an ox to the *bäg* of the town, and shall suffer severe punishment».

[48] J'ai opté avec M. Yamada pour la leçon *ičgärü* (cf. Gabain, *Alttürk. Gram.*, §§ 186, 193) au lieu de la leçon *ičkärü* adoptée par *DTS*, p. 202. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 25 a souligné que ce terme, primitivement un adverbe de direction («inwards»), a aussi pris plus tard le sens de «intérieur» (adjectif, substantif). L'expression *ičgärü ayïlïq* «trésor intérieur» doit avoir le sens, selon Clauson, de «the court (or government?) treasury».

[49] Fong Kia-cheng, 元伐畏兀兒文契約二種 *Yuan-tai wei-wou-eul wen k'i-yo eul-tchong*, dans *Li-che yen-kieou* No. 1, Pei-p'ing 1954, pp. 119—131, surtout pp. 119—127.

En traduction: «que personne n'entame de dispute.[50] S'ils entamaient une dispute se servant de la force d'un seigneur puissant, ils devraient payer à sa Majesté[51] un *yastuq* d'or et donner aux seigneurs du peuple soumis un cheval de selle et leur parole devrait rester sans effet».

Radloff, n° 78:

10 ..... *apam birök alïr-bïz*
11 *tip čamlasar-lar uluγ suu-kä*
12 *bir altun yastuq oγlan tigid-*
13 *-lärkä bir kümüš yastuq*
14 *ičgärü aγïlïq-qa bir yastuq*
15 *ičgärü aγïlïq-qa bir at biriр*
16 *aγïr qïïn-qa tägip söz-läri*
17 *yorïmaz-un*.....[52]

En traduction: «si, en se disant 'nous les reprendrons' ils entamaient une dispute, ils devraient donner [en amende] à sa Majesté un *yastuq* d'or, aux princes du sang et aux princes un *yastuq* d'argent, au trésor intérieur un *yastuq*, au trésor intérieur un cheval et devraient subir un châtiment grave et leur parole devrait rester sans effet».

Radloff, n° 115:

15 ..... *apam čam čarïm qïlsar-*[*lar*]
16 *uluγ suu-kä biš altun yastuq oγlan* [?]
17 *tigit-lär-kä birär altun yastuq qïsar*
18 *ötünüp ïduq-qut-qa bir altun yast*[*uq*]
19 *kigürüp Qočo balïq ayγučï bir kümüš*
20 *yastuq biriр aγïr qïïn-qa tägz-ün-lär*[54]

[50] Fong Kia-cheng lit *tilsär-lär*, ce qui est une erreur manifeste pour *qïlsar-lar*.

[51] Ici encore le mot *uluγ* est placé plus haut que les premiers mots des autres lignes. Dans la même ligne, Fong lit *altun yastuγ bašïp*. (avec un point après *bašïp*), par contre Yamada donne *altun yastuq, bašïp* (avec une virgule après *yastuq*). Or ni le fac-similé publié par Fong, ni celui de Houang Wen-pi (p. 110) ne comportent à ces endroits d'interponction visible. Par ailleurs, la leçon *bašïp* me paraît indéfendable; je ne connais pas de verbe *baš-*. A l'appui de la leçon *basïp* que j'ai adoptée, je me réfère à *basïγ* «taille; espèce d'impôt»: *basïq salïq* (Radl., n° 14: 14), *basïq täsik* (Radl., n° 88: 44); cf. *DTS*, p. 85; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 373.

[52] D'après la traduction de Radloff: «Wenn aber irgendeiner: 'wir nehmen sie' sagend Streit erhebt, so möge er an das grosse Heer einen Jastuk Gold, an die Reiterei (?) einen Jastuk Silber, an die innere Kasse einen Jastuk, an die innere Kasse ein Pferd übergeben, in harte Strafe verfallen und seine Worte mögen keine Geltung haben.»

[53] La double mention d'*ičgärü aγïlïq*, dans les lignes 13 et 14 est surprenante.

[54] Traduction de Radloff: «wenn sie aber Streit erregen, so sollen sie an das grosse Heer fünf Jastuk Gold, an die Akai ... ükät zu je einen Jastuk Gold, demütig bittend and den Yduk-kut einen Jastuk Gold überlassend und dem Befehlshaber (*aičučï*, sic) der Stadt Kotschu einen ... mögen sie in strenge Strafe verfallen».

En traduction: «s'ils entamaient une dispute, ils devraient offrir humblement [en amende] à sa Majesté cinq *yastuq* d'or, aux princes du sang et aux princes, à chacun d'eux [un] *yastuq* d'or, ils devraient apporter à l'*ïduq-qut*[55] un *yastuq* d'or, et ils devraient donner au commandant de la ville de *Qočo* un *yastuq* d'argent et subir un châtiment grave».

Radloff, n° 116:

13 *apam čam čarïm qïlsar mn*
14 *uluγ suu-kä iki yastuq ötünüp ming*
15 *bägi-kä bir yastuq Lükčüng ṯaruγas* [?]*-ïnga*
16 *yarïm yastuq birip aγïr gïn-qa tägir mn*[56]

En traduction: «si j'entamais une dispute, je devrais offrir à sa Majesté deux *yastuq*, je devrais donner aux daroughas [?][57] de *Lükčüng*[58] un demi *yastuq* et je devrais subir un châtiment grave».

[55] On attendrait *ayγučï-qa*.

[56] Traduction de Radloff: «Wenn ich aber Streit und Zank erheben sollte, so habe ich an das grosse Heer zwei Jastuk vorzustellen und dem Ming Begi (Tausendherren) einen Jastuk, dem Tarnuq von Lüktschüng (aber) einen halben Jastuk zu geben und werde in schwere Strafe verfallen».

[57] La leçon *tarnuq* adoptée par Radloff paraît fort douteuse.

[58] Sur *Lükčüng*, voir mes remarques dans *AOH* XXI, 1968, p. 70 et *AOH* XXII, 1969, pp. 38—39. Cf. encore *DTS*, p. 334.

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UNE VERSION MONGOLE DU *MAṆI BKA'-'BUM:* LE COLOPHON DE LA TRADUCTION ABAGA

PAR

G. KARA

Dans un article important où l'on trouve la description des livres manuscrits et xylographiés de la petite bibliothèque mongole d'un monastère lamaïque de Tchakhar (*Eine kleine mongolische Klosterbibliothek aus Tsakhar* dans le *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, XLI. und XLII. Jahrgang, 1961 und 1962, pp. 557—590), M. W. Heissig nous donne des renseignements détaillés sur un manuscrit de la bibliothèque du Čaγan küriye süme, aujourd'hui Mong. 42 de la collection du Musée historique de Berne (n° 55 de la description, pp. 571—576). Ce manuscrit du XVIIe siècle comporte de deux volumes et contient la deuxième et la troisième parties de la traduction mongole du *Maṇi bka'-'bum*, recueil tibétain apocryphe. Ayant comparé le texte de ce manuscrit avec celui du Zaya Paṇḍita oïrate (traduction de 1644), M. Heissig a constaté qu'ils divergeaient et, comme le colophon manque à la traduction du manuscrit de Berne, il croit qu'il ne pas impossible que cette traduction appartiendrait au célèbre Siregetü guuši čorǰi des Tümed, dont le colophon (et malheureusement le colophon seul) du *Maṇi bka'-'bum* mongol est publié dans les *J̌aγun bilig* par M. Damdinsürüng (Oulanbator 1959).

En 1968, quand je vivais à Leningrad et travaillais à l'Institut des études orientales de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S. j'ai eu l'honneur d'examiner et de classer quelques centaines de manuscrits et xylographies mongols qui n'étaient pas encore catalogués. C'est en effectant ce travail que j'ai rencontré un manuscrit contenant une version mongole, traduction «intégrale» du *Maṇi bka'-'bum*. Cette traduction s'est montrée différente du texte du grand traducteur oïrate, en même temps qu'elle s'est prouvée identique à celle de la copie de Berne ce que j'ai pu établir à la base du passage cité par M. Heissig. Au témoignage de ce passage, les textes des deux manuscrits, celui de Berne et celui de Leningrad, ne s'écartent que légèrement l'un de l'autre, mais ce dernier, qui est un texte intégral, est pourvu d'un ample colophon en vers, lequel nous permet la localisation et la datation de cette version mongole qui représente une des trois traductions indépendantes, que nous connaissions du fameux apocryphe tibétain.

D'ailleurs ni la version oïrate, ni la nôtre ne correspondent à la rédaction

tibétaine bien connue. Quant à la traduction oïrate[1] de 1644, reproduite dans trois éditions xylographiques, la différence du contenu ou, au moins, de sa distribution se manifeste par le fait que l'on a 11 parties en mongol (12 dans la nôtre), tandis que la principale version tibétaine en comprend 20 (voir chez A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moskva 1960, pp. 42—47), et le deuxième chapitre mongol — chez nous: 49 f. — correspond au septième chapitre tibétain — 6 f. dans l'édition xylographique de *Khu-re čhen-mo* [= Ourga], voir chez M. M. Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, Teil 4, Wiesbaden 1964, n° 2925 A.[2]

Le manuscrit de Leningrad, LO IVAN, Mong. Fond Q 402, n'a pas de titre initial, il est écrit sur papier chinois de plusieurs couches collées (en mong. *bolγamal čaγasun*) d'à peu près 59×19 cm, la partie écrite, ayant 46×14 cm, comprend 26 à 30 lignes par page (I, 72a: 59,5×19,3 cm, partie écrite: 45,5×15,5 cm, 31 lignes); les parties écrites varient, elles sont tantôt encadrées d'une ligne, tantôt d'une double ligne et quelquefois elles sont illustrées d'aquarelles figuratives ou d'ornements géométriques à l'encre de Chine. Numérotage sur le recto dans la marge gauche (p. e. I, 1b: *terigün nige*, XII, 1b: *ečüs-ün debter nige*) par les chapitres:

I: 72a, II: 49a, III: 15b, IV: 68a, V: 26a, VI: 13a, VII: 21a, VIII: 37a, IX: 54b, X: 48b, XI: 61b, XII: 7a ter + feuille finale; un numérotage continu se trouve sur les versos jusqu'à la feuille 159b.

Écriture: calligraphie au calame avec un contraste de traits fins et épais, ces derniers dominent.

Les feuilles I, 1b et 2a sont ornées d'aquarelles des deux côtés: l'aquarelle de gauche montre *Amitābha*, le quatrième des dhyānibuddhas, au milieu d'un paysage montagneux avec des arbres au bord d'un cours d'eau, l'aquarelle de droite représente l'*Avalokiteśvara caturbhuja*[3] (dhyānibodhisattva d'Amitābha),

[1] Bien que le savant lama oïrate ait encore employé l'écriture ouigouro-mongole, la langue de sa traduction contient des éléments oïrates ou vulgaires, qui représentent la langue vivante de son époque: p.e. éd. de 1736, vol. II, ch. XI, 274a: *töröbe čü*, forme qui montre la genèse de l'adv. concessivum.

[2] Pour le contenu de l'ouvrage tibétain voir encore G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 134. D'ailleurs Vostrikov a également insisté sur la divergence des différentes rédactions, il traite de la traduction oïrate de 1644 et de ses éditions xylographiques mongoles de 1712, de 1717 et de 1735 (selon M. Heissig, *PLB*: 1736), cf. W. Heissig, *PLB* n°s 24, 87 et W. Heissig—K. Sagaster, *MHBL*, n°s 334—335 et 664/f. Une édition bouriate est imprimée dans la lamasérie *Čicanovskij dacan* ou *Čičan-a-yin Γandangčoyinpolling* [Dga'-ldan čhos-'phel-gliṅ] *süm-e* fondée en 1831 (cf. B. Rinchen, *Four Mongolian Historical Records*, New Delhi 1959, pp. 97—103, p. 38, n° 19, p. 103, n° 953/190), l'exemplaire de l'Institut oriental, Leningrad, Mong. I 78, provient de l'ancienne collection de la *Kazanskaja Duchovnaja Akademija* (KDA 65).

[3] Une description contemporaine de la forme à quatre mains se trouve chez Saγang Sečen, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, ms d'Oulanbator, 81b: *tendeče Iryai qotan-yin čing wang terigülen : tuutang süngbing yeke baγ-a noyad inu ǰalaǰu : yekede kündülen tabiylaǰu büküy-e : boγda*

le paysage étant analogue au précédent; 2a, l'aquarelle de gauche: la *Tārā* blanche, l'aquarelle de droite: la Tārā verte, paysage de plaine.

L'orthographe et la langue du texte portent les traits qui caractérisent les monuments non-oïrates (c.-à-d. orientaux) du milieu du XVIIe siècle: comme l'inconséquence dans l'usage des signes diacritiques et des lettres ouigoures D et T à l'initiale de certains morphèmes liés, le M final avec deux dents, l'apparition des lettres de l'alphabet *āli kāli*, la translittération des mots tibétains et leur transcription ouigoure (archaïque et dialectale) qui figurent parallèlement, des mots et des formes archaïques comme *bolui*[4] (p. e. VII, 21a: *ičuqu-yin ubadis bolui*), *yaǰad* (plur. de *yaǰar*), *döi* (I, 13b: *Divadad egeči döi-ner-iyer gšan-di öčirün*: où *döi* signifie «soeur cadette»),[5] la formule finale ancienne, ouig. *sadû edgü* (VI, 13b), le sino-ouigour *küü sang* («trésor», ici, I, 15a, avec un autre «binôme» synonymique, *ed ayura=sun*), *čindamani erdini* (ibid.), *asaγbasu* (au lieu de la forme classique *asaγubasu*, ibid.) etc.

Voici la liste des variantes des manuscrits de Berne et de Leningrad dans le passage cité par M. Heissig (*op. cit.*, pp. 573—574):

Bern, Mong. 42, III
(176b) *edüged ayam ru sorong ibsan qayan edeger buyu. edüge bi buyu kemen.*
kemebesü edüge (bi×) todgar buyu.
tere kemebesü edüge Bolbu-yin qayan ene buyu. tere čaγ-un naran saran-u ǰula kemekü tere ber.
čayan dara buyu .
oytaryui-yin ǰula
noyoyan dara kemen .
kemebesü . edüge tomni
sambura buyu. kemebesü .
(177a) *čidkür-ün yaǰar*
tedeger . tü . . .
üileddügsen

Leningrad, IVAN, Mong. Q 402, III
(15a) *edüge Aγ-namari-srong-bčan qayan ene buyu edüge bi buyu : kemen kemebesü edüge bi Todgar buyu :*
tere kemebesü : edüge Balbu-yin qayan ene buyu : tere čaγ-un Naran saran-i ǰula kemekü tere ber :
Čayan dara buyu :
Oytaryu-yin ǰula
(15b) *Noyoyan dar-a kemen :*
kemebesü : edüge Tonmi
samboṭa buyu : kemebesü :
čidkürün (fin de ligne) *yaǰar*
tedeger Töbed ulus-un
üiledügsen

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qamuγ-i medegči : čayan önggetei nigen niγurtai dörben γartai : uridu qoyar-i ǰirüken-tür [ms: *-tün*] *alayaban qamtudqan : barayun nökögede udbala sečeg-i bariǰu : ǰegün-iyer čayan bolor erike-yi toyalan bariyad : köl-iyen včir ǰabilal-iyar sayun : belges üliger-iyer you-a-da čimeǰü : eldeb erdenis kiged : kiib-üd-iyer üǰesküleug-dey-e čimeged : tabun öngge (gerel)-iyer : čoytay-a gerelün bükü qotalayar üǰen : sedkisi ügei buyan baramid-i sayitur ergüǰü : küsekü tayalal-iyar gün narin nom-i qantala sonosuyad : yeke süsüg bisirel-ün küčün-i oluysan aǰuγu : : : : :*

[4] Forme préclassique, v. chez M. M. Weiers, *Untersuchungen zu einer historischen Grammatik des präklassischen Schriftmongolisch*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 136—146; il est probable que les différentes formes alternantes n'ont rien de commun avec le singulier ou avec le pluriel.

[5] Ce mot, féminin ancien correspondant au masculin *degü*, *degüü* se rencontre également dans le *Erdeni-yin tobči*, cf. éd. Mostaert, vol. I, p. 74, *döi* ou *düi*, Hs 85 *düyyi* ou *döyyi*, 165 *döyi*.

toγa tomsi ügei	*toγ-a tomsi ügei*
kiged . amitan-u tusadur	*kiged : amitan-u tusa-ṯur*
čaγlasi ügei buyu . kemen	*čaγlasi ügei buyu : kemen*
ǰarliγ boluγad .	*ǰarliγ boluγad :*
bodisung-un qubilγan	*bodistv-un qubilγan*
törögülǰü bürün süsüg	*törögülǰü bür-ün : süsüg*
törögülkü buyu	*törögülküi buyu*
öglige-dür	*öglige-ṯür*
siltaγan-iyar	*silta=γan-iyan*
nomlaγsan-u	*nomlaγsan-i*
ǰokiyaγsan bolai .	*ǰokiyaγsan bolui : : : : :*
šasiṅ erdeni	*šasin erdini*
amitan-a aγuu yeke	*amitaṉ-a aγui yeke*
tusa bolqu boltuγai .	*tusa bolqui boltuγai : : : : :*

La plupart des divergences sont insignifiantes et de nature orthographique, de plus, certaines s'expliquent peut-être par la différence de nos systèmes de transcription. Dans ce passage-ci le manuscrit de Berne a conservé la transcription archaïque *Aγ[n]am-ru sorong ibsan qaγan* (ms de Leningrad: °*srong-bčan*°) = tib. *Gnam-ri sroṅ-bcan*, mais le manuscrit de Leningrad a également *Bri* [=*Kri*]-*sorong ildi ibsan* (XII, 6a) pour le tib. *Khri-sroṅ ldebcan*. Les formes -*sambura*[6] et *bodisung* (ms de Leningrad: -*samboṭa* avec un signe galik et *bodistv*, dans ce cas avec un *v* final nettement distinct du *g* final) représentent la prononciation vulgaire de l'époque.

Le manuscrit de Leningrad *incipit*:

[I, 1b] *ôṃ ma-ṇi badmî hūṃ : : yurban čaγ-un qamuγ burqad-da abisig ögtegsen nigülesküy-yin eǰen Ary-a Avalôkita išvari-ṯur mürgümü : : örön-e ǰüg-ün Badm-a kemekü Sukhavati-yin ayui anu : erdeniš-ün altan delekei-ṯür eldeb ǰüil ǰayalmai čoγolburi-ača anggida busu siroi kiged kürü-yin nere ber ügei : sayitur čimegsen bodi modun-ača : anggida busu oi modun-u nere ber ügei : naiman erdem-tü diyan-u usun* [2a] *urusquy-ača : anggida busu olan ǰüil usun-u nere ber ügei : belge bilig-ün čoγtu badarangγui yal-ača : busu yirtinčü-yin tüleküi yal-un nere ber ügei :*[7] . . . . . «*Oṃ mani padme hūṃ*. Je me prosterne de-

[6] Siregetü guuši et Sagya Dongrub: *Tomi sambur-a*, v. Damdinsürüng, *J̌ayun bilig*, p. 291.

[7] Le même passage de l'original tibétain d'après la xylographie d'Oulanbator, Tib. Bl. 870 DSB Berlin (cf. Taube, *THB*), 1b: *oṃ ma-ṇi padme hūṃ* | *thugs-rǰe čhen-po'i 'phags-pa Spyan-ras-gzigs dbaṅ-phyug-la phyag-'chal-lo* | | *nub-phyogs bde-ba-čan-gyi žiṅ-khams padma-čan žes bya-ba* | *rin-po-čhe sna-chogs-kyis gži-la mig-maṅ ris-si bris-pa-las sa daṅ rdo'i miṅ yaṅ med* | *byaṅ-chub-kyi šiṅ-gis rab-tu brgyan-pa-las* | *rci-šiṅ daṅ nags-chal-kyi miṅ yaṅ med* | *tiṅ-ṅe-'jin brgyad-ldan-gyi čhu 'bab-pa-las* | *sna-chogs čhu'i miṅ yaṅ med* | *ye-šes dpal-gyi me 'bar-ba-las 'jig-rten sreg-pa'i me'i miṅ yaṅ med* | . Cf. dans la traduction oïrate, xyl. de Pékin, 1717, vol. I, 2a: *Badm-a-ḏu Sükavadi-yin tariyalang-un oron kemekü eldeb erdini altan yaǰar delekei-de olan modutu-yin* [= *nidütü-yin*] *ǰiruqai-da ǰiruqalaysan-ača busu : siroi kiged čilaγun-u* [2b] *ner-e čü ügei : bodi modun-iyar sayitur*

vant Āryāvalokitešvara, seigneur de la miséricorde qui reçut l'initiation (*abhişeka*) de tous les Bouddhas des trois temps. Dans la grotte du Sukhavatī occidental qui porte le nom de Padma, dans le monde d'or des pierres précieuses, on ne trouve d'autres espèces (*nere*) de sol ou de pierre que des différents «treillis de croisées»,[8] on n'y trouve autres espèces de bois [= d'arbre] que l'arbre de l'illumination, on n'y trouve parmi les diverses espèces de cours d'eau que le cours d'eau de la méditation qui a les huit mérites, on n'y trouve pas d'autres feux brûlants, propres au monde, que le feu brûlant et flamboyant du savoir. . .»[9]

Excipit et colophon:

0 [ečüs debter ǰirγuγ-a 6a] *Bri-sorong ildi ibsan. . .*
[ečüs 6b] *soyurqaγsan bolui* : : : : :

1 *qamuγ burqad-un nigüleš-küyin qubilγan anu*
qamtu nigen-e oγoγata čiγulγaǰu bürün :
qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada böged :
qaγarqay-a Qongšim bodistv bolun qubilγsan bolui :

5 *tere ber oγoγata qubilǰu bürün* :
tendeče irege edüi qoyitus-un tusa-yi sedkiged :
tedeger Töbed ulus-un qaγan bolun töröǰü bürün :
degedü čindamani metü ene nom-i nomlaγsan bolui : :

čimegsen-eče busu : *ǰimis-tü modun kiged oi siγu-yin ner-e čü ügei naiman üy-e-tü diγan-u usun bayuquy-ača busu eldeb usun-u ner-e čü ügei* : *belge bilig-ün čoγ-un γal badaraquy-ača busu* : *γir*[*t*]*inčü-yin tülekü γal-un ner-e čü ügei* : — Ces passages parallèles offrent plusieurs points intéressants pour la comparaison des traductions: oïrate *čü* ∼ abaga *ber*; oïrate *čilaγun* ∼ abaga *kürü*; oïrate *modun-iyar . . . čimegsen-eče busu . . . modun . . . čü ügei* ∼ abaga *čimegsen . . . modun-ača* : *anggida busu . . . modun-u . . . ber ügei* etc.

[8] Ornement en échiquier. L'expression compliquée de la traduction oïrate: *olan nidütü-yin ǰiruqai-da ǰiruqalaγsan* = tib. (*sna-chogs-kyis gži-la*) *mig-mań ris-su bris-pa* correspond à l'expression plus simple du texte abaga: *eldeb ǰüil ǰayalmai čoγolburi* dont les derniers deux mots traduisent, moins exactement, le même tib. *mig-mań ris-su bris-pa* «painted like a chess-board» (Jaeschke), *mig-mańs-ris* = *'di-lta-bu ri-mo* (mais sans dessins), *mig-mańs* = *mig-mań soń-ba dań rced-mo žig* (Čhos-kyi grags-pa).

[9] Un résumé ancien de ce passage se trouve chez P. S. Pallas, *Sammlungen*, II, 396—409, Auszug eines großen tangutischen Werks Mani-Gambo, welches die Legenden von den großen Burchanen Abida, Chondschin-boddi-saddo und Schaktschamunih enthält: «Die Einleitung enthält einen Begriff von dem Seelen-Paradiese des *Abida Burchan, Sukawadi-Orron* genannt, und lehret wie es bestehe in unbeschrieblicher Glück- und Ruhseligkeit der selig gesprochnen, und . . . unsterblichen Seelen, die aus diesem Leben geschieden sind. Alle irdische Herrlichkeiten seyen gegen diese Seligkeit nicht zu vergleichen und können nur etwas als Gleichnisse im Ausdruck gebraucht werden . . .».

egün-i ber duraduysan-u siltayan anu :
erten-ü čay-tur buyan quriyaysan-iyar böged :
erketü tngri-ner-ün altan uruy anu :
erkin Činggis qayan-u degüü bolun törögsen Böke eǰen : :

tegün-lüge ǰalyaldun törögsen
tegülder sayin erdem bilig-tü :
tegün-iyer törö šasin-i bariysan :
temdegtey-e aldarsiysan Erdini darqan ǰasay-tu noyan : :

ǰegün eteged ene kiǰayar yaǰar-tur :
ǰegün-ü sübe-yin tedüi šasin ügei čay-tur :
ǰergelgen metü geneteken-e böged nom-tur učiraǰu :
ǰegüdün metü degedü šasin-tur udurid-un üiledügsen-iyer : :

uridu irüger buyan-u küčü-ber :
učiralduǰu tegün-lüge qamtu-bar törögsen :
uridaki sayin üiles-ün ači üre-ber:
ulam degedü šasin-i manduyulun üiledügči : :

Bingtu bodisung nomči abayai kiged :
bisirel sedkil-tü Dôrǰê sečen qung tayiǰi Samsu abayai qoyar :
bilig uqayan-u küčün-i-yer böged :
bisireküi sayin [sedkil-i egüskeǰü bür-ün : :

erkin degedü burqan-u šasin] erdini kiged :
eng olan amitan-u tusa-yi sedkiǰü bürün :
erdini metü ene Mani gangbung kemekü nom-i : :
ende oyir-a orčin bükü Mongyol-tur [dolo-a 7a] ∪ *ügeyin tulada : :*

olan-a delgeregülün sedkiǰü bür-ün :
orčiyultuyai kemen duraduysan-iyar
oyoyata sayitur ese medebesü ber :
olan-tur tusa-tan-u sedkil-i qariyulun yadaǰu bür-ün : :

naran metü geyigülügči degedü mergedün ǰarliy-ača ulam :
narin ǰula metü edüi tedüi sonosču medegsen-iyer :
naran-tur adali burqan-u šasin kiged amitan-u tusa-yi ǰoriǰu :
nayidalduysan öglige-yin eǰed-ün üge ǰarliy-iyar anu : :

čoytu Sasga-yin tidsi kemen nereyidügsen :
čola-dur učiraǰu dörben Abay-a-yin yaǰar-a törögsen :
čoytu Sasga-yin soyurqaysan ner-e inu
Chulkhrim blôri kemekü Manǰuširi darqan blam-a kiged :

Čoγtu mergen ubasi qoyar selbildüǰü bür-ün : :
tegülder čoγtu J̌amdang-yin šabi anu :
tegüs oyu-tu bičigeči Bšang-chub blam-a-ṯur dulduyidču bür-ün :
Töbed-eče Mongγolun kelen-ṯür orčiγulǰu bičibei : : : : :

egün-dür böged oyun bilig üčüken-ü tulada :
endegüreǰü osaldaγad gem aldal boluγsan bügesü :
erkin γurban erdini böged :
erketü Qongšim bodistv-ṯur namančilan öčimüi ǰalaran soyurq-a : :

örösiyen üǰegči Qongšim bodistv-un čindamani metü ene nom-iyar :
öber busud-un erdini-tü ečige eke kiged :
öber-e öber-e törölkiten qamuγ amitan ber :
ödter böged burqan-u qutuγ-i olqu boltuγai : : : : :

ôṃ yidharm-a eyidu br-a-bhau-a hê-dô-dê-san da-tā-gadô ha-ya-va-ḏad : dê sañja-yô ṉirô-dha ê-vaṃ bha-ḏi mahā šrā-ma-ṇi-ye suuvahā : : : : :

[ečüs-ün debter doloγ-a ilegüü bui, 7a bis]

ügeyin tulada :.....Čulkrim bolori kemekü Manǰuširi darq̄an blam-a.... .... duldudču ..... boltuγai : : : : :

ene kü küčü üčüken Rinčen rgyamčô dgeslông :
erdini-ḏü kümün-ü bey-e oluγsan-iyan keregtü kemen sedkiged :
erkin degedü Šakyamuni burqan-u šašin kiged :
erketü Qongšim bodistv-un nomlaγsan : :

ene Mani Gang-bung neretü nom-i :
ečige eke boluγsan qamuγ amitaṉ-a tusa boltuγai kemen :
eyin [7b bis] *ǰoriǰu bičiged ǰüdeǰü sudur bolγaγsan-iyar :*
egüri qotalada delgeretügei tügemel-e : : : : :
[incant.]

qara[γ]čin moγai ǰil-ün ǰun-u dumda-du sara-yin siṉe-yin tabuṉ-a čaγaγ̄čin moγai edür-e ekileged : mün ǰil-ün namurun dumda-du sara-yin arban tabuṉ-a čaγan bars̄ edür-e dügürgebei : : : : : maṉg ghā la : : :
[7a ter] [incant.]
qaragčin moγai ǰil-ün ǰun-u dumda-du sara-yin sine-yin tabuṉ-a čaγaγ̄čin :

0 C'est *Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan* qui...daigna donner (ce livre).

2 En étant parfaitement réunies en une,
1 les incarnations miséricordieuses de tous les Bouddhas
3 sont manifestement transfigurées, pour le bien de tous les êtres vivants,
4 en *Avalokiteśvara* bodhisattva.

5 Même celui-ci, après avoir été parfaitement transfiguré,
6 naquit pour le bien de ceux qui étaient à venir, des (êtres vivants) postérieurs;
7 (il naquit) comme le roi de ces Tibétains,
8 et c'est lui qui enseigna ce suprême livre lequel est pareil au joyau *cintāmaṇi*.

9 Voici comment cet (ouvrage) fut proposé (pour être traduit):
10 Par l'accumulation des mérites, dans le temps passé,
11 (celui qui est issu de) la maison d'or des puissants dieux,
12 *Böke eǰen* naquit comme frère cadet de Gengis-khan le superbe.

13 C'est à lui que remonte la succession héréditaire de *Erdeni darqan ǰasaytu noyan*
14 qui avait la perfection de la vertu et du savoir,
15 avec laquelle il dirigea (les affaires de) l'État et (celles de) la religion,
16 et qui connut une célébrité extraordinaire.

17 Quand dans ce pays frontalier, (loin) dans l'Est,
18 on ne savait rien de la religion, même autant qu'un trou d'aiguille,
19 soudainement, comme (lorsqu'on voit) un mirage, il rencontra la Loi
20 et introduisit (son peuple) dans la suprême religion qui est pareille à un rêve.

21 Ainsi, (sa femme) qui, par la force d'une ancienne bénédiction et de la vertu,
22 naquit heureusement dans la même période, pour le rencontrer,
23 et qui, par le fruit des anciens bienfaits,
24 agit en faveur de la promotion continuelle de la suprême religion,

25 (cette dame,) *Bingtu bodisung nomči abayai* avec
26 *Dôrǰê sečen qung tayiǰi* le fidèle et avec (sa femme) *Samsu abayai*,
27 par la force du savoir et de l'intelligence,
28 en s'appliquant à la noble dévotion et

29 en pensant autant au bien du Noble Joyau de la religion du suprême Bouddha
30 qu'au bien des nombreux êtres vivants,
33 en ayant l'intention de propager au peuple
31 ce livre précieux qui porte le nom de *Maṇi bka'-'bum*,

32 parce qu'il était inconnu ici et chez les Mongols voisins,
34 ils (nous) ordonnèrent de le traduire.
35 Ainsi, bien que nous n'eussions pas la perfection du savoir,
36 nous ne pûmes refuser (de réaliser) l'intention de ceux qui étaient les bienfaiteurs du peuple, et,

38 dans la mesure de nos connaissances qui sont peu nombreuses et pareilles à une chandelle mince
37 et que nous apprîmes par l'ouie de la parole des suprêmes sages qui rayonnent comme le soleil,
39 nous avons prétendu le bien de la religion du Bouddha qui est pareil au soleil, et celui des êtres vivants,
40 ainsi que conformément à l'ordre de la parole des donateurs et des donatrices qui mirent leur confiance (en nos personnes),

41 nous, celui qui porte le titre du disciple du [monastère de] *Čoγtu Sa-skya*
42 et qui est né dans le pays des Quatre Abaγa
43 et celui qui est appelé *Chul-khrims blo-gros*
44 d'après son nom en religion donné par le [monastère de] *Čoγtu Sa-skya*,
45 le *Mañjuśrī darqan blam-a* et *Čoγtu mergen ubasi*, en nous aidant l'un l'autre,

48 nous avons traduit (ce livre) du tibétain en mongol,
47 tandis que nous appuyâmes sur le *Byaṅ-čhub- bla-ma*, lettré d'une intelligence excéllente,
46 élève [du monastère] de *J̌amdang* [? *J̌amtang*] le parfaitement glorieux.

50 S'il s'y trouve des inexactitudes, des confusions ou des erreurs
49 dues à l'ignorance, à la pauvreté de nos connaissances,
51 nous les confessons au Suprême Triratna
52 et à *Avalokiteśvara* le puissant, et vous prions de les corriger.

54 Que les parents bien aimés (*lit.* précieux), les nôtres et ceux des autres,
55 et tous les êtres vivants de diverses naissances
56 acquièrent bientôt le bonheur du Bouddha
53 par ce livre qui est pareil au *cintāmaṇi* et que nous devons au bodhisattva *Avalokiteśvara* qui nous regarde avec miséricorde !

Oṃ ye dharma...mahā śrāmaṇiye svāhā.

[chapitre final, f. 7a bis, à la fin de la répétition partielle du colophon de la traduction suit le colophon de la copie :]

57 Moi, ce *Rin-čhen rgya-mcho dge-sloṅ* qui ai peu de force,
58 j'ai regardé comme utile d'être né dans un corps humain précieux,
61 et, avec le désir que ce livre nommé *Maṇi bka'-'bum*
59 — qui fut propagé dans la religion du Bouddha Śākyamuni le superbe et suprême

60 ainsi que par le bodhisattva *Avalokiteśvara* le puissant, —
62 vienne en aide à tous les êtres vivants devenus parents,

63 et en prenant la peine d'écrire, je l'ai copié dans un *sūtra*.
64 Qu'il soit répandu dans tous les temps, à tous, partout !
[incantation]

J'ai commencé (de le copier) le jour du serpent blanc féminin, 5e de la nouvelle lune du mois du milieu de l'été de l'année du serpent noir masculin et fini le jour du tigre blanc masculin, 15e du mois du milieu de l'automne de la même année. *Maṅgalaṃ*.

[7a ter: répétition partielle de la date précédente]

Le texte du colophon qui est composé en style contourné contient maints points qui sont dignes d'être commentés, éclaircis ou évalués. En voici un choix (les nombres correspondent aux vers):

0 *Bri* au lieu de *Khri*: lapsus calami dû à la ressemblance des lettres *b* et *kh* galik; *sorong* transcrit le tib. *sroṅ*, cf. khalkha *Soronʒoŋgambū* ou *Soronʒoŋgombo*, la prononciation moderne du nom du roi tibétain *Sroṅ-bcan sgampo*; *ildi ibsan* rendent les syllabes tib. *lde* et *bcan* où l'*i* prothétique est dû à la consonne préradicale (cf. Heissig, *Klosterbibliothek*, p. 574, ou, pour l'ouigour, F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II, p. 52, n.), l'*i* final transcrit ici le tib. *e* comme dans les anciennes transcriptions ouigouro-mongoles des noms tibétains (p. e. *Širab Singgi* pour *Šes-rab seṅ-ge* ou *Čosgi Odsir* pour *Čhos-kyi 'od-zer*), la substitution du tib. *c* par un mong. *s* montre que dans le dialecte du copiste ou du traducteur on ignorait les affriquées alvéolaires.

4 Pour *qaɣarqay-a* «clairement, nettement» cf. le fragment du *Bodhicaryāvatāra* mong. de 1312 f. 166b (éd. Haenisch, Cleaves; Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIII, cf. particulièrement Mostaert: *HJAS* XIV, 1951, pp. 400—403).

4 Ici, dans *Qongšim bodistv*, nom d'origine ouigoure (*Quan ši im* de Kouan-che-yin, l'Avalokiteśvara chinois) le texte montre nettement la forme ancienne *bodistv* tandis que le nom d'une des donatrices figure sous la forme vulgaire, *Bodisung*, résultat de la leçon fautive du mot étranger. (Cf. encore les graphies *Qongšim bodistv* et *bing quluɣuna*, c.-à-d. *v* et *g* finaux sur f. 74b du ms d'Oulanbator du *Erdeni-yin tobči*.)

6 *irege edüi qoyitus* «ceux qui sont à venir, les (êtres vivants) postérieurs»: pléonasme qui est courant dans le style poétique mongol.

7 *tedeger* «ces»: j'ai traduit ce pronom pluriel comme l'adjectif des mots qui le suivent, quoiqu'une construction comme *tedeger . . . ulus* me semble un peu étrange, mais vu sa forme plurielle, il serait plus étrange d'admettre ici une traduction où ce pronom figurerait comme le sujet de la proposition.

9 A partir d'ici jusqu'à la fin du vers 48, dix strophes constituent une seule phrase grammaticale que j'ai traduite en plusieurs phrases sans avoir conservé l'ordre des propositions subordonnées du texte mongol.

4, 11 Le pronom possessif *anu* joue ici le rôle d'une particule postpositionnelle marquant le sujet ou bien l'identité des deux parties précédant et suivant la particule.

11 *altan uruγ* «la maison d'or» — la famille impériale, cf. H. Serruys, *Mongol* Altan «*Gold*» = «*Imperial*»: *Monumenta Serica* XXI (1962), pp. 359—370.

12 *Böke eǰen*, le Seigneur Lutteur, titre honorifique qui remplace le nom de Belgütei, frère-cadet (demi-frère) de Gengis-khan (fils de Yisügei ba'atur et d'une de ses femmes qui fut une des victimes de l'attaque des Merkit et dont le nom n'est pas mentionné dans §§101, 112 de l'*Histoire secrète*), il est l'ancêtre des princes des Abaγa. Pour son titre «le Lutteur» cf. p. e. *Erdeni-yin tobči* (ms d'Oulanbator, éd. Haenisch, 29b) *Qasar-un qabu-bar* : *Belgütey-yin bökeber* : et (32b5) *böke Belgütei*, v. encore le passage du *Yuan che*, ch. 117 cité par M. Bawden, *Altan tobči*, p. 131, n. 25:1.

13 *ǰalγaldu-* «succéder» dénote ici la succession de plusieurs générations qui lient l'ancêtre avec le descendant ultérieur.

15 *törö šasin-i bari-* «diriger (les affaires de) l'État et (celles de) la religion», cf. *erten-ü boγda Qubilai sečen qaγan qutuγ-tu Pagsba lam-a qoyar-un yosuγar* : *šasin törö-yi bayiγulbasu* . . . in *Erdeni-yin tobči* (ms d'Oulanbator, f. 74a) et . . . *Uqayatu sečen qaγan-ača inaγsi* : *šaǰin törö qoyar üčüken čölöyidüγsen-iyer* (ibid.); *engke törö šasin egüride toγtaγad* dans le colophon du *Sūratapariprcchā*, Kanǰur mong. imprimé, n° 819 (Ligeti, *Catalogue*, p. 202), *erten-ü qad-un törö šasin-i tegüsken bariγsan* . . . *qutuγ-tu Dai Dayiming Činggis* dans le colophon du *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkā* (op. cit., n° 867, p. 275); *erke bari-*, *ǰasaγ bari-*, *törö bari-* etc.[10] Les composés ou bien les mots pairs (mais pas des composés synonymiques) *törö šasin* et *šaǰin törö* manifestent l'idée de l'unité de l'État et de la religion (l'église lamaïste) qui joua un rôle capital pendant les sept derniers siècles de l'histoire mongole. Il semble qu'ici, c'est le pouvoir séculaire qui domine (cf. les titres religieux des princes mongols du XVIe et du XVIIe siècles).[11]

[10] Voir encore Kanǰur mongol imprimé (Ligeti, *Catalogue*), n° 767: *nom šasin bariγči*, n° 814: *sayin oyutu šasin-i bariγči* [= *Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin*], n° 1105: *nom-un törö-yi bariγsan-dur*∼ tib. (Taube, *THB*, n° 7718) *čhos-lugs 'jin-pa-la* et Legs-bšad (éd. Ligeti), I 1a: tib. *mkhas-pa yon-dan mjod-'jin-pa*∼ mong. *merged erdem-ün sang bariγčid* «The wise are the keeper of the treasury of excellence» (J. E. Bosson: *UAS* 92). Cf. encore le verbe *bari-* dans le dictionnaire mongol de F. D. Lessing.

[11] Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 183 (ou dans le *Pañcarakṣā*, ms de Budapest): *Erkegüd-ün* [ms *-ün* deest] *ulus-un yeke noyan Buyan-tu nom-un eǰen darqan noyan*, n° 746: *Čaqar tümen-ü Nom-un dalai dayičing amutai bingtu qung tayiǰi noyan*, n° 765: *nom šasin bariγči Amutai šasin qaγan*, Mgur- 'bum, xyl. de Pékin, 1756 (*PLB* n° 130), col., 272b: *Altan nom-un qaγan*, LOIVAN Mong. H 322, 176a: *Gegegen toli kemekü* . . . *toγuǰiyi* . . . *Ordos tümen-i töblen saγuγsan* . . . *Boǰuγ-tu nom-un kürdün orčiγuluγči* : *Jagarvar sečen ǰinong bodisatv töröltü Yünggin qatun qoyar* . . .; LOIVAN Mong. E 11, Vimalakīrtti

16 *Erdini darqan ǰasaγ-tu noyaṉ*: le vers 12 avec la mention de *Böke* (*Belgütei*), ancêtre des Abaγa, le vers 17 «dans ce pays frontalier, (loin) dans l'Est» et le vers 42 «dans le pays des Abaγa» assurent que le prince en question était un des souverains de cette branche («tribu») des Mongols de Šilingol (*Sili-yin yool*), et, vu les autres circonstances (la langue et l'écriture du manuscrit, l'influence des Sa-skya), il est certain qu'il vécut dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle. Les généalogies des Abaγa que nous trouvons dans les sources du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècles désignent deux princes dont les noms contiennent le mot *erdini, erdeni* «joyau»: l'un est *Erdeṉi tümen ǰasaγtu* (GU, BE) ou *Erdeṉi tümen ǰasaγtu böke* (AKMKB), fils de *Süsünggi üiǰüng* (GU, BE) ou *Süsüyigi* (AKMKB), l'autre est *Erdeni güüši noyaṉ* (GU, BE, AKMKB), fils de *Bingtu ṉoyan*, fils de *Ṉomi* (ou, peut-être, *Ömi*?) *temegetü* (ou ma. *temgetu*?) *noyan* (GU; BE: *'wymy t'mg'tw*), frère cadet de *Süsünggi*; cet *Erdeni güüši ṉoyan* a un fils nommé *Dorǰi ildeng*[12] *ṉoyan*, contemporain de *Düskar bayatur giyüin wang*[13] (GU) ou *Düskar* (IŠ: *ǰasay törö-yin giyüin wang* de 1651 à 1654); ce *Dorǰi* doit être identique à notre *Dôrǰê sečen qung tayiǰi* et au cousin (*üyeled degüü*)[14] de *Düskar* (IŠ) qui portait le titre (*čola*) de *darqan noyan* (dès 1645: *darqan beyile*) et auquel succéda à *Čoboγo* en 1654 (*Eye-ber ǰasayči-yin ǰiryu-duγar on*). Bien que le titre de Erdeni, père de Dorǰi diffère de celui qui figure dans notre texte, on peut supposer que le titre *darqan noyan* qui suit le nom de Dorǰi dans le *Iledkel šastir* fut hérité de son père. Quant au titre religieux *güüši* (< *guiši*) «maître de l'État», peut-il être en accord avec l'activité pieuse de ce prince qui «conduisit (son peuple) dans la suprême religion». Le titre *ǰasaγtu* qu'il portait d'après ce colophon ne se rencontre pas dans mes autres sources parmi les descendants de *Nom temegetü noyan*, mais nous le retrouvons chez *Erdeni tümen ǰasaγtu* et chez *Budašari ǰasaγtu ǰinong*, c.-à-d. chez le fils et le petit-fils du frère aîné de *Nom temegetü*.[15] Cf. encore l'*Altan tobči* de Blo-bzaṅ

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mongol, ch. III, ms copié pour Jaehrig par *Sodnam bandi*, 15. II. 1782, traduction par *Ayusi güüši* pour le *šasin törö qoyar-un eǰen . . . Mongγol Kitad Töbed γurban-u qoyar yosun-i bariγsan . . . buyan-tu kümün-ü erketü Esurun* [!] *Čagaravad-un qubilγan nom-un eǰen Altan qayan* dans la ville de *Šuyči* [= ouig. *Suyču* = chin. Sou-tcheou], «de la main» de *Radn-a-bali baysi*.

[12] Pour *ildeng* ~ *yeldeng*, cf. H. Serruys, *Gen. Tables*, p. 88, n.36, G. Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*, p. 24; est-il possible que ce mot figure ici comme le synonyme de *darqan*?

[13] Le titre *giyüin wang* (transcription mandchoue, «*giyôn*») est identique à *ǰinong*, ancienne transcription du même chin. *kiun-wang*.

[14] Cf. H. H. Vreeland, *Mongol Community and Kinship Structure*, New Haven 1957, pp. 331, 333, khal. et tchakh. *üyeeld*.

[15] Malgré tout, il est possible que les deux princes mentionnés dans ce colophon n'aient pas été père et fils et que notre Erdeni ǰasaγtu doive être identifié avec *Erdeni tümen ǰasaγtu*, 1[r] fils de *Süsünggi*, et *Dorǰi sečen qung tayiǰi* — avec le 2e fils de *Süsünggi*, autrement, avec *Esige ǰoriγtu* (GU) ou *Dorǰi* alias *Ečige noyan* (IŠ; il reçut son titre mandchou en 1641 alorsqu'il devait être âgé).

bstan-'jin (rééd. Mostaert—Cleaves, p. 187): *Belgetey-yin üre J̌asaγ-ṭu qaγan ekilen tümen-i noyad boluγad : qoyar Abaγ-a : Abaγanar ede dörben qosiγun buyu*: «La descendance de Belgütei, J̌asaγ-tu qaγan et (ses successeurs) étaient des myriarques (et c'est l'origine de) ces quatre bannières qui consistent en deux Abaγa et (deux) Abaγanar.»[16]

17 *ǰegün eteged* «à l'Est», litt. «côté oriental», ici attributif ou adverbe, *ene kiǰaγar yaǰar-tur* «dans ce pays frontalier (ou: loin)»: en accord avec le vers 42, représente *dörben Abaγa-yin yaǰar* «le pays des Quatre Abaγa».

18 *ǰegün-ü sübe-yin tedüi*: cf. *kiči-yin üre-yin tedüiken šaril*, Suvarṇaprabhāsa mong., xyl. de Pékin, 1659/1721, I, 21a.

19 *geneteken-e*: cf. *genedte učiraǰu ǰöb boluγsan bögesü* «si inopinément (la traduction) s'avère exacte . . .», Kanǰur mongol imprimé n° 895 (Ligeti, *Catalogue*) et *genedte učiraǰu ǰöb boluγsan buyan-iyar* (op. cit., n° 1072).

19—20: Les mots *ǰergelgen* «mirage» et *ǰegüdün* «songe» se trouvent usuellement dans les comparaisons bouddhiques qui doivent accentuer la fausseté du monde, la vanité du *saṃsāra*.[17]

20 *udurid-un üiled-*: tibétisme qui apparaît fréquemment dans les traductions bouddhiques où il correspond aux verbes composés avec *byed-pa* «faire» qui dénote la continuité de l'action. Cf. encore v. 24, *manduγulun üiled-*.[18]

21 *uridu irüger buyan-u küčü-ber*: formule qui rappelle le dogme du *karma*, l'effet des actions — ici prières ou bénédictions et bonnes actions — accomplies dans les existences antérieures. Cf. *Mañjuśrīnāma-saṃgīti*, mong., xyl. de 1592, colophon: *erten-ü sayin irüger-ün küčü-ber*. Cette formule revient dans les bénédictions et chansons populaires.[19]

24 L'adverbe *ulam* (= *ulam-iyar*) appartient au verbe *manduγul-*; l'inversion (adverbe modal—objet directe—prédicatif) est due à la nécessité de l'allitération initiale.

25 *Bingtu bodisung nomči abaγai*, nom de la femme du *Erdeni darqan ǰasaγ-tu noyan*; ce nom et également composé de titres honorifiques. J'ignore

[16] Voir les généalogies à la fin de l'article.

[17] Voir p.e. *Arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui*, VI, 5a: *küsekü ǰiryalang-ud ildü-ṭür qooro-ṭur adali . . . ǰegüdün yelbi ǰergelekü-ṭür ba adali* «The pleasures of desire are like a sword [or] poison. . . . They are like a dream, an illusion, a mirage.» (texte: Ligeti, *Mongol Nyelvemléktár*, texte et trad.: N. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds . . ., AF* 23, p. 113, p. 76, n. 17) ou dans les versions mongoles du *Vajracchedikā* (N. Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, *AF* 35, trad. anon. 49a, trad. du Siregetü 20a, trad. du Zaya 50b; ms de Budapest, éd. Sárközi, 49b), cf. encore Kowalewski, s.v. *ǰergelgen*, mais: *Altan gerel* de 1587, ms de Budapest, IX, 4b: *bi ber bodičid-un yabudal-iyar yabubasu ele : ǰegüdün bodičid-un yabudal-iyar yabuqui metü : bi ber bodičid . . .* etc. *ǰirgilgen bodičid . . .* etc.

[18] *Altan gerel* de 1587, ms de Budapest, I, 13a: *ger-tür ele orosin üiledbesü* ~ xyl. de Pékin, 1659/1721, I,15b: *ger-tür nasuda sayuγči bolbasu.*

[19] P.e. dans une chanson dont j'ai enregistré le texte de Laǰab, chanteur abaga (Kökeqota 1959): *ertenī sain yòrōlīn gùčim bilē*, chanté: *ertenī saēxa˜ yòrgōlīxnī gùčin-yērā˜ xò.*

l'origine et le sens du mot *bingtu* ou *bingtü* qui figure dans les noms de plusieurs princes (cf. chez M. H. Serruys, *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-Qan*), mème une des bannières des Qorčin porte le titre de *Bingtü wang* de son ancien souverain.[20] Pour *bodisung* ~ *bodisug* < *bodistv* «bodhisattva», cf. supra et particulièrement Vladimircov, *Mongolica* I, 325, *Tureckie elementy*, 164.[21] *Nomči* «fidèle (à la religion); savant» figure dans plusieurs anthroponymes composés des titres, cf. p. e. *Nomči qatun-u*[22] *Geser* et dans l'index du *Altan kürdün*, éd. Heissig, ou dans le Kanǰur mong. imprimé (Ligeti, *Catalogue*), n° 1061: *Nomči dayičing*. Suivant le contexte, le mot *abayai* dénote ici «la femme d'un prince» (cf. mong. *abayai*, *abuyai* «nom respectueux», *abai* «mot de politesse», *abaqai* «demoiselle noble», *abaya* «oncle», *aba*, *abu* «père» etc., p. e. chez M. G. Doerfer, *TMEN* I, 107—108; Serruys, *Genealogical Tables*, s. v. *Abayai*, *Abuyai*).

26 Pour *Dôrǰê sečen qung tayiǰi*, v. le vers 16: probablement identique au *Dorǰi ildeng noyan* ou *Dorǰi darqan noyan*, fils de *Erdeni güüši noyan* ou *Erdeni darqan ǰasay-tu noyan*. La forme galik reflète le tib. *rdo-rǰe*.[23]

26 *Samsu abayai* doit être la femme de Dorǰi. Les généalogies mongoles sont en général très «masculines», elles ne mentionnent que rarement les noms des femmes ou des filles, qui figurent assez fréquemment dans les colophons de l'époque en question. Je n'ai pas d'autre recoupement de ce nom propre féminin dont le vocalisme est incertain (*samso*, *semsü* ou bien *semsō* d'un tib. *sems-gso* «consolation»); cf. encore tib. *zam-zo* «(soft cushion of) velvet-like cloth», Das, mandchou *samsu* = tib. *zam-so sṅon-po* = mong. *narin köke* = tourki *samsu* = chin. *ts'ouei-lan pou*, Wou-t'i 3182, et ord. *mindasu* «fil de

[20] Ou bien est-ce un mot d'origine chinoise, un emprunt fait au chin. 封 *fong* «a fief or principality; to confer nobility», *fong-kiun* «nobles» (Matthews)?

[21] Voir en écriture tibétaine *Che-chen wań-gi dpon-mo Bodhisug* «B., la femme du Cecen-xan» [*c* = *ts*] dans un ouvrage de *Blo-bzań phrin-las*, Jaya paṇḍita khalkha, fin du XVIIe siècle, n° 2174 dans le catalogue de M. M. Taube (*THB*), cf. encore la note de M. Damdinsürüng au texte de l'inscription de Čoγtu dans *J̌ayun bilig*.

[22] Cette princesse est mentionnée comme donatrice de la traduction de l'ouvrage *Blam-a erdeni Geser qayan qoyar ǰolyalčaysan sudur* qui se trouve à la fin d'une copie manuscrite du *Geser*, éd. xyl. de Pékin (v. *Nomči qatun-u Geser*, éd. Rintchen, p. 500). Cet ouvrage est traduit du tibétain par *Sumadi-gridi* [Sumatikīrtti]*-yin toyin poybon* [phogs-dpon] *erdeni erke čorǰi* et enregistré par *Gündan güüši blam-a*. Le *Glinggi-yin Geser qayan* de ce petit texte, traduction ou compilation, peut être considéré non seulement comme la déification du roi de Gliṅ, mais aussi, pour le lecteur mongol de l'époque, comme la transformation allégorique du souverain des Tümed, le grand *Altan qayan* dont le nom tibétain, *Gser-gyi rgyal-po*, ainsi que ses rapports avec le Grand Lama du Tibet pouvaient favoriser son identification avec le héros. Cf. encore le titre de *Gserǰal* [tib. *Gser-rgyal*, mong. *Altan qayan*] qui fut donné par le Dalai Lama à *Sečen dayičing*, sujet du véritable *Altan qayan* (c'est pourquoi le Grand Lama ordonna de ne pas traduire le titre *Gserǰal*): *Erdeni-yin tobči*, ms d'Oulanbator, 77b—78a.

[23] Mais cf. supra, note 15.

soie», *torgo* «tissu de soie», noms propres féminins (Mostaert)? On peut aussi hésiter sur la possibilité $s = \check{s}$.

28: le texte entre paranthèses est émendé à la base de la copie du colophon de la même traduction qui se trouve à la Bibliothèque d'État d'Oulanbator. C'est M. L. Bese qui a eu la bienveillance de mettre ses notes manuscrites à ma disposition.

31 *erdini metü . . . nom*: cf. *Pañcarakṣā* mong. d'Ayusi, ms de Budapest, V, 11b, *qutuγ-tu tabun ayimaγ-tu nom erdini*, Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 1061, *nom erdeni-yin čimeg-üd*, n° 1102, *erdeni šasin nom-i*, n° 1105, *degedü erdeni nom-i*; tib. *bstan-pa rin-čhen mčhog*.

31 *Mani gang-bung*: dans cette transcription mongole du titre tibétain les deux *ng* rendent les *m* de l'original (*m* du *'a-čhuṅ* médial et *m* final) comme dans la syllabe *hūṃ* quand elle est écrite *qung*, p. e. dans le manuscrit de Leningrad, I, 36a: *oom maṇi badmê qung* ou l'ouigour *oom a qung*. D'ailleurs la forme *Mani gang-bung* est moins aberrante que la transcription *Mani gambu*[24] des autres versions. Dans le manuscrit d'Oulanbator on lit *Mani gambum*.

32 *ene . . . nom-i : : ende . . . ügeyin* [= *ügey-yin*] *tulada*: le fait que cette version mongole est indépendante de la traduction du Zaya paṇḍita oïrate (et apparemment indépendante même de la traduction du Siregetü guusi), mais qu'elle fut traduite à la même époque, montre l'interêt avec lequel les Mongols accueillirent cet ouvrage tibétain, ouvrage religieux et pseudo-historique qui contient également l'apothéose bouddhique du souverain séculaire, du grand roi Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, protecteur de la religion, ainsi que les pratiques magiques du bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, protecteur des mortels.

38 *edüi tedüi*: dans la langue écrite ce «binôme» antonymique signifie une quantité restreinte, «peu», comme dans le bouriate (*ẹdī tẹdī*), tandis que dans le khalkha il a le sens de «beaucoup» (*ȯdī tȯdī*), cf. encore Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 878: *edüi tedüi sonosuγsan-iyar egün-i Bande baysi orčiγulbai*, n° 1004: *qoos kelen-i edüi tedüi medeküi činegeber Nisutai orčiγulbai*, n° 1015: *edüi tedüi üčügüken oyun-iyar*.

39 *naran-ṭur adali burqan-u šasin*: phrase ambivalente, l'attributif *naran-ṭur adali* peut concerner soit Bouddha, soit sa religion.

41 Dans les traductions bouddhiques le mot *čoγtu* «glorieux, victorieux» rend usuellement le tib. *dpal* ~ *dpal-ldan* ~ skr. *śrī*; *Sasga* correspond au tib. *Sa-skya*, nom de la principauté tibétaine (dans Gcaṅ) et de l'ordre lamaïste qui y dominait, mais qui avait plusieurs monastères même au Tibet oriental (v. C. W. Cassinelli and Robert B. Ekvall, *A Tibetan Principality, The Political System of Sa sKya*, Ithaca, New York, 1969, p. 31); dès le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la «deuxième conversion» des Mongols, les Sa-skya lamas occupaient

[24] Cf. mong. *iniyedü* ~ *iniyedün* ~ *iniyedüm*? Mais: *Gumbum*, *sumbum* ~ tib. *Sku-'bum*, *gsuṅ-'bum*.

une position clé dans le lamaïsme mongol. — Pour l'attributif cf. Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 409; *čoytu Sasgy-a-yin degedü aylay orun-dur*, n° 1105: *tegüs čoytu Sasgy-a-dur*, n° 1098: *tegüs čoytu Sasgiy-a-yin yeke buqar keyid-tür* et n° 1143 (p. 322): *čoγ-tu Snar-tang-un buqar keyid-eče*. Quant à la forme dépalatalisée, *Sasga* (au lieu de *Sasgy-a* ou *Sasgiy-a*, prononcé *Saǰi* ou *Saǰā*), on connaît plusieurs systèmes de correspondance phonétique des mots tibétains en mongol: la prononciation septentrionale (khalkha, bouriate etc., naturellement avec les différences dialectales),[25] la prononciation oïrate et méridionale (ordos et tchakhar modernes etc.),[26] les mêmes avec l'effet de l'harmonie vocalique et de l'assimilation mongoles;[27] dans ces systèmes on ne conserve que partiellement les complexes initiaux.[28] En écriture ouigouro-mongole et dans l'oïrate écrit, nous trouvons soit une transcription qui suit un des systèmes mentionnés, soit une translittération de la forme écrite tibétaine, mais dans la plupart des textes anciens qui contiennent des mots tibétains, on rencontre la transcription (d'une prononciation) archaïque et dialectale qui suit la tradition médiévale des traducteurs ouigours.[29] Dans cette transcription (et prononciation) on trouve des voyelles prothétiques facilitant la prononciation des complexes initiaux (*imdo*, *irǰamsu*, *ergelüng* ou *ergeslüng*, *isningpo*, *ibsan* etc. ∼ tib. *mdo*, *rgya-mcho*, *dge-sloṅ*, *sñiṅ-po*, *bcan* ou *brcan*), des *s* finaux (*čos* ∼ tib. *čhos*) et parfois l'absence du *ya-btags* dans les gutturales comme ici, *Sasga*, *irgamsu*[30] (∼ *irǰamsu*), ainsi que la correspondance *bš-* ou *š* ∼ tib. *by-* (*bšang-* pour tib. *byaṅ-*). — Le mot sino-ouigour *tidsi* compte parmi les éléments caractéristiques du lexique du moyen mongol, il est inconnu dans la langue classique.

42 *dörben Abaγ-a*: les Quatre Abaγa, c'est-à-dire les deux Abaγa propres et les deux Abaγanar, v. supra.

[25] Tib. *bkra-šis* ∼ khal., bour. *daš(i)*; tib. *rgyal-mchan* ∼ mong. *ǰalcan*, khal. *ǰalcan*, *ǰancan*, bour. *žalsan*.

[26] Tib. *che-grub* ∼ oïr. *cerew*, khal. *cedew*; tib. *sgrol-ma* ∼ ord. *rulma*, khal., bour. *dulma*, mais khal., bour. *dolgor* ∼ tib. *sgrol-dkar*; tib. *grags-pa* ∼ ord. *ragwa*, khal. *dagwa*, *dagaw*; tib. *don-grub* ∼ ord. *doŋrop*, *dondop* ∼ khal. *dondow*.

[27] P.e. tib. *phrin-las* ∼ khal. *pirinlai* > *perenlei* > *perlē*, ord. *pirinlī*; tib. *las* ∼ khal. *lai*, ord. *lē*; tib. *bras-spuṅs* ∼ khal. *berēweŋ*, ord. *berēwùŋ*; tib. *phyag-rdor* ∼ khal. *šagdar*, ord. *šagdur*; tib. *kun-dga'-ra-ba* ∼ khal. *gùŋgerwā*, ord. *gùŋgùrwā*; tib. *phyag-mjod-pa* ∼ khal. *šanǯadwa*, ord. *šaŋsut*, *čaŋsut*, mong. *šangǰudba*; tib. *rten-'brel* ∼ khal. *demberel*, ord. *demberil*; tib. *chogs-'dus* ∼ khal. *cogondui*, ǰarut en écriture mong. *soyondai* [= *sogondē*] «l'assemblée des lamas d'un monastère» (mot commenté à tort dans mon livre *Chants d'un barde mongol*).

[28] Cf. encore G. Bethlenfalvy, *Aussprache des Tibetischen bei den Khalkha-Mongolen: Acta Orientalia* (Havn.) XXXII (1970), pp. 37—44.

[29] Voir p.e. F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica* II, *loc. cit.*, ouig. *irpāqdu*, *imto* ∼ tib. *dpag-tu*, *mdo*.

[30] Cf. encore chez M. H. Serruys, *Gen. Tables*, p. 121, ou il cite le *Altan tobči* nova, II, p. 188: *Čoskib*, *Laskib* (avec *s-* préradical et avec *k*, au lieu duquel il faut lire probablement *g*) pour tib. *čhos-skyabs* (mong. *čoyiǰab*) et *lha-skyabs* (mong. *laǰab* ou *lhaǰab*); p. 53: *Irgiamsun tayiǰi*.

44 *Chulkhrim blôri kemekü Manǰuširi darqan blam-a*: nom religieux et titre, Mañjuśrī, lama privilégié et nommé *Chul-krims blo-gros*; le nom indien du bodhisattva M., dieu des sciences (tib. *'J̌am-dpal*) est assez fréquemment attesté dans les noms ou titres des traducteurs lamaïstes (p. e. le célèbre *Kundga' 'od-zer mergen Mañjuśrī paṇḍita* ou l'autre grand traducteur, *Siregetü guši Mañjuśrī čorǰiva*); *darqan*, titre ancien, était bien connu au XVIIe siècle et non seulement parmi les gentilhommes séculaires, mais aussi parmi les aristocrates ecclésiastiques (p. e. Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n°s 164, 289: *darqan blam-a*, n° 446: *mergen dai gung darqan blam-a*). J'ignore le vrai contenu ou le sens concret de ce titre pour l'époque en question, mais il signifiait certainement un homme privilégié, peut-être, exempt de la taille, sens qui est également confirmé par celui du mandchou *darχan*, emprunt fait au mongol. En ce moment je n'ai qu'une seule analogie pour la forme mongole de la seconde partie du nom *Chul-khrims blo-gros*: c'est le nom de *Lori ombo gčodpa*, un des scribes de la traduction mongole du petit *Ārya-vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 1072. Sur f. 7 bis, recto, nous voyons une transcription vulgaire du nom de notre traducteur. Dans le ms d'Oulanbator: *Čulkrim oblogroi*.[31]

45 *Čoγtu mergen ubasi*: nom et titres assez communs, pour le nom *Čoγtu* (tib. *Dpal*, *Dpal-dan*, v. supra; mong. *Baldan*) on peut citer l'analogie du nom de *Čoγtu tayiǰi* ou de *Čoγtu guuši* (Kanǰur mongol imprimé, n° 885). Le titre *ubasi* (< ouig. *upasi*, sogd. *wp'sy*, skr. *upāsaka*, cf. A. v. Gabain, *Alttürk. Gramm.*) «fidèle séculaire, laïque, non-ecclésiastique» témoigne de ce que même des hommes de lettres non-religieux ont participé aux travaux des traductions mongoles des ouvrages tibétains bouddhiques.

46 Le manuscrit a clairement *J̌amdang*, *J̌amtang* ou *Yamdang*, toutefois j'ai incliné à croire que cette forme était due à un écart de plume et qu'il fallait la lire *J̌amiyang*, pour le tibétain *'J̌am-dbyaṅs*, skr. *Mañjughoṣa*, étant ici le nom d'un monastère (G. C. Cybikov, *Buddist palomnik u svjatynj Tibeta*, Petrograd 1918, p. 31, mentionne un temple à Sku-'bum nommé *'J̌am-dbyaṅs kungzigs* qui est en même temps la faculté de la métaphysique), mais le ms d'Oulanbator a la même forme *y'md'ng*.

47 *Bšang-chub blam-a*, le lama Bodhisattva, dont la traduction ancienne ou les instructions servaient de modèle aux traducteurs de notre texte. La forme écrite de son nom tibétain[32] donne l'exemple de la transcription mixte

[31] Le même anthroponyme se trouve probablement chez M. W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung* I, p. 33, n. 4: *Oyutu luri bande*, si l'on lit *lori* au lieu de *luri*. Cf. tib. *blo-gros* ~ ord. *lor$^{\bar{n}}$*, khal. *lodoi*, n. pr. m.; tib. *chul-khrims* ~ ord. *sùrụm* (*ǰamsu*) ~ khal. *cùltem*.

[32] Le tib. *byaṅ-čhub* donne régulièrement *ǰangčub* en mongol d'ou l'élément des noms propres khalkha *ǰančiw*, n. pr. masc., ou *J̌ančiwliŋ*, lieu-dit à l'est d'Oulanbator (eaux minérales, ancien emplacement d'un monastère).

et fautive: la première syllabe suit une prononciation amdowa,[33] la deuxième porte à tort un *ch* (alvéolaire), lettre galik au lieu du simple *č* qui rendrait parfaitement le tib. *čh* palatal du tibétain. Chez M. Bese: *Ibšang-čub lam-a*, forme archaïque.

56 Ce vers final du colophon de la traduction est suivi d'une incantation indienne,

tandis que la feuille suivante, 7bis, répète le texte de la feuille 7, avec très peu de différences orthographiques; le reste de la feuille porte les deux quatrains du colophon de la copie (ils manquent du ms d'Oulanbator):

57 *Rinčen rgyamčô dgeslông*, transcription ou pratiquement translittération du tib. *Rin-čhen rgya-mcho dge-sloṅ*.[34]

Après l'incantation indienne qui termine les vers, on lit la date dont l'année du serpent correspond à notre 1653. Le commencement de la date sont répétés au verso de la feuille 7a ter.

Les vers de ce double colophon (celui des traducteurs et celui du copiste) ne brillent pas par leur qualité littéraire: ils sont souvent inégaux, les vers de certains quatrains sont liés par une allitération monotone, répétée, ils reprennent des clichés stéréotypés, et leur structure grammaticale, lourde avec des propositions trop longues, ne facilite pas la compréhension. Certainement, ces vers ne soutiennent pas la comparaison avec des colophons vraiment poétiques comme p. e. le colophon de la traduction oïrate ou la longue postface de l'autre version du *Maṇi bka'-'bum* mongol, la traduction par Siregetü guuši čorǰiva des Tümed et par Sagy-a Dongrub (*Sa-skya Don-grub*), néanmoins certains vers du colophon abaga également offrent des attributifs métaphoriques qui ne manquent pas d'invention poétique (p. e. *narin ǰula metü* «pareille à une chandelle mince» ou *ǰegün-ü sübe-yin tedüi* «autant qu'un trou d'aiguille»).

Ainsi nous connaissons au moins les colophons de trois traductions mongoles du *Maṇi bka'-'bum*: celle du Siregetü guuši et de Dongrub (1608)[35], celle

[33] Cf. A. Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica*, p. 180.

[34] Ce mot serait en mong. *Erdeni dalai gelüng* (anc. *rgelüng*, *ergeslüng*), ou, en tibéto-mong. *Rinčinǰamcu*, khal. *erinčin*, *erencen*, *erenǯen* et *ǰamc*, ord. *ėrinčin*, (*e*)*rinčin* et *ǰamsu*, mong. des Yuan *Irinǰin*.

[35] Če. Damdinsürüng, *J̌ayun bilig*, p. 293: *dörben noγoγan ga quluγuna ǰil* : *döčin dötüger ding qonin ǰil-ün* : *tügemel arban qoyar sarada ekilen* : *türidkel ügei uu bečin ǰil-ün qubi sara-yin* : : *alyur yabuγči eǰelegsen naiman sinede* : *ayalγu tegüs güüši čôs-rǰi orčiγulǰu* : *ayalγulun Sagy-a Dôn-grub nököčeldügsen-i* : *ariγun bisirel-iyer qaṭaγuǰin kičiyeǰü tegüskebei* : : «commencé (le travail) dans (le mois de) la 12e lune universelle (?) de l'année *ding qonin* (chin. *ting-wei*, mong. *eme γal* ou *ulaγaγčin qonin*, feu-femme-mouton ou femme-rouge-mouton) qui est la 44e (du cycle de) l'année *dörben noγoγan* (?) *ga quluγuna* (chin. *kia-tseu*, mong. *ere modun* ou *köke quluγuna* ~ *quluγana*, bois-mâle-souris ou mâle-bleu-souris), le *güüši čhos-rǰe* qui est excellent en langues a traduit (ce livre) avec *Sa-skya Don-grub* qui était son compagnon pour la traduction, et ils l'ont terminé avec ambition

du Zaya paṇḍita oïrate (1644) et celle des traducteurs abaga (copie de 1654). Ces traductions, indépendantes l'une de l'autre, ont été exécutées à la même époque, dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, qui appartient à l'époque mouvementée (mentionnée par le colophon du Siregetü et de Dongrub: *ene čöb-ün čay-tur* «dans ce temps d'horreur») où le rêve de la renaissance de l'État mongol indépendant paraissait réalisable et où les gouvernants de la société, ou bien, des sociétés nomades et semi-nomades mongoles, tentaient d'employer la force organisante idéologique et économique de l'Église lamaïste pour établir l'unité mongole et un État réellement féodal. Les trois traductions qui sont nées sous le signe de l'union de l'État unitaire en germe et de l'Église militante des lamas nous fournissent d'ailleurs des riches matériaux comparatifs pour l'étude de la formation de la langue écrite et littéraire mongole du XVIIe siècle.

Généalogies abaga

Quant à la descendance de Belgütei (*Belgüdei, Bölgüdei, Bilgütei noyan*) comme *Kouang-ning wang*, cf. L. Hambis — P. Pelliot, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, pp. 23—24, n.4, pp. 48—51, 152—153 et tableau 15: Belgütei, trois fils: *Yesü-buqa, Köwün-buqa* et **Qaltuqu*. Yesü-buqa: *J̌audu—Temür* et *Nayan*, Nayan: *Tob-temür*. Köwün buqa, deux fils: *Mergidei* et *Onggiradai*, Mergidei: *Kököčü* et trois frères, Kököčü: *Sečegen—Čartai*, Onggiradai: *Čerik-temür—*Alqunča*, Qaltuqu: *Qorgi—Taču*; l'ordre des trois fils est selon T'ou Ki: *Köwün-buqa, Yesü-buqa, *Qaltuqu*.

L'*Histoire jaune* (*Sira toγuǰi*, éd. N. Šastina, *Šara Tudži, mong. letopisj XVII veka*, Moskva 1957, 182, p. 103) nomme même la mère de Belgütei (*Menggilün qatun*), mais cette généalogie diffère essentiellement de la précédente: *Činggis qaγan-u nige degüü anu Menggilün qatun-ača törögsen : Böke Belgetey-yin üre-yin üre.* [d'ici d'après le ms B:] *Böke Belgeten*[!]*-yin yeke köbegün Mendü . tegün-ü yeke köbegün Sigi . tegün-ü köbegün Nomoqan boro . tegün-ü köbegün Möngke tegüs . tegün-ü köbegün Engke tegüs . tegün-ü köbegün Aγuu γalǰaγu . tegün-ü köbegün Nabčin boro . tegün-ü köbegün Qulu . tegünü köbegün Namanaγča . tegün-ü köbegün Yosimu*[=ǰo?] *. tegün-ü köbegün Dabir*

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et avec la patience d'une foi immaculée, le 8e jour de la nouvelle lune (le jour nommé) *alγur yabuγči eǰelegsen* (? ce qui va doucement et qui domine) du mois *qubi* (1er mois) de l'année *türidkel ügei* («sans obstacle, irrésistable, invincible») *uu bečin* (chin. *wou-chen*, mong. *ere siroi bečin* ~ *mečin* etc. ou *sira bečin*, terre-mâle-singe ou mâle-jaune-singe).» — Étant donné que l'année *ga quluγuna* commence le cycle sexagésimal (*rab-byuṅ*) et qu'il s'agit ici d'une traducteur qui vécut à la fin du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe et qui était contemporain du souverain tümed *Altan qaγan*, de *Bošuytu ǰinong*, «réincarnation de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po» et de sa femme, *Tayiyal ǰünggin qatun*, «réincarnation de la déesse Tārā», cette année doit être 1564, ainsi la 44e année du cycle correspond à 1607 et la traduction fut terminé au printemps de 1608.

[? *Tabir, Tebir* ou *Debir*] . *tegün-ü köbegün Möngke . tegün-ü köbegün Muuliqai baγatur ông tegün-ü köbegün Učarqui ǰasay-du . tegün-ü köbegün Bayan noyan. tegün-ü köbegün Bayasqu* [de nouveau, d'après le ms A] *bürgüd noyan : tegünü köbegün Nom. Tarni . Nomtu . Buyantu : : Nom temege-tü qaγan-u köbegün Mandusi* [ms C: *Negdasi*] *qatun-ača törögsen Abaγai . Babaqai* [ms C:deest]. *Darai . Darayisun . Buriyadai . Ayusi abay-ača törögsen Baytu Kitad qoyar* : [183] *Abaγay-yin üre Sayin qayan-a-tu* [ms C: *qaγang-tu*] *Namčun* [?] *Sečen ǰoriγ-tu : ǰasaγ-tu qan-a-yi-du Sečen bilig-tü : :*

Les sources de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle concordent, la généalogie qu'elles contiennent suit une tradition qui a des points communs et avec le *Yuan che*, et avec l'*Histoire jaune*.

Gangga-yin urusqal de Gomboǰab (éd. Pučkovskij,[36] Moskva 1960), 52b sq: *boγda Činggis qaγan-u* (*öber-e*) *eke-tü degüü güng-ni⟨ya⟩ng-wang Belegtüyin γurban köbegün-eče yeke inu Yisün-buq-a . tegünü köbegün güng-niyang-wang Küngdü . tegünü köbegün Temür Nayan* (*ǰarim bičigtür egüni Böke eǰen-ü tabuduγar köbegün kemeyü .*) *qoyar köbegün : Nayan-u yeke köbegün . Tou-a-temür . qoyaduγar . köbegün Buyan-buq-a-yin köbegün Mergedei tegünü köbegün dörben köbegün-eče . odqan inu Kököčü tayiǰi tegünü köbegün ding-wang Šečigen* [!]. *tegünü γutaγar köbegün Qongγor-dai* [*Qongqor°?*] *noyan . : : . Böke eǰin-ü nigen köbegün inu Mendü odqan köbegün inu Qaryui tayiǰi . tegünü köbegün Torki noyan* [53a] *tegünü köbegün Taču : Mendü tayiǰi-yin küü Sagi noyan . tegünü küü Nomoqan . tegünü küü Möngke . ⟨tegüs⟩ tegünü küü Engke tegüs . tegünü küü Aquu qalčiqu* [=*yalǰiyu?*] . *tegünü küü Nabčin boro . tegünü küü Qulu . tegünü küü Namačin . tegünü küü Yosimu* [sic in ms; Pučk.: *J̌°*] *tegünü küü Qabar . tegünü küü Möngke . tegünü küü Muuliq*[*a*]*i baγatur yung-wang . tegünü köbegün Očari ǰasaγtu . tegünü küü Bayan noyan . tegünü küü . Bayasqu büregüd tegünü köbegün Tarnai* [=*Tarni?*] *guiwang . tegünü qoyar köbegün Süsünggi* [?*ö*, ?*k*] *üiǰüng ⟨-un nigen köbegün Erdeni⟩ Nomi temegtü noyan buyu : Süsünggi üiǰüng-ün nigen köbegün Erdeni tümen ǰasaγtu : : tegünü köbegün Budašari ǰasaγtu ǰinong . : : . tegünü köbegün Düsker bayatur giyüin wang : tegünü küü Šaγč*[*a*]*sengge* [*č* = *ǰ*] *giyüin wang : tegünü küü Určanggarab* [*č* = *ǰ*] *wang : :* [53b] *Süsünggi-yin basa nigen köbegün Esige ǰoriγtu noyan . tegünü köbegün Serčil* [*č* = *ǰ*] *ǰoriγtu giyüin wang : : tegünü köbegün Dambil wang tegünü köbegün Bang wang : : Nömi temegtü noyan-u köbegün Bingtu noyan . tegü*[*n*]*ü küü Erdeni güüši noyan . tegünü küü Dorǰi ildeng noyan tegünü nigen köbegün Düsgičab* [*č* = *ǰ*] *beyise . basa nigen küü Sereng mergen beyile . Tüsiyetü beyise-yin küü Yungš*[*i*]*yebu be'ise tegünü köbegün Rinčingdaši be'ise : mergen be'ile-yin küü Samaγar aldar beyile . tegünü*

[36] Dans cette copie tardive du GU, les lettres *č* et *ǰ* sont distinctes, mais employées faussement dans certains anthroponymes; *s* final = *š* ouigour.

köbegün Bučuu be'ile : tegünü küü Čeden-wangčuγ beyile : tegünü küü Sodnamrabdan beyile : : Abaγ-a-yin noyad ede bui : :[37]

Bolor erike de Rasipungsuγ (éd. Mostaert—Cleaves, vol. III, Cambridge, Mass., 1959),[38] 492b: *boγda Činggis qaγan-u degüü . gung-ning-wang Böke Beligtü- : -eče Yisün-temür . Mendü taiǰi Qarqui noyan . γurbaγula bui . Yisüntemür-eče gung-ning-wang Kündü tegünče Temür Nayan qoyar . ǰarim bičigeče Nayan-i Belegtey-yin tabuduγar köbegün . kemeǰügüi . tere qoyar-ača Tou-atemür Küng-buq-a qoyar : Küng-buq-a-ača Mergentei . tegünü dorben buy-eče . odqan Kököčü taiǰi . tegünče ding-wang Sočigen tegünče γurban köbegün buy-eče γutaγar köbegün Ongqodai [= Ongγodai] noyan bui . qoyaduγar köbegün Mendüeče Sagi noyan . tegünče Nomoqan tegünče Möngke-:* [493a] *tegüs . tegünče Engke-tegüs . tegünče Aquu-qalčaqu . tegünče Abačin [= Nabčin] buyu : tegünce Qulu . tegünče Namačin . tegünče Yosumu . tegünče Qabu'r . tegünče Möngke . tegünče Muuliqai ⟨b'⟩ batur wang . tegünče Včir . ǰasaγtu . tegünče Bayan noyan . tegünče Bayasqu bürgüd . tegünče Dari . küdüng [= güyong] . tegünče Süsünggi üičeng . Ömi-temged [!] qoyar . Süsünggi üičeng-eče Erdeni tümen ǰasaγtu . ǰ'ngγus* [pour *Mangγus?*] *. Böke išig ǰoriγtu qoyaγula buyu . aqamad köbegün Erdeni tümen ǰasaγtu-ača Budašari ǰasaγtu čečin . ǰinong . tegünče Düskar ǰinong wang . tegünče ǰasaγ-un törö-yin giyün-wang . Sagǰinšeng [= Šagǰinseng] . tegünče wang Urǰang . Garub [= Urǰang-garub] . tegünče wang Badm-a göngčuγ . . . .*

Altan kürdün mingγan kegesütü bičig de Siregetü güüši Dharma (éd. Heissig, København 1958), 16b: *boγda Činggis qaγan-ača öber-e eke-tü . γutaγar degüü gong-ning-wang . Böke Belgetey-eče Isün-temür Mendü tayiǰi . Qaryui noyan . γurbaγula . Isün-buq-a-ača gong-ning-wang Künedü* [!] *. tegünče Temür Nayan qoyar köbegün bui . (ǰarim bečig-dür Nayan-i Belgetey-yin tabuduγar köbegün kemeǰügüi.) Temür Nayan-ača Toba-temür . Gün-buq-a qoyar . Günbuq-a-ača Mergedei . tegünü dörben köbegün buy-eče odqan anu Kököčü tayiǰi . tegünče ding-wang . Sočigen . tegündür γurban köbegün Qonggotai noyan bui . qoyaduγar Mendü-eče Sagi noyan . tegünče Nomoqan . tegünče Möngke-tegüs . tegünče Engke-tegüs . tegünče Aγu-γalǰiγu . tegünče Abčin-boro . tegünče Qulu . tegünče Namčin . tegünče J̌osumu . tegünče Qabur . tegünče Möngke . tegünče*

[37] La leçon de plusieurs anthroponymes reste incertaine. Les anciennes formes *Belgütei* et *Yesü-buqa* (ou *Yisü°*) sont corrigées en *Belegtü*, *Biligtü* et *Yisün°*, *Isün°*, resp.; la graphie *tou-a* remonte probablement à la transcription chinoise *t'ouo* de la syllabe mongole *tob* «globule» comme dans le nom mongol de l'empereur Wen-tsong des Yuan (v. Ligeti: *T'oung Pao* XXVII, 1930, pp. 119—128); dans la forme *Mergedei* nous voyons la «fusion» des mots *Merkit* et *mergen*; GU *Namačin* ~ ST *Namanayča*, GU *Qabar* ~ ST *Dabir* (?) GU *Očari* (= *Očir*, *Očiroi*, *Včir*) ~ ST *Učarqui*, GU *güiwang* ~ BE *küdüng* (*guiwang* = chin. *kouo-wang*), etc.

[38] L'orthographe de ce ms est classique: les pointes diacritiques apparaissent avant les voyelles, je n'ai marque que les graphies abérrantes et les lettres mandchoues (avec le point *čeg* ou *tongki*).

Muuliqai batur ong . tegünče Vačiri. ǰasaγtu . tegünče Bayan n̲oyan . tegünče Bayasqu bürküg[!]. *tegünče Tarn̲i küdüng*[!]. *tegünče Süsüyigi üičing . Omi temegetü qoyar bui . Süsü'ikey-eče Erden̲i tümen ǰasaγtu ǰ'nqws' böke . Isge ǰoriγtu qoyaγ̄ula . Erden̲i tümen ǰasaγtu-ača Budasiri ǰasaγtu . Čičin ǰin̲ong . tegünče Dusḳar ǰin̲ong wang . tegünče Určing-ġarub wang . tegünče Badmaġôńčuγ wang . . . .*

Les passages cités de ces trois histoires ou bien généalogies «synoptiques» montrent la triste destinée des noms propres.

Dans le *Iledkel šastir* (préface de 1779, v. Pučkovskij, *Mongoljskie rukopisi . . .*, I, p. 58 sq, n° 26),[39] vol. IV, 11a—15a, nous trouvons la liste des princes abaga, sujets des Ts'ing:[40]

Abaγ-a-yin ayimaγ

Degedü erdemtü-yin dörbedüger on dayar-a irebei . qoyar qosiγu . kergem dörben . Sujets des Ts'ing dès 1639. Deux bannières. Quatre rangs.

Dorǰi ǰasaγ törö-yin ǰoriγtu giyüin-wang . Böke Belgetü-yin ür-e . čola Ečige n̲oyan kememüi . Il reçut son titre en l'an 6 de *Degedü erdemtü*, 1641.

Serǰen, 1er fils, *Ey-e-ber ǰasaγči* II, 1645—

Dembel, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* IX, 1670—

Čüng, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* XVIII, 1679—

Sereng, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* XXXI, 1692—

Damarinǰab, frère cadet du précédent, *Engke amuγulang* XXXV, 1696—

Bing, 2e fils de Dembel, *Engke amuγulang* XL, 1701—

J̌ambalǰab, 3e fils de Bing, *Engke amuγulang* LV, 1716—

Čeringwangbu, 2e fils de J., *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XVII, 1752—

Radnasidi 1er fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XLII, 1777—1788; *yal-a-tay-yin učir-tur bayilyabai* . à cause d'une affaire criminelle il fut destitué en 1788 et remplacé par son frère cadet: *tabin dörbedüger on tegün-ü degüü*

Baldansereng-i ǰasaγ terigün ǰerge tayiǰi bolγabai . ǰasaγ törö-yin giyüin wang.

Düskar, Dorǰi-yin üyeled ači, Ey-e-ber ǰasaγči VIII, 1651—

[39] L'orthographe de l'édition xylographique est classique, mais sans les doubles points sur les *γ*.

[40] Voir encore le *Bolor toli* de J̌imbadorǰi (1834—1837, éd. Heissig, København 1962), III, 67b: [*Sečin qan-u*] *γurba-duγar on-du Abaγ̄-a-yin noyad-un uγ Dusḳar . . . mön yosu busu-yin učar-tu daγ̄ar-a irebei*; dans le *Erdeni-yin erike* de Išibaldan (1835, éd. Heissig, København 1961), 15a: *Činggis qaγ̄an-u dörben degüü an̲u Qabutu Qasar . Böke Biligtü . Kenǰiken* [!]. *Öčigen-luγ̄-a dörbe-eče . . . Bökebiligtü-eče saluγ̄san n̲oyad-un uγ̄saγ̄-a an̲u . Abaγ̄-a-yin dörben qosiγ̄un-u n̲oyad-un udum mön bolai.*

Šayšasengge, 1er fils, *Ey-e-ber ǰasayči* XII, 1655—
Urǰangǧarab, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* XXVII, 1688—
Badmagončuγ, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* LIV, 1715—
Sonomrabdan, 1er fils, *Nayiraltu töb* II, 1724—
Nayibvančangǰung, 1er fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XXII, 1757—
Gömboǰab, 1er fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* L, 1785—
Manibadar-a, fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* LIV, 1789—

Qosiγun-u darqan beyise

Dorǰi, *Düskar-un üyeled degüü*, *čola Darqan noyan*, dès 1646, *Ey-e-ber ǰasayči* III: *Darqan beyile*
Čoboγo, 1er fils, *Ey-e-ber ǰasayči* XI, 1654—
Čeringdongrub, 1er fils, *Engke amuγulang* XV, 1676—
Čiwang, *ači*, grand-fils, *Nayiraltu töb* V, 1727—
Püngsuγ, fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XXI, 1756—
Bayarsidi, fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* LX, 1795—.

Qamiyaraγsan qosiγun-u darqan beyise bülüge . edüge ulus-tur tusalayči darqan güng ǰalγamǰilabai .

Demčoγ, 2e fils de *Šayšasengge*, *Engke amuγulang* LV, 1663— *ulus-tur tusalayči güng*, *darqan*, *debsigülǰü qosiγun-u beyise* dès LXI/1722
Ölǰeyitü, 2e fils de D., *Nayiraltu töb* IV, 1726—
Wangčinǰab, 1er fils, *ǰerge bayuraγulǰu ulus-tur tusalayči darqan güng* destitué, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XVI, 1751—
Čibayǰab, 2e fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* XXXII, 1767—
Lawangdorǰi, 1er fils, *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* LII, 1787—

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TOYIN GUIŠI'S MONGOL *VAJRACCHEDIKĀ*

BY

ALICE SÁRKÖZI

The *Vajracchedikā* is one of the most favourite *sūtra*s among the Buddhist works, partly because it is one of the earliest short texts, and partly because it contains the essence of *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings. It was always very popular in every country where Northern Buddhism has developed, and became one of the best known and most sufficient Mahāyāna scriptures.

The earliest version of the work is in Sanskrit,[1] and probably it originated from the end of the 4th, or the beginning of the 5th century.[2] Afterwards the work has been copied several times and translated into the languages of the countries around, at an early date.

In China it became famous in the translation of *Kumārajīva* who was born in 344 as a native of Kucha, and came to China in 385, where from 401 to 413 he worked at Ch'ang-an as a translator.[3] There are some other translations of the work into Chinese. In 503 *Bodhiruci*, who lived in North-India, produced a translation as well as some commentaries of it. In 562 *Paramārtha* of West-India gave another translation. The South-Indian *Dharmagupta* translated it in 600 with great literal fidelity and added a commentary to it.

[1] The edition of the Sanskrit text: M. Mueller, *Buddhist Mahāyāna Sutras: Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 49, 2, 1894 pp. 111—144; M. Walleser, *Prajñāpāramitā. Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis*, Goettingen 1914, pp. 140—158; T. Aman, *Bonbun Nôdan Kongô Hannyaharamittagyô to Chibettoyaku Kanyaku no Taisho* (it compares the Sanskrit text with the Tibetan and Chinese translations); F. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford 1916, pp. 176—195; F. E. Pargiter, *Vajracchedikā in the Original Sanskrit*. It is the earliest manuscript of the work, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his first expedition to Chinese Turkestan. E. Conze, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā: Serie Orientale Roma* XIII, Rome 1957, pp. 27—63; E. Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books containing The Diamond Sutra and The Heart Sutra*, London 1958; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts* I, containing the *Gilgit Text of the Vajracchedikā Asaṅga's commentary on the Vajracchedikā, Analysis of the commentary on it by Vashubandu*: *Serie Orientale Roma* IX, pp. 173—192.

[2] G. Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[3] E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, London 1960, p. 27; Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

The last adaptation, produced by the famous Chinese traveller, *I-ching*, was completed in 703.[4]

There is a Khotanese version of it from Eastern Turkestan, from the 8th to 10th century, which is shorter than the Sanskrit text, omitting several chapters of the original text.[5]

The *Vajracchedikā* enjoyed great importance in Japan as well,[6] chiefly among schools like the *T'ien t'ai* (Tendai) and the *Ch'an* (Zen). Japanese Buddhists studied carefully the literature connected with it and commented upon the Sanskrit works which had been translated into their language. The *Bussho kaisetu daijiten* of *Onō* gives a fine comprehensive list of the most important commentaries.[7]

The work was attested in the Manchu Kanǰur translated in the 18th century, see B. Laufer, *Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur*; *Keleti Szemle* IX (1908), p. 48; W. Fuchs, *Zum Manjurischen Kanjur*: *Asia Major* VI (1930), pp. 388—402. We do not know if the Manchu version translated in 1842—46 by *Ching-tsai* and *Mien-pang* was the same adaptation as that in the Kanǰur. *Ching-tsai*, as he writes in his preface, was a high-ranking official, and after retiring he devoted his time to translating this work intending it as an act of piety, because spreading Buddhist *sūtras* was considered a special merit.[8]

We have a Sogdian version, too.[9]

There are Uigur translations mentioned[10] and fragments of the Uigur version were published recently,[11] though the complete text is not available yet.

[4] E. Conze, *Praj. Lit.*, p. 65; G. Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The Chinese version is the first printed book in the world, made by *Wang Chih* in 868. It was found in *Tun-Huang* and taken to the British Museum by Sir Aurel Stein. (Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books*, pp. 1—3.)

[5] The edition of the Khotanese version: S. Konow, *The Vajracchedikā in the old Khotanese version of Eastern Turkestan* in Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 214—365.

[6] The Japanese translation: *Mō-zō Bon-kan-wa Gappeki, Kongō Hannya Haromitsu*, ed. Hashimoto Kōhō and Shimizu Ryōshō, Tokyo 1941. This translation was made from Mongol. (Unfortunately I could not use it).

[7] Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[8] C. de Harlez, *Vajracchedikâ Prajñâpâramitâ. Traduite du texte sanscrit avec comparaison des versions chinoise et mandchoue*: *JA* XVIII (1891), pp. 440—509; and *WZKM* XI (1897), pp. 202—290.

[9] H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, vol. II. Heidelberg 1931, pp. 72—75. F. Weller, *Bemerkungen zur soghdischen Vajracchedika*: *Acta Orientalia (Havn.)* XIV (1936), pp. 112—146.

[10] Sinor Dénes, *A középázsiai török buddhizmusról.* [D. Sinor, On Turkish Buddhism in Central-Asia]: *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* I, Budapest—Leipzig 1935—39, p. 371.

[11] G. Hazai—P. Zieme, *Fragmente der uigurischen Version des «Jin'gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu» nebst einen Anhang von T. Inokuchi*: *Schriften zu Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*: *Berliner Turfantexte* I, Berlin 1971. cf. G. Hazai—P. Zieme, *Ein uigurischen Blockdruckfragment einer Einleitung zum Vajracchedikāsūtra*: *AOH* XXI (1968), pp. 1—14.

The earliest Tibetan translation known so far was made in the 8th century. An early version was attested in the Kanǰur that was compiled in the 13th century by *Bu-ston*. Manuscript text and commmentary fragments were found in Tun-Huang. The translators of this version were *Śīlendrabodhi* and *Ye-šes-sde*.[12] As the translator of the first Chinese *Vajracchedikā* version, *Kumārajīva* came from Tibet to China, we may suppose that by that time the *sūtra* had become known there, and that the Chinese translation was made on the basis of a Tibetan version. However, this supposition needs further evidence.

The data listed here show how widely this *sūtra* was spread, in how many languages this favorite text of Buddhism was known, though the rich variety of commentaries was not mentioned here yet.[13] Here I would not speak of them apart from calling attention to the fact that it was commented upon by famous persons like *Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Kamalaśīla.*

Tracing the way of the *Vajracchedikā*, we come to the Mongolian versions. Examining the catalogues, we see that there is a large number of copies of the *Vajracchedikā*. Here I do not give the list of these copies, as in Professor Poppe's book a complete catalogue of the *Vajracchedikā* copies is given, as far as they were accessible to the author.[14]

On the basis of data at his disposal Professor Poppe states that there are three different versions of the Mongolian *Vajracchedikā*.[15] I am lucky enough to report on a fourth one preserved in the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. There are two copies of it: Mong. 68, and Mong. 69. They show only slight differences in orthography, grammar and vocabulary:

[12] M. Lalou, *Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan*: *JA* CCXLI (1953), pp. 313—353, No 9. The editions of the Tibetan version: M. Lalou, *La version tibétaine de Prajñāpāramitā*: *JA* 1929, pp. 87—102; I. J. Schmidt, *Mahâjâna und Pradschnâ-pâramita der Bauddhen*: *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Science*, St. Petersburg, VIme série, 1840; A. David-Neel, *La connaissance transcendente*, 1958, pp. 150—171; M. Walleser, *Prajñāpāramitā. Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis*, Leipzig 1914, pp. 140—158, cf. M. Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, Wiesbaden 1966, Nos 17—32 and M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscripts tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Fonds Pelliot tibétain*) I, Paris 1939, Nos. 10—34, 99, 100, 116, 118, 577, 578, 588 et suiv.; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*, Oxford 1962, Nos 100—2, 170—176, 617—1, 705, 707; commentaries 177—178.

[13] For the detailed bibliography of the commentaries and the complete data of the text editions cf. E. Conze, *Praj. Lit.* pp. 67—70. A recent edition of *Vasubandhu's* commentary: Tucci, *op. cit.*, pp. 129—171.

[14] N. Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra, Three Mongolian Versions of the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Texts, Translations, Notes, and Glossaries* : *Asiatische Forschungen* 35, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 11, 99, 159.

[15] N. Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 4.

No. 68	No. 69
Enedkeg	*Hindkeg*
čoγ-čas	*čoγčas*
ali-ba	*aliba*
buyu gü	*buyugü*
bolur-un	*bolurun*
belge-tü	*belgetü*
irege üdügüi	*irege edüi*
örgün	*ergün*
iledte	*ilete*
genedte	*genete*
yeke-ṯe	*yekede*

or let us see a part in verse:

No. 68: *sümegelǰegči odun ǰula kiged* :
yilvi següderi usun-ṯaki kögesün :
ǰegüdün gilbelgen egüles meṯü kiged :
qamuγ egüdügsen-i tere meṯü-yi uqaγdaqui :

No. 69: *sümegelǰegči odun ǰula kiged* :
yelvi šigüderi usun-daki kögesün :
ǰegüdün gilbelgen egüles metü kiged :
qamuγ egüdügseni tere metü-yi uqaγdaqui :

These extracts make it certain that here we are dealing with two copies of one and the same version.

In *Širegetü*'s version this verse is the next:

odud bürkig ǰula kiged :
yelvi sigüderi usun-u kögesün ba :
ǰegüdün gilbelküi kiged egüled metü :
egüdügsen bügüde-yi tegünčilen üǰegdeküi :

This version seems to be another translation.

Here I publish the complete transcription of MS Mong. 68 that seems to preserve more archaic elements. To give the English translation of the whole text is not necessary, because it would not be too far from Professor Poppe's one, so I only publish the translation ot those parts which do not occur in Professor Poppe's edition. I also give some examples where the two texts are different, indicating that here we have to do with two separate translations. This study contains a part of the transcription of *Banča Dirista*'s version, which is not given in N. Poppe's book. This transcription was prepared on the

basis of the xylograph No. 139, preserved in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and published in 1969 in the series *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole] *Preklasszikus Emlékek* 4, közzéteszi Sárközi Alice [Preclassical Monuments 4, edited by A. Sárközi], Budapest 1969. The rest of the text is more or less identical with the one given by N. Poppe, as the «Anonymous Translation».

Xyl. No. 139, ff. 25a—27b

[25a] *namo buddhay-a : : namo dharmay-a : : namo sangghay-a : :*

Enedkeg-ün keleber : bajar bata braty-a baramita bodi nam-a : : Töbed-ün keleber : dorǰi gčodba baroldu byinba byangčub yi lam brǰiu-a yi mdo : : Mongyol-un keleber : bilig-ün činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen oytaluyči včir : bodi mör-i toyuluyči neretü sudur :

burqan-dur mürgümü : nom-dur mürgümü : bursang quvaraq-ud-tur mürgümü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen bodi qutuy-un mör-tür mergen boluysan-a mürgümü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen-ü udq-a-dur oyoyata mergen boluysan čoytu-da mürgümü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen gegen gerel-iyer qamuy-ača medegči-de mürgümü : :

eyin kemen minu sonosuysan nigen čay-tur ilaǰu tegüs nögčig=sen burqan Vayisali balyasun-dur sayun bülüge : tere čay-tur : tere Vayisali-daki bükün kümün amitan-a činadu kiǰayara kürügsen-ü qamuy nom-ud ügey-yin tula : tedeger amitan ǰoban bülügei : : tere čay-tur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen medeǰü bür-ün : nigüleskü sedkil-i egüskeǰü : [25b] *tere ulus-daki bükün kümün amitan-a silügleǰü nomlar-un : :*

öngge terigüten čoyčas-nuyud :
mungqay nisvanis-un višay-ača nögčiyü :
erketen oron-nuyud sedkil-i üǰeged :
sedkil-ün erketen nom-ud-i dayamui : :

nom-un činar oytaryu-yin kiǰayar-luy-a sačayu :
sedkil-i medebesü ele nom-i kü medeyü :
nom-i medebesü bodi qutuy-un mör :
iǰayur-nuyud-un ker büküyi erketen eǰeleyü : :

erketen-e eǰelegdebesü bodi qutuy-un mör :
orod višai kiged višay-yi üǰemüi :
višai-nuyud-i medebesü bodi mör :
siltayan-ača barilduǰu boluysan bügüde : :

usun kiged sün-ü saba metü :
nigen-degen ese sitübesü nigen inu ülü bolumui :
tegüber arban qoyar siltayan-ača barilduysan :
bodi mör-ün sitügen anu bolai : :

činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen nom-ud kemebesü :
erten-ün čaγ-un qamuγ burqad-un tergegür :
edüge-deki bodistv-nar-un mör :
qamuγ qoyosun tede ele bügüde : :

bodi mör-ün siltayan ür-e buyu :
ači ür-e bui bolbasu mör ber bui :
bodi ǰüg-ün nom-nuγud kemebesü :
bodi mör-ün siltayan kiged ür-e anu bolai : :

mör terigüten-ü ači ür-e kemebesü :
nigen-iyen erildün bui :
bodi mör-nügüd-i bütügekü mör :
bodi ǰüg-ün nom-nuγud-i : :

nigen-e bütügegsen-iyer [26a] *qoyar kemekü ügei :*
bodistv-nar-un mör-nügüd inu :
arban baramid-iyar yabuqui bui :
baramid-un nom-nuγud kemebesü : :

uridu qamuγ nom-ud törökü ügei :
dumda qamuγ nom-ud türidkü ügei :
ečüs-tür qamuγ nom-ud orosiqui ügei :
oγtaryui-dur adali buyu oγtaryui-dur : :

nemekü ügei boluγad bayuraqui ügei :
nemekü bayuraqui ügei nom-ud kü bolai :
nom böged oγtaryui-dur adali :
oγtaryui-dur ber bayuraqui ügei boluyu : :

nemekü ügei boluγad bayuraqui ügei :
nemekü bayuraqui ügei bodi mör bui :
degedü bodi qutuγ-un mör-nügüd-i :
ulus baribasu nom-ud-i bütügeyü : :

qamuγ nom-i bütügebesü mör-i olumui :
mör-nügüd-i olbasu ečüs-tür kürüyü :
adalidqabasu olan burqan-nuγud-ḍa :
ečüs-tür kürtele čiγulγan-i quriyaqui ba : :

neng olan burqan-nuγud-i takiqui ba :
degedü nom-un ayimaγ-i čiγulγaqui ba :
dalai metü quvaraγ-i kündülekü terigüten :
činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen bodi mör boluyu : :

činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen mör kemebesü :
öglige baramid mör-ün sitügen-i bariyu :
šayšabad-iyar ber sitügen-i barimui :
küličenggüi baramid mör-ün sitügen-i bariyu : :

kičiyenggüi baramid-iyar ber tuγurbiǰu :
diyan-iyar [26b] *ber mör-i bütügemüi :*
bilig-iyer ber ečüs-tür kürümüi :
tere metü činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen : :

nigen nigen-ṯür-iyen duradqaldumui :
adalidqabasu γal kiged modun metü buyu :
nigen nigen-ṯür-iyen dulduyidču bolulčaqui metü :
činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen nom-nuγud-i : :

bütügebesü bodi qutuγ-un ečüs-tür kürüyü :
adalidqabasu üres čaγ-tayan bolumui :
Γang-a čilgegdebesü qokiraqui metü :
nom-nuγud ügei bolbasu ür-e ügei bui : :

ači ür-e ügei bolbasu qutuγ ügei buyu :
bodi qutuγ ügei bolbasu mör ber ügei :
adalidqabasu tariyalang-ṯur arbay-yi sačubasu :
ür-e inu buγudai ülü boluyu : :

nom-ud ügei bolbasu mör ber ügei :
baramid-un qamuγ nom-ud kemebesü :
baraγdaqui ügei nemekü ber ügei :
adalidqabasu tariyalang-dur buγuday-yi sačubasu : :

ür-e inu arbai ülü bolqu metü :
siltayan ügei ber bolbasu ači ür-e ügei :
ači ür-e ügei bolbasu mör ber ügei :
qamuγ mör-ün lagšan düri anu bolai : :

toγuluγsan burqan-nuγud nomlabai :
tegünü tulada biber dayan nomlamui :

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan teyin kemen ǰarliγ boluγsan-dur : amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi terigüten : yekes siravag-nuγud kiged tngri : kümün asuri : gandarvi-luγ-a yirtinčü-dekin bisiren bayasulčaǰu : : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü [27a] *ǰarliγ-i ilete maγtabai : : bilig-ün činadu kiǰayar-a kürügsen : oγtaluγči včir qutuγ-un mör-i toγulaqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur dayusbai : : : : :*

ilaγuγsan-u kedüi bükü nomlaγsan nom-un yosun-u γool :
tegüni ǰirüken bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen :
qoγosun-ača boluγsan belge bilig-ün včir-iyar :
kedüi toγatan ǰobalang-un uγ uqaγan-i oγtaluγči egüni : :

Čambudvib-un yeke delekei-dekin-ü asaraqui-bar manduγuluγči :
küčün auγ-a-tu delekey-yin Qormusta ali tegünü ǰarliγ-i :
oroi-dur-iyan abču bür-ün Banča-Dirista kelemürči :
tngri-ner-ün kelen-eče nayir ǰokistay-a orčiγulǰu tamaγalaγulbai : :

tere buyan-iyar oγtaryui-luγ-a sača törölkiten bügüdeger :
ǰayaγan nisvanis-un gem-ün čiγulγan-i sayitur arilγaǰu :
ilaγuγsan-u šasin sin-e saran-u niγur metü :
ebderel ügegüy-e amitan-dur önide orosiqu boltuγai : :

egün-dür kičiyegčid bügüdeger töröl tutum :
degedü nom-i nomlaqui temečeküi ǰokiyaqui kiged :
orčiγulqui uriqui ba amaγar ungsiqui bisilγaqui terigüten :
ariγun šasin nom-i erkilen abqu boltuγai : :

toγolasi ügei nom-un öglige-yi egüsken delgeregülküi-dür :
γurban qaγaly-a ber kündülen nököčeldügčid bügüdeger :
qoγar tüidker-ün abiγas selte-yi oγoγata tarqaγaǰu :
qamuγ-i medegči nom-un qaγan bolqu boltuγai : :

Mangghalam bhavan-du : : : : :

The manuscript (Mong. 68) which the present paper is devoted to, was brought by Professor Ligeti from Inner-Mongolia in 1931. The book consists of 58 leaves, unfortunately the last one is missing, measuring 31 × 11 cm (27 × 8 cm), generally with 16 lines on every leaf. It is written in black and red with calamus on solid and thick yellowish-brown paper, consisting of sheets pasted together. The lines running down middle of the leaves are red, and are drawn regardless of the meaning. The writing is completely legible and by the same hand throughout, except the cover-leaf. The blessing formula was written on it in a rather cursive style, possibly by an other person, added later. The pagination runs in Mongolian on the left margin only on the *verso*. There is no chapter division in the Mongolian text, but to facilitate the reading, chapters are indicated following the edition of the Sanskrit text (E. Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books. The Diamond Sutra. The Heart Sutra*, London 1958, pp. 21—71). The transcription of the last leaf is given on the basis of the parallel MS. No. 69.

In my work I used the Tibetan version as a help to understand the highly sophisticated Mongolian language of the *sūtra*. Unfortunatelly it ends before

the second part of the book, translated here, and could not support us in translating the colophon.

The exact date of MS Mong. 68 is not known, as unfortunatelly the last leaf with the colophon is missing. The parallel text at our disposal, gives the date: *kökegčin takiy-a ǰil-un ebülün dumdadu sarayin sineyin naiman-a delgeregsen sayin edür-e tegüskebe* «it was completed on the eighth blooming good day of the first half of the middle lunar month in winter, in the blue-female-chicken year». The year here referred to is the 19th one of a 60 years' cycle. The exact date cannot be determined on this basis, but considering the calligraphy, the material of the paper, and first of all, the pre-classical linguistic features, they make it probable datable from the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century. As a consequence of this we may accept the year 1705, but it obviously reflects an earlier stage of the Mongol language.

The translator, as stated in the colophon, was *tel keletü Toyin guiši*, who worked in Tumet and Ordos territories. He translated the *Qutuγ-tai getülgegči ökin tngri-yin qorin nigen maytal neretü udqal* and parts of the *Tanǰur*, the impulse to make this latter translation came from a Mongolian *noyan*. In 1616 he translated the Tibetan Geser on behalf of *Nomči qatun* in the court of *Bošuytu*. In the years 1628—29 *Toyin guiši* is referred to by the names *Yoyačari toyin guiši* and *Toyin gonding guiši čorǰi*. (For the word *gonding* cf. L. Ligeti, *La collection mongole Schilling von Canstadt*: *T'oung Pao* XXVII (1930), p. 124). He is listed among the thirty-five learned monks who had translated the *Kanǰur* for *Ligdan Khan*, though it is problematic how this translator, whose name was linked with Tumet princes, and had lived twenty or thirty years before *Ligdan* at courts in Southern Mongolia, got among the monks who were the members of the Khan's editorial committee. It looks very much probable that some of the translators, who are referred to as the interpretators of Ligdan's Kanǰur, had already prepared their translations some time before in the Tumet area commissioned by their princes. The activity of *Toyin guiši*, and the fact that the translation of the present *sūtra* was made in the ancient seat of *Altan Khan*, and adressed to a princess living in this court, gives further proof of Professor Heissig's opinion according to which some of the translators of *Ligdan*'s *Kanǰur* did not work for him, but the Khan had taken the credit for their work.[16]

[16] W. Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften Blockdrucke. Landkarten*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 169; W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 32, 33, 41—42; W. Heissig, *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons*, Göttingen 1962, p. 11; L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé*, Budapest 1942, N°-s 915, 927; W. Heissig, *A Lost Civilization. The Mongols Rediscovered*, London 1966, pp. 131—132.

Both parts of *tel keletü Toyin guiši*'s name are actually monastic titles.[17] It is also well known that translators and compilers might have had two or more names paralelly at the same time. This fact makes it very difficult for us to trace down and identify the sphere of activity of translators working in this period.[18]

The work, published here, was completed on behalf of *Noyančᴜ begiǰi*[19] (*Noyančᴜ biiǰi* in the parallel text). The lady here in question may be identified with *Noyančᴜ qatun* who was an outstanding figure of her age. She was *Altan Khan*'s daughter's daughter. She had been promised to a prince of the Ordos, and when *Altan Khan* took her as a cocubine he gave the Ordos prince another woman whom his grandson *Baγa ači* had just married. But this tradition does not seem veritable, as among the Mongols the marriage between blood relatives was not customary, so we may suppose that at first she was the wife of *Baγa ači*, then became the concubine of *Altan Khan*, who this way roused the anger of his grandson, who then fled to the Chinese. After *Altan Khan*'s death his son *Sengge dügüreng* married *Noyančᴜ qatun*. Later again, *Sengge*'s son *Čürüke* married her, and shortly before her death, *Čürüke*'s grandson *Bošuytu* took her as a wife.

Through her prestige among the Mongols, she was very influential in all affairs and was highly regarded by the Chinese, because she always used her influence in favour of peaceful relations with China. On May 1, 1586, the *Ming* granted her the title of *Chung-shun fu-jen*. After the death of her husband, she even got military authority in her hand.

Noyančᴜ was a great inspirer of the translation and the multiplication of Buddhist texts. In the court of one of her husbands, *Bošuytu*, translators worked, pursuing a magnificent literary activity. Her name is mentioned in some other places too as a patron of the translation programme. In *Köke qota* the *Qutuytu tümen silüg-tü dötüger gelmeli kemegdekü sudur* was completed for her wish at the end of the 16th century. The translator was nobody else but *Širegetü guuši čorǰiva*.

[17] *Toyin* «priest, monk, lama (originally limited to priests of noble descent)». For the word *guusi* ~ older *gui si* (Middle Mandarin), cf. L. Ligeti, *Sur quelques transcriptions sino-ouigoures des Yuan*: *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXXIII (1961), pp. 241—242. *tel keletü Toyin guusi* «Der beide Sprachen beherrschende Toyin guusi» (Heissig, *Beiträge*, p. 34.); cf. *tel ayalγus-iyar ülemǰi* (Heissig, *Beiträge*, p. 10.) and *tel kelen-i medegči Bsinba toyin* (L. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, p. 52.).

[18] Here I should like to call attention to another translator of this age, *Čoγ-tu guiši*, who prepared the Mongolian version of *Mi-la-ras-pa'i rnam-thar*. (Edited by L. Lőrincz in Ligeti's *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* XII [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole], Budapest 1967). Another translation of the same work belongs to *Siregetü guuši* of *Köke qota*.

[19] For the title *begiǰi*, *bekiǰi* cf. H. Serruys, *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan Qan*, The Hague 1958, pp. 85, 103.

Noyančᵘ died in 1612.[20]

The realization of this work was supported by *Darqan tayiǰi*. This name occurs frequently, and strictly speaking is not a real name, but the combination of two titles. One of the translators and copyists of the Kanǰur, living at the beginning of the 17th century is known by this name. But the person here in question must be another *Darqan tayiǰi*, the one, who lived in *Altan Khan*'s court, and who was the son of *Gün bilig mergen*. He was a man of war, commanding about a thousand soldiers. In 1571 he first became a chiliarch, and shortly thereafter he was made an assistant-commandant. Before the surrender of 1570, he was one of *Altan Khan*'s most active helpers, and enjoyed quite a reputation, but he was not on too good terms with *Altan*'s son *Sengge dügüreng*. He is last mentioned in 1614 in *T'u Tsung-chün*'s memorial, when he was still alive, but very old.[21]

The copyists of this text were *Belge-tü bayᵘsi* and *Šayšabad ubasi* (*Čayča-bad ubaši* according to the other manuscript). We have only little information of the activity of these copyists, because of their work even less was recorded, than of that of the translators and compilers. But we are sure that they were in close relation with the translator school, where *Toyin guiši* worked, as they were the copyists of other works too, made by *Toyin guiši*. Among the MSS of *Šayšabad ubaši* there are listed the works *Ünelesi ügei čindamani erdeni*, *Nom-un ǰüil-i uqayulqu naran-u gerel neretü šastir* and other *Tanǰur* texts.[22]

Transcription of Toyin Guiši's Version

[1a] *Gčodba oro-šiba : eke qamuy amitan-u tusa bolutuyai . ôṃ ma ṇi bad mi hūṃ*

[1b] *Včir oytaluyči-yin sudur uriyči kümün abisig uduriyulsun oluysan : včir oytaluyči-yin sudur: eng terigün sedkil čing-da bolun : amaban ǰayilǰu tüid-ker arilyaqui : qoyina uriqui : naiman kiling-tan dörben stv-nar inu ali bükü ene oron-ṯur nasuda saqiqui kürdün buyu : : ôṃ suvari suvari : Ma-hā šuvari : suva suvari süva-hā : ôṃ suubhava šudda sarva dharma suubhava šuddo qang : nam-a samanda budda-nam* : [2a] *ôṃ toro toro tivi süva-hā : ôṃ niy-a niy-a [suu]bhava ba[jar] la hô : :*

[ur]imu amurliysan todqor köke [vči]r : urimui qoor-a-yi [ebdeg]či včir : urimui [Öber-e öbe]r-e dayayči [šira včir] urimui [ariyu]n [usu]n čayan včir : urimui munggay-un dayun yal včir : urimui mayad amurliysan todqor včir : urimui tenčiregči sayin včir : urimui yeke tengri včir : urimui nökör saduva

[20] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—90; Heissig, *Handschriften*, p. 141; L. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No 765.

[21] Serruys, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 116—117; Heissig, *Beiträge*, pp. 10, 14, 40; Heissig, *Handschriften*, p. 154; L. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No. 849.

[22] Heissig, *Beiträge*, pp. 33, 34.

včir : urimui selm-e sadua včir : urimui duran saduva včir : [2b] *urimui kelen saduva včir : :*

namô buddhay-a : : namô dharmay-a : : namô sangghay-a : :

Enedkeg-ün keleber Ary-a [*bajar*] *ccêdika nam-a branja baramida ma--hā-yan-a sudr-a : : Töbed-ün keleber : 'Pag(s)pa šis-rab-kyi pharol-du bši*[*n*]*ba : dorǰi gčodpa šis biyau-a : tigpa* [*čin*]*buu mdô : : Mongγol-un keleber : Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen včir oγtaluγči . neretü yeke kölgen sudur : qamuγ burqan bodistv-nar-a* [3a] *mürgümü bi :*

1. *eyin kemen minu sonosuγsan nigen čaγ-tur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Širavasd balγasun : Raǰagray Čid köbegün-ü sečeglig-deki Ananda-bindaki bayan-u küriyen-ṯür : mingγan qoyar ǰaγun tabin ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd-ün yekes quvaraγ-ud kiged : neng olan bodistv maqastv-nar-luγ-a nigen-e saγun bülüge : : tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen mayar erte čaγ-tur : šamtab ba nom-tu degel-i bey-e-tür emüsüged : badir-a-yi bariǰu : Siravasd yeke balγasun-a binvad γuyur-a odbai : : tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen* [3b] *Širavasd balγasun-ača binvad-ača aǰiraǰu : idegen-ü üile-yi üiledčü üdesi-yin binvad idegen-i tebčiǰü : badir-a nom-tu degel-i talbiǰu : köl-iyen ugiyaǰu bür-ün : beleddügsen debisker-tür ǰabilan beyeben sidurγuda ǰalaǰu : duradqal-i iledte ayulǰu saγubai : tendeče ülemǰi neng olan ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen qamiγ-a bükü tende ireǰü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü köl-ṯür terigüber-iyen mürgüged : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür γurbanta toγoriγuluγad : nigen eteged saγubai : :*

2. [4a] *basa tere čaγ-tur: amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi : tere quraγsad-un dotor-a bülüge : tendeče amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi saγ〈'〉uγsan sayurin-ačayan bosču : karša degel-i nigen mürün-degen qumbiǰu barayun ebüdüg-iyer-iyen yaǰar-tur sögüdčü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen qamiγ-a bükü tende alayaban qamtudqan mürgüǰü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan burqan ber bodistv maqastv-nar-tur tusa kürgegči : kedün bükün ber tusa kürgegči tegünčilen iregsed ber* [4b] *bodistv maqastv-nar-tur sayitur öggüged : kedün bükü ülemǰi öggügsen anu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a yayiqamsiγ buyu : sayibar oduγsan a yayiqamsiγ buyu ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bodistv maqastv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṯür oruγsad : kerkiǰü ayadaqu-uu : kerkiǰü bütügegdekü-üü : kerkiǰü sedkil-tür masi toγtayaγdaqu-uu : teyin kemen öcigsen-ṯür : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen : amin qabiy-a--tu Subudi-ṯur eyin kemen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a sayin sayin : Subudi a tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluyu:* [5a] *tegünčilen iregsed ber : bodistv maqastv-nar-tur tusa kürgegči : ülemǰi tusa kürgeyü : tegünčilen iregsed ber bodistv maqastv-nar-tur sayitur öggügčid ülemǰi sayitur öggüyü : Subudi a*

[23] Here we have the written form *bodisung* which is a misreading of the Uigur form *bodistv*, we consequently correct it throughout the text. It is the same with the word *maqasung* = *maqastv*.

tegün-ü tulada sayitur sonosuγad sedkil-tür-iyen masi toγtaγaγdaqui: bodistv--nar-un ünen kölgen-ṯür orolduγčid : kerkiǰü aγdaqui : kerkiǰü bütügegdeküi : kerkiǰü sedkil-tür masida toγtaγaγdaqui-yi čimada nomlasuγai bi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere tegünčilen kü buyu : kemen öčiǰü

3. *amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi* [5b] *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü ǰarlaγ meṯü : sonosuγsan-tur : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ber amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṯur : eyin kemen ǰarliγ bolbai : Subudi a bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṯür oroγsan : eyin kemen sedkiǰü inu kedün bükü amitan-ber amitan-a quriyar-un quriyaγsan : ömdegen-eče törögsen be : umay-ača törögsen be: ǰöin dulaγan-ača törögsen be : linqu--a-ača töröγsen be : beyeten be : beyeten busu be : sedkiküi-ten be : sedkiküi ügegü be : sedkikü ügegü sedkiküi ügegün busu be : taki amitan-u iǰaγur* [6a] *kedün bükün amitan kemen nereyiddün qomosulaγsan tedger bügüde čoγčas-i qočorqui ügei γasalang-ača nögčiǰü : nirvvan-u töb-ṯür oγoγata oroγulqui : tere metü ülisi ügei amitan ber γasalang-ača nögčibesü ber : ali be amitan oγoγata nirvvan-ṯur oroγuluγsan ügei buyu : kemen sedkiǰü : sedkil egüskegdeküi: tere yaγun-u tulada kelebesü Subudi a ker be bodistv-nar amitan-i sedkiǰü uribasu* [=*orobasu*] *tere inu bodistv kemen ülü nereyiddükü-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ali* [6b] *amitan-i ber sedkiǰü oroqui be : amin-i sedkiǰü oroqui be bodgali-yi sedkiǰü oroqui be : tere bodistv kemen ülü nereyiddekü-yin tulada buyu :*

4. *basa Subudi a bodistv-nar ber boda-ṯur ber orosil ügei öglige-yi ögteküi : yaγun-ṯur ber orosil ügegü öglige-yi ögteküi : öngge-ṯür-ber orosil ügei öglige ögteküi: daγun-ṯur ünür-tür amtan-ṯur kürteküi-ṯür : nom-ṯur ber orosil ügegü öglige ögteküi: Subudi a kerken-ber belge-ber sedkiküi-ṯür ber : orosil ügegü öglige ögteküi : bolai :* [7a] *tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ali bodistv-nar orosil ügegüy-e öglige öggügsen . tere buyan-u čoγ-čas kemebesü : Subudi a ülü toγtaγaγdaqui kilbar busu-yin tulada Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : dorona ǰüg-ün oγtaryuy-yin činegen-i uqaqui kilbar buyu gü: Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tegünčilen (dorona-ṯu) emüne-ṯü : öröne-ṯü umara-ṯu : deger-e door-a : ǰüg ǰobkis kiged : arban ǰüg-ün oγtaryuy-yin činegen-i uqaqui kilbar buyu gü :* [7b] *kemen sedkimüi Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tegünčilen ali bodistv-nar orosil ügei öglige öggügsen tere buyan-u čoγ-čas anu : Subudi a oγtaryuy-yin činegen-i uqaqui kilbar busu-yin tulada buyu :*

5. *Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : tegüs sayin belge-tü tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : tegüs sayin belge-tü tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü* [8a] *busu buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsen ber tegüs sayin belge-tü ali nomlaγsan tere kü tegüs sayin belge-tü ügey-yin tulada bolai : teyin kemen öčig-*

sen-ṭür : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ber : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṭur eyin kemen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a kedüi ber tegüs sayin belge-tü tedüi ber qudal buyu : kedüi ber tegüs sayin belge-tü ügegü ni tedüi ber qudal busu buyu : tere meṭü tegünčilen iregsed-tür belge ba belge ügegüy-e üǰeyü: teyin kemen ǰarlaγ bolbasu :

6. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṭür :* [8b] *amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi : eyin kemen öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a irege üdügüi tabun ǰaγun čaγ-un ečüs-tür : degeṭü nom-i teyin böged masi ebderekü ele bolbasu : ked be ǰarim-ud amitan ene meṭü sudur-un üges nomlaqui-ṭur-i üneger sedkil egüskeldügči bolqu buyu-uu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a či ene meṭü irege üdügüi : tabun ǰaγun čaγ-un ečüs-tür degeṭü nom-i teyin böged masi ebderekü ele bolbasu : ked ba ǰarim-ud ene metü sudur-un üges nomlaqui-ṭur* [9a] *üneger sedkin sedkil egüskeldügči bolqui meṭü buyu kemen : či teyin kemen buu ügületügei: Subudi a irege üdügüi tabun ǰaγun čaγ-un ečüs-tür : degeṭü nom-i teyin böged ebderekü ele bolbasu : bodistv maqastv-nar šaγšabad-tan : erdem-ten : bilig-ten töröyü : Subudi a tede bodistv maqastv-nar ber : nigen burqan örgön kündülegsen busu : nigen burqan-ṭur buyan-u ündüsün egüskeküi busu bolai : Subudi a neng olan tüg tümen burqan-nuγud-i örgön kündülegsen boluγad : neng olan tüg tümen* [9b] *burqan-nuγud-ta buyan-u ündüsün-i egüskeldügči : teyimü bodistv maqastv-nar bolomui ǰ-e : Subudi a ked be ene meṭü sudur-un üges nomlaqui-ṭur eng terigün sedkil-ün tedüi oluγsad tedeger inu : tegünčilen iregsed ber medeyü : Subudi a tedger inu tegünčilen iregsed ber üǰeyü : Subudi a tede qamuγ amitan anu : čaγlasi ügei buyan-u čoγ-čas-i egüskeǰü quriyaqu boluyu :*

tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tedeger bodistv maqastv-nar anu : bi kemen sedkiǰü oroqui busu [10a] *boluγad : amitan-i sedkiküi busu bolai : amin-i sedkiküi busu bolai : bodgali-yi sedkiged oroqui busu-yin tulada bolai : Subudi a tedeger bodistv maqastv-nar ber nom-ṭur ber sedkiküi : nom ügei-ṭür ber sedkiged oroqui busu-yin tulada buyu : tede inu sedkiküi ba : sedkiküi ügei ber oroγdaqui busu boluyu :*

tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ker be tede bodistv maqastv-nar nom-i sedkiǰü orobasu ber : teyin kü tede ber bi minügei kemen barimtalaqui boluγad : amitan-i barimtalaqui [10b] *amin-i barimtalaqui : bodgali-yi barimtalaqui bolqu-yin tulada bolai : nom-un bi ügei ber sedkin oroldubasu ber : teyin kü tedeger-i minügei kemen barimtalaqui boluγad : amitan-i barimtalaqui : amin-i barimtalaqui bodgali-yi barimtalaqui bolqu-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a bodistv-nar nom-i buruγu ber ülü eǰelegdeküi : nom busu ber ülü eǰelegdeküy-yin tulada bolai : tegüber tegün-i tayalaǰu bür-ün : tegünčilen iregsed ber : ene nom-un ǰüil ongyoča meṭü medegčid ber nom-ud-i* [11a] *tebčiküi ele bolbasu : nom busu-yi yaγun ügületele : kemen nomlaǰuγui :*

7. *busu ber ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ber : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṭur eyin kemen ǰarliγ bolbai: Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi: tegünčilen iregsed*

ber ali deger-e ügei üneger touluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsad : ali tere nom buyu : kemen sedkimü-üü : tegünčilen iregsed-ün ali tere nom-i ber üǰügülügsen kemen sedkimü-üü : teyin kemen ǰarlay boluγsan-ṭur amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi ber : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṭür [11b] *eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a minu ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü nomlaγsan udqas-i uqaqu meṭü bügesü : tegünčilen iregsed-ün ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu : burqan boluγsan nom nigeken ber ügei buyu : tegünčilen iregsed-ün nomlaγsan : nom nigeken ber ügei buyu :*

tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsed-ün ali tere nom-iyar iledte toγulǰu : burqan boluγsan be taki üǰegülügsen tere anu eǰelesi ügei ügülesi-ügei buyu : tegün-i ber [12a] *nom busu buyu : nom busu ber busu-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : qutuγ-tan bodgali anu ese egüdügsen-iyer masi nekegsen-ü tulada bolai :*

8. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd iǰaγur-tan-u ökid : ked ber bögesü γurban mingγan yeke mingγan yirtinčü-yin orod-i doloγan erdenis-iyer dügürgeged öglige ögbesü : iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid : tere sitügen-ü buyan-u čoγ-čas-i tegün-eče neng olan egüskeldükü kemen sedkimü-üü* [12b] *Subudi öčir-ün ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a olan buyu : sayibar oduγsan a olan buyu : iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid tere sitügen-ü buyan-u čoγčas-i tegün-eče neng olan egüskekü boluγu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : buyan-u čoγ-čas-i teyin kü čoγ-čas-i ügey-yin tulada bolai : tegüber tegünčilen iregsed ber : buyan-u čoγčas buyan-u čoγ-čas kemen nomlaǰuγui : : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un: Subudi a ken tere iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd iǰaγur-tan-u ökid ber : γurban mingγan yeke mingγan* [13a] *yirtinčü-yin orod-i doloγan erdenis-iyer dügürgeǰü öglige öggügsen-eče ber : ken ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu : busud-ta ünen-iyer nomlaǰu ünen-iyer üǰügülbesü : tere sitügen buyan-u čoγ-čas-i inu : yeke-ṭe neng olan toγ-a tomsi ügei egüskeldüγü : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü Subudi a tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan : burqan-nuγud-un deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan : bodi qutuγ anu egün-eče töröged : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan =* [13b] *= nuγud ber egün-eče törögsen-ü tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a burqan-u nom-nuγud : burqan-u nom-nuγud kemegdekün inu : burqad-un tedeger nom-ud-bar ügey-e : tegünčilen iregsen nomlaγsan-u tulada buyu : tegüber burqan-u nom-nuγud kemen nereyiddüγü :*

9. *Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedki*[*m*]*üi : ürgülǰi oroγsad ber* [*egün (yaγun)*] *kemen sedkiγü : bi ber :* [*ü*]*rgülǰi oroγsad-un ači ür-e*[*-yi olbai*] *kemen sedkiged sedkil-tür sed*[*kikü*] *buyu gü : Subudi öčir-ün* [*ilaǰu te*]*güs nögčigsen a tere* [14a] [*bu*]*su buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere anu yaγun-dur ber oroγsan ügey-yin tulada bolai : tegüber ürgülǰi oroγsan kemen nereyiddüγü : öngge-ṭür ber oroγsan busu daγun-ṭur ber busu : ünür-tür*

ber busu : amitan-ṭur ber busu kürteküi-ṭür ber busu : nom-ṭur ber oroγsan busu buyu : tegüber ürgülǰi oroγsan kemen nereyiddüyü : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ker be ürgülǰi oroγsad ber : eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber ürgülǰi oroγsad-un [14b] *ači ür-e-yi olbai : kemen sedkil-ṭür sedkikü ele bolbasu : tere tegün-i ber bi kemen barimtalaqui bolai : amitan-i barimtalaqui : amin-i barimtalaqui : bodgali-yi barimtalaqui kiged bolai :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi: nigen-ṭe qarin iregči eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber nigen-ṭe qarin iregči-yin ači ür-e-yi olbai : kemen sedkiged sedkil-ṭür sedkikü buyu gü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ken nigen-ṭe qarin iregčid-te [15a] *mün kü oroγsan-u ali tere nom ber ügey-yin tulada bolai : tegüber nigen-ṭe qarin iregči kemen nereyiddüyü kü:*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : qarin ülü iregči eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber qarin ülü iregči-yin ači ür-e-yi olbai : kemen sedkiged sedkil-ṭür sedkikü buyu gü : Subudi öčir-ün ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ken qarin ülü iregči-de mün kü oroγsan-u nom nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada : tegüber qarin ülü [15b] *iregči kemen nereyiddüyü :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un: Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : dayin-i daruγsan eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber dayin-i daruγsan-u ači ür-e-yi olbai : kemen sedkiged sedkil-ṭür sedkikü buyu gü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ked be dayin-i daruγsan kemegdekün-ü : nom nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada bolai : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ker be dayin-i daruγsan eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber dayin-i daruγsan-i olbai : kemen sedkil-ṭür sedkikü [16a] *bolbasu : tere tegün-i ber bi kemen barimtalaqui bolai : amitan-i barimtalaqui : amin-i barimtalaqui : bodgali-yi barimtalaqui kiged bolai :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan burqan ber : nisvanis ügei aγsad-un degeṭü-yi üǰügülüged : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi tačiyangγuy-ača qayačaγsan dayin-i daruγsan bügesü ber ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi kemebesü dayin-i daruγsan buyu : kemen sedkil-ṭür ülü sedkikü boluyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ker be eyin kemen [16b] *bi ber dayin-i daruγsan-u qutuγ olbai : kemen sedkil-ṭür sedkikü ele bolbasu : tegünčilen iregsen ber nadur iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd : Subudi kemebesü : nisvanis ügegü ayčid-un degeṭü bolai : yayun-dur ber orosil ügegü nisvanis ügei (ayči) nisvanis ügei ayči kemen vivangirid ülü üǰügülümüi ǰ-e :*

10. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : tegünčilen iregsen-ü tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan : dibamgar-a burqan-ača ali tere abuγsan* [17a] [17b] [*nom-ud bui buyu : kemen sedkimü-üü Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu tegünčilen iregsen-ü tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan dibam-*

gar–a burqan-ača ali tere abuysan nom nigeken ber ügei buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolurun : Subudi a ked ber bodistv-nar eyin kemen biber ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud-i bütügeber : kemen ügülebesü : tegüni ünen-iyer ügülegsen busu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud ulus-un ǰokiyal--nuγud kemegdekün inu : tede ǰokiyaγsan ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud kemen nereyidüyü :

Subudi a tegüber bodistv maqastv-nar eyin metü orosil ügei sedkil egüskegdeküi (yaγun-dur ber orosil ügei sedkil egüskegdeküi) öngge-dür ber orosil ügei sedkil egüskegdeküi : daγun-dur ünür-tür amtan-dur : kürteküi-dür nom-dur ber orosil ügei sedkil egüskegdeküi bolai :

Subudi a ene metü adalidqabaɛu : nigen kümün yeke bey-e-tü boluγad : ene metü ayulas-un qaγan Sümbür-ün tedüi ele bolbasu : : Subudi a eküni] [18a] *yaγun kemen sedkimüi : tere bey-e yeke buyu : kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir--ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere bey-e yeke buyu : sayibar oduγsan a tere bey-e yeke buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsen bodas ügei ber nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber yeke bey-e kemen nereyiddüyü :*

11. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimü Gangga müren-ü quamki-yin toγatan : Gangga müren ber imaγta : Gangga müren tedüi toγatan bolbasu : tedeger-ün ali qumaki bolbasu* [18b] *tede olan bükü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tede Gangga müren ber olan ele bolbasu : tedeger-ün qumaki yaγun ügületele : ilaǰu tegüs nöčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a či ber bisiregdeküi : činu dotoraγan oroγuluγdaqui : tedeger kedün bükü Gangga mören-ü qumaki toγatan tedüi bükü toγ-a ber : yirtinčü-yin orod-taki : ked ber noyaγ-tai ba qatuγ-tai anu : dolaγan ǰüil erdenis-iyer dügürgeged : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan buryan-nuγud-ta* [19a] *öglige ögbesü : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : tede noyaγ-tai ba : qatuγ-tay-yin tere sitügen buyan tegün-eče neng olan egüskeldüküi : kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a olan buyu sayibar oduγsan a olan buyu : tede noyaγ-tai ba : qatuγ-tai ber tere sitügen buyan tegüneče neng olan egüskekü boluyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a ali yirtinčü-yin orod kedün bükü toγ-a ber : doluγan ǰüli erdenis-iyer dügürgeged : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan burqan=* [19b] *=nuγud-un öglige öggügsen-eče ber : ken ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu : busud-un üneger nomlaγad : üneger üǰügülbesü ele : tere sitügen-ü buyad tegün-eče yeke-ṯe neng olan toγ-a tomsi ügei čaylasi ügei töröyü :*

12. *basa Subudi a ali yaǰar-tur : ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi ungsiyad üǰügülküi : tere yaǰar-tur tengri kümün : asuri-(nar)--iyar-iyan yirtinčü-deki : takil-un sitügen oron bolqu ele bolbasu : ken ene nom-un ǰüil-i abubasu : baribasu : uribasu :* [20a] *negebesü : büküi-ben dotoraγan oro-*

γulbasu : yosuγar sedkil-ṯür bolγaγčid tede ber γayiqamsiγ-tu bolquy-yi yaγun ügületele : tere yaǰar-tur burqan be : blam-a meṯü alimad bolun anu :

13. *teyin kemen ǰarliγ boluγsan-ṯur : amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ene nom-un ǰüil-ün ner-e yaγun bui : egün-i kerkiǰü toγtaγaγdaqui : teyin kemen öčibesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen : amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi-ṯur eyin kemen ǰarliγ bolbai : Subudi a ene nom-un* [20b] *ǰüil-ün ner-e inu bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen kemeyü : egün-i tere meṯü-yi toγtaγaγdaqui :*

tere yaγun-u tulada kembesü : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsen ber (bilig-ün) činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen ügei buyu : tegüber bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen-e ali nomlaγsan tere inu : činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen ügei buyu : tegüber bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen kemen nereyiddüyü :

Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimü : ken tegünčilen iregsed-ün nomlaγsan ali tere nom ber buyu : kemen sedkimü : Subudi öčir-ün [21a] *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ken tegünčilen iregsed-ün nomlaγsan : ali tere nom nigeken ber ügei buyu :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : γurban mingγan yeke mingγan yirtinčü-yin orod-taki : yaǰar-un toγosun kedüi bükü : kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a yaǰar-un tere toγosun olan buyu : sayibar oduγsan a olan buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ali tere yaǰar-un toγosun ber teyin kü toγosun [21b] *ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber yaǰar-un toγosun kemen ṉereyiddüyü : ali tere yirtinčü-yin oron bögesü : tere (oron) ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber yirtinčü-yin orod kemen nereyiddüyü :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : [yeke] törölkiten-ü tedeger γučin qoyar belges-iyer : tegünčilen iregsed dayin-i daruγsad : üneger toγuluγsan burqan bolun üǰegdekü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere [22a] *busu buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ked be yeke törölkiten-ü γučin qoyar belges : tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber [yeke] törölkiten-ü γučin qoyar belges kemen nereyiddüyü :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : Subudi a ked ber noyaγ-tai ba qatuγ--tai ber : Gangga müren-ü qumaki-yin toγ-a-bar bey-e-yi oγoγata öggügsen-eče ber : ken ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu : busud--un üneger nomlayad : üneger [22b] *üǰügülbesü : tere sitügen buyan tegün-eče yeke-ṯe neng olan toγ-a tomsi ügei čaγlasi ügei töröyü :*

14. *tendeče amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi : nom-un küčün-iyer nilbusun γaruγad: tedüi tere nilbusun-i arčiǰu bür-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-tür eyin kemen öčibei : ene nom-un ǰüil-i kedüi toγatan : tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-i : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a γayiqamsiγ buyu : sayibar oduγsan a γayiqamsiγ buyu : ilaǰu*

tegüs nögčigsen a minu belge bilig törügsen-eče inaysida bi : urida eyimü nom-un ǰüil-i ese sonosuluy-a : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a [23a] *ene sudur-i nomlaysan-ṭur : ked be ünen-iyer sedkiǰü sedkil egüskeldügčid tedeger amitan kemebesü yayiqamsiy-tu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ali tere ünen-iyer : sedkigči tere sedkiküi ügey-yin tulada bolai : tegüber ünen-iyer siltayan buyu : tegüber ünen-iyer sedkiküi kemen tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaǰuyui :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi ene nom-un ǰüil nomlaqui-ṭur onoǰu bisiregsen anu : nadur yayiqamsiy-tu busu böged : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a qoyiṭu irege edügüi učir tabun ǰayun čay-un [23b] *ečüs-tür : ked be amitan ene nom-un ǰüil-i abubasu : baribasu : uribasu : ungsibasu : büküi-ben dotorayan oroyulbasu : tede inu yayiqamsiy-tu buyu :*

basa ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen tedeger anu bi kemen sedkiǰü : oroqu busu boluyad : amitan-i sedkiküi : amin-i sedkiküi : bodgali-yi sedkiǰü oroydaqui busu bolai : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi kemen sedkiküi : amitan-i sedkiküi : amin-i sedkiküi : bodgali-yi sedkiküi : ali bögesü : tere sedkiküi bügüde-eče anggiǰiray-san-u tulada bolai : tere yayun-u [24a] *tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuyud anu : qamuy sedkiküy-eče anggiǰiray-san-u tulada bolai : teyin kemen öčigsen-ṭür : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ber: amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṭur eyin kemen ǰarlay bolbai : Subudi a (tere) tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluyu : ked be amitan ene sudur-i nomlaqui-ṭur : ülü ayuydan ülü emiyegden ele : qamuy-a ülü emiyegdekün tedeger anu yayiqamsiy boluyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a degeṭü činaṭu kiǰayar-a kürügsen egün-i tegünčilen* [24b] *iregsed ber nomlayad : ali degeṭü činaṭu kiǰayar-a kürügsen tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaqui : tede čaylasi ügei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuyud ber nomlaysan-u tulada bolai : tegüber degeṭü činaṭu kiǰayar-a kürügsen kemen nereyiddüyü :*

basa Subudi tegünčilen iregsed ber küličenggüy-yin činaṭu kiǰayar-a kürügsen ken nomlabasu : tere inu činaṭu kiǰayar-a kürügsen ügei buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ali čay-tur Kilingga-yin qayan-a minu üy-e gesigüd oytalbasu tere čay-tur [25a] *nadur bi minügei kemen sedkiküi be : amitan-i sedkiküi be amin-i sedkiküi be bodgali-yi sedkiküi ber ese bolbai : nadur yayun ber sedkikü ügei boluyad : sedkikü ügei boluysan ber busu-yin tulada bolai : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ker be tere čay-tur nadur bi minügei kemen sedkikü bolbasu : tende nadur qoor-tu sedkil törökü bülügei ǰ-e : amitan-i sedkiküi : amin-i sedkiküi : bodgali-yi sedkiküi ele bolbasu : tere čay-tur qoor-tu sedkiküi-ben törökü-yin tulada buyu : Subudi a bi ǰöng bilig-iyer* [25b] *medegdemüi : nögčigsen čay-tur tabun ǰayun töröl üküd-tür : Küličenggüi ügülegči neretü arsi boluyuǰuyui : tende ber nadur bi minügei kemen sedkiküi ese bolbai : amitan-i sedkiküi : amin-i sedkiküi : bodgali-yi sedkiküi-ben ese boluluyai :*

Subudi a tegüber bodistv maqastv-nar ber qamuy sedkiküy-yi teyin böged tarqayaǰu ele : deger-e ügei üneger toyuluysan bodi qutuy-tur : sedkiküi egüskegdeküi : öngge-ṭür ber orosil ügegü sedkil egüskegdeküi : dayun-ṭur ünür-tür am-

tan-ṭur [26a] *kürteküi-ṭür ber orosil ügegü sedkil egüskegdeküi : nom-ṭur ber orosil ügegü sedkil egüskegdeküi : nom ügei-ṭür ber orosil ügegü sedkil egüskegdeküi : yayun-ṭur ber orosil ügegü sedkil egüskegdeküi : bolai : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : orosiysan ali bögesü : tere anu orosiysan busu-yin tulada bolai : tede tegünčilen iregsed ber eyin kemen bodistv-nar orosil ügegüy-e öglige ögtekü buyu : kemen nomlaǰuyui*

basa Subudi a bodistv-nar-iyar ene metü qamuy amitan-u tusa-yin tulada öglige-yi sayitur ögtekü [26b] *amitan-u sedkiküi ali bögesü tere kü ber sedkiküi ügei buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber : qamuy amitan kemen ali tere nomlaysan-i : tedeger amitan ber ügei buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed anu : mayad-iyar nomlaysan : ünen-iyer nomlaysan : tegünčilen mön činar-iyar nomlaysan buyu : tegünčilen iregsed inu buruyuban nomlaqui busu bolai :*

basa Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed ber ali nom-iyar iledte toyulǰu burqan boluysan : taki üǰügülügsen tegün-tür ünen ber ügei [27a] *qudal ber ügei buyu :*

Subudi a ene meṭü adalidqabasu : nigen nidü-tü kümün qarangyui-ṭur orobasu : yayun ber ülü üǰeküi meṭü : ken boda-bar unaysan bodistv-nar öglige öggügsen-i uqaydaqui : basa Subudi a ene meṭü adalidqabasu : öri čayiǰu naran uryubasu ele : nidü-ten eldeb ǰüil öngge-yi üǰekü meṭü : tegünčilen ken boda-bar ese unaysan bodistv-nar oyoyata öglige öggügsen-i uqaydaqui bolai :

basa Subudi a ked ber iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰayur-tan-u ökid : ene nom-un [27b] *ǰüil-i abubasu : baribasu : uribasu : negebesü : büküi-ben dotorayan oroyuluyad : busud-ta ayui yeke-ṭe üneger masida üǰügülügči tedeger inu tegünčilen iregsed ber medeyü : tegünčilen iregsed ber üǰeyü : tede qamuy amitan kemebesü : čaylasi ügei buyan-u čoy-čas-i egüskekü boluyu :*

15. *basa Subudi a ked be noyay-tai be qatuy-tai mayar čay-tur Gangga müren-ü qumaki-yin toyatan bey-e-yi öggüged : üdür düli ba : üdesi-yin čay-tur : Gangga müren-ü qumaki-yin toyatan bey-e-yi oyoyata* [28a] *öggüged ene meṭü ǰüil-iyer neng olan tüg tümen nayud költi toy-a-tan bey-e-yi oyoyata öggügsen-eče ber ken ene nom-un ǰüil sonosču : ülü tebčikü bögesü : tere sitügen-ü buyan tegün-eče yekede toy-a tomsi ügei : čaylasi ügei törökü ele bolbasu : ken bičig-tür bičigülbesü : abubasu : : baribasu : uribasu : negebesü : büküi-ben dotorayan oroyuluyad : busud-ta ayui yekede üneger üǰügülügčid taki yayun ügületele :*

basa Subudi a ene nom-un ǰüil inu kemebesü : sedkisi ügei [28b] *boluyad : adalidqasi ügei buyu : egün-i ači ür-e-ber sedkiǰü ülü baraydaqui : ene nom-un ǰüil kemebesü : degeṭü kölgen-ṭür ünen-iyer oroysad : amitan-u tulada ba : ketürkei boluysan kölgen-ṭür ünen-iyer oroysad : amitan-u tusayi tulada : tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlabai : ked ber ene nom-un ǰüil-i abubasu : baribasu : uribasu : ungsibasu : büküi-ben dotorayan oroyuluyad : busud-ta ayui yekede üneger sayitur üǰügülügčid tede inu tegünčilen iregsed ber medeyü :* [29a] *tegünčilen iregsed ber üǰeyü : tede qamuy amitan-u buyan-u čoy-čas čaylasi ügei boluyad : ada-*

lidqas-i ügei ülisi ügei toγulasi ügei-lüge tegülder boluγu : tedeger qamuγ amitan minu bodi qutuγ-un mör-tür toγtaγaqu boluγu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a sülber-i küsegčid : ene nom-un ǰüil-i sonosun ülü čidayu : bi minügei kemen üǰelten ber busu : amitan kemen üǰelten ber busu : amin kemen üǰelten ber busu bodgali kemen üǰelten ber sonosbasu : abubasu [29b] *eǰelebesü : ungsibasu : büküi-ben dotoraγan oroγul-un ülü čidayu : tede kemebesü : oron ügey-yin tulada buγu :*

basa Subudi a ali ǰüg-tür : ene sudur-i nomlabasu : tere yaǰar-un tngri : kümün : asuri-nar-luγ-a nigen-e yirtincü-ṭekin takiγdaqui yosutu boluγu : tere yaǰar-tur mürgügdekün yosuṭu boluγad : toγoriγulqui yosuṭu boluγad : tere yaǰar takil sitügen boluγu :

16. *basa Subudi a ked be iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid : ene meṭü sudur-un badaγ-i abubasu : baribasu* [30a] *uribasu : negebesü : büküi-ben dotoraγan oroγuluγčid tede kemebesü : ǰobaγun boluγad : masida ǰobaγčid boluγu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tedeger amitan anu : uriṭu-yin töröl-ṭür nigül-tü üiles-iyer maγui ǰaγaγan-ṭur törökü bolur-un : ali tere üiled-dügsen tede inu ene ǰaγaγan-ṭur ǰobaγaγdaqu-yin tulada : teden-ü uriṭu töröl-ün nigül-tü üiles-i arilqu boluγad : burqan-u bodi qutuγ-i ber olqu boluγu :*

Subudi a bi ǰöng bilig-iyer medemüi : toγ-a tomsi ügei [30b] *nögčigsen galab-ud-ača ber yekede toγ-a tomsi ügei galab-tur tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan dibamgar-a burqan-u uriṭu ene ber basa yeke-ṭe uridu galab-ud-tur nayan dörben tüg tümen nayud költi toγatan : ali tere burqan-nuγud-i bayasqabai bi : masiṭa bayasqaγuluγad : sedkil-iyen ese ǰögegülbei : Subudi a tede ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan ber : bi bayasqan üiledčü bürün : ken sedkil-iyer ese ǰögögsen-ü tulada : qoyiṭu irege edügüi tabun ǰaγun čaγ-un ečüs ele bolbasu* [31a] *ken ene sudur-i abubasu : baribasu : uribasu : ungsibasu : büküi-ben dotoraγan oroγuluγči taki : : Subudi a ene buyan-u čoγ-čas-i ber uridu buyan-u čoγ-čas-ača yaγun qubi-bar oyir-a ülü oduγu : mingγan-u qubi-bar : tüg tümen-ü qubi-bar : toγabar činege-ber : toγolaqui-bar üliger-ber : nökör-ber siltaγan-bar toγusun [=toγaγan] ülü čidayu :*

Subudi a ker be : tere čaγ-tur : ker ber iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid : teden-ü kedüi bükü buyan-u čoγčas-i masida bariγčid : iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid [31b] *tedeger-ün buyan-u čoγ čas-i ni bi nereyidbesü : qamuγ amitan ber toγuraǰu soγtanggi boluγad : sedkil inu masi γutaγulaγdaqu boluγu : basa Subudi a ene nom-un ǰüil-i inu sedkiǰü ülü baraγdayu [=bariγdayu] boluγad : egün-i ači ür-e-ber sedkiǰü ülü baraγdaqui [=bariγdaqui] kemen uqaγdaqui :*

17. *tendeče amin qabiγ-a-tu Subudi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṭür eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṭür oroγsad ber kerkiǰü aγdaqu-uu : kerkiǰü bütügegdekü-üü : kerkiǰü* [32a] *sedkil-ṭür toγta-*

yaγdaqu-uu : teyin kemen öčigsen-ṭür ilaǰu (tegüs) nögčigsen ber : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṭur eyin kemen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a egün-ṭür bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṭür oroγsad ber : eyin kemen sedkiǰü bi ber : qamuγ amitan-i čoγ-čas-i qočorqu ügei : γasalang-ača nögčigeǰü : nirvan-u töb-tür oγoγata oroγuluyu : tere meṭü ülisi ügei amitan : oγoγata nirvan-ṭur oroγulbasu ber : ali ber amitan-i nirvan-ṭur oroγuluγsan ügei buyu : kemen sedkiǰü sedkil egüskegdekü̈i : [32b] *tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ker ber bodistv-nar amitan-i sedkiǰü orobasu : tere bodistv kemen ülü nereyiddekü̈i : bodgali-ṭur kürtele sedkiǰü oroγdaqun bolbasu ber : tere bodistv kemen ülü nereyiddekü-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṭür oroγsad : kemegdekün nom nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada buyu :*

Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimü̈i : tegünčilen iregsen-ü tegünčilen iregsen dibamgar-a ene ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i [33a] *iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : ali tere nom ber : bui bükü kemen sedkimü-üü : teyin kemen ǰarlay bolbasu : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṭür eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tegünčilen iregsen dibamgar-a-ača ali deger-e ügei üneger toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : nom nigeken ber ügei buyu : teyin kemen öčigsen-ṭür : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ber : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi-ṭur tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluyu* [33b] *tegünčilen iregsen dibamgar-a-ača ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : nom nigeken ber ügei buyu : Subudi a ker be tegünčilen iregsed ber ali iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : nigen nigen nom-i bui ele bolbasu : tegünčilen iregsen dibamgar-a-bar namayi biraman-u köbegün či irege üdügü̈i čaγ-tur : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan Šigemüni neretü burqan boluyu : kemen vivangirid ülü ögtekü bülüge : Subudi a ene meṭü tegünčilen iregsed ber* : [34a] *ali deger-e ügei ünen tegüs toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : nom nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada : tegüber tegünčilen iregsen dibamgar-a-bar namayi biraman-u köbegün či irege üdügü̈i čaγ-tur : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan : Šigemüni neretü burqan boluyu : kemen vivangirid üǰügülbei :*

tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsen kemebesü : ünen tegünčilen mün činar-iyar qomuslaγsan bükü-yin tulada buyu :

Subudi a ǰarim-ud eyin kememü̈i : tegünčilen [34b] *iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan burqad ber : deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu burqan bolbai : kemen ügülebesü : tere inu buruγu ügülegsen bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed-ün ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan : bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu : burqan boluγsan nom nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada bolai : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed ber : ali nom-iyar iledte toγulǰu : burqan boluγsan be : taki üǰügülügsen tegün-dür* [35a] *ünen ber ügei qudal ber ügei buyu : tegüber tegünčilen iregsed-ün qamuγ nom-ud burqad-un nom kemen nomlaǰuγui : Subudi a qamuγ nom-ud kemegdekün inu : tedeger nom-ud ügei bolai : tegüber qamuγ nom-ud burqan-u nom kemen nereyiddüγü :*

Subudi a ene meṭü adalidqabasu : nigen törölkitü kümün-ü bey-e-tü böged : yeke bey-e-tü boluγsan meṭü buyu : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tegünčilen iregsed ber : törölkiten-ü kümün-ü bey-e-tü böged : yeke bey-e-tü kemen ali [35b] *nomlaγsan : tegün-i tegünčilen iregsed ber bey-e ügei kemen nomlaγsan buyu : tegüber bey-e-tü böged : yeke bey-e-tü kemen nereyiddüγü :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluγu : ken bodistv-nar eyin kemen bi ber qamuγ amitan-i oγoγata nirvan-ṭur oroγulsuγai kemen ügülebesü : tegün-i bodistv kemen ülü nereyidteküi buyu : tere yaγun-u tulda kemebesü : bodistv kemegdekün ali tere nom ber bui bükü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere [36a] *busu buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tegüber tegünčilen iregsed-ün qamuγ nom-ud kemebesü : amitan ügei : amin ügei : bodgali ügei buyu kemen nomlaǰuγui :*

Subudi a ked ber bodistv-nar kemen : bi ber ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud-i bütügebei : kemen ügülebesü tegün-i ber tegünčilen nereyidteküi [*busu*] *buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a ulus-un ǰokiyal : ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud kemebesü : tedeger ǰokiyaγsan ügegü-iyer tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-u tulada buyu : tegüber* [36b] *ulus-un ǰokiyal-nuγud kemen nereyiddüγü :*

Subudi a ked be bodistv-nar eyin kemen qamuγ nom-nuγud kemebesü : bi ügei qamuγ nom-nuγud anu bi ügei buyu : kemen küsegčid tere kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan burqad ber bodistv maqastv kemen ügülemüi :

18. *Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : tegünčilen iregsed miqan niṭü-tü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber miqan niṭü-tü bolai : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un* [37a] *Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi: tegünčilen iregsed tengri-yin niṭü-tü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öcir-ün ilaǰu tegüs nögcigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber tengri-yin niṭü-tü bolai : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimü : tegünčilen iregsed ber bilig-ün niṭü-tü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber bilig-ün niṭü-tü bolai :*

19. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi :* [37a] *tegünčilen iregsed nom-un niṭü-tü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber nom-un niṭü-tü bolai : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : tegünčilen iregsed burqan-u niṭü-tü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tegünčilen iregsed ber burqan-u niṭü-tü bolai :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimü : Gangga müren-ü qumaki kedün bükü Gangga müren ber imaγta [38a]

tedüi boluyad : tedeger kedüi bükün qumaki toyatan tedüi toyabar yirtinčü-yin orod bolbasu : tede yirtinčü-yin orod olan bükü kemen sedkim-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere teyin kü buyu : tede yirtinčü-yin orod olan buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a tedeger yirtinčü-yin orod-tur : kedün bükü toyatan amitan-u sedkil taki tusbüri sedkil-ün ürgülǰi-yi sayitur medemüi bi : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a sedkil-ün ürgülǰi sedkil-ün ürgülǰi kemegdekün inu : [38b] tere ürgülǰi ügegün-iyer tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaysan-u tulada buyu : tegüber sedkil-ün ürgülǰi ügegün-iyer tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaysan-u tulada buyu : tegüber sedkil-ün ürgülǰi kemen nereyiddüyü : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a nögčigsen-ü sedkil ber üǰegdekü ügei : irege üdügüi sedkil ber üǰegdekü ügei : edüge-ṯeki sedkil ber üǰegdekü ügey-yin tulada bolai :

Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : ked ber yurban mingyan yeke mingyan yirtinčü-yin orod-i doloyan ǰüil erdenis-iyer sayitur dügürgeǰü öglige ögbesü : iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰayur-tan-u ökid : tere sitügen-ü buyan [39a] *tegün-eče neng olan törömü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a olan buyu : sayibar oduysan a olan buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluyu : iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd ba iǰayur-tan-u ökid : tere sitügen buyan-u čoy-čas buyan-u čoy-čas* [sic !] *tegün-eče neng olan dürüyü : basa Subudi ker be buyan-u čoyčas ele bolbasu : buyan-u čoy-čas buyan-u čoy-čas kemen tegünčilen iregsed ber ülü nomlamui :*

20. *Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : öngge-tü bey-e oyoyata bütügegsen-iyer* [39b] *tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : öngge-tü bey-e oyoyata bütügsen-iyer : tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰekü busu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a öngge-tü bey-e oyoyata bütügsen öngge-tü bey-e oyoyata bütügsen kemegdekün inu : tere oyoyata bütügsen ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaysan-u tulada bolai : tegüber öngge-tü bey-e oyoyata bütügsen kemen nereyiddüyü :*

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolurun : Subudi a [40a] *egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : tegüs sayin belge-tü tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekün kemen sedkimüi : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : tegüs sayin belge-tü ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰekü busu buyu : tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü : tegünčilen iregsed ber tegüs sayin belge-tü ali nomlaysan tere tegüs sayin belge ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber : nomlaysan-u tulada bolai : tegüber tegüs sayin belge-tü kemen nereyiddüyü :*

21. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un : Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : tegünčilen iregsed ber* [40b] *eyin kemen sedkiged : bi ber nom-i nomlabai : kemen tayalaǰu sedkibesü : Subudi a tere teyin kemen ülü sedkigdekü i : tegünčilen iregsed ber ali nomlaysan nom-i nigeken ber ügei buyu : Subudi a ked*

ber eyin kemen tegünčilen iregsed ber nom-i nomlabai : kemen ügülebesü : Subudi a tegün-i ber ügei boluγad : buruγu alǰiyas-ača bariγdaγsan-iyar : namayi sügögekü boluγu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi nom nomlaγsan nom nomlaγsan kemegdekün-i üǰegdekü tere nom-i nigeken ber ügey-yin tulada bolai :

tendeče [41a] *amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a irege üdügüi čaγ-tur : ked be amitan ene meṯü nom-i nomlaquγ-yi sonosču bür-ün : iledte itegegči metüs arad bolqu buyu kü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tedeger kemebesü : amitan ber busu : amitan ügei ber busu buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a amitan kemegdekün-i tegünčilen iregsed ber : tedeger amitan ügegüy-e nomlaγsan-u tulada buyu : tegüber amitan kemen nereyiddüyü :*

22. *Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed ber :* [41b] *ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu : burqan boluγsan nigen nigen nom bui bükü kemen sedkimü-üü : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tegünčilen iregsed-ün ali deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ-i iledte toγulǰu burqan boluγsan : nom nigeken ber ügei buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluγu : tegün-ṯür nom üčügen ber ülü üǰegdeged ügei buyu : tegüber deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan : bodi qutuγ* [42a] *kemen nereyiddüyü :*

23. *basa Subudi a tere nom inu kemebesü sačaγu buyu tegün-dür sača busu nigeken ber ügei buyu : tegüber deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan bodi qutuγ kemen nereyiddüyü : deger-e ügei üneger toγuluγsan tere bodi qutuγ kemebesü : bi ügei : amitan ügei : amin ügei bodgali ügey-iyer sačaγu buyu : buyan-tu qamuγ nom-iyar iledte burqan bolbai : Subudi a buyan-tu nom-nuγud : buyan-tu nom--nuγud kemegdekü inu : tedeger nom-ud ügei tegünčilen iregsed nomlaγsan buyu : te-güber buyan-tu nom-nuγud kemen nereyiddüyü :*

24. *basa Subudi a ked be iǰaγur-tan-u* [42b] *köbegüd be : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid ber : γurban mingγan yeke mingγan yirtinčü-yin orod-taki kedün bükü : aγulas-un qaγan Sümbür aγula-yin tedüi bükü toγ-a-bar doloγan erdenis-ün čoγ-čas-i iledte quriyaγad öglige öggügsen-eče-ber : ken bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen egün-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu bür-ün : busud-un üneger üǰügülbesü : Subudi a ene buyan-u čoγ-čas-i inu uriṯu buyan-u čoγ-čas--ača ber : yaγun qubi-yin tedüi ber oyir-a ülü bolquy-ača siltaγan-ṯur kürtele ber daγusun ülü čidayu :*

25. *Subudi a egün-i yaγun* [43a] *kemen sedkimüi : tegünčilen iregsed ber eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bi ber qamuγ amitan-i getülgebei : kemen tayalaǰu sedkibesü : Subudi a tere meṯü ülü sedkigdeküi : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tegünčilen iregsed ber : ali tere getülgegsen amitan nigen ber : ügey-yin tulada buyu : Subudi a ker be tegünčilen iregsed ber : alimad amitan-i getülgegsen ele bolbasu : tegün-i inu tegünčilen iregsed bi minügei kemen barimtalaγsan*

boluyu : amitan-i barimtalaqui : amin-i barimtalaqui : bodgali barimtalaqui boluyu : Subudi a bi kemen barimtalayči kemegdekün inu tere barimtalaqui [43b] *ügey-iyer : tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlabasu ele : tegün-i ber bertegčid köbegüd-ün bariydaysan buyu : Subudi a bertegčid köbegüd kemegdekün inu : tedeger bertegčid ügey-iyer inu : tegünčilen iregsed nomlaysan buyu : tegüber bertegčid köbegüd kemen kemen* [sic!] *nereyiddüyü :*

26. *Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : tegüs sayin belge-tü* [*-ber*] *tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekün kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen tere busu buyu : tegüs sayin belge-tü ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰekü busu buyu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlay bolur-un :* [44a] *Subudi a tere tegünčilen buyu : tere tegünčilen kü boluyu : tegüs sayin belge-tü-ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü busu buyu : Subudi a ker be tegüs sayin belge-tü-ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekün ele bolbasu : Čakiravar-un qayan ber tegünčilen iregsed-e boluyu : tegüber tegüs sayin belge-tü-ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü busu buyu :*

tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi eyin kemen öčibei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bi ber kerkiǰü ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü nomlaysan-u udqas-i uqaqu metü bögesü : tegüs sayin belge-tü-ber tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü busu buyu : [44b] *tedüi tere čay-tur : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen silügleǰü edeger ǰarlay bolbai : :*

ked be namayi öngge-ber üǰeǰü :
ked be namayi dayubar medegči :
buruyu mör-tür oroysan ele böged :
tede arad ber namayi ülü üǰeyü :

burqan-nuyud inu nom-un činar-i üǰeyü :
aburayči inu ber nom-un bey-e-tü :
nom-un činar-i medegdekün busu-yin tulada :
tegün-i ber teyin böged meden ülü čidayu :
kemen nomlaǰuyui :

27. *Subudi a egün-i yayun kemen sedkimüi : tegüs sayin belge-tü ber tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruysan üneger toyuluysan bodi qutuy-i iledte toyulǰu :* [45a] *burqan bolbai : kemen sedkiǰü barimtalabasu : Subudi a či ber teyin kemen ülü sedkigdekü̈i : Subudi a tegüs sayin belge-tü tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruysan üneger toyoluysan : bodi qutuy-i iledte toyolǰu burqan boluysan ügei buyu : Subudi a či eyin kemen sedkiǰü : bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-tür oroysad--iyar alimad nom-ud-i teyin böged ebdegsen be taki : tasuraqai-bar qomusulaysan buyu : kemen barimtalayči bolbasu : Subudi a tere teyin kemen ülü sedkigdekü̈i : bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṯür oroysad ber* [45b] *ali tere teyin böged ebdegsen be : taki tasuraqai kemen qomuslaysan ügei buyu :*

28. *basa Subudi a ken tere iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd : iǰayur-tan-u ökid ber : Gangga müren-ü qumaki toyatan yirtinčü-yin orod-i : doloyan ǰüil erdenis-iyer dügürgeǰü öglige öggügsen-eče ken ber bodistv-nar ene nom-un ǰüil-ün bi ügei böged : töröl ügei-tür küličenggüy-yi olbasu ele : tere sitügen buyan-u čoγ-čas tegün-eče yeke neng olan toγ-a-tomsi ügei čaγlasi ügei törökü boluyu :*

basa Subudi a bodistv-nar buyan-u čoγ-čas inu eǰelegdekün [46a] *busu buyu : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a bodistv-nar ber buyan-u čoγ-čas-i oγoγata eǰelegdekü bolqu-uu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a oγoγata eǰelegdemüi ǰ-e : buruyu alǰiyas-iyar ülü eǰileyü : tegüber oγoγata eǰilegdekün kemen nereyiddüyü :*

29. *basa Subudi a ǰarim-ud eyin kemen tegünčilen iregsed-i : odba : irebe : bosba : sayuba : taki untaba : kemen ügülebesü : tere nomlaγči-yin udqas-i : bi ülü medekü buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a tegünčilen* [46b] *iregsed kemebesü : qamiyas-i odbai : qamiy-a-ača ber ese iregsed-ün tulada : buyu : tegüber tegünčilen iregsen üneger toγuluγsan kemen nereyiddüyü :*

30. *basa Subudi a ked be iǰayur-tan-u köbegüd ba : iǰayur-tan-u ökid : γurban mingγan yeke mingγan yirtinčü-yin orod-taki : γaǰar-un toγosun kedün bükü bögesü : tede ene meṭü adalidqabasu : braman-u toγosun-u tere čiγulγan meṭü ǰančiraqai bolbasu : Subudi a egün-i yaγun kemen sedkimüi : braman-u toγosun-u tere čiγulγan inu olan bükü kemen sedkimü-üü : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere* [47a] *teyin kü buyu : braman-u toγosun-u čiγulγan-u tere ünen* [=*olan*] *buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ker be nigen čiγulγan bui ele bolbasu : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü braman-un toγosun-u čiγulγan kemen ülü nomlaqu-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü braman-u toγosun-u čiγulγan kemen ali nomlaγsan tere čiγulγan ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγ-san-u tulada bolai : tegüber braman-u toγosun-(u) čiγulγan kemen nereyiddüyü :*

tegünčilen iregsed ber : γurban mingγan yeke mingγan [47b] *yirtinčü-yin orod kemen ken nomlaγsan tere orod ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan buyu : tegüber γurban mingγan yeke mingγan yirtinčü-yin orod kemen nereyiddüyü : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ker be nigen yirtinčü-yin oron nigen bui ele bolbasu : tere inu bükün barimtalaqu-yin tulada bolai : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü tegünčilen iregsed ber bükün barimtalaγči ali nomlaγsan-u tere barimtalaqui ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan buyu : tegüber (bükün) barimtalaγči kemen nereyiddüyü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un* [48a] *Subudi a bükün barimtalaγči inu tuslaγsan* [=*töselegsen = tösegelegsen*] *buyu : tere nom kemebesü nereyidküi ügei ele bolbasu : bertegčid köbegüd-iyer barimtalaqu boluyu :*

31. *Subudi a nigen nigen inu eyin kememü : tegünčilen iregsed ber bi kemen üǰeküi nomlaγsan : tegünčilen iregsed ber amitan-i üǰeküi : amin-i üǰeküi :*

bodgali-yi üǰeküi : nomlabai : kemen ügülebesü : Subudi a tere ünen ügei ber ügülebesü buyu : Subudi öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tere busu buyu : sayibar oduγsan a tere busu buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : [48b] *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a tegünčilen iregsed ber : bi kemekü üǰel-i ali nomlaγsan inu : üǰel busu ber tegünčilen iregsen nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber bi kemegči üǰel kemen nereyiddüyü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarlaγ bolur-un : Subudi a egün-ṯür bodistv-nar-un ünen kölgen-ṯür oroγsad ber : ene meṯü qamuγ nom-ud-i bisiregdeküi : medegdeküi : uqaγdaqui : kerken ber nom-i sedkiküi-ṯür : orosil ügegüy-e medegdeküi buyu : tere yaγun-u tulada kemebesü : Subudi a nom-i sedkiküi nom-i sedkiküi* : [49a] *kemegdekün inu : tere sedkikü ügegüy-e tegünčilen iregsed ber nomlaγsan-u tulada bolai : tegüber nom-i sedkiküi nom-i sedkiküi kemen nereyiddüyü :*

32. *basa Subudi a ked be bodistv maqastv-nar toγ-a tomsi ügei yirtinčü-yin orod-i doloγan (ǰüil) erdenis-iyer dügürgeged : öglïge öggügsen-eče ber : ked ber iǰaγur-tan-u köbegüd ba : iǰaγur-tan-u ökid : ene bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi abubasu : baribasu : uribasu : negebesü : büküi-ben dotoraγan oroγuluγad : busud-un ayui* [49b] *yeke ünen-iyer sayitur üǰügülbesü tere sitügen-ü buyan-u čoγ-čas inu tegün-eče yeke-ṯe neng olan toγulasi ügei čaylasi ügei töröyü : kerkiǰü üneger masida üǰügülküi kemebesü : kerkiǰü ünen-iyer masida ülü üǰügülküi metü buyu : tegüber masida üǰügülküi kemen nereyiddüyü :*

sümegelǰegči odun ǰula kiged :
yilvi sigüderi usun-ṯaki kögesün :
ǰegüdün gilbelgen egüles meṯü kiged :
qamuγ egüdügsen-i tere meṯü-yi uqaγdaqui :

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan ber teyin kemen ǰarliγ boluγsan-ṯur : ayali [50a] *baṯu Subudi ba : tedeger ayaγ-qa tegimlig : šimnan⟨a⟩ča : ubasi : ubasanča : tengri : kümün : asuri qadarvi-luγ-a : nigen-e yirtinčü-teki bisireǰü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ü burqan-u ǰarliγ-i iledte maγtabai : :*

ôṃ namô bagavati brañja baramita yi-a : ôṃ n̲ada di-da : ilisi ilisi : milisi milisi : bi-n̲a-yan bi-n̲a-yan : namô bagavati bra-dyaṃ pradi : iridi iridi : miridi miridi : suridi suridi : usuridi [50b] *usuridi : buyu-ye buyu-ye süva-hā : ôṃ subra dam γub bajar ye süv-a-hā :*

ene tarni-yi nigen-te uribasu : včir oγtaluγči-yi yisün tümen nigen mingγan ungsiγsan-ṯur adali boluγu : qutuγ-tu bilig ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen včir oγtaluγči nereṯü yeke kölgen sudur : : saṯu ed̲gü : :

namô buddhay-a : : namô dharmay-a : : namô sangghay-a : : Enedkeg-ün keleber : Bajar ba t̲n̲-a : [51a] *Töbed-ün keleber : Rdô rǰi gčodbai : pharoldu byen phai : byang čub ki lam rci bai : mdô : : Mongγol-un keleber : Včir oγtaluγči--yin bilig-ün činaṯu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen-ü bodi qutuγ-un mör-i toγulaquy-yin sudur:*

burqan-ṯur mürgümü bi : nom-ṯur mürgümü bi : bursang quvaray-ud-tur mürgümü bi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen bodi qutuγ-un mör-tür mergen boluγsan-a mürgümü bi : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen-ü uḏq-a-ṯur oγoγata mergen boluγsan čoγ-tu-da mürgümü bi [51b] *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen-ü gegen gerel qamuγ-ača uqayči--da mürgümü bi :*

eyin kemen minu sonosuγsan nigen čaγ-tur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Vayišali nereṯü yaǰar-tur sayumui : tere Vayišali yaǰar-tur : aγsan tede kümün amitan--ṯur : činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen nom-ud ügey-yin tulada : tedeger amitan-i ǰobayud-i medeǰü : tere čaγ-ṯur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen nigülesküi sedkil egüskeged : tere yaǰar-tur aγsan kümün amitan-ṯur : silügleǰü eyin kemen ǰarliγ bolbai : :

öngge terigüten čoγčas-i
ülü medeküi nisvanis-un višay-ača [52a] *dabaǰu :*
erketen-ü višai sedkil-i üǰedkün :
sedkil-ün erketen nom-i ǰüglegdeküi : :

nom-un činar oγtaryuγ-yin kiǰayar-luγ-a sača :
sedkil-i medebesü : nom-un činar medeyü :
nom-un činar-i medebesü : : bodi qutuγ-un mör bui :
iǰayur-ud yambar kü erketen-iyer bariyu :

erketen-i [=*erketen-e*] *bariydabasu : bodi qutuγ-un mör : :*
orod višai ber višay-yi üǰeyü :
višay-yi medebesü : bodi qutuγ-un mör :
siltayan-ača barilduǰu : boluγsan-i (ber)

usun ba sün-(ü) saba meṯü :
nigen nigen-ṯür ese sitübesü ülü bolqu meṯü : [52b]
tegüber arban qoyar siltayan-ača barilduγsan :
bodi qutuγ-un mör-ün sitügen bolai :

baramid-un nom-nuγud kemebesü :
uriṯu-yin burqan-nuγud-un mör böged :
edüge bodistv-nar-un mör buyu :
qamuγ qoγosun bügüdeger inu : :

bodi qutuγ-un mör-ün siltayan ür-e bolai :
ači ür-e bögesü : (mör ber bui)
bodi ǰüg-ün nom-nuγud kemebesü :
bodi qutuγ-un mör-ün siltayan ači ür-e buyu :

mör terigüten-ü ači ür-e kemebesü :
nigen nigen-iyer [=*nigen-iyen*] *erilčekü boluγu :*

bodi qutuγ-un mör-nügüd-[*i*] *bütügeküi mör* :
bodi ǰüg-ün [*nom*]*-nuγud kemebesü* : [53a]

nigen-e bütügegsen-iyer qoyar ügei : :
bodistv-nar-un mör inu kemebesü
arban baramid-iyar yabuγuluyu :
baramid-un nom-nuγud kemebesü :

uriṯu-yin nom-nuγud-tur töröl ügei : :
dumda nom-nuγud-tur türidkü ügei :
ečüs (*nom*)*-nuγud-tur orosil ügei* :
oγtaryui-ṯur adali böged :

oγtaryui-ṯur bayuraqui nemeküi ügei :
⟨*nom-un činar bögedkü*⟩ *nom-un činar inu oγtaryui meṯü bolai* :
oγtaryui-ṯur ber baraγdaqui ügei : *nemeküi ügei böged*
⟨*bayuraqui ügei*⟩ *bayuraqui nemeküi ügegü bodi qutuγ-un mör* : :

bodi qutuγ-un [53b] (*degeṯü*) *mör kemebesü* :
olyaγuluγad qamuγ nom-ud-i bütügeyü :
nom-nuγud-(*i*) *bütügebesü mör-i oluyu* :
mör-i olbasu činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürüyü : :

adalidqabasu olan burqad-tur :
oki čiγulγan terigüten-[*i*] *üileddügsen be taki* :
olan burqad-i taqiγsan ba : :
degedü nom-ṯur čiγulγan quriyaγsan be : :

dalai meṯü quvaraγ-ud kündüleküi terigüten :
činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen bodi qutuγ-un mör buyu :
baramid-un nom-nuγud kemebesü :
öglige-ber mör-ün oron-i bariǰu :

šaγšabad-iyar sitügen bolur-un :
küličenggüi-ber mör-ün [54a] *sitügen bolǰu* :
kičiyenggüi-ber sitügen boluyu :
diyan-iyar mör-i bütügeǰü bür-ün : :

bilig-iyer ečüs-tür kürüyü :
tere meṯü baramid kemebesü :
nigen nigen-iyer duradqal bolulčayu :
adalidqabasu yal kiged modun meṯü böged :

nigen nigen-iyer sitügsen :
sitün barilduγsan meṯü buyu :
baramid-un nom-nuγud anu bütügebesü
(*bodi*) *qutuγ-un tuyil-ṯur kürüyü* : :

adalidqabasu ači ür-e-yi čay-tur bolqu bolun :
Γangγ̄-a čilgegdebesü qokiraqu meṯü :
nom-nuγud ügei bögesü :
ači ür-e ügei bögesü [54b] *bodi qutuγ ber ügei :*

bodi qutuγ ügei ele bögesü : mör ber ügei :
adalidqabasu tariyalang-ṯur arbai sačubasu :
ür-e inu buγudai bolun ülü yegüdkeyü :
nom-nuγud ügei bögesü mör ber [*ügei*] :

baramid-un nom-nuγud kemebesü :
baraγdaqu ügegü nemekü ügegü :
adalidqabasu : tariyan-ṯur buγudai sačubasu :
ür-e inu arbai ülü bolqu meṯü :

siltaγan ügei bögesü ači ür-e ügei :
ači ür-e ügei ele bögesü : mör ber ügei :
mör-nügüd-ün činar inu [55a] *toγuluγsan burqan-nuγud nomlabai : :*
tegün-eče bi ber dayan nomlaγsan buyu : :

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan teyin kemen ǰarlaγ boluγsan-ṯur : amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi terigüten : yekes siravang-ud ba : tengri : kümün : asuri : gandari-lūge yirtinčü-ṯeki bisireǰü : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-u ǰarliy-i iledte maytabai : :

Včir oγtaluγči-yin činaṯu kiǰayar-a kürügsen-ü bodi qutuγ-un mör toγulaqui sudur tegüsbe : : saṯu edgü : :
ôṃ ma ni pad mi hūṃ : : [55b] *ôṃ suvasdi sidam :*

gem-tü tüiddügči ügegü nom-un bey-e-tü :
gerel-ün čoγ-tu bükü tegüs ǰiryalang-un bey-e-tü :
geyigül-ün tusalaγči qubilyan bey-e-tü :
gegegen uqaγ-a-tu burqan-a sögödümüi : :

qutuγ-tu toγuluγsan burqan bidan-u :
qoyar čiγulγan-i masida dügürgeged :
qotala medegdeküy-yin ečüs-tür kürbesü :
qoyina Akanista-yin oron-ača ulam-a :

Tüsid tengri-ṯür töröbei tere boγda :
tübsin bilig-tü boγda Čaγan oki tendeče :
turqaru sayitur sinǰilebei ele amitan-i :
töröbei Sudadan-u qaγan-u [56a] *köbegün bolun : :*

erdem-tü baγsi uqabči [=*uqabai*] *oγun-u ilγal-i :*
ergileǰü orčiγulbai nom-un kürdün-i :

erkilen erel-i qangγabai γurban kölgeten-i
erdeni nom-iyar yabu[γul]bai tendeki irged-i : :

tendeče ulam ulam ǰüil ǰüil ulus-un :
tengsel ügei qad-i töröbei bodistv-nar :
tegsi nomčilan teǰigebei qariy-a-tu irged :
deb deb [deḏ deḏ] -iyer ulus nom-ṯu orobai ⟨ulus ayimaγ :⟩

ulam-a delgerebei šasin nom-i masida :
umar-a eteged-teki Mongγol ulus-a :
uriṯu-yin irüger-iyer čo̱leddebei tede nom-i :
[56b] *undurbai buyan-u qubi-yi ulam-a amitan-a* : :

ülemǰi Čaqiravar-un töröbei Činggis qaγan-u :
uruγ-un šasin-i ǰalγabai Altan qaγan :
ünen möngke yaǰar bolγabai erdeni nom-iyar :
(üy-e) qoyar-i toγtaγabai törö šasin-i : :

tegüneče ulam kičiyebei altan uruγ ber :
teden-i daγan duradqu bolur-un nom buyan :
degeṯü včir oγtaluγči kemegdekün-e :
tengsel ügei bodistv-nar-un višai buyu : :

qoγosun-u γool bolai ülemǰi manglai :
(qoslan) oroqui aγui bolai belge bilig-ün
qurdun-a odqui gičkegür bolai nirvan-ṯur
[57a] *qutuγ oron kürgegči bolai uduriγulsun* : :

tegüs sedkil-iyer edügülbei Darqan tayiǰi :
tegsi sedkil-e duradqabai Noγanču bigiǰi :
degeṯü merged kelemürčid-i duγuriyaǰu [=daγuriyaǰu] :
tel keleṯü Toin guisi orciγulbai ene nom-i : :

erkin čaγalsun-u ortu qarsi-ṯur-iyan :
erdeni sečeg-ün toor-un čimeg-i :
erüsün erik[e]l(e)gči Šaγšabad ubasi ba :
erdem-tü Belge-tü baγsi qoyar bolai : :

edüge Včir oγtaluγči-yin küčün-iyer
el ulus qan qaračus irged :
enelküi nisvanis-un tüidker ügei bolur-un :
erüsčü qutuγ-tur [57b] *kürtügei qamuγ-iyar* : :

delekey-yin eǰed qaγan qatun kiged :
tab altan uruγ tüsimed ulus :

dergede bükü baysi šabi qamuy amitan :
delem-e tümen tümen nasulan ǰiryatuyai : :

degeṯü qayan qatun altan uruy.:
tab ǰayisang-ud ayimay ulus-i :
tersü ǰiryuyan ǰüil amitan-bar
delgereǰü atuyai ǰiryalang-tu buyan-i : :

kei qur-a kereg-tü čay-tur boltuyai :
kelkü nigüli ügei bolun atuyai :
kesig ebedčin-i masida usadtuyai :
kereg küseli yosuyar bütütügei : :

tamu mayu ǰayayan-ača tonilsuyai : :
tamačaḏ üiles-eče anggida bolsuyai : [58a]
taqul damsiy sayitur amurlituyai :
tariyan üres-i ülemǰi elbeg boltuyai :

küčüber üiledküi samayu-yi usadtuyai :
köser-e yabuyči amitan durabar atuyai :
küü sang dügürgeged čadqulang boltuyai :
ködelkü bügüde ǰiryalang-iyar orosituyai :

östü buly-a dayisun-i ügei boltuyai :
örigü buruyu adasča könggetügei :
ölig-tü keregür barayur-i usadtuyai :
edür söni engkesen-iyer [*engke esen-iyer*] *aqu boltuyai : :*

ǰüdqariyuluyči qola qola atuyai :
ǰokis ügei qarsi kötel daban otuyai [=*odtuyai*] :
ǰöntürig üiles kölberin otuyai [=*odtuyai*] :
[58b] *ǰöb ǰöb-iyer engkesen* [*engke esen*] *boltuyai : :*

kereglegdekün amin nasun ed tavar :
ketürkei ölǰei qutuy buyan-iyar :
kelelesi ügei ayui yekede :
keb keǰiyeber orosin atuyai :

qamuy yirtinčü-yin orod-tur bükü :
qayačaqui alalduqui dayisun amurliyad :
qanilan amuray bolulčaǰu yabuyad :
qamṯu eke köbegün meṯü nuta atuyai : :

boydas-un ene nom-un (*ünen*) *adistid-iyar :*
bodičid sedkil-iyer masida yabuǰu :

busučar alǰas [=alǰiyas] üǰel-i ele usadču :
bürin-iyer burqan-u nom-iyar yabusuγai : :

amitan-u γasiγun ǰobalang-i sergegči :
alγasangγui ebedčin-i tarqāγāγči em :
[aldarsiγsan burqan-u šasin nom-i :
arban ǰüg-tür delgeretügei čing nuta : :

qamuγ-un ušnir čimeg γurban erdeni-yin :
γayiqamsiγ tangsuγ adistid-iyar :
qamiγasi ǰokis-tu ölǰei qutuγ-i :
qaγačal ügei orosin atuγai imaγta : :

ene buyan-u küčün-iyer :
ečige eke boluγsan ǰiryuγan ǰüil amitan-u :
enelge nisvanis-un qarangγus-i geyigülüged :
erkin degedü včir-a dar-a-yin qutuγ-i olqu boltuγai : :

Kökegčin takiγ-a ǰil-un ebülün dumdadu sarayin sineyin naiman-a delgeregsen sayin edür-e tegüskebe :]

Passages Translated of Toyin Guiši's Version

(ff. 1a—2b and 51a—58b)

[1a] *Vajracchedikā*[24] is contained [herein]. Let it be useful[25] to all the living beings that became mothers.[26]

om ma ṇi pad me hūṃ

[1b] The man, who recites the *sūtra* of *Vajracchedikā*[27] after that he found

[24] *Gčodba* Tibetan word *gčod-pa* «to cut» (Jäschke, p. 145) wich here refers to the Tibetan title of the *sūtra Rdo-rǰe-gčod-pa*.

[25] *Bolutuγai* instead of *boltuγai*.

[26] *Eke qamuγ amitan* here stands for the expression *eke boluγsan amitan* «être qui sont devenus les mères» (Kow. I, 229a). The expression appears again at the end of the *sūtra*. The manuscript is defective, but the parallel one (Mong. 69) gives: *ečige eke boluγsan ǰiryuγan ǰüil amitan* «the six kinds of living beings that became fathers and mothers».

[27] For the term *včir* there exists no satisfactory translation in the European languages. D. L. Snellgrove translates it as «powerbolt». It is sometimes translated as «thunderbolt», or «diamond», though Tibetans usually employ different terms for these particular meanings. (Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo. Tibetan Biographies*, Oxford 1967, p. 33). In his introductory remarks to the edition of *Vajracchedikā*, Professor Poppe deals with the problems of the translation of the Mongolian titles (pp. 1—2). Here I preserve the original Sanskrit title.

the blessing[28] and guidance,[29] first of all, he has to firm his mind, to rinse his mouth, to clean the obstacle away, then recites. In this place, where there are always the eight furiouses[30] and the four *sattvas*,[31] there will be a protected sphere. [incant.][32] [2a]

Blue hindrance-thunderbolt that is surmounted, I call you! Thunderbolt that destroys the evil, I call you! *Maha bradisari*[33] yellow thunderbolt, I call you! Clear water-white thunderbolt, I call you! Sound of stupidity, fire-thunderbolt, I call you! Hindrance-thunderbolt that is firmly surmounted, I call you! Worried, good thunderbolt, I call you! Great heaven thunderbolt, I call

[28] *Abisig*, Tib. *dgaṅ-ba*, Skr. *abhiṣeka* «consecration by sprinkling holy water, consecration in general (as of kings, buddhas, saintly persons, laymen) (Less. 4b); cf. *abisig olqu* «recevoir le sacre» (Know. 43b).

[29] *Uduriyulsun*, Tib. *ded-dpon*, Skr. *sarthavāha* «chef, pilote, timonier, capitaine d'un vaisseau, conducteur d'un caravane; nom d'un bouddha» (Kow. 387b). In *Chi-yao* under the title *Bodisadu-yin nere inu* we find the Tibetan expression *ded-dpon*, but its Mongolian equivalent here is *sartavaki*, that remounts to the Sanskrit. (For the first remarks on *Chi-yao*, cf. L. Ligeti, *La collection mongole Schilling von Canstadt*: *T'oung Pao* XXVII (1930), p. 120. Professor Ligeti prepared the transcription of this vocabulary, and most kindly put it at my disposal, so I was lucky to use his manuscript. The facsimile of the dictionary was published by Raghu Vira, *Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms in Sanskrit, Manchurian, Mongolian and Chinese*, New Delhi 1961), cf. Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 434. Though the word in question does not seem to refer to this bodhisattva, but simply means «leader» or «guidance».

[30] *Naiman kiling-tan*, Tib. *drag-šed-brgyad* «the eight fearful demons». Iconographical books list them, but they are not always eight in number, sometimes more, in other cases less. There are differences between the lists given by different books according to certain territories and schools of Buddhism. Here is one of the possible lists: 1. Skr. *Hayagrīva*, Tib. *Rta-mgrin*, Mong. *Morin egesigtü*; 2. Skr. *Dharmapāla*, Tib. *Lčam -sriṅ*, or *Beg-ce*, Mong. *Egeči degüü*; 3. Skr. *Vajrabhairava*, Tib. *Rdo-rje 'jigs-byed*, Mong. *Včir-iyar ayuyuluyči*; 4. Skr. *Yama*, Tib. *Gšin-rje*, Mong. *Erlig qayan*; 5. Skr. *Śrīdevī*, Tib. *Dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Mong. *Ökin tengri*; 6. Skr. *Mahākāla*, Tib. *Nag-čhen-po*, Mong. *Yeke qara*; 7. Skr. *Vaiśravana*, or *Kubera*, Tib. *Rnam-thos-sras*, Mong. *Bisman tengri*; 8. Tib. *Dgra-lha*, Mong. *Dayičin tengri* (G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, Leipzig 1958, pp. 160 488; A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig 1900, pp. 159—164; Waddell, pp. 361—363).

[31] *Dörben stv* is perhaps a reference to the different existences, at least to four of the six *sattva*s, probably to the superior ones: gods, titans, men, beasts, (the two other ones not meant here are the the tantalized ghosts, and the inhabitants of hell). The word *sattva* means the continuity of individual life through the series of death and rebirth, being itself that consists of the body, speech and the mind (Waddell, pp. 101, 112, 423).

[32] Incantations, consisting of mystic spells are seldom translated in Mongolian and Tibetan holy texts, and are believed to contain the essence of a prayer, and the repetition of which is equal to the reciting of the whole text. The formulas are of a Sanskritic nature, but are more or less unintelligible to the worshipper (Waddell, p. 150).

[33] Mong. *Öber-e öber-e dayayči*, *Maqa bradisari*; Tib. *Rig-pa'i rgyal-mo čhen-mo so sor 'braṅ-ma*, Skr. *Mahāpratisrā* (Edg. 424); cf. P. Aalto, *Pañcarakṣā*, p. 94; L. Ligeti *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV, 327.

you! Friend *sattva*[34] thunderbolt, I call you! Sword *sattva* thunderbolt, I call you! Desire *sattva* thunderbolt, I call you! [2b] Tongue *sattva* thunderbolt, I call you!

Homage to Buddha. Homage to the Dharma. Homage to the Congregation.

In Indic: *Ārya-vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra.* [51a] In Tibetan: *Rdo-rǰe gčod-pa pha-rol-tu phyin-pa byang-čhub-kyi lam rǰogs-pa'i mdo.* In Mongolian: The book of the cutting *vajra*, which follows the path of enlightenment[35] that reached the farther limits of wisdom.[38]

I bow to Buddha. I bow to the Teaching. I bow to the community of the monks. I bow to the one who has become a sage on the path of enlightenment that reached the farther limits of wisdom. I bow to the powerful who has become completely wise on the path of enlightenment that reached the farther limits of wisdom. [51b] I bow to the one who knows more than all the others, through the bright lights of the one that victoriously passed beyond and reached the farther limits.

Thus I have once heard.

The *Bhagavān*[37] dwelt in a land, named *Vayišali* [38] People living in that *Vayišali* land were without the teachings of *Prajñāpāramitā*, and that is why they got to know sufferings. By that time the *Bhagavān* conceived a compassionate thought, and spoke in verse to the people living there:

Transcending the sphere[39] of attachment,[40] stupidity,[41] [52a]

[34] Cf. *supra*, note 31.

[35] *Bodi qutuγ-un mör*, Tib. *byaṅ-čhub-sems-dpa'i lam*, Skr. *bodhi sattva mārga* «the way fot the attainment of Bodhisattva perfection» (Das 1209).

[36] *Bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen*, Tib. *šes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa*, Skr. *prajñāpāramitā* «wisdom that reached the farther limits.» (Edg. 359).

[37] *Ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen*, Tib. *bčom-ldan-'das*, Skr. *bhagavān* «victoriously passed beyond». This title of Buddha is the most frequently used of all his titles in Tibet, after *Śākya Muni*, and *Tathāgata*. (Waddell, p. 344; Conze, *Materials for a Dictionary of the Prajñapāramitā Literature*, Tokyo 1967, pp. 316, 430. «celui qui de façon victorieuse a complétément passé» (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, N° 2).

[38] *Vayišali neretü γaǰar*, Skr. *Vaiśali*, *Viśāla* (its name at present is Udjāni). It is a town in Middle-India, where the «Great Congregation» was held one hundred years after Buddha's death (Waddell, p. 10).

[39] *Višai*, Tib. *spyod-yul*, Skr. *viṣaya* (Kow. 1134a). Kowalewski gives the translation of the word *oron* «place» as *bišai*, *višai* (2667b) «lieu, demeure, refuge, asyle; contrée, province; objet des sens, organes des sens». Here I translate the word *višai* having the meaning «place, sphere». The *Kanǰur* text (xyl.) here gives: *oron*.

[40] *Nisvanis* (Plur.), Tib. *ñon-moṅs-pa*, Skr. *kleśa* «defilement, corruption; sin, vice, passion» (Conze, *Materials* . . ., p. 158). Buddha preached that everybody may attain the *Nirvana*, but first he has to get free from the 84.000 sins that originate in five main ones (*tabun tüidker*), which are born together by a person: stupidity (*mungqaγ*), anger (*kiling*), pride (*omoγ*), passion (*tačiyangγui*), envy (*nayidangγui*) (Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 265).

[41] *Ǔlü medeküi*, xyl.: *mungqaγ* (there will always be a reference to the xylograph published above, where it helps the understanding).

The colour [42] and other physical constitutions,[43]
Let the organs of sense[44] see the mind,
Let the organs of mind turn towards the Teaching.

The essence of the Teaching is coextensive with the heavens.
If one knows the mind, he knows the essence ot the Teaching.
Knowing the essence of the Teaching is the path of enlightenment.
What the sources are like can be grasped through the organs.

Having grasped them through the organs is the path of enlightenment.
The original causes and the sensual objects are perceived.[45]
Getting to know the sensual objects is the path of enlightenment.
Things in causal relation are

[42] According to the Teaching followers of the Buddhism must not cling to the next things:

Mong.	Tib.	Skr. in Conze's translation
öngge	*gzugs*	sight-object
dayun	*sgra*	sounds
ünür	*dri*	smells
amtan	*ro*	tastes
kürtekü̈i	*reg-bya*	touchables
nom	*čhos*	mind-objects
belge-ber sedkiküi	*mchan-mar 'du-šes*	notion of sign

There is a slight difference between the parallels given in different languages. While the Mongolian text gives *öngge* «colour, appearance», in the parallel Tibetan text we find: *gzugs* «form, figure». Where Mong. *nom* and Tib. *čhos* mean the same «teaching», Conze's text gives «mind-objects» as distinct from perceptible objects. In *Chi-yao* we also find the list of these notions: *tabun višay-yin ner-e inu dürsü* : *dayun* : *ünür* : *amtan* : *kürtekü̈i* ; Tib. *yul lña'i miṅ-la* : *gzugs* : *sgra* : *dri* : *ro* : *reg-bya* ; Skr. *rupaṃ* : *śabdaṃ* : *gandhaḥ* : *rasaḥ* : *spraṣṭavyaṃ* «les cinq objets de sens: forme extérieure, voix, odeur, goût, toucher» (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, Nos 425—429). Here Mongolian also offers: *dürsü* «form» instead of *öngge* which occured before. In the list given here the two last expressions are missing, cf. *tere aylay oron-dur ber öngge dayun terigüten qamuy višai-nuyud-tur alyasaqu sedkil anu tarqayaǰu bürün* (Cleaves, *The Bodistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312*: *HJAS* XVII [1954], pp. 47—48).

[43] *Čoyčas*, Tib. *phuṅ-po*, Skr. *skandha* «mass, heap» (Conze, *Materials . . .*, p. 431). Here it is a reference to the objects of sense listed above. Cf. *Chi-yao*, where we can find the list of the *tabun čoyča-yin ner-e inu* (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, Nos 415—419).

[44] *Erketen-ü višai*, xyl.: *erketen oron-nuyud*.

[45] *Orod višai ber visay-yi üǰeyü* The translation is uncertain. It is evident that here we have two different things: *orod višai* and *višai*, they are expressed by the same words, and the meaning of these two expressions are not separated clearly. In some cases they are identical, and in others completely different. Kowalewski translates the Mongolian word *oron* to Tibetan with the next words: *gnas* «object like *yul* but not so frequently; sphere, province»; *yul* «the object or objects of perception by means of the sense»; *gži-ma* «ground, foundation, original cause, existing cause»; *mal* «the place where a thing is, its site, situation; also where a thing has been, its trace, vestige» (Kow. 447a, Jäschke,

Like water and milk, and their vessel.[46]
It is impossible for them not to depend on each other. [52b]
In the same way, the twelve causal relations[47] are
The foundation of the path of enlightenment.

As for the *Pāramitā*-teachings
They are the path of the past Buddhas,
As well as the present Bodhisattvas'.
And all that is the entire void.[48]

[And it is] the cause and the result of the path of enlightenment.
If there is a result,[49] there is a path.
As for the Teachings that conduce to the enlightenment,
They are the cause and the result of the path of enlightenment.

As for the results of the path and other things,
They mutually require each other.
As for the path that leads to the path of enlightenment,
It is only genuine if the Teachings that conduce to the enlightenment [53a]

310, 412, 480, 513). Cf. *spyod-yul* «sphere of activity» (Jäschke, 334). Here I translate *orod višai* for «original causes» and *višai* for «sense objects» without any further evidence, and it might have been translated as «the sense objects and their spheres».

[46] *Usun ba sün-ü saba metü.* As a kind of poetic cliché, existence is sometimes described as the outer vessel and the inner elixir, the lifeless parts that form a kind of basis being the «vessel», and all sentiment beings, gods, men and the rest being the elixir (Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, p. 20). This expression here symbolizes that things are in causal relation.

[47] *Arban qoyar siltayan.* The fundamental «world view» of Buddhism is expressed in the doctrine that phenomenal elements, comprising the whole of existence arise as a complex causal nexus. Everything is causally related with everything else. Partial knowledge of these causes enables one to manipulate phenomenal events to some extent, and perfect knowledge of the causes enables one to bring the whole process to a stop (Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, p. 17). Buddhist philosophers present the twelve-staged causal relation as a twelve-linked chain which runs as follows: From the Ignorance (on the Unconscious Will) come Conformations. From Conformations comes Consciousness. From Consciousness comes Self-Consciousness. From Self-Consciousness come the Senses and Understanding. From the Senses and Understanding comes Contact. From Contact comes Feeling. From Feeling comes Desire. From Desire come Indulgence, Greed, or Clinging (to Worldly Objects). From Clinging (to Wordly Objects) comes (Married or Domestic) Life. From (Married) Life comes Birth (of an Heir and Maturity of Life). From Birth (of an Heir and Maturity of Life) come Decay and Death. From Decay and Death comes Re-birth with its attendant Sufferings (Waddell, p. 119).

[48] *Qoyosun*, Tib. *stoń-pa-ñid*, Skr. *śūnyatā*, *śūnyatva* «empty, void». Buddhism regards everything as non-existing things, that has no substance, no essence, no independent existence of any kind, but exist only as aggregates of conditions and relations (Conze, *Materials . . .*, p. 384, Edg., p. 532, Less., 1189).

[49] *Ači ür-e*, Tib. *las*, Skr. *karma* «use, result» (Waddell, pp. 100, 106, 222, 567).

Are followed all[4] at once.[50]
As for the path of the Bodhisattvas,
One goes along it by [the help of] the ten *Pāramitās*.[11]
As for the Teachings of the *Pāramitās*,

They are without origin in the former teachings,
They are not contained in the middle teachings,
They are not included into the last teachings.
They are like the heavens.

In the heavens they do not decrease and do not increase.[52]
The essence of the Teaching is like the heavens.
In the heavens it does not waste away and does not increase.
It is the path of enlightenment, which does not decrease and does not increase. [53b]

As for the supreme path of enlightenment
If it is found, all the Teachings will be accomplished.
If the Teachings are accomplished, the path will be found.
If the path is found, the farther limits will be reached.

Similarly, if around many Buddhas,
A superior assembly[53] and the like are formed,
And if many Buddhas are worshipped, and
The assembly is gathered in the superior Teachings,

And the sea of the communities of monks are honoured, *etc.*
That is the path of enlightenment reaching the farther limits.
As for the *Pāramitā*-teachings,
If the foundation of the path is laid by alms,

[50] *Qoyar ügei* «true, genuine, indubitable, certain, determined, positive, unequalled, unparalleled» (Less. 955b). cf. the expressions in the *Kanǰur*: *qoyar ügei yeke qayan, qoyar ügei sedkil, qutuγ-tu qoyar ügei tegsi sača teyin böged ilayuγsan onul-un yeke qayan* (L. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, Nos 60, 87, 475).

[51] *Arban baramid*, Tib. *phar-phyin bču*. To obtain the stage of a Buddha, and to serve living beings as a Bodhisattva, the ten *Pāramitās* or transcendental virtues must be practised. These are: *öglige baramid*, Tib. *sbyin-pa'i pha-rol-tu phyin-pa*, Skr. *dānā-pāramitā* «charity»; *šayšabad baramid*, Tib. *chul-'krims-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa*, Skr. *śīla-pāramitā* «morality»; *küličenggüi baramid*, Tib. *bzod-pa*, Skr. *kṣānti* «patience»; *kičiyenggüi baramid*, Tib. *brcon-'grus*, Skr. *vīrya* «industry»; *diyan baramid*, Tib. *bsam-gtan*, Skr. *dhyāna* «meditation»; *bilig baramid*, Tib. *šes-rab*, Skr. *prajñā* «wisdom»; *aryγ-a baramid*, Tib. *thabs*, Skr. *upāya* «method»; *irüger baramid*, Tib. *smon-lam*, Skr. *praṇidhāna* «prayer»; *küčün baramid*, Tib. *ye-šes-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa*, Skr. *jñāna-pāramitā* «foreknowledge» (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, 27—28; Waddell, p. 138).

[52] From the standpoint of absolute reality the merits and defects do not grow or diminish. (Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 51).

[53] *Oki čiyulyan*, xyl.: *ečüs-tür kürtele čiyulyan*.

The basis formed by the vow,
The basis of the path formed by patience [54a]
The basis formed by industry;
If the path is accomplished by meditation,

The end will be reached by wisdom.[54]
Similarly, as for the *Pāramitās*,
They go together,
Like wood and fire

That rely on each other.
As they are in causal relation,
If the *Pāramitā*-teachings are accomplished,
The apogee of enlightenment will be reached.

If the Ganges runs dry
At the time of the harvest, it is similar to [the case]
If there are no Teachings, and
There is no result, [then] neither is there enlightenment. [54b]

If there is no enlightenment, there is no path.
In the same way, if barley is sown into the field,
Its grain cannot grow into wheat,
If there are no Teachings, there is no path.

As for the *Pāramitā*-teachings,
They do not decrease, and do not increase.
In the same way, if wheat is sown into the field,
Its grain cannot grow into barley.

If there is no cause, there is no result,
If there is no result, there is no path.
The essence of the path was taught by the *Samyaksams*, [55a]
That is why, following them, I have taught it.

When the *Bhagavān* spoke in this way, the Venerable *Subhūti*,[55] the great

[54] Here the six cardinal virtues of the ten are listed: *öglige, šayšabad, küličenggüi, kičiyenggüi, diyan, bilig.*

[55] *Amin qabiy-a-tu Subudi*, Tib. *che-daṅ ldan-pa Rab-'byor*, Skr. *ayuṣmat Subhūti* (Conze, *Materials . . .*, p. 427), «vivant, celui qui joint la vie, destiné à une longue vie» (Kow. 102a, 1392a). Subhūti is one of the best students of *Śākya*, who preached his thesis on the Teaching to him and the others on a hill near *Rājagṛha*. The *Prajñāpāramitā* incomporates these teachings.

assemblies, together with gods, humans, *asuris*,[56] *gandharvas*,[57] and all those who are in the world, worshipped, and manifestly glorified the *Bhagavān*'s word.

The book of the cutting *vajra*, which follows the path of enlightenment that reached the farther limits of wisdom, has ended. Om maṇi pad me hūṃ [55b]. Oṃ svasti siddhaṃ.

I kneel down to Buddha, who has a dharma-body[58] that is without any sinful obstructor,
Who has an enjoyment-body[59] perfect with the power of light,
Who has a transformation-body[60] that aids enlightening,
And who is brightly intelligent.

Our blessed *Samyaksam*[61] Buddha
Perfectly completed the two accumulations,[62]

[56] *Asuri*, Tib. *lha-ma-yin*, Skr. *asura* «titans, or ungodly spirits». Persons, who during their human career have boasted of being more pious than their neighbours are reborn in the world of *asuras*. They were originally gods, but because of their pride they were expelled from heaven, hence their name, meaning «not a god». Their life-time is longer than that of a human being, and they live in great luxury and enjoyment, but they are unsatisfied, and permanently fight against gods. (Waddell, pp. 81—82). We come across a Mongolian expression referring to *asuras*: *tengri busu* (Less. 1161b), is a word for word translation from Tibetan.

[57] *Gandarvi*, Tib. *dri-za*, Skr. *gandharvika* (Edg. 209b) «smell-eaters», the white guardians of the east, who guard the eastern heavens from the attacks of the outer demons. The heavenly musicians, who in Buddhist paintings are represented as playing on guitars, and thought to be spirits, that feed on odours of every description. They are supposed to be fond of flowers and other fragrant objects, and also visit dunghills, flaying-places, shambles. (Waddell, pp. 83—84; Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija*, p. 268; Jäschke, p. 262). Their Mongolian name is *ünür idesitü*.

[58] *Nom-un bey-e*, Tib. *čhos-sku*, Skr. *dharma-kāya* «dharma-body», «corps de la loi» (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, II/59). Those who have attained a state of purity in every respest, and the dharmas, have the «body of the sage». There are 21 features of it. (Conze, *Abhismayālaṅkāra*, p. 96; Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija*, I, p. 222; Waddell, pp. 127, 137).

[59] *Tegüs ǰiryalang-un bey-e*, Tib. *loṅs-spyod-kyi sku*, Skr. *sambhoga-kāya* «enjoyment body». It enjoys the happiness of the dharma of the great vehicle. It posseses the 32 marks and the 80 minor characteristics. (Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 98; Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija*, II, p. 222; Waddell, pp. 127, 347).

[60] *Qubilγan bey-e*, Tib. *sprul-sku*, Skr. *nirmāna-kāya* «transformation body». It is the body by which Buddha in the shape of *Sākyamuni* effects without interruption his various benefits to the world until the end of sansaric becoming. (Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 102; Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija*, II, pp. 222—223; Waddell, pp. 127, 347).

[61] *Toγuluγsan burqan*, Tib. *mṅon-par rjogs-par saṅs-rgyas*, Skr. *abhisambuddha* «fully enlightened Buddha» (Das, p. 365).

[62] *Qoyar čiγulγan*, Tib. *chogs gñis*, Skr. *parivāra*. There are two meanings of the expression: «1. two pursuits of life: religion and wealth; 2. the accumulation of learning and the accumulation of moral merit» (Das, p. 1033b). Here the second one fits. Buddha gathered merit and knowledge, required for the path of Buddhahood. (Edg. 580a, Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija*, II, pp. 220—221, 251).

When he reached the end of the perfect knowledge
Then, later, from the Region of *Akanista*,[63]

That Holy One was born to the *Tuṣita* Heaven.[64]
Then the peaceful-minded holy *Śvetaketu*[65]
Always thoroughly watched the living beings,
And was born as the son of King *Śuddhodana*.[66] [56a]

The virtuous-wise Teacher got to know the distinction of wisdom,
And turned the Wheel of Teaching,[67]
Satisfied the wishes of those belonging to the three vehicles,[68]
And led people, living there, by the jewel-teaching.

Then, by and by, he was born as Bodhisattvas
To be unparalleled kings of different countries.

[63] *Akanista*, Tib. *'og-min*, Skr. *akaniṣṭa*. The fifth and highest class of gods and the region where they live, the highest heaven of the form-world. From here gods get straight into the Nirvana. (Edg. p. 1, Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 12). Here in the text we come across the Sanskrit word, but there is a Mongolian expression for it: *ǰuǰayan ǰokiyaltu* «pročno ustroennyj» (Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 221).

[64] *Tüsid tengri*, Tib. *Dga' -ldan*, Skr. *Tuṣitā* (*devā*) «Joyful place», the paradise of the Bodhisattvas prior to their final descent to the human world as Buddhas. *Maitreya*, the coming Buddha, dwells at present in this heaven (Waddell, p. 86). In other Mongolian texts we find other expressions for it: *ariγun oron* (Poppe, *Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, p. 78); *tegüs bayasqulang oron* (Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 223).

[65] *Čaγan oki*, Tib. *Tog-dkar*, Skr. *Śvētaketu*. *Śākyamuni* is known by this name in the Tuṣita heaven, before his reincarnation. There is another expression for it: *Damba dugar*, which is the adaption of the Tibetan form in the Mongolian language. (Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 223; Edg. p. 537). Others think that it is the name of an upper region. (I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, Leipzig—St. Petersburg 1829, p. 310).

[66] *Šudadan-u qaγan-u köbegün*, Tib. Skr. *Śuddhodana*, Name of a *Śakya* king, Buddha's father. (Edg. p. 531).

[67] *Nom-un kürdün-i orčiγulqui*, Tib. *'khor-lo skor-ba*, Skr. *dharma-cakra-pravartana* «the turning of the wheel of religion», that is to spread the Teachings. (Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 224; Edg. p. 277a).

[68] *Γurban kölgeten* «those who ar in the three vechicles». Existence is referred to as the «threefold world», which are: «the world of desire», that is the ordinary phenomenal world, «the world of form», that is the world of divine beings, and the «formless world», that is the pure realm, that leads to the perfect knowledge of enlightenment. (Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, p. 19). Cf. *γurban oron-u ner-e inu* «les trois regions», Tib. *khams gsum-gyi miṅ*: Mong. *amarmay-un oron*, Tib. *'dod-pa'i khams*, Skr. *kāma-dhātu* «région des désirs»; *dürsü-tü-yin oron*, Tib. *gzugs-kyi khams*, Skr. *rūpa-dhātu* «région de la forme»; *dürsü ügey-yin oron*, Tib, *gzugs-med-pa'i khams*, Skr. *arūpa-dhātu* «région du sans-forme» (L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, Nos 534—536).

Ever teaching he nourished his subjects.
These countries were converted by and by[69] to the Teaching.

The religious teaching perfectly spread
Among the Northern Mongolian nation.
Those teachings took roots[70] among the Northern Mongolian people,
[56b] And raised many virtues in even more living beings.

Afterwards he was born as king *Cakravartin*.[71]
The religion of Jenghiz Khan's descendants was continued by Altan Khan.
Through the jewel-teaching He founded the true eternal land,
Stabilizing law, as well as,[72] religion.

Then the golden descendants made even more effort,
They wished to follow the Teaching and virtue.
In the supreme *Vajracchedikā*
There is the sphere of the unparalleled Bodhisattvas.

The core of the void is the great leader,
The cave of the concentration of wisdom,[73]
The stairs that quickly lead to Nirvana, [57a]
The guidance that conducts to the holy place.

Darqan tayiǰi induced [this book] with perfect mind,
Noyanču bekiǰi in her tranquil mind desired it.
And following the example of supreme, wise interpreters,
Toyin guiši who possesses two languages, translated this book.

[69] *Deb-deb-iyer* is a compound of augmentative particles. Here the expression *ded ded-iyer* fits better. It is made up of the word *ded* «second, deuxième, subséquent» (Kow. 1697b, 1714a), and here means by and by, one by one», cf. the inscription and manuscripts from *Olon süme*: . . . *terigüten yurban ayimay qatud köbegüd ded ded-ün altan ündüsün-iyer*; or *ded ded-ün altan umdayan*; or *terigüten ded ded-ün altan uruy-un*. Professor Heissig translated *ded ded-ün* as «dieser und anderer», «der folgenden». (W. Heissig, *Die mongolische Steininschrift und Manuskriptfragmente aus Olon süme in der Inneren Mongolei*, Göttigen 1966, p. 14).

[70] *Čöledde-* = *čilügede-*, cf. p. 99.

[71] *Čaqiravar-un*, Tib. *'khor-los sgyur-ba*, Skr. *Cakravartin* (Conze, *Materials* . . . p. 170), «The universal monarch» (Edg. 221a). «The ruler of the world, the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction» (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899, p. 381b). The Mongolian spelling here shows the effect of the Uigur written form: the *t* at the end of the Uigur word *Čakravart* was misread for *-un*, cf. *kümün-ü qan Cakravad-un qan-u buyan kesig minu* (Rintchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol* I, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 31).

[72] *Ǔy-e qoyar* «both».

[73] *Qoslan orc* , Tib. *zuṅ-'ǰug*, Skr. «a technical term of practical mysticism, the forcing of the mind into the principal artery, in order to prevent distraction» (Jäschke, p. 488).

In their distinguished paper-palace
Šayšabad ubaši and the educated *Belgetü bayši*
Rivalling each other completed
The wreath-ornament of jewel-flowers.

Now, by the power of the *Vajracchedikā*
May not the country, the Khan, and the common people
Be held back by the obstacle of grievous sins,
Let them all rival each other in attaining to bliss.

Let the rulers of the world, the Khan, and the Queen,
The perfect[74] golden descendants, the officials,
The masters and the disciples living nearby, and all living beings
Be happy, living for thousands and thousands years.[75]

Let the blissful merit spread
Among the supreme Khan, the Queen, the golden descendants,

[74] *Tab.* The word does not occur in the dictionaries of the classical language. The meaning and the correct spelling of the word is uncertain. The alliteration suggests that the vowel in the word must be *e*, though we have several examples where only the first sounds are the same in a verse, while the vowels sound different:

Naran metü boγda burqan baysi
Negeǰü nom-un gegen gerel-iyer
Narmai ulus-i geyigülbei ǰe boγda či

(W. Heissig, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der mongolischen Kandjur-Redaktion der Ligdan-Khan-Zeit*: *UAJb* XXXVIII, p. 72).

Another example from the *Sayin čay-un neretü yeke kölgen sudur* of 1727:

Sayin čay-un neretü ene yeke kölgen sudur-i
Sayaral ügei qamuy amitan-dur tusa bolqu-yin tulada
Sengge neretü kümün keb-tür seyileǰü bütügsen-iyer
Sanaysan sedkigsen-ü yosuyar bütükü boltuyai

(Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 48).

Or let us see a passage from the *Siregetü* version of the *Vajracchedikā* from 1612:

Tere boγda burqan baysi bidan-u
Tegüs toγuluγsan ǰiryalang-un beye-yi
Tengsel ügei olǰu nököd-ün čiyulγan-dur-i
Tangsuy nom-ud-i üǰügülǰü bürün

(Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

On the basis of these examples we may suppose that the word in question can be *tab*. The dictionaries of the dialects give the word: Ord. *t'aʙ* «bien, efficacement, complètement», *laʙ t'aʙ k'i-* «fair un travail de façon à l'achever soigneusement», *jiʙ t'aʙ χā* «fermer hermétiquement» (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, pp. 639a, 442a, 402a); Kh. *tab* «kak raz, točno» (Luvsandêndêv, p. 381), Kalm. *taʙ* «wohlbefinden, vergnügen, befriedigung», *tawīn olχa* «das rochtige finden» (Ramstedt, p. 373a). We find the word in the *Secret History*: *tab* «recht, richtig, wahr» (Haenisch, p. 143).

Judging from the context, the meaning of the word here must also be «clean, perfect, brilliant». We come across the word again later in the text: *tab ǰayisang*. Cf. Uigur *tap* «dostatočnyj» (*Drev. Tjur. Slov.* 533b).

[75] *Delem-e*, cf. p. 98.

The perfect[74] *ǰaisang*s[76] and the inhabitants of the *aimag*s,
And among the six kinds of the heretical[77] living beings.

Let wind and rain occur in necessary time,
Let all the sins vanish,
Let the gout disappear completely,
Let the desired things be realized.

Let us be delivered from the evil destiny of hell,
Let us be free from greedy[78] actions, [58a]
Let the mass-diseases and epidemics[79] be laid,
Let the crop be very abundant.

Let the provoked rebellion disappear,
Let the living beings in the world live according to their desires,
Let the store-house be filled full,
Let everything that moves live in happiness.

Let the hostile enemy[80] vanish,
Let us get rid of unscrupulous evil spirits,
Let the troublesome[81] quarels disappear,
Let us live in peace day an night.

[76] *J̌ayisang*: an honorary title used mostly among the western Mongols, for the head of a clan. Chinese: *tsai-hsiang*. The title was used among Manchus as well: *Dalahai Jaisang* (Hauer, *Huang-Ts'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh. Die Gründung des mandschurischen Kaiserreiches*, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, p. 396; L. Ligeti, *Deux tablettes . . .*, p. 235). *J̌aisang* was a personal name too, he was a prince of the Korcin Mongols and descendant of a brother of Jenghiz Khan. He belonged to the distinguished Borjigit clan. (W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington 1943—44, p. 300).

[77] *Tersü* can be found in the dictionaries in the form *ters* «opposition, opposé aux autres, adversaire, ennemi (du bouddhisme)» (Kow. 1773; Less. 806).

[78] *Tamačay* cf. p. 99.

[79] *Damsiy*, Tib. *dam-bšig*. The word does not occur in the dictionaries at my disposal. In Tibetan *dam* «oath, promise», *bšig-pa* «to destroy, to break» (Das, pp. 618, 1253). So the meaning of the composition is «oath-breaker, apostate, renegade». But here in the text it could be a slip of the pen for *γamšiy* «épidemie, infortune, malheur, mal» (Kow. 999a).

[80] *Buly-a*, cf. p. 99.

[81] *Ölig-tü*. The word is not recorded in the dictionaries at our disposal, so the meaning and even the spelling of the word is uncertain. Carefully examining the manuscripts (Mong. 68, and Mong. 69), we recognise that the word is corrected, and the *yod* in the first syllable was added later in both the copies. We may suppose that here we had the word *oliy*, or *uliy*, though it would disturb the alliteration at the beginning of the lines of the verse. *oliy* «soucis, embarras, inquiétudes, sollicitude; effort pour obtenir, impertinence; chagrin, déplaisir, ennui» (Kow. 402a,b); *uliġ* «nazojlivostj, domogateljstvo, nazojlivyj» (Luvsandêndêv, 453a); cf. Kalm. *ulig* «jedes unbegreifliche wort» (Ramstedt, 448b). This solution does not seem satisfactory, and we may imagine that here we have a «pre-classical» word, not known and registered in the dictionaries up to now.

Let the causer[82] of cattle-starvation be far far away,
Let the evil discord get over the mountain pass,
Let the over-hasty actions be staved off
Let there be equitable commonweal. [58b]

By superior blessing and merit
A long life and the useful commodities
Be solid at any time
In an inexpressible abundance.

Let the attacking, slaughtering enemy become gentle
Everywhere, all over the world.
Let us become friendly, loving each other,
Being in accordance like mother and son.

By the true benediction of this book of the Holy Ones
Acting entirely according to the thought of enlightenment
Let the other, exhausted views be annihilated,
Let us live in everything according to the Teachings of Buddha.

The famous religious Teaching of Buddha
That cures the bitter sufferings of living beings,
[And that is a medicine to disperse the destructing disease,
Let it spread firmly in the ten directions.

By the splendid, marvellous benediction
Of the three gems that is the head-ornament of everything,
Let the blessing always dwell
Everywhere, inseparably.

By the force of this merits,
The six kinds of living beings that became father and mother,[26]
After brightening the darkness of their grievous sins,
Let them find the blessing of the distinguished *Vajradhara*.

It was completed on the eighth blooming good day of the first half of the middle lunar month in winter in the blue-female-chicken year.]

Some passages where Toyin guiši's and Siregetü guuši's versions are different

Toyin guiši's version gives: *tegüs sayin belgetü tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdekü sedkimü-üü* [7b] which can be translated: «do you think that the Ta-

[82] *J̌udqarayuluγči*, two words written in one: *ǰud* «calamity or disaster caused by severe weather (blizzard, etc.); starvation, famine; cattle plague» (Less. p. 1077); *qariγul-* «to cause to return; to send, give or pay back, to beat off, repulse» (Less. p. 938) or *qaraγul-*, causative of *qara-* «to see».

thāgatas with the perfect good marks can be seen?». *Siregetü guuši*'s version is a little different: *lagšan belge tegüsügsed-i tegünčilen iregsed buyu kemen sedkimüyü* (p. 102), which Professor Poppe translates: «Do you think that one who is perfect with marks as a Tathāgata?» (p. 129). The Tibetan text supports the first version: *mchan phun-sum-chogs-pas de-bžin-gšegs-par blta-bar bya sñam-'am*, and the text of the *Kanǰur* also is closer to this: *tegüs sayin lagšan-tu-yin tulada tegünčilen iregsen kemen üǰegdeküy-e sedkimüyü* (Poppe, p. 14). The Sanskrit original confirms *Toyin guiši*'s text: in Conze's translation: «what do you think, Subhūti, can the Tathāgata be seen by the possession of his marks?» (p. 28).

There is another passage where the translation of *Siregetü guuši* differs from *Toyin guiši*'s version as well as from the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts: *Siregetü guuši*: *tegünčilen iregsen-dür lagšan belge kiged temdeg ügei kemen üǰegdeküi* (p. 102), while *Toyin guiši* gives: *tegünčilen iregsed-tür belge ba belge ügegüy-e üǰeyü* [8a], which is supported by the Tibetan version: *de-bžin-gšegs-pa-la mchan daṅ mchan ma med-par blta'o*, and by the Sanskrit: «the Tathāgata is to be seen from no marks as marks» (p. 28).

Here is yet another case where *Siregetü guuši*'s translation is slightly different from *Toyin guiši*'s, the Tibetan and the Sanskrit versions. *Siregetü*'s text: *yeke törölkiten-ü tedeger γučin qoyar lagšan belges-iyer tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan ünen tegüs toγuluγsan burqan kemen sedkimüyü* (p. 107), which is translated: «do you think that he is the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Truly and Fully Enlightened One, because of [possessing] those thirty-two marks of a Great Man» (p.133) (Here Professor Poppe points to the difference between this version and the Sanskrit text). Conze translated the Sanskrit: «What do you think, Subhuti, can the Tathāgata be seen by means of the thirty-two marks of the superman?» (p. 52). *Toyin guiši*'s version: [*yeke*] *törölkiten-ü tedeger γučin qoyar belges-iyer tegünčilen iregsed dayin-i daruγsad üneger toγuluγsan burqan bolun üǰegdeküi kemen sedkimü-üü* [22a]. The Tibetan text: *skyes-bu čhen-po'i mchan sum-bču-rca-gñis-po de-dag-gis de-bžin-gšegs-pa dgra-bčom-pa yaṅ-dag-par rjogs-pa'i saṅs-rgyas-su blta-bar bya sṅam-'am*.

The following is an example where *Siregetü guuši*'s version and the Tibetan text are close to each other, while *Toyin guiši*'s translation shows similarity to the Sanskrit original: *Siregetü guuši*: *bi ene nom-un ǰüil-i nomlaγsan-i uqan küsegsen anu nadur γayiqamsiγ bolqu busu bui ǰ-a* (p. 107). Professor Poppe translates this sentence: «it is not surprising to me that I wished to understand the sermon about this doctrine» (p. 134). *Toyin guiši*'s text: *bi ene nom-un ǰüil nomlaqui-ṯur onoǰu bisiregsen anu nadur γayiqamsiγ-tu busu böged* [23a], and the Sanskrit in Conze translation: «it is not difficult for me to accept and believe this discourse on Dharma when it is being taught» (p. 53). The Tibetan translation: *bdag ni čhos-kyi rnam-graṅs 'di bšad-pa-la rtog-čiṅ mos-pa ni bdag-la ṅo-mchar ma lags-kyis*.

In the next sentence *Toyin guiši* translated the Tibetan text with greater fidelity than *Siregetü guuši*. The latter writes: *sedkil-ün ündüsün bi sayitur medemüi* (p. 112), which N. Poppe translates as «I know the trends of thought . . .» (p. 139), though the word *ündüsün* means «root, beginning, origin, base, basis, foundation, principle, original, basic, fundamental, principal, race nationality, national, native» (Less. 1007). The Tibetan text gives: *de-dag-gi bsam-pa tha-dad-pa'i sems-kyi rgyun ṅas rab-tu šes-so*, where the word *rgyun* really means «the flow, current, stream» (Jäschke, 112). *Toyin guiši* could find a satisfactory word to translate the Tibetan *rgyun*: *sedkil-ün ürgülǰi-yi sayitur medemüi bi* [38a] (*ürgülǰi* «always, constantly, continuously, whole, entire, consistion of one piece, throughout, all over», Less. 1012). Sanskrit version in Conze's translation: «I know in my wisdom, the manifold trends of thought» (p. 60).

The following passage also shows that *Siregetü guuši* slightly misunderstood the Tibetan text, and gave a translation that differs from the Tibetan as well as from the Sanskrit sentence. *Siregetü guuši*: *egüni yayun kemen sedkimüi öngge bey-e oyoyata bütügsed-i tegünčilen iregsed buyu* (p. 113). The Tibetan text: *'di ǰi ṡnam-du sems gzugs-kyi sku yoṅs-su grub-pas de-bžin gšegs-par blta-bar bya sñam-'am*. The translation of the Sanskrit text: «what do you think Subhūti, is the Tathāgata to be seen through his possession of marks?» (p. 60). *Toyin guiši* gave a close rendering: *egüni yayun kemen sedkimü önggetü bey-e oyoyata bütügsen-iyer tegünčilen iregsed-i üǰegdeküi kemen sedkimü-üü* [39a—b].

An example where *Siregetü guuši*'s version and and the Sanskrit are close to each other, while *Toyin guiši* gives a correct translation of the Tibetan text. *Siregetü guuši*: *qamuy burqad kemebesü nom-un činar böged* (p. 115), which Professor Poppe translates: «all Buddhas are of dharma quality» (p. 141). The Sanskrit version in Conze's translation: «from the Dharma should one see the Buddhas» (p. 63). The Tibetan sentence: *ṡnyas-rnams* [=*saṅs-rgyas-rnams*] *ni čhos-ñid lta*, where the word *ni* indicates that *ṡnyas-rnams* [=*saṅs-rgyas rnams*] is the subject of the sentence. *Toyin guiši*'s translation follows the structure of the sentence: *burqan-nuyud inu nom-un činar-i üǰeyü* [44b], and here the word *inu* indicates the subject: *burqan-nuyud*. This could be rendered: «Buddhas see the quality of the dharma».

A sentence, where Toyin guisi's version is different from all the others (a lapsus calami?) *Subudi a ülü toytayaydaqui kilbar busu-yin tulada* [7b], which I would translate: «Subhūti, it is impossible to remember, because it is not easy». *Siregetü guši*'s version is slightly different: *Subudi a čeneküi-e kilbar busu-yin tula buyu* (p. 101). Professor Poppe translates: «[it] is not easy to measure, Subhūti» (p. 129). The Tibetan and the Sanskrit texts also support this rendition: *Rab-'byor chad gzuṅ-bar sla-ba ma yin-pa'i phyir-ro*, and the Sanskrit: «Because (the heap of merits . . .) is not easy to measure» (p. 27).

The next passage is a good example of how close *Toyin guiši* followed the Tibetan text. Here he preserves the Tibetan sentence-structure, and puts the adjactives after the nouns, that is foreign in the Mongolian language, or may be he took the words: *bodistv, maqastv-nar, šayšabad-tan, erdem-ten, bilig-ten* as nouns, standing side by side as the subjects of the sentence. The Tibetan text: *byaṅ-čhub-sems-dpa' sems-dpa-čhen-po chul-khrims-daṅ ldan-pa yon-tan-daṅ ldan-pa šes-rab-daṅ ldan-pa-dag 'byuṅ-ste. Toyin guiši*'s translation: *bodistv maqastv-nar šaχšabad-tan erdem-ten bilig-ten töröyü* [9a]. *Siregetü guuši's* version: *šayšabad-luγ-a tegüsügsen erdem-luγ-a tegüsügsen bilig-luγ-a tegüsügsen bodisung maqasung-nar törömüi ǰ-a* (p. 102) ; «Bodhisattvas, Great Being, perfect with rows, perfect with virtue, [and] perfect with wisdom will be born» (p. 129). The Sanskrit text is nearly the same: «Bodhisattvas who are gifted with good conduct, gifted with virtuous qualities, gifted with wisdom . . .» (p. 30).

The Mongolian translators slightly missunderstood the next Tibetan expression: *gnas-brtan 'Rab-byor*. The original Sanskrit text in translation has: «the Elder Subhūti». *gnas-brtan* means «firm in his place, an elder, a Buddhist monk of the Sthavira School» (Das, 752). The Mongolian translators both took the first meaning of the word, and offerred the expressions: *batuda ayči Subudi* (p. 117) (*Siregetü guuši*), and *ayali batu Subudi* [50a] (*Toyin guiši*) respectively.

The examples given above confirm us in the belief that here we really have two different translations that were prepared quite separately, and neither of them can be a rewriting of the other.

The Vajracchedikā as a Linguistic Monument

In the 17th century the renaissance of Mongol Buddhism resulted in the demand to translate and adapt canonic works. Old religious *sūtra*s were dug out and rewritten. In the course of re-edition the works did not remain unchanged, though the compilers intended to preserve the original books with great fidelity, but at the same time they consciously made an effort to refashion the texts in accordance with the norms of the classical language. Some of the translator-schools changed the «old-fashioned» Uigur words and replaced the Uigur names by modern ones translated from Tibetan word for word. In some cases certain words even changed their meanings.

In spite of all the intentions of the translators the texts preserved old grammatical usage, obviously reflecting an earlier stage of the Mongol language. These mistakes, slips of pen, committed in copying the books of this period, have great linguistic interest, because they enable us to construct pre-classical Mongol.[83]

[83] For the peculiarities of pre-classical Mongolian cf. G. Doerfer, *Beiträge zur Syntax der Sprache der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen*: *CAJ* I (1955), pp. 219—267; L. Ligeti, *Les fragments du Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol en écriture 'phags-pa. Mongol*

1. *The style of calligraphy* is archaic. The letter *m* in end-position has two teeth, *e.g.* in the words: *erdem-tü, gem-tü, delem-e, nom-un, ǰarim, etc.* The letter *g* also has two teeth at the end of the word: *bodisung, neng, bilig, etc.* Róna-Tas says that this feature is absent in xylographs dating from the second half of the 17th century,[84] so it also may be in support of the the fact that the manuscript in question must be the copy of a xylograph, made before this time.

2. *The orthography* reflects some old characteristics as well. Our text uses the Uigur *z* in the value *s*: *tegüs, erdenis, čoγ-čas, bodas, yekes, etc.*

The use of Uigur *t, d* is irregular, there is a confusion between them.

In suffixes: *amtan-ṯur, daγun-ṯur, dorona-ṯu, egün-ṯür, emüne-ṯü, ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-ṯür, ǰayaγun-ṯur, qarangγui-ṯur, köl-ṯür, kölgen-ṯür, küriyen-ṯür, kürteküi-ṯür, nigen-ṯe, nirvan-ṯur, nom-ṯur, nomlaqui-ṯur, oron-ṯur, öčigsen-ṯür, öngge-ṯür, sedkil-ṯür, siltaγan-ṯur, Subudi-ṯur, tegün-ṯür, töröl-ṯür, umara-ṯu, usun-ṯaki, yaγun-ṯur, yirtinčü-ṯekin, etc.*

In medial position: *baṯu, činaṯu, degeṯü, ed̲gü, masiṯa, meṯü, nereṯü, niṯü-tü, od̲bai, qoyiṯa, saṯu, uriṯu, yosuṯu, etc.*

Sometimes words are written according to the old orthography. The archaic form *tngri*, and the later *tengri* occur alternately, proving the uncertainty of the copyist.

In some words there is a superfluous *yod*: *gandari-l̲üge, sögö̲gekü, tusbü̲ri*; while at the same time *yod* is missing in the words: *čo̲leddebei, ǰo̲yin.*

It is supposed that in monasteries sacred texts were multiplied by dictation.[85] It seems to be proved by the incorrect forms like *otuγai* for *odtuγai*, and *engkesen* for *engke esen*, or the divergent solid and separate spelling of the words and suffixes: *čoγ-čas, ali ba, buyu gü, bolur-un, öčir-ün, belge-tü*, while in the parallel text: *čoγčas, aliba, buyugü, bolurun, öčirün, belgetü.*

3. *Ortographical features* with phonetical value: The spelling *stv* occurs parallel with the form *sadu*. The spelling *ǰarlaγ* and *ǰarliγ* can be found alter-

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préclassique et moyen mongol: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII (1964), pp. 239—292; L. Ligeti, *Notes sur le vocabulaire mongol d'Istamboul*: *Acta. Orient. Hung.* XVII (1963), pp. 107—174; *Deux tablettes de T'ai tsong des Ts'ing*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), pp. 201—239; L. Ligeti, Review on P. Aalto, *Qutuγ-tu pañcaraksā kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962), pp. 317—328; A. Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*: *HJAS* XIII (1950), pp. 285—361; *HJAS* XIV (1951), pp. 329—403; *HJAS* XV (1952), pp. 285—407; N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian Comparative Studies*: *MSFOu* 110 1955; N. Poppe, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altmongolischen Schriftsprache*: *AM* 1 (1924), pp. 668—675; B. Vladimircov, *Sravniteljnaja grammatika mongoljskogo pisjmennogo jazyka i chalchaskogo narečija*, Leningrad 1929; M. Weiers, *Untersuchungen zu einer historischen Grammatik des präklassischen Schriftmongolisch*: *Asiatische Forschungen* 28, Wiesbaden 1969.

[84] A. Róna-Tas, *The Mongolian Versions of the Thar-pa čhen-po in Budapest* : *Mongolian Studies*, ed. by L. Ligeti.

[85] A. Róna-Tas, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

nately. In texts written in Chinese and in 'Phags-pa script the form *ǰarliq* is preserved, while in old manuscripts, written in Uigur-Mongol the form *ǰrlγ* occurs. In copies dated from the 17th century already the form *ǰarlaγ* is commonly used. The expression *ǰarlaγ bol-* is common is Buddhist texts referring to the words of Buddha, in other places to the speaking of rulers or other high-ranked officials. The old form *ǰrlγ* might have developed into *ǰarliγ* as well as to *ǰarlaγ*.[86] The parallel use of these two forms in our text indicates that they both existed side by side at the same time.

Our manuscript gives the form *iledte* and *alimad* for the other text's *ilete* and *aliba*. This feature does not reflect a chronological difference, only a difference of form in the words in certain translator-schools, or translators.

The form *olan* for *olon* as well as *dotoraγan* instead of *dotoraban*, or *maγar* instead of *manaγar* represent the spoken language, though the relation between the two latter ones is problematic.

The forms *örgün* and *irege üdügüi* for *ergün* and *irege edüi* of the other text preserve archaic vowel-harmony.

Forms like *nereyiddüyü*, *beleddügsen*, *čöleddebei* regularly stands for the other text's *nereyidüyü*, *beledügsen*, and *čöledebei*. Here the consonant *d* is doubled in intervocalic position. One may worder if this is a feature with phonetic value, or simply a graphic one. Róna-Tas supposes it may be a form of the spoken language, and G. Kara also states that the forms like *simnossun*, *delgeresünnü* are the characteristics of the spoken language, while *dongyodduyad* that occurs in *Üliger-ün dalai* is a preclassical form.[87] In other pre-classical texts we can also find this phenomenon. In *Altan gerel*: *üileddüyü*, *üileddügsen*.[88] Most frequently it is the letter *d* in end-position that doubles. It seems likely that the copyists of these texts wanted to preserve the written form of *d* in end-position by doubling it. Similar forms: *düriddeged*, *büriddegsen*, *tüiddeǰü*, *deleddeǰü*. The letter *g* may also double in end-position: *öggegülǰügü*,[89] perhaps to diffentiate the verbs *ögü-* and *ükü-*, which would otherwise be identical in form. We come across the phenomenon in the *Secret History*: *qan-nača*, *güyyüǰü*, *bayyiǰu*, etc.

[86] L. Ligeti, *Deux tablettes*, pp. 219—220.

[87] *A Megszabaditó. Thar-pa čhen-po. Ayusi átdolgozott fordítása.* Közzéteszi Róna-Tas András. [The Liberator. *Thar-pa čhen-po. The revised translation of Ayusi*, ed. by A. Róna-Tas]: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole] IX, Budapest 1967, p. 16; G. Kara, *Un texte mongol en écriture soyombo* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* IX (1959), p. 24.

[88] *Az Aranyfény szútra. Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja. Yon-tan bzaṅ-po szövege.* Közzéteszi Kara György. [*The Golden Brightness Sūtra. The text of Yon-tan bzaṅ-po*, ed. by G. Kara]: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole] XIII, Budapest 1968, pp. 29, 37, 93, 114, 115, 135, 138, etc.

[89] *Monuments préclassiques* I, *XIII*[e] *et XIV*[e] *siècles* par Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1972, pp. 114, 2. pp. 54, 55, 175, 212.

In the word *iridi* for *ridi*, the foreign initial *r* is avoided.[91]

4. *In the field of morphology* there are pre-classical features, too.

a) *Plural forms* that are considerably reduced later in classical texts, are regularly used: *bodas*, *gesigüd*, *küsegčid*, *burqad*, *quraγsad*, *bertegčid*, *orod*, *itegegčin*, *metüs*, etc.

Double plural is common as well, where the adjective is in concord with the noun: *bertegčid köbegüd*, *yekes quvaraγ-ud*, *yekes siravang-ud*, *etc.*

Plural forms in *-n* derived from singular forms ending in *-i*: *emiyegdekün*, *toγatan*, *yirtinčü-tekin*, *bükün*, *kedün bükün*, *etc.*

The feminine suffix *-tai*, *-tei* were preserved in plural form: *-tan*, *-ten*, but without the original function, and no more referring only to feminine nouns: *iǰaγur-tan*, *qutuγ-tan*, *šaγšabad-tan*, *sedkiküi-ten*, *etc.*

To indicate plurality, or a certain graduality the noun or the adjective is repeated in the text. It is an archaic linguistic feature in Mongol:[92] *ulam ulam ǰüil ǰüil ulus-un : tengsel ügei qad-i töröbei bodistv-nar* «Then, *by and by*, he was born as Bodhisattvas to be unparalleled kings of *different* countries»; or *ded ded-iyer ulus nom-ṭu orobai* «the countries were converted *by and by* to the Teaching»; or *nigen nigen inu eyin kememüi* «some people speak in this way».

b) The oblique cases of the personal pronouns **i* and **a*, *imayi*, *imadur*, etc. are not attested in our text, only the genitive is used (*inu*, *anu*) sometimes with possessive meaning, but in other cases they serve as indicators of the subject, or simply as augmentatives. Possessive: *tere sitügen buyan-u čoγ-čas-i inu yeke-ṭe neng olan toγ-a tomsi ügei egüskeldüyü* «the heaps of merits of him will increase even more, innumerably». In the next example *inu* indicates the subject: *nigen nigen inu eyin kememü* «some people speak in this way».[93] The function of *anu* is the same in the next sentence too: *tere anu yaγun-dur ber oroγsan ügey-yin tulada bolai* «that is because they do not cling to anything». Augmentative: *tedeger amitan anu : uriṭu-yin töröl-ṭür nigül-tü üiles-iyer mayui ǰayaγan-ṭur törökü bolur-un* «because of sinful actions those living beings will be born for an evil destiny».

[90] *Histoire secrète des Mongols* par Louis Ligeti: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* I, Budapest 1971, pp. 133, 98, 75.

[91] Skr. *rddhi*, Heissig, *Die mongolische Steininschrift von Olon Süme*: *CAJ* I (1955), pp. 43—48.

[92] N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 111.

[93] Similar examples are abundant in *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*: *nigen nigen aran* «some», *nigen nigen erdem* «a few excellent qualities», *nigen nigen yaǰar* «in certain places», *nigen nigen sedkiyü* «some consider . . .», *nigen nigen siduryu aran* «some honest, simple-minded persons», *nigen nigen üile* «some work», *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Saskya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara* par L. Ligeti: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* IV, Budapest, 1973, pp. 74, 45, 55, 42, 31. J. E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels. The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* : *Uralic and Altaic Studies* 92, Bloomington 1969, pp. 214, 243, 216, 226, 214, 250.

c) In the field of declension of nouns:

The *dative-locative* suffix *-a, -e,* that was used largely in pre-classical Mongolian, occurs frequently: *burqan-a sögüdümüi* «I kneel down to Buddha» *kiǰaγar-a kürügsen* «reached the limits» *balγasun-a odbai* «went to the town»;

d) In the field of the conjugation of the verb:

The suffix of the *adverbium preparativum -run, -rün* regularly occurs with conditional, and temporal meaning: *tegün-i tayalaǰu bür-ün* «if they listen to the teaching»; *mör-i bütügeǰü bür-ün bilig-iyer ečüs-tür kürüyü* «if the path is accomplished, the end will be reached by wisdom»; *šaγšabad-iyar sitügen bolur-un* «if the base is formed by the vow . . .»; *ǰarlaγ bolur-un* «when he spoke . . .»; *Subudi öčir-ün* «when Subhūti spoke . . .»; etc.

The form of *praesens perfecti* with the suffix *-luγai, -lügei* can be found with certain words: *törökü bülügei ǰ-e* «has been born»; *bodgali-yi sedkiküi-ben ese boluluγai* «they have but created the thought of *putgala*».

The suffix of *nomen futuri* is consequently *-qui* in our text, while the parallel one uses the *-qu* form. This phenomenon reflects the tendency to unify spelling within a certain text.

5. *Syntactical peculiarities.* The subject of the subordinate clause is frequently emphasized by the suffix of accusative *-i*: *degeṭü nom-i teyin böged masi ebderekü ele bolbasu* «. . . and so, if the supreme doctrine declines, . . .»; *tegün-i ber nom busu buyu* «it is not a doctrine»; . . . *tulada tedeger amitan-i ǰobalang-ud-i medeǰü* «. . . that is why those living beings got to know the sufferings».

The interrogative pronoun *ken* occurs in the function of a relative pronoun: *ken ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu busud-ta ünen-iyer nomlaǰu ünen-iyer üǰügülbesü tere sitügen buyan-u čoγčas-i inu . . .* «[The person], who memorizes as much as one stanza of four verses from a part of this sūtra, and truly teaches and truly demonstrates it to others, the heaps of merit and belief of him . . .». In the parallel Tibetan text the structure of the sentence is similar: *gaṅ-gis čhos-kyi rnam-graṅs, 'di-las tha-na chig bži-ba'i chigs-su bčad-pa cam bzuṅ-nas gžan-dag-la 'čhad-čiṅ yaṅ-dag-par bar-du ston-na gži-de-las bsod-nams-kyi phuṅ-po . . .* In the pre-classical linguistic monuments we also come across *ken* as a relative pronoun: *e.g.* in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of Hindu: *üiledtekü ken üiles-i ülü üleden čidaqui-ča güičegen üiledügsen aǰuγu* «without leaving aside whatever matters he had to perform, performed [them] accomplishing [them] to the best of his ability».[94]

It is not customary in Mongol to put the causative clause at the end of the sentence. This structure is certainly borrowed from Tibetan: *Subudi a ülü toγtaγaydaqui kilbar busu-yin tulada* «Subhūti, do not keep it in mind, because

[94] *Monuments Préclassiques* 1, *XIII*e *et XIV*e *siècles*, par L. Ligeti, *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* II, Budapest, 1972, p. 67; F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of* 1362: *HJAS* XII (1949), pp. 86, 111, note 84.

it is not easy». In the Tibetan version this sentence reads: *Rab-'byor chad gzuṅ-bar sla-ba ma yin-pa'i phyir-ro.*

6. *A number of words preserved from Middle-Mongolian* make the vocabulary of this text interesting for us. The copyists mechanically duplicated passages, putting down words and expressions, which were sometimes already not well understood, and did not change them out of religious respect.

ǰoin dulaγan «warm humidity» in the expression: *ǰöin dulaγan-ača törögsen.*[95] The word *ǰöin* «cold», is not registered in dictionaries of classical Mongol, but it is attested in the *Secret History*, in the form *ǰü'en*, in the *Hua-yi yi-yü*, where we find *ǰö'en*, in the Glossary of Ibn Muhannā *ǰön*. Many times it occurs together with the word *qalaγun* «warm». In the Sino-Mongolian inscription of Čang Ying-žui: *ǰöge qalaγun-u čaγ-tur* «in the time of cold or heat»;[96] in the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*: *ǰögin dulaγan-ṭur mod uryuyu* «trees grow in moisture and warmth»;[97] in *Chi-yao*: *ǰögeyin dulaγan-ača törökü* «naître de l'humidité».[98] cf. Khalkha *zöön dulaan* «vlažnyj i tëplyj (o vozduche)»,[99] Monguor *bźīōdi-* «se refroidir, devenir froid».[100]

bel «so much as, up to». The word is not found in the dictionaries of the classical language. In our text it occurs in the following context: *ene nom-un ǰüil-eče bel dörben baday silüg-ün tedüi toγtaγaǰu*[101] «. . . memorizes as much as one stanza of four verses from a part of this sūtra . . .». In the parallel Tibetan text this sentence reads like this: *čhos-kyi rnams-graṅ 'di-las tha-na chig bžiba'i chigs-su bčad-pa.* Here the equivalent of the word *bel* is *tha-na*, the meaning of which is «even, so much as, up to» (Jäschke, 226b). The word *bel* appears in the *Secret History* «überdies, noch dazu, sogar».[102] In *Erdeni-yin Tobči* we read: *bel ene qaγan-u altan amin-dur inu tusa ese boluγsan qoyin-a busu yaγun-u tusa bolun bui* «Si elle [=cette religion] n'a pu profiter même à la précieuse vie de

[95] The Kanjur text here gives *ǰögin dulaγan*, (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 73, Sárközi, *op. cit.*, p. 10), whyle *Siregetü guuši's* version offers *singgen dulaγan* (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 149).

[96] F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of* 1335: *HJAS* XIII (1950), pp. 73, 113, note 79; for further data cf. L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962), p. 39.

[97] Bosson, *op. cit.*, p. 248; L. Ligeti, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita*, 219d. In the Oirat version we have *dulān čiyiqtei yazartu oi uryuχu*: The text of the Oirat version is edited by Ch. Luvsanbaldan, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi oïrate du Zaya paṇḍita* in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVI, 195—225, see p. 213.

[98] L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire*, No. 609.

[99] Luvsandêndêv, *Mongol-oros toli*, Moskva 1957, p. 202.

[100] De Smedt — Mostaert, *Dict. monguor*, p. 89.

[101] In *Siregetü guuši*'s translation we find: *dörben üge-tü silüg* (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 103). In the *Kanǰur* text Professor Poppe transcribes *ai dörben baday-tu nigen silüg* (p. 16) that I should translate: «one stanza of four lines all together». For *nei* cf. Less. 563b: «one and all, all together, in accord, jointly, all at once; accord».

[102] Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 14.

ce qaγan à quelle autre chose sera-t-elle utile?» Here Mostaert translates the word *bel* for «même».[103] We come across the word *bel* in the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*: *bel dayisun-a ber ülü ügülegdeküi* (335b) «a word that touches the quick of another one should not utter even to an enemy».[104]

The word occurs in the dialects as well: Ord. *mel* in *mel gə̄-* «deborder, couler, pleurer» *t'ogō dūrtš'i mel gedži wān* «la marmite est pleine et deborde»; *mėl, mėl dūren* «rempli, jusqu'aux bords» (vase-rempli de liquide); *sūlga mėl dūren ųsų* «le seau est rempli d'eau jusqu'au bord».[105] Kalm. *mel* «gerade, ganz»; *mel ter* «gerade der»; *mel ġaktsārān* «ganz allein, nur allein»; mel *bījərń* «in eigener person».[106]

üy-e qoyar «both» appears several times in the Peking version of *Siditü kegür* as well as in the Kalmuck version of it: *üy-e qoyar ordu qarsi-duriyan qaribai*; *üy-e qoyar tegsi erkesiy-e*; *etc.*[107] The expression is a simple duplication of the same word. An interesting example from the *J̌irüken-ü tolta*: *qaγan blam-a üy-e qoyaγula* «the *qaγan* and the *blama* both»,[108] and another from *Pañcarakṣā*: *üy-e qoyar-un ary-a bilig-ün küčün-iyer* «with the power of skill and mental ability».[109] Further examples from *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*: *amaraqui mayulalduqui üy-e qoyar-i merged-te gegdeküi* «the wise reject both intimacy and enmity»; *öber-tür uruγ-tur üy-e qoyar-tur* «both to themselves and to their offspring».[110]

nuγu «direction, pole». It can be found in the expression: *dörben nuγud naiman kiǰayar-a*. The plural form *nuγus* is common as well: *dörben nuγus* «les quatre points cardinaux».[111] In the *Secret History* we come across *nu'u* «Ecke»,[112] in *Pañcarakṣā*: *dörben nuγus* «quatre coins du mond».[113]

[103] *Erdeni-yin tobči. Mongolian chronicle by Sayang Sečen* I, ed. A. Mostaert, Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts 1956, p. 74; cf. Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols* : *HJAS* XIII (1950), p. 358.

[104] L. Ligeti, *Trésor* des *sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, p. 108.; Bosson, *op. cit.*, p. 272. The Oirat version here gives *dayisun-du čü ögüülen ülü üyiledkü* (Luvsanbaldan, *op. cit.*, p. 219.).

[105] Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 461a.

[106] Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterbuch*, p. 260b; for *b* ~ *m* cf. Poppe, *Introduction*, pp. 99—100.

[107] *Siditü kegür-ün čadig* (*The Peking edition*). *Mongγol bičig-ün qoriy-a*. In G. Kara's transcription in manuscript.

[108] F. W. Cleaves, *The Bodistw-a čari-a awatar* : *HJAS* XVII (1954), p. 37.

[109] P. Aalto, *Qutuγ-tu pañcarakṣā kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 129.

[110] L. Ligeti, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, p. 128. Bosson, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 287. The Oirat version here offers: *amaraqlaχu temecekü χoyori merged tebčikü*, and *öbör kigēd üre ündüsün χoyortu* (Luvsanbaldan, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

[111] A. Mostaert, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 75.

[112] Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 120.

[113] L. Ligeti, Review on P. Aalto's *Pañcarakṣā*, p. 323; F. W. Cleaves, *An Early Mongolian Version of the Alexander Romance*: *HJAS* XXII (1959), p. 70, note 75.

alǰiyas in the expression: *buruγu alǰiyas-ača bariγdaγsan* «seized by false faults». Here the word *alǰiyas* has not the meaning given in the dictionaries of the classical language: «fatigue, inquiétude, accablement, troublement» (Kow. 94b), but in the pre-classical language it had a different meaning that fits the context here. In the *Secret History* it occurs in the form *alǰi'as* «Abweichung, Fehler»;[114] *bi anda-ača alus-i setkigü alǰi'as boldaba* «Indem ich dem freunde untreu wurde, bin ich Unrecht geraten»;[115] *alǰi'as ese getkibe ǰe* «Einen Tritt zur Seite gemacht»;[116] *alǰi'as bolba ǰe* «dies ist noch eine Schuld»;[117] *buru'u alǰi'as* «Schuld und Unrecht»;[118] *alǰi'as üyyile-tür dölesgegü* «unrechte Handlungen stüsste».[119] In the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* we find: *alǰiyas mör-iyer yabubasu* «. . . follows an erroneous path».[120] *Siregetü guuši*'s version of *Vajracchedikā* offers two further examples: *buruγu alǰiyas nomlaqu busu* . . . does not speak falsely»;[121] *buruγu alǰiyas toγtayaγsan* «seizing on what is wrong».[122]

ülü ayuγdan ülü emiyegden, and *ele qamuγ-a ülü emiyegdekün*[123] «not frightened, not worried». *emiye-* «to fear, be afraid, to be shy or to feel embarrassed» (Less. 313a), «craindre, avoir peur, redouter» (Kow. 216a). In the *Secret History* we can find: *emi'egü*,[124] in the *Hua-yi yi-yü*: *emi'e- (ayun emiyen)*.[125] In the dialects we can also find the word: Ord. *emē-*,[126] Kh. *êmêêch*,[127] Kal. *emēχe*.[128]

delem-e, the meaning of which registered in the classical dictionaries: «vain, idle, good for nothing» is not suitable here in the context: *delem-e tümen tümen nasulan ǰiryatuγai*. Poppe says that it is a deverbal noun in *-ma/-me* from a steam *dele-* of which we have the following formations: *dele-gü* «wide,

[114] Haenisch, p. 5.

[115] E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig 1948, p. 90; *Histoire secrète des Mongols* par L. Ligeti: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* I, Budapest 1971, p. 169.

[116] Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 92; L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète*, p. 173.

[117] Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 147; L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète*, p. 259.

[118] Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 147; L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète*, p. 259.

[119] Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 147; L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète*, p. 259.

[120] L. Ligeti, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, p. 116.; Bosson, *op. cit.*, p. 279; the Oirat version here gives *buruu mör-yēr yabuχulā:* Luvsanbaldan, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[121] N. Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 153.

[122] N. Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 155.

[123] Siregetü guuši's translation gives: *ülü ayun ülü sočin qotala ülü sočiyčin* «who will not be afraid, frightened, or terrified . . .» (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 134), while in the Kanǰur version we find: *ülü ayuγad qamuγ-ača ülü ǰüdeged qamuγ-ača ǰüdekü ülü bolqui* (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, pp. 21, 59; Sárközi, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

[124] Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 44.

[125] M. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV*e *siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de* 1389, Wrocław 1949, p. 14.

[126] Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 237b.

[127] Luvsandêndêv, p. 672b.

[128] Ramstedt, p. 121a.

extensive», *del-ge* «to spread out, to expand», *dele-kei* «surface of the earth, world». On the basis of this the meaning of the stem *dele-* is «to diffuse, overflow».[129] Probably we can connect it with the Mongolian word: *telemel* «spread, extended», *tele-* «to stretch, to pull» (Less. 789), cf. Uig. *telim* «mnogo».[130]

tamačaγ is not attested in the dictionaries at our disposal. On the basis of the context we may suppose that it is an adverb: *tamačaγ üiles-eče anggida boltuγai*. In Radloff's dictionary we find the word *tama* «žadnostj» (p. 994). In Turkish languages *-čaq, -čäk* is either a diminutive or an adjective suffix, e.g. *taarynčak* «obidčivyj».[131] Supported by these data we translate the sentence above: «Let us be free from greedy actions».

bulγ-a is not registered in the classical dictionaries, but it appears in the *Secret History*: *bulqa* «Fehde, Abfall, Kampf, Handgemenge».[132]

čöledde- can be found in the form *čilügede-* «to take advantage of an occasion or a situation» (Less. 183b). Our text preserved a form of the spoken language, where the two syllables coalesced into a long vowel: *-üge-* > *-ē-*. The stem of this word occurs in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of 1312: *čǫle (ügei)* (156b7).[133] In the dialects it can be found as well: Kalm. *tšölēdᵊχə* «freie Zeit (für etwas) haben»;[134] Ord. *tš'ölō* «intervalle, absence, temps propice, occasion»; *tš'ölōlö-* «demissioner»;[135] *čólóó* «svobodnoe vremja», *čólóólóch* «osvoboždatj»;[136] Burj. *šülóódê* «na svobode» *šülóólchê* «osvoboždatj».[137]

noyaγ-tai ba qatuγ-tai is an interesting honorific expression for «man and woman». Professor Poppe brings the suffix *-γtai* into connection with the suffix *-tai* indicating a feminin noun. In his opinion later, as a result of analogy, this suffix was added to masculine nouns as well.[138] In *Milaraspa* we come across the same form: *noyaγ-tai*.[139]

[129] Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in Ḥp'ags-pa Script*, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 100—101.

[130] *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*, Leningrad 1969, p. 550.

[131] Baskakov—Toščakov, *Ojrotsko-Russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1947, p. 137. For the diminutive suffix *-čaq, -čäk* in Turkish languages cf. L. Ligeti, *Orsó szavunk török háttere* [Turkish background of the word *orsó*]: *Magyar Nyelv* LXVI (1970), pp. 414—415.

[132] Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 21. cf. also P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, p. 24

[133] L. Ligeti, *Monumenta* II, 116.

[134] Ramstedt, p. 444b.

[135] Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 715.

[136] Luvsandêndêv, p. 635.

[137] Čeremisov, p. 413.

[138] N. Poppe, *Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen* : *Keleti Szemle* XX (1923—27), pp. 115—116.

[139] *Milaraspa életrajza.* [Biography of Milaraspa] *Mi-la-ras-pa'i rnam-thar. Čor-tu guisi fordítása.* [Translation of Čoγ-tu guisi]. Közzéteszi Lőrincz László [Edited by L. Lőrincz]: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole] XII, Budapest 1967, p. 24 etc.

Hendiadyoin, the use of which was frequent in pre-classical text, occurs in our text.

keregür barayur (*keregür barayul*) «querelle et dispute, rancune, haine invétérée» (Kow. 2511b). The composition can be found in *Pañcarakṣā*.[140] It is also attested in Literary Khalkha: *hêrüül baruul* «ssora, razdory». The dictionary indicates that they are paired words.[141]

In our text there are similar compositions of two words: *baday silüg*, *küü sang*, *ǰüg ǰobkis*, *üy-e gesigüd*, and here the attention should be called to the expression: *üy-e qoyar* already dealt with before.

Uigur words. Our text preserved a number of Uigur words which seem to have disappeared from the vocabulary of the later texts. It is well known that the translators had patterns for Buddhist terminology translated from the Tibetan sometimes word for word so closely that they can hardly be understood without the Tibetan original. But our text, instead of substituting old expressions by new ones translated from the Tibetan, gives archaic Uigur terms and expressions reproducing an earlier stage of the Mongol language, and proving that the text in our hand must be the copy of an earlier version that had existed centuries before.

abisig, Tib. *dbaṅ-ba*, Skr. *abhiṣeka* «consecration by sprinkling holy water, consecration in general (as of kings, buddhas, saintly persons, laymen)» (Less. 4b); *abisig olqu* «recevoir le sacre» (Kow. 43b); cf. Uig. *abišik*.

ayaγ-qa tegimlig that occurs in the dictionaries of the classical language in the form *ayaγ-a tegimlig* «worthy of honor or worship, reverend (applied originally to the Buddha and later to Buddhist monks)» (Less. 23a; Kow. 127a). In later Buddhist texts this expression is replaced by *buyan-i sakiγči*. cf. Uig. *ayaγqa tegimlig*,[143] that spelling occurs in our text too.

baday, Tib. *rkaṅ-pa*, Skr. *napādaḥ* «stanza, strophe, sentence, paragraph» (Less. 65b; Kow. 1068a). Cf. Uig. *padak*.[144]

badir-a, Tib. *lhuṅ-bzed*, Skr. *pātra* «bowl carried by mendicants to collect alms» (Less. 66a; Kow. 1073b). cf. Uig. *badïr*.[145]

belge bilig, Tib. *ye-šes*, Skr. *jñāna* «highest wisdom» (Less. 98a; Kow. 1118a). cf. Uig. *bilgä bilig*.[146]

[140] P. Aalto, *Pañcarakṣā*, p. 30; Review on it by L. Ligeti, p. 324; *Az öt oltalom könyve*. [The Book of the Five Protections] *Pañcarakṣā. Ayusi átdolgozott fordítása*. [The revised translation of Ayusi] *Közzéteszi Kara György*. [Edited by G. Kara]: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole] VIII, Budapest 1965, p. 58.

[141] Luvsandêndêv, p. 591a.

[142] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 2b.

[143] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 26a. A thorough study on the expression: P. Aalto, *Ayayq-a tegimlig* : *Studia Altaica, Festschrift für Nicolaus Poppe*, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 17—22

[144] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.* p. 396a. *Siregetü guuši*'s version here gives *silüg*.

[145] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 77a.

[146] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 99b.

binvad, Tib. *bsod-sñoms*, Skr. *piṇḍapāta* «alms-food» (Edg. 345; Less. 1163b; Kow. 1131b). cf. Uig. *pinvat*.[147]

quvaraγ, Tib. *dge-'dun*, Skr. *saṅgha* «the clergy, priest, monk» (Less. 1190b; Kow. 975a). cf. Uig. *quvraγ*.[148]

karša degel, Tib. *bla-gos*, Skr. *kāsāya* «yellow rob» (Conze, *Materials*, 151), cf. MK. *qarš*.[149]

nisvanis, Tib. *non-moṅs-pa*, Skr. *kleśa* «defilement, corruption, sin, vice, passion» (Less. 576a; Kow. 653a). cf. Uig. *nizvanï*, Sogd. *nyzβ'ny*.[150]

šilüg, Tib. *chigs-bčad*, Skr. *śloka* «poetry, poem, verse» (Less. 708a; Kow. 1496b). cf. Uig. *šlok*.[151]

šimnanča «nun, female devotee who has shaved her hair and has taken certain vows, lay sister» (Less. 710a). cf. Uig. *šimnanča, šmnanč*, Sogd *šmn'nč*. The Sogdian form is the feminine version of the Skr. word *śramaṇa*.[152]

sadu edgü is an accustomed ending formula. The word *sadu* is the Uig. *sadu* «good», coming from the Skr. *sādhu*, while *ädgü, ädggü* means «gut, Vortrefflichkeit».[153]

ubasi, Tib. *dge-bsñen*, Skr. *upāsaka* «a layman who has taken certain religious vows» (Less. 858b; Kow. 368b). cf. Uig. *upasi*, Sogd *wp'sy*.[154]

višai, Tib. *spyod-yul*, Skr. *viṣaya* «objet des sens» (Kow. 1134a), cf. Uig. *višaylïγ*.[155]

vivanggirid, Tib. *luṅ-bstan-pa*, Skr. *vyākaraṇa* «prophecy, prediction» (Less. 894b; Kow. 2668a). cf. Uig. *viyakrit*.[156]

yilvi, Tib. *sgyu-ma* «magic, witchcraft» (Less. 402b; Kow. 2346b). cf. Uig. *yelvi*.[157]

The tendency to preserve the Uigur form is quite evident in case of Indian names, that occurs in Uigur, in Iranian and Kucha forms, as they were attasted in the Mongol texts of the Yüan age as well. Our text preserved these archaic forms instead of replacing them with new ones.

[147] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 397b.
[148] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 475a.
[149] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 429a.
[150] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 359b.
[151] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 506b.
[152] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 524a; cf. *šimnanč kemekü qatun ayaγ-qa tegimlig boluyu* (L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1, p. 122).
[153] The ending formula in *Siregetü guuši*'s version is *maṃ-gha-a-laṃ* (Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra*, p. 117). F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of* 1362: *HJAS* XII (1949), p. 133, note 267; A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950, p. 297.
[154] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 613a.
[155] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 634a.
[156] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 633a.
[157] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 255a.

Akaništa reflects the original Sanskrit form *Akaniṣṭha*,[158] while in purist texts we can find *J̌uǰayan ǰokiyaltu*.[159]

Tüšid tengri is the adaptation of the Uigur *Tužït*.[160] Later the expression *Ariγun oron*, and *Tegüs bayasqulang oron*[161] are widely used instead of it.

Čakiravar-un qaγan originates from the Uigur form *Čakravart*,[162] in the classical language it is replaced by the expressions *Kürdün orčiγuluγči qaγan*,[163] *Ergüküi kürdün*,[164] or *Čagra ergigülügči*.[165] The suffix *-un* at the end of the Mongolian word is a misreading for the Uigur *t* at the end-position.

Gandarvi occurs in Uigur in the form of *gantarvi*,[166] while in classical texts we come across the expression *ünür idesitü*.[167]

Ananda bindaki bayan [=*Anata*°] can be found in our text instead of the Mongol expression *Itegel ügei idegen ögligetü*[168] which replaced the Uigur form of the Sanskrit *Anāthapiṇḍada* (and °*piṇḍaka*).[169]

Raǰaγray Čid köbegün-ü sečeglig[170] stands for *Ilaγuγči qan köbegün-ü čečeglig*[171] of the later texts. Uigur: *Račagrq*,[172] and *Čitavan*.[173]

Our text preserved the Uigur form *Enedkeg*, while other sutras offer *Hindkeg*.[174]

[158] Edg., p. 1.; Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 12.
[159] Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 223.
[160] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 136b.
[161] Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 223.
[162] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 136b.
[163] Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 266.
[164] Mostaert, *A propos d'une prière au feu*: *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics*, ed. by N. Poppe, Bloomington 1962, p. 206.
[165] Kowalewski, *Chrestomatija* II, p. 365.
[166] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 194a.
[167] G. Kara, *Pañcarakṣā*, p. 133.
[168] Cf. *e.g.* in *Üliger-ün dalai*, xyl. of 1728, f. 13b.
[169] Edg., 22a.
[170] *Siregetü guuši's* version here gives: *Qotola-yin bayasqulang-tu küriyen*.
[171] *Üliger-ün dalai*, f. 13b.
[172] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 476.
[173] *Drev. Tjur. Slov.*, p. 147.
[174] See M. Weiers, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

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DIE MONGOLISCHE MYTHOLOGIE

VON

L. LŐRINCZ

Von der Mythologie und den mythischen Vorstellungen wurden die ältesten Bewußtseinsäußerungen einer Volksgruppe für die Nachwelt bewahrt, eben deshalb gehörte auch die Erforschung der Denkmäler des Schamanismus und der Überreste der mongolischen Mythen immer zu den schönsten Aufgaben der Mongolistik. Das gesammelte und bearbeitete Material des Schamanismus ist ziemlich umfangreicht, obwohl es bei weitem noch nicht ausreicht. Denn gerade das Studium dieses Materials macht den Forscher mit den größtenteils bereits in Vergessenheit geratenen Mythen, mythischen Geschichten und den Gestalten des mythischen Pantheons vertraut.[1]

Als ein anderes Gebiet der Sammlung von Mythen kann die Heldenepik betrachtet werden, da die Heldenlieder Teile von zahlreichen Mythen bewahrten, indem sie diese als Episoden in sich aufnahmen.[2]

In der Zeit vom vorigen Jahrhundert bis zu unseren Tagen tauchten im Zuge der Beschäftigung mit dem oben erwähnten Grundmaterial Mythen in immer größerer Zahl auf: es kamen auch Mythen-Bruchstücke zum Vorschein, so daß uns das anwachsende Material es langsam ermöglicht, die verschiedenen Teile zu einem einheitlichen System zusammenzufassen.

Die Systematisierung begann eigentlich bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, — dank der Tätigkeit von Matvej Nikolaevič Changalov. Er war der erste, der mit der hohen Bildung und Präzisität eines Wissen-

[1] Gerade zur Zeit der Abfassung der vorliegenden Studie ist Dr. Vilmos Diószegi der hervorragende Forscher des Schamanismus, verschieden, der auch auf dem Gebiet der Erforschung des mongolischen Schamanismus eine beachtliche Tätigkeit entfaltet hatte. In seiner Person haben also die auch bisher nicht besonders zahlreich vertretenen Forscher des Schamanismus einen hervorragenden Kollegen verloren.

[2] Es ist sehr wichtig zu bemerken, daß die Einfügung der Mythen in die Heldenlieder umso leichter war, da die mongolischen Mythen auch ursprünglich in Versen verfaßt worden waren. Die Form der mongolischen Heldenlieder bildete sich nicht zur Zeit der Entstehung der Heldenlieder heraus, sondern viel früher, zur Zeit der Entstehung der Mythen. Diese damals geprägte Form wurde später auf die Heldenlieder angewendet.

schaftlers die Sammlung der Mythen begann und sie zu systematisieren versuchte.[3]

Er entfaltete aber seine Tätigkeit ausschließlich nur im burjatischen Gebiet, so groß also das von ihm gesammelte und bearbeitete Material auch sein mag, kann es nur auf eine — wenn auch noch so wichtige — Gruppe der mongolischen Völker bezogen werden.

In der vergangenen Periode wurden die Forschungen Changalovs durch ein neues, im nicht-burjatischen Gebiet gesammeltes Material ergänzt, so können wir bereits im Besitz eines vollständigeren Materials Feststellungen treffen, die auf alle mongolischen Völker bezogen werden können.[4]

I. Gibt es eine mongolische Mythologie?

Aufgrund des gesammelten Materials tut sich das bunte Bild einer langen Reihe von Mythen vor unseren Augen auf. Diesen Mythen verleiht eine ganze Reihe von mythischen Wesen Lebendigkeit; Götter, die bunte Skala von zwischen Göttern und Menschen stehenden Wesen, Seelen und Ungeheuer treten in einem bunten Wirrwarr vor uns hin.

Dieser Wirrwarr ist aber nur scheinbar. Die Mythen bilden innerhalb der einzelnen Sprach- und Stammesgebiete ein streng bestimmtes System. Das System der Mythen beruht auf dem ebenfalls streng bestimmten System der sie belebenden mythischen Wesen.[5]

Innerhalb der einzelnen Stammesgebiete stehen die Gestalten der Glaubenswelt in einem genau festgesetzten Verhältnis zueinander und die Gesamtheit dieser Verhältnisse bildet die Hierarchie der mythischen Wesen.

Die einzelnen Mythen hängen miteinander zusammen. Nicht nur, daß die in ihnen erscheinenden Gestalten die gleichen sind, oft besteht auch eine enge Verbindung zwischen ihnen, die eine Mythe entsteht als Folge der anderen.

Die Gesamtheit, das gewisse System der in einem geographisch genau bestimmten Gebiet entstandenen Mythen kann nun wohl Mythologie genannt

[3] Die Werke von Matvej Nikolaevič Changalov sind im Laufe des vorigen Jahrhunderts in Organen erschienen, die uns heute schon schwer zugänglich sind. Eine große Hilfe leistete aber dabei den Forschern das Kollektiv der Folkloristen von Ulan-Udê, das die gesammelten Werke Changalovs in drei Bänden herausgab: Matvej Nikolaevič Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Tom I (1958); Tom II (1959); Tom III (1960), *Burjatskoe Knižnoe Izdateljstvo*, Ulan-Udê.

[4] Neulich kommen immer mehr mit der alten mongolischen Glaubenswelt zusammenhängende Materialien auch aus nicht-burjatischen Gebieten zum Vorschein, z.B.: Dominik Schröder, *Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor*, 2. Teil, Wiesbaden 1970.

[5] Von den europäischen Forschern hat uns zuletzt L. Bese darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß die Untersuchung des Systems der Wesen, die die mongolische Mythologie bilden, unbedingt nötig ist. L. Bese, *Über die Struktur des burjatischen Pantheons*, Manuskript. Vortrag, gehalten auf der XIII. Sitzung der PIAC in Strassbourg, wird im Sammelband, der die Strassbourger Vorträge enthält, erscheinen.

werden, auch in dem Falle, wenn dieses System in seinem Umfang und Reichtum der griechisch—römischen oder germanischen Mythologie nicht gleichkommen kann.

Eine andere Frage ist es aber, daß es uns bis zum heutigen Tage nicht gelungen ist, die mongolische Mythologie in ihrer Vollständigkeit zu erschließen oder alle Einzelheiten zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen zu verschmelzen. Eine sich auf alle Einzelheiten erstreckende, minutiöse Zusammenfassung der Mythologie würde sowieso zu einer Täuschung führen. Nie war nämlich ein Individuum im Besitz der Gesamtheit der Mythologie, eine solche Gesamtheit könnten wir also nur als ein vom Individuum getrenntes, künstlich zusammengestelltes Ganzes betrachten. Dabei kann natürlich nicht geleugnet werden, daß auch diese künstliche Gesamtheit von großer Wichtigkeit ist, sie vermittelt uns ja die Gesamtheit der historischen, künstlerischen und philosophischen Vorstellungen der sie schaffenden Völker in bezug auf eine gegebene Gesellschaft.

Es kann also kein Argument angeführt werden, das die Existenz der mongolischen Mythologie in Frage stellen könnte. Nicht nur schwer zusammenfügbare Fragmente längst vergessener Mythen finden sich im mongolischen Gebiet, sondern auch miteinander zusammenhängende, abgerundete Mythen, und — wie bereits erwähnt — auch eine komplizierte, vielfärbige Hierarchie der mythischen Wesen hat sich herausgebildet.

Bis zur letzten Zeit herrschte die Ansicht vor, daß sich die mongolischen Mythen vor allem auf das burjatische Land beschränken, daß die alten Mythen anderer Völker nicht erhalten geblieben seien und die burjatischen Mythen nie außerhalb des burjatischen Gebietes existierten.[6]

Die neuesten Forschungen widerlegen aber diese Ansichten. In einem Teil des im Chalacha- und innermongolischen Gebiet erschlossenen Materials erscheinen die Gestalten der bisher für burjatisch gehaltenen Mythen, und auch die Hierarchie der mythischen Wesen ist mit der burjatischen Mythen identisch.[7]

Bekanntlich fügte der Buddhismus im Chalacha- und innermongolischen Gebiet der alten Glaubenswelt erhebliche Schäden zu. Er brachte die alten

[6] Von den burjatischen Forschern setzt in der letzten Zeit A. I. Ulanov gemeinsame alte mongolische Mythen voraus. «Drevnie mify o têngrinach, mangadchajach i drugich čudovisčach byli obščimi dlja mongoljskich plemen . . . Neudiviteljno, čto v êpičeskom tvorčestve mongolov i burjat imejutsja obščie mify, kotorye ne javljajutsja zaimstvovanijami. Êta obščnostj suščestvujet i obščnostj mezdu mongoljskim i burjatskim jazykami.» A. Ulanov, *Burjatskij folkljor i literatura*, Ulan-Udê 1959, 17 S.

[7] B. Rintchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol* I Wiesbaden 1959. Auf den 98 Seiten des Werkes kommen die 99 Götter auch in nicht-burjatischen Schamanenliedern vor. Siehe dazu: G. Tucci—W. Heissig, *Die Religion Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart 1970. Den Teil, der sich mit dem besprochenen Problem beschäftigt, s.: S. 353.

Denkmäler teilweise zum Verschwinden, andererseits ließ er sie mit der Glaubenswelt des Buddhismus so sehr verschmelzen, daß die Trennung der beiden Elemente beinahe eine unmögliche Aufgabe ist.[8]

Die westburjatischen Gebiete und ihre alte Glaubenswelt wurden aber vom Buddhismus kaum berührt. In diesen Gebieten ist also der Großteil der uralten mongolischen Mythen erhalten geblieben, die von den erwähnten übrigen Gebieten infolge der Wirkung des Buddhismus verschwunden sind.

Mit dieser Tatsache ist es zu erklären, daß die alten mongolischen Mythen gerade im burjatischen Gebiet am vollständigsten erscheinen, während anderswo nur Fragmente auftauchen. Diese Fragmente aber, über die wir später noch eingehender sprechen werden, beweisen überzeugend, daß die mongolische Glaubenswelt einst einheitlich war — abgesehen von den lokalen Abweichungen — und die augenblickliche Lage nur infolge des eigenartigen Verlaufes der Geschichte zustande kam. Infolgedessen dürfen die im burjatischen Gebiet gefundenen Mythen und das aus diesen zusammengestellte mythologische System nicht auf die schöpferische Kraft des burjatischen Volkes beschränkt werden, sie sind Produkte der geistigen Kultur des ganzen mongolischen Volkes.[9]

II. Der Charakter der mongolischen Mythologie

Für die mongolische Mythologie sind der *Polytheismus* und die parallel vorhandene, aber in ihrer Entstehung diesem vorausgehende Geisterwelt charakteristisch. Die Götter leben in einer genau bestimmten Hierarchie, an ihrer Spitze stehen Hauptgötter. Die Götter verkörpern die Eigenschaften der Naturelemente und aus der Gesamtheit dieser Eigenschaften ergeben sich gewisse Gruppen der Götter. Die Götter zum Beispiel, die die verschiedenen Zustände des Himmels verkörpern, schließen sich zu einer Sondergruppe zusammen.[10]

Die treibende Kraft der Welt ist der *Dualismus*, d. h. der Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen. Die Welt besteht aus zwei gegensätzlichen Polen — aus

[8] Charakteristische Beispiele für die Verschmelzung der alten Glaubenswelt und des buddhistischen Pantheons kommen in den Schöpfungs- und anderen Mythen vor, die sich im bereits erwähnten Werk D. Schröders befinden.

[9] In unseren Forschungen stützen wir uns vor allem auf das in nicht-burjatischen Gebieten gesammelte Material. Außerdem müssen unbedingt auch die Spuren der mongolischen Mythologie aufgespürt werden, die dagegen in burjatischen Gebieten unbekannt sind. Zu diesen Spuren gehört z.B. die Geschichte über den tarbagan-Menschen, s. dazu: I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Apollon Smintheus in Innerasien?*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV (1962), S. 343—352. Ebenfalls ein alter innerasiatischer Mythos wird im Hintergrund der Masang-Geschichte vermutet, s. L. Lőrincz, *Der Märchentyp 301 als tibetisches Element im Heldenlied des Dschangar* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), S. 335—352.

[10] M. N. Changalov, *Materialy dlja izučenija šamanstva v Sibiri*: *Sobranie Sočinenij* Tom I, S. 293.

der westlichen und östlichen Seite — und der Kampf der Götter dieser beiden Seiten bewegt alles. Der ständige und antagonistische Gegensatz offenbart sich innerhalb des Himmels im Kampf der beiden Seiten und nicht im Gegensatz zwischen dem Himmel und der Erde. Der Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen bedeutet letzten Endes den Kampf der sich stets ablösenden Tage und Nächte, der sich ablösenden, ber einander nie bezwingen könnenden Helle und Dunkelheit.[11]

III. Die materielle Substanz

Der Kampf der Götter des westlichen und östlichen Himmels dauert nicht seit Urbeginn, sondern er hat einen genau festgesetzten Ausgangspunkt.

Die Materie und das Weltall existieren aber seit jeher und werden auch immer existieren. Die Bestrebungen sind alle verfehlt, die versuchen, das über alles Seiende, den Ewigen Himmel (*Möngke tengri*), in die Hierarchie der Götter einzureihen.[12]

Der Ewige Himmel ist weder Gott im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes,

[11] Der Dualismus der mongolischen Mythologie erinnert sehr stark an die Lehren von Zoroaster. Die die Welt lenkenden und erhaltenden zwei Grundprinzipien sind Ormuzd, die Helle (in der mongolischen Mythologie die von Qormusda geführten 55 westlichen, gutmütigen Götter) und Ahriman, die Dunkelheit (in der mongolischen Mythologie die von *Ataa Ulaan* geführten 44 östlichen, bösartigen Götter). Zwischen ihnen steht Mithra (in der mongoloschen Mythologie *Sêgêên Sêbdêg*). Obwohl *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* genauso wie Mithra zwischen dem Guten und dem Bösen, der Helle und der Dunkelheit steht, ist er kein Vermittler; er stellt sich auf die Seite der Helle und kämpft gegen die Dunkelheit.

In der persischen Religion ist der Urgrund — wie das schon von Hegel erkannt wurde — die grenzenlose Zeit, die Ewigkeit (G. W. F. Hegel; *System und Geschichte der Philosophie*, Leipzig 1944, 206 S.). Die zwei «Prinzipien» dieses unbegrenzten Wesens sind Ormuzd und Ahriman, die Herren des Guten und des Bösen.

In der mongolischen Mythologie vertritt diesen Urgrund der Ewige Himmel, dessen zwei «Prinzipien» Qormusda (oder früher ein anderer) und Ataa Ulaan sind.

[12] Dazu fühlt man sich offenbar wegen der späteren Quellen berechtigt, in denen auf den Einfluß der Verbreitung des Polytheismus auch der Blaue Himmel Gestalt annimt, sogar Kinder besitzt und zu einem der Götter wird, wenn er noch so mächtig ist (s. M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Tom I, 293 S.) In der mongolischen Chronik aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen, gibt es z.B. noch keine Spur von Polytheismus, als überirdische Wesen erwähnt die Chronik ausschließlich nur den Ewigen Himmel und die Erdenmutter.) *tenggeri qaǰar-a güčü nemekdeǰü Sarta'ul irgen-i edüi doroyita'uluqsan-tur ba olon ere aqta činu bayasču maqaiǰu amui.* «Der Himmel und die Erde haben unsere Kräfte erhöht und nachdem wir das Volk der Sartaul unterworfen haben, freuen wir uns mit dem Heer zusammen.» — Louis Ligeti, *Histoire Secrète des Mongols*: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I*, Budapest 1971, S. 234). Freilich bedeutet das nicht, daß im 13. Jahrhundert der Polytheismus noch nicht existierte, sondern nur, daß für solche Wesen, die über den Göttern und außerhalb der Götter stehen, der Ewige Himmel und die Erdenmutter gehalten wurden.

noch Hauptgott. Der Ewige Himmel steht außerhalb und über allem. Er ist die materielle Welt selbst, das alles Schaffende und Unvergängliche.

Den Ewigen Himmel kann man nicht personifizieren, auch seine Darstellung ist ungewöhnlich. Er hat keine Form, wie auch sein Pendant *Etügen eke*, die Erdenmutter von unbestimmter Form ist. Die Götter können sterben und zu neuem Leben erwachen, der Ewige Himmel aber ist unbewegt und unveränderlich. In dieser Auffassung spiegelt sich eine uralte, naiv-materialistische Anschauungsweise wider, die später durch den Polytheismus stark in die Richtung des Idealismus gelenkt wurde.

Den anderen Teil der unabhängig von unserem Bewußtsein existierenden, objektiven Wirklichkeit bildet *Etügen eke*, die Erdenmutter. Der Ewige Himmel stellt die männliche (positive) und die Erdenmutter die weibliche (negative) Substanz dar. Nach einigen Quellen hat die Erdenmutter einen Anfang und sie ist im Verhältnis zum Ewigen Himmel sekundär.[13]

Es ist vorstellbar, obwohl die Quellen keinen Anhaltspunkt dazu geben, daß auch die Erdenmutter vom Ewigen Himmel geschaffen worden war und daß sie sich erst danach zu einem ihm annähernd ebenbürtigen Wesen entwickelte. Auch sie gehört aber nicht zu den Göttern, kann nicht in das System der Götter eingereiht werden, und auch sie ist unbeweglich und unveränderlich, Teil der materiellen Wirklichkeit. Es kann offensichtlich einer späteren Entwicklung zugeschrieben werden, daß sie zwar selten, aber trotzdem dargestellt wird und daß sie für die Mutter von Nachfolgern gehalten wird.

Die Verehrung des Ewigen Himmels und in zweiter Linie der Erdenmutter als Verkörperer der objektiven Wirklichkeit und Schöpfer des Alls entstand nicht auf dem Boden der mongolischen Glaubenswelt. Bekanntlich hatten die Nomaden, die noch vor den Mongolen auf den innerasiatischen Heiden gelebt hatten, — wie zum Beispiel die Türkvölker — für den höchsten Herrn des Alls ebenfalls den Ewigen Himmel gehalten. Sie hatten auch die Erdenmutter verehrt, obwohl sie außer diesen auch anderen Göttern, zum Beispiel dem Feuer, gehuldigt hatten.

Auch die Tatsache ist bekannt, daß wir zwischen den aufeinanderfolgenden nomaden Völkern nicht nur eine ethnische, sondern auch eine kulturelle Kontinuität annehmen müssen. Im Zeichen dieser Kontinuität kam der Ewige Himmel als Symbol des Alls und der objektiven Wirklichkeit aus der Gedankenwelt fremder Völker in den mongolischen Glauben.

In der alten mongolischen Glaubenswelt scheinen der Mond und die Sonne eine viel geringere Rolle gespielt zu haben. Obwohl in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen Temüdschin nach seinem glücklichen Entkommen

[13] S. zum Beispiel in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen: *dayir etügen-i / danglasun-u tedüi büküy-eče / dalai müren-i qoroqan-u tedüi büküy-eče / nököčebe bi* (Die braune Erdenmutter war damals nur noch faustgroß, Das Meer, der Strom waren damals wie Bächlein, So lange sind wir befreundet) Louis Ligeti, *Histoire Secrète des Mongols*, S. 214.

auch die Sonne im Gebet verehrt, scheint der Wichtigkeit der Verehrung des Ewigen Himmels nichts gleichzukommen.[14]

IV. Der Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen

Der Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen nahm seinen Anfang, als sich die Götter trennten. Nach einigen burjätischen Quellen erfolgte die Trennung der Götter folgenderweise: es lebten hundert Götter im Himmel, alle waren gutmütig und schützten die Menschheit vor den Gefahren. Ihr Leiter war der älteste Gott *Asarangi têngri*. Nach seinem Tode entzweiten sich *Chan Tjurmas* (*Chanchan Chjormos*) *têngri* und *Ataa Ulaan* über die Frage der Nachfolge des verstorbenen Gottes. Ein Teil der Götter (54) stellte sich auf die Seite von *Tjurmas*, ein anderer Teil (44) auf die Seite von *Ataa Ulaan*. Ein einziger Gott, *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* schloß sich keiner Partei an, er versuchte neutral zu bleiben. Später wurde er von den von *Tjurmas* geführten westlichen Göttern gezwungen, sich ihnen anzuschließen, so stieg ihre Zahl derer auf 55. Die 55 westlichen (wohlwollenden) und die 44 östlichen (bösartigen) Götter bilden die Gruppe der Götter, die neunundneunzig Götter.[15]

Den Anfang des Götterkampfes in seinem weiteren Verlauf kennen wir bereits aus dem Geser-Lied. Nach diesen Heldenliedern hat der Kampf verschiedene Gründe. In einigen Fällen löst den Kampf ausschließlich die Tatsache aus, daß *Sêgêên Sêbdêg*,der sich keiner Gruppe angeschlossen hatte, gezwungen wurde, sich anzuschließen, nach der Ungaer Geser-Variante werden dagegen die gutmütigen Götter dadurch zum Kampf gezwungen, daß die Tochter der Sonne krank gemacht wird.[16]

[14] *naran esergü büse-ben güǰü'ün-düriyen erigeleǰü maqalai-ban qar-tur-iyan se'eǰigeleǰü qar-iyan ebče'ün-düriyen mö'ele[t]čü naran [ǰük] yisünte sögö[t]čü sačuli öči'üli ö[k]be* (Er wandte sich der Sonne zu, hängte seinen Gürtel um den Hals, ließ die Kopfbedeckung in der Hand hängen, schlug mit der Faust auf die Brust, warf sich gegen die Sonne neunmals aufs Gesicht, brachte ein Streuopfer dar und betete.) Louis Ligeti, *Histoire secrète* . . . S. 61.

An einer sehr wichtigen Stelle kommt die Sonne gar nicht mehr vor, ausschließlich der Himmel und die Erdenmutter werden gepriesen; sie sind die letzten Gründe alles Guten und Glücklichen:

tenggiri qaǰar-a güčü nemekdeǰü / erketü tenggiri-de nereyitčü / eke etügen-e gürgeǰü / ere hačitu Merkit irgen-i / ebür ba anu hoqtorqui bolqabai / (Der Himmel und die Erde haben meine Kräfte erhöht, der mächtige Himmel hat mich gerufen und auf die Erde gebracht, wir haben die Brust des auf Mannesrache sinnenden Volkes der Merkit leer gemacht). Louis Ligeti, *Histoire secrète* . . . S. 72.

[15] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I, S. 55—56.

[16] In den Geser-Varianten der Echirit-Bulagat kommt der Mythos über die Tochter der Sonne nicht vor, die Götter kämpfen gegeneinander, um *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* zum Anschluß zu zwingen. (*Abaj Gêsêr-Chubun. Epopeja. êchirit-bulagatskij variant*), častj I, Ulan-Udê, 1961. Der Mythos über die Krankmachung und den Raub der Tochter der Sonne ist in den nicht echirit-bulagat-Varianten allgemein. S. A. I. Ulanov, *K charakteristike geroičeskogo êposa burjat*, Ulan-Udê, 1957, S. 28—29.

Der Führer der bösen östlichen Götter liest aus seinem schwarzen Wahrsagebuch heraus, daß er die westlichen Götter nur auf die Weise unterwerfen kann, daß er die Tochter der Sonne (*Naran Dulaan*), *Naran goochon*, tötet. Um sein Ziel erreichen zu können, läßt er eine drei Jahre lang währende schwere Krankheit auf das Mädchen los.

Die himmlische Großmutter (die Urahne der westlichen Götter), *Manzan Görmö* prophezeit dem Vater daß seine Tochter allein vom mittleren Sohn des *Tjurmas*,[17] von *Böchö Bêlgêtê* geheilt werden kann.

Böchö Bêlgêtê zeigt sich bereit, die Aufgabe zu lösen, und nimmt die wunderbare Lerche gefangen, auf deren Bauch und Rücken eine Zauberschrift zu lesen ist. Den gefangenen Vogel legt er auf die Brust und den Rücken des Mädchens und der Vogel übernimmt die Krankheit von ihr.

Da sein Plan mißlungen ist, möchte *Ataa Ulaan* den Gott *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* auf seine Seite stellen. Die Götter beginnen auf dem Berg *Sachidag* gegeneinander zu kämpfen. Der Kampf hat schlechte Folgen für die Menschheit, dies gehört aber nicht mehr in den Sachbereich der Mythologie, sondern in den der Heldenepik.

Der Kampf der Götter geht nie zu Ende, wie auch der Kampf des Lichtes mit der Dunkelheit immer wieder aufflammend bis ans Ende aller Zeiten dauert. Weder der Ewige Himmel noch die Erdenmutter spielen im Gegensatz der Götter irgendeine konkrete Rolle, das beweist eben, daß sie selbst nach göttlichem Maßstab nicht beurteilt werden können. Zur gleichen Zeit gehört die Sonne (*Naran Dulaan*) zu den Göttern.

V. Die Götter

Die Götter des mongolischen Pantheons stehen in einem genau festgesetzten Verhältnis zueinander.

Was ihren Ursprung betrifft, sind sie die verschiedenen Offenbarungen des Ewigen Himmels, d. h. die personifizierten Attribute der materiellen Substanz. Neben den Göttern, die die verschiedenen Zustände des Ewigen Himmels verkörpern, gibt es auch andere Götter, die nicht die Zustände und Eigenschaften des Ewigen Himmels, sondern die von anderen Naturerscheinungen, aber gleicherweise die der objektiven Wirklichkeit symbolisieren.

In bezug auf den Ursprung der Götter ist eine seltsame Doppelheit zu beobachten. Einerseits sind die Götter mit den Naturerscheinungen verwandt; nach dem Glauben einiger Stämme hat ja der Ewige Himmel (*Ojoor Mönchön têngêri*) 9 Söhne, in deren Namen sich neun verschiedene Zustände des Himmels widerspiegeln. *Galta Ulaan têngêri* bedeutet zum Beispiel den dunkelroten Himmel, während *Budurgu Sagaan têngêri* auf den schneienden Himmel verweist, weil er den vom Himmel herunterfallenden Schnee bedeutet.[18]

[17] *Qormusda.*

[18] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I. S. 293.

Anderen Vorstellungen entsprechend — und offenbar sind diese die späteren, sekundären — waren aber die Götter einst Menschen, die durch ihre edlen Taten zu Göttern geworden sind. Besonders interessant ist, wie einer der populärsten Götter, *Êsêgê Malaan têngêri*, im Volksglauben zum Gott gemacht wird.

In den alten Zeiten — berichtet die Legende — lebte bei den Burjaten eine grausame Sitte, die *uchê ungulchê* genannt wurde. Im Sinne dieses Brauches wurden die siebzig Jahre alt gewordenen und für die Gemeinschaft keinen Nutzen mehr bringenden, sondern nur eine Last bedeutenden Alten auf eine besonders grausame Weise getötet; in ihren mit Gewalt aufgemachten Mund wurden so lange fette Fleischstücke gestopft, bis sie erstickten. Die Beseitigung dieses grausamen Brauches ist mit dem Namen des späteren gutmütigen Gottes — damals noch Menschen — *Êsêgê Malaan* verbunden.[19]

Êsêgê Malaan, der auch während seines Erdenlebens kein einfacher Mensch, sondern eine hervorragende Persönlichkeit war, ging gegen die neun Söhne der westlichen Götter eine Wette ein. Im Sinne der Wette müssen die neun göttlichen Söhne eine Eisenbrücke über dem Ozean bauen, *Êsêgê Malaan* dagegen muß ein Schloß errichten. Weder die Brücke noch das Schloß will ihnen aber gelingen. In der letzten Nacht vor der Fertigstellung der Brücke zerstören immer die Wellen einen Teil und in derselben Nacht verschwindet auch vom Schloß ein Teil des Daches.

Êsêgê Malaan läßt jeden Tag einen anderen Sterblichen kommen und das Schloß besichtigen, und jeden Tag stellt er ihm die Frage, ob das Schloß fertig sei. Die Befragten antworten der Wahrheit entsprechend mit «nein». *Êsêgê Malaan* läßt darauf un seiner Wut über die Erfolglosigkeit die Befragten der Reihe nach hinrichten. Im Land entsteht eine Panik infolge der massenhaften Hinrichtungen.[20]

Es lebte im Lande ein junger Mann, der mit so viel Liebe und Verehrung an seinem Vater hing, daß er ihn dem grausamen Brauch der Hinrichtung nicht überlassen wollte. Er steckte ihn in eine Truhe und ernährte den Alten mehrere Jahre hindurch in diesem Versteck. Als die Reihe an den Sohn kam und dieser das Schloß besichtigen mußte, holte er sich bei seinem Vater Rat. Der in der Truhe hockende Alte gab ihm einen weisen Rat; Wenn sowieso schon alles gleichgültig sei, solle er auf die Frage die Antwort geben, daß das Schloß fertig sei, auch wenn er an ihm Mängel entdecke.

[19] M. N. Changalov, a.a.O., S. 29—31.

[20] Der Mythos gehört zu demselben Typ wie die Märchen über den s.g. «Khan mit Eselsohren», die sich überall in Innerasien einer großen Beliebtheit erfreuen. S. L. Lőrincz, *Les «Contes du Cadavre Ensorcelé» dans la littérature et le folklore mongols*: *Acta Orient Hung.* XX (1967) S. 229: *Elǰigen čikitü qaγan*. Das Märchen ist eine Variante des Märchentyps 782 im Aarne-Thompson-Märchenkatalog (Midas and the Ass's Ears).

Auf die Frage des Erbauers antwortete der Sohn dem Rat des Alten entsprechend, und im Augenblick der Antwort war der fehlende Teil infolge eines Zaubers unbekannten Ursprungs ersetzt und das Schloß wurde vollkommen.

Der junge Mann gestand dann später *Êsêgê Malaan*, von wem er den weisen Rat bekommen, hatte, und *Êsêgê Malaan* verbot nach der Legende von dieser Zeit an die Ausübung des Brauches *uchê ungulchê*, man braucht ja die Alten, damit junge Menschen von ihnen beraten werden.

Nachdem *Êsêgê Malaan* die Wette gewonnen hatte — die göttlichen Söhne konnten den Bau der Brücke nicht zu Ende führen — erhob er sich in den Himmel und wurde zu einem Gott.

Die Legende vertritt eine spätere Phase des Glaubens über den Ursprung der Götter, als die Personifizierung der Naturerscheinungen bereits aufhört, die einzige, privilegisierte Art und Weise der Entstehung der Götter zu sein, und sich auf die Wirkung der in der Gesellschaft auftretenden Umwandlungen auch in der Götterwelt Veränderungen vollziehen. In der menschlichen Gesellschaft treten einige aus der Masse hervor und verschaffen sich eine so große ökonomische Macht, daß ihnen nichts mehr, selbst der Aufstieg zu einem Gott, unmöglich erscheint.

In der Legende gibt es klare Andeutungen auf diesen Zustand. *Êsêgê Malaan* hat ja das Recht, seine Mitmenschen in seinem Wutanfall oder aus Laune hinrichten zu lassen, zugleich steht es aber in seiner Macht, jahrhundertealte Bräuche zu beseitigen.

Ein Teil der Götter ist auch sterblich. Es wurde schon erwähnt, daß auch die Trennung der Götter infolge des nach dem Tode des ältesten Gottes geführten Erbfolgekampfes erfolgte.

Die Beziehung zwischen den Göttern und den Menschen kann auch eine umgekehrte sein, d. h. nicht nur ein Mensch kann zum Gott werden, sondern auch Götter können sich in Menschen verwandeln. Nachdem sie die Wette gegen *Êsêgê Malaan* verloren hatten, mußten zum Beispiel die neun göttlichen Söhne als Strafe auf die Erde sinken, wo sie zu Khanen wurden.[21]

VI. Die Hierarchie der Götter

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Kampf des Guten gegen das Böse wurde bereits erwähnt, daß sich die Götter in zwei Gruppen teilen; in die im östlichen Himmel wohnenden bösartigen und die im westlichen Himmel wohnenden gutmütigen Götter. Die Zahl der vorigen beträgt 44, die der letzteren — den

[21] Ein Gottessohn ist auch Geser, der auf die Erde herunterkam, um die Menschheit zu beschützen.

sich später anschließenden und zuerst einen neutralen Standpunkt vertretenden Gott *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* inbegriffen — 55.[22]

Die Zahl der Götter beträgt also insgesamt neunundneunzig. An der Spitze einer jeden Gruppe steht ein Führer (Hauptgott). Der Führer der westlichen Götter ist bei den Burjaten von Kuda *Zajaan Sagaan têngêri*, der der östlichen *Chamchir Bogdo*, während bei den Burjaten von Balagan die westlichen Götter *Chan Tjurmas* und die östlichen *Ataa Ulann* führt.[23]

Die Zahl der Götter ist allerdings von keiner praktischen Bedeutung (obwohl uns Changalov auf die Zahl 9 aufmerksam macht), nie konnte nämlich ein Schamane die Namen von allen 99 Göttern aufzählen. Die Zahl 99 ist eine bloße Fiktion und die Tatsache, daß es gerade 99 Götter gibt, hat keine Bedeutung, denn die Götter, die in der Mythologie tatsächlich erscheinen, sind viel weniger an der Zahl.[24]

Wenn wir dagegen die verstreut vorkommenden Götter zusammenzählen, bekommen wir eine viel höhere Zahl als 99. Dies ergibt sich daraus, daß obwohl alle burjätischen Stämme an 99 als an einer unveränderlichen Zahl festhielten, die Benennung der Götter innerhalb dieser Zahl bei weitem nicht identisch war. Götter, die die gleiche Funktion ausüben, treten anderswo unter einem anderen Namen auf, meistens stellt aber — mit Rücksicht darauf, daß sie größtenteils überhaupt keine Tätigkeit entfalten und keinerlei Funktion ausüben — selbst ihre bloße Identifizierung eine unlösbare Aufgabe dar. So hat es keinen Sinn, alle 99 Götter aufzuzählen, denn sie existierten nie — wie bereits erwähnt — einheitlich, an einem Ort zusammen, einzeln aufgezählt.

Zu den 99 Göttern gehört *Ojoor Mönchön têngêri*, der früher mit dem Ewigen Himmel identisch war, später aber zum Führer einer Sippe der westlichen Götter degradiert wurde. Die Götter bilden nämlich dem irdischen Weltbild entsprechend ebenfalls verschiedene Sippen. Der Sippenführer der Götter hat

[22] Changalov leitet die Gruppierung der Götter auf westliche und östliche Herren, sowie die ursprüngliche Neutralität des zwischen diesen stehenden *Sêgêên Sêbdêg* von der burjatischen Kreisjagd, der *zêgêtê-aba*, ab. Die *zêgêtê-aba* gliederte sich ihrem eigentümlichen Aufbau entsprechend auf drei Teile, auf einen rechten, einen linken Flügel und die Mitte. Nach Changalov ist auch eine Legende bekannt, die die *zêgêtê-aba* mit dem Kampf der Götter konkret verbindet. Laut dieser Legende löste sich infolge des Streites zwischen den Göttern die von ihnen geführte *zêgêtê-aba*, mit deren Hilfe sie die Erde mit Lebensmittel zu versorgen pflegten, auf, und die Erde wurde von einer Hungersnot geplagt (*Sobranie Sočinenij* I, S. 55—56.) Unseres Erachtens ist diese Erklärung für die Aufteilung der Götter heute keinesfalls mehr annehmbar, der Dualismus ist ja vor allem auf den Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen, der Helle mit der Dunkelheit, zurückzuführen.

[23] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I. S. 291.

[24] Bei einem Teil der türkischen Völker Sibiriens und in der burjatischen Glaubenswelt ist die 9 und so auch die 99 eine Zahl von besonderer, magischer Bedeutung. Vermutlich beträgt auch die Zahl der Götter deswegen 99.

9 Söhne, diese sind die Götter der verschiedenen Zustandsveränderungen des Himmels.

Zu den westlichen Göttern gehört noch — aber zu einer anderen Sippe — der Gott des Feuers, (unter anderem) *Solbon Sagaan têngêri*,[25] der durch die Personifizierung des Planten Venus entstand. Der Gott des Blitzes und des Donners ist *Sari Sagaan têngêri Sachilgata Buudal*.

Nach manchen Vorstellungen gehört auch *Uhan Lobson*, der Herr der Gewässer, zu den Göttern. Nach anderen Vorstellungen zählen auch *Chura nojon*, der Gott des Regens, und seine Frau *Sachala chatun* zu den Göttern.

Es ist nicht ganz klar, zu welcher Gruppe die in der Epik so oft erscheinenden himmlischen alten Mütterchen gehören. Laut der Mythosüberreste, die in einigen Geser-Varianten erhalten geblieben sind, ist die Mutter der westlichen Götter Mütterchen *Manzan Gôrmò*, die der östlichen Götter *Chara Manzan*.[26]

Die himmlischen Mütterchen erscheinen ziemlich selten — ausgenommen natürlich die epischen Werke — und viele sehen in ihnen die Überreste des Matriarchats.[27] Sie sind die Mütter von zwei gegensätzlichen Gruppen der Götter. Nach dieser Auffassung hatten die westlichen und östlichen Götter schon immer voneinander getrennt gelebt — sie haben ja verschiedene Mütter — so konnte es später natürlich auch nicht zu ihrer Trennung kommen.

Diese Auffassung zeugt allerdings davon, daß das Erscheinen der Stammütter auf die Zeit zu setzen ist, als man bereits Vorstellungen über die Gruppierung und Trennung der Götter hatte. Diese Polarisation konnte in Gebieten, in denen der Mythos über die Trennung unbekannt war, mit der abgesonderten Geburt erklärt werden.

Die lokalen Unterschiede, die komplizierten Verhältnisse der je nach dem Ort anders bezeichneten Götter werden durch die qualitativen Unterschiede der Bewohner des Himmels noch komplizierter. Im Himmel leben nämlich nicht nur Götter (*têngri*), sondern auch andere Wesen göttliche Ursprungs, die entweder die Abkömmlinge von Göttern sind, oder niedriger gestellte Wesen, deren Macht aber beinahe so groß ist wie die der Götter. Zu

[25] Die Umschrift der Namen der Götter — und im allgemeinen die Umschrift der burjatischen Namen — stellt ein schwieriges Problem dar. Ein Teil der mythischen Gestalten ist in keinem burjatischen Wörterbuch zu finden und in vielen Fällen ist auch die Bedeutung der Namen nicht klar. In solchen Fällen werden die Namen mit lateinischen Buchstaben mechanisch umschrieben. Zur Grundlage der Umschrift dienten die von Changalov gebrauchten, mit zyrillischen Buchstaben aufgezeichneten Namen, denen die heute gebräuchliche burjatische Rechtschreibung nicht genau entspricht. Die Rückkehr zu dieser und die Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Rechtschreibung ist heute schon unmöglich, da die Bedeutung eines Teiles der Namen unklar ist.

[26] *Abaj-Gêser*, Ulan-Udê, 1960.

[27] A. I. Ulanov, *K charakteristike geroičeskogo êposa burjat*, S. 11—14.

ihrer Entstehung trug offenbar die ziemlich geringe Zahl der Götter bei. Die 99 Götter bilden eine mit der Sippenaristokratie vergleichbare, enge und unannahbare Kaste, — ihre Zahl darf nicht erhöht werden. Deshalb gehören die Frauen, Kinder und Gefährten der Götter nicht zu ihnen. Für sie mußte ein neuer Stand geschaffen werden, der unmittelbar dem Stand der Götter untergeordnet ist.

Aus diesem komplizierten Verhältnis der Unterordnungen folgt, daß es manchmal zwischen den Göttern und den niedriger gestellten Bewohnern des Himmels praktisch gar keinen Unterschied gibt, was ihre Wichtigkeit betrifft. Im Gegenteil. Im Gegensatz zu den nicht besonders aktiven Göttern nehmen diese Gruppen am Schutz oder an der Verderbnis der Menschen aktiver teil.

VII. Zajaan, Khane, Nojon

Im allgemeinen werden die Kinder der Götter mit diesen Namen versehen. Im Gegensatz zu den starren Göttern sind sie aktiv, sie bilden das Bindeglied zwischen den Göttern und den Menschen.

Die *Zajaan* sind eigentlich Geister, vielleicht Schutzgeister, die eine ähnliche Macht ausüben wie die Götter. Die Khane (*Chan* oder *Chat*)[28] beschützen die Menschen. Ihre Mehrheit lebt auf der Erde, ein kleiner Teil von ihnen lebt im Wasser.

Mit Rücksicht darauf, daß der Beschützer eines Stammes oder einer kleineren ethnischen Einheit immer ein *Chan* ist, müssen wir in ihm den göttlichen Ahn einer Sippe oder später eines Stammes sehen.

Was die *Nojon* betrifft, so sind sie nicht so sehr die Beschützer von Menschengruppen, sondern die verschiedener geographischer Orte oder bestimmter Tätigkeiten. *Tulman* (?) *Sagaan nojon* ist z. B. der Beschützer der Eheschließung, usw.

Die Tätigkeit dieser drei Gruppen von himmlischen Wesen ist so eng miteinander verbunden, daß man die drei Gruppen kaum voneinander unterscheiden kann. Die verschiedenen Stämme schreiben der einen oder anderen Gruppe immer eine andere Bedeutung oder andere Funktion zu, dabei wird immer eine andere Tätigkeit von ihnen betont.

So viel ist aber dem komplizierten System klar zu entnehmen, daß 1. sie einen niedrigeren Rang als die Götter haben, 2. die Menschen sich durch ihre Vermittlung an die Götter wenden können. Möchten z. B. die Burjaten Regen haben, müssen sie den Khanen der Gewässer ein Opfer darbringen, damit diese bei den *Doloon Chöchö têngêri*, den sieben blauen Göttern, für sie Regen erbitten.[29]

[28] In der alten russischen und burjatischen Fachliteratur erscheint das Wort *chat* nicht als die Mehrzahl zu *chan*, sondern als ein neuer Begriff. Das Wort *chat* wird oft in der Einzahl zur Bezeichnung eines Wesens verwendet. Das ist ein offensichtlicher Irrtum und beruht auf dem Mißverstehen bzw. Nicht-Verstehen der burjatischen Mehrzahl.

[29] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I, S. 405.

In der mongolischen Mythologie spielt der Herr der Gewässer *Uhan Lobson* eine sonderbare Rolle. In seiner Person können wir eine populäre Gestalt des uralten innerasiatischen mythologischen Systems entdecken.

Anscheinend sind die sogenannten *satini burchan* spätere Ankömmlinge in der mongolischen Mythologie. Ihren Namen haben sie vom Wort *sa* = «Tee» erhalten, weil sie im Gegensatz zu den übrigen überirdischen Wesen ausschließlich nur Tee-Opfer entgegennehmen.[30]

VIII. Die himmlischen Schmiede

Sie sind göttliche Wesen, die theoretisch einen niedrigeren Rang als die vorigen besitzen, aber immer noch zu den Himmelsbewohnern gehören. Sie sind in zwei Gruppen geteilt: auf die Gruppe der weißen und der schwarzen Schmiede (*darchad*).

Die weißen (gutmütigen) Schmiede schützen die Menschen vor den bösen Göttern und den Krankheiten. Ihr Führer ist der von den westlichen Göttern stammende Schmied-Gott *Dabaan Cholo têngêri*. Er und im allgemeinen die guten Schmiede haben den Menschen das Schmiedehandwerk beigebracht.

Der erste Schmied (der kein Gott mehr ist) war *Božintoj*, dem seine Frau 9 Söhne und eine Tochter schenkte.

An den Namen dieser Tochter (*Êjlik Mulak êgêsi*(?) knüpft sich eine der schönsten burjätischen Legenden, nach der sie die Person war, die den Menschen das Feuer vom Himmel auf die Erde herunterwarf.[31]

Die himmlischen Schmiede sind Symbole einer bestimmten Periode der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, als das Schmiedehandwerk und die Schmiedekunst noch nicht lange bekannt waren, und die Verehrung der Schmiede im Vordergrund stand. Die Verehrung der Schmiede ist übrigens bei den nomaden Völkern Innerasiens eine häufige Erscheinung, was als natürlich betrachtet werden kann, da das Eisen in der Gesellschaft der Reiternomaden zur entscheidenden Bedeutung kam. Ohne die Entdeckung der Schmiedekunst hätten die großviehzüchtende Gesellschaft der Reiternomaden und ihr berühmtes Heer nicht zustandekommen und weiter bestehen können.[32]

Selbstverständlich ist auch, daß die Verehrung der Schmiede mit dem Kult des Feuers verbunden wurde. Schmied war — wenn auch eine Frau — auch die Person, die die Menschheit mit dem Feuer beschenkte, die Erde mit Hilfe des Feuers von den bösen Dämonen befreite und die die Menschen bedrohenden Ungeheuer vertrieb.

[30] Das Wort *burchan* zeugt jedenfalls von ihrer späteren Entstehung, außer wenn ältere Formen hinter der buddhistischen Bezeichnung stehen.

[31] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I, S. 439—444.

[32] Die Schmiede übernahmen oft auch die Herrschaft von ihren Herren. Es ist z.B. allgemein bekannt, daß die Türkvölker die Schmiede der Juan-juan gewesen waren, bevor sie die Macht von diesen übernahmen.

Von der Verehrung des Schmiedehandwerks zeugt auch die Tatsache, daß die Schmied-Götter je ein Werkzeug dieses Handwerks personifizieren. *Bažir Sagaan nojon* ist z. B. der Herr des Hammers, *Chühêr Chara nojon* ist der Herr der Kohle usw.

Der dualistischen Auffassung entsprechend gibt es auch böse Schmiede, die den östlichen (bösartigen) Göttern unterstellt sind. Ihr Führer ist *Chožir Chara darchan*, der sieben Söhne hat: diese sind die bösen Schmiede.

Von der Bedeutung der magischen Zahl 7 zeugt, daß die Schmiede immer sieben an der Zahl sind, ihr Führer und Vater werden nicht zu ihnen gezählt.

Die Schmiede kommen in der mongolischen Heldenepik oft vor. Der Geser der burjatischen Geser-Varianten oder die Hauptheldеn anderer Heldenlieder steigen, wenn ihre Kraft sie im Kampf gegen den Dämon oder einen feindlichen Krieger zu verlassen scheint, oft in den Himmel zu den gutmütigen Schmieden, um ihren ermüdeten Leib von diesen stählen und auf den neuen Kampf vorbereiten zu lassen.[33]

Bei anderen Gelegenheiten muß der Held den riesigen Hund *Gunig Šara nochoj* im Kampf gefangennehmen und bei dem Khan abliefern. Er kann seine Aufgabe nur dann lösen, wenn er die himmlischen Schmiede Halsband und Fußeisen für den Hund schmieden läßt[34]

In den Heldenliedern kommt oft das Motiv vor, daß der Held die Tochter der sieben himmlischen Schmiede heiraten will. In der Person dieses Mädchens müssen wir die jüngere Schwester der neun gutmütigen (weißen) Schmiede sehen, die sich in der Folklore langsam in die Tochter der schwarzen Schmiede verwandelte, da ihre ursprüngliche Funktion inzwischen verblaßte.[35]

IX. Dualismus im Wasser

Die Herren der Gewässer (*Chan, Chat*) stehen — wie bereits erwähnt — unter der Führung des Khans *Uhan Lobson*. Diese sind genauso wie eine Gruppe der im Himmel hausenden Götter Personifizierungen des Zustandes ihres Lebenselements und von dessen verschiedenen Formen : *Gêrêl nojon* und seine Frau *Tujaa chatan* usw.[36]

Zugleich leben aber im Wasser auch böse göttliche Wesen (*Šuchan chat*), die unter dem Schutz der östlichen Götter stehen. Diese sind meistens nur durch ein Menschenopfer günstig zu beeinflussen!

Die Gewässer haben genauso wie die Erde böse Geister, die nach der Verderbung der Menschen trachten (*uhani bocholdoj*). Auch die Ertrunkenen

[33] *Erensej*, Ulan-Udê, 1968, S. 144—145.

[34] a. a. O. S. 169.

[35] *Abaj Gêsêr-chubun, častj II, Ošor-bogdo i Churin-altaj*, Ulan-Udê 1964, S. 33.

[36] Die Personifizierungen des sich im Wasser widerspiegelnden Lichtes, des durchsichtigen Wassers und des wellenden Wassers.

werden zu solchen bösen Geistern. Nach dem Volksglauben ducken sich die bösen Geister in der Tiefe der Gewässer und reißen die Badenden oder diejenigen, die ins Wasser stürzen, mit nach unten. Die blauen Flecke an den Ertrunkenen sind die Spuren der Griffe der bösen Geister.[37]

In der mongolischen Heldenepik begegnen wir oft dem Khan *Lobson*, aber noch öfter seiner Tochter *Aǰu mergen* (anderswo *Alu-* oder *Alma mergen*). Die Tochter des Schutzgeistes der Gewässer heiratet den Helden, gebiert ihm ein Kind und lebt mit ihm lange im Schloß ihres Vaters, in der Tiefe der Gewässer.[38]

Die Verehrung des Khans der Gewässer ist in ganz Innerasien verbreitet, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war er schon vor dem Erscheinen der Mongolen eine bekannte Gestalt der Steppenmythen.[39]

Ähnlich wie bei den himmlischen Schmieden sind auch im Bereich der Gegenstände neben den die Eigenschaften der Gegenstände personifizierenden göttlichen Wesen auch die Personifizierungen gewisser Phasen einer im gegebenen Naturelement entfalteten menschlichen Tätigkeit, sowie die der zur Verrichtung dieser Arbeit nötigen Werkzeuge anzutreffen. *Güljmêši nojon* ist der Herr der Netzfischerei, *Gürši Chatun* die Herrin der Fischerei mit der Reuse, während *Chêrênši nojon* der Herr des Fischens mit der Harpune ist.[40]

Diese Benennung der Götter und göttlichen Wesen der Gewässer weist darauf hin, daß die Fischerei neben der Jagd bei den burjätischen Stämmen seit uralten Zeiten eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat, und daß sie ziemlich abwechslungsreiche Formen der Fischerei betrieben haben.

X. Die Herren der Krankheiten

Die Bedeutung der heiligen Zahl 9 spiegelt sich in der Zahl der Herren der Krankheiten wider, die ähnlich wie ein Teil der Schmiede ebenfalls neun sind. Am charakteristischsten sind unter ihnen *Gal gêm*, der Herr des Krebses und *Bolot Sagaan nojon*, der Herr des Milzbrandes.

Über den Milzbrand und dessen Heilung berichtet der Volksglaube folgendes: einst überredete ein Schamane den Herrn des Milzbrandes, über den Fluß Ida zu setzen. Während der Überfahrt schickte er aber Eis auf das Wasser und der Herr der Krankheit wurde unter das Eis gedrückt. Der Schamane

[37] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Tom I, «*Rybolovstvo u burjat i uchan-chat*», S. 114—121.

[38] Alu-mergen ist eine der Hauptheldinnen aller Geser-Varianten, später ist sie die Frau Gesers. Sie ist eine Amazone, die genauso kräftig ist wie die Männer, selbst Geser brauchte seine Zauberkraft, um sie heiraten zu können: *Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen Geser qaγan-u toγuǰi orusibai*: Peking 1716 (Holzdruck) 51r-52v.

[39] G. N. Potanin, *Doč morja v stepnom êpose*: Êtnografičeskoe Obozrenie, XII (1892), S. 38—69.

[40] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, I, S. 115.

befreite ihn erst danach, als er schon versprochen hatte, sich fortzuscheren und die Gegend zu verlassen. Deshalb werden die an Milzbrand Leidenden mit dem Wasser des Flusses Ida und den am Ufer herumliegenden Steinen kuriert. Der Herr der Krankheit hat nämlich eine so große Angst vor dieser Gegend, daß ihn jeder Gegenstand, der mit dem Fluß Ida zusammenhängt, zurückschrecken kann.[41]

XI. Der Herr der Unterwelt

In der uralten Glaubenswelt der Steppenvölker spielt die Unterwelt keine bedeutende Rolle, wie ist kaum bekannt. Die Unterwelt (unterirdische Welt) erscheint erst auf einer späteren Stufe der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, auch dann nur als ein fremdes Element, durch Übernahme. Die Beschreibung der Hölle ist in der mongolischen Glaubenswelt von buddhistischem, indisch-tibetischem Ursprung. Davon zeugt z. B., daß der Herr der Unterwelt *Êrlên chan* (schriftmong. *Erlig*) dem indischen Herrn der Toten *Yamantaka* genau entspricht. (Tib. *Šiń-rǰe*).[42]

Einigen asiatischen Völkern ist zwar der Begriff der Unterwelt bekannt, aber nicht im buddhistischen Sinne. Nach ihren Vorstellungen besteht die Erde aus sieben Schichten, und in einer jeden Schicht entfaltete sich ein Leben, das dem auf der Erde gleicht. Die Schichten, die sich unter der Erdoberfläche befinden, sind keine ausgesprochenen Straforte, sondern die annähernden Ebenbilder des irdischen Lebens.[43]

XII. Böse, verderbende Wesen

Die drei häufigsten Typen sind: *ada*, *dachul* und *mu šubuun*.[44]

Das *ada* genannte Wesen ist klein von Wuchst, großschnauzig und verwandelt sich manchmal in ein Kind oder in einen Hund. Es kann gute Absich-

[41] a.a.O., S. 454—455.

[42] Die unterirdische Welt als Strafort wegen der irdischen Sünden, war in der mongolischen Mythologie anscheinend unbekannt. Auch A. I. Ulanov erwähnt sie nicht: *K charakteristike geroičeskogo êposa burjat*, S. 10.

[43] Die Beschreibung der Unterwelt ist in der mongolischen Heldenepik im allgemeinen identisch. Nicht die Sünder büßen dort, sondern böse Wesen leben unten, die ab und zu die Welt der Menschen auf der Erde besuchen, und wenn sie dort in eine bedrängte Situation geraten, retten sie sich in die Unterwelt zurück. Man kann sich in die Unterwelt durch einen Abgrund oder durch die Spalten der Erde herunterlassen. Hier lebt die verderbende alte Dämonen-Frau mit ihren sieben kahlköpfigen Söhnen und dem in der Eisenwiege liegenden Säugling, dem weder Schwert noch Feuer etwas antun können. Manchmal wächst beim Eingang der Unterwelt ein himmelhoher Baum, an dem hochkletternd der Held sich retten, an die Oberfläche der Erde gelangen kann. S. L. Lőrincz, *Der Märchentyp 301 als tibetisches Element im Heldenlied des Dschangar*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), S. 335—352.

[44] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij* II, «*Duchi-ljudoedy u burjat*, S. 202—212.

ten haben, ist aber meistens bösartig. Die bösartigen fressen im allgemeinen die Säuglinge auf.

Das *dachul* genannte Wesen ist eigentlich ein Gespenst oder eine Seele. Arme Männer, Jungfrauen und junge Frauen können nach ihrem Tod zu *dachul* werden. Sie schicken gerne verschiedene Krankheiten über ihre ausgewählten Opfer los.

Mu šubuun (böser Vogel) ist eine außerordentlich populäre und fürchterliche Gestalt der mongolischen Mythologie. Im allgemeinen kann sich ein junges Mädchen (und nur ein junges Mädchen!) in einen bösen Vogel verwandeln, wenn der Vater des agonisierenden Mädchens der Sterbenden ein Feuerzeug in die Hand drückt, oder bei der Bestattung ein Feuerzeug in ihr Grab wirft. Interessanterweise ist also die Verwandlung in *mu šubuun* die Folge einer bewußten irdischen Tat.

Dieses seltsame irdische Wesen weist eine menschliche Figur auf, es nimmt im allgemeinen die Gestalt eines schönen, jungen Mädchens an, an der Stelle der Lippen hat es aber einen langen kupfernen oder beinernen Schnabel, mit dem es seinen Opfern das Blut aus saugt. Über die Tätigkeit der *mu šubuun* berichtet die Legende folgendes: Der böse Vogel lebt im Wald und lauert auf verirrte Jäger, die sich im Dickicht herumtreiben, und auf einsame Wanderer. Der einsame Jäger macht unter den riesigen Bäumen ein Lagerfeuer und brät das Wildfleisch am Spieß. Plötzlich erscheint ein Mädchen am Feuer, sie verschleiert ihr Gesicht mit ihrem Kopftuch und bittet den Jäger, von den Überresten des Abendessens auch ihr etwas zu geben. Zum Dank verspricht sie ihm, die Nacht mit ihm zu verbringen.

Der Jäger willigt ein und auf seine neugierige Frage, warum sie ihr Kopftuch vor dem Gesicht halte, antwortet das Mädchen, sie habe Angst um ihren empfindlichen Hals vor dem sich unter den riesigen Bäumen anballenden Dunst.

Nach dem Abendessen legt der Jäger seinen Kopf in den Schoß des Mädchens und schläft dort ein, aus dem Traum gibt es aber kein Erwachen mehr.

XIII. Riesige, mythische Tiere

Eine charakteristische Gestalt der mongolischen Mythologie ist der riesige Igel, der *Zarjaa-azarga*. Er ist gutmütig ein Mithelfer der westlichen Götter. Die Menschen haben ihm viel zu verdanken, er hat ja einmal die Menschheit von einer Katastrophe errettet.[45]

Einer der Götter der Erde *Dibin Sagaan nojon* und der himmlische (westliche) Gott *Êsêgê Malaan* fassen den Entschluß, daß sie ihre Kinder miteinander verheiraten. In der Hochzeit ihrer Kinder verlangt der irdische Gott den Mond und die Sonne als Geschenk von *Êsêgê Malaan*. Der himmlische Gott

[45] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij* I, S. 327.

kann die Bitte nicht abschlagen, infolgedessen hüllt sich die Erde in völlige Dunkelheit.

Êsêgê Malaan betraut den riesigen Igel mit der Aufgabe, die verschenkten Himmelskörper, die ihr neuer Besitzen in einer Truhe verwahrt, zurückzuverschaffen. *Zarjaa-azarga* erklärt sich bereit und führt die Aufgabe erfolgreich durch. Im Namen von *Êsêgê Malaan* äußert er dem Gott der Erde solche Wünsche (er verlangt zum Beispiel einen Pfeil aus Widerhall usw.), daß letzterer die Wünsche nicht erfüllen kann und lieber die Geschenke des himmlischen Gottes zurückgibt.

In der Heldenepik kommt der riesige Hund *Gunig* oft vor. Seine ursprüngliche Funktion ist unbekannt, verblaßt, ihn zu erwerben, ist eine der Aufgaben im Wettstreit um die Hand der Tochter des Khans. Gehört er schon einem Helden, kann er eventuell an der Seite seines neuen Herrn den Kampf gegen dessen Feinde aufnehmen. Sonst verurteilt ihn seine Rolle zur Passivität, gewiß liegen noch Mythen verborgen, die auf seine vergessene Funktion ein Licht werfen werden.[46]

Ein riesiges Tier ist die Riesenschlange *Abarga mogoj*, die nach einigen Glauben im Meer lebt. Ihre Gestalt geht so sehr in die der Wasserdrachen und Khane über, daß man sie kaum voneinander unterscheiden kann. Im Gegensatz zu ihnen ist sie aber eindeutig bösartig.

Eine häufig erscheinende Gestalt der Mythologie ist auch der Riesenvogel *Chanchan Chêrdig* oder *Garudi*. Sowohl der burjätische als auch der schriftmongolische Name gehen auf eine sanskritische Originalbezeichnung zurück. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach existierte aber die Gestalt des riesigen Vogel-Gottes bereits in der vorbuddhistischen, mongolisch-burjätischen Glaubenswelt, da die Mythen eindeutig davon zeugen.

Auch in den altaisch-türkischen Heldenliedern begegnen wir oft dem Riesenvogel, der aus dem Gestüt des Khans die neugeborenen Zauberfohlen raubt, und nur dem Hauptheldеn des Liedes gelingt es, ihn schließlich zu töten oder endgültig zu vertreiben. Vermutlich stellte der Name dieses Riesenvogels gerade wegen seiner Gefährlichkeit ein Tabu dar, und so konnte es geschehen, daß der Name des sonst eine ähnliche Funktion ausübenden indischen *garuda* auf seine mongolische Entsprechung übertragen wurde.[47]

[46] Nach einigen Quellen bewacht der Hund die Erde, er ist der Herr der Erde. A. I. Ulanov, *K charakteristike geroičeskogo êposa burjat*, S. 55.

[47] In den altaisch-türkischen Liedern raubt der Riesenvogel aus dem Gestüt des Khans das neugeborene Zauberfohlen. Der für den dümmsten gehaltene Junge tötet den Vogel und beschämt dadurch die anderen. (W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* II, S. 607—657.) Dagegen wird der Riesenvogel auch in den altaischtürkischen Liedern nichts anders als *Kan Kerede*, d.h. *Garudi-Khan* erwähnt. Auch hier wurde der alte Name nicht bewahrt, sondern man verlich der bereits vorhandenen Gestalt den mit dem Eindringen des Buddhismus glichzeitig erscheinenden indischen Namen.

Als mythisches Wesen ist noch der selten vorkommende *Chun-zagahan*, der Fisch-Mensch, bekannt, dessen Oberkörper ein menschlicher Leib, unterer Teil aber Fisch ist. Er kommt so selten und ausschließlich nur im burjatischen Gebiet vor, daß man dabei einen späten russischen Einfluß annehmen muß.[48]

XIV. Die Wirkung des Lamaismus auf die mongolische Mythologie

Früher wurde schon erwähnt, daß der Buddhismus bzw. Lamaismus der mongolischen Mythologie beträchtliche Schäden zufügte. In der Inneren und Äußeren Mongolei wurde kaum etwas von den einst reichen mythologischen Vorstellungen bewahrt.

Im burjatischen Gebiet, wo sich der Lamaismus nicht überall verbreiten, an einigen Stellen gar keine Wurzeln schlagen konnte, entstand infolge des lamaistischen Einflusses eine sonderbare Lage. Infolge dieses Einflusses, der wegen der geographischen Nähe, der Migration, sowie der bewußten Verbreitung unvermeidlich war, erlitt die Mythologie gewisse Veränderungen. In einigen Fällen schlichen die Gestalten des buddhistisch-lamaistischen Pantheons unter Gestalten der mongolischen Mythologie ein, und zwar so, daß sie die Gestalt eines ähnliche Funktion ausübenden mythischen Wesens annahmen, indem sie ihren Namen behielten (*garuda-garudi-chêrdig*), oder sie behielten ihre im Buddhismus erfüllte Funktion mit dem ursprünglichen Namen zusammen, wurden aber zu Gestalten der Mythologie. (*Tjurmas-Qormusda*).

Ein fortgeschritteneres Stadium des Eindringens lamaistischer Vorstellungen in die mongolische Mythologie bedeutete, als sich nunmehr nicht nur Namen und Personen in die mongolische Glaubenswelt einfügten, sondern auch die fremden Geschichten des Buddhismus und Lamaismus in sie eindrangen.

Dieses Eindringen betraf einige mongolische Stämme stärker, andere weniger stark.

Nach den Burjaten von Kuda zerfallen die 99 Götter ebenfalls in zwei Gruppen, und zwar auf die schon erwähnte Weise. Der Führer der westlichen (weißen) Götter ist *Zajaan Sagaan têngêri*, während an der Spitze der östlichen (schwarzen) Götter *Chamchir Bogdo* steht.

Bei den Burjaten von Balagan trat aber an die Stelle des auch bei anderen Stämmen bekannten *Zajaan Sagaan têngêri* der Gott *Chan Tjurmas*, der dem iranischen *Ormuzd*, im buddhistisch-lamaistischen Pantheon *Qormusda*, sowie dem Gott *Indra* des indischen Buddhismus (in seiner Funktion) genau entspricht. Er ist der Hauptgott, der Khan der Götter.[49]

In der Mythologie der Burjaten von Unga ist der lamaistische *Tjurmas*

[49] Im Zusammenhang mit der Erscheinung von *Qormusda* s.: G. Tucci — W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, S. 353.

[48] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij* III, S. 75.

der Führer der westlichen Götter. Der lamaistische Hauptgott drang also in die mongolische Mythologie ein, und da er schon immer die Funktion des Hauptgottes ausgeübt hatte, stach er *Zajaan Sagaan têngêri* einfach aus und nahm seinen Platz ein.[50]

Auch der Name des Führers der östlichen Götter veränderte sich in der Mythologie der Burjaten von Balagan. Bei ihnen trat *Ataa Ulaan* an die Stelle von *Chamchir Bodgo*.

Das Eindringen des Geser-Romans in die burjätische Literatur und Folklore trug ebenfalls dazu bei, daß die Gestalten des lamaistischen Pantheons in die mongolische Mythologie eingebaut wurden. Nach den Burjaten von Balagan hat der westliche Hauptgott *Chan Tjurmas* 3 Söhne: *Zasa Šuchur acha* (der *J̌asa-siker* der mongolischen Geser-Varianten, sein Name ist tibetischen Ursprungs), *Mörgön Tögöldör*, der auch als *Abaj Gêsêr Bogdo Chan* bezeichnet wird, und schließlich *Êrchê Bêlêgtê*.[51]

Auch der Berg *Sêmbêr* (sansk. *Sumeru*), der heilige Berg des Buddhismus, zog in die mongolische Mythologie ein.

Nicht nur das Erscheinen der Namen von Göttern, die eine ähnliche Funktion wie die in der Mythologie vorkommenden Wesen haben, zeigt aber das Eindringen des Buddhismus-Lamaismus, sondern auch die Vermischung, Einfügung dieser in die mongolische Mythologie. Nach dem Mythos von Kuda heiratete zum Beispiel der Sohn des Gottes *Charchir Bodgo*, *Bôchô-têli*, die Tochter des zu den westlichen Göttern gehörenden *Têmêê Nogoon*. Er hatte dann ebenfalls drei Söhne: *Êrlên chan* (*Erlig qaγan*), *Gêgêên burchan* (*Dalai-Lama*) und *Chan Choto Babaj*. Der Mythos gibt also eine Erklärung für das Auftreten des Herrn der ursprünglich fremden Unterwelt und des Dalai-Lama in der burjatischen Mythologie, er schreibt ihnen sogar göttlichen Ursprung zu.[52]

Infolge dieses Eindringens wird das bisher geschlossene mythologische System aufgelockert und beginnt sich mit anderen mythologischen Systemen zu vermischen. *Qormusda* (*Ormuzd*) erscheint nicht allein, sondern bringt auch die 33 Götter, deren Führer er in der iranischen Religion ist, mit sich. Neben den 99 Göttern der mongolischen Mythologie erscheinen auch die 33 iranischen Götter, so nimmt die offizielle Zahl der Götter beträchtlich zu und das logisch aufgebaute dualistische Weltbild bricht (und zwar nicht nur im burjätischen Gebiet!) zusammen.

Qormusda übernimmt die Leitung der Götter, der Dualismus hört auf und der buddhistische *Šākyamuni* wird über alles gehoben.

Die der alten mongolischen Glaubenswelt fremden Elemente lockern die Mythologie auf, der Kampf von *Êrlên chan* gegen *Molontoj* bei den Burjaten

[50] M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij* I, S. 404.
[51] a.a.O., S. 404.
[52] a.a.O., S. 316.

von Kuda oder der Streit des Vogels *Chêrdig* mit *abarga mogoj* gehen auf indische Sagen zurück.[53]

Dieses Eindringen brachte die uralte Mythologie infolge der Alleinherrschaft lamaistischen Kirche in nicht-burjätischen Gebieten beinahe zu spurlosem Verschwinden.

XV. Die Einheit der mongolischen Mythologie

Infolge der besprochenen Wirkung des Lamaismus sind die alten mythischen Vorstellungen aus der Inneren und Äußeren Mongolei so spurlos verschwunden, daß man beinahe geneigt ist anzunehmen, sie hätte nie existiert. Das auf uns begliebene burjatische mythologische System scheint charakteristisch burjatisch zu sein und nichts mit der vorbuddhistischen mongolischen Glaubenswelt zu tun haben.

Dies ist aber unvorstellbar. Nicht nur das mythologische System der einander naheliegenden, und auch sprachlich nahestehenden Völker mußte identisch sein, sondern auch zwischen den mythischen Vorstellungen der aufeinanderfolgenden, sprachlich nicht verwandten Völker bestand infolge der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse eine gewisse Kontinuität.

Wenn die ständige Migration zwischen den burjätischen und nicht-burjätischen Stämmen, die spätere gemeinsame militärische Organisation und die Identität der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse in einigen Gebieten das mythologische System der verschiedenen Stämme auch nicht volkommen gleich machten, brachten sie es doch in großen Zügen und in ihren grundlegenden Prinzipien zu einer annähernden Identität.

Tatsache ist, daß — infolge der bereits ausführlich dargelegten Gründe — in nicht-burjätischen Gebieten nur die alten Mythen nur im Spuren aufzufinden sind. Die aufgefundenen Spuren zeugen aber ohne Zweifel vom ehemaligen Vorhandensein eines mit dem burjätischen annähernd identischen Systems.

Bekannt ist, daß zum Beispiel im III. Kapitel des 1716 in Peking herausgegebenen Geser-Holzdruckes Held Geser nach langem Flehen sich endlich entschließt, das Volk des chinesischen *Güm*-e-Khans vor dem sicheren Untergang zu retten.[54] Da die Frau des Khans gestorben war, gab der Khan in

[53] *Molontoj* oder in der schriftmongolischen Form *Molon toyin*, d.h. Mönch *Molon* ist der Hauptheld eines bekannten Werkes der buddhistisch-lamaistischen Literatur. Er ist ein Jünger des Buddhas *Śākyamuni*, mit sanskritischen Namen Maudgalyāyana, und nachdem er erfahren hat, daß die Seele seiner Mutter nach ihrem Tod in die Unterwelt geraten war und jetzt im Reich des *Erlig* Khan leidet, geht er mit der Erlaubnis des Buddhas Sakyamuni in die Unterwelt und rettet sie. Das Motiv des Kampfes von *abarga mogoj*, dem sanskritischen *nāga*, mit den Schlangen erreichte ebenfalls durch die Verbreitung des Buddhismus im Norden die Mongolei, wurde in die mongolische Folklore eingebaut und zu einem beliebten Motiv der Heldenlieder.

[54] *Arban jüg-ün eǰen . . .*; Pek. xyl., Kapitel III.

seiner Trauer einen Befehl, in dessen Sinne im Lande das Leben aufhörte und das Volk von einer schweren Tragödie bedroht war. Geser wollte sich zuerst nicht in die Angelegenheiten eines anderen Landes einmischen und übernahm die Aufgabe erst nach langem Flehen. Er stellt aber die Bedingung, daß die Köpfe der im Lande lebenden sieben kahlen Schmiede ihm geschenkt werden sollen, damit er in die aus den Schädeln verfertigten Trinkbecher Schnaps gießen und dadurch seiner himmlischen Großmutter *Absa-gürǰe* zur Durchführung der Aufgabe nötig Zaubergegenstände entlocken kann.

Im ersten Augenblick scheint der Haß Gesers gegen die Schmiede, die gar keine Verbindungen zu ihm haben und die schließlich in der Hoffnung der Unterstützung Gesers geköpft werden, unverständlich zu sein.

Nähern wir uns aber der Lösung der Frage mit Hilfe der in burjatischen Gebieten erhalten gebliebenen alten Mythen, so ist die Antwort ganz leicht. In der mongolischen Mythologie ist die Ahne (Großmutter) der westlichen Götter *Manzan Görmö*, d.h. in einer ein bißchen veränderten Gestalt *Absa-gürǰe*. Im östlichen Himmel lebten aber unter der Obhut der bösartigen Götter die sieben bösen *darchan*, d.h. Schmiede, vor denen die westlichen Götter un die Schmiede die Menschen beschützten.

So ist der Haß Gesers und so ist auch seine Forderung verständlich, denn er als einer der westlichen Götter muß pflichtgemäß gegen die Bösen kämpfen. Das dritte Kapitel des Pekinger Holzdruckes hat also die Überreste eines alten Mythos bewahrt.

Der Holzdruck hat für auch den Namen der Ahne der westlichen Götter bewahrt.

In nicht-burjätischen Gebieten wurden auch die 99 Götter — vor allem in Schamanenliedern — bewahrt. In den Anthologien von B. Rinčen begegnen wir den 99 Göttern an zahlreichen Stellen des in nichtburjätischen Gebieten gesammelten Materials.[55]

Die Verehrung des Ewigen Himmels und der Erdenmutter ist überall bekannt, wo nur Mongolen leben.

Die mongolische Mythologie war in ihren Grundzügen vor dem Erscheinen des Lamaismus einheitlich, erst danach ist sie aus einigen Gebieten verschwunden. Die künftigen Sammelarbeiten werden offenbar auch in nichtburjatischen Gebieten viele Denkmäler der uralten, vergessenen Mythen erschließen.

XVI. Die Eigentümlichkeiten der Gattung der mongolischen Mythologie

Eine Eigentümlichkeit der mongolischen Mythologie ist, daß sie — abgesehen von einigen Ausnahmen — in Versen überliefert wurde. Zum Teil die

[55] B. Rintchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol* I, *Sources littéraires*, 1959, Wiesbaden, S. 15, 17, 22, 25 . . . usw.

Heldenepik, zum Teil die Schamanenlieder enthalten die Mythen. Eine eigentümliche Form der mongolischen Folklore ist außer den bereits erwähnten Gattungen *der in Verse gefaßte Mythos*, der weden ein Heldenlied, noch ein Schamanenlied ist, sondern ein ausgesprochener Mythos in der Form des traditionellen mongolischen Gedichtes. Auch die Eingänge der burjatischen Geser-Lieder sind solche in Verse gefaßten Mythen, verbunden mit den späteren Heldenliedern.

Da die Versform die traditionelle Form der Feierlichkeit und der Herstellung von Verbindungen mit dem Überirdischen darstellt, wurden auch die ältesten Denkmäler der Folklore, die Mythen, in Verse gefaßt, und die traditionelle Form des mongolischen Gedichtes entstand zu der gleichen Zeit wie die Mythen.

Mythen in Prosa sind uns bis zum heutigen Tage kaum bekannt. Gibt es auch welche, so sind diese meistens — so weit man das kontrollieren kann — die verdorbenen Varianten der während der Sammelarbeit in Prosa aufgezeichneten, dem Inhalt nach stark abgekürzten, einstigen, in Verse gefaßten Mythen.

Der mongolische Mythos entstand zur Zeit der Urgemeinschaft in einer in Verse gefaßten, gesungenen Form und blieb auch in dieser Form lange Jahrhunderte hindurch auf uns. Der Mythos bildete und arbeitete die traditionelle Form des mongolischen Gedichtes aus, und er erhob es über die Prosa.

Der in Verse gefaßte Mythos hat aber nicht nur einen deskriptiven Charakter, erzählt nicht nur über die Taten der Götter auf eine für die Menschheit gleichgültige Weise, sondern versucht die Götter auch zu beeinflussen. Einzelne — solche aktive — Teile des in Verse gefaßten Mythos wurden dann später selbständig, lösten sich von der großen Einheit und verwandelten sich in andere Gattungen, in Ode, Elegie und Bittgedicht. So entstanden aus der alten Mythologie die *maytayal*, *irügel* und andere, spezifisch mongolische Gattungen.

[56] In den Gesammelten Werken von M. N. Changalov und in der Handschriftenabteilung der Filiale von Ulan-Udê sind zahlreiche in Versen verfaßte Mythen aufzufinden. Wir müssen sie unbedingt von den Heldenliedern unterscheiden, weil sie inhaltlich sehr weit von den letzteren stehen.

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MISCELLANEA

THE *PAÑCATANTRA* IN HUNGARY

The spreading of *Pañcatantra* versions and tales has been studied persistently for the last two hundred years, and there are comprehensive works summing up the results. A huge number of translations, adaptations and imitations was discovered and listed, but the Hungarian translations of this famous fable-collection are unknown to scholars abroad. Actually there is only one translation (published in 1783) mentioned in the international *Pañcatantra* literature, see for instance Chauvin's *Bibliographie Arabe* Vol. II., No. 76/H, p. 54, Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra* p. 41 or the appendix of Tawney's *Kathāsaritsāgara* translation (Vol. V., Table opposite to p. 242). In this short notice I would like to enumerate the Hungarian *Pañcatantra* derivatives.

The first Hungarian descendant of this ancient Indian book came about in the 17th century but most probable it was known already earlier. In Hungary the language of literature was mostly Latin up to the end of the 15th century, and the rise of the national language started only in the 16th century. There is a Latin manuscript preserved in the University Library of Budapest (Cod. Lat. 99.) dated from the end of the 15th century containing a *Kalila and Dimna* text.[1] We do not know whether it was written in Hungary or not, and how it happened to appear here, but we can find allusions to it in the contemporary literature, e.g. in the works of a Hungarian priest, Pelbárt Temesvári (1440—1504), who, quoting the story of the hypocrite cat, calls the attention to a book as his source entitled *Kilil*, which seems to be a *Kalila and Dimna* version.

The author of the first Hungarian translation was Dávid Rosnyai, a clerk and diplomat of the Transylvanian reigning prince Apafi, who carried out different missions in Constantinople between 1665 and 1677. To satisfy his interest in Turkish literature he collected some manuscripts, among them one of the *Humāyun-nāme*, and translated a great portion of the book (including books I—II of *Pañcatantra)* in the years 1678—82, when he was imprisoned because of certain political intrigues. The title *Horologium Turcicum* of his translation is an allusion to Guevara's *Horologium Principum* (Mirror of prin-

[1] Published by Alfonz Hilka, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters* (*Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Nf. Bd. XXI 3).

ces). Rosnyai's work is cast in an amusing style mixing Hungarian with Latin words that was in fashion in chancellery circles at that time. By this he may have intended to render the «high style» of his Turkish original, which was interlarded with Persian expressions. Dávid Rosnyai is also known as the author of important memoires and historical records concerning Turkish—Hungarian —Transylvanian contacts and events of the 17th century. His *Humāyun-nāme* translation was preserved in a single manuscript copy and printed in 1926 by Lajos Dézsi in the series *Régi magyar könyvtár* No. 38, in Budapest.

A complete *Kalila and Dimna* version was printed for the first time in Hungarian in 1781. The book, entitled «*A' régi indusok böltselkedések, azaz: példákkal jó erköltsökre tanító könyvetske*» (The wisdom of the ancient Indians, or booklet teaching morals through examples) was translated by Sámuel Patay de Báj. It seems the only work of this translator. His source was Stark's Latin text which, however, comes from the Greek version of Seth, son of Symeon — in which the names *Kalīla* and *Dimna* are translated erroneously as Stephanites and Ichnelates. Patay's book was published by the episcopal printing shop of the North-Hungarian city of Eger.

Two years leater a new translation of the *Humāyun-nāme* was published in Kolozsvár, the largest city in Transylvania. It was translated from the French adaptation of Galland. This book is known in the international *Pañca-tantra* literature, but its translator is referred to as anonymous. Indeed, there was a long dispute about the identity of the translator, but it is now clear that it is the joint work of two persons. The adaptation was begun by József Zoltán, doctor of medicine, in 1753. But he died in 1763 after translating the first volume of Galland. The translation of the second volume of the French edition was completed only in the year 1781 by András Tsehi, and printed in 1783. The third volume of the French version (made by Cordonne) has never been translated into Hungarian.

We come across a peculiar statement in Tsehi's foreword. He declares that Zoltán had used an Italian text. As no Italian translation of Galland's book is known, we have to suppose Tsehi made his statement only to justify the corrections he carried out in the text of the honored doctor. The Hungarian text corresponding to books II and III of the *Pañcatantra* have been reprinted by the Kőrösi Csoma Society in 1972 under the title: *Bidpai és Lokman indiai históriái* (The Indian stories of Bidpai and Lokman).

In the 19th and 20th century *Pañcatantra* translations were made from the different Sanskrit versions of the collection.

There were four attempts to translate the *Hitopadeśa*, but no complete translation has been undertaken till now. Sámuel Brassai translated the introductory story and the first tale in 1884.[2] Six tales from book II and III

[2] In: *Erdélyi Múzeum-egylet Kiadványai*, 1884. Vol. I. pp. 76—82.

were published in 1906 by Dezső Vértessy[3]. One year earlier the whole first book of the *Hitopadeśa* was translated by Károly Fiók.[4] Finally in 1959 a nicely illuminated book entitled *Hasznos tanítások a Hitópadésa meséiből* (Useful teachings from the tales of the Hitopadeśa) contained fourteen tales translated by István Molnár with a foreword by the early departed Sanskritist Edith Tóth.

The completest and finest translation of *Pañcatantra* into Hungarian is that of József Schmidt, who was one of the best Hungarian scholars in Indology and Indo-European linguistics. After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 he was released from his chair at the University of Budapest because of his progressive views, and from this time on he devoted his life to popularising Sanskrit literature in Hungary. The second edition (the first was printed in 1924) came out in a large-scale edition in 1959 with the important introduction of prof. J. Harmatta in which he discusses the main questions of *Pañcatantra* research. — Schmidt translated the Textus Simplicior of the so called Kielhorn—Bühler edition. Ten tales of the same Sanskrit text have been translated earlier by Károly Fiók, too.[5]

There is some evidence of the existence of another translation based on the *Tantrākhyāyikā* edition of Hertel, which was ready in 1917 (quoted by L. Dézsi in his *Horologium Turcicum* edition, p. 16) made by Pál Büchler — but unfortunately in the years of World War I he could not find a publisher, and the manuscript was lost.

Of course here we only wanted to give a bird's-eye view of the literary translations of the different *Pañcatantra* versions. The tracing and discussion of the folklore connections of *Pañcatantra* tales in Hungary would call for a more extended study.

G. Bethlenfalvy

[3] In: *A Losonczi Magy. Kir. Áll. Főgimnázium Értesítője*, 1905—6, pp. 1—20.
[4] In: *A Kisfaludy Társaság Évlapjai*, Vol. 39, 1905, pp. 124—157.
[5] In: *Budapesti Szemle*, Volumes 1904, 1906, 1909.

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IN MEMORIAM

GLAFIRA MAKAREVNA VASILEVIČ

1895—1971

Mit Glafira Makarevna Vasilevič (Wassilewitsch) verloren wir am 21 April 1971 eine der hervorragendsten Gestalten der mandschu-tungusischen Forschungen unseres Zeitalters. Ihre Arbeiten über die Sprache, Folklore und der Glaubenswelt, sowie die materielle Kultur der Ewenki waren bahnbrechend, ihre wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse bilden ein breites und gut unterbautes Fundament zu allen diesbezüglichen Forschungen der Zukunft.

G. M. Vasilevič wurde am 15. März 1895 zu Petersburg geboren. Nach Abschluß der Mittelschule arbeitete sie einige Jahre bei der Post, später betätigte sie sich im Unterricht. Erst 1920 bot sich ihr die Möglichkeit, neben der Lehrtätigkeit eine Hochschule zu besuchen. Sie studierte an der ethnographischen Fakultät der Geographischen Hochschule in Leningrad bei Lev Jakovlevič Šternberg (Sternberg) und Vladimir Germanovič Bogoraz (Bogoraz-Tan; Waldemar Bogoras). Nach ihrem Studium, lehrte sie von 1924 bis 1931 mandschu-tungusische Sprache und Ethnographie an der Geographischen Fakultät der Leningrader Universität, an der Fakultät nordischer Völker der Orientalischen Hochschule und im Institut der Völker des Nordens. Von 1931 bis 1941 arbeitete sie als Dozentin an der Fakultät der nordischen Völker der nach A. I. Herzen benannten Pädagogischen Hochschule. Diese Jahre trugen bedeutend zur Ausprägung ihrer wissenschaftlichen Orientation bei, denn hier an der Pädagogischen Hochschule wuchsen unter ihrer Leitung jene Studenten ewenkischer Nationalität heran, die zur ersten Generation der ewenkischen Dichter, Schriftsteller, Lehrer wurden. Durch die intensive Anteilnahme und Hilfe, die sie ihren Schülern bei ihren ersten literarischen Versuchen leistete, erarbeitete sie sich ungemein tiefreichende Kenntnisse der Dialekte, der Folklore und des Lebens der Ewenki. Auch als sie dann von 1941 bis zu ihrem Tode im Jahre 1971 in der Leningrader Abteilung des Ethnographischen Institutes der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR und in dem angeschlossenen Museum für Anthropologie und Ethnographie (der ehemaligen Kunstkammer) arbeitete, ließ ihr reger Kontakt zu den in Leningrad studierenden Ewenki nicht ab. Diese Kontakte zu den Ewenki reichten für die begeisterte Forscherin nicht aus, sie nützte alle Möglichkeiten der Feldarbeit in Sibirien. Innerhalb von 44 Jahren, von 1925 bis 1969, d.h. bis zu ihrem 74. Lebensjahr, unternahm sie insgesammt elf Expeditionen, und zwar so, daß sie sich irgendeiner streifenden Taigajäger-Gruppe anschloß und vor keiner Schwierigkeit zurückschreckend, monatelang das Leben ihrer Gewährsleute teilte.

In den Jahren ihrer Lehrträtigkeit an der Pädagogischen Hochschule beschränkte sie sich nicht nur auf die Ausarbeitung der Lehrprogramme, die Zusammenstellung der Lehrbücher und Textsammlungen, sondern sie nahm auch an der Ausarbeitung der ewenkischen Schriftsprache teil. In dieser Zeit beschäftigten sie größtenteils grammatische, lexikographische und dialektologische Probleme, das wiederspiegelt sich in der wissenschaftlichen Ernte dieser Jahre, von der jedoch manche Stücke wesentlich erweitert

erst später erschienen: *Êvenkijsko-russkij dialektologičeskij slovarj*, Leningrad 1934; *Êvenkijsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskau 1940; *Očerk grammatiki êvenkijskogo jazyka*, Leningrad 1940; *Očerk dialektov êvenkijskogo (tungusskogo) jazyka*, Leningrad 1948; *Russko-êvenkijskij slovarj*, Moskau 1948; *Êvenkijsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskau 1958.

Schon einige ihrer linguistischen Arbeiten, besonders manche Wörterbüche: zeugen von ihrem intensiven ethnographischen Interesse, indem sie bei den Benennungen auch die Abbildungen der Gegenstände bringen. Daneben erscheinen von den zwanziger Jahren an auch die musterhaften Beschreibungen der tungusischen Gruppen, die Frau Vasilevič auf ihren Expeditionen besucht hatte: *Na Nižnej Tunguske* : *Severnaja Azija* 1926:5—6, S. 150—157; *Vitimo-tungiro-olekminskie tungusy* : *Sovetskij Sever* 1930:3, S. 30—41; *Tokminskie tungusy* : a.a.O., 1930:5, S. 27—38; *Symskie tungusy* : a.a.O., 1931:2, S. 132—147; *Êvenki Katangskogo rajona*: *Sibirskij êtnografičeskij sbornik* IV : *TIÊ* n.S. LXXVIII (1962), S. 98—121 usw. Von hervorragender Bedeutung sind ihre Monographien, in welchen sie gewisse Gegenstände, bzw. Phänomene des Taigalebens der Ewenki vielseitig, ihre ganze Kultur berücksichtigend, bearbeitet: *Igry tungusov* : *Êtnograf-issledovatelj* 1927:1, 30—34; *Korytoobraznaja narta symskich êvenkov* : *SMAÊ* X (1949), S. 93—97; *Essejskočiringdinskie êvenki* (*Po kollekcii V. N. Vasiljeva, MAÊ, No.* 1004) : *SMAÊ* XIII (1951), S. 154—186; *Ugdan — žilišče êvenkov Jablonovogo i Stanovogo chrebtov* ; *SMAÊ* XX (1961), S. 30—39; *Proizvodstvennyj kostjum êvenkov*, in: *Odežda narodov Sibiri* : *SMAÊ* XXV (1969), S. 137—165. Viele ihrer Monographien wachsen über das engere Gebiet der ewenkischen materiellen Kultur hinaus und müssen als wichtige Beiträge zur Ethnologie ganz Sibiriens gewertet werden: *Tungusskij nagrudnik u narodov Sibiri* : *SMAÊ* XI (1949), S. 42—61; *K voprosu o paleoaziatach Sibiri* : *KSIÊ* VIII (1949), S. 48—52; *Obuvj narodov Sibiri* : *SMAÊ* XXI (1963), S. 3—64. Von noch größerer Bedeutung sind ihre — zum Teil mit M. G. Levin verfaßten — Arbeiten über den Ursprung und die Typen der Renzüchtung und des Rengeschirrs: *Tipy olenovodstva i ich proischoždenie* : *SÊ* 1951:1, S. 63—87; *Olennyj transport*: *Istoriko-êtnografičeskij atlas Sibiri* (Moskau—Leningrad 1961), S. 11—54; *Tipy olenovodstva u tungusojazyčnych narodov v svjazi s problemoj ich rasselenie po Sibiri* : *Doklad na VII Meždunarodnogo kongressa antropologičeskich i êtnografičeskich nauk*, Moskau 1964.

Auch die Fragen der Ethnogenese der mandschu-tungusischen Völker beschäftigten sie oft. Sie näherte sich diesen Problemen bald von der Seite der Sprachverwandtschaft, z.B. : *Materialy jazyka k probleme êtnogeneza tungusov* : *KSIÊ* I (1946), S. 46—50; *K voprosu o načale stanovlenija tungusskich jazykov* : *Tezisy soveščanija po metodologii êtnogenetičeskich issledovanij* (Moskau 1951), S. 2—4; *K voprosu o klassifikacii tungusomanjčžurskich jazykov* : *VJa.* IX (1960):2, S. 43—49, bald von der Seite der Namenkunde, z.B.: *Drevnejšie êtnonimy Azii i nazvanija êvenkijskich rodov* : *SÊ* 1946:4, S. 34—49; *K voprosu o kidanjach i tungusach* : *SÊ* 1949:1, S. 155—160; *Toponimika Vostočnoj Sibiri* : *Izv. Vsesojuznogo geografičeskogo obščestva* XC:4, (1958), S. 324—335; *Samonazvanie oročen, ego proischoždenie i rasprostranenie* : *Izv. Sibirskogo otdelenija AN SSSR* III:9, (1963), S. 71—73 ; *Êtnonim saman > samaj u narodov Sibiri* : *SÊ* 1965:3, S. 139—145 ; *Urankai i êvenki* : *Doklady po êtnografii, Geografičeskoe obščestvo SSSR* III (1966), S. 56—93, bald von ethnographischer Seite aus: *K probleme êtnogeneza tunguso-manjčžurov* (*Po materialam izučenija kolybelej*) : *KSIÊ* XXVIII (1957), S. 57—61; *Tungusskaja kolybelj* (*V svjazi s problemoj êtnogeneza tunguso-manjčžurov*) : *SMAÊ* XIX (1960), S. 5—28.

Vom Anfang ihrer wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn an wendete Frau Vasilevič der Folklore große Aufmerksamkeit zu. Schon als Dozentin der nach A. I. Herzen benannten Pädagogischen Hochschule verhalf sie vielen ihrer ewenkischen Schülern — den späteren Dichtern und Schriftstellern Anastasija Salatkina (Čanka Vakuvagir), Aleksej Salatkin

(Lontogir), Aleksej Platonov, Grigorij Činkov (Edjan) und Alitet Nemtuškin — zur Publikation, bzw. literarischen Bearbeitung der von ihnen gesammelten oder aus dem Gedächtnis abgeschriebenen Stücke ihrer Volksdichtung (vgl. *Êvenki poêty i perevodčiki* : *SÊ* 1950:1, S. 124—136). Aber auch selbst nahm sie an der Sammlung, Publikation und wissenschaftlichen Analyse der ewenkischen Volksdichtung teil: *Sbornik materialov po êvenkijskomu (tungusskomu) foljkloru* : *Trudy Instituta narodov Severa* I, Leningrad 1936; *Torganêj. Sbornik skazok na êvenkijskom jazyke*, Leningrad 1939; *Êvenkijskaja pesnja*: *Sovetskij foljklor* 1940:5, (zusammen mit S. M. Magid). Besonders bedeutend ist ihr Band *Istoričeskij foljklor êvenkov* (Moskau—Leningrad 1966), in dem sie die mythische und die Heldenepik, die historischen Erzählungen der Ewenki mit vielen Anmerkungen und vergleichendem Material vorlegt. Die Folklore zieht sie übrigens auch zur Klärung ethnogenetischer Fragen heran: *Foljklornye materialy i plemennoj sostav êvenkov* : *Trudy II Vsesojuznogo geografičeskogo s"ezda* III (Moskau 1949), S. 355—364.

In den letzten fünfzehn Jahren wendete sich ihr Interesse den Problemen der Glaubenswelt der tungusischen Völkerschaften zu: *Drevnie ochotničji i olenevodčeskie obrjady êvenkov* : *SMAÊ* XVII (1957), S. 151—185; *Rannie predstavlenie o mire u êvenkov*, in: *Issledovnija i materialy po voprosam pervobytnych religioznych verovanij* : *TIÊ* n.S. LI (1959), 157—192. Drei ausgezeichnete Arbeiten auf diesem Themenkreis erschienen in Ungarn: *Ursprung der Gesänge, Tänze, Spiele, Legendenerzählungen und des Schamanisierens bei den Ewenki* : *Acta Ethnographica Hung.* IX (1960), S. 147—157; *Erwerbung der Schamanenfähigkeiten bei den Ewenken (Tungusen)* : *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* Budapest (1963), S. 369—380; *Schamanengesänge der Ewenken (Tungusen)* : a.a.O., S. 382—404. Diese Fragen untersuchen auch ihre postum erschienenen Artikel: *Došamanskie i šamanskie verovanie êvenkov* : *SÊ* 1971:5, S. 53—60; *O kuljte medvedja u êvenkov*, in: *Religioznye predstavlenija i obrjady narodov Sibiri v XIX—načale XX veka* : *SMAÊ* XXVII (1971), S. 150—169.

Frau Vasilevič war es noch vergönnt, die wichtigsten Resultate ihrer Forschungen in zwei Synthesen zusammenzufassen, uzw. in ihrer Dissertation für den Grad eines Doktors der Wissenschaften: *Êvenki, istoriko-êtnografičeskie očerki (XVIII—načalo XX v.)*, Leningrad 1969; bzw. in einem vor der Publikation stehenden Werk von ungefähr 500 Druckseiten: *Materialy jazyka, foljklora i êtnografii k probleme êtnogeneza tungusov.*

G. M. Vasilevič stand mit den ungarischen Kollegen in einer regen und produktiven wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit. Davon zeugen sowohl ihre oben erwähnten bei uns in Ungarn erschienenen Arbeiten, mit denen sie sich den von V. Diószegi geförderten Schamanismus-Forschungen anschloß, wie ihre Hilfsbereitschaft, der jeder von uns immer gewiß sein konnte. Noch wenige Wochen vor ihrem Hinscheiden bewies sie das, als sie mich mit ihren Folkloristen-Schülerinnen bekanntmachte, vielleicht schon in Vorahnung ihres baldigen Abschiedes.

Für die kommenden Wissenschaftlergenerationen wird Glafira Makarevna Vasilevič noch lange die klassische Berufungsstelle sein in allen Forschungen, die sich auf die Ewenki, ihre Sprache oder Kultur, oder andere mandschu-tungusische, bzw. schlechthin sibirische Völker beziehen, die Verfasserin, auf deren Material und Ergebnisse man sich — ob einverstehend oder polemisierend — stützt. Für uns jedoch, die wir sie kannten, bleibt sie vor allem das Ideal der vor keiner Schwierigkeit zurückschreckenden, unermüdlichen Forscherin, die mit breiten Kenntnissen, mit tiefem und echtem Hummanismus sich den Fragen der Kultur und der sie hervorbringenden Menschen widmete.

Käthe U.-Kôhalmi

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CHRONICA

LA CONFÉRENCE INTERNATIONALE DE L'U.N.E.S.C.O. SUR L'ASIE CENTRALE, ACHKHABAD, 1972

Six pays, l'U.R.S.S., la Mongolie, l'Inde, le Pakistan, l'Iran et l'Afghanistan, dont les savants travaillent sur le projet de l'Asie centrale sous l'égide de l'U.N.E.S.C.O. tiennent leur conférence internationale annuelle. Une des entrevues précédentes, la conférence de Douchanbé, 1968, fut consacrée à l'histoire des Kouchans, peuple de langue iranienne de l'antiquité. La conférence de 1972 s'était fixé pour but d'examiner les problèmes du développement social et culturel des pays de l'Asie centrale au XIXe et au XXe siècles. Cette conférence, organisée par le Comité soviétique pour les affaires de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., par l'Institut oriental de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. et par l'Académie des Sciences de la République Socialiste Soviétique de Turkménie se réunit dans la belle oasis d'Achkhabad, capitale du Turkmenistan, du 26 septembre au 5 octobre.

Invité par l'académicien B. G. Gafurov, président de la conférence de 1972, j'ai eu l'honneur de participer au travail de la conférence et, comme un de ses nombreux hôtes et l'un des deux délégués hongrois, de passer dix jours au Turkmenistan, en y jouissant de l'hospitalité de l'Académie turkmène. (Les frais de notre voyage ont été payés par l'U.N.E.S.C.O.)

Le Secrétariat de l'U.N.E.S.C.O. a été représenté par M. N. Bammate et par M. V. Tiourine.

La conférence qui a été ouverte par M. N. Bammate, représentant le Directeur général de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., a travaillé en deux sections, l'une pour les problèmes historiques, l'autre pour les thèmes culturels; les participants soviétiques, orientalistes, historiens, ethnographes, spécialistes des langues, des littératures et des arts, sociologues etc., délégués de Moscou et d'autres centres scientifiques, en particulier, les savants des républiques de l'Asie soviétique, ainsi que les participants des autres pays associés au projet et les experts venus de Turquie, de France, d'Écosse, des deux Allemagnes, de Pologne, de Tchécoslovaquie, d'Italie, de Finlande, du Danemark etc., ont eu la possibilité de délibérer sur plus d'une centaine d'exposés et de contributions concernant les divers aspects du thème central, le XIXe et le XXe siècles. Ce sont les problèmes et les résultats du développement récent des pays soviétiques de l'Asie centrale qui dominaient dans les contributions soviétiques: les grandes étapes du développement des nations de l'Asie centrale (B. G. Gafurov, Moscou), la modernisation des anciennes terres d'irrigation (B. V. Andrianov, Moscou, et A. R. Muchamedžanov, Tachkent), le progrès de l'industrie et le développement culturel et technique du peuple du Kazakhstan (T. Asimbaev, Alma-Ata), le développement des traits nationaux dans la culture traditionnelle des Kirghiz (B. D. Džamgerčinov, Frunze), le développement du village turkmène au XXe siècle (D. Davletov et M. Mošev, Achkhabad), le développement social et culturel des peuples de l'Asie centrale [Srednjaja Azija] et du Kazakhstan d'aujourd'hui (M. Gapurov, Achkhabad), l'histoire des relations interethniques dans la région de l'Amou-Darya inférieure (S. Kamalov, Nukus), le poète Magtymkuli dans la culture des peuples de l'Asie centrale (B. A. Karryev,

Achkhabad), le système lexical et stylistique de la langue littéraire kazakh (S. K. Kenesbaev, Alma-Ata), les mémoires en tant que sources pour l'étude de l'histoire de l'Iran du XIXe siècle (O. Melikov, Bakou), le «style animal» dans l'art populaire de l'Asie centrale (E. A. Novgorodova, Moscou), les transformation de la vie économique et sociale des nomades et des semi-nomades de l'Iran (V. V. Trubeckoj, Moscou), tradition et innovation dans la culture turkmène moderne (I. R. Vinnikov, Moscou), céramique populaireen Asie centrale (L. A. Žadova, Moscou), États nationaux et frontières nationales en Asie centrale (T. A. Ždanko, Moscou) etc. etc. R. Amonov (Douchanbé) a présenté ses principes quant a la publication de la tradition orale et ses résultats relatifs dépouillement électronique des matériaux folkloriques, l'exposé de Mme M. Chamidžanova (Douchanbé) concernait le passé et le présent des Yaghnobis, descendants des Sogdiens. M. L. I. Mirošnikov (Moscou), l'un des organisateurs de la conférence, nous a tracé une esquisse de l'histoire des relations diplomatiques entre l'U.R.S.S. et les pays de l'Asie centrale. Les contributions des délégués de la Bouriatie et du Touva — deux républiques autonomes de la Fédération russe — ont montré le développement accéléré de la vie scientifique de Ulan-Udé et de Kyzyl. D. D. Lubsanov (Ulan-Udé) nous a donné un rapport des activités de nos confrères bouriates dans le domaine des études orientales, bouriates, mongoles et tibétaines; A. I. Ulanov a fait un exposé sur la littérature bouriate moderne; Ju. L. Arančin et L. V. Grebnev, Kyzyl, sur le développement du Touva, A. K. Kalzan — sur la littérature touvinienne, A. B. Čyrgal-Ool — sur la musique du Touva.

Dans leurs conférences M. Louis Bazin (Paris) et M. B. Ögel (Ankara) ont fait l'éloge du développement de la philologie turque dans l'U.R.S.S. et en particulier dans la Turkménie. Le Prof. Š. Nacagdorž, membre de l'Académie des Sciences de la République Populaire de Mongolie a traité du développement moderne de son pays, M. N. Sêr-Odžav, archéologue mongol, a examiné certains problèmes d'archéologie et d'histoire culturelle.

M. László Földes (Budapest) qui a résumé les recherches hongroises relatives l'ethnographie des peuples nomades a souligné l'importance de l'oeuvre de György Almássy, voyageur hongrois de la fin du XIXe siècle. Dans une brève communication, j'ai esquissé la description du code de l'État mongol dit autonome; j'ai signalé certains passages de cette source juridique (probablement la première constitution de la longue histoire mongole et le dernier code «médiéval») qui contiennent des données intéressantes pour l'ethnographie historique.

Pendant la conférence, les journaux locaux comme le *Turkmenskaja Iskra*, le *Večernij Ašchabad*, le *Mugallymlar gazety* (*TSSR Chalk magaryf ministrliginiη ve TSSR Magaryf, jokary mekdep chem de ylmy êdaralarynyη išgärleriniη profsojuzynyη respublikan komitetiniη organy*, la gazette des *mu'allim* contemporains), le *Êdebijat ve sungat* (*Türkmenistan SSR Jazyjylar sojuzynyη pravleniesi bilen Medeniet ministrliginiη organy*), le journal littéraire et culturel et le *Sovet Türkmenistany* (*Türkmenistan Kommunistik partijasynyη Merkezi Komitetiniη, Türkmenistan SSR Jokary Sovetiniη ve Ministrler Sovetiniη organy*) ont régulièrement informé leurs lecteurs des travaux de la conférence (*«Merkezi Azija jurtlarynyη XIX—XX asyrlarda social ve medeni tajdan ösüši bojunča Junesko-nyη Chalkara konferencijasy»*).

Plusieurs expositions culturelles ont été ouvertes au public durant notre séjour dans la capitale turkmène, une exposition de livres turkmènes a été inaugurée par M. N. Bammate, le représentant de l'U.N.E.S.C.O. à la conférence. Nous avons visité le Musée des Beaux Arts, une petite exposition ethnographique, une fabrique de tapisserie et son petit musée de tapis, une école, les théâtres de langue turkmène, des cinéma qui présentaient des films sur l'Asie centrale, l'hippodrome avec des purs sangs des Teke, etc.

Dans les instituts de l'Académie turkmène, p.e. dans l'Institut de linguistique et de littérature turkmènes dont les savants ont édité le *Türkmen diliniη sözlügi* (par le feu M.

Ja. Chamzaev et autres, Ašgabat 1967) et sont en train de préparer la nouvelle édition de ce magistral dictionnaire de la langue turkmène, à la Bibliothèque publique ou à l'Université, nous avons pris connaissance des importants résultats scientifiques obtenus par les savants turkmènes. Je ne mentionne ici que les titres de certaines publications nouvelles: *Grammatika turkmenskogo jazyka*, časti I (Ašchabad 1970, 503 p.), par M. Ja. Chamzaev et par B. Čaryjarov, *Razvitie turkmenskogo jazyka za sovetskij period* (Ašchabad 1972) par A. M. Annanurov, *Türkmen diliniŋ Ärsary dialekty* (Ašgabat 1972) par A. Annanurov, par P. Berdiev, par N. Durdyev et par K. Šamyradov (avec un petit *sözlük*, glossaire dialectologique), *Xäzirki zaman türkmen diliniŋ, leksikologijasy* (Ašgabat 1972) par Jazmuchammet Čöŋŋäev, *Ètnografičeskij očerk naselenija jugo-vostočnogo Turkmenistana* (*konec XIX—načalo XX v.*) par A. Džikiev (réd. Dž. Ovezov, Ašchabad 1972).

Nous avons vu la vie et le développement dynamiques de ce pays dans sa capitale et en province, p.e. dans la région de l'ancienne ville de Merv (Mary) dont les monuments archéologiques sont voisins de Bayram-Ali, centre d'une riche ferme d'État sur les rives du magnifique canal Karakoum, ainsi qu'aux environs d'Achkhabad, près des villages de Göökča et de Bagyr qui se trouvent dans le beau site des ruines de Nisa (Nusai), ancienne capitale de la Parthyène, au pied du Kopet Dag. Ces excursions ont été généreusement organisées par nos confrères soviétiques.

Les participants à la conférence ont été reçus par l'Académie turkmène (dans la salle de l'immeuble moderne de l'Hôtel Achkhabad dont l'ornementation contient entre autres les éléments de l'écriture koufi) et par le Conseil des ministres de la Turkménie.

La scéance de clôture eut lieu dans la salle du Soviet Suprême (orné de magnifiques tapis turkmènes dont un des motifs, le *gŏl* ou «lac» avec les *ǧāδ ayaq* ou «pattes d'oie», était l'emblème de la conférence; pour ce motif cf. S. Myradova, *Chalyčylyk ve êl išleriniŋ sözlügi*, Ašgabat 1967, 100 p., p. 37: *gŏl = chaly ve chaly önümleriniŋ ortasyna iči birnäče ovnuk nagyšly süjrüräk «o» charpy görnüšinde salynjan êsasy nagyš. Göller dürli dürli bolmagyna görä, chersiniŋ ady bašgača boljar.*, p. 30: *gäzajak = gazyŋ ajagynyŋ yzyna menzedilip, iš processleriniŋ ächli görnüši bilen êl išlerinin chemme görnüšlerine êdiljän nagyš. Bu nagyš beǰerilen örnümiŋ gyrasyna, älemine ve ortasyna salynjar.*).

Les résumés des 69 exposés soviétiques ont été présentés en plusieurs langues (p.e. *Tezysy dokladov učenych SSSR*, Moscou 1972, 255 p., lithogr.), les textes des exposés et des contributions paraîtront dans les Actes de la conférence.

Pour terminer, je voudrais souligner l'importance de ses conférences organisées en Asie centrale, sur l'Asie centrale, conférences qui contribuent la connaissance mutuelle et, surtout la connaissance des savants des pays de l'Asie centrale et de leurs travaux *in situ*.

G. Kara

THE 24TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHINESE STUDIES

From 3rd till 9th September 1972 the Sinologisch Instituut in Leiden (Holland) acted as host to the 24th International Congress of Chinese Studies held with the participation of about 150 scholars from 18 countries in «Leeuwenhorst» Congress Center in Noordwijkerhout, near the beautiful ancient university town of Leiden.

At the plenary and sectional sessions of the Congress, 45 papers on many different topics were presented.

Several papers dealt with the history and literature of «pre-modern» China. Some of them concentrated on the problems of China in the 17th century.

In their papers («The Mortality Table of the Ming period» and «Etude de conjuncture démographique: la province du Hupei au 17e siècle») M. Cartier and P. E. Will tried

to reconstruct the mortality table of this period as a first step towards a better understanding of the dynamics of the Chinese population.

Great attention has been paid to R. Ruhlmann's paper on «Mao Zonggang's Commentary on the San Guo Zhi Yanyi». It was a very significant analysis of the literary criticism and the political philosophy of an eminent scholar in the 17th century.

The problems of pre-17th century history were the topics of the papers of M. Loewe («The Grand Beginning — 104 B. C.»), A. F. P. Hulsewé («New Light on the Hsi-yü chuan»), A. A. Bokshanin («Middle Age Chinese Military Strategy and Tactics — e.g. the 1399—1402 War») and S. Kuczera («Some Remarks on Capital Punishment in Ancient China»).

Some aspects of the connections between China and neighbouring peoples were dealt with by W. Franke («Some Remarks on Relations between China and Borneo prior to the 16th Century») and H. J. Zaborowski («Koreanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Ming-Zeit»).

Historical preliminaries of the modern Chinese political consciousness and problems of modern history and contemporary China were discussed among others by R. Felber («Remarks on some Modern Re-interpretations of the Traditional Chinese ta-t'ung Conception»), V. A. Krivtsov («On Formation of National Consciousness of the Chinese people») and D. Bing («A Dutch Revolutionary in China: H. Sneevliet and the First National Party Congress of the CCP»).

Several papers were devoted to the questions of modern Chinese literature. Their main problem was the relation between tradition and innovation in literary works and movements, e.g. in '20s and '30s and today (D. W. Fokkema, «The Forms and Values of Contemporary Chinese Literature»; F. Gruner, «Zum Verhältnis von Tradition und Neuerertum in einigen erzählerischen Werken der modernen Chinesischen Literatur»).

The same problem of tradition and innovation in archeology was investigated by M. von Dewall («The Nascence of Modernity and the Renascence of Antiquity: a Critical Valuation of Archeology in Present-Day East Asia»).

A few papers dealt with the written and spoken Chinese. The paper of F. D. M. Dow («The Prosodic Features of Chinese») presented significant results. The report of I. Lindskog («Lao She's Use of Images: A Computer Study I.») drew intensive attention.

Last but not least, I mention the work of the bibliographical session. Valuable information was offered in the report of Y. Hervouet about the «Matériaux de recherches sur la période Song» and in the report of W. Franke about the «Ming Bibliography».

We have learnt much not only from the papers and the discussions on them, but also from talks in the intervals, during the receptions in the Sinologisch Instituut and the Museum van Volkenkunde in Leiden and during the enjoyable excursion. It was the opinion of all the participants that the organization of the Congress, the technical preparations and the hospitality of the Dutch Sinologists were excellent.

Mary Ferenczy

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CRITICA

S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*. II. *The Community*. Berkeley — Los Angeles — London 1971, 8° pp. XVI + 633 (University of California Press)

Das Vorwort des II. Bandes des grossen Werkes ist von dem 3. April 1970, dem 70. Geburtstag des Professors Goitein datiert. Hiemit verewigte er diesen Tag in der Geschichte der Wissenschaft. Übrigens verschloss er sich gegen die Herausgabe der geplanten Festschrift. Die Bibliographie seiner Schriften jedoch — ein ganzer Band — befindet sich im Druck. Im Vorwort spricht der Verfasser nicht von sich, sondern beschwört mit rührenden Worten das Andenken seiner Mutter, die vor einem halben Jahrhundert starb. «It gives me deep satisfaction that now, exactly fifty years later, I am able to revive the memory of that unusual woman : beautiful and well read, of stern principles, but unbounded kindness, steeped in the romantic idealism of the nineteenth century — and always silent and enigmatic.»

Auch die Dedikation gilt ihr mit den Worten ihrer Grabinschrift :

«When Rav Joseph (who was blind)
heard
the steps of his mother, he said to
his students : 'Let me stand up ; I
perceive the Presence of God approach-
ing'.»
(Kidd. 31b)

Die Pietät kommt auch anderwärts im Buche zum Ausdruck, wenn er in einer Anmerkung seines Lehrers in Frankfurt am Main, Jakob Posen, gedenkt (pp. 546—547, Anm. 20.).

Es lohnt sich noch einen Augenblick beim Vorwort zu verweilen. Der Verfasser gesteht, zum Verständnis der Gesellschaft der Genisa hätte ihm die Erkenntnis des Lebens in drei Ländern verholfen: in Jemen, in Palästina und in den Vereinigten Staaten. Vom dritten macht er folgende interessante Äusserung : «We do not wear turbans here ; but, while reading many a Geniza document one feels quite at home.»

Vom dreistöckigen Gebäude ist dies der zweite Stock. Über den ersten schrieben wir an dieser Stelle (XXII [1969], pp. 136—138). Dort war von den wirtschaftlichen Umständen die Rede, hier vom inneren Leben. Dort entwickelte er seinen Stoff in vier Kapiteln, hier bietet er ihn — obgleich er reichlicher ist als der frühere — in dreien dar.

Das V. Kapitel spricht von den Gemeinschaftsorganisationen und Institutionen, ferner von ihren Leitern, den Gaonim und Nagidim ; von ihren sozialen Organisationen und Zuwendungen, z.B. von Verpflegung, ärztlicher Versorgung, Unterricht, Leichenbestattung, von Unterstützung der Durchreisenden, Auslösung von Gefangenen, von der Synagoge, ihrer Architektur und Einrichtung (in diesen zwei Kapiteln erhält der Kunsthistoriker ganz neuen Stoff), ferner vom synagogalen Leben. Maimonides ist dagegen, den Sarg des Toten in die Synagoge hineinzutragen. Auch von der Trauung in der Synagoge findet sich keine Spur in der Genisa (pp. 163—164.).

P. 137. Zur Auslösung der Gefangenen wollen wir bemerken, dass wir auch von Auslösung von Büchern Kenntnis haben (*Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in honor of I. Edward Kiev* [New York 1971], pp. 420—423.).

Das VI. Kapitel behandelt die Erziehung. Dieser widmete der Verfasser schon früher ein besonderes Buch (*Jewish Education in Muslim Countries* [Jerusalem 1963]; s. darüber meine Besprechung: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII [1964], pp. 363—364.). Die Dokumentation erscheint hier mit bedeutendem Stoffe erweitert. Es wird z.B. behandelt: der Elementarunterricht, der Mädchenunterricht, die soziale Lage des Lehrers, Unterricht von Erwachsenen, höherer Unterricht, Gelehrte, Richter, Prädikanten, Kantoren und andere Religionsfunktionäre, Schreiber und Abschreiber, Ärzte, Apotheker und Parfumeure, u.s.w.

P. 562/9. Eine wissenswerte Bemerkung lesen wir vom singenden Talmudlernen: Dieses geht auf den die Worte des Lehrers weitergebenden Interpreten, den Meturgeman zurück. Eine andersartige Beleuchtung des Gegenstandes finden wir bei L. Venetianer, der auf Grund von Gersons «Talmudischer Judenschatz» 1614, die Tonzeichen der Singweise des Talmudlernens publiziert (*IMIT Évkönyve*, 1896, pp. 311—318.).

P. 563/22. Auch wir haben zum Beweis des sagenhaften Charakters der Geschichte von den vier Gelehrten beigetragen: *Acta Antiqua* X (1962), pp. 233—235.

P. 564/1. Weitere Daten zur Tätigkeit von Josef Rosch ha-Seder s. A. Scheiber, *JJS*. XX (1971), pp. 68—77; Allony—Scheiber, *Kirjath Sepher* XLVIII (1972/73), pp. 152—172. Zu seinen Kopien kommt noch : MS. Cambridge, T.-S. N.S. 97/11, MS. Mosseri, P. 60/4 ; 186. (Für die zwei letzteren schulde ich Herrn Prof. E. Fleischer Dank.)

Das VII. Kapitel untersucht das Verhältnis der Staatsreligion zu den Juden. Es erwähnt zwei grosse Beispiele der Judenverfolgung. Vielmals störte man die Leichenzüge, schändete die Grabsteine (p. 285.). Er zeigt uns drei grosse Gestalten des Zwangsübertrittes zum Islam: den Dichter Isaak Ibn Ezra, Abrahams Sohn und Juda Hallevis Schwiegersohn (sein Diwan geriet unlängst durch Kauf von der Familie Silverra in den Besitz des Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Prof. M. Schmelzer bereitet ihn jetzt für den Druck vor); den Philosophen Abu'l-Barakat und Samuel al-Maghrebi, der seine gewesene Konfession in einer polemischen Schrift angriff (*Iḥām al-Yahūd*. Ed. M. Perlmann [New York 1964].). Über den ersten erhalten wir zahlreiche unbekannte Daten, einige davon im Zusammenhang mit der letzten Reise Juda Hallevis (pp. 302—303.).

Der Proselytismus machte hauptsächlich unter den Christen Eroberungen. Teils führte das Studium des Alten Testaments zu ihm (siehe A. Grabois, *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel in Memory of Zvi Avneri* [Haifa 1970], pp. 97—116.).

Wir hören, dass aus der Feder des Schreibers der von Assaf und von mir herausgegebenen Texte (*Essays Presented to Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie* [London 1967], pp. 377—380.) — eines früher europäischen Klerikers — ein neuerer Brief zum Vorschein kam (T. S. 12. 244.), in dem er einer Frau dankt für das schmackhafte Brot und das Rezept seiner Zubereitung. Es sei bemerkt, dass beim Auftauchen meines Textes ich auch das Gefühl hatte, daß diese Handschrift identisch sei mit der Handschrift der von Assaf bekannt gemachten romantischen Geschichte und ich teilte meine Mutmassung auch einigen Freunden mit. Dann aber nahm ich Abstand, darüber zu schreiben.

Den Proselyten des Briefes Or. 1080. J. 115. hält er für keinen Europäer, sondern meint, er stamme aus der Nähe von Damaskus. Den Fall Johannes-Obadja erhalten wir in geistanregender Zusammenfassung.

Schon früher versprach der Verfasser, die Geschichte des Proselytismus auf

Grund der Dokumente der Genisa zu schreiben. Nun gibt er seiner Freude Ausdruck darüber, dass er den Plan nicht verwirklichte, da der Stoff stets im Anwachsen sei (p. 311.).

Im letzten Teil befasst er sich mit der staatlichen Gerichtsbarkeit und der der Gemeinde. Es gab auch nicht-mohammedanische Beamten in der Administration (pp. 374—380; MS. Kaufman No. 123/f spricht von einem christlichen Finanzer, der Juden wie Islamiten Geld abpressen wollte).

Wir wissen nicht, was wir mehr bewundern sollen, die zusammengetragene riesige Stoffmenge, oder die unbeschränkte Beherrschung derselben; dass der Verfasser das Ganze zu überblicken und gleichzeitig sich in geringsten Einzelheiten zu vertiefen vermag; oder ob wir mehr über die strenge Technik und Kunst des Aufbaus staunen sollen.

Seine Lektüre erweckt in uns das Gefühl, dass die schier unübersehbare Menge der herausgegebenen Texte erst dadurch Bedeutung gewinnt.

Mit hochgespanntem Interesse erwarten wir den dritten Band. Der Verfasser jedoch hält nicht seine Leistung für das Wichtigste, sondern die gewonnene Gewissheit, dass es möglich ist, das Corpus sämtlicher Texte der Genisa ins Leben zu rufen. Möge seine Bitte, seine Sehnsucht geneigte Ohren finden!

A. Scheiber

Journal of Arabic Literature. Vols. I. (164 pp.) and II. (197 pp.), 1970—1971, Leiden: E. J. Brill

In the highly specialized scientific world of today when an ever-increasing amount of materials and data from different fields of research waits to be presented and interpreted in a proper way, it is a pleasure for scholars and students alike to welcome the appearance of a new periodical which deals with a clearly defined subject. These greetings are also due to the first two volumes of the Journal of Arabic Literature, the only series of this kind which meets a long-felt want of Arabists. As a matter of fact, owing to lack of space, the existing, traditional orientalistic journals cannot cope sufficiently any more with the vast range of problems that may arise in the most different branches of oriental sciences. To improve the situation in the domain of Arabic studies, the editors of the Journal wish to provide «a forum for the discussion of Arabic literature» and in the long run to develop a «coherent critical approach that may strike a balance between Arab and non-Arab views of this literature». Beside literary essays and scholarly articles, they would like to offer an appropriate place for translations of modern Arabic literature. Judging by the contents of its first two volumes, the Journal will be successful in realizing its multiple purpose. The great majority of the articles deals with topics from modern Arabic literature (e.g. *Za'balāwī* — Author, Theme and Technique, The Diwan School, Muḥammad Thābit, a Modern Arab Traveller, *The Lamp of Umm Hāshim*: The Egyptian Intellectual between East and West, Islam in Modern Egyptian Literature, Themes Related to Christianity and Judaism in Modern Egyptian Drama and Fiction, to cite but a few) and, although, most of them is concerned with Egypt, one can certainly hope that literatures of other Arab countries will be also given their due place. The translations repesent a selection of modern Arabic poetry from several countries and a short story by Rashād Rushdī. To serve the needs of «popularisation», which is one of the proclaimed aims of the Journal, an article by R. Park on problems concerning the translation of Arabic poetry is worth mentioning. Because of its character the Journal will be also useful to anybody who takes interest in literature in the broad sense of the word.

A. Fodor

PERTTI VALTONEN, *Suomen mustalaiskielen etymologinen sanakirja* [Etymological dictionary of the Finnish Gypsy language], Helsinki 1972, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 138 p. (*Tietolipas* 69.)

The nice small volume published in the high-level Finnish popular linguistic series *Tietolipas* comprises some 2,500 entries. Many of them contain more than one word (derivate forms); thus, the actual number of the listed words is higher. Apart from the isolate words as lexical units, standing phrases are also included in the Dictionary. The meanings of the Gypsy words are added in English, too, which makes the book accessible for students of Gypsy lore unfamiliar with Finnish.

As the Introduction (p. 5—9, in Finnish) expounds, the recent collections of words from texts recorded on tape were complemented by the materials of earlier Finnish Gypsy dictionaries and unpublished word lists (Ganander 1779, Thesleff 1901, O. Jalkio † 1952, A. Kronqvist † 1957). The sources (including the names of the Gypsy advisers consulted) are indicated in each item. Words living to-day are referred to only from the last source; obsolete words are cited from earlier publications or manuscript word lists. Some main trends in the historical evolution of the Finnish Gypsy dialect since the first recordings are briefly mentioned (e.g., *dž* > *j*, *ds*, *s*, *dj*; etc.).

The etymologies of the words were checked by P. Aalto and H. Halén. They are in accordance with the Gypsy etymological tradition based on the works of Miklosich and Sampson. In the case of words inherited from Indian references are made to Turner's dictionary. The etymologies are, on the whole, reliable. As a matter of fact, a small number of the words remains unexplained. In a few cases, however, when no unequivocal derivation can be established, the alternative etymons from different languages as given in the Dictionary are partly impossible. E.g., p. 43 *džungalo* «dirty» is not Hungarian *csúnya* (Wolf 574; the Gypsy word is pre-Hungarian); p. 51 *guosos* «ware» cannot be Italian *cosa*; p. 99 *randžavā pes* «undress oneself» is not Hung. *ruház* «dress» (Wolf 2683). In similar uncertain cases, the reference to Wolf's temerarious hypotheses is somewhat misleading. Similarly, on the other hand, if the source of a loan word can be stated with certainty, it is unnecessary and even misleading to add further corresponding words from other languages, e.g.: p. 27 *biblos* «Bible» < Scandinavian *bibel* where referring to modern Greek *biblos* (more precisely, *vivlia*!) is false; p. 51 *guruša* «money» was, in this dialect, borrowed from German and it would be better not to add Czech *groš*, Polish *grosz*, Hung. *garas*, Turkish *guruš*; p. 18 *ādur*, *ādžur* «thousand» < Iran. *hazār* has nothing to do with Hung. *ezer* (notwithstanding the fact that Hung. *ezer*, too, is an early Iranian loan-word) or with Sanskrit *sahasra*; similarly, *dex* «ten» < Sanskr. *daśa* and *efta* «seven» < Greek *eftá* are unconnected with Pers. *dăh* and *häft*.

In this Gypsy dialect, there are no Hungarian loan words. Thus, all occasional (alternative) allusions to eventual derivation from Hungarian are to be cancelled (see the examples above). The isolate word from Thesleff's dictionary *mešo* «lime» < Hung. *mész* (?), if authentic, must be due to foreign dialectal influence in the tongue of an individual Gypsy group met by Thesleff somewhere in Scandinavia.

Some five words seem to be borrowed from Roumanian (*bubunis* «blister» < *buboi*; *ke* «that, when, if» < *că*; *kresso* «curly» < *creț*; *mūra* «berry» < *mură*, *varekaj* «somewhere» < *oare*-). As to *ke*, derivation from Iranian *ki* could also be imagined. The word *faxa* «swaddle» < Roum. *fașa* is, perhaps, a German loan word in Gypsy. All these words may be peculiar only to the tongue of certain Finnish Gypsy families who have come in contract with wandering Vlax (Roumanian) Gypsies outside Roumania, on Scandinavian territory; borrowing from other

Gypsy dialects is no unparalleled phenomenon.

Among other loan words, Scandinavian (Swedish, first of all) borrowings are numerous. A random statistical survey of the letters *l—m* (pp. 73—84 of the Dictionary) shows that of a total amount of 166 items 64 are loan words from Swedish (or some other Scandinavian language), 53 are of genuien Indian (Sanskrit) stock, 27 are from Finnish, 5 South-Slavonian, 3 Greek, 3 Iranian, 1 Armenian, (1 Roumanian?) and 9 of unknown origin.

Some minor remarks: p. 24 *bandžuvā* «bend» ~ **bhañjati* is impossible (Sanskrit *bh* > G. *ph*); the verb is a derivate with *-j-* suffix from *bango* «curved», like Vlax Gypsy *bango* > *banďuvav*. The same type is p. 25 *barjuvā* «grow» erroneously derived from *pālayati* and mistaken for the independent *parjuvā* (corr.: < *baro* «great», cf. Vlax *bāro* > *bāruvav*). P. 41 *dži* «heart» is not Sanskrit *hṛdaya-* (> Vlax *jīlo*) but Armenian *ogi* (< Vlax *dī*). P. 22 *aulos-mannos* «enemy» is perhaps Iranian *dušman*. P. 23 *bax* «will» (hapax legomenon?) is perhaps *baxt* «happiness». P. 54 *hīdruvā* «quiver» (Slavonian?) is unconnected with German *zittern* for the word is attested also in South-East European Gypsy dialects uninfluenced by German). P. 58 *ka* «when» is perhaps abridged form of *kana*. P. 70 *xing los* «kind of weapon for self-defence» < *xinn* «horn» (?). P. 85 *natšavā* «not hold»: cf. Vlax *našavav* «drive away» < *nāšav* «run» (dial. for *naxxavā*?). P. 112 *sterdā* «pull» ~ Vlax *cirdav* (< *σέρνω*?).

The book ranks among the most solid works of contemporary Romani philology.

J. Vekerdi

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LE SACRIFICE OFFERT AUX ANCÊTRES DANS L'*HISTORIE SECRÈTE*

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

Peu après la mort de *Yisügei* on allait isoler *Hö'elün üǰin* dans son clan. Le premier conflit se déroula à l'occasion d'une cérémonie de sacrifice offert aux ancêtres. *Örbei* et *Soqatai*, veuves de feu *Ambaqai qahan* se rendirent, avec leurs gens, sur les lieux de la cérémonie sans avertir *Hö'elün*, d'où une violente querelle entre les trois femmes. Aussi les détails concernant la cérémonie (qui n'étaient que trop connus à cette époque pour s'y arrêter), sont-ils restés à l'arrière-plan. C'est sans doute pourquoi, «ce passage est un des plus difficiles de l'*Histoire secrète*», comme l'a affirmé A. Mostaert qui est le dernier à avoir discuté ce passage.[1]

D'après les allusions éparses et les informations bien maigres fournies à ce sujet par les textes chinois, voici comment on peut restituer la cérémonie. Au printemps on se rendit à un endroit déterminé pour célebrer le sacrifice en présence des membres du clan. Les détails de la cérémonie nous échappent. Le peu qui en reste probable c'est qu'une personne compétente, le chamane a présidé à la cérémonie. C'est avec de la viande et de la boisson qu'on a procédé au sacrifice. Une partie de la nourriture et de la boisson a été offerte aux mânes des ancêtres. Mais comment? Il reste toutefois probable qu'une partie de la viande a été brûlée dans (des trous creusés dans) la terre, cet acte est suivi d'une libation (arrosée de boisson fermentée). Tout le reste de la cérémonie regardant les ancêtres nous demeure inconnu. Il n'en est pas moins certain qu'une partie de la viande et de la boisson est restée intacte et qu'elle a été distribuée aux participants de la cérémonie.[2]

[1] A Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*: *HJAS* XIII, 1950, pp. 297—308.

[2] Mostaert (pp. 302—303) s'est référé à un passage du *Yuan-che* (77, 16a-b) où on lit qu'à la 12e lune, après le 16, un officier mongol dut amener des chamanes «à l'effet de creuser un trou en terre afin d'y brûler de la viande; qu'on la brûlait ensemble avec des liqueurs spiritueuses et du lait de jument [= koumisse]; et que les chamanes invoquaient les noms des empereurs décédés et offraient le sacrifice». A. Wittfogel—Fêng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society*, p. 284, note 219, ont montré que le sacrifice *chao-fan* existait déjà chez les Leao et les Kin. Sur les cérémonies d'offrandes et sur les fêtes

D'ailleurs voici le passage en question dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* (II 2a § 70): *tere qabur Ambaqai qahan-nu qatut Örbei Soqatai ǰirin yekes-e qaǰaru inerü qaruqsan-tur Hö'elün üǰin otču qoǰit gürčü qoǰida⟨'u⟩'uldaǰu Hö'elün üǰin Örbei Soqatai ǰirin-e ügülerün . . . yekes-ün kešig-eče bile'ür-eče sarqud-ača yekin qoǰida'ulumui ta.*[3] D'après la nouvelle interprétation de Mostaert (p. 307) il faut l'entendre: «Ce printemps, quand les qatun d'Ambaγai qahan, Örbei et Soqatai, toutes deux, célébrèrent pour les ancêtres le [sacrifice appelé] *qaǰaru inerü*, Hö'elün-üǰin s'y rendit, mais arrivant trop tard, elle fut laissée en arrière [des autres] (= elle ne reçut pas sa part des mets offerts, les parts étant déjà distribuées). Hö'elün-üǰin dit aux deux [qatun] Örbei et Soqatai . . . comment [me] frustrez-vous (m.à.m. «me laissez-vous en arrière») de la part des offrandes aux ancêtres, de l'excédent de la viande de sacrifice et de la viande offerte [elle-même]?»

La principale difficulté reste toujours l'expression *qaǰaru inerü qaruqsan*, glosée 地裏燒祓祭祀 *ti-li chao-fan tsi-sseu* «le sacrifice qui consiste à brûler dans la terre de la nourriture». Cette glose intermédiaire ne s'adapte pas au mot-à-mot mongol, elle se borne à commenter, au lieu de traduire, l'expression mongole toute faite, sans doute parce que le commentateur de la fin du XIVe siècle ne la comprenait plus. Par ailleurs, rien ne garantit que la transcription chinoise soit correcte.[4] Dans ces conditions il est impossible pour le moment de résoudre cette question.

En même temps nous sommes à même de serrer de plus près les problèmes posés par quatre termes discutés à propos du passage examiné.

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1. *tüleši* «sacrifice de nourriture brûlée».

C'est l'équivalent mongol du chin. *chao-fan* «nourriture brûlée en offrande aux défunts». Dans l'*Histoire secrète* le terme mongol n'apparaît que sous la

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d'offrandes chez les peuples altaïques, voir Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki 1938), pp. 562—577.

[3] Pour le texte mongol, voir L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (*Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I*), Budapest 1972, p. 42.

[4] Avant tout, la transcription *inerü* me paraît douteuse. Mostaert avait raison de refuser d'y voir un verbe **ine-* «sacrifier»; *-rü* a l'air d'une désinence de directif (faut-il lire *inaru*?). La transcription *qaǰaru* (je l'ai maintenue sous bénéfice d'inventaire) me paraît indéfendable. En fin syllabique, le car. 魯 *lou* peut très bien rendre un *-l* ou un *-r* final étranger (dans le même paragraphe, nous avons *bol⟨u⟩qui* pour *bolqui*). Cela nous donnerait donc *qaǰar* tout simplement. Il s'agit en effet de «la terre», appuyée apparemment par le chin. *ti-li* «dans la terre, en terre», mais comment expliquer alors l'absence, en mongol, de la désinence du locatif? Ou bien devons-nous voir là un complément direct dépendant d'*inerü qaruqsan*? Pelliot, dans un de ses travaux considère le membre de phrase *yekes-e qaǰar-u inerü qaruqsan-tur* comme obscur; P. Pelliot—L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, Leiden 1951, p. 323

forme d'un dérivé, *tülešile-* (*ede bidan-i tülešilen aǰu'u*; V 31b § 161, répété au VI 29a § 177; éd. Ligeti, pp. 114, 135). D'abord Palladius, ensuite Wang Kouo-wei, puis sur les pas de ce dernier A. Mostaert ont rattaché ce verbe au terme qui nous occupe ici.[5]

Quant au substantif *tüleši* (<*tüle-* brûler»), il n'est attesté en mong. lit. que dans l'acception de «combustible, bois de chauffage» (Kow. III, 1916), «fuel» (Less., p. 852); il en est de même des dialectes actuels: khal. *tüš* «combustible, bois de chauffage» (Luv. 431), bour. *tülišê*, id. (Čer. 456), kalm. *tülüš* «1. Brennmaterial (Holz, Argal, Ötök, Gras usw.); 2. Urne (mit Asche des Verstorbenen)» (Ramst. 415); ord. *t'ùliši*, id. (Most. 686).

Mais A. Mostaert a montré qu'en ordos *t'ùliši* est encore usuel dans une acception spéciale: «nourriture qu'on brûle en offrande aux mânes des ancêtres».

Au recoupement ordos offert par A. Mostaert on peut ajouter: kalm. lit. *tülüši*, *tüliši* «repas funéraire», *cayān temēgēr tülüšēn idöülügsen* «tu as fait manger (de la viande) du chameau blanc en repas funéraire»[6] (Pozdn., p. 206, cité du texte kalmouk de «l'Histoire d'Ubaši Qung tayiǰi», éd. par Galsang Gomboev).

L'ancien terme chamaniste réapparaît dans un texte bouddhique, tantrique pour rendre une notion foncièrement différente. Dans la version mongole de *Pañcarakṣā* due à Šes-rab seṅ-ge (éd. P. Aalto,[7] pp. 18—20) on lit à cinq reprises[8] le passage suivant:

Siru-a kiged Qormusda:
yirtinčü-yi sakiyčid ba Makišvari:
čidküd-ün küregen-i terigülegčid:
köbegüd-lüge[9] *nigen-e Qarini ber:*

[5] Pour les références à Palladius et à Wang Kouo-wei, voir P. Pelliot—L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, p. 233. A. Mostaert a discuté dans une longue note (*op. cit.*, note 14) le sens exact du verbe *tülešile-* et il a conclu qu'il fallait le comprendre: «regarder [quelqu'un] comme s'il était du **tüleši* (=*chao-fan* 'nourriture brûlée en sacrifice au défunt' et qui ne sert plus à rien)». Pour ma part, je comprends un peu différemment: «faire, rendre [quelqu'un] *tüleši* non «parce qu'il ne sert plus à rien», mais afin de le sacrifier à l'ennemi, de le faire anéantir par l'ennemi.

[6] Mot-à-mot: «tu as fait manger leur repas funéraire avec [la viande] d'un chameau blanc».

[7] Pentti Aalto, *Qutuγ-tu Pañcarakṣā kemekü Tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur*. Nach dem Stockholmer Xylograph 15. 1. 699, hgb. — *Asiatische Forschungen*, Band 10. Wiesbaden 1961.

[8] Les cinq passages se trouvent: (éd. Aalto. pp. 18 (16b), 19 (17b, 18a), 20 (18a, 18b); éd. Kara, pp. 35 (15b), 36 (16a), 37 (16b), 38 (17a), 39 (17b).

[9] Aalto, p. 18 (16b) *köbegüd-iyer-iyen*.

minu öggügsen čečeg küǰi kiged:
ene tülesi-yi abudqun:
teden-ü qatayuǰil-tu kičiyenggüi kiged:
erke küčün čoγ ǰali-bar:
qamuγ ebedčid-i[10] *ebderegülkü boltuγai:*

La version mongole revue par Ayusi rend notre passage ainsi (éd. Kara,[11] pp. 35—39);

Bürin[12] *tengri kiged J̌ayun öglige-tü:*
yirtinčü-yi sakiγčid ba Yeke erketü:
qoor[13] *öggügči-yin küregen-i*[14] *terigülegčid*[13]*:*
köbegüd-luγ-a nigen-e Buliγči eme[15]*:*
minu öggügsen čečeg küǰi kiged:
ene tülesi-yi abudqun:
teden-ü qatayuǰil-tu kičiyenggüi kiged:
erke küčün[16] *čoγ ǰali-bar:*
qamuγ ebedčin-i[17] *ebderegülkü boltuγai.*

L'original tibétain est ainsi conçu:

Chaṅs-pa daṅ ni Brgya--byin daṅ |
'ǰig-rten skyon daṅ Dbaṅ-phyag čhe |
gnod-sbyin sde-dpon thams-čad daṅ |
'Phrog-ma bu-daṅ bčas-pa daṅ |
bdag-gi me-tog spos-dag daṅ |
sbyin-sreg 'di ni blaṅ-bar-gyis |
de-dag-gi ni brcon-'grus daṅ |
gzi-brǰid dbaṅ-phyug stobs-kyis kyaṅ |
nad-rnams thams-čad 'ǰoms-par 'gyur.

Les deux variantes mongoles rendent fidèlement le texte tibétain qui veut dire: «*Śatakratu* et *Brahmā*,[18] les gardiens du monde et Maheśvara, les

[10] Aalto, p. 18 (16b) *ebedčin.*

[11] G. Kara, *Az öt oltalom könyve, Pañcarakṣā. Ayusi átdolgozott kiadása* [Le livre des cinq protections. Pañcarakṣā. Traduction remaniée d'Ayusi]: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole], vol. VIII, Budapest 1965.

[12] Kara, p. 35 (16b) *Bürün.*

[13] Kara, p. 35 (15b) la ligne se lit: *Buliγ-či em-e-luγ-a nigen-e ber.*

[14] Kara, p. 37 (17b) *küriyen-i.*

[15] Kara, p. 37 (17b) *em-e ber.*

[16] Kara, pp. 36 (15b), 37 (16b), 37 (17b) *küčün kiged.*

[17] Kara, p. 37 (16b) *ebedčitü-yi.*

[18] Cette divinité figure, dans les textes mongols, normalement comme *Esrua.* Les formes mongoles sont empruntées à l'ouigour où nous avons *Äzrua* et *Zärua* (*DTS*, p. 639). Les termes ouigours remontent au sogdien *'zrw'*.

chefs de la classe des démons, Hāritī[19] avec ses fils ensemble, acceptez les fleurs que je vous ai offertes et cette offrande de sacrifice brûlé. Par les efforts soigneux, par leur puissance et leur majesté, qu'ils anéantissent toutes les maladies.»

Dans les versions mongoles, *tülesi* est le traduction du tib. *sbyin-sreg* qui signifie «burnt offerings as made Tantrik Buddhists» (Das, p. 940). L'expression tibétaine est encore interprétée par le mong. *γal mandal* «cercle de feu; holocauste» (Kow. II, 996). Noter encore: tib. *sbyin-sreg-gi za — me-lha*, mong. *öglige tülesi idegči — γal-un tngri* «mangeur de l'offrande brûlée» (Sumatiratna II, p. 359); tib. *sbyin-sreg-gi thab-khuṅ*, mong. *γal mandal-un ǰuuqa*[20] «endroit pour mettre le feu, autel sur lequel on brûle les victimes ou les offrandes (Kow. II, 996).

Un autre passage du *Pañcarakṣā* offre une liste des démons (*bhūta*), on y rencontre encore le mot *tülesi* faisant partie du nom d'une catégorie de démons: *tülesi idesiten* «ceux qui ont pour nourriture l'offrande brûlée» (éd. Aalto, p. 39; éd. Kara, p. 75), ce qui répond au tib. *zas-su sbyin-sreg za-barnams* (xyl. f. 3a).[21] Ici encore le tib. *sbyin-sreg* est rendu par le mong. *tülesi*.

Enfin le même nom de démon est traduit en ouigour comme *oot-qa čōklämiš-ig yitäči-lär* (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II, p. 61:8—9), traduit par Müller, «die das ins Feuer *Geschüttetes Essenden», par *DTS*, p. 155, comme «qui dévorent ceux qu'on a laissé tomber dans le feu». Le verbe *čöklä-* n'est, jusqu'ici, pas attesté dans les dictionnaires turcs, et l'interprétation de Müller, précédée d'un astérisque, a été considéré par lui-même comme hypothétique. Il paraît certain que *čöklä-* est un dérivé du nom *čök*, et à ce dernier on peut

[19] Sur *Hariti*, voir L. A. Waddel, *Lamaism* (Cambridge 1934), pp. 99—100; Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford 1928, pp. 84—87. La forme mongole *Qarini* demande une explication.

[20] Cf. encore mong. lit. *ǰuuqa* «creux que l'on fait en terre pour y mettre du feu; 2. foyer»; *ǰuuqa-yin eǰen* «l'esprit du foyer (cette dernière expression répond au tib. *thab-lha* et au chin. *tsao-chen* ou *tsao-kiun*), Kow, III, pp. 2371—2372. Sur *Tsao-kiun*, voir H. Doré, *Manuel des superstitions chinoises*, Changhai 1926, p. 215.

[21] La même liste revient encore une fois dans le *Pañcarakṣā*, avec une autre construction (éd. Aalto, p. 56; éd. Kara, p. 109): *tülesi idesiten-eče . . . sakin üiledtügei* «libérez-nous . . . des mangeurs de sacrifice brûlé». Un peu plus loin, dans le même passage on lit encore: *üküǵülüǵčid* [A *üküǵülüǵčin*]-*eče*: *urbayuluy-čid* [A *urbayuluyčin*]-*ača*: *qob sib-ača*: *alyasayuluyčid* [*alaγsayuluyčid* de M. Aalto est un *lapsus*] [A *alyasayuluyčin*]-*ača*: *tülesi-yin kereg ǰaray-ača*: *tülesi-eče*: *ebdegči-eče*: *ǰarudasun-ača*: *vitar* [A *ükeger bosuyčin*]-*ača*: *sedkil yegüdkegülüǵčin-eče . . . sakituyai*. En tibétain (xyl. II, f. 24b): *gšed-byed daṅ | sgyur-ba'i las daṅ | byaṅ daṅ | g-yeṅs byed daṅ | sbyin-sreg-gi yo-byad daṅ | sbyin-sreg daṅ | 'ǰoms-pa daṅ | pho-ña daṅ | ro-laṅs daṅ | sems-sgyur-ba daṅ | . . . bdag-la bsruṅ-ba gyis-šig*». En traduction: «Sauvez-moi des tueurs, des détourneurs, des malédictions, des détourneurs d'âmes, des accessoires du sacrifice brûlé, du sacrifice brûlé, des destructeurs, des messagers (de la mort), des démons cachés dans les cadavres, de ceux qui font tourner l'esprit».

toutefois rattacher: tat. Kaz. *čük* «ein Volksfeiertag am Vorabend der Fasten vor Pfingsten» (Radl., *Wb.* III, 2190); tchouv. *ťšük* «Opfer, Opferung, Opferfest; der Geist der Opferung» (Paasonen, p. 189), *čük* «sacrifice, immolation; mets de sacrifice» (N. A. Andreev, *Čuvašsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1961, p. 544); emprunts au turc: vog., tchér. *čok* «heidnisches Opfer», hongr. *csõk* [= *čök*] «Taufschmaus» (Gombocz—Melich, *Lexicon Critico-etymologicon* I, 1174).

Le nom chinois, identifié à l'expression ouigoure par Müller, est appelé 食燒食魂 *che chao-che kouei* «démons mangeant des offrandes brûlées.»

Sur la liste des démons, voir encore *infra*, s.v. *bilegür*.

2. *kešig* «part de l'offrande aux ancêtres».

Le sens proprement dit du mot a été établi correctement par Mostaert: «parts des comestibles offerts en sacrifice aux ancêtres lesquelles sont distribuées aux assistants». Pour appuyer cette interprétation il s'est réclamé de l'ord. *ɕaliī ɕėšik* «part de la viande et des autres mets offerts aux dieux du feu qui est distribuée aux assistants» et du mgr. *p'urɕāni ɢəşəɢ* «part qu'on reçoit d'un animal sacrifié aux dieux».

Ces formes sont inséparables du mong. lit. *kesig* «grâce, faveur, bonté, bienfait, bonheur, charité», *ülegsen kesig-ečegen nadur öggünem* «il nous rend les restes de l'aumône» (Kow. III, 2459), *kesig* «grace, favor, blessing; good luck or good fortune; turn (one's place, time, or opportunity in a scheduled or alternating order).» (Less. 460); khal. *chišig* «aumône, don» (Luv. 527); bour. *chêšêg* «cadeau fait à la jeune fille à marier» (Čer. 632).

Le mong. *kesig* «part, portion; sort; bienfait, charité, faveur, etc.» est un emprunt au turc *käsig*, *käsik* «pièce, morceau» < *käs-* «couper» (cf. Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 469). En revanche mong. *kešik* «garde, tour de garde; ordre» remonte, par un intermédiaire *käsik* (qui a donné automatiquement, en mongol, *kešik*), au turc *kezik* «marche, promenade; garde, celui qui monte, la garde, tour de garde; rang, file, ordre»[22] (tchag., PdC p. 485 [< *kez-*], pour les formes

[22] Rašīdu-'d-Dīn écrit *kazīk* et *kazīktān-ān* (*-ān* est un pluriel persan); cf. Berezin I, p. 268 (*kzyky'n*, lire *kzykt'n*). Doerfer, *TMEN* I, pp. 467—471. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* II (Paris 1963), p. 815, s. v. *Quasitan*. Pour expliquer *kešik* «garde» par le turc, Pelliot s'est réclamé de l'autorité de Kāšγarī, dans l'édition de Brockelmann, où l'on a en effet *käšik* «Wachtposten». Mais ce dernier terme, au sens indiqué, ne figure que dans l'édition de Brockelmann (p. 106), et c'est une erreur fâcheuse pour *kišig*, accusatif de *kiši* «homme». D'ailleurs Brockelmann n'a que répété son ancienne erreur (*Asia Major* I, p. 43; 15). Correctement on a: *uluγluq-uγ bulsa sän äδgü qïlïn | bolγïl kišig bäglär qatïn yaχšï ulan* «si tu arrives à une haute dignité, améliore ton caractère et deviens un bon représentant des affaires des gens avec les *bäg*»; cf. la traduction turque de Besim Atalay (*Divanü Lûgat-it-türk tercümesi*) I, p. 64, s. v. *uluγ* et Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 908, s. v. *yaχšï*. Par ailleurs, là, Pelliot a sûrement raison d'avoir rattaché turc *käzik* «fièvre, fièvre intermittente» au *käzik* «rang, tour de rôle. Le mot turc cette fois

turques voir Clauson, *Etym. Dict.* pp. 758—59). Enfin mong. *keseg* «morceau, partie, lambeau, fragment» (Kow. III, p. 2456)[23] remonte à son tour à une forme turque *käsäk*, id. < *käs* «morceau» (selon Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, pp. 749—750, c'est un dérivé, avec *käsik*, *käsük*, du verbe *käs-* «couper»), n'a rien à voir avec le mong. *kešig* «part, portion, etc.». Il n'en reste pas moins qu'il y a une confusion entre les trois séries de mot dès le XIIIe siècle: les textes chinois donnent parfois *kesek* pour «garde» et les dictionnaires des dialectes actuels réunissent en un seul mot les deux homonophones. Pour ce dernier, voir l'interprétation de Lessing citée plus haut, où ord. *gešik* signifie, outre le sens indiqué plus haut, «office à remplir à tour de rôle» (Most., p. 252) et mgr. *kẹṣẹg* «service ou corvée qu'on fait à tour de rôle» (DM p. 199).

Le *kešig* «la part de l'offrande distribuée aux assistants» était, paraît-il, composée avant tout des restes de la viande et des restes de la boisson spiritueuse.

3. *bile'ür* «restes de la viande sacrifiée».

Le sens du mot est assuré par la glose chinoise qui est 餘胙 *yu-tsou* «excédent de la viande «offerte en sacrifice aux ancêtres». Mostaert a refusé, à bon droit, le rapprochement avec *solyo bileü* «[gâteaux en forme de] pierre à aiguiser», proposé par Pelliot. Le mot est en effet rare et Mostaert n'avait pas d'autres recoupements mongols à l'appui de la glose chinoise.

Or la liste des démons du *Pañcaraksā*, cette fois encore, nous en fournit un.

Voici la liste des démons (nous nous contenterons de renvoyer, entre crochets, aux variantes offertes par la version d'Ayusi), cf. éd. Aalto, pp. 30—40, éd. Kara, p. 75.

Butinar-un [A *čidküd-ün*] *ayimaγ-ud öngge čirai idesiten* [A *buliγči*]: *umai idesiten*: *čisun idesiten* [A *uγuγči*]: *qoroγu tosun idesiten*: *miq-a idesiten*: *ögekün idesiten*: *čimügen* [A *čimegen*] *idesiten*: [A *töregsed-i idesiten*]: *amin idesiten* [A *buliγčin*]: *sačuli* [A *baling*] *idesiten*: *erike idesitenî*: *törögsen idesiten* [A deest]: *ünür idesiten*: *küǰi idesiten*: *čečeg idesiten*: *ür-e idesiten*: *tariyan idesiten*: *tülesi idesiten*: *ögesün idesiten*: *qoyinalaysan-i* [A *arčiγsan yaǰar-i*] *idesiten*: *sigesün idesiten*: *bilegür idesiten*: *nilbusun idesiten*: *silüsün idesiten*:

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encore a trouvé son chemin jusqu'au mongol où il apparaît sous les formes *kesig*, *keǰig*, *kiǰig* «epidemic, pestilence, infectious disease, infection» (Less., p. 475). Il est notoire que le *z* turc a donné, en mongol, soit un *s*, soit un *ǰ*; à ce sujet voir mes remarques dans *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXXIII, 1961, p. 243.

[23] Le *Mongyol Nanggiyad üsüg-ün toli bičig* II, f. 233a explique le mong. *keseg* par le chin. 肉塊 *jeou-k'ouai* «un morceau de viande»; *kesig* discuté plus haut n'a rien à voir dans l'affaire, nous sommes sans doute en présence d'une expression ellyptique pour *miqan-u keseg*.

nisun idesiten: *burtaγ-i idesiten*: *bögelǰisün* [A *bögelǰigsed-i*] *idesiten*: *čuburiquy-yi idesiten* [A *baling-ača čuburiqui uγuγčid*].[24]

Voici l'original tibétain (xyl., II, ff. 2b—3a):

'byuṅ-po'i chogs gzi-byin 'phrogs daṅ | zas-su mṅal za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su khrag 'thuṅ-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su žag za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su ša za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su chil za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su rkaṅ za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su bcas-pa za-ba-rnams daṅ | srog 'phrog-pa-rnams daṅ | zas-su gtor-ma za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su phreṅ-ba za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su dra [lire *dri*] *za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su bdug-pa za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su me-tog za-nba-rnams daṅ | zas-su 'bras-bu za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su lo-tog za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su sbyin-sreg za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su rnag 'thuṅ-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su phyi sa za-brnams daṅ | zas-su gčin 'thuṅ-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su lhag-ma za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su mčhil-ma za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su ṅar-snabs za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su snabs za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su mi-gcaṅ-ba za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su skyugs-pa za-ba-rnams daṅ | zas-su stor-khuṅ-nas 'bab-pa 'thuṅ-ba-rnams.*[25]

En traduction: «Assemblée des démons: mangeurs [voleurs] d'apparence extérieure, mangeurs d'utérus, mangeurs [A buveurs] de sang, mangeurs de graisse fondue,[26] mangeurs de viande, mangeurs de graisse [non fondue],

[24] Ainsi que je l'ai indiqué plus haut, la même liste revient encore une fois, avec une autre construction, dans le Pañcarakṣā. Il est intéressant de voir que, cette fois, les deux versions mongoles suivent plus fidèlement l'ancienne tradition du texte; il est non moins surprenant que dans quelques cas ce soit la version d'Ayusi qui nous offre des formes archaïques. Mais voici le texte (éd. Aalto, p. 56: 23a; éd. Kara, p. 107: 23b—24a): *öngge čirayi* [A *čirai*] *buliyči* [A *buliyčin*]*-ača*: *umai idesiten-eče*: *miq-a idesiten-eče*: *čisun idesiten-eče*: *qoruγu tosun idesiten-eče*: *ögekün idesiten-eče*: *čimügen idesiten-eče*: *törögsen-i idesiten-eče*: *amin buliyčin-ača*: *sačuli idesiten-eče*: *erike idesiten-eče*: *ünür idesiten-eče*: *kǖǰi idesiten-eče*: *čečeg idesiten-eče*: *ür-e idesiten-eče*: *tariyan idesiten-eče*: *tülesi idesiten-eče*: *ögesün idesiten-eče*: *qoyinalaγsan-i* [A *ariγsan γaǰar*] *idesiten-eče*: [*tülesi idesiten-eče*: *ögesün idesiten-eče*: *qoyinalaγsan idesiten-eče*: répétition erronée]: *sigesün idesiten-eče*: *nilbusun idesiten-eče*: *sülüsün* [A *silüsün*] *idesiten-eče*: *nisu* [A *nisun*] *idesiten-eče*: *bögelǰigsen-i idesiten-eče*: *bilegür idesiten-eče*: *burtaγ-i idesiten-eče*: *čuburiγsan-i idesiten kiged* [A *kiged-de*]*-eče sakin üiletügei* [A *üiledtügei*].

[25] Le texte tibétain (II, f. 24b) se fait remarquer par quelques omissions sans doute involontaires: *zas-su mdaṅs za-ba daṅ | zas-su mṅal za-ba daṅ | zas-su ša za-ba daṅ | zas-su khrag 'thuṅ-ba daṅ | zas-su žag za-ba daṅ | zas-su chil za-ba daṅ | zas-su rkaṅ za-ba daṅ | zas-su bcas-pa za-ba daṅ | srog 'phrog-pa daṅ | zas-su gtor-ma za-ba daṅ | zas-su phreṅ-ba za-ba daṅ | zas-su dri za-ba daṅ | zas-su bdug za-ba daṅ | zas-su me-tog za-ba daṅ | zas-su 'bras-bu za-ba daṅ | za-su lo-tog za-ba daṅ | zas-su sbyin-sreg za-ba daṅ | zas-su rnag 'thuṅ-ba daṅ | zas-su phyi-sa za-ba daṅ | zas-su gčin za-ba daṅ | zas-su mčhil-ma za-ba daṅ | zas-su ṅar-snabs za-ba daṅ | zas-su snabs za-ba daṅ | zas-su skyugs-pa za-ba daṅ | zas-su mi-gcaṅ-ba za-ba daṅ | zas-su stor-khuṅ-nas 'bab-pa 'thuṅ-ba-las bsruṅ-ba gyis-šig.* Par un fâcheux hasard, entre autres, le membre de phrase *zas-su lhag-ma za-ba daṅ* a sauté sous le stylet du graveur.

mangeurs de moelle, [mangeurs de nouveau-nés], mangeurs [A voleurs] de vie, mangeurs d'offrandes aspergées, mangeurs de chapelet, mangeurs de nouveau-nés [A deest], mangeurs d'odeurs, mangeurs d'encens, mangeurs de fleurs, mangeurs de grains, mangeurs de moisson, mangeurs de sacrifice brûlé, mangeurs de pus, mangeurs d'excrément,[27] mangeurs d'urine, mangeurs

[26] Le sens du mot tibétain est assez vague: tib. *žag* «clot of blood, film on tea, that is cooling down, or any film that is formed on liquid generally, as on milk when it is allowed to cool after being boiled», «fat or grease in a liquid state, also fat melted and congealed again» (Das, p. 1065). Dans notre liste j'ai adopté le sens de «graisse fondue» et j'ai réservé l'interprétation «graisse non fondue» au tib. *chil* («fat non melted»: *snum-žag*, Das, p. 1027; mong. *ögekün* «graisse, lard, suif», Kow. I, p. 561). Le terme mongol est encore plus problématique. Les deux éditions du texte mongol ont adopté la leçon *quruyu* (avec une variante *quriyu*). Pour ma part j'ai lu *qoruyu* (<*qoru-*; sur le suffixe *-yu, -gü*, voir Poppe: *Keleti Szemle* XX, p. 95). Selon A. Mostaert, le mot n'est pas attesté dans le mong. lit. Toutefois *qoru'ul-*, dérivé de *qoru-* figure dans l'*Histoire secrète* (XI 24a § 254; éd. Ligeti, p. 225): *boqda qadun eke-yü'en tosun duran qoru'uljᵘ sün ǰürügen e'ede'üljü ügülemüi či* «tu parles à faire figer les sentiments de beurre et à faire aigrir le coeur de lait de ta mère, la sainte dame». La glose 敎凝 *kiao-ning* «faire durcir» est correcte et nous avons là un verbe *qoru-* qui signifie, comme le tib. *žag*, «faire fondre (la graisse) et puis figer de nouveau». C'est ici qu'il faut compter encore avec kalm. lit. *χoryun* «graisse fondue de brebis» (Pozdn., p. 96), kalm. *χoryn* «geschmolzenes Fett, Talg» (Ramst., p. 187). Ils sont inséparables de ces derniers: mong. lit. *qoryu, qoruu* «spot in eye, film, cataract» (Less., p. 970); khal. *χuruu* «taie» (Luv., p. 567); bour. *χorgo*, id. (Cer., *RBS*, p. 32); au point de vue sémantique, voir *supra*, le tib. *žag*. Voici comment Sumatiratna (II, p. 685) nous explique le mot *žag*: en tibétain: *žag ni ša rñiṅ rus rñiṅ sogs bcos-pa'i žag*; en mongol- *qoryu tosun*: *silün tosun*: «*qayučin miq-a qayučin yasu*: *terigüten-i činaysan-u tosu*» «*žag* veut dire graisse provenant de la cuisson d'anciennes viandes, d'anciens os, etc.» L'interprétation du terme, en mongol, rend littéralement celle du tibétain, à l'exception du terme même *žag*; avant de l'interpréter en mongol, il rend le mot tibétain par deux synonymes mongols: *qoryu tosun* et *silün tosun*. La première expression nous est bien connue, elle est enregistrée en kalmouk, au sens de «graisse fondue»; *silün tosun* signifie la même chose (*silün* «soupe, bouillon» vaut ici pour «liquide, fondu»). Un autre exemple offert par Sumatiratna est non moins intéressant: tib. *žag-gi sor ris — žes sor-mo gsum-gyi ri-mo-la žag-gi zo ris žes 'khrul*; mong. *yurban quruyun-u ǰiruy*: *quriyun-u tolbalaysan — kemekü yurban quruyun-u ǰiruy-i qoruyu tosun-u ǰiruy kemekü inu endegürel*. Tib.: «dessin du doigt engraissé» — «le dessin de trois doigts», au lieu de «dessin de la tache de graisse» — «est une erreur». Le mongol reproduit la définition de l'expression sans rien y changer, seule l'expression (*žag-gi sor ris*), comme de coutume, est rendue, pour mieux la faire comprendre par le mong. *yurban quruyun-u ǰiruy* «dessin de trois doigts» et par *quriyun-u tolbalaysan* «taché au doigt». Dans cet exemple on retrouve donc *qoruyu tosun*, l'expression discutée du *Pañcarakṣā*.

[27] Tib. *phyi-sa* «excrements; the supposed food of certain demons» (Jäschke, p. 350; Das, p. 836). Le mong. *arčiysan yaǰar* offert par la version d'Ayusi est une traduction du modèle tibétain (*sa* «terre»; *phyi-dbar byed-pa* «to clean, to cleanse; Jäschke, p. 350); *ariysan* dans un autre passage, doit être un *lapsus* du graveur. Ye-šes rdo-rje donne, dans le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol (p. 351), *phyis* (et non pas *phyi-sa*), expliqué en mongol, entre autres, par *pa-ka-sva* [= *bayasu*] et *'ar-čhig-san* [= *arčiysan*]. Les formes *qayiqalaysan* et *quyiqalaysan* offertes par M. Aalto s'expliquent mal; pour ma part, je suis enclin à

des restes [de la viande de sacrifice], mangeurs de larmes, mangeurs de salives, mangeurs de morves, mangeurs de souillure, mangeurs de vomissure,[12] mangeurs [buveurs] de ce qui coule [du cloaque] [de l'offrande aspergée].[28]

Le terme qui nous intéresse, se trouve donc, avec *tülesi*, dans un milieu étrange, mais il n'en reste pas moins certain que *bilegür* de la liste est identique à *bile'ür* de l'*Histoire secrète*. *Bilegür* de la liste est la traduction du tibétain *lhag-ma* qui n'est recueilli dans les grands dictionnaire qu'au sens de «remainder, the excess». Ce sens général est encore confirmé par le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna (II, p. 1325) où tib. *lhag-ma* est traduit en mongol par trois mots: *ülebür*, *bilegür* et *ilegüü*. Le premier et le troisième mot ne posent aucun problème: cf. mong. lit. *ülebüri* «1. superflu; 2. le reste; 3. le reste du bien, l'héritage. (Ye-še rdo-rǰe traduit dans son dictionnaire, p. 480, le tib. *lhag-ma*, par le mong. *ul-de-pur*, donc *üldebür*, et ce dernier peut être rapproché du khal. *üldver* «le reste», Luv., p. 480); mong. lit. *ilegü*[*ü*], *ülegü*[*ü*] «trop, plus, plus qu'il ne faut; 2. qui est de trop, superflu» (Kow. I, 299), «le restant, superflu; 2. de trop, en plus (Kow. I, 524); Hs *hüle'ü*, id.; ce sont des dérivés du verbe *üle-*, *ile-*, *hüle-* «être de trop» (cf. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, p. 236).

En fin de compte on peut affirmer actuellement que *bilegür* a pour sens «le reste, l'excédent», comme le tib. *lhag-ma*, mais les deux termes servent à désigner en même temps «l'excédent, les restes de la viande de sacrifice».

L'étymologie de *bilegür* nous échappe pour le moment. Est-ce un terme provenant d'un dialecte du vieux mongol, le khitan? Est-il un mot d'origine turque?

A propos de *tüleši* je me suis référé à un texte ouigour parallèle qui comprend au fond la même liste de démons. Or cette liste est incorporée au *Tathā-*

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y voir *qoyinalaysan*, forme, qui est appuyée par *qoyinalaysan yaǰar* qui traduit, chez Sumatiratna, avec *yarilaysan yaǰar*, le tib. *phyi-sa*. Par ailleurs ce dernier dictionnaire traduit encore le tib. *phyi-sa* (*loc. laud.*) par mong. *bayasun*, *sangyasun* et *yaridasu*.

[28] Aucune des deux versions mongoles ne rend fidèlement le texte tibétain qui est pourtant bien clair. Le tib. *stor-khuṅ* signifie en effet «a ditch, where all impurities are deposed, also a gutter of drain» (Das, p. 557). Le mong. *čuburiqui* («couler sans cesse, eau, larmes, sang», Kow. III, p. 2202), en tant que traduction, rend assez pauvrement le tib. *stor-khuṅ-nas 'bab-pa*. Ayusi qui dans sa version a *baling-ača čuburiqui* serre de plus près l'expression tibétaine, cependant il s'est mépris sur le vrai sens du *stor-khuṅ*, sans doute influencé par le fait que *stor* est employé souvent pour *gtor*; de là il n'y avait qu'un pas pour traduire *gtor-ma* «sacrifice aspergé». Sumatiratna cette fois encore nous fournit un exemple très utile: tib. *stor-khuṅ-nas 'bab-pa 'thuṅ-ba — brǰod byed-kyi gdon*, mong. *qayadasun-u nüken-eče bayuysan-i ayuyči — umartan yoluyči ada* «buveurs de ce qui descend par le cloaque — démons qui apportent l'oubli (qui sont saisis d'oubli)». Le nom de cette classe de démons est recueilli dans le dictionnaire de Das (p. 468): *brǰod byed-kyi gdon* «demons who bring in forgetfulness». Pour mong. *qayadasun*, voir Lessing, p. 915, «waste, garbage». Sur *gtor-khuṅ*, voir *infra*, note 41.

gatoṣṇīṣasitātapatre-apārajitā-nāma-dhāraṇī. Elle nous est parvenue dans trois fragments de xylographe imprimés sous les Yuan. Le texte ouigour fut publié par F. W. K. Müller, auquel ont été ajoutés plus tard par S. E. Malov[29] quelques fragments supplémentaires. Müller a encore repéré la version chinoise du passage en question, mais ce texte (tout comme les textes chinois en général) contient quelques divergences importantes par rapport au texte ouigour. Le texte ouigour est par ailleurs obscur sur plusieurs points, par suite des mots ouigours non attestés ailleurs. Pour les identifier, Müller a consulté la version chinoise, mais celle-ci ne l'a pas beaucoup aidé à cause de son manque de précision coutumier. Toutefois, la version tibétaine du *Sitātapatra-dhāranī*. nous fournit plus d'une fois l'interprétation correcte des mots ouigours énigmatiques.[30]

La variante ouigoure est ainsi conçue:

(éd. F. W. K. Müller, pp. 64—65) [9] . . . . . *buu* [10] *siksil qundačï-lar qarïn-taqï känč-ig* [11] *qundačï-lar* ○ ○ *qan ičtäči-lär* ○ ○ *münčig aš-lïγ-* [12] *lar* ○ ○ *ät ašlïγ-lar* ○ ○ *yaqrï aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ [13] *yilik aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *toγmïš-ïγ qundačï-lar* ○ ○ [14] *isig özüg qundačï-lar* ○ ○ *yayïš aš-lïγ* [15] *-lar* ○ ○ *psak qundačï-lar* ○ ○ *yïd aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ [16] *tütsük aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *qu-a čäčäk aš-lïγ-* [17] *-lar* ○ ○ *tüš yimiš aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *tarïγ aš-* [18] *lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *oot-ǭa čöklämiš-ig yitäči-* [19] *-lär* ○ ○ *yiring aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *aqïγ aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ [20] *söl aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *yar aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *lišip* [21] *aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *ying aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *qusuγ aš-* [22] *lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *ötmiš-ig yitäči-lär* ○ ○ *arïγ-sïz* [23] *aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *qalïnču aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *qašanïγ* [24] *ičtäči-lär* ○ ○ *nä nägü aš-lïγ-lar* ○ ○ *köngül-üg qundačï-lar* ○ ○

En traduction: «Ceux-ci: les voleurs d'apparence extérieure,[31] les voleurs

[29] F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II (Berlin 1911), pp. 50—75, surtout pp. 60—61, 64—65, 66—67. S. E. Malov, *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī v ujgurskoj redakcii: Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1930, pp. 88—94.

[30] Pratiquement il n'y a qu'un seul mot ouigour qui reste sans équivalents tibétain et mongol et deux ou trois sans correspondants tibétain, mongol et chinois. La difficulté vient du fait que l'ordre de succession des noms de démons n'est pas identique dans les versions ouigoure et chinoise d'une part et dans la version tibéto-mongole de l'autre.

[31] La liste chinoise commence par les deux noms de démon 威力 *wei-li* et 容顏 *yong-yen*. *Wei-li* signifie «intimidation» (Mathews n° 7051: 6), «Gewalt» (Rüdenberg n° 5837: 6). *Yong-yen* veut dire «appearance; looks, demeanour; expression of the countenance» (Mathews n° 7560: 14), «Antlitz, Aussehen» (Rüdenberg n° 3146: 2). La liste ouigoure n'en a qu'un seul: *siksil* ou *sigšil*, laissé sans traduction par F. W. K. Müller; le mot n'a pas été incorporé dans *DTS*, ni dans *Etym. Dict.* de Clauson. La liste tibétaine du *Pañcarakṣā* a enregistré, à son tour, un seul: *gzi-byin* (traduit en mongol par *öngge čirai*). Cependant la version II du *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī* tibétain en offre deux: *gzi-brǰid* et *mdaṅs*. Tib. *gzi-brǰid* (synomyme de *gzi-byin*) a le sens: «1. brightness, beauty, a fair healthy complexion; 2. Honour, esteem, security» (Das, p. 1104); selon l'interprétation

de l'enfant se trouvant dans l'utérus,[32] buveurs de sang, dévorateurs d'uterus,[33] dévorateurs de viande, dévorateurs de graisse, dévorateurs de moelle, voleurs de nouveau-nés,[34] voleurs de vie, dévorateurs de graisse fondue,[35] voleurs de couronnes, dévorateurs de parfums, dévorateurs d'encens, dévorateurs de fleurs, dévorateurs de grains, dévorateurs de moisson, mangeurs d'offrande

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mongole de Sumatiratna II, p. 763: tib. *gzi-brǰid*, mong. *sür ǰibqulang* («éclat, splendeur, magnificence, grandeur, force», Kow. II, p. 1434). Dans un passage du *Pañcarakṣā* invoqué plus haut, tib. *gzi-brǰid* est traduit par le mong. *erke küčün* «puissance». Le tib. *mdaṅs* es interprété: «1. colour of the face, fresh looks, healthy complexion; 2. brightness, lustre, splendour» (Das, p. 676); cette interprétation est confirmée pleinement par Sumatiratna I, p. 1079, où le mot tibétain est rendu par le mong. *öngge ǰisü* («mine agréable, beauté»), *sür sülde* («splendeur, majesté»). Cela revient à dire que tib. *gzi-brǰid* (chin. *wei-li*) pourrait être rendu par «puissance» et tib. *mdaṅs*(chin. *yong-yen*) par «(agréable) apparence extérieure». Ajoutons que dans le Kanǰur mongol tib. *dmaṅs* est traduit par *öngge čirai*: *öngge čirai činaysi-da ülü buliydaqui neretü*, tib. *Mdaṅs phyir mi 'phrog-pa žes-bya-ba* (Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé* I, p. 77, n° 294). Il est pourtant intéressant de voir que dans certains textes *gzi-brǰid* et *mdaṅs* sont des synonymes rendant le skr. *ojaḥ*; cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*, II, p. 414, n° 6409. Le terme ouigour *sigšil*, sans étymologie turque, remonte probablement à une forme dialectale tibétaine. *Si* en face de *gzi*, ne pose pas de problème; le passage *-d* > *-l*, en position finale, est bien attesté dans les dialectes archaïques orientaux, enfin *b-* > *g-* (*γ-*?), en position préradicale, n'est pas non plus impossible; cf. A. Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica* (Budapest 1966), pp. 149—150, 134.

[32] Sans équivalent dans les listes tibétaine et mongole du *Pañcarakṣā* (= Pr.). La liste tibétaine du *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī* (= Sp) I—III porte à sa place *mṅal*.

[33] L'ouig. *münčig* n'est, jusqu'ici, pas attesté dans d'autres textes; cf. *DTS*, p. 353; Clausion, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 757. Il répond au chin. 胞胎 *pao-t'ai* «womb» (Mathews, n° 4940: 3), au tib. *mṅal* et au mong. *umai*, id. La liste tibétaine du *Sp.* (I—III) porte, par une erreur manifeste, *žag* qui correspond en réalité au chin. *tche-yi* du n° 9.

[34] L'oiug. *toγmïš* «(nouveau-)né» répond, d'après F. W. K. Müller, au chin. VIII, mais ce dernier n° n'existe pas dans son texte chinois. Le nom est cependant authentique, au mot ouigour répond, dans le Pr. tib. *bcas-pa* et mong. *gcas-pa*, dans le Sp. tib. *bcas-pa*, *gcas-pa*. Par suite de l'omission du nom chinois «dévorateurs de (nouveau-)nés» une erreur s'est produite: le nom tibétain a maintenu sa place normale (9°) dans la liste et a été rattaché au nom suivant de la liste chinoise avec lequel il n'a rien à voir.

[35] Le nom ouig. *yaqïs* «Fettiges» de Müller a été récemment remplacé par *yaγïš* «libation» (Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 908); l'interprétation «libation» est toutefois arbitraire, dans ce dernier sens on a en ouig. *sačïγ* «Streuopfer», *tökük* «Libation» (*TT* VII, p. 68, note; *DTS*, p. 479). Le mot *yaγïš* est toutefois attesté dans *Kāšγ.* au sens de «Schlachtopfer» (Brock., p. p. 72) et, dans les textes bouddhiques, dans l'acception de «sacrifice; offrande» (*DTS*, p. 224). Pour engageante que paraisse cette interprétation, elle ne va pas de soi dans le cas présent. Le mot ouigour est inséparable du chin. *tche-yi* (tib. *žag*, mong. *qoroγu tosun*) qui milite en faveur de l'ancienne interprétation de Müller. L'étymologie du mot ouigour reste, après tout, douteuse, malgré *yaγ*, *yaqrï*.

brûlée,[36] dévorateurs de pus,[37] dévorateurs de larmes,[38] dévorateurs de glaire,[39] dévorateurs de salive,[40] dévorateurs de saleté d'égout,[41] dévorateurs de morve,[42] dévorateurs de vomissure, mangeurs d'offrande,[43] dévorateurs de souillure,[44]

[36] A propos du nom ouigour et ses correspondants, voir *supra*. Ajoutons que dans le dictionnaire sino-tibétain intitulé *Tsang-wen tseu-tien* (Pékin 1957), p. 617, le tib. *sbyin-sreg* est interprété par le chin. 燒施 *chao-che*.

[37] Chin. 膿 *nong* «pus» (Mathews, n° 4773), tib. *rnag*, mong. *ögesün*. Sur ouig. *yiring*, *iring*, voir *DTS*, p. 623; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 233. L'équivalence tib. *rnag* ~ chin. *nong*. est confirmée par le *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, p. 479.

[38] Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 83, interprète *aqïγ ašlïγlar*, sous réserve, comme «eaters of serum (?)». Je suis d'accord avec lui pour faire dériver le mot du verbe *aq-* «couler (l'eau)», mais par *aqïγ* je comprend «larmes (qui coulent)». *DTS*, p. 48, traduit *aqïγ*, dans d'autres expressions bouddhiques, par «courant (d'eau), ruisseau; houle». Le mot ouigour répond au chin. 涕 *t'i* «tears; to weep» (Mathews, n° 6250), au tib. *mčhil-ma* et au mong. *nilbusun*. D'après la liste tibétaine du Sp., il s'agirait des équivalents du tib. *snabs*.

[39] Ouig. *söl* doit avoir le sens de «glaire»; cf, a. turc. *söl* «Saft in Fleisch» (Gabain, *Alttürk. Gram.*, p. 335), *Kāšγ. söl* «Feuchtigkeit, Saft in Bäumen und Fleisch» (Brock., p. 188; sa leçon *sül* ne doit pas être maintenue); tat. Kaz. *sül* «der Eiter» (Radl., *Wb.* 830). Cf. encore *DRS*, p. 517 (*sül*, lire *söl*); Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 824 («serum or lymph»). Le mot ouig. répond probablement au chin. 唾 *t'o* «saliva» (Mathews, n° 6458), au tib. *ňar-snabs* et au mong. *silüsün*. Selon la liste du Sp., ouig. *söl* et tib. *ňar-snabs* répondent au chin. *sien*.

[40] Ouig. *yar* «salive» est suffisamment assuré; cf. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 953. Il répond sans doute au chin. 涎 *sien* «spittle, salive» (Mathews, n° 2714). Pas d'équivalents tibétain et mongol; probablement identiques au précédent. Cependant, d'après la liste du Sp., le chin. *sien* répond à l'ouig. *söl* et au tib. *ňar*-snabs (cf. note 39). Selon la même liste, ouig. *yar* équivaut au chin. *t'o* et au tib. *mčhil-ma*.

[41] F. W. K. Müller a interprété ouig. *lisip* comme «Ruhr» et il l'a identifié au chin. 竅漩 *k'iao-lieou* «ce qui coule d'un trou, d'un égout» (cf. *k'iao* «a hole, a cavity», Mathews, n° 751); son étymologie par 痢疾 *li-tsi* «dysenterie» pour engageante que paraisse reste inacceptable pour des raisons phonétiques (cf. B. Csongor, *Chinese in the Uighur Script of the T'ang Period*: *AOH* II, 1952, p. 119). Il s'agit de tout autre chose. Ouig. *lisip*, à la rigueur *lišip*, *lišp* «mucus, mucuosité, pituité», emprunt au tokharien A, est bien attesté; cf. *DTS*, p. 333 (s. v. *lešp*); Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 764. Le mot ouigour répond en effet au chin. *k'iao-lieou* qui, à son tour, équivaut au tib. *gtor-khuň-nas 'bab-pa* «ce qui coule du cloaque». Sur tib. *gtor-khuň*, voir *Tsang-wen tseu-tien*, p. 339 (interprété en tibétain: *mi-gcaň gtor-ba'i khuň-bu rjab. . .doň*). Sur le mot tibétain, voir *supra*, note 28.

[42] Ouig. *ying* «morve» (*DTS*, p. 262; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 941) répond, éventuellement, au tib. *snabs* et au mong. *nisun*. Il n'a pas d'équivalent dans la liste chinoise de Müller. Sur les équivalents chinois et ouigour du tib. *snabs*, selon la liste du Sp., voir note 38.

[43] Sur ouig. *ötmiš* «offrande», voir *supra*. D'après le *Tsang-wen ts'eu-tien*, p. 340, tib. *gtor-ma* est interprété par chin. 施食 *che-che*.

[44] Ouig. *arïγ-sïz* répond au tib. *mi-gcaň-ba* dont il est une traduction servile, et au mong. *burtay*. Le mot ouigour, malgré le renvoi XXVI, n'a pas d'équivalent chinois dans la liste de Müller. Dans la liste du Sp. tibétain, *mi-gcaň* répond, sous le n° 12, au chin. *ta-pien* «excrément». Dans la liste du Pr. tibétain, «excrément» est rendu par *phyi-sa* (cf. note 27). Le *Tsang-wen tseu-tien*, p. 533, explique *phyi-sa*, en tibétain, ainsi: *mi-gcaň skyag-pa'i miň*.

dévorateurs de restes,[45] buveurs d'urine, dévorateurs de n'importe quoi,[46] voleurs d'esprit.[47]

Le mong. *bilegür* ~ tib. *lhag-ma* peut être identifié, dans cette liste, à ouig. *qalïnču*. F. W. K. Müller a traduit ce mot par «*Kot» et l'a identifié au chin. 大便 *ta-pien*, id. *DTS*, p. 412, interprète le mot comme suit: 1. «restes» (*künnüng qalïnčusï* «restes des jours»); 2. «restant» (*qalïnču burqan šazïnï* «doctrine du Buddha restant»); 3. «déchets, ordure». Cette dernière interprétation repose sur le passage en question, suggérée par Müller. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 624, a *qalïnču* «remainder, residue», mais, sans doute sous l'influence de Müller, il attribue à ce mot aussi un sens péjoratif: *qalïnču ašlïγ-lar* «eaters of residues». Il est certain que *qalïnču* dérivé, en dernière analyse, du verbe *qal-* «rester», est l'équivalent du chin. 殘 *ts'an* «a remnant, residue» (Mathews, n° 6689) et n'a rien à voir avec *nä nägü*, proposé sous réserve par F. W. K. Müller.

Une erreur pareille a été commise à propos de l'ouig. *ötmiš* que Müller a interprété, non sans hésiter, par «Opfergaben» s'appuyant sur l'autorité du chin. 施食 *che-che* «aumône, offrande». Ce sens est reproduit par *DTS*, p. 393, comme «offrande de sacrifice». Cependant l'interprétation de Müller est rejetée par Clauson *Etym. Dict.* p. 39, puisque, à son avis, *ötmiš-ig yitäčilär* vient d'être mentionné après les «dévorateurs de pus, de larmes, de moisissure, de morve et de vomissure» et l'expression doit avoir le sens de «eaters of faecal matter». A mon avis, l'ordre de succession des noms des démons est à tel point bouleversé dans les textes jusqu'ici envisagés, qu'on ne peut en tirer aucun argument.

En réalité ouig. *ötmiš* ~ chin. *che-che* «offrande de sacrifice» répond au tib. *gtor-ma* «sacrified objects, *i.e.*, that is strewn or scattered or given away» (Das 527). Le mong. *sačuli* rend le sens spécial du mot tibétain: «offrande aspergée», par contre le mong *baling* «offrande aux esprits» en offre le sens général, sens qui est très voisin à celui de l'ouig. *ötmiš*. Par ailleurs *ötmiš* est le dérivé du verbe *öt-* «s'adresser, offrir (à un supérieur)» aujourd'hui faiblement attesté, mais bien connu dans ses dérivés: *ötün-* «s'adresser à, demander», *ötüg*: *ötüg berim* «dette, obligation» (*DTS*, pp. 392–393).[48]

[45] Sur ouig. *qalïnču*, voir ci-après. A propos du tib. *lhag-ma*, le *Tsang-wen tseu-tien*, p. 958, se réfère, entre autres, à l'expression *zas-kyi lhag-ma* «restes de nourriture».

[46] Sans équivalent chinois, ni tibétain.

[47] Le nom ouigour répond au chin. 奪意 *to-yi* et, dans la liste du Sp., au tib. *sems 'phrog-pa*.

[48] La liste des démons offerte par la version tibétaine du *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*, sensiblement différente de la liste du *Pañcarakṣā*, est assez voisine sinon identique à celle du texte chinois publié par F. W. K. Müller. Voici la concordance des noms chonois, tibétains et ouigours; pour les noms nous nous sommes circonscrits à leurs éléments essentiels. Les noms tibétains nous avons emprunté au Kanǰur, sous trois variantes:

Il faut encore faire état d'une série de recoupements recueillis dans le grand dictionnaire pentaglotte des Ts'ing. (*Wou-t'i* I, p. 367): mong. *kesig miq-a* «viande de sacrifice» ma. *kesi yali* «Opferfleisch» (Hauer p. 584), chin. 祚肉 *tsou-jeou*, id. C'est dans le même sens que va le tourki *iltifat* [*iltipat*] *guš* où *iltifāt*, *iltipāt*, *iltipat* a le sens de «favour, grace, kindness, attention» et *gošt*, *goš*, *guš*, etc. signifie «meat, flesh» (Jarring, p. 140, 105).[49] L'équivalent tibétain nous révèle cependant qu'il ne s'agit pas en général de «viande de sacrifice», mais des restes de la viande de sacrifice»; tel est en effet le sens du tib. *ša-lhag*.

I *pha* 258b, II *pha* 264b, III *ya* 143a; cf. éd japonaise: *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Vol. 7, pp. 180 et 182, Vol. 11, p. 235. En ce qui concerne les noms chinois, on n'a qu'à se référer au travail de F. W. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—61.

1° chin. *to wei-li* ~ tib. II. 1° *gzi-brjid 'phrog-pa*; ouig. *sigšil qundači-lar*
2° chin. *to yong-yen* ~ tib. I 2°, II 2°, III 2° *mdaṅs 'phrog-na*; ouig. —
3° chin. *tch'an-kong* ~ tib. III 3° *mṅal*; ouig. *münčig* (cf. n° 5)
4° chin. *hiue* ~ tib. I—III 4° *khrag*; ouig. *qan*
5° chin. *pao-tai* ~ [tib. I—III *žag*]; cf. 3°
6° chin. *jeou* ~ tib. I—III 6° *ša*; ouig. *ät*
7° chin. *tche* ~ tib. I—III 7° *chil*; ouig. *yaqrï*
8° chin. *souei* ~ tib. I—III 8° *rkaṅ*; ouig. *yilig*
9° chin. *tche-yi* ~ tib. I—II 9° *bcas-pa*, III 9° *gcas-pa*; ouig. *yayïš*
10° chin. *ts'iu-ming* ~ tib. I—III 10° *srog 'phrog-pa*; ouig. *isig özüg qundači-lar*
11° chin. *ngeou-t'ou* ~ tib. I—III 11° *skyugs-pa*; ouig. *qusuγ*
12° chin. *ta-pien* ~ [tib. I—III 12° *mi-gcaṅ*; ouig. *arïγ-sïz*]
13° chin. *siao-pien* ~ tib. I—III 13° *gčin*; ouig *qaṣanïγ*
14° chin. *k'iao-lieou* ~ tib. i-III 14° *gtor-khuṅ-nas 'bab-pa*; ouig. *lišip*
15° chin. *ts'an* ~ tib. I-III 15° *lhag-ma*; ouig. *qalïnču*
16° chin. *t'o* ~ tib. I—II 16° *mčhil-ma*, III 16° *'čhil-ma*; ouig. *yar*
17° chin. *t'i* ~ tib. I—III. 17° *snabs*; ouig. *aqïγ*
18° chin. *sien* ~ tib. I—III 18° *ṅar-snabs*; ouig. *söl*
19° chin. *nong* ~ tib. *rnag* I—III 19°; ouig. *yiring*
20° chin. *che-che* ~ tib. I—III 20° *gtor-ma*; ouig. *ötmiš*
21° chin. *man* ~ tib. I—III 21° *phreṅ-ba*; ouig. *psak*
22° chin. *hiang-k'i* ~ tib. I—III 22° *dri*; ouig. *yid*
23° chin. *hiang* ~ I, III 23° *gdug-pa*, II 23° *bdug-pa*; ouig. *tütsük*
24° chin. *to-yi* ~ tib. I—III 24° *sems 'phrog-pa*; ouig. *köngül-üg qundači-lar*
25° chin. *houa* ~ tib. I—III 25° *me-tog*; ouig *qu-a čačak*
26° chin. *kouo* ~ tib. I—III. 26° *'bras-bu*; ouig. *tüš yimiš*
27° chin. *miao* ~ tib. I—III 27° *lo-tog*; ouig. *ï tarïγ*
28° chin. *chao-che* ~ tib. I—III 28° *sbyiṅ-sreg*; ouig. *oot-qa čöklämiš*

[49] Cf. ar.-pers. *iltifāt* «turning towards another; respect, courtesy, reverence; attention, regard; favour», *iltifat kardan* «to make a present (to an inferior)» (Steing., p. 92); pers. *gōšt* «flesh, meat» (Steing., p. 1104).

4. *sarqud* «les restes de la boisson de sacrifice».

Le mot mongol a été traduit respectivement par «vin» (Kozin), «vin de sacrifice» (Haenisch), «boisson de sacrifice» (Pelliot), cette fois Mostaert s'est choisi un mauvais guide, la glose interlinéaire désorientée qui veut l'entendre 祚 *tsou* «viande de sacrifice», mais qui, après *bile'ür*, présente un contresens.

La difficulté de l'interprétation correcte vient de ce que le mot mongol est pauvrement attesté et au point de vue sémantique, les rares recoupements paraissent à première vue assez contradictoires.

On a en effet mong. lit. *sarqud* «boissons fortes, liqueurs spiritueuses» (Kow. II, p. 1336), *sarqad*, *sarqud* « spirituous liquor, strong drink» (Less., p. 877); khal. *sarchad* «vin (style élevé)» (Luv., p. 352); djarout *sarhad* «eau-de-vie de lait» (Kara, p. 325); ord. *sarχ̣ut* «eau-de-vie de babeurre; eau-de-vie en général, genièvre (style élevé)» (Most. p. 562).

Dans le dictionnaire pentaglotte des Ts'ing (*Wou-t'i* I, p. 637) *sarqud* a déjà disparu, à sa place, parallèlement avec *kesig miq-a*, on trouve *buyantu darasu* «vin de sacrifice», ma. *χôturi nure* «Glückswein, der bei grossen Opfern auf Altären und in Tempeln dargebrachte Opferwein» (Hauer, p. 475); chin. 福酒 *fou-tsieou* «wine left after sacrifice»; tib. *čhaṅ-lhag* «les restes du vin de sacrifice». Le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna I, p. 617, nous aide à préciser davantage la terme tibétain en l'interprétant, en mongol, par le traditionnel *buyantu darasu*, soit *tayily-a-yin üldegel ariki* «restes de la boisson spiritueuse du sacrifice».

Les formes chinoise et tibétaine nous font mieux comprendre le coman *sarχït* «Überrest, Überbleibsel; superfluum, residuum» (Grönbech, p. 214). C'est dans cette direction que nous mènent les renseignements supplémentaires nécessaires pour comprendre le jeu sémantique quelque peu troublant: Sayf-ī Sarāyī *sarqït* «restes de nourriture»: *yemäs it sarqïtinïn kelip arslan* «le lion ne mangera pas les restes de la nourriture du chien», Ḫusrāv u Šīrīn *sarqut* «lie»: *ičärlär ṣāfīsin sarqut quyular* «ils boivent le pur (vin) et ils vident la lie» (Ê. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskij jazyk* II, Taškent 1971, p. 256); Ibn Muhannā *sarγut* «gorgée» (éd. Melioranskij, p. 095) «bir yudum su ve yemek» (Battal, p. 59); tchag. *sarqud*, *sarqut* «à moitié mangé;[50] la dernière gorgée; gaîté que donne le vin»: *sabr ilä Ayyubya hamdast bol* | *ǰurʿasïnïng sarqudïdïn mast bol* «tiens compagnie à Eioub par la patience; enivre-toi gaîment à la dernière gorgée de son vin» (PdC 348); kzk. *sarqït* «1. leavings; 2. gift, present» (Shitnikov, p. 169), «die Überbleibsel von Essen und Trinken, die man den Weibern und

[50] «A moitié mangé» est traduit du persan *nīm-ḫwarda* «half-eaten or gnaved, what is left on the plates after meals, the remains of victuals, orts» (Steing., p. 446). Et en effet le pers. *nīm-ḫwarda* est traduit par *sarqït* dans une version turque de *Gulistān* de Saʿadī; cf. A. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Saʿadī's Gulistan* (Budapest 1969), p. 369.

Niedrigstehenden giebt» (Radl., *Wb.* IV, 331); kirg. *sarqït* «(désuet) restes de nourriture et de boisson; restes des mets, restes de la boisson dans le fond des verres, après un repas offert à un invité distingué» (Judachin, *KRS*, p. 636); özb. *sarqït* «restes de nourriture, rogatons» (Bor., *URS*, p. 537) (> tdj. lit. *sarqit*, id., *TRS*, p. 348); nog. *sarkït* «restes de la nourriture (habituellement après des gens distingués) qu'on offre à d'autres personnes» (Bask., *NRS*, p. 289); kkalp. *sarkït* «restes de la nourriture» (*RKkS*, p. 425); bachk. *harqit* (< **sarqït*) «lie (du vin)» (*BRS*, p. 622); tkm. *sarqït*, *sarqïndï* «restes du repas, restes de la nourriture, restes, les dernières gouttes (p. ex. du thé)» (*TRS*, p. 566).

La forme *sarqut* (*sarqït*) est le dérivé du verbe *sarq-* «herabfliessen» (*Kāšγ.*, éd. Brock., p. 173; *DTS*, p. 489); tat. Kaz., kzk. *sarq-* «1. tropfenweise abfliessen, durchsickern; 2. bis zum letzten Tropfen ausgegossen, geleert werden» (Radl., *WB.* IV, 329); etc., avec de nombreuses dérivations. Cf. Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, pp. 847—848; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 404.

Sur le suffixe *-t*, voir Gabain, *Alttürk. Gram.*, p. 75 § 131; Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, pp. 139—140; János Eckman, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 68.[51]

Il faut donc compter avec une évolution sémantique: «goutte» > «dernière goutte» > «lie» > «restes de boisson» (de là secondairement: «restes de nourriture»). Le mot turc, lui aussi, devait appartenir jadis à la terminologie du sacrifice, son souvenir lointain se reflète encore aujourd'hui dans les locutions désuètes, où *sarqït* signifie «les restes de boisson (et de nourriture) des repas offerts à des invités distingués», le rôle des assistants au sacrifice d'autrefois était joué par les femmes et par des personnes de modeste condition.

En dernière analyse, le mong. *sarqud* «reste de la boisson de sacrifice» est un emprunt fait au turc.

[51] Voici quelques exemples choisis dans la liste de Brockelmann: *artut* «Geschenk», *binüt* «Reittier», *käčüt* «Übergang», *kāδüt* «Kleidung», *köčüt* «Pferd», *qonut* «Platz». Brockelmann a insisté sur le fait que la voyelle de liaison *-u-*, *-ü-* fut remplacée plus tard par *-ï-*, *-i-*.

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A QÏPČAQ-UZBEG TALE FROM QARABAU

BY

ÉVA DOBOS

Between November 1971 and February 1972 on a number of occasions I carried out collecting work among the Quramas, living in the valley of the river Angrän, among the mountains of Qurama and the northern territories of Tadzhikistan (Leninabad oblastj). In the work of collecting and elaboration of the texts, I was given the greatest assistance by the Uzbeg linguistic faculty of the Lenin University in Tashkent. I am grateful to the dean of the faculty, Mr A. G. Gulamov and also to teachers Miss Mafrat Šainayatova and Mr Anartay Yoldašev for their generous help. I am deeply indebted to the Uzbeg Language and Literature Department of the S. M. Kirov Pedagogical Institute of Leninabad, and first of all to Assistant Professor Mr Abduvali Berdaliev for his help. They all promoted my work, and I am grateful also for the kindness with which they received me as a friend and a representative of remote Hungary.

After a 15 year long research work, in 1952 Mr V. V. Rešetov completed his doctoral thesis on the phonetic and morphological characteristics of the Qurama dialect of the Uzbeg language. Part of the author's summary became known to me after my collection of material in the library of the Moscow Linguistics Institute, on 22—23rd of February 1972. The Dialectology Section of the Language and Literature Department of the Uzbeg Academy of Sciences organized an expedition to the valley of the river Angrän in 1969. However, the materials collected by the expedition has not yet been published, thus they remained unavailable for me. When I was in Qarabau, J̌oldaš baχši told me that two or three years earlier some young men from Tashkent had visited him and he also dictated them songs. Most probably, the members of the expedition visited him in Qarabau, and so when the collected material is published, we can expect to find some Qurama-texts from Qarabau among them.

The tale, published in this article, was recorded by me from a Qarabau inhabitant, the 50 year old Orman Usmanov. I regard the text as being valuable not only because it adequatly reflects the present state of the language, but also because the tale was born before the very eyes and with in the hearing

of a great number of people. At the beginning of the tale, Orman Usmanov himself did not know how he would end it. The audience — the numerous family of Qïzïlgül Rachmanova — interrupted him from time to time, and the story-teller changed the course of the tale and corrected himself according to these remarks. At the start, he named the two friends (Hāyirbek and Bāyirbek), then habitually mixed up their names until he completely forget about them. The text is uneven, disconnected, not always logical, because it is the work of a collective.

In my work of collecting texts in Qarabau, a candidate of the Tashkent Lenin State University, Miss Saadat Sultansaidova and Mrs Qïzïlgül Rachmanova, a teacher in the Qarabau mountain school helped me greatly, for which I want to express my indebtedness here.

I. The meaning of the *qurama* was explained by an old Qurama — the father of Miss Saadat Sultansaidova, who lived in Tåštoγån — in the following way: he put small pieces of a newspaper beside each other, saying that this is Qazaq, that is Qïrγïz, while this is Qïpčaq, that is Qïrq, Yüz, Tajik, Arab, Özbek, Jalair, in one word: *quralγan qalqmïz* «we are a mixed, heterogeneous people». In Qarabau, Orman Usmanov explained it in a similar way: *«quralïp kėlgėn qalqmïz»*, *«qurama bop qaldïq»*. In the Uzbeg-Russian dictionary of A. K. Borovkov (Moscow 1959, p. 631) this word is given the same meaning: «a confused mixture, making up a conglomerate, consisting of separate pieces».

Rešetov mentions another explanation, according to which the word *qurama* can be derived from *qura* «hedge; court; stock-yard», but he found insufficient basis for this interpretation.[1] He also mentions an explanation by a Qurama: *bu jėrgä (h)är täräptiŋ uruwïdan kep, quralïp qåyån degän gäp bar*; *özwäk minän qurama ėkäwi bir qalq. Ata-babamïzdan qåyån gäp šu*.[2]

Radlov calls the people living on the territory between Taškent and Xoǰent (today's Leninabad, in Tadzhikistan) as *qurama* with the same meaning.[3]

The earliest report about the Quramas in Russian literature is from captain Andreev, from 1785. According to this report the Quramas live beyond the river Čirčiq, and they have nine towns: Pišak (today's Piskent), Kerauči, Šarukiya, Boqa, Muratali, Kerit-baysu, Qaraχtay, Qalaywar, Pangaz. According to other sources of the last century, also mentioned by Rešetov, the Quramas have 72 settlements.[4] In his description of the Turkestan-area in 1925, Zarubin deals with the Quramas, separated from the Uzbegs, as a «specific

[1] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu o termine «kurama» i kuramincach*: *Bjulleten AN UzSSR*, Taškent 1945, 5, p. 18.

[2] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu ob izučenii uzbekskich narodnych govorov*: *Jubilejnyj sbornik*, posvjaščennyj 25-letiju Uzbekskoj SSR, Taškent 1949, p. 483.

[3] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, pp. 224—225.

[4] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu ob izučenii . . .*, Taškent 1949, p. 483.

ethnic group, although with an obscure origin» and he dates the people's emergence to the first half of the 18th century.[5]

While criticizing the views of Zarubin, Aristov and others on the circumstances, process and date of emergence of the Qurama people, Rešetov dates the existence of the Quramas, as an independent group of people from the second half of the 13th century. Šarukiya, one of the nine Qurama towns, mentioned by Andreev, was totally ruined by the 18th century, thus the emergence of the Qurama people cannot be assigned to that century. Rešetov refers to historical documents, as for instance, the *Xoǰa Ahrar's waqfname* from the 15th century, which mentions twice the place of Qurama. So, the term *qurama* could already have existed as early as the 15th century.

By the 1220s the Mongolian tribes had finished the conquest of the Central-Asian territories and the Mongolian people, having settled after the conquest — although not too many of them — gradually amalgamated with the Turkish population, who are in an overwhelming majority in today's Uzbegistan. The J̌alair was such a Mongolian clan, who have settled down in the valley of the river Angrän. Mubarakšah, the Chagatay khan of the J̌alair clan was enthroned in the 1260s, in Angrän.[6] Rešetov reckons the starting point of emergence of the Qurama people from this moment. The continuously penetrating Oghuz tribes and following them, great numbers of Qïpčaq tribes from the direction of Sirdarya, have mixed the Iranian and the earlier infiltrated Turkish (mainly Qïpčaq) population. The Mongolian J̌alair people had been assimilated to this mixed ethnic unit in the second half of the 13th century. The process of formation of the Quramas ended in the 15th–16th centuries, when under the rule of khan Šeybani, newer, nomadic Uzbeg tribes were assimilated to this already mixed population, the major component of which were the Qïpčaqs.[7] The dialect Qurama — in its main features — shows the characteristics of the Qïpčaq languages. On the basis of these characteristics, first Polivanov,[8] then Rešetov included the Quramas among the Qïpčaq-Uzbegs.

It is worth while noting another remark by Zarubin, according to which Qurama people also live in the vicinity of Qarši, but he added that, undoubtedly, these people have nothing to do with the Qurama people living in the valley of Angrän. In the valley of Qašqa-darya, simultaneously with the J̌alairs settling down in the valley of Angrän, another Mongolian clan, the Barlas settled down, in very similar ethnical circumstances, as those we found in the Angrän valley, that is the Barlas clan was absorbed in an Iranian and Qïpčaq-

[5] I. I. Zarubin, *Spisok narodnostej Turkestanskogo kraja*, Leningrad 1925, p. 12.

[6] A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *K voprosu ob êtnogeneze uzbekskogo naroda*, Taškent 1941, p. 10.

[7] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu o termine «kurama» . . .*, p. 18.

[8] E. D. Polivanov, *Uzbekskaja dialektologija i uzbekskij literaturnyj jazyk*, Taškent 1933, p. 30.

Turkish ethnic group. The correctness of the interpretation of Radlov, Rešetov and others of the term *qurama* can also be proved by the formation of the same term independently of one another in the case of the two ethnic groups of similar composition.

The Mongolian element had completely disappeared by the second half of the 14th century; the Mongolian clans had been perfectly assimilated to the Turkish population. Neither the J̌alair, nor the Barlas people are considered Mongolians. This is shown by the fact referred to by Jakubovskij that Mongolian people along the river Ili did not regard the Chagatay people as Mongols, but called them *Karaunas*, which means «mixed».[9] Rešetov relates the word *Karaunas* to the name of a Qurama clan, the *Quralaš*.[10]

The Qurama people live even today in a homogeneous way in the Angrän valley and the Qurama mountain. South of Taškent, down to Bekabad and Leninabad (Xoǰent) of Tadzhikistan, people speak Qurama. In addition to Qurama people, Russians, Kazakhs, Kirgizs, Tadzhiks, the Tatars of Crimea as well as some Tatars of Kazan and Koreans are living on this territory. However, the Quramas do not intermarry with them. The clan system has almost completely disappeared. Among the Qurama places I visited, only the Quramas, living in Yäŋiåbåd of Tadzhikistan, knew that they belong to the *Uyšun* clan. However, 20 years ago, Rešetov found 18 clan names, such as, *J̌alair*, *Qaraχtay*, *Qoŋrat*, *Xüz*, *Qaŋlï*, *Oŋut* (*Öŋüt*?), *Telau* and so on.[11]

The village (qišlaq) of Qarabau is a few kilometres north of the town of Angrän, and it has approximately 2 to 3 thousand inhabitants. The majority of the population works on the local collective farm. However, most of the young people go to work to Angrän, and this is why the specialities of the Qurama dialect can hardly be found in their language.

II. Rešetov places the Qurama dialect among the Qïpčaq-Uzbeg dialect, using *ǰ-* in initial position[12] and ennumerates six criteria, on the basis of which it can be distinguished from the other Qïpčaq languages:

1) initial *ǰ-* (and not *ž-* as in Kazakh)

2) alternation change of *a* ~ *ä* (*a* ~ *e* in Kazakh): *atlar-itlär* (Kzk. *attar-itter*) «horses — dogs», *keläd*i (Kzk. *keledi*) «he comes».

3) the plural suffix of *l* remains even after voiceless consonants: *atlar/åtlar* (Kzk. *attar*)

[9] A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *K voprosu ob êtnogeneze*, p. 10.

[10] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu ob izučenii* . . ., p. 483; I am deeply indebted to Professor L. Ligeti for his support and friendly help during writing this article. He drew my attention to the book of P. Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959), in the first volume of which (pp. 183—196) he deals with the origins of the word *Karaunas* and the literature related to it.

[11] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu ob izučenii* . . ., p. 483.

[12] V. V. Rešetov, *Klassifikacija uzbekskich govorov Angrenskoj doliny*: *Bjulletin ANUzSSR*, Taškent 1946, 7, p. 24.

4) *-man, -san* type of personal suffixes: *qarayman* (Kzk. *qaraymïn*) «I see», *qaraysan* (Kzk. *qaraysïŋ*)«you see» etc.

5) *-tuγan* participle (Kzk. *-tïn, -tun*): *baratuγan* «going, who is going, who will be going».

6) specialities in vocabulary: *mäyäk* «egg», *bädriŋ* «cucumber» etc.[13]

These six criteria are not completely unobjectionable. Primarily because the Qurama dialect is compared to the Kazakh language alone, whereas it also shows similarities with and differences from the Kirgizean and Karakalpak languages. There are a great number of similarities in the vocabulary of the Qurama dialect and the Karakalpak language. It is also objectionable that the Kazakh *literary language* is compared to the Qïpčaq-Uzbeg *dialect*. Initial *ž-* is primarily characteristic of the Kazakh literary language; the occurrence of *ž-* ~ *ǰ-* is parallel in Kazakh, first of all in the southern Kazakh dialects, with which the Qurama dialects have direct contacts.

In his doctoral thesis, defended in 1952, Rešetov ennumerates 15 phonetic and 10 morphological criteria, on the basis of which the Qurama dialects can be distinguished from other Qïpčaq-Uzbeg dialects.

Phonetic criteria:[14]

1) *ǰoq/žoq/yoq*; the isogloss *žoq* comprehended the whole Qurama-speaking territory at the time of Rešetov. This situation has changed, and the isogloss of *yoq* is coming to the forefront so that at present a parallel usage of *yoq/ǰoq* is typical. A regular and normal occurrence of initial *ǰ-* can be observed in the speech of older people and children (under the age of 6, that is before school age).

2) *a/å*; in different phonetic positions the *a* phoneme is replaced by its labial variant *å*. The level of labialisation is different in the various Qurama dialects. It occurs sporadically in the Qarabau dialect, most frequently in initial syllables.

3) The existence of labial pairs: *o-ö, u-ü* (these four phonemes are syncretized into two phonemes as a result of convergence, in the urban Uzbeg dialects).

4) Labial harmony in endings and suffixes. In the Qarabau dialect this labial harmony has remained to a small extent and it hardly occurs in the ideolect of Orman Usmanov.

5) Initial vowels with a high tongue position can become diphthongs or diphthongized vowels (e.g. *ečki~i̯ečki* «goat», *endi~i̯endi* «now»). Rather rarely, but sometimes the vowel *ö* may become diphthongized. Rešetov does not mention cases in his dissertation. In Qarabau: *ü̯ölämän* «I die» etc.

[13] V. V. Rešetov, *K voprosu ob izučenii* . . ., p. 485.

[14] V. V. Rešetov, *Kuraminskie govory Taškentskoj oblasti*. Avtoref. dokt. diss.; Taškent 1952, pp. 9—11.

6) *a* ~ *ä* ~ *ė* vowel-change in suffixes: *atlar* ~ *itlär* ~ *iytlėr*.

7) *q* ~ *χ* consonant change: *χatïn* ~ *qatïn/qåtïn*.

8) *h-prothesis* (as a typical Qïpčaq phenomenon): *haywan* «balcony», lit. Uzb. *aywan*. Qarabau: *hayal* «woman», lit. Uzb. *ayål*.

9) Final *k* and *q* may remain, but may disappear: *sarï/sarïq* «yellow». In the Qarabau dialect *q* disappears in the case *sarï*, but in other cases there are parallel forms, that is *k/q* remain. For instance: Orman Usmanov: *ïssïq* «warm, hot», J̌oldaš baχši: *ïssï*.

10) *č* ~ *š* consonant change: *čåy/čay* ~ *šay/šäy* «tea», *ač-/åč-* ~ *aš-* «to open».

11) *k* in intervocalic position becomes voiced: *äk* > *ägip* «sow».

12) *b* ~ *p* ~ *w* consonant change: *tabaman* ~ *tapaman* ~ *tawaman* «I find».

13) medially and finally in a word: *γ* > *w*: *taγ* > *taw/tau* «mountain», *buγday* > *bowday* «wheat». In Qarabau it can disappear: *bïday*.

Similary, medially and finally in a word: *g* > *y*: *tegdi* > *tiydi* «he reached, he touched».

Among the phonetic criteria Rešetov also mentions another two criteria, the metathesis (e.g. *däryå* — *däyrä* «river») and epenthesis of a syllable (e.g. *läyläk* — *lägäläk* «stork»). But in my opinion these characteristics cannot be included in the criteria. For these can also be found both in the Fergana (that is in the Qarluq or Chagatay) and in the Urgench (Oghuz or Turkmen) dialects.

Morphological criteria:[15]

1) The interrogative particle occurs in the following forms: *-mï*, *-mu*, *-ma*, *-mä*. E.g. *barma*? «is there?», *ǰoqmï*? «is not there?», *kelämä*? «is he come?»

2) The suffix of the genitive *-nïŋ/-niŋ* sometimes occurs, however, rather frequently, the typical Taškent (and Fergana) form, which is equivalent to the accusative suffix of *-nï/-ni* occurs.

3) The dative case of the personal pronoun appears in the following forms: *maγan*, *mengä*, *mängä*. In Qarabau only the last two can be found.

4) The postpositions corresponding to the suffix of the instrumental case are: *minän*, *mnän*, *mnäm*, *-män*.

5) The forms of the present and future tenses are: *kelämiz*, *keläwuz*, *kelaʊzä* «we come; we shall come». The latter two forms are characteristic of the Taškent dialect; most probably, they are results of the influence of this dialect.

6) The forms of the temporary present tense are: *keläǰatïr*, *keläwatïr*, *kelääťïr*; *kelibǰatïr*; *kelyapťï*, *kelwåťťï* «he is coming».

[15] V. V. Rešetov, *Kuraminskie govory* . . ., pp. 11—12.

7) Present and future tenses of the conditional mood: *barsaq/bårsäk*, *bårsämïz*, *bårsäwïz*, *bårsäɣzä* «if we go».

8) The forms of the definite past tense: *bardïq*, *bårdïk*, *bårdïmïz*, *bårdū*, *bårduzä* «we went».

9) The forms of the present and future tense participles: *bara turɣan*, *baratuɣan*, *baratïɣån*, *båradïgän* «coming, who is coming, who will be coming» (Kzk. *baratïn*, Tašk. *bårädigän*).

10) The forms of the future participle: *kelär*, *keläsï*, *kelgüsï* «coming, to come».

On the basis of these criteria, Rešetov classified the Qurama dialects. He regarded as a basic principle, the existence of initial *y-* or *ǰ-*. Taking this as a starting point, he distinguished two main groups: the Qurama dialects with a *ǰ-* and the dialect with a *y-*.

Dialects using ǰ-:

Rešetov was of the opinion that the overwhelming majority of the Qurama dialects in the Angrän valley belongs to this group. However, this situation has changed and today this statement is valid with regard to the language of the older generations. In Resetov's opinion the group of the Qurama dialects using *ǰ-* can be further devided into two sub-groups; in one of them labial *å* did not appear, while in the other one it did appear and became wide-spread. In the latter group (Rešetov: the group using *å-*, «akanje») Rešetov enumerates 10 vowel phonemes: *a*, *å*, *ä*, *ė*, *ï*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü*, However, it does not seem probable that the vowels *å* and *ė*, which he listed among the phonemes, would really have the status of a phoneme. The allophonic character of these sounds can be well observed in Orman Usmanov's tale.

In addition to the two sub-groups, Rešetov distinguishes a so called *transitional* group which has 9 distinctive criteria: 1) a sharp differentiation between the *χ* and *q* phonemes 2) the sphere of effect of diphthongization is tightened 3) the *-y* consonant is dominant in initial position 4) sometimes there is an *a* ~ *e* vowel interchange in suffixes 5) the coincidence of the genitive suffix with the suffix of the accusative: *siyirdi kördïm* «I saw the cow», *siyirdi emčägi* «the udder of the cow» 6) the occurrence of the forms of *mängä bungä* besides the forms of *mayan*, *buyan* 7) the appearance of *tuχum* besides *mäyäk* 8) the appearance of the Taškent type (that is laryngal) *h* phoneme 9) a gradual tightening of of the sphere of validity of vowel-harmony and convergence of pairs of vowels.

The Qarabau dialect called transitory by Rešetov belongs to this group.

Qurama dialects using y- sound:[16]

This dialect is spoken in the bigger settlements of the Angrän valley (Qaraχtay, Ahangaran, Åqqurɣån, Buqa, Pⁱskent and some other neighbouring

[16] V. V. Rešetov, *Klassifikacija uzbekskich govorov* . . ., pp. 25—26.

villages). Its dominant criteria are: *yol, bår, keladĭ, åq/åqĭ, tåy, sïydï, tïydï, sarïq, mängä/mengä, kelyäptĭ, bårwåttĭ, tuχum/mäyäk.* These Qurama dialects using *y-* may be regarded as «transitional», rather than the Qarabau dialect, for the Qurama, that is, Qïpčaq characteristics can hardly be found in these. The former become more and more levelled with the Taškent and Fergana dialects, which form the basis of the Uzbeg literary language.

III. I used the following phonetic notation in the transcription of the tale:

ȧ: a very open pronounciation of «a»
å: labial «a» (Taškent and Fergana dialect)
å̰: labial vowel, pronounced on a low pitch and sustained (a type used in the Tadzhik language, that is in the Samarkand—Bokhara dialect)
ė: platal, illabial, high position of the tongue, very close «e» sound
ĭ: velar, reduced sound
ĭ: palatal, reduced sound
o̤: transitory sound between «o» and «ö», result of convergence
ŏ: reduced «o»
ṳ: transitory sound between «u» and «ü», result of convergence
ŭ: reduced «u»
ŭ: reduced «ü»
ʙ: bilabial, half-voiced (medium)
ḳ: aspirated plosive
w: bilabial, voiced fricative
h: laryngal voiceless fricative
χ: guttural voiceless fricative
γ :guttural, voiced fricative

IV. Hāyirbek and Bāyirbek (A Tale from Qarabau)

Bĭr bår‿äkän, bĭr yoγ‿ekän, bĭr zåmånda ėkkitä čaldïŋ, ėkkitädän ėkk‿ulu bår‿ėkän. Ėkkou̯wi ortaq boptĭ. Ėkkou̯wi qïyå̰mätlïγ ortaq bolïp bu ortaqlar auga čïγïšïptĭ. Ėkkou̯wi bårsa åldïdan bĭr kïk učraptĭ. Šu ėkkäläsi bäräyå̰tïp ånt ičišïptĭ. Agar kïk kimniŋ tarapidan qåčsa, šu qïšlaqnïŋ suwïnĭ ičmeymiz dėp ånt ičišïptĭlär. Ortaγïnïŋ biro̯winiŋ åtĭ Bāyirbek, biro̯winiŋ å̰tĭ Hāyirbek‿ekän. Bāyirbek taraptan kïk χačïptĭ. Bāyirbek taraptan kïk χačqanė‿kėyin Bāyirbek ortaγïdan «Meŋä šu qïšlaqnïŋ suwi haram boldĭ, men endi Hindistan tarapgä qarap kettïm» dėp ketiptĭ. Hindistan tarapgä qarap Bāyirbek yol båšläp kėtėwėrsin. Endi Hāyirbek üygä χaytïp kettĭ. Hāyirbek χaytïp kėlgėn waχtïda åta‿inesi «Ortaγïŋ Bāyirbek qanā?» dėp soraptĭ. Hāyirbek: «Ėkkälämiz šuytïp ånt ičïp auga čïqqan edik, ortaγïm taraptan kïk χaštï, ortaγïm kepti Hindistan tarapgä qarap, men χaytïp üygä keldim» dėpti åta‿inesigä. Åta‿inesi: «Ortaγïŋnïŋ

åta‿inesi qursand bolsa-yu . . . i̯ė . . . χafa bolsa-yu, men qursand bolsam? Ortaγïŋ χayaqqa ketsä, sen‿hem šuyaqqa kėtėwėr!» dėp üygä kirgizmädï. Šunïŋ bilän ortaγïnï izläškä yolya čïγïptï. Yolya barsa Hindistan ;tarapida, bïr kättä dăryăniŋ boynïda ortaγï dăryăya qarayan boyičä otïryanmïš. Hăyirbek ortaγï arqasïdan yetip barïp . . . «Hă ortaq Băyirbek, sen nimege qïšlåqtan keldiŋ?» dėptï. Šunda ortaγï‿aytïptï: «Men šuytïp baryan edim åt‿eneŋe, u̯özimniŋ åt‿enämgä, men qursand bow‿otïrsam, unïŋ åta‿inesi χafa bow‿otïrsa, sen ortaγïŋniŋ arqasïdan ǰönetip, meni‿yăm haydap yėrdi» dėp ortaγï barïp . . . «Endi qoš, siz nima‿yïp otïrïpsïz i̯ėtti?» dėptï. «Ey ortăq, iš kättä, qulaq‿sal meniŋ găвimä!» dėptï. «Men sizgä aytsam, dăryădan bïr χïz keldi, χayïq minän, χaltasïdan bïr gau̯har ǰaŋγaqtï apčïγïp, šundey meŋä körsėtti‿de χaltasïga salïp χayttï. Šu χïz kėlė‿mė men šöttä otïrman» dėp ortaγï ortaγïga ǰawap berdï. «Qoš ortaq, sizgä bu χïz adräs berip ketiptï, siz tüšümmepsiz, χana yiriŋ, u χïz χaytïp kelmeydi» dėp ėkki ortaq dăryănï tăšlăp yol båšläptï. (. . . Bu ǰida köp, indemey tur i̯ėndi! . . .) Kėyin, ortaγï ėkkou̯wi Hindistan tarapgä barïp bïr ǰėsir kämpirdikigä kiriptï. «Bïz ǰėtim bållamïz, åta‿enemiz yoq, ulu‿yoqqa ul‿bolamïz» dėp (. . . ǰim turgin i̯ėndi! . . .) kämpirdikidä ïssïqåmat qïlä båšläptï. Därdini kʿämpirgä aytmaptï. Šunda ėkki ortaq köčäniŋ ėkki tarapigä yol båšläptï. Bayaγï gau̯hardï izläš üčün. Bu gau̯har — gau̯hardan bōyan tʿåm‿ekän. Anau ortaγï ǰuda åqïllï, dăna yigit‿ekän, «Sizgä šu, biziŋ — izläb barsaŋ — šu gau̯hardan boyan tʿåmïmïz bår dėp körsėtkėn emiš». Ėkkäläsi köčäniŋ ėkki tarapigä izlep, bittädän bu, birou̯wi bu båšïya, birou̯wi bu båšïya izlep ketiptï. Bayaγï, aligi aŋsïz ortaγïya yana šu gau̯har üy köriniptï. Körinse, bayaγï, aligi dăryăda čüzaän χïz, šu üydä kättä ǰaŋγaγï bår‿ekän, šunïŋ kötidä båšïnï ǰuwuw‿otïryan‿ekän. Båššïnï ǰuwub‿bow‿otïrsa, åt‿ešiktän šart ačïp qarasa, qïz ortaγïya yana hima qïlïp körsėtïptï. Üč yergä göristannïŋ χawurïstanïdaqa topraq üyïp, unïŋ čėkäsini qolu‿man čizzïp, bašïnï šu urămål‿mån yapïp üygä χačïp kirïptï. Yana keč boptï, bayaγï kʿämpirdikidä yašayan ortaγïniŋ aldïya kėlïp — «Ey ortaq, men u χïzdï kʿördim, haqqāni sizin găвïŋïz tūri‿ekän, gau̯hardan üyi‿war‿ekän. Üydä kättä ǰaŋγaγï‿war‿ekän. J̌aŋγaqtïŋ kötidä båšïnï ǰuwup otïryan‿ekän, üč yergä topraq üyïp, čėkesini qolu‿man čizïp, yana üyigä χačïp kʿirdï. Bilmādim nime ekänini» dėptï. Ortaγï šunday aqïllï, dăna ekän, «χuda sizge berïptï» dėptï. «Qïz yana sizgä adräs berïptï, bu yana adräs» dėptï. Ortaγï aytïptïki, bu dėgėn söz «Meni χawurïstanda köresen . . .» . . . i̯ė . . . bittä găp qăptï . . χaltasïdan bayaγï üštä χawurïstandï üygėnnėn kėyin, čėkäsini čizyannan kėyin, χaltasïdan bïr aynanï šu yigitke körsetïp turŭp kirïp ketïptï χačïp . . . Šu găptïŋ barïnï dăna ortaγïya aytïp kegennen keyin, ortaγï qursand boptï. «Yana sizgä adräs berïptï, χuwanawėriŋ, χïz‿man tau̯šïpsïz ortaq» dep «mazmunini aytaman» dėptï. «Aytïŋ ortaq!» dėptï. Aytsa, «χïz‿man siz aydïŋ yarïγïda qawurïstanda učrašār‿ekänsiz» dėptï. «Aligi üygēni — qawurïstan, qawurïstanniŋ kättä dīwari bår‿ekän. Šuya kündüz adam kirïp bolmas‿ekän, tölkä aydïŋ ǰarïγï‿man‿tšär‿ekänsiz!» dėp qïzqïrïptï. Xïz — χanniŋ qïzï‿ekän, bayaγï qïz. Ana‿

i̯ėndi keč boladĭ. Keč bolgannan keyin ortaγï qawurïstanγa bårar‿edi, haqqāni χawurïstanγa, šāyĭq‿minän, mïltĭq minän, bėǰizä adamdï kirgizmesten turar‿ekän bu qawurïstan, makkam dėwardan tikĭp, qannïŋ qawurïstanï‿ekän. Bårsa, bayaγï qannïŋ χïzï šu qawurïstanγa kelĭp turar‿ekän, hüǰirėsidä. Hüǰirėsidä i̯ėkkou̯wi šundey gȧplȧšĭp turγan ǰayïda qawurïstannïŋ šāyïγï bilĭp kelĭp qaladĭ. Xawurïstannïŋ šāyïγï sezĭp qalĭp, dȧrhȧl bayaγï qannïŋ üyigä qawar berädi. «Xïzïŋïz bĭr nȧtȧnĭš adam‿minän χawurïstanda, hüǰiresidä gȧplȧšĭp turĭptĭ dėp «bårĭp išini siz soreysizmi, kim ekänini bileysizmi» dėp qawar berädi šāyïq. Endi ǰallatlarïnï toplaʙ, «Bu yigitti källäsini alamïz, darγa asamïz, ǰügür‿ǰügür, bol‿bol, ǰallati tayallaʙ dėgänū̃čä anča waχt ötädi‿dä, šu arada qïšlaqta birou̯w toy qïγan boladĭ. «Palančanikkä toyγa! Palančanikkä toyγa!» dėp šu köčädä qïyqïrγanda aligi yigit, toyγa qïyqïrĭp ketäyåtkän yigitti toχtatĭp, «Oy amaki, šåšmäŋ, palan yerdä, palan måmåγa bayaγï turγan endi ǰayigä, ortaγïnïŋ aldïγa — χawar beriŋ! Bĭr erkek tanaŋïz χawurïstanda qamalĭp qaptĭ, šunï tezdä čïγazĭp åmäsäŋiz, källäsi keter‿eken dėp aytïŋ! J̌an‿äkä!» dē̃ydi, «men sizge neme tileseŋiz tilou̯wiŋizdi beremen» dē̃ydi endi, aligi toyγa aytĭp yürgängä. Toppa‿tūra toyγa aytmastan, baqïrmastan, šu kʿämpirdikigä baradï‿da — Yaŋlïš‿ma måmå, šunaqa endi bĭr kʿämpirdi‿dä — «Måmå, måmå, bĭr erkek tanaŋïz χawurïstanda qamalĭp qaptĭ. Šunï tez bošatĭp kelmeyseŋiz, qawurïstandan tananï källäsi keter‿eken» dėp qawar berädi. Šunda aligi ortaγï, «i̯ėy attāŋ, ortaγïm qolγa tüšĭptĭ‿γu, bunïŋ ilaǰini tez qïlĭp, ortaγïmdï tez χawurïstadan qutulturayĭq» dėgėn oy ü̯özigä keledĭ. Kʿämpir bilmäydĭ, kʿämpir «i̯ėy, ʷoylaqal, meni χandɛy erkek tanam bar?» dėptĭ. Kʿämpir bu išlärini därägi yoq! Endi ortaγï därrou̯w ič‿auryan kⁱši bolĭp, «Ėnė‿či, ėnė, way ičim, way, way ü̯ölämän»-gä tüšū̃ptĭ. Kʿämpir: «i̯ė bålam, nime boldĭ bu?» — «Ĭė, meni šunaqa ič‿auruγum bar, endi tutŭp qaldĭ.» — «Endi men nima qïlaman?» — «Endi men qawurïstannïŋ toprayïnï ǰalamasam, šu ičim sira tüzŭk bolmäydĭ. Men qawurïstannïŋ toprayïnï ǰalayman, ičim χoyadĭ» dėp bahanä tawadĭ. «Wåy bålām, bizziŋ qawurïstanγa erkek bandasïnï kirgizmäydi‿γu, endi nima‿γïlamĭz?» dē̃ydi. «Xawurïstannïŋ bayaγaqa ǰaman!» Xawurïstanda ortaγïnï bā̃rïnï bu kʿämpir sezmeydĭ. — «Endi ǰan enem, ᵘstüwašïŋïzdï bėrės, pėrėnǰėni bėrės, anadaqanï bėrės, därrou̯w bĭr altitä čelpeq‿qïp‿pėriŋ, men amallap barayïn» dē̃ydi‿dä endi u šöttä. Kʿämpirdiŋ ᵘstüwašïnï kiyĭp, altitä čelpekti köterĭp, bayaγï aqïllï dȧnȧ ortaγï qannïŋ qïzï‿man aligi ortaγïnïŋ åldïγa båradĭ. Bā̃rĭp därrou̯w u ortaγïγa, qannïŋ qïzïγa kʿämpirdiŋ köylägini kiygizĭp qoyadĭ. Kʿämpirdiŋ ᵘstüwašïnï bayaγï χannïŋ χïzïγa kiygizädĭ. Xannïŋ χïzïnïŋ ᵘstüwašïnï bayaγï ortaγïγa kiygizädi‿dä, bu ü̯özi amallap göristanden χačadĭ. Kelip kʿämpirdikidä yatadĭ. Ana endi gȧptĭ qandan soraŋ! J̌allatlarïnï alĭp, qïlïčlarïnï qolγa‿ïštap, «As darγa!» — bayaγï Hāyirbaydï, ortaγï‿da endi — «Čåp källäsini!» dėp bular bĭr qïrχtasï bår‿edi. Šāyĭq turĭptĭ, «Mana šu yerdä qamawulĭ, ėkkou̯wi gȧplȧšĭptĭ, bilmeymen, nȧtȧnĭš yigit . . .» Endi bayaγï yigit . . . šü̯öttä yȧŋlïšĭppĭz . . . Bayaγï yigit minen ortaγï, ėkki hayaldïŋ kiyimini kiyĭp, birou̯w kʿämpir-

dikini kiyĭp, birou̯w χannïŋ χïzïnïkini kiyĭp, i̯ėkkäläsi χalatïda qannïŋ qïzïnï amallap čïγarïweredi. Xannïŋ χïzï čïγĭp keter‿ekän, qawurïstandan, šü̯öttä . . . Xannïŋ χïzï endi bėmaral åtasïnikigä kelĭp bul bildirmey yürewersin. Ana endi ėkki yigitti qan darγa‿aydaв kelädĭ. Birini erkek, birini hayal pormasïda‿γïlĭp. Bĭr kiyimdi qannïŋ qïzï kiyĭp čïqqan‿da ü̯özi endi! Xïz pormada bow‿barγan‿γu bayaγï‿da. Xïz pormada bolĭp χannïŋ χïzï kiyĭp čïqqan. Endi bĭr yigitti‿män bĭr χïzdïŋ pormasïnï kiygen ėkki yigit u yerdä qaladĭ, u ǰüdädä. Xannïŋ qïrχtä ǰasaulï‿minän munï dar åldïγa häydäp keledi. Åsïškä endi aligini, öltiriškä! Xïzï‿man iši yoq, qïzï üydä yür, bu meni qïzïm dėp. Šunda χandan bu χïz iǰådåt soräydi: Aγïr meni siz tėkširiŋ, meni bėkerge darγa asmäŋ, men siziŋ qïzïŋïzman, ya bašqa birou̯wdïŋ qïzïman? Bĭr gȧp sorap turĭp asĭ̄ŋ!» dē̄ydi. Šunda äkäsi bolĭp ortaγĭ aytadï: «O χan åtam, menden soraŋ gäpti, unnan kėyin (gėyin?) asïŋ darγa!» — «Xop, qana, ayt, tez ayt!» — «Meni toχsanγa kirgän åtam bår‿edi, mana bu siŋnim. Bu siŋnim palan yerdä qïdïrĭp ketgän edi. Šu siŋnimdi åppkē dėp meni yönätkän(!) edi. Men, keč qåsalarïŋ, qawurïstanda yatïŋlar dėgen edi åtam. Šu åtam ölmehči, šuŋa men tez siŋnimdi alĭp yetĭp baraman. Šul‿üčün sizi qawurïstanïŋïzγa kirĭp qåw‿edim. Endi šu kirĭp såwåв üčün yatqanïmγa assaŋïz asĭp ǰiräweriŋ!» dē̄ydi. Šart, bunïŋ gā̄вi tūri‿kelädĭ, χïzïdan χawar aladĭ, üydä yürädi χannïŋ χïzï. Bu pʿȧlitikani qåräŋ, bu pʿȧlitikani išlėtkenigä! Yigitti källäsigä raχmat! Endi bā̄rĭp šāyĭqtĭ yalγan gȧpïrĭp, χïzïnï gȧp‿söz qïγanï üčün «As källäsini šāyïqtïŋ darγa!» dē̄ydĭ. Bā̄rĭp, ana ǰolda(š) mama^{d}zandaqa bečara šāyïq ü̯ölĭp kettĭ ėkk‿ortada. Ana endi, bu i̯ė, oyprimė, ǰolda(š) mama^{d}zandaqa bečara šāyĭq darγa asïlĭp ü̯ō̄lĭp kettĭ. Ana endi bu χïzdï yigittiŋ ā̄tïnï Xanïmay qoyĭp qoyadĭ. «Siŋnimniŋ ā̄tĭ Xanïmay» dē̄ydi. Endi patša, aligi . . . patša emes, aligi χan, qïγan išlärigä hō̄zür sorap, χïzïnïŋ ā̄tĭ Xamčügül boladĭ. «Meni χïzïmnïŋ ā̄tĭ Xamčügül, siŋniŋdi Xanïmay» dėp «menge tȧšlȧp kėtės. Ėkkou̯wini men ortaq qïlaman» dē̄ydi. Endi bayaγï yetalmayγan yigitlerdi χannïŋ ü̯özi birdä qïzïγa qošadĭ endi. Xop . . . ā . . . endi ėkkou̯wini ortaq qïladĭ. Ėkkou̯wini ortaq qïlĭp χandïŋ yaχšï bĭr yasalγan tʿā̄mïγa Xamčügül‿män Xanïmaydï qoyĭp qoyadĭ. Endi, bu kʿämpirdikidä, bayaγï aqïllï ortaγï yašaywerädĭ. Ü̯öttä yürĭв. Kėyin ėkki ortaqtïŋ (biridä), aligi χannïŋ χïzïγa toy kelmekči bop qaladĭ, boγan ǰēri‿war‿ekän. Ana toy båšlandĭ. Toylar daŋïr‿duŋur ötäyaptĭ. Endi kelinčekti uzatatuγan mahallidä «Men Xamčügül ortaγïm barmaysa, men šoyaqqa barmäyman» dėp bu dåd dėp turuw‿aladĭ. Ana i̯ėndi ortaγï‿man billä izwašqa salĭp χan äkäŋiz χïzïnï uzatĭp yirädi endi, bayaγï boγan yerigä. Uzatĭp yirgennen keyin bayaγï — yigit boladï‿γu endi! ā? tüšünäsillā̄mi? Bayaγï yigit! — Ėkkäläsi šu barĭp, čïmïldïqqa kirgende, yana bular maslaat qïladĭ. Endi nim‿iš qïlĭš keräk? Endi bu, yana bĭr pʿalitika išlätišimiz keräk dėgän bĭr oyγa kelädĭ. Šunda aynï, šu endi hamma toy tarqap ketyatuγan mahallda küyou̯di bayaγï ortaγï ü̯öltürädĭ, tüšäktiŋ ü̯özidä. Čïmïldïqtïŋ ičidä küyou̯di ü̯öltürädĭ. Kȯrpägä orap bayaγï Xamčügül kʿȯtärĭp apketedĭ endi küyou̯wini. Xannïŋ χïzïnïŋ küyou̯wini. Ē̄rtämätän χannïŋ χïzï bütün

dau̯ruq saladĭ, ortaγïm mennen čandan čirāyli edi, meni tȧšlȧp küyou̯wim ortaγïm ‿man ketĭp qaldĭ. Ana endi buyaγïγa tuχmatgä yolu‿γu! Endi bårĭp ortaγï «Ortaγïmdï alĭp ketĭp qaldï, meni tȧšlȧptĭ» bĭr ü̯özi čïmïldïqtïŋ ičidä qaladĭ. Ana endi toy egäsi, aligi uldïŋ egäsiniŋ, åtasïnïŋ wå̄yimasi hīč bĭr yaqqa sïγmaydĭ! Xannïŋ χïzï tup‿tirī, χannïŋ waχtï čaq! Endi bu qawar qanγa‿yam baradï. Ana meni χïzïmdan ortaγï ombarawar čirayli ekän‿u, ortaγïnï küyou̯w qurγur åpqačĭp ketĭptĭ, bašqa yaqqa. Ü̯öziniŋ χaylïγïnïŋ boγanïnï čïmïldïqta tȧšlȧb ortaγïna ketip qaptĭ» dėgen duw‿duw gȧp šaharga köterilip ketedi‿endi. Šaharga köterilgänė‿kėyin, ana endi qun‿töläš hič yerdä hič kim munï baǰa qïlalmäs‿ ekän. Xun‿töläšti qunuγa hič‿kim‿äm yetmes‿eken! I̯ėndi bayaγï aqïllï yigit χanγa kelädĭ. «Meni Xamčügül siŋnimdi tawub‿bėriŋ, åtam ölū̆p qaldĭ, dåd, wåy, åtamnïŋ öligigä yetkizĭp båraman!» dėptĭ. Ana endi köriŋ‿či, bayaγï χamčügüldū̆ χayaqtan tawuš keräk endi? Xamčügül hič yerdä yoq! xan‿am qïzïnï åpkepqoydĭ üygä. Ortaγïdan sorasa, bittä gȧp, bayaγï dȧryȧda učraγan χïzlar, yigitlėr . . . šu bĭr gȧp, bĭr söz — «Ortaγïm mennen čirayli edi, šu bilmäyman, ortaγïm‿da ketĭp qaldĭ. Küyou̯wim endi yoq‿ta, dim‿däräk!» I̯endi hič izlep tawŭp bolmäydi‿dä, bularnï sāpsem tawŭp bolmäydĭ! Bomaγannan kėyin χunuγa hič‿hič bala yetmeydi. Yetmegennen keyin bayaγï aqïllï båla endi nime dē̆ydi χanγa? Xan «tillä beräyin» dėsä‿yäm kȯnmäydĭ, målimülkä‿yäm kȯnmäydĭ, «meni χarïndašïm keräk» dėptĭ. Endi ü̯öziniŋ dȧnȧligi (h)essasïda ortaγï‿man billä — kʿämpirdikidä yašap yatïr bular, bårĭp qaγan, aligi čïmïldïqtan ü̯öltirĭp, yana bå̄rĭp qaγan ortaγïnïŋ åldïγa.«Endi sizdän χan äkä, bittä‿ⁱltimasïm bår» dē̆ydi. «Åtam ü̯öldĭ endi, mayli, ü̯öldi, siŋnim yoγaldĭ, buγa‿yam küydĭm endi, yoqalsä yoqalĭptĭ. Endi meni bittä ortaγïm bar. Ortaγïmγa χïzïŋïzdï bėrės!» dē̆ydi. «Anau šu χïzïŋïzdï Xamčügüldü̯ bėrės endi, Xanïmaydïŋ nimesige . . . Šunïŋ endi aligi tawanïγa‿da! Xamčügül χarïndašïnïŋ tawanïγa! . . . «χïzïŋïzdï bėrės, ü̯özimdi ü̯öziŋizdiŋ onĭ̆nŋĭ̆zγa patša qïlas! . . . Šunda men ïrzå bolaman» dē̆ydi alïgï aqïllï, dȧnȧ yigit, ortaγï. Šuŋa pütün u waχtagi muptï mollasï-yu, qoǰasï-yu, ešanï saglasna bolĭp endi aligi dȧryȧda učrašqan χïzzï ü̯öz qolu‿man χan nika qïlĭp beredĭ. Hā, aligi ortaγï, dȧnȧ ortaγï, bå̄rĭp, oqumastan, ni̯ėtmestän bå̄rĭp, šu bĭr patša boladĭ. Ana šunum‿minän halimgō̆čägi šular yašap yatïrdĭ endi . .

V. Translation of the Tale

Once upon a time, there were two old men, and they had two sons. The two boys made friends. After having made friends for life, they went a hunting. As they were going, a deer got in their way. Walking along in such a manner they made a bet. They made the bet that from whichever of them the deer runs away, we shall never drink the water of his village. One of the friends was called Bāyirbek, the other Hāyirbek. And the deer ran away from Bāyirbek. Then Bāyirbek told his friend. «So water of my villages became prohibited, so I am going to India» — and he started. Let Bāyirbek go to

India. But Hāyirbek returned home. When he arrived home, his parents asked him: «Where is your friend, Bāyirbek?» Hāyirbek answered his parents thus: «Having made a bet, we went to hunt and the deer ran away from my friend, so he left for India and I came home». — «When your friend's parents are happy . . . or no . . . when they are sad, can we be happy? You should also go there, where your friend has gone!» — his parents told him and did not allow him to remain in the house. So he set off to seek his friend. As he proceeded towards India, his friend was sitting on the bank of a big river and was staring at the river. As Hāyirbek got there . . . «Well, friend, why did you come away from the village?» — asked Bāyirbek. His friend answered: «So and so, I went home to your parents, to my own parents, how could we be happy, if the other's parents are sad, go after your friend, and thus I was also driven away . . . «Well, all right, but why are you sitting here?» — he said then. «Oh, my friend, it is a great thing, listen to what I say!» — he said. «A girl appeared suddenly from the river together with a boat. She produced a precious stone-nut from her satchel, showed it to me, then put it back and disappeared. Now I am sitting here and waiting whether she would return or not» — he answered his friend. «All right, friend, that girl gave you her address and you did not understand anything of it. Let us go, the girl will never come back!» Thus the two friends set off from the river. (. . . It will be long, keep quiet! . . .) Then, as they were going towards India, on the way they dropped in at a widow's house. — «We are orphans and would like to be the sons of somebody that has no son» — they said (. . . shut up! . . .) and settled down in the widow's house. They did not tell the gammer their grief. Then the two friends went in two directions on the way in order to find the precious stone I mentioned above. But this precious stone is nothing else, but a house built of precious stones. This friend is a very clever and sharp-witted chap, «that (the girl) showed you, if you look for, we have a house made of precious stones». They both started to seek for it, one in one direction, the other, in the other direction. The house of precious stones has again appeared in front of the stupid friend. As it appeared, it was nothing but the girl from the river. There is a big nut-tree in the house, the girl is sitting at the bottom of it and is washing her head (hair). As she is washing her head (hair), he opens the horse-gate (a gate for the horses)* and is watching, and the girl again shows a sign to the friend. Similarly to a grave in the cemetery, she gathered soil in three places, drew their edges with her hand, covered her head with a shawl and ran into the house. It was already evening, when he got back to his friend, living in the widow's house and said: «Oh, my friend, I saw that girl and it really proved to be true what you had said, she has a house made of precious stones. She has a big nut-tree in her house. She was sitting at the bottom of the tree and was washing her head

* The tale-teller uses in this expression for the sake of a joke.

(hair) and gathered soil in three places, drew their edges with her hands and again ran into the house. I have not the slightest idea what it could mean». But his friend is very clever and sharp-minded and said: «God intended her for you, the girl has again given you her address, this is again the address». According to this friend's explanation it means: «You can find me in the cemetery» ... I see ... I forgot one thing ... After having formed three graves and have drawn their edges with her hands, she took a mirror from her satchel and showed it to the friend and (only) then she ran in (the house). ... When he came back and told all this to his friend, the friend became very happy: «She has again given you an address, be happy, you will meet the girl, my friend!» — he said. «I shall explain its meaning to you». — Explain it, my friend», the other answered. «So, you will meet the girl by moonlight,[17] in the cemetery», he said. «What she gathered (with her hands) is nothing else, but a cemetery and the cemetery has a big wall. In daytime not a single soul can get in here, you can get in only by moonlight», he exclaimed. It happened that she was the daughter of a khan, the girl I mentioned above. Well then, the night came. After darkness had fallen, his friend went to the cemetery, a real cemetery with a caretaker and gunman, no strangers could enter this cemetery which was sorrounded by strong walls, this was the cemetery of the khan. As he approaches, that girl was coming to the cemetery, to the guard-room. They were having a chat there and the caretaker came to hear of it. As the caretaker noticed it, he immediately gave information about it in the house of the above mentioned khan. «Your daughter is having a chat with an unknown man in the cemetery, in the guard-room», he said «go and ask what he wants and who he is», tells the caretaker him. While the khan gathered his body-guards (his executors) — saying that «this chap will be beheaded, hung, come on, hurry on» — quite a long time passed. At that particular time, a certain man of the village was holding a wedding ceremony. «Come to this and this man, to a wedding! Come to this and this man, to a wedding!» — ran a man on the street, shouting this. This man, who was calling the others to the wedding, was stopped by the above mentioned friend: «Dear uncle, take news to that and that place, to that and that old woman», — that is, where his friend lived! — «One of her bull-calves has been caught in the cemetery and if she does not release it immediately, it will be gone, tell this to her. Dear uncle, you may ask anything, I shall fulfile all your requests», — he says to the man inviting people to the wedding. And that man, without continuing inviting people to the wedding, goes immediately to the old woman — aunt Yaŋlïš or whatever her name is — «one of your bull-calves have been caught in the cemetery, if you do not release it immediately, its head will be gone», — he tells the news. And then his friend: «Oh

[17] Pun: *ayna* «mirror», *ay* «moon, moonlight».

confound it, so my friend has been captured, some remedy has to be found urgently, my friend has to be freed very quickly from the cemetery» — he thinks. The old woman does not know this, «oh, God damn you, what bull-calf have I?» — she said. The old woman had not the slightest idea of these things! Then the friend's stomach started to ache and he said: «Oh, my aunt my stomach, my stomach, I shall die!» The old woman: «Oh my son, what happened?» — «Oh, I have such and such pain in my stomach, it began just now». — «And what can I do now?» — «If I cannot go and lick the soil of the cemetery, the pain will remain for ever. If I lick the soil of the cemetery, I shall be all right immediately», he says. «Oh my son, no male can enter our cemetery, what can we do now?» she says. «This is a very frightening cemetery». The old woman does not realize that his friend is in the cemetery. «Now, my aunty, give me your gown, yashmak (perenǰe) and this and this and this too, prepare at once at least six pies and be that as it may, I start off» he says. He puts on the old woman's gown, takes the six pies and the clever, sharp-witted friend starts off to the khan's daughter and his friend. After his arrival there, he at once puts the old woman's gown on the khan's daughter. He puts the old woman's gown on the khan's daughter. And he puts the gown of the khan's daughter on his friend, and he himself hurries off without delay. He arrives at the old woman's house and goes to bed. And now, let us look at what happened at the khan's. He is coming with his body-guards (executors), takes his sword in his hands — «hang him!» — that is his friend, Hāyirbay — «cut off his head!» he says; they were at least forty. The caretaker stops: «they have been closed in here, they were chatting in private, I do not know him, an unknown fellow . . .» Then the mentioned chap . . . but here we missed . . . The above mentioned chap and his friend were both dressed in woman dresses, one of them wore the old woman's, the other that of the khan's daughter and in the gown of the two of them the khan's daughter was helped to escape from the cemetery. The khan's daughter escaped from the cemetery, we missed here . . . So the khan's daughter calmly goes home to her father's house, nobody knows anything about this. Well then, the khan orders his men to take the two lads to the gallows. One in a man's, the other in a woman's dress. One of the dresses (the woman's) has been put on by the khan's daughter, in which she escaped. She went in woman's dress there, where we said. The khan's daughter escaped in a woman's dress. So the two lads, dressed in a woman's and a man's clothes remained there, in that guard room. The khan makes them go to the gallows, by his forty body-guards. In order to hang them, to kill them. But this is not his daughter, she is at home, but the khan thinks that this is his daughter. And then the girl asks the khan's permission: «Well then, please, examine me, do not hang me in vain, whether I am your daughter, or somebody else's? Cross-question and hang me only afterwards!» — she says. In the role of his brother, his friend says: «Oh my Lord, khan,

ask me and then hang me!» — «All right, say it quickly!» — «I have a ninety year old father and this is my sister here. This sister of mine went to a certain place as a guest. And I was sent off (by my father) to bring that sister of mine home. My father instructed me, that when night falls, we should spend the night in the cemetery. That father of mine is now dying and I hurry to bring my sister home, as early as possible. That is why I came to your cemetery and stayed here (for the night). If you hang us for this action preferred even by God, then just do so!» — he says. And really, his speech seems to be true, then he (the khan) looks for his daughter and the khan's daughter is at home. Listen to this policy, how he is making policy. The lad's mastermind deserves all credit. Now then, the caretaker, because by telling a lie, defamed his daughter he orders «hang the caretaker (his head) on the gallows!». Thus the caretaker, gabblin in vain, ended up on the gallows. Oh, how strange it is, the poor, gabbling caretaker died instead of the other two. Now then, he named this girlshaped lad Xanïmay. «My sister is called Xanïmay» he said. Then the pasha, no, not the pasha, but the above mentioned khan aplogized for his recent deeds; his daughter's name was Xamčügül. «My daughter's name is Xamčügül, your sister's is Xanïmay» he says «you will leave her with me! I shall make friends of them» he says. Then the khan gives that lad, who could not go away (that is to escape from the cemetery) to his own daughter as an assistant. All right... he makes friends of the two girls. He makes Xamčügül and Xanïmay move to a nicely built house of the khan. Meanwhile, the more clever friend continues to live with the old woman. Then a wedding was to be organized for one of the girl friends, for the khan's daughter, who had already been engaged to someone. The ceremony started. The ceremony is going on, there is great merry-making. When people want to accompany the bride (to the groom's house), «If my girl-friend, Xamčügül[18] does not come, I shall not go there either» — she says in the midst of great moans. So then, she was seated on the wedding-cart together with her friend, and the khan accompanied his daughter where she had been engaged to. After they had arrived, the lad — because this was a lad (not a girl) you understand, do you not? — the above mentioned lad! — so two of them go in the čimildiq[19] and begin to confer. What to do now? They come to the conclusion that they have to apply again a policy (that is: an artifice). And when the wedding is at its height, the earlier mentioned friend kills the groom among the cushions. He killed the groom in the čimildiq. That certain Xamčügül takes the groom, the fiancee of the khan's daughter out, who is covered by körpe.[20] Next morning the khan's

[18] The story-teller mixed up the names; Xamčügül is the bride, the daughter of the khan.

[19] See in the glossary.

[20] Blanket, similar to an eiderdown, it covers the whole floor of an Uzbeg house, people sit on it and cover themselves with it while sleeping .

daughter makes a great lament: «my girl-friend was much nicer than I am, my fiancee has left me alone and has gone away with my friend». Now there is reason for gossip-making! «He has taken my friend away and has left me alone!» — says the other girl friend and she remains in the čimildiq. Following this the host, that is the groom's father was thrilled with horror. The khan's daughter is more vivid, than simply vivid...(?).[21] This news reaches the khan. Well then, the friend was ten time nicer than my daughter and the fiancee has just taken the friend somewhere else. There are already rumours in the town that «he left his own fiancee in the čimildiq and has gone with her friend». And nobody can carry out the blood feud anywhere. Nobody can take revenge on him. And then that clever lad appears before the khan. «You should find my sister for me at once, my father died, let me take Xamčügül to my father's dead body at least!» he said. Now, look, where can (could) that Xamčügül be found, Xamčügül is nowhere! The khan has also taken his daughter, home to his own house. If you ask (her) about her friend, you will hear only one word, at some kind of river certain boys and girls met . . . this is the only sentence, one word, «my friend was nicer than I am, so I do not know, my friend has also gone, there is no trace of my fiancee!»[22] They cannot be looked for any more, they cannot be found at all! Thus no revenge can be taken. Cannot, what does the clever lad tell the khan at this? The khan says «I give you money», but the other does not agree, he does not want wealth, fortune either», I want my sister» he says. Then, out of intelligence, together with his friend . . . these live with the old woman, he has gone, after he had killed (the groom) in the čimildiq, he has gone again (the one living with the old woman) to his friend. «Now well, uncle khan, I have only one request from you» he says. «My father died, all right, he died, my sister has also disappeared, I lamented over it too, if she disappeared, then she disappeared. But I have a friend. Give your daughter to my friend!» — he says. «Give that daughter of yours, Xamčügül to what-d'ye-call-him of Xanïmay . . .»[23] . . . In exchange that for this! In exchange for his sister, Xamčügül . . . «If you give your daughter and make me a pasha in your place. Then I shall be satisfied» — says the clever, sharp-minded lad, his friend. Then all the muftis, hoǰas, imams of that time agreed and the khan himself affianced the girl, whom he met at the river, to the lad. And the friend, the clever friend, becomes pasha in a nice way, without any learning. Thus they have been living down to this.

[21] I could not interpret it.

[22] The story-teller speaks in a disconnected manner. Most probably it means that the khan has questioned his daughter, but perhaps prior to that, he had already heard something about his daughter having met a lad at the river.

[23] The clever lad of the story nearly betrayed himself, that is, he was not Xamčügül's girl, but boy-friend.

VI. Glossary

I included first of all those words in the glossary that show divergence from the Uzbeg literary language and certain Uzbeg dialects (primarily those of Taškent and Fergana). In the case of such words that have parallel forms, I put those first that occur more frequently in Qarabau dialect, regardless of the fact that on certain occasions the less frequent, second form appears.

I tried to illustrate the accidental concords or divergences with forms taken from the individual Qïpčaq languages (primarily from Qaraqalpaq, Kazakh and Kirgiz). However, in a number of cases we can find new forms in the Qarabau dialect which differ from the other Qïpčaq languages.

The words are in the following alphabetic order:

a(å), ä(e, ė), b, č, ǰ, d, f, γ|g, χ|h, ï|i, y, q|k, l, m, n, o, ö, p, r, s, š, t, u, ü, w, z.

Abbreviations in the glossary:

Alt. — Turkish language in the Altai mountain
And. — dialect of the town of Andijån
Ar. — Arabic (Hans Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart.* Leipzig 1958).
Bšk. — Bashkir (N. A. Baskakov, *Russko-baškirskij slovarj.* Moskva 1964).
Char. — Chorezm dialects.
Farγ. — Farγånä (Fergana) town dialect
lit. Uzb. — literary Uzbeg (A. K. Borovkov, *Uzbeksko-russkij slovarj.* Moskva 1959)
Kaz. — Kazan-Tatar language (*Russko-tatarskij slovarj*, I—IV. Red. R. S. Gazizov Kazan 1959)
Kirg. — Kirghiz (K. K. Judachin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovarj.* Moskva 1965)
Kkp. — Qaraqalpaq language (N. A. Baskakov, *Russko-karakalpakskij slovarj.* Moskva 1967)
Krm. — Tatar language of Crimea
Kzk. — Kazak (*Russko-kazachskij slovarj*, I—II. Alma-Ata 1946)
Qïrq — Qïrq (Qïpčaq) dialect of Uzbeg language (T. Z. Mirsåatov, *Özbek tilining, qirq šewasi. Özbek dialektologijasidan materiallar* I, Tåškent 1957, pp. 229—261)
Nog. — Nogai (N. A. Baskakov, *Nogajsko-russkij slovarj.* Moskva 1963)
Or. — Russian
Osm. — Osman-Turkish (D. A. Magazanik, *Turecko-russkij slovarj*, izd. 2, Moskva 1945)
ÖzbChŠL — *Özbek chalq šewalari luγati*, red. Š. Šåabdurachmanov, Tåškent 1971)
Pers. — Persian (*Persidsko-russkij slovarj* I—II, Moskva 1970)
Radl. Vers. — W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte* I—IV, Mouton-Gravenhage 1960
Räs. — Martti Räsänän, *Versuch eines Etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen.* Helsinki 1969
Taǰ. — Tadzhik language (*Farhangi zabåni tåǰikī* I—II, Moskva 1969)
Tašk. — dialect of Taškent

ayïr «well, after all», lit. Uzb. *axir*, < Ar. *āḫir*

ay «moon», gen. *aydïŋ*; *aydïŋ ǰarïγïda* «by moonlight»

ayna «mirror»

ayt- «to say, to tell», *aytĭptĭ*(imperfect tense), *aytmastan* (negative gerund.) «without he had said»

al- I. «to take, to grasp», II. helping verb a) it is used for expressing an action carried out for the doer himself b) possibility or impossibility; *åmäsäŋiz* «if you do not take it» (condic.), *baǰa qïlalmäs‿ekän* «he cannot do it», *bu dåd dėp turuw‿aladĭ* «he starts complaining»

ald «front part of something»; *åldïγa*: *dar åldïγa* «to the gallows»; *åldïdan* «from the front, front-wise»

aligi «the above mentioned, the named; well, that is», lit. Uzb. *haligi*; *aligi. . . patša emes* «that is, not at all a pasha»

amallap «somehow, anyhow», lit. Uzb. *amallab*; *men amallap barayïn* «that I should start at once»

ana «well; well then»

anau «well»; lit. Uzb. *anawi*

ånt ič- «to swear»

aŋsïz «unreasonable, stupid», lit. Uzb. *ång*, *ångsiz*

apčïγ-/apčïq- «to take out», *apčïγĭp* (gerund.), lit. Uzb. *ålib čiq-*

apkel- «to take it along; to give»; Kzk. *äkel-*, Kkp. *äkel-*, Tašk. *åpkäl-*, lit. Uzb. *ålib kel-*; imp. S. 2. *åppkē!*

åpkepqoy- «to bring»; lit. Uzb. *ålib kelip qoy-*; *χan‿am qïzïnï åpkepqoydĭ üygä* «the khan has also brought his daughter home»

apket/åpket- «to take away», lit. Uzb. *ålib ket-*

åpqač- «to steal», *åpqačĭp ketĭptĭ* «after he had stolen it, he went away», lit. Uzb. *ålib qåč-*

ara: *šu arada* «during this, while»

arqa «back part», *ortaγï arqasïdan* «following his friend»

as- «to hang somebody», *assaŋïz* «if you hanged (me)», *asĭp ǰïräwerïŋ!* «just hang me!»; *åsïš* «hanging»

asïl- (pass.), *asïlĭp ǖölĭp kettĭ* «he was hanged and he died»

åt «name», *åt qoy-* «to name», *åtïnï Xanïmay qoyĭp qoyadĭ* «he gave her the name Xanïmay»

åta/ata «father-in-law; respectful address of the old man; grandfather; forefather; ancestor» *åtasïnikiga kelĭp* «going to his father's»

åta‿inä/åta‿ėne/åta‿änä «parents»

attāŋ «it is a great pitty», lit. Uzb. *attanga*

au «hunting», *auga čĭq-* «to go to hunt»; Kirg. Kzk. *au*, Krm. Osm. *aw* (Radl. Vers. I. 66), lit. Uzb. *a͡w*

aur- «it pains», *därroɯw ič‿auryan kĭši bolĭp* «he started to feel pains in his internally»; Kzk. Kkp. *awïr-*, Kirg. *ōru-*, lit. Uzb. *åyri-*

ėkkälä/i̯ėkkälä «both», *ėkkälämiz* «we two»; lit. Uzb. *ikkälä*

ėkki, ėkk/i̯ėkki «two», *ėkkinči* «second», *ėkk‿ortada* «between the two»; lit. Uzb. *ikki*

ėkkitä «two pieces, two», *ėkkitädän* (abl. part.) «to both of them»; lit. Uzb. *ikkita*

ėkkoi̯‿w/i̯ėkkou̯w «both of them», *ėkkou̯ui* «they both»; lit. Uzb. *ikkåw*

änä/ėnä/inä «aunt; mother; mother-in-law»

ėndi/i̯ėndi «now»; lit. Uzb. *endi*

erkek «man; masculine», *erkek tana* «bull-calf»; lit. Uzb. *erkäk*

ērtämätän «in the morning, early in the morning, at dawn», And. *ertämätän*, Farγ. *ertämertän* (ÖzbChŠL. 95), lit. Uzb. *ertäläb*; Kirg. *erten menen*

ešik «gate», *åt‿ešik* «a gate for the horses»

baǰa qïl- «to carry out, to fulfil», *hič kim munï baǰa qïlalmäs‿ekän* «nobody can carry it out»; lit. Uzb. *bäǰär-*

bahanä «pretext, excuse», *bahanä tawadï* «he makes a pretext»; lit. Uzb. *bahā̆nä*; < Taǰ. *bahā̆na*

bayaγï/bayagi «the former, recent, the mentioned», *bayaγï kʿämpirdikidä* «in the house of the mentioned old woman»; lit. Uzb. *båyagi*

baqïr- «to call, to invite», *baqïrmastan* (negative gerund.); lit. Uzb. *čaqir-*

bala/bälä «misfortune, affliction, blow of fate», *hič bälä* «nothing», *bĭr bälä* «somethin»; lit. Uzb. *balā̆*, < Ar. *balā'* (Räs. 59b)

båla/balä «child», *bĭz ǰėtim bållamĭz* «we are orphans», plur. *bålla*

banda «person», *erkek bandasï* «male person»; lit. Uzb. *bändä* «servent of God. creature», < Pers. *bändä*

bår/-war «to be, to exist», *bår‿ekäni, gau̯hardan üyi‿war‿ekän* «he has a house of precious stones»

bår-/bar- «to go», *båräyā̆tĭp* «while wandering»

barï «all, whole», *šu gäptïŋ barïnï* «this whole speech»

båš/baš «head», in acc. frequently redupl. *båššïnï, båššïnï ǰuwub‿bow‿otïrsa* «as he is sitting there and washing his head»; *bā̆šïγa* «in the direction, towards»

bašqa: *bašqa yaqqa* «somewhere else»

båšlä-/bašla- «to start», *yol båšläptĭ* «he started»

båšlan- »to be started», *ana toy båšlandĭ* «thus the wedding started»

bečara «poor, unfortunate»; lit. Uzb. *bečā̆rä*, < Pers. *bīčare*

bėǰizä «outsider, stranger», < Pers. *bīčizha* (?)

bėkerge «uselessly, needlessly»; Kzk. *bekerge*, Kkp. *biykarγa*; lit. Uzb. *bekā̆rgä*, < Taǰ. *bekā̆r*

bēmaral «calmly, in a comfortable way, freely»; lit. Uzb. *bemalā̆l*, < Taǰ. *bemalā̆l*

ber- «to give», *tawub‿bėriŋ!*» please, find it for me!», *bėrės!* «give it to me!»

bil-: *bilmādim* «I do not know»

bildir- «to let sy know», *bildirmey yürewersin* «do not let him acquaint with»

bĭr «one» 1) *birini-birini* «one and the other», 2) *birdä* (loc.) «at once, suddenly», 3) *bĭr ö̯özi* «he himself, alone», Tašk. *bittä özi*, 4) *bĭr altitä čelpek* «six cakes (pies) or so», 5) *bittä* (< *bir-tä*) «one piece», *bittä gap qaptĭ* «I forgot one thing», 6) *billä* (< *bir-lä*) «together», *ortayï‿man billä* «together», with his friend»; lit. Uzb. *birgäliktä*

biro̯(w) «somebody, a somebody», *bašqa biro̯wdiŋ qïzïman* «I am the daughter of somebody else»; lit. Uzb. *birâw*

biz: gen. *biziŋ/bizziŋ*

boyičä «along, by the side of»

boyïn/boynï: *däryåniŋ boynïda* »along the bank of the river»

bol- «to be», *boptĭ* «it was, it became» (imperfect tense», gerund.: *bop/bow*, partic.: *boyan*, *bōyan*, *bolyan*; *bolmayan*. As a helping verb: *kirĭp bolmas‿ekän* «it is impossible to enter»

bošat- «to free, to release»

bu «this», acc. *bunï/munï*, dat. *buya*

bütün/pütün «all, the whole», Kkp. *pütin*

čaq «gay, satisfied», lit. Uzb. *čây*

čal/čăl «old man», lit. Uzb. *čăl*; compare: Räs. 96b *čal* «grau»

čandan «much, quite», *mennen čandan čirāyli* «he is much nicer than me», lit. Uzb. *čandân* «so much, that so . . ., that», < Pers. *čändan*

čap-/čåp- «to strike down», *čåp källäsini*! «cut his head!», lit. Uzb. *čåp-* «to cut into pieces»

čėkä/čėke «edge», lit. Uzb. *ček* «border, edge of sg»

čelpek «girdle-cake», acc. *čelpekti*

čĭy-/čïq- «to go out», *čĭyïš-/čïqïš-* «to go out together»; gerund. *čĭyĭp*, part. *čïqqan*; lit. Uzb. *čiq-*

čĭyaz- «to take out, to free», Kzk. Kkp. *šĭyar-*, Kirg. *čĭyar-*; lit. Uzb. *čiqar-*

čïmïldïq «(bed) curtain» (at weddings, the corner of the room, where the newly weds spend the night, is covered by this curtain), Barlas qïšlaq, Mitan *čïmïldïχ* (ÖzbChŠL. 301), Kzk. Kkp. *šïmïldïq*, Nog. *šïmïldïq*, Kaz. *čïbïldïq*, Bšk. *sïmïldïq*; lit. Uzb. *göšanga*

čiz- «to draw a line», gerund. *čizĭp/čizzĭp*, part. *čizyan*; lit. Uzb. *čiz-*

čüz- «to swim», Char. *yüz-* (ÖzbChŠL. 137), Kirg. *süz-*, Kzk. Kkp. *žüz-*; lit. Uzb. *sŭz-/yŭz-*

ǰala- «to lick, to keep licking», Kzk. Kkp. *žala-*, Kirg. *ǰala-*; lit. Uzb. *yala-*

ǰallat «body-guard, soldier», lit. Uzb. *ǰallâd* «executor», < Ar. *ǧallād*

ǰaman/yaman «bad», Kirg. *ǰaman*, Kzk. Kkp. *žaman*, lit. Uzb. *yåmån*

ǰaŋyaq/yaŋyaq «nut», *üydä kättä ǰaŋyayï war‿ekän* «in the house he has a big nut-tree»; Kirg. *ǰaŋgaq*, Kzk. *žaŋyaq*; lit. Uzb. *yånyåq*

ǰarïq/yarïq «light, brightness», *aydïŋ ǰarïyï‿man* «by moonlight»;Kzk. Kkp. *žarïq*, Kirg. *ǰarïq*; lit. Uzb. *yâruy*

ǰasaul «horseman, retinue, body-guard, the Guards», lit. Uzb. *yasåwul*

ǰa̯u- «to close, to lock», *ǰawup qoy-* «to close», *éšikti ǰa̯u/* «close the door!»; Kzk. Kkp. *žab-*(*žawïp*), Kirg. *ǰab-*, *ǰap-*; lit. Uzb. *yåp-*

ǰawap/ǰåwåp «answer», *ǰawap ber-* «to answer»; lit. Uzb. *ǰawåb*

ǰésir «widow», Kzk. Kkp. *žesir*, Kirg. *ǰesir*; lit. Uzb. *yesir*

ǰetim «orphan», Kzk. Kkp. *žetim*; Kirg. *ǰetim*; lit. Uzb. *yetim*, < Ar. *yatīm* (Räs. 199a)

ǰim tur- «to keep silence, not to speak»

ǰönät-/yönät-, *yönet-* «to send, to start», Kkp. Kzk. *žönelt-*, Kirg. *ǰönöt-*; lit. Uzb. *ǰönät-*

ǰuda/ǰida/ǰā «very, extremely», Tašk. *ǰüdä*, lit. Uzb. *ǰuda*, < Pers. *ǰudā*

ǰuw-/ǰuwŭp, *ǰuwïp*) «to wash», *båšïnï ǰuwuw‿otïryan ekän* «he was sitting and washing his head (hair); Kzk. *žu-* (*žuwïp*), Kirg. *ǰū-*, Kkp. *žuwï-*; lit. Uzb. *yuw-*

ǰügür- «to run, to rush»; Kzk. *žügir-*, Kirg. *ǰügür-*, Kkp. *žüwür-*; lit. Uzb. *yügür-*

ǰür-/yür-/yir- «to go», *üydä yürädï/yür* «he is at home», imp. S. 2. *ǰür!* (also in Taškent!), pl. 2. *yiriŋ!*; gerund.: *yürïʙ*, partic. *yürgän*

dåd «cry, complaint, moans», *dåd de-* «to lament»; lit. Uzb. *dā̆d*, < Pers. *dād*

dånå «clever, sharp-minded, wise», lit. Uzb. *dā̆nā̆*, < Pers. *dāna*

dånålik(*gi*) «cleverness, wisdom», lit. Uzb. *dā̆nā̆lik*

daŋïr‿duŋur «with much noise» (actually clattering with a hand-drum), *toylar daŋïr‿duŋur ötäyaptï* «the wedding is taking place through merry-making»

dar «gallows», *darya as-* «to hang»; lit. Uzb. *dår* < Pers. *dār*

darhal «at once, immediately», lit. Uzb. *darhål*, < Taǰ. *darḥāl*

dåryå «river», dat. *dåryåya*; lit. Uzb. *daryā̆*, < Pers. *daryā*

da̯ruq sal- «to notify the public, to proclaim», lit. Uzb. *ǰar sål-*

däräk (*gi*) «news, knowledge», *dimdäräk* «disappeared without leaving a trace, any news of him», lit. Uzb. *däräk*, < Taǰ. *darak*

därro̯w «at once, immediately, promptly», lit. Uzb. *darråw*

dė-/de- «to say, to tell», gerund. *dėp*, partic. *degän*, *dėgen*; *dėgänüčä* «while he is telling»

diwar/dėwar «wall», *makkam dėwardan tikïp* «built of a strong wall»; lit. Uzb. *dewā̆r*, < Taǰ. *dewår*

duwduw: *duwduw gåp* «gossip, about which everybody speaks»

-yu «well, but, surely», *ortaɣïm qolya tüšïptï‿yu!* »surely, my friend has been caught!», lit. Uzb.-*qu*

ga̯ḫar «precious stone», *ga̯ḫar üy* «a house of precious stones», lit. Uzb. *gawhar* < Pers. *gauhar* (Räs. 125 b)

gåp/gäp «word, speech», acc. *gåptï*, *meniŋ gåʙima* «on my word», *bunïŋ gäʙi*

tūri‿kelädi «he is right»; *gåp-söz* (paired) «gossip»: *χïzïnï gåp-söz qïγanï üčün* «as he discredited his daughtery»

göristan »tomb; cemetery» < Pers. *gūrästan*

χayaqqa «where?; to where», lit. Uzb. *qayåqqa*

χayaqtan «from where», *χayaqtan tawuš keräk?* «where can he be found?»; lit. Uzb. *qayåqtan*

χayïq/qayïq «boat», lit. Uzb. *qayiq*

χalta/qalta «satchel, haversack», lit. Uzb. *χalta*, < Pers. *ḫalīta* (Räs. 227)

χarïndaš «brother, sister», lit. Uzb. *qarindåš*

χïz/qïz «girl, daughter», acc. *χïzzï/χïzdï*, gen. *χïzdïŋ*; *χïzïγa* «to the daughter of»

χuda «God», lit. Uzb. *χudå*, < Pers. *ḫudāy* (Räs. 162b)

χuwan- «to be happy», *χuwanawėriŋ!* «be happy!», lit. Uzb. *quwån-*

hayal «woman», *ėkki hayaldïŋ kiyimini kiyïp* «putting on two women's dresses»; Kzk. *äyel*, Kkp. *hayal*, Kirg. *ayal*; lit. Uzb. *ayål*, < Taǰ. *ayāl*

hayda-/häydä-/ayda- «to chase, to hunt»; Kzk. Kkp. Kirg. *ayda-*, lit. Uzb. *hayda-*

haqqāni «real, true», lit. Uzb. *haqīqiy*

halimgöčägi «till now», *halimgöčägi šular yašap yatïrdï* «they are still alive, if they did not died»

hamma «all, the whole», lit. Uzb. *hamma*

haram «prohibited», *haram bol-* «it is prohibited»; «to become wanton», < Ar. *ḥarām*

häm/-äm, -am,-yäm «also», *sen‿häm* «you also», < Pers. *ham*

(h)essasïda «as a consequence of sg»

hič I. negative particule: *hič yerdä* «nowhere», *hič bir yaqqa* «nowhere», II. «not at all»: *hič izlep tawŭp bolmäydï* «it cannot be found at all»; lit. Uzb. *heč*, < Pers. *hiǧ* (Räs. 159b)

hima «sign, indication», *hima qïl-* «to mark», lit. Uzb. *imå*

hözür «pardon me (apology)», *qïγan išlärigä hözür sorap* «apologizing for what he had done»; lit. Uzb. *uzr*, < Ar. *ʿuḏr*

hüǰire/hüǰre/ǰüdä «guard-room», < Ar. *ḥuǰra(t)*

ïrza bol- «satisfied (to be), to consent»; Kzk. *razï/rïza*, Kkp. *razï*, Kirg. *ïrāzï*, lit. Uzb. *rāzi*, < Ar. *rāḍi(n)*

ïssïqåmat qïl- «to live, to dwell», lit. Uzb. *istiqåmat qil-*, < Ar. *istiqāma(t)*

ïšta- «to take, to keep, to hold», *qolγa‿ïštap* «he takes it to his hands»; Kzk. Kkp. *usta-*; lit. Uzb. *ušla-*

ič «interior, inside of sg», *ič‿auruγum bar*» I have pains inside», *ičidä* «inside sg, in sg»

iǰådat «request, permission», *iǰådat soraydï* «he requests permission»; lit. Uzb. *iǰāzat*, < Taǰ. *iǰāzat*

indemey tur- «to keep quiet, he does not speak»

iš: *endi nim‿iš qïlïš keräk?* «and what to do now?»

išlet- «to use, to apply», *p'alitika išlet-* «to manoeuvre, to play foxy»
izlä- «to seek«, *izläš* «search»
izwaš «carriage», *izwašqa sal-* «to sit sy in a coach, carriage«
yaχšï/ǰaχšï «good»
yalyan gàpïr- «to tell lies»
yaŋlïš- «to miss, to make a mistake», *šüöttä yaŋlïšïppïz* «here we missed»
yasal- «it is made of», *yaχšï bïr yasalyan t'āmïya* «to his well made house»
yat- I. «to lie», II. as a helping verb, for expressing a durable action: *yašap yatïr* «he lives»
yer/ǰer «place; land», *boyan ǰēri‿war‿ekän* «she had already been engaged»
yet- «to reach»
yetkiz- (causative)
yigit «young man, lad», acc. *yigitti*, gen. *yigitti/yigitniŋ*, dat. *yigitke*
yir-/yer-/ǰir- I. «to send», II. as a helping verb: *asïp ǰiräweriŋ!* «just hang me!», *haydap yėrdï* «he chased, droved him away»; Kzk. Kkp. *žiber-*, Kirg. *ǰiber-*, lit. Uzb. *yubår-*
yoq/ǰoq «no, not»
yoqal-/yoγal- «to be lost, to disappear»
yol/ǰol «way», *yolγa čïγ-* «to send off»
qač/χač- «to run away»
qayt-/χayt- «to go away; to return»
qaylïq(γï) «bride»; Kzk. *qalïndïq*, Kkp. *qalïnlïq*
qal- «to remain», gerund. *qåp/qålïp*, *bittä gàp qåptï* «I forgot one thing», *kirïp qaw‿edim* «I went in»; partic. *qaγan*
qamal- «to shut oneself in; to be locked»
qan/χan «khan», gen. *χandïŋ*, dat. *qanγa*
qana/χana «where? where is he?; come on», *qana ayt!* «come on, speak!»
qandey/χandey «what? what kind?»
qara- «to look», gerund. *qarap* (dat.) «towards, in the direction», *Hindistan tarapgä qarap* «towards India», partic. *qaraγan*
qawar/χawar «news; report», *qawar ber-* «to give information»; Kzk. Kkp. *χabar*, Kirg. *qabar*, lit. Uzb. *χabar*, < Ar. *ḫabar*
qawurïstan/χawurïstan «cemetery», acc. *χawurïstandï*, dat. *qawurïstanγa*; lit. Uzb. *qabristån* < Ar. *qabr* + Pers. *istan*
qïdïr- «to go as a guest»
qïyᾱmätlïγ «eternal, as long as one lives», < Ar. *qïyāma(t)* «resurrection»
qïl- «to make, to do», gerund. *qïlïp/qïp*, *-γïp*, partic. *qïγan*
qïzqïr-/qïyqïr- «to shout, to shriek», Kkp. *qïšqïr-*, Kirg. *qïyqïr-*
qoy-/χoy- «to put, to place», *āt qoy-* «to name», *ičim χoyadï* «the pain in my stomach is over (has gone)
qol «hand», *qolγa tüš-* «to fall into sy's hands», *üöz qolu‿man* «with his own hands»

qoš/χoš «all right», < Pers. *χoš*
qoš- «to join, to link, to fasten to»
qun/χun‿töläš «bloodfeud, revenge», < Pers. *χun* «blood»
quryur »nicely, superbly» (pejor.)
qursand bol- «to be happy», lit. Uzb. *χursand*, < Pers. *χorsänd*
qutultur- «to free, to release», lit. Uzb. *qutultir-*
källä «head, skull», < Pers. *källä*
kämpir «old woman», *kʿämpirdin köyläginі* «the old woman's dress», < Pers. *kam-pīr* (Räs. 251a)
keč «late», *keč bol-* «it is getting late», *keč qal-* «to be late», *keč qåsalarïŋ* «if night was descending on you»
keyin «then; after sg.», *kīk χačqanė‿kėyin* «after the deer had run away»
kel- «to come», partic. *kėlgėn, kegen*; *kėlė‿mė* «whether he comes», *kelmekči* «who wants to come»
kelinček «bride»
ket- «to go», *keptĭ* < *ketĭptĭ* «he went» (imperfect tense), *kėtėwėrsin* «let him go», *ketäyåtkän yigitti* «that lad who had just gone», *menge tåšlåp kėtės* «you leave it with me»
kiy- «to put on (a dress)», partic. *kiygen*
kiygiz- «to dress, to put a dress on sy»
kiyim «dress, clothing», acc. *kiyimdi*
kīk «wild animal; deer», Alt. Tel. Šor *kīk* (Radl. Vers. II. 1339), Kirg. *kiyik*; Osm. *geyik*
kir- «to enter; to complete, to turn (an age)», *toχsanya kirgän åtam* «my 90 years old father»
kirgiz- «to let sy in», *kirgizmesten* «without letting him in»
kön-/kön- «to consent», lit. Uzb. *kön-*
kör- «to see», *men u χizdï kʿördim* »I saw this girl»; *körin-* (pass.) «it seems»
körset- «to show», partic. *körsėtkėn*
köt: *ǰaŋyaqtïŋ kötidä* «at the foot of the nut-tree»
köter-/kʿötär- «to raise, to take»; *köteril-* (pass.)
küy- «to suffer», *buya‿yam küydĭm* «I suffered from it»
küyoų(w) «groom; the younger sister's husband», acc. *küyoųdi*
mahall «time, moment», < Ar. *maḥall*
makkam «strong, firm»; Kkp. *bekkem*, Kirg. *bekem*; lit. Uzb. *mahkam*, < Taǰ. *mahkam*
mama^{d}zandaqa «chatterbox; who knows too much», lit. Uzb. *mahmadåna*
maslaat «advice; council», *maslaat qïl-* «to confer, to take counsel»; Kzk. *mäslihat*, Kkp. *mäslähät*; lit. Uzb. *maslahat*, < Taǰ. *maslihat*
men: *bu meni qïzïm* «this is my daughter», abl. *menden/mennen*
minän, -man, -mån, -män; *bilän* «with», *šunum‿minän/šunïŋ bilän* «with this», *ortayï‿man* «with his friend», *uråmål‿mån* «with a shawl»

nåtåniš «unknown»
ni̯ėt- «without doing sg., to do nothing», *ni̯ėtmestän* «without doing anything»
nima/nimä/neme/minä «what, what kind», *endi nima‿yïlamïz?* «and what to do now?»; Kirg. *emne, emine*
oy «idea, notion», *oyya kel-* «it occurs to him»
oyprimė «strange, odd», < ?
oqu-/oχu- «to read»
ombarawar «ten times»
ora- «to cover, to wrap», lit. Uzb. *òra-*
orïn: *ü̯öziŋizdiŋ onnĭŋĭya* «in place pf yourself»
ortaq (*γï*) «friend», *ortaq bol-* «to make friends»; lit. Uzb. *ortåq*
öl- «to die», *ü̯ölämän* «I shall die», *ü̯ōlĭp kettĭ/ölūp qaldĭ* «he died», *åtam ölmehči* «my father is dying»
ölik (*gi*) «dead body»
öltir- «to kill»
öt- «to pass; time is getting on», *toylar ötäyåptĭ* «the wedding is going on»
öttä/ü̯öttä «there», lit. Uzb. *u yerdä*
öz/ü̯öz «himself», *χanniŋ ü̯özi* «the khan himself»
palan «something, a certain», *palan yer* «a certain place», < Ar. *fulān*
palančï/palanča «somebody, a certain person», *palančanikkä* «to someone's»
pʿälitika «politics; trick», *pʿälitika išlet-* «to manoeuvre», < Or. *политика*
porma «shape, form», < Or. *форма*
saglasna bol- «to consent», < Or. *согласно*
sal- «to place, to put (down), to lay (down)»; lit. Uzb. *sål-*
sapsem «not at all», *bularnï sāpsem tawŭp bolmäydĭ* «they cannot be found at all», < Or. *совсем*
sawap «fear of God» (religious term)
siŋni «sister, younger sister», *siŋnimdi* «my younger sister»; Kzk. Kkp. *siŋli*, Kirg. *siŋdi*; lit. Uzb. *singil*
šāyïq (*γï*) «caretaker of a cemetery». acc. *šāyĭqtĭ*, < Ar. *šā'iq*
šöttä/šü̯öttä «here, on this place», lit. Uzb. *šu yerdä*
šu: dat. *šuŋa/šuγa*
šuyaqqa/šoyaqqa «there»
šul: *šul‿üčün* «this is why»
šuytĭp «so, thus», Qïrq *šuytŭp*, lit. Uzb. *šunday etib*
šunaqa/šunday «such, such kind»
tayalla- «to prepare, to make ready», lit. Uzb. *tayyårlä-*
tåm «house; home»; Tašk. *üy*, Kkp. *tam/üy*, Kzk. *üy/tam*; lit. Uzb. *tåm* «roof»
tana «calf»; lit. Uzb. *buzåq*
ta̯u- (*tawŭp, tawĭp*; *tawadĭ*) «to find», *tawŭp bolmäydĭ* «it cannot be found»; Kzk. Kkp. Kirg. *tab-*; lit. Uzb. *tåp-*
ta̯uš- «to meet», *χïz‿man ta̯ušïpsïz* «you will meet the girl»; lit. Uzb. *tåpiš-*

tez: *tezdä* «rapidly, speedily», *tez qïlïp* «without any delay»
tiloų(w) «desire», Kzk. Kkp. Kirg. *tilek*, Tašk. *tiloųw*, lit. Uzb. *tiläk*
tiri «lively, healthy», *tuptiri* «he is perfectly healthy»; Kzk. Kkp. *tiri*, Kirg. *tirü*, lit. Uzb. *tiriq*
tölkä «only», < Or. *только*
tuχmat «gossipü rumour», lit. Uzb. *tuhmat*, < Pers. *tohmät*
tur- «to stand», gerund. *turŭp/turïp*; *dåd dėp turuw‿aladï*, partic. *turγan*
tūri/tūra «correct; right; straight», *toppa tūra* «correctly», *siziη gàвïηïz tūri‿ekän* «you really tell the truth»; Kzk. *tūra*, Kirg. *tūra*, Kkp. *tuwrï* (*tuppa‿tuwrï*); lit. Uzb. *toγri*
učra-, *učraš-* «to meet», partic. *učraγan*, *učrašqan*
ul «boy; son», *uluη barma?* «do you have a son?»; Qïpčaq-Uzbeg *uwïl*, *uwul*, *ul*, *ūl* (ÖzbChŠL. 355) Kirg. *ūl*, Kkp. *ul*, Kkz. *ūl*, Nog. *ul*, *uwïl*; lit. Uzb. *oγil-*
uråmål «shawl, kerchief», lit. Uzb. *romål*, < Pers. *roman*
üy- «to gather, to collect», Kzk. Kkp. *žïy-*, Kirg. *ǰïy-*; lit. Uzb. *yiγ-*; *uyum* «pile, stack»
üstüwaš «dress, clothing», lit. Uzb. *üst-båš*
wåyima «fright, horror, panic», lit. Uzb. *wahima*, < Ar. *wahm*

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SOME TOPONYMS OF TURKIC ORIGIN IN SLOVAKIA

BY

J. BLASKOVICS (Prague)

The present-day Slovakian toponyms are of Slavic origin in regions inhabited by Slovaks, whereas they are mainly of Hungarian origin in south and south-east Slovakia populated mainly by Hungarians.[1] As the ancestors of the Slovaks had frequently come into contact with Turkic peoples or fragmentary groups ever since their settlement (5th—6th ct. A.D.), a few dozen toponyms of ancient Turkic origin may be found among the place-names.[2]

The first significant people of Turkic stock the Slavs had been in close and prolonged contact were the Avars who organized a strong empire in the Carpathian Basin, in Bohemia and in part of Austria in the middle of the 6th century. The Avars soon entered into symbiosis with the Slav tribes found here, thus the period is known in Czech and Slovakian history as the «era of Avar-Slav unity», or the «Avar-Slav symbiosis».[3] Though Samo (623—658), a Frankish merchant had united the western Slav (the Czech and Moravian) tribes, and laid the foundations of an independent state, the Avar-Slav coexistence had continued to strengthen and widen during the course of the 7th and 8th centuries and came to an end only by the fall of the Avar Empire (799 A.D.).[4]

After the fall of the Avar Empire the Slavs settled in the Carpathian Basin came into close contact with the Volga-Bulgarians. The region between

[1] *Slovník slovenského jazyka*, VI. diel, (Bratislava 1968), pp. 153—254, contains about 2000 Slovakian toponyms.

[2] In my article *Çekoslovakya'da eski Türklerin izleri* I have given the explanation of 14 Slovakian toponyms of ancient Turkic origin (*RRA* 341—351).

[3] *Dejiny Slovenska* 67—90; Novotný, *České dějiny* I, 1, (Praha 1912); Turek, 118—140; J. Dekan, *Začiatky slovenských dějín a ríša Veľkomoravská* (Bratislava 1951); B. Zástěrová, *Vznik a počátky Slovanů* II (Praha 1960), pp. 15—37.

[4] G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowańskie — Państwo Samona* (Poznań 1949); Zástěrová, *op. cit.*, II, 233—252; Fredegar, *Historia Francorum*, in: W. Wattenbach—W. Levison, *Scriptores rerum Moravingicarum* II (Hannover 1889).

the rivers Danube and Tisza, eastern Slovakia and Transylvania had remained under Proto-Bulgarian rule until the arrival of the Hungarians (892 A.D.)[5]

With the conquering Hungarians three Khazar-Turkish tribes, the Kabar-Khazars and several other fragments of Turkic origin settled down in the new homeland.[6] In the 10th and 11th centuries considerable groups of Pechenegs[7] appeared, followed by the Cumans[8] in the 11th—13th centuries

All these ethnic groups and fragments settled in various regions of the country, thus a considerable number of them found a new home in the present-day Slovakia, mainly in the Csallóköz, in the valleys of the rivers Morava, Váh, Nitra, Žitava and Hron. Subsequently the settled Turkic groups quickly adjusted themselves to the new environment, they had become peaceful herdsmen and peasants and assimilated themselves to the Slav or Hungarian population living around them.

The situation was different during the Osmanli-Turk conquest. Though the Turkish occupation lasted for one and a half centuries (from 1543 till 1686 on the territory of Slovakia) permanent settling down and assimilation occurred only exceptionally because of the religious differences. *E.g.* after the recapture of Fülek (today's Fiľakovo) (in 1593) of the Mohammedan Turkish and Bosnian population that settled down there forty years earlier, only about 200—300 persons christianized and remained there.[9]

I have to mention the so-called «Valach-colonization» as well. In the 16th—17th centuries a large-scale shepherding and, in particular, sheep-breeding began on the alpine pastures of Slovakia. A number of shepherds came from Valachia (Rumania) and Transylvania and settled. In Slovakian history these figure under the name Valach (= highland herdsman) and were considered to be Rumanians. But if we study the Slovakian terminology of sheep-breeding, it becomes clear that in the vocabulary of the Valach people there are many purely Turkish words which indicates that some (or the majority) of the Valachi were Cumans. *E.g.* the adaptation of words such as the Slovak *bača* «head shepherd», *baran* «lamb», *košiar* «sheepfold», *salaš* «abode»,

[5] K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prag 1876); Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930); J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903); Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I—II (Budapest 1942); *IslAns* II, 801.

[6] NGy, 233—240.

[7] Rásonyi, *LTF* III (bibliography); *IslAns* Cüz 96, pp. 535—543 (bibliography); Czeglédy K., *A kangarok* (*besenyők*) [The Kangars (Pechenegs)]: *MTA I. Oszt. Közl.* [Publ. of Dept. I. HAS], V (Budapest 1954), pp. 243—276.

[8] Rásonyi *LTF* III (bibliogr.), *IslAns* Cüz 63, p. 716 (bibliography); Gyárfás, I., *A jász-kúnok története* [History of the Jazygian-Cumans] I—IV (Kecskemét—Budapest 1870—1885), *etc.*

[9] According to Kâtib Çelebi (See: *Historical Documents of the Turko-Hungarian Age*, IInd Class, *Writers* V, Vol. III, p. 211 (in Hungarian).

«alpine shelter of shepherds», *šiator* «tent», *žinčica* «curdled sweet ewe-milk», etc., the Turkish *beşe* «uncle, old man, adviser, leader (shepherd)», the Tatar *bäränˊ* «lamb», *koşar* (from the verb *koşmak*) «place where the animal is kept and locked, fold», *salaş* «abode», *çadir* «tent», *cinci* (*cincü*, *inci*) «pearl», «pearling» *etc.*[10]

Mention should also be made of Ukrainian and Croatian immigration to the territory of Slovakia and Bohemia. They came in smaller groups during the period from the 18th century till World War I, usually as refugees (after the Crimean War, *etc.*). Many of them had names (and possibly ancestry as well) of Turkish and Tartar origin.

Contacts with the Turkic peoples and fragments of similar stock naturally left their mark on Czech[11] and Slovak[12] vocabulary as well as on the toponyms.[13] In Slovakia several dozens of toponyms, several hundreds of family names[14] and nicknames of old Turkic origin can be found.

In the following passages some village names of old Turkic origin will be dealt with. But I should like to note that the Turkic origin of the village-name itself does not always prove the Turkish origin of its inhabitants. As is known, the majority of village-names came from a proper name, from the name of a tribe or from the designation of a high-ranking personality, whose holder had some contact with the locality at the time when the settlement came into existence.[15]

1. Imeľ, Ímely

Today the name of the village in Slovakian is *Imeľ*, in Hungarian it is *Ímely*. It is situated in the Komarno district on the right bank of the river Nitra, 22 km north of Komarno and 12 km south of Nové Zámky. During the last two decades archaeological excavations were conducted on the territory

[10] The great majority of these words are indicated as of Rumanian, Hungarian or unknown origin in the Czech etymological dictionaries. See: Machek, under the corresponding entries.

[11] See my article *Çek dilinde Türkçe kelimeler* in *Bilimsel bildiriler* (Ankara 1960), pp. 87—112.

[12] V. Blanár, *Otázky lexikálnych turcizmov v slovenčine*, in *Jazykovedný časopis* XIII (Bratislava 1962), pp. 76—87.

[13] In my article mentioned under footnote 2 the explanation of 14 Slovakian toponyms of Turkic origin can be found.

[14] In the same article 105 Slovakian family names (surnames) of Turkic origin are enumerated.

[15] Virágh, Rózsa, *Magyar helységnevek eredete* [The Origin of Hungarian Toponyms] (Szeged 1931); Pesty Fr., *Magyarország helynevei* [Toponyms of Hungary] (Budapest 1888); Gombocz—Melich, *Magyar etimológiai szótár* [Hungarian Etymological Dictionary] I—II (Budapest 1914—1930); A. Blaskovicsová, *Rozbor místních jmen na Žitném ostrově* (Praha 1958), pp. 1—116, *etc.*

of the village with the results showing that as early as in the 5th century there had been a human settlement on its site. In 1969, while digging the foundations for a house to be built, a grave with a horse was found. From the great number of grave goods (horse bones, harness, ornaments, various vessels) it may be inferred that this was the grave of a prominent Avar personality (of higher rank) from the 7th—8th centuries.[16]

The name of the village occurs already in 13th—14th-century sources in the form *Inő*.[17] Subsequently it occurs in documents: in the 15th century as *Eme* (1408), *Emee* (1438), *Imő*[18] in 1570, *Imő* in 1664,[19] *Imöl*[20] in the 18th century taking the form of *Imely*.[21] The form *Imel* is used only since 1919 and is obviously the Slovakian orthographic form of the name *Ímely*.

First we have to consider the $n \sim (\eta) \sim m$ apophony appearing in the forms *Inő* ~ *Eme* ~ *Imő*. To this there are several examples in the Hungarian, as well as in the Turkish language: Hung. *ing* «shirt» ~ dial. *imeg, ümög* (BárcziSzf 135; data from the 14th ct.); Turkish *qoŋšu* → *komşu* «neighbour» (Sami 1117), *gönlek* → *gömlek* «shirt» (Sami 1215), *oŋurγa* → *omurga* «vertebra» *qoŋural* → *kumral* «blond» (Sami 1114), etc.

Similarly the Turkish *köken* → Hung. *kökény* «blackthorn», in 1193: *Concol* → in 1664 it is *Komkol* (Defter). *Inő* → *Imő*, etc. (This apophony exists in other Turkic languages as well, see: NGy 146).

Further on it should be noted that the name *Imő* fits into an analogic group of Hungarian words: *idő* «time», *erdő* «forest», *mező* «field», *első* «first», *disznó* «pig», *csikó* «foal», *alsó* «lower», *szántó* «plough-land», etc. According to Hungarian historical grammar (Bárczi, Gombocz) all these words ended with *-aγ*, *-eγ* before the 10th century and went through a grading of two directions:

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
-a\gamma & \rightarrow & -a\underset{\sim}{u} & \rightarrow & -o\underset{\sim}{u} & \rightarrow -\acute{o} \\
 & \vdash\!\!\!\rightarrow & -a & \rightarrow & -a & \\
-e\gamma & \rightarrow & -e\underset{\sim}{\ddot{u}} & \rightarrow & -\ddot{o}\underset{\sim}{\ddot{u}} & \rightarrow -\H{o} \\
 & \vdash\!\!\!\rightarrow & -e\underset{\cdot}{i} & \rightarrow & -\underset{\cdot}{e} & \rightarrow -e\ (\ddot{a})
\end{array}
$$

[16] In the nearby Nové Zámky and at Štúrovo as well as in several other places of Southern Slovakia (the earlier Gellér, *i.e.* today's Holiare in Csallóköz) graves from the Avar period were found. See: Z. Čilinská, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Nové Zámky*: *VSAV* (Bratislava 1966); A. Točík, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Štúrovo* (Bratislava 1968); A. Točík, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Holiare* (Bratislava 1968, Instit. Archael. Nitriensis Acad. Scient. Slovacae, Nr. 242, vol. 1).

[17] *KomVm* 71.

[18] Fekete, 151.

[19] *Defter* 53a; *Maliye Defteri*, p. 294, İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, No. 4016.

[20] Lipszky 261. The final *-l* in the form *Imöl* is an inanalogic addition (over-correction) in the place of the long *-ő*. See: Bárczi, 52 and 88.

[21] The form *Ímely* is a nominative reconstructed by analogous reduction of the denominal adjectival suffix *-i* from the regular and high frequency form *ímelyi* (pronounce: *ímeji*).

According to the second trend of grading the final *-γ* completely disappeared. This is well illustrated by such forms where a suffix or affix beginning with a vowel was added to the root. (The 3rd person genitive suffix and the denominal adjectival suffix *-i*.) This process begun around the 10th century and ended already in the 12th (Bárczi, 85—86), e.g. *mezeγ + e*, *feγ + e*, *gisnaγ + a* → in 1055: *mezee*, *fee*, *gisnaa* (Bárczi, 86 and 94). Cf. to the form *Emee* (see later).

Thus the words belonging to this analogous group have two root-forms: *mező* ~ *meze* «field», *disznó* ~ *diszna* «pig», *idő* ~ *ide* «time», *Imő* ~ *Ime*, etc. Adverbial suffixes of place are added to the first root form: *idő + ben*, *mező + n*, *Imő + re*, whereas to the second form only the 3rd person genitive suffix and the denominal adjectival suffix *-i* are added: *ide+je*, *diszna + ja*, *meze+je*, *ide + i*, *meze + i*, *íme + i*, etc. The development of a *-j-* intrusive sound in the 11th century was a consequence of the reduction of the final *-γ* sound: 1055 *fee*, *mezee*, 1363 *feye*, 1345 *mezeye* (Bárczi 74), etc. This intrusive *-j-* continues to exist today as well in pronunciation: *fiam*, *miért* «my son, why» (pron.: *fijam*, *mijért*), *disznai*, *erdei* «his pigs, his forests» (pron.: *disznaji*, *erdeji*), etc. Similarly: *íme + i* ~ *ímeji* (orthographic form: *ímelyi*).

To this analogous group of words ending today in *-ó*, *-ő* belonged all those old loan-words of Turkish origin (borrowed prior to the 10th century) which had *-ak*, *-ek* terminations in Turkic and were adapted by Old Hungarian with *-aγ*, *-eγ* ending. With these the following grading can be observed:

$$-ak \rightarrow a\gamma \begin{cases} \rightarrow a\underset{\frown}{u} \rightarrow o\underset{\frown}{u} \rightarrow \acute{o} \\ \rightarrow a \rightarrow a \end{cases}$$

$$-ek \rightarrow e\gamma \begin{cases} \rightarrow e\underset{\frown}{\ddot{u}} \rightarrow \ddot{o}\underset{\frown}{\ddot{u}} \rightarrow \H{o} \\ \rightarrow e\underset{\frown}{i} \rightarrow \c{e} \rightarrow e\ (\ddot{a}) \end{cases}$$

E.g. T. *päčänäk* → Hung. **bäčänäγ* → 12th—13th cts. *Bäšänäü*, 1209 *Bäsänä* → *besenyő* «Pecheneg» (*MTESZ* 288); Proto-Bulg.: **ʒisnaγ* → Hung. **gisnaγ* → 1055 *gisnau*, 1267 *giznou* → *disznó* «pig»; Old T. *iräk* → Hung. **äriγ*, **ärü* → 1130: *ereü*, 1380 *eröü* → *erő* «strength» (*MTESZ* 789—790); Old T. *käsäk*, *käsik* → Hung. *Kesiγ*, *Kesüγ* → *Kesző* (NGy 270—271), etc.

The village name *Ímely* also belongs to this group which had a regular development from an Old Turkic word **inäk*, **inäg*. The grading:

$$\text{Old Turkic } *in\ddot{a}k \rightarrow \text{Old. Hung. } *ine\gamma \begin{cases} \rightarrow ine\underset{\frown}{\ddot{u}} \rightarrow in\H{o} \rightarrow im\H{o} \rightarrow \acute{i}m\H{o} \\ \rightarrow ine\underset{\frown}{i} \rightarrow ine \rightarrow ime, eme \rightarrow \acute{i}me \end{cases}$$

Thus both root forms of the name *Ímely* are results of regular grading: *Imő* → *Ime*. The denominal adjectival suffix *-i* joined to the root form *Ime* constitutes the highest frequency form of the name: *ime + i* (pron.: *imeji*), and, as it was mentioned earlier, the nominative form of the village name:

Imej was reconstructed from this, with the orthographic form becoming *Imely*. The lengthening of the initial vowel is also a regular feature. The vowel lengthening *i* ~ *í* occurs already in Old Hungarian as an effect of accent, *e.g.* T. *yraγ* → Hung. *író* «buttermilk», T. *čapaγ* → Hung. *csípa*, Mordvine *kijov* → Hung. *kígyó* «snake» (Bárczi 51), etc. Cf. the words *itél* ~ *ítél* «judges», *kisér* ~ ~ *kísér* «accompanies» *etc.* double forms. The name of the nearby village *Szímő* to the development of the forms *Ímő*, *Ímely*, *ímelyi* with long *-í* might have had an effect.

The forms *Eme* and *Emee* of the village name still require explanation. During the 11th—14th centuries the Hungarian *-i* vowel frequently changed to *-ę*. But this change ceased by the 15th century though it continues to occur in dialects *e.g.* T. *kendir* → Hung. *kender* «hemp», T. *ikiz* → Hung. *iker* «twins», T. *tengiz* → Hung. *tenger* «sea», *csinál-* dial. ~ *csenál-* «to make», *világ* ~ *velág* «world» etc. (Bárczi 28—29). Similarly: *Ime* ~ *Eme*, *Imei* ~ *Emee* (*Ęmeę*). Its trace can be found even nowadays: people from the neighbouring villages continue to pronounce the word **ímelyi* (*ímeji*) as *émeji*.

The oldest form of the name *Imő*, i.e. *Inő* goes back to a regular Old Hungarian **Inäγ* form. And this can only be the adoption of an Old Turkic word **inäk*. But the Old Turkic word **inäk* has a pair of regular velar sounds in the various Turkic languages: *inak*, *ynaq*, which means in Chagatay «friend, confidant», «the one who can be trusted», «counsellor», «minister», in Altai-Turkish «friend», in Cuman «faithful». The word occurs in Usbeg also in the form *inaχ* and used to be the title of chieftains.[22]

Thus the meaning of the name of the village *Ímely* is «advisor, confidant trusted person, chieftain». If we consider that the burial with horse from the Avar period excavated in the village was presumably the grave of a high-ranking personality, than it can be inferred that the name of the village derives from the **inäk* title of this high-ranking person. Turkish ranks often became toponyms as indicated by the several examples in regions of Turkish population, but in Southern Slovakia as well. (Cf. *Terany* ~ *Tarján*, *Tlmače* ~ ~ *Tolmács*, *Vajka*, etc.)

According to some the village name *Ímely* derives from the Slovak *imelo*, or Czech *jmelí* «misletoe». The old forms of this word are: *imelo*, *jómelo*, *oméla*. The corresponding forms of the word exist in other Slav languages as well. Its dialect forms in Slovak are: *omelo*, *omela*, *omelie*, *jemalo*, *emelo*, *mel*, in Czech: *méli*, *mejlí*, *omelí*, *jemelí*, *hímelí* etc.[23] Though in the various regions

[22] According to NGy 262—263, see there in detail; *Tarama Dergisi* II, 1037 and the Old Turkic forms and meanings of the word are quoted on page 1048: *ınağ*, *ınak* «reliable, confidant, on whom one can rely upon, concillor, intimate friend»; similarly the *Tarama Sözlüğü* III, 2074 (Ankara 1967): *ınak*, *ınağ*, *ınah* (14th ct.) «who can be believed», «who can be trusted».

[23] Machek, 230.

of Slav languages toponyms have derived from the word and its forms: *Jemjelica, Jemielno, Jemielna,*[24] but from these it is immediately clear that the forms *Inő, Imő, Íme* could not develop from them, thus the hypothesis cannot be accepted. The derivation from the Old Hungarian verb *emik* «sucks», *i.e.* from its *emő* «suckling» form is hardly probable. Only derivatives with *-m*[25] can be traced (*emlő, emtet, emel, csecsemő,* etc.), by which the form *Inő* cannot be explained. Besides, it could not be correlated to the customs of giving names to places.

2. Kozárovce

Its old Hungarian name is *Kovácsi* in the Levice district, situated on the right bank of the river Hron about 15 km NW of Levice. It was mentioned as a settlement as early as 1075 and 1236.[26] In 1570 it was called *Nagy Kovács.*[27] In 1664 it figures with the two names «*Nagy Kovács,* alias *Kozaroſče.*»[28] In the 18th century it occurs as *Kozarowce, Kozarowec.*[29] According to local traditions and some sources the village is an old Khazar settlement.[30]

The Slovak name has preserved the original village name. The *-ovce* ending is the plural form of a regular toponymic affix. The basic word (*kozár*) preserves the name of Khazar-Turks. The grading *a* → *o* in the first syllable is entirely regular in Slovak as well as in Hungarian: T. *davar* → Slov. *tovar,* T.: Kabar → Slov. Kovarce, Hung. *oroszlán* → T. *aryslan,* Hung. *bogrács* → T. *bakraç,* etc.

The derivation of the Slovak Kozar from the Czech *kozař* «goat-herd« is unacceptable as it is incompatible with the facts of Slav toponymic usages and with those of settlement history.

3. Trnovec

The village *Tornóc,* today known as *Trnovec nad Váhom* is situated in the Galánta district on the left bank of the river Váh some 4 km east of Šala (Vágsellye). In the 12th century it was called *Durmus.* In the 13th century it was the estate of royal fishermen and known as *Turnoch.*[31] In 1664 it was

[24] Vlad. Šmilauer, *Příručka slovanské toponomastiky* (Praha 1970), p. 83.
[25] *MTESZ* 763.
[26] *BarsVm,* 48.
[27] Fekete, 173.
[28] *Defter* 35a.
[29] Lipszky, *Kozarowec* entry.
[30] *BarsVm,* 55.
[31] *NyVm,* 153.

noted in the form *Turmyc* (*Durmyc*, *Tormyc*).[32] The name went through a transformation *Durmus* → **Tormos* → *Tormoc* → *Tornóc*.

The present Slovak form of the village name, *Trnovec* is quite new and is nothing else but the adaptation of the Hungarian *Tornóc*, based on the phenomenon that the Slovak toponyms with *-ovec*, *-ovce* ending took *-óc*, *-őc* ending in Hungarian, *e.g.* Slov. *Plešivec* → *Pelsőc*, *Hlohovec* → *Galgóc*, *Uhrovce* → *Ugróc*, *etc.* On the analogy of these the Trnovec form was reconstructed from the *Tornóc* one. This was adopted all the more easily as it corresponds to the Slav name giving customs, *i.e.* a great number of the toponyms express some characteristic of the place or its locality. In this case the meaning of *Trnovec* is «scrubby place», «thorny place» (Slovak *trn*, Czech *trň* «thorn, prickle»). Cf. *hloh* «thornapple», *Hlohovec* «a place with thornapples», *buk* «beech», *Bukovec* «a place with beech trees», etc. There are several such toponyms meaning «a thorny, scrubby place» in Slovakia: *Trnava*, *Trnávka*, *Trnie*, *Trnové*, *Trnovo*. Because Trnava (Nagyszombat) is so close, it might have influenced the development of the toponym *Trnovec* in the Slovak language.

To the apophony $m \sim n$ examples have been given earlier. The $u \sim o$ gradation was entirely regular in the Hungarian language in the 11th–13th centuries (Bárczi, 30–31), *e.g.* 1055 *humuc* → 1239 *homok* «sand» 1212 *cumlu* → → 1270 *Komlo*, etc. The change *sz* → *c* took place in the 11th–13th centuries and is again a regular phenomenon: *orsza* → *arc* «face», *Bursa* → *Barca*, *Karszag* → *Karcag* (*MNy* XI, 244, XVIII, 126), *svekla* → *cékla* «red beet», etc.

Durmus,[33] *Durmuš* (*Turmuš*) is a widely used proper name among all. the Turkic peoples. It belongs to the group of the so-called protective names (apotropaeon). It means «the remaining one». It might have come to Hungarian in the form *Durmus* (*s* = [*s*]) which is proved by the regular apophony *sz* [= *s*] → *c*.

It is known from historical sources that at this part of the valley of the river Váh and in the nearby valley of the Zitava Pechenegs were settled during the 11th century. This is proved by the village names of the neighbouring *Veča* (Hung. *Vecse*), the not distant *Besenyő* (*Bešeňov nad Zitavou*) and *Bese* (Slov. *Beša*). Thus it can be inferred that the village Tornóc got its name from a Pecheneg personality who was presumably called *Durmus* (*Turmus*).

[32] *Defter* 109b; *Maliye Defteri* 212.

[33] Though in Old Turkic the affix of the past tense participle *-myš*, *-muš*, *-miš*, *-müš* has its regular variant *-mys*, *-mus*, *-mis*, *-müs* as well (see *DrevneTs* 658), from which it derives that the name was adapted to Hungarian in the form *Durmusz*.

Abbreviations

BarsVm — *Bars Vármegye*, Budapest 1903. *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai*, szerk. Borovszky Samu [In: The Counties and Towns of Hungary, ed. by S. Borovszky]

Bárczi — Bárczi Géza, *Magyar hangtörténet* [Hungarian Historical Phonetics]. Budapest 1954.

BárcziSzf — Bárczi Géza, *Magyar szófejtő szótár* [Hungarian Etymological Dictionary], Budapest 1941.

Proto-Bulg. — Proto-Bulgarian

Defter — *Defter-i mufassal-i eyalet-i Uyvar*, Başbakanlik Arşivi Sayı 115—698, İstanbul 1664.

Dějiny Slovenska — I, Bratislava 1961.

DrevneTS — *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*, Leningrad 1969.

Fekete — Fekete L., *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* [The 1570. Assessment of Taxes of the Esztergom Sanjak], Budapest 1943.

Gombocz — Gombocz Zoltán, *Magyar történeti nyelvtan. Hangtan* [Hungarian Historical Grammar. Phonetics.], Budapest 1940.

IslAns — *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1945.

KomVm — *Komárom Vármegye* [Komárom County], Budapest 1907.

Lipszky — Lipszky J., *Repertorium locorum objectorumque ... regnorum Hungariae*, Budae 1808.

Machek — Machek V., *Etymol. slov. jazyka českého*, Praha 1968.

Maliye Defteri, — Başbakanlık Arşivi, No. 4016, İstanbul 1665.

MNy — *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language] Budapest 1905.

MTESz — *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, I—II [The Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language], Budapest 1967—1970.

NGy — Németh Gy., *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [The Development of the Conquering Hungarians], Budapest 1930.

NyVm — *Nyitra Vármegye* [Nyitra County], ed. Sziklay J.—Borovszki S., Budapest 1898.

Rásonyi LTF — Rásonyi L., *Turc non islamisé en Occident*, in: *Fundamenta Linguae Turcicae* III. Wiesbaden, Bd. III.

RRA — *Çekoslovakya'da eski Türklerin izleri*, in: *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1966.

Sami — Sami Bey, *Kamus-i Türki*, İstanbul 1317.

Turek — Turek R., *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, Praha 1963.

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SITUATION DES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES SUR LES COMANS EN HONGRIE

PAR

A. PÁLÓCZI-HORVÁTH

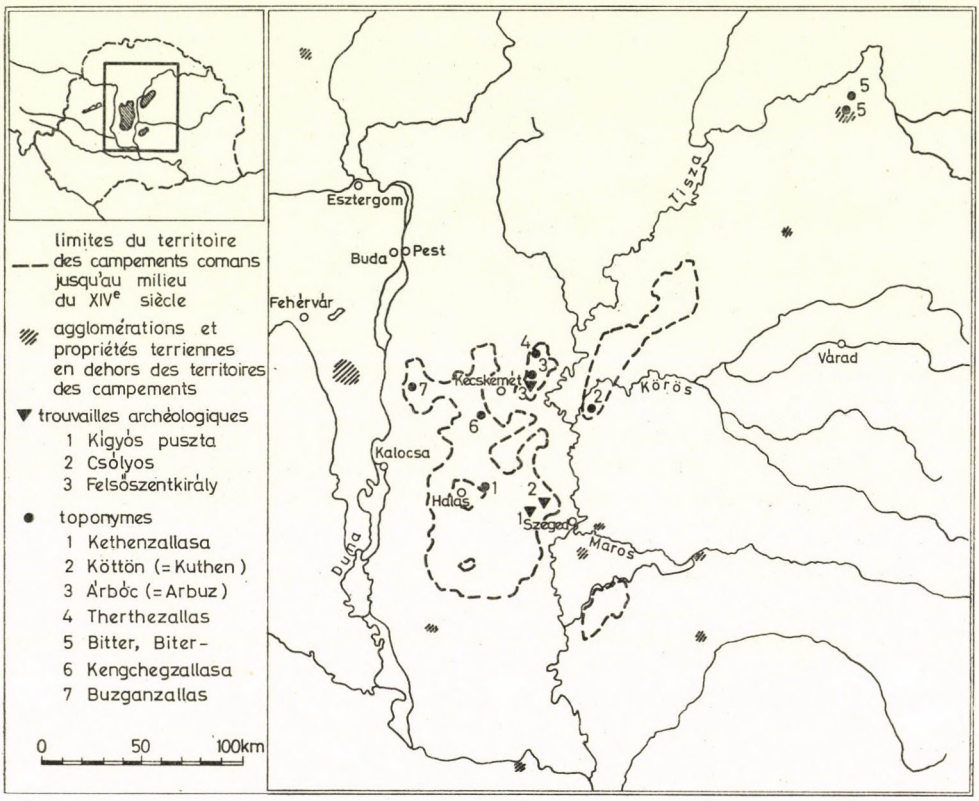
Les Comans qui, fuyant devant les Mongols immigrèrent en 1239 en Hongrie, constituent la dernière vague des peuples nomades dans le bassin des Carpates. Originaires des steppes eurasiatiques, ils apportèrent eux aussi, des éléments de la culture orientale dans la région du Danube et de la Tisza. Au témoignage des sources authentiques, ce peuple établi dans le centre géographique de l'Etat hongrois, qui, à cette époque, avait déjà adopté la culture de l'Occident, réussit à conserver pendant très longtemps sa langue, son organisation sociale, ses anciennes coutumes et son costume ancestral, et ce n'est que difficilement, et plutôt pour la forme, qu'il adopta la foi chrétienne. Grâce à la relative richesse des documents et des représentations contemporaines (fresques, miniatures) nos historiens ont été à même de répondre aux principales questions relatives au développement social des Comans de Hongrie. Selon György Györffy, à la fin du XIVe, au début du XVe siècle, les Comans étaient pratiquement assimilés: sur le territoire des anciens clans, on avait constitué des unités administratives, des sièges comans (*Sedes Comanorum*), les campements d'hiver s'étaient transformés en agglomérations permanentes, et le régime féodal avait été généralement adopté.[1] Ce n'est qu'à partir de ce moment que le processus de l'abandon de la langue, des coutumes et des traditions ancestrales put s'accélérer.

Vu le processus d'assimilation que nous venons d'esquisser, il semble évident que la première période de l'histoire des Comans de Hongrie, qui s'étend sur 150 à 200 ans environ, demanderait un travail de recherche archéologique plus intense. En effet, non seulement on sait peu de choses sur la culture de ce peuple, mais les problèmes relatifs à son histoire économique, à l'histoire de ses agglomérations, de son évolution sociale et aussi à l'histoire de sa religion ne peuvent pas être résolus non plus sans l'appui de l'archéologie.

En ce qui concerne l'archéologie hongroise, Géza Nagy fut, à la fin du siècle passé, le premier, à émettre l'idée que les monuments de la culture

[1] Gy. Györffy, *A kunok feudalizálódása: Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* [La féodalisation des Comans: Etudes sur l'histoire de la paysannerie en Hongrie au 14e siècle], éd. Gy. Székely, Budapest 1953, pp. 248—275.

des Comans devaient être cherchés parmi les objets de caractère oriental des XIIIe—XIVe siècles, dans les sépultures reflétant des coutumes nomades.[2] L'idée fut reprise par Gyula László montrant la voie à suivre aux recherhces ultérieures.[3]



Les Comans en Hongrie aux XIIIe - XIVe siècles (d'après G. Györffy)

Fig. 1

Au cours des années on a mis au jour dans la région appelée Kiskunság (Petite Comanie) trois tombes qui sur la base du rite païen de la sépulture, du costume et des armes de caractère oriental furent reconnues par István Éri

[2] G. Nagy, *A régi kunok temetkezése* [Coutumes funéraires des anciens Comans]: *Archaeologiai Értestiő* XIII (1893), pp. 105—117; G. Nagy, *A magyarhoni lovas sírok* [Les tombes équestres en Hongrie]: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* XIII (1893), pp. 223—234.

[3] Gy. László, *Adatok a kunok tegezéről* [Sur les carquois des Comans]: *Néprajzi Értesítő* 32 (1940), p. 53; Gy. László, *Őstörténetünk legkorábbi szakaszai* [Les périodes les plus anciennes de notre protohistoire], Budapest 1961, p. 16.

comme étant comanes.[4] Chacune des trois tombes se trouvaient sur le territoire des campements comans d'autrefois, à savoir: 1. la première, découverte en 1816, à Kígyóspuszta, qu'il faut identifier à Asszonyfalva mentionné par les chartes en 1355 sous le nom de *Azonfolva*, par celles de 1462 et 1492 sous celui de Asszonyszállás (*Azzonszallasa*, *Azzanzallasa*), près de l'actuel Kiskunmajsa;[5] 2. la seconde, découverte en 1903, à Csólyos puszta, qui en 1475 et 1493 figure comme (*Cholyoszallasa*, villam . . . *Cholyos*), et qui aujourd'hui fait partie de la commune de Csólyospálos;[6] 3. la troisième, découverte en 1934, dans la région de Kecskemét, à Felsőszentkirály puszta, *Zenthkyral* dans les chartes de 1354, 1356, 1488, 1490 et 1493,[7] qui est devenue la commune de Lászlófalva. L'importance de ces trois sépultures réside non seulement dans la richesse de leur mobilier, mais dans le fait que les trouvailles peuvent être comparées avec les matériaux archéologiques de la steppe comane de l'Europe Orientale. L'étude approfondie des objets découverts dans la tombe de Csólyos (casque, cotte de mailles, pointes de flèche, paire d'étriers, ceinturon) a, par exemple, permis de constater que leur répliques provenaient, pour la plupart, de la steppe ou des régions limitrophes de la steppe.[8] Il semble que ce sont surtout les Alains qui entretenaient des rapports économiques suivis avec la principauté comane. Par ailleurs ces trouvailles témoignent aussi de ce que, en reconnaissance de leurs services, les Comans nobles recevaient du roi de Hongrie des dons précieux (ceinturon à plaques d'or de Kígyóspuszta) ou encore qu'ils cherchaient eux-mêmes à imiter les formes du costume des chevaliers (l'ornement du ceinturon à plaques d'argent de Felsőszentkirály consiste partiellement en représentations héraldiques.)

Bien entendu le mobilier funéraire des trois sépultures en question ne suffit pas pour reconstituer l'image de la culture des Comans. Quant à la comparaison avec les coutumes funéraires des «Polovtsi», telle qu'elle a été suggérée par les archéologues russes et soviétiques elle reste fort problématique.

[4] I. Éri, *Adatok a kígyóspusztai csat értékeléséhez* (Données relatives à la boucle de Kígyóspuszta]: *Folia Archaeologica* VIII (1956), pp. 137—152.

[5] I. Éri, *op. cit.* pp. 138, 143—144; J. Reizner, *Szeged története* [Histoire de Szeged] I—IV, Szeged 1899—1900, Tome I, pp. 56, 65, Tome IV, p. 57; I. Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története* [Histoire des Comans-Iazygues] III, Szolnok 1883, p. 710.

[6] I. Éri, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—149; I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.* pp. 677—709.

[7] K. Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* [Monuments de l'histoire culturelle du peuple hongrois dans la Grande Plaine]: *Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historica* III, Budapest 1938, pp. 72—78; I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, pp. 489—492, 494—495, 697—699, 701, 707—708.

[8] A. Pálóczi-Horváth, *A csólyosi kun sírlelet* [Le mobilier funéraire de la tombe de Csólyos]: *Folia Archaeologica* XX (1969), pp. 107—134; A. Pálóczi-Horváth, *A csólyosi kun sírlelet hadtörténeti vonatkozásai* [Le mobilier funéraire de Csólyos étudié du point de vue de l'art militaire]: *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1969, I. pp. 115—121.

D'après les recherches archéologiques effectuées dans le Sud de la Russie,[9] ainsi qu'au témoignage de sources contemporaines (Willelmus de Roubrouk, Albericus manochus Trium Fontium, Jehan Sire de Joinville)[10] les Comans élevaient au-dessus de leurs tombes creusées dans le sol des buttes plus ou moins grandes. En général les buttes (ou tumuli) étaient plutôt petites, hautes de 1 à 2 mètres, et il n'y avait guère que les tombes des princes et chefs de clan qui étaient surmontées de tumuli plus élevés. Dans le cas des trois sépultures de Hongrie, rien n'indique l'existence de buttes non authentiques; les buttes dites comanes, que l'on appelle kourgans, remontent en réalité à l'époque préhistorique, et c'est tout au plus de manière secondaire qu'elles sont venues à contenir des sépultures comanes. De plus, il ne faut pas oublier que dans les conditions d'une agriculture intense comme celle de la Hongrie, les buttes de moindres dimensions ont pu disparaître sans laisser de trace, et enfin que dans la région entre le Danube et la Tisza le sol de sable n'était pas non plus pour favoriser leur conservation.

A l'heure actuelle on ne dispose d'aucune donnée qui indiquerait que les Comans de Hongrie couvraient les tombes de planches ou de poutres,[11] qu'ils utilisaient des revêtements en pierre, ni qu'ils plaçaient simplement des pierres mélangées de terre dans le tumulus,[12] et on ne sait pas non plus s'ils creusaient une fosse séparée pour le cheval, comme cela était l'usage chez les Polovtsi.[13]

En revanche, la présence des étriers dans la sépulture de Csólyos indique qu'il s'agit là d'une forme spéciale de sépulture équestre, appelée sépulture à harnachement.[14] Chez les Comans de la Russie du Sud, on rencontre plusieurs types de sépultures équestres: inhumation du cheval en entier, inhumation avec la peau du cheval ou avec le harnachement.[15] Toujours à Csólyos, l'utilisation d'un cercueil semble avoir été compatible avec le rite coman

[9] Л. П. Зяблин, *О «татарских» курганах: Советская Археология* XXII (1955), pp. 83—96; С. А. Плетнева, *Печенеги, торки и половцы в южнорусских степях: Труды Волго—Донской археологической эспедиции*, Том I: *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР* 62, Москва—Ленинград 1958, pp. 172—182; Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *Кочевники Восточной Европы под властью золотоордынских ханов*, Москва 1966, pp. 120—123.

[10] Rubruc: A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, Quaracchi—Firenze 1929, pp. 186—187, 189, 195; Albericus: A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae* I, Budapestini 1937, p. 34; Joinville: A. F. Gombos, *op. cit.* II, pp. 1230—1231.

[11] Joinville: A. F. Gombos, *loc. cit.*; Л. П. Зяблин, *op. cit.*, p. 94; С. А. Плетнева *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 177; Г. А. Федоров-Давидов, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[12] Joinville: A. F. Gombos, *loc. cit.*; Л. П. Зяблин, *loc. cit.*; С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 175—176; Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *op. cit.*, pp. 120—123.

[13] С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 175.

[14] A. Pálóczi-Horváth, *op. cit.*: *Folia Arch.*, pp. 111, 114—115, 121, 127—128.

[15] С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

traditionnel.[16] L'orientation de la tombe de Felsőszentkirály (la tête tournée vers l'Orient) est celle même des tombes comanes de la Russie du Sud.[17]

Un signe de la structuration de la société comane est l'emplacement isolé des trois tombes: les tombes des chefs étaient nettement séparées de celles de leur peuple.

Tout porte à croire qu'un certain nombre des objets conservés dans les musées hongrois pourront, après un examen approfondi, être rattaché également au legs de la couche dirigeante des Comans.[18] Dans la partie sud-ouest du Nagykunság (Grande Comanie) on a récemment mis au jour des objets faisant partie du mobilier de tombes comanes du XIIIe siècle, qui sans aucun doute constituent également des vestiges de la couche noble. Ces trouvailles n'ont pas encore été publiées.[19]

Un des problèmes épineux des recherches archéologiques comanes résulte du fait que les sépultures riches énumérées remontent à la période qui s'étend entre le milieu du XIIIe et le milieu du XIVe siècle, et que de la période en question on ne connaît pas de vestiges archéologiques qui proviennent de la couche moyenne des Comans. Dans la Russie du Sud 40% des kourganes contenaient des sépultures pauvres,[20] mais il semble probable que — tout comme chez les Avars ou les Hongrois — le petit peuple possédait aussi des cimetières à tombes simples, et qui n'étaient pas surmontées de kourganes.[21] Où faut-il chercher ces cimetières en Hongrie?

Dans la première moitié du XXe siècle, on a entrepris un certain nombre de fouilles dans les cimetières situés autour des églises des villages comans médiévaux. En 1926, dans le Nagykunság (Grande Comanie) à Orgondaszentmiklós (fouilles dirigées par Lajos Bartucz)[22] et en 1948—49 à Túrkeve-

[16] A. Pálóczi-Horváth, *op. cit.*, pp. 127—128; С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, pp. 173—174.

[17] С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[18] Cf. P. Németh, *Egy XIII. századi nomád sírlelet Szabolcs megyéből: VI. Szegedi Régészeti Tudományos Ülésszak* [Un mobilier funéraire nomade du XIIIe siècle mis au jour dans le comitat de Szabolcs: VIe Colloque Archéologique de Szeged], 12—14 novembre, 1969, s. p.; J. Fodor, *Újabb adatok a bánkúti sír értékeléséhez* [Contribution à l'étude de la tombe de Bánkút]: *Folia Archaeologicae* XXIII (1972), s. p.

[19] D'après l'aimable communication orale de L. Selmeczi qui s'occupe de son dépouillement.

[20] С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[21] Э. А. Сымонович, *Погребения X—XII вв. каменского могильника: Краткие сообщения о докладах и полевых исследованиях Института истории материальной культуры АН СССР* 65 (1956), pp. 99—106; С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *op. cit.*, pp. 131—133.

[22] M. Bárány—Oberschall, *A salgótarjáni, orgondaszentmiklósi ás pakonyi középkori sírleletek* [Mobiliers funéraires médiévaux de Salgótarján, Orgondaszentmiklós et Pakony], Budapest 1942, pp. 7—9.

Móric (fouilles dirigées par István Méri),[23] dans le Kiskunság (Petite Comanie) à Öttömös (1905—1906, directeur des fouilles Ferenc Móra);[24] de plus, une série de chantiers furent ouverts entre les deux guerres mondiales dans la région de Kecskemét, sur le territoire des villages comans disparus à l'époque de la domination ottomane, (travaux dirigés par Kálmán Szabó et László Papp).[25] Malheureusement aucun de ces cimetières ne fut entièrement mis au jour, ce qui fait que les conclusions qui en purent être tirées n'ont qu'une validité limitée. Il semble toutefois qu'à ces endroits les inhumations aient commencé au milieu ou à la fin du XIVe siècle, car les monnaies les plus anciennes qu'on en ait retirées datent du temps de Louis le Grand d'Anjou. Il est notoire que l'établissement définitif des Comans réclamé avec insistance par l'Etat et l'Eglise se réalisa vers la fin du XIVe siècle. C'est alors que furent construites les premières églises des campements comans et il n'est que naturel qu'autour de ces églises on ait ouvert de nouveaux cimetières.

Il est intéressant de noter la survivance des traditions païennes dans les cimetières chrétiens. Les hommes étaient enterrés en cafetan et bonnet (Öttömös),[26] dans les sépultures des femmes on plaçait des oeufs (Öttömös),[27] qui appartiennent à la magie de la fécondité,[28] ou des miroirs ronds (Szabadszállás-Aranyegyháza)[29] auxquels on attribuait une vertu apotropaïque.[30] C'est ici qu'il y a lieu de renvoyer aux miroirs ronds que l'on voit sur les statues de femmes comanes en pierre et aux miroirs en bronze du même genre découverts dans les sépultures comanes de la Russie du Sud.[31] En Hongrie

[23] I. Méri, *Beszámoló a tiszalök-rázompusztai és túrkeve-móricí ásatások eredményéről* [Compte rendu des résultats des fouilles de Tiszalök-Rázompuszta et Túrkeve-Móric] II: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 81 (1954), pp. 138—154.

[24] F. Móra: *Ásatás a szeged-öttömösi Anjou-kori temetőben* [Fouilles à Szeged-Öttömös dans le cimetière de l'époque des Anjou]: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* XXVI (1906), pp. 18—27; F. Móra, *Szegedvidéki leletekről* [Sur les fouilles des environs de Szeged]: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* XXVIII (1908), pp. 361—371.

[25] K. Szabó, *op. cit.*; L. Papp, *Ásatások a XVI. században elpusztult Kecskemét-vidéki falvak helyén* [Fouilles à l'emplacement des villages de la région de Kecskemét détruits au cours du XVIe siècle]: *Néprajzi Értesítő* 23 (1931), pp. 137—152.

[26] F. Móra, *Ásatás* . . ., pp. 21—25; F. Móra, *Szegedvidéki* . . ., pp. 369—370.

[27] F. Móra, *Ásatás* . . ., pp. 21—24; F. Móra, *Szegedvidéki* . . ., p. 370.

[28] G. Róheim, *Magyar néphit és népszokások* [Croyances et coutumes populaires hongroises], Budapest 1925, pp. 252, 254—256.

[29] K. Szabó, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[30] Gy. Mészáros, *A magyar kerek tükör* [Le miroir rond hongrois]: *Néprajzi Értesítő* XVI (1915), pp. 35—38; G. Róheim, *Spiegelzauber*, Leipzig und Wien 1919, pp. 175—176.

[31] С. А. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 178, 180, 208—209, 211; Н. Н. Погребова, *Средневековые памятники на скифских городищах Нижнего Днепра: Краткие сообщения о докладах и полевых исследованиях Института археологии АН СССР* 89 (1962), p. 19; Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *op. cit.*, pp. 78—84, 116—117.

les Comans remplacèrent les miroirs en bronze d'origine orientale par des miroirs en verre, sans doute fabriqués sur place. Ces phénomènes de caractère conservateur et la présence de quelques objets datant du XIIIe siècle sur le territoire des villages comans et dans leurs cimetières permettent de supposer que, du moins dans certains cas, il s'agit de cimetières utilisés depuis le milieu du XIIIe siècle sans interruption au même endroit, et dans lesquels on construisit plus tard l'église du village. Ce n'est, bien entendu, qu'une hypothèse que seules des fouilles plus complètes pourraient étayer ou infirmer.

A propos du culte funéraire, il faut aussi signaler le problème des statues servant de support à des tasses. Elles reflètent des idées et des traditions artistiques de l'ancienne religion turque. Dans la Russie du Sud, où ces sculptures existent notoirement en grand nombre, on les appelle «kamennaja baba», ce qui veut dire ancêtre de pierre. Récemment les archéologues ont réussi à démontrer que dans l'Europe de l'Est ces monuments avaient été érigés par les Comans aux XIe—XIIIe siècles. Or, bien que selon les sources écrites il dût y en avoir aussi en Hongrie, jusqu'à ce jour on n'en a pas découvert un seul.[32]

Nous savons relativement peu de choses sur les agglomérations et la vie économique des Comans. Au témoignage des sources écrites, avant de devenir sédentaire, ce peuple éleveur de bétail habitait dans des tentes et des yourtes qui constituaient des campements nomades sans cesse en mouvement. Cette image généralisée était certainement exacte du point de vue de la société hongroise des XIIIe—XIVe siècles. Ce qui toutefois nous donne matière à réflexion, c'est le fait que selon les recherches entreprises jusqu'à nos jours la culture matérielle des villages comans du XVe et du XVIe siècle ne se distinguait en rien de celle des villages hongrois de la même époque, et que la structure des agglomérations correspond au type général dans la Grande Plaine.[33]

Le village Móric mis au jour par István Méri était aux XVe—XVIIe siècles une agglomération étroite, longue de 1 km environ, constituée de maisons à trois locaux, implantées assez loin l'une de l'autre. Les fouilles ont permis de découvrir des objets qui renvoient à une activité agricole différenciée aussi bien dans le domaine de la culture du sol (faucille, faux, faux-marteau, aiguillon, sabot de bêche) que dans celui de l'élévage, comme le prouve la grande quantité d'os d'animaux selon leur pourcentage: bovins, ovins, chèvres, porcs, chevaux, chiens, poules, oies, autre volaille).[34]

[32] C. A. Плетнева, *op. cit.*, pp. 207—212; Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *op. cit.*, pp. 166—193; I. Fodor, *A sírszobrok kérdéséhez* [Sur le problème des sculptures funéraires]: *Folia Archaeologica* XXI (1970), pp. 113—126.

[33] I. Méri, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[34] I. Méri, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—149.

Cet état relativement développé de la vie économique devait avoir certains antécédants. Il est certain que les résultats des fouilles mentionnés prouvent que l'élevage avait gardé toute son importance même après l'établissement définitif, mais il ne faut pas oublier non plus que dans la société fortement différenciée des Comans immigrés en Hongrie il y avait certainement des éléments agriculteurs auxquels étaient venus s'ajouter les nombreux prisonniers de guerre ramenés des campagnes d'Autriche, de Bohème et de Moravie.[35] Les territoires assignés aux Comans et que nous sommes en mesure de délimiter avec assez de précision, étaient répartis, probablement dès le XIIIe siècle, entre les différentes familles nobles. De plus, entre les campements comans venaient s'intercaler des villages hongrois, des domaines ecclésiastiques, royaux et seigneuriaux. Tout cela réduisait les possibilités de la véritable vie nomade.

Selon les relevés topographiques effectués par des archéologues, il existe dans la proximité des tombes datant du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle des villages comans du XVe et du XVIIe, ce qui nous permet de supposer que les anciens campements d'hiver se trouvaient à la place même de ces agglomérations permanentes ou dans leur voisinage immédiat.[36] Une des tâches les plus importantes des fouilles futures sera d'élucider la question de savoir si ces agglomérations disparues à l'époque turque renferment des couches remontant au-delà du milieu et de la fin du XIVe siècle.

Un argument militant en faveur de l'origine précoce de quelques campements est qu'ils reçurent sans doute leur nom de personnages historiques, mentionnés par les sources écrites à la fin du XIIIe ou au début du XIVe siècle (1239: *Kuthen*, nom de personne, 1493: *Kethenzallasa*, nom de lieu;[37] 1289, 1290: *Arbuz*, nom de personne, aujourd'hui *Árbóc*, nom de lieu;[38] *Turtel*, nom de personne; 1436: *Therthezallas* nom de lieu;[39] 1322: *Biter*, nom de personne;

[35] Gy. Györffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 252—253; A. Bartha, *A keleteurópai és a belsőázsiai feudalizmus történeti kapcsolatai* [Les rapports historiques du féodalisme en Europe Orientale et en Haute-Asie]: *Századok* 96 (1963), pp. 519—520.

[36] I. Éri, *op cit*, pp. 148, 150—151.

[37] E. Szentpétery (éd.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* II, Budapestini 1938, pp. 553—554; I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, p. 709; L. Rásonyi, *Les noms toponymiques du Kiskunság*: *Acta Linguist. Hung.* VII (1957), pp. 111—114; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes comans de Hongrie*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX (1967), pp. 143—144; voir encore le toponyme *Köttön* dans les environs de Kunszentmárton: M. Kakuk, *Kunszentmárton földrajzi nevei* [Les noms géographiques de Kunszentmárton], Szolnok 1965, p. 38.

[38] G. Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár* [Nouveau chartier de l'époque des rois de la dynastie arpadienne] IV (1272—1290), Pest 1862, pp. 336—337; E. Szentpétery, *op. cit.*, p. 45; L. Rásonyi, *Les noms . . .*, pp. 79—84; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes . . .*, p. 136.

[39] E. Szentpétery, *loc. cit.*; J. Reizner, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 42—43; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes . . .*, p. 146.

1796: *Bitter* et aujourd'hui *Biter-* noms de lieu;[40] 1333: *Kunchegh*, nom de personne; 1436: *Kempcegzallas*, 1475: *Kengchegzallasa*, nom de lieu;[41] 1333: *Buzgan*, nom de personne, 1423: *Buzganzallas* nom de lieu[42] (*zallas* = campement). Par analogie on peut supposer que les noms de lieu remontant à des patronymes comans païens sont plus anciens, tandis que les noms de lieu tels que *Besemihalzalasa*, *Chorbaianoszalasa*, *Diotapalzallasa*[43] datent d'une époque plus récente, leur éponyme ayant été un Coman chrétien qui utilisait son nom coman pour se distinguer des Hongrois.[44] En dehors des recherches antroponymiques, ce sont les études historiques, géographiques et de topographie archéologique qui pourront utilement contribuer à l'élucidation des problèmes non encore éclaircis relatifs à l'établissement des Comans. A ce propos signalons les travaux de pionnier d'István Méri qui réussit à répérer dans la Grande et la Petite Comanie l'emplacement de nombreux villages médiévaux disparus, et en dressa une carte exacte.[45]

Le problème des Comans est un domaine sur la limite de la turcologie et des recherches de la civilisation médiévale. L'archéologie de son côté pourrait apporter les compléments nécessaires à l'enrichissement de nos connaissances, en premier lieu par des campagnes de fouilles plus poussées. Un indice encourageant dans ce domaine est l'ouverture de chantiers dans la Grande et la Petite Comanie où les fouilles se proposent de mettre au jour les vestiges des villages comans du moyen âge.[46]

[40] I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, p. 462; L. Rásonyi, *op. cit.*, p. 137; L. Kiss, *Régi Rétköz* [L'ancien Rétköz], Budapest 1961, pp. 14, 89, 99, 101, 103, 207; P. Németh a eu l'amabilité d'attirer mon attention sur cette identification possible; je profite de l'occasion pour l'en remercier.

[41] I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, pp. 476—477, 676; J. Reizner, *loc. cit.*; L. Rásonyi, *Les noms . . .*, pp. 107—111; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes . . .*, p. 143.

[42] I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, pp. 476, 578; L. Rásonyi, *Les noms . . .*, pp. 96—97; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes . . .*, p. 139.

[43] I. Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, pp. 525, 566; L. Rásonyi, *Les noms . . .* p. 136.

[44] K. Fehértói, *A XVI. századi magyar megkülönböztető nevek* [Les noms de distinction hongrois du XIVe siècle]: *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 68, Budapest 1969, p. 5.

[45] I. Méri, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[46] Ces travaux se poursuivent avec l'aide et la participation du Musée National de Hongrie, du Musée Katona József de Kecskemét et du Musée Damjanich János de Szolnok.

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INDIAN PRECIOUS STONES IN THE ANCIENT EAST AND WEST

BY

GY. WOJTILLA

From ancient times India has been famous for its jewels, and it is generally known as the home of precious stones.[1]

In this paper I should like to examine — with the use of Ancient Indian sources — the actual knowledge possessed by Indians of precious stones in antiquity, the kinds of precious stones that can be found in the given sources, and to touch upon the question of how this knowledge spread beyond the boundaries of India to other countries of the ancient world and, consequently, to the ancient authors by whom this knowledge has been preserved up to modern times.

First of all one must decide the question, what in the given circumstances is to be regarded as a precious stone?

There is no definition of general validity. However, on the basis of colour, brightness, resistance, hardness and rarity (although these aspects were changing in different ages) a smaller group of more precious minerals can be separated which is simply called precious stones (*gemmae*), while the similar but less valuable ones are called semi-precious stones (*lapides pretiosi*).

Diamond, emerald, sapphire and ruby can be placed among the precious stones, and opal, topaz, hyacinth and some others known by their Latin or Sanskrit names can be classed among the semi-precious stones.[2]

[1] This tradition is rooted in ancient literature and survives in the Middle Ages and later through certain famous precious stones coming to Europe (Kohinoor, Orlov, Shah) this tradition is strenghtened even more.

[2] The only work dealing specially with precious stones and minerals respectively is the XIIIth Chapter of *Narahari*'s medical encyclopedia *Rājanighaṇṭu* where the following can be read: *lohitakavajramauktikāmarakatanīla mahopalāḥ pañca*: «the five nobler precious stones are ruby, diamond, pearl, emerald and sapphire.» (*Die indischen Mineralien*, Narahari's *Rājanighaṇṭu*, Varga XIII, hrsg. von R. Garbe (Leipzig 1882), 200; cf. Varāhamihira *Bṛhatsamhitā* ed. by H. Kern (Calcutta 1865), LXXX. 4. 5.: *vajra, indranīlā, marakata, padmarāga vimalaka* . . . Here I should like to indicate that works of uncertain date and origin in Sanskrit (*Ratnaparīkṣā, Navaratnaparīkṣā, Maṇimālā*) were disregarded by me. cf.: L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indien* (Paris 1896) and the evaluation of these by M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* III (Leipzig 1920), p. 533.

In India as early as the 3rd millennium B. C. that jewels, necklaces and ornamental pieces were made of certain beautiful minerals and crystals. Among the finds originating from the states of the Valley of the Indus (Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Chanhudaro) there are pieces which were made of carneol, lapis lazuli, turquoise, jade or amazonit. We have also knowledge of the fact that carneol and lapis lazuli were Sumerian export goods.[3]

From the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. on we have very limited archaeological material, consequently, from this time on we have to rely mostly, and almost exclusively, on linguistic data.

The most general name of precious stones, semi-precious stones, jewels and objects connected with these fine stones is *ratna* and *maṇi* in Sanskrit.[4]

Ratna occurs in *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda* and *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* with the meaning of «wealth», «riches», «gift» and «present».[5] The origin of the word has been not clarified in a satisfactory manner. It may come from a *rā*-stem: «to give», «to present». In the linguistic records from Asia Minor a *karat-na-nnu-* «Schmuckstück» (?) form can be found.[6] *Maṇi* translates «jewel» in Vedic texts, and it was worn fastened to a thread against evil creatures.[7]

Maṇi occurs in a compound in *Yajurveda*: *maṇikāra-* «jeweller»[8] and it is known in its *maṇikāraka-* form from Buddhist sources.[9]

In connection with the meaning of the compound *hiraṇya-maṇi-* in *Ṛgveda* we meet different opinions: it may have the meaning of «gold and jewel» and «gold as jewel» respectively; in Geldner's translation «goldener Zaubergehenk».[10]

According to Mayrhofer *maṇi-* has the meaning «am Halse getragener Schmuck», «Perle», «Edelstein», «Juwel». The appearance of *ṇ-* instead of *n* presents a problem since in the linguistic records from Asia Minor in the Tušratta letters we meet a *mani-nnu-* form meaning «mehrteiliger Halsschmuck» *Kahrkāso zarᵊnumainiš*: «Geyer mit goldenem Halsschmuck» occuring in *Avesta* shows a close relationship with the Vedic expression *hiraṇyena maṇinā*.[11]

[3] M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge 1953), p. 59.; St. Piggot, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth 1952), p. 209.

[4] *Amarakośa* ed. by N. G. Sardesai and D. G. Padhye (Poona 1969), II. 9. 12.

[5] A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, (London 1912), p. 199.

[6] M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Lieferung 18 (Heidelberg 1970), p. 38.

[7] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 119.

[8] *The White Yajurveda*, I, *The Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* ed. by A. Weber (Berlin—London 1852), XXX. 7.

[9] *Mahāvyutpatti* ed. I. P. Minaev i N. D. Mironov (St. Petersburg 1911), III, 113. 7.

[10] *Vedic Index* ibid.; *Der Rig-Veda* aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt von K. Fr. Geldner, I (Cambridge Massachusetts 1951), p. 40.

[11] Mayhofer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 556.

As these varying interpretations show, no general expression definitely equivalent to «precious stone» can be found in the Vedic and Post-Vedic Ages, i.e. up to the end of the 7th century B. C.

Maṇi- in the sense of «precious stone» occurs first with Pāṇini,[12] then it crops up in the appropriate place of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* next.[13] The passage in question begins with a survey of the findspot of the pearls, followed by a sentence in which Kauṭilya proceeds to the discussion of precious stones: *maṇiḥ kauto mauleyako pārasamudrakaḥ*: «Precious stones: the *kauta*, *mauleyaka*, *pārasamudraka*». In this context *maṇi-* evidently means «precious stone». In *Kāmasūtra* among the attainments to be acquired we can find *dhātuvāda* «the knowledge of minerals» and *maṇirāgākārajñāna* «the knowledge of the colour and shape of precious stones».[14]

In *Mānavadharmaśāstra* among the duties of *vaiśya* we can read the following: *maṇimuktāpravālānāṃ lohānāṃ tantavasya ca, gandhānāṃ ca rasānāṃ ca vidyādarghabalābalam*: «He has to know the relative highness of the price of precious stones, pearls, corals, things made of iron, cloths, scents and liquors.»[15]

The question arises: what individual names of precious stones and semi-precious stones can be found in the sources besides this collective designation, and what do we know of the minerals denoted by them. First of all we consider it very significant to determine the role and importance of precious stones within Indian cultural history.

Indians, especially in Prehistoric times — unlike people in the West or the Romans in antiquity — assigned e.g. more supernatural functions to precious stones as well.

Touching on the interpretation of *maṇi-* above we saw that these kinds of objects served as amulets. This meant at the same time that they did not pay much attention to the elaboration of stones; they kept the natural surface of the crystals.[16]

[12] *Pāṇini's Grammatik* hrsg. übers. von O. Böhtlingk (Leipzig 1887), VI. 3. 195.

[13] *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya rev. and ed. by R. Shama Sastri (Mysore 1919), II. 11. (87.1); cf.: *Das altindische Buch vom Welt und Staatsleben, Das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya* übers. von J. J. Meyer (Hannover 1926); *Arthašastra ili nauka politiki*. Izd. podgotovil V. I. Kaljanov (Moskva—Leningrad 1959).

[14] *Kāmasūtram* ed. by Paṇḍit Durgaprasāda (Jaipur 1891), p. 34.

[15] *Mānavadharmaśāstra. The Code of Manu* ed. by J. Jolly (London 1887), IX, 329.

[16] G. C. M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London 1880), pp. 183—199.; Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of Indian Mughuls* (Lahore 1942); J. B. Tavernier, *Vierzig-jährige Reise-Beschreibung . . . durch Türkey, Persien, Indien . . .* (Nürnberg 1681); It should be noted that even in Europe until the 17th century the way of cutting diamonds popular nowadays was unknown, and people were generally satisfied with placing the precious stones into gold or silver setting. The first modern book on this subject in Europe is Ans. Boetius de Boot, *Gemmarum historia* (Hannover 1609).

It was the magic power and supernatural quality of precious stones to which most diverse ideas were attached. This is an interesting phenomenon of Indian literature and history of religion.

The supernatural qualities of precious stones were manifested in many ways. The image of the interdependence between precious stones and planets was very widespread. The precious stones and planets belonging each other are the following according to the *Rājanighaṇṭu*: *māṇikyaṃ padmabandhor ativimalatamaṃ mauktikaṃ śītabhānoḥ māheyasya prabālaṃ marakatam atulaṃ kalpayed indusūnoḥ daivejyaṃ puṣparāgaṃ kuliśam api kaver nīlam arkātmajasya svarbhanoc cā 'pi gomedakam atha vidūrodbhāvitaṃ tat tu ketoḥ*: «Ruby is competent to the Sun, perfectly stainless pearl to the Moon, coral to the Mars, faultless emerald to the Mercur, topaz to the Jupiter, diamond to the Venus, sapphire to the Saturnus, hyacinth to the *Rāhu*, cat's eye to the *Ketu*.[17] Through their magic power precious stones were supposed to exert many wonderful influences.[18] In one of the stories of *Kathāsaritsāgara* a dish made of emerald has a marvellous quality: looking into it the spectator can see his previous existence.[19] *Rājavāhana* (the protagonist of *Daśakumāracarita*) is saved from starvation by hiding a diamond diadem which has the power of preventing hunger and thirst.[20]

Precious stones are perfect remedies against poison, and according to the Indians they save people from a number of ailments. Emerald worn in a ring or some other jewel protects one from poisons and it has an appetizing

[17] *Rājanighaṇṭu* XIII, 197. Most of the astronomical knowledge of the Indians comes from the Greeks; the later astronomical works — those of Varāhamihira — bear witness to a marked Greek impact also striking from a linguistic point of view: *taukṣika-* ‹τοξότης «the Archer», *hṛdroga*‹ὑδροχεύς «Aquarius» and *kramela-* κάμηλος «constellation of the Camel». Cf.: G. Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik: GIAPA* III, 9 (Strassburg 1897); in Europe we meet a similar concept: Albertus Magnus, *Mineralia, Book of Minerals* transl. by D. Wickoff (Oxford 1967); cf.: Ph. Schmidt, *Edelsteinen, Wert und Wesen der Edelsteinen bei den Kulturvölkern* (Bonn 1948); A. M. Pachinger, *Glaube und Aberglaube im Steinreich* (München 1912).

[18] A comprehensive work: R. H. Laars, *Geheimnis der Amulette und Talismane* (Leipzig 1926); about the Greek concept see Th. Hopfner *PWRE* XIII/1 747—776 *Exodus* 28, 15—30; about the Egyptian concept: László Kákosy, *Varázslás az ókori Egyiptomban* [Magic in Ancient Egypt] (Budapest 1969), p. 154. ff.; on the Indian stone-cult in general: J. Kohl, *Vom Steinkult im Indien: ZDMG* 90 (1936); W. Kirfel, *Vom Steinkult im Indien: Studien zur Geschichte und Literatur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* (Leiden 1935), p. 163. ff. — In connection with magic and necromancy see: M. Hermanns, *Die religiös-magische Weltanschauung der Primitiven Indiens* (Wiesbaden 1964—66); W. Ruben, *Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im alten Indien* III, *Die Entwicklung der Religion* (Berlin 1971) gives the appropriate evaluation and literature on the subject.

[19] *Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva*. Text. (Delhi 1970), IV. 3. 42; *The Ocean of Story Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara* ed. by N. M. Penzer, II (Delhi 1968), p. 159.

[20] The *Daśakumaracarita of Daṇḍin* ed. by M. R. Kale (Delhi 1966), p. 57.

effect;[21] diamond is the best antidote for all diseases;[22] sapphire prevents gall-bladder diseases and flatulence as well as mucous ailments,[23] while ruby is potent in the case of flatulence and gall-bladder diseases.[24]

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara Indumatī* presents a jewel to a king which saves him from poisons, demons, old age and all manner of diseases.[25] Hinduism and Buddhism are full of symbols connected with precious stones. The «three jewels» (*triratna*) of Buddhism are: *Buddha, dharma* and *saṅgha*. The seven valuable things in Buddhism are: *muktāmaṇi vaiḍūrya śaṅkhaśīlā pravāla sphaṭika musāragalva lohitikā*[26] in the Pali texts: *suvaṇṇa rajata muttā maṇi veḷuriya vajira pravāla*[27] consists mostly of various names of precious stones. The five valuable things occurring in other sources: *suvarṇa rajata muktā rājavarta pravālaka*[28] are founded on a similar conception.

Ratna is an attribute of *cakravartin*; in ancient times the high-ranking leaders of the country were called *ratnin*.[29] *Ratna* or *maṇi* occur very often in the title of literary achievements emphasizing the singularity of the work in this way.[30]

Comparing the cultural historical value, popularity and economic value of the precious stones, we can see that the economic value becomes equivalent to the first two only at a certain stage of history. We have very little knowledge of the exact price and valuation of precious stones. It can be ascertained — and it appears also from the above-mentioned facts — that precious metals (gold, silver), pearl, coral and the precious or semi-precious stones generally have an equal place among valuable things. Most of our knowledge derives from the passages of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* dealing with mining. Kauṭilya describes the mines and the duties of the inspectors of mines in great detail. The inspector of mines has to possess an appropriate knowledge of his field according to Kauṭilya: *khanyādhyakṣaḥ śaṅkhavajramaṇimuktāpravālakṣāra-karmāntān kārayet paṇana vyavahāraṃ ca*: «The inspector of the mines is to direct the production of shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals and

[21] *Rājanighaṇṭu* XIII, 165.

[22] *Ibid.*, 180.

[23] *Ibid.*, 182.

[24] *Ibid.*, 148.

[25] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVII. 6. 21.

[26] Fr. Edgerton, *Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, II (Delhi 1970²), p. 450.

[27] T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London 1966), p. 563.

[28] W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus* (Stuttgart 1959), p. 97.

[29] A. Hillebrandt, *Zum altindischen Königsrecht*: *ZDMG* 70 (1916), pp. 41—48.; A. Hillebrandt, *Altindische Politik* (Jena 1923); W. Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India* (Oxford 1964)

[30] These are *Ratnasambhava, Vajrasattva, Ratnaketu, Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, etc.

soda, and he is to perform the duties connected with selling».[31] Further: *tasmādvajramaṇimuktāpravālarūpāṇāṃ jātirūpavarṇapramāṇapudgalalakṣanānyupalabhet*: «Therefore, he should know the origin, shape, colour, size and quality of diamonds, precious stones, pearls, and coral-forms».[32] Besides this employment of experts (*tajjātapuruṣa*) is recommended.

Fifty per cent of all kinds of minerals unearthed is due to the treasury: *suvarṇarajatavajramaṇimuktāpravālāśvahastipaṇyāḥpañcāśatkārāḥ*.[33] In the case of the mines a much debated question, important from the point of view of mineralogy, arises, namely the exact determination of the quarries; the segregation of the so-called primary places of occurrence (occurrence in stone) and secondary places (river-beds, water-courses) and the distribution of these two kinds of occurrences in ancient India, respectively.

In order to solve this group of problems it is indispensable to examine the individual kinds of precious stones more closely.

In the interest of this we think it advisable to divide the name-material available into three major groups. The first group is formed by precious stones, in the second one we find the semi-precious stones, while in the third there are names referring to the occurrence of the mineral in question or names the interpretation of which is uncertain. The most valuable of all precious stones is *vajra*: «diamond». In Vedic texts as in the *Ṛgveda vajra* means the weapon of *Indra*, similarly to *Mithra*'s weapon in the *Avesta*: *vazra*. In the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* the word has the meaning «handle of the hammer».[34] As a consequence of the similarity between the special qualities of diamond and the celestial weapon, i.e. thunder-blast in later texts, the two different meanings become independent.

The most detailed information concerning diamond can be read in *Arthaśāstra*: *sabhārāṣṭrakaṃ madhyamarāṣṭrakaṃ kāśmīrarāṣṭrakaṃ śrīkaṭanakaṃ maṇimantakam indravānakaṃ ca vajram. khanissrotaḥ prakīrṇakaṃ ca yonayaḥ. mārjārakṣakaṃ ca śīrīṣapuṣpakaṃ gomutrakaṃ gomedakaṃ śuddhasphaṭikaṃ mūślāṭīpuṣpakavarṇaṃ maṇivarṇāmānyatamavarṇamiti vajravarṇāḥ. sthūlaṃ guru prahārasahaṃ samakoṭikaṃ bhājanalekhitaṃ kubhrāmibhrājiṣṇu ca praśastam*: «Diamond is from *Sabhārāṣṭra* (a part of *Vidarbha*), from *Madhyamarāṣṭra* (the eastern part of *Madhya Pradesh*), from *Kāśmīr*, from *Śrīkaṭana* (the name of a mountain), from the mountain of *Maṇimanta* and from *Indravāna*. The places of occurrence (*yonayaḥ*) are mine, watercourse and different things (*prakīrṇakam*). The colour of the diamond can be: cat's eye, *śīrīṣa*-flower, cow-water, cow-fat, clear crystal, *mūlāṭi*-flower colour and one

[31] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 12 (99.1).
[32] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 14 (110.2); *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, LXXX. 12—13.
[33] *Arthaśāstra*, V. 2 (302.3).
[34] *Vedic Index* II, p. 237.

of the colours of other precious stones. (Its characteristics): thick, heavy, enduring blow, even-cornered, scratching vessels, so to say pivoting and radiant.»[35]

To complete this we add the qualities that can be read in *Rājanighaṇṭu*: *bahudhāra ṣaṭkoṇa śatakoṭi indrāyudha abhedya*: «multi-edged, hexagonal, hundred-cornered, the weapon of *Indra* unsplittable.»[36] *Marakata* «emerald» is a very valuable precious stone. The name is connected with the Greek σμάραγδος and μάραγδος. The Akkad form of the word is also known: *barraqtu* and its Hebraic form *bareqet*. Both are based on the common Semitic stem *b-r-g* «to shine, to sparkle». The Greek word is the adoption of the Semitic; and according to Mayrhofer. Indians took over the Greek variety. The Persian *sumurrud* and the Old-Russian *marokat* are the derivatives of the same word.[37] A reference to this name in a passage of the *Pañcatantra*: *tatra marakatasadṛṣāni bālatṛṇāgrāṇi bhakṣayan* . . . «(The bull) browsing there emerald-hued shoots of young grass . . .»[38] *Rājanighaṇṭu* mentions some other names like *gārutmata* (belonging to *Garuḍa*), *harinmaṇi* (green jewel)[39] It can be assumed that names of the *harinmaṇi*-type and based on some characteristic feature preceded in time the borrowed form of *marakata*. At Bāṇa, the great master of classical Sanskrit language, we can find the following expression: *marakatamaṇisyamalāḥ krīḍāparvatakā iva vasantasya*: «like the toy-mountains of spring dark as emerald»[40] and it is also Bāṇa who uses the name *garuḍamaṇi*.[41]

Indranīla: «sapphire» is a remarkable precious stone. The name is unknown in the Vedic and Post-Vedic texts. Its Pali form: *indanīla-* can be found in the *jātaka*s.[42] The Sanskrit form can be read in the *Arthaśāstra* together with other names: *kalāyapuṣpaka* (a dark-coloured flower), *mahānīla* (very blue), *jāmbavābha* (*jambu* fruit), *jīmūtaprabhā* (cloud light), *nandaka* (enlivening), *śītavṛṣṭi* (cold rain), *sūryakānta* (favourite of Sun)[43] In *Daśakumāracarita* we meet the form *indranīlaśīla*[44] and in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* the form *mahānīla*.[45] *Rājanighaṇṭu* gives two more characteristic names besides these: *nīlāśman* (blue stone) and *nīlopala* (the same)[46] The last of the first-rate precious stones

[35] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 11 (89.1).
[36] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 174.
[37] Mayrhofer, I, p. 587.
[38] *Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman* ed. by M. R. Kale (Delhi 1969), p. 6.
[39] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 164.
[40] The *Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa* ed. by P. V. Kane (Delhi 1965), p. 72.
[41] *Harṣacarita*, p. 27.
[42] *The Jātaka together with its commentary*, I—VII ed. by V. Fausböll (London 1877—1897), I. 80.
[43] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 11 (89.1).
[44] *Daśakumāracarita*, p. 160.
[45] *Harṣacarita*, p. 27.
[46] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 181.

is *lohitaka*: «ruby». Its first mention can be found in Pāṇini's work in the form *lohitaka-*.[47] *Arthaśāstra* knows the following names: *saugandhika* (lotus-coloured), *padmarāga* (the same), *anavadyarāga* (faultless-coloured) *pārijāta-puṣpaka* (coral flower), *bālasūryaka* (rising Sun).[48] *Amarakośa* knows the same *śoṇaratna* (red stone)[49] while *Rājanighaṇṭu* calls it *ratnarāja* (the king of precious stones), and *ratnanāyaka* (the leader of precious stones). Real ruby is smooth, heavy, portly, bright, transparent, of a beautiful colour. It has four subtypes, namely *padmarāga* (red), *kuruvindaka* (dark-red), *saugandhika* (brownish red), *nīlagandhika* (blue).[50]

One of the most characteristic pieces of semi-precious stones is *vaiḍūrya*: «lapis lazuli» The earliest occurrence of the name is in *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa*.[51] *Arthaśāstra* also knows it in different forms as *utpalavarṇa* (lotus-coloured), *śirīṣapuṣpaka* (*śirīṣa*-flower), *udakavarṇa* (water-coloured), *vaṃśarāga* (bamboo-coloured), *śukapatravarṇa* (parrot-plume coloured), *puṣyarāga* (yellow), *gomutraka* (cow-water) *gomedaka* (cow-fat).[52] The Pali form of the name is *veḷuriya* meaning «precious stone», «lapis lazuli».[53] Besides other names based on qualities *Rājanighaṇṭu* gives a name referring to a place of occurrence: *vālavāyaja*: «grown on the mountain of *Vālavāya*»[54] Unfortunately this place-name can not be determined more exactly; archaeological material, however, shows that this semi-precious stone was wide-spread and very popular all over the ancient East.

Upala: «opal» also belongs to the semi-precious stones. The name *upala* is evidently connected to the Greek ὀπάλλιος and it can be found in almost every European language.[55] In Vedic and Post-Vedic literature the meaning of *upala* is «upper grinding stone». Its compound form occurring in *Ṛgveda* is *upalaprakṣin* meaning «grinding upon mill-stones», «miller».[56] In the sense of «opal» it is first mentioned with certainty in *Amarakośa*.[57] Although its meaning of «stone» occurs also later in attributive compounds like *śoṇopala*, *aruṇopala* «red stone», «ruby».

[47] Pāṇini, V. 4. 30.

[48] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 11. (89.1).

[49] *Amarakośa*, II. 9. 92.; *Apadāna* ed. by M. E. Lilley (London 1925—1927), IV. 199.; *Harṣacarita*, p. 27.

[50] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 146 and 151.

[51] *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa*, V. 6. 2.: K. Mylius, *Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung Indiens in jungvedischer Zeit nach Sanskritquellen*: *EAZ* 12 (1971), p. 180.

[52] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 11 (89.1).

[53] *Jātaka*, III. 437.

[54] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 192.

[55] Mayrhofer, I, p. 106.

[56] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford 1960), p. 205.

[57] *Amarakośa*, II. 9. 92.

A characteristic yellow semi-precious stone is *pīta*: «topaz» and the other names of which are in relationship with its colour: *pītasphaṭika*, *pītarakta*, *pītamaṇi*.[58]

Gomedaka: «hyacinth» also belongs to the semi-precious stones mostly mined in the *Himālaya*.[59] *Arthaśāstra* mentions its name as well.[60] The names to be dealt with in our third group are the following: *Kauta*, *pārasamudraka*, *mauleyaka*, *sasyaka*, *masāra*, *vimalaka*.[61]

Kauta i.e. «from *Kota*» got its name from a mountain. (it is most probably the southern area of *West-Ghat*) *Pārasamudraka* means «from the other side of the sea», «from *Ceylon*».

Mauleyaka means «from *Mūleya*» (the name of the mountain in the southern part of *West-Ghat*) The interpretation of *sasyaka* is uncertain, in any case the name is very old; it can be found both with Pāṇini[62] and in *Arthaśāstra*.[63]

Masāra occurs in different meanings varying according to the sources: sapphire, emerald, coral and cat's eye.[64]

Vimalaka means «spotless»; it must be some light yellow stone and it is mentioned in *Arthaśāstra* as well.[65]

As for the places of occurrence — since there are few data at our disposal — we know only that they must have been mostly in the southern area of India (*Kota*, *Mūleya*). This assumption is confirmed by *Arthaśāstra* where Kauṭilya compares the values of the North and the South and it is just the precious stones and precious metals that decide the question in favour of the South.[66]

In one of the scenes of the historical drama *Mudrārākṣasa* emperors coming from the coast of the southern ocean (*dakṣiṇasyārṇavasya*) sparkling with many-coloured precious stones (*naikarāgasphuritamaṇiruca*) pay homage to *Candragupta*.[67]

The contrasting of the goods of the North and the South throws light upon the process beginning historically with the southern expansion of the *Maurya*'s in a very interesting way. The traditional goods of the North such

[58] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII. 169.
[59] *Ibid.*, 187.
[60] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 12. (95.3).
[61] All three: *Arthaśāstra*, II. 11. (85.1).
[62] Pāṇini, V. 2. 68.
[63] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 12. (95.3).
[64] Edgerton, p. 436.
[65] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 12. (95.3).
[66] *Arthaśāstra*, VII. 12. (367.6); *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* LXXX. 6—7.: *Vena* river, *Kośala* country, *Surāṣṭra*, *Supara* (?), *Himālaya*, *Mataṅga* (river?), *Kaliṅga*, *Puṇḍra*.
[67] *The Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta* ed. by M. R. Kale (Delhi 1965), p. 164

as horses, elephants, cloths belong partly to the sphere of interest of the trade passing through India while the precious stones of the South are the special goods of India maintaining a monopoly of these throughout the whole of antiquity; even in India one of the most important parts of royal incomes arise from them. This economic role justifies the knowledge and development of mining as well as the exploration of quarries. Kauṭilya writes the following about the places of occurrence: *suvarṇarajatavajramaṇimuktāpravālaśaṅkhalohalavaṇabhūmiprastasadhātavaḥ khaniḥ*: «Gold, silver, diamond, precious stone, pearl, coral, shell, the metals and salt (that can be found) in the earth, riverbed, streams (give) mining royalties.»[68] Those mines are more valuable which supply the more precious materials even if their output is smaller.[69]

On the basis of these we can see that the determination of concrete places of occurrence and the comparing of these with present place-names is possible only in outlines and it is very likely that similarly to modern conditions in ancient India the so-called secondary places of occurrence were predominant.[70] If we review our knowledge obtained from the written sources under discussion we gain the following picture. In the early times, in the Vedic age considering the way of life of the population as well as the development of the means of production the assumption gained from linguistic data proves to be acceptable; i.e. in those times we cannot speak of a more thorough knowledge of precious stones and other minerals were similarly used only to a very little extent and relatively late.[71] This can be seen in the case of the most important metal, iron, the use and processing of which according to the data of *Atharvaveda*[72] compared to those of the *Hastinapura* excavations[73] cannot be dated earlier than the 9th century B. C. In the Post-Vedic age closing roughly at the middle of the 7th century B. C. the sources leave the precious stones

[68] *Arthaśāstra*, II. 6. (66,2); *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* LXXX. 10.: «Diamond occurs in rivers (*srota*), mines (*khani*) and in different things (*prakīrṇa*).»

[69] *Arthaśāstra*, VII. 12. (367.3).

[70] In *Arthaśāstra* in connection with mining, diamonds and precious stones are mentioned together with other minerals in the same order and within the same enumeration; and this enumeration, as we have seen, always mentions the names under discussion together; therefore, it cannot be decided whether – when talking about mining – we may think of its technology according to our conception and referring to both diamond and the precious stones; or, whether this enumeration is but a formal one and «real mining» is meant only in the case of the other minerals but not with precious stones. In modern times with Tavernier we can read the following: «*Ich gestehe es zwar, dass ich die Orte, woraus solche Steine herkommen, noch nicht erfahren könnte.*» (Tavernier, p. 132).

[71] cf.: H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin 1878); *HCIP*, I (Delhi 1954); W. Ruben, *Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im alten Indien*, I (Berlin 1967), pp. 19–58.

[72] *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* hrsg. von R. Roth (Berlin 1856), XI. 3. 7.

[73] About the excavations in *Hastinapura* see D. R. Chanana, *Rabstvo v drevnej Indii po palijskim i sanskritskim istočnikam* (Moskva 1964), p. 54.

unmentioned and only *vaiḍūrya* is mentioned.[74] The most significant authority of the age *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* knows gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, salt and coal of the more frequent minerals.[75]

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* mention goldsmiths and jewellers and their work respectively.[76]

From the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th B. C. with the rise of *Magadha* a new historical era begins leading to the emergence of empires uniting larger and larger areas of India. Such expanded states enable to get acquainted with territories of Indian subcontinent previously unknown and to exploit natural treasures unused up to that time. The early Buddhist written documents refer to this period from which we can derive certain data:[77] *indanīla*; later with the grammarians especially with Pāṇini we find names like *sasyaka, lohitaka, vaiḍūrya*.[78]

Certain parts of *Arthaśāstra* come undoubtedly from the *Maurya* period, and as we have seen, the work deals with issues discussed here in a very accurate form pointing to the fact that these attainments reflect a long process of gaining experiences, all the more because Kauṭilya always unfolds his opinion in the given questions arguing with old *ācārya*'s.[79] This issue is elucidated in a very interesting way much later by the *Jaina* work *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* in which

[74] Cf. note 51.

[75] K. Mylius, *Die gesellschaftliche Zustände Indiens nach dem Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Halle—Wittemberg 1964), pp. 61—63.

[76] *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* ed. by H. Oertel: *JAOS* XIV, XV, XVIII (1894—95 and 1898), II. 136.; *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa* ed. by H. Oertel: *JAOS* XVI (1896), III. 34. 6.

[77] The chronological relations of the Pali history of language and literature are very problematic, nevertheless, it can be ascertained, that *jātaka*s in which the form *indanīla* occurs had already in some form or other existed about the 5th century B. C., cf.: M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, II. 1. (Leipzig 1912), pp. 93—95.; R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum* (Tübingen 1914), p. 83.; *Buddhistische Märchen mit einer Einleitung* von H. Lüders (Jena 1922). The *sānchi jātaka*-representations prove the antiquity of the stories under discussion: A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (Berlin und Leipzig 1920), p. 25ff.; Ervin Baktay: *India művészete* [*The Art of India*] (Budapest 1963), p. 73. ff.; cf.: T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (London 1903).

[78] The definition of the age when Pāṇini lived has a special literature; for the older literature see Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 383. Here we accepted the earlier date, namely the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th B. C.; cf.: P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Pāṇiṇīyas*: *JAOS* LXXVI (1956), pp. 1—23.; V. S. Agravala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Allahabad 1953); W. Ruben, *op. cit.* I, pp. 96—127.

[79] On the rich *Arthaśāstra* literature good information is given by the postscript of the Russian translation of *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 502—522.); the debate relating to the age of the work can not be regarded as finished; as for the more recent literature we have taken into consideration the following works: W. Ruben, *op. cit.*, pp. 128—196; Th. R. Trautmann, *Kauṭilya and the Arthaśāstra* (Leiden 1971), pp. 169—187.

we are informed that *Candragupta* employs mercenaries with the help of the money coming from the income of mines and minerals (*dhātu*) in order to fight against the *Nandas*.[80] Consequently we are justified to say that the knowledge of precious stones had been on a very high level in India preceding the time of the Greek conquest; and comparing it to the other countries of the ancient East we can see that in this respect India was in a unique situation.[81] In the times following *Alexandros* after the emergence of the Hellenistic states India becomes an integral part of the ancient world and through political and commercial connections Indian goods get into Hellenistic world-trade. The traditional commercial routes led in the North, but soon the southern, sea-routes became more important. The traffic on these depended on the development of maritime navigation. The earliest attempt to sail the high seas is connected with the discoveries of the expedition associated with *Nearchos* when the use of the effect exerted by the monsoon became known.[82]

These attainments were buried in oblivion for a time there was another successful attempt of a sailor called *Hippalos* during the reign of *Augustus*, which attempt established the possibility of traffic with sailing vessels in the

[80] *Sthavirāvali Carita or Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra* ed. by H. Jacobi (Calcutta 1932), p. LXXIV.

[81] In ancient Egypt the precious stones except for emerald (?) were unknown: A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London 1948); In Mezopotamia certain semi-precious stones like lapis lazuli, carneol were known: V. I. Avdijev, *Az ókori Kelet története* (*The History of ancient East*) (Budapest 1961), p. 15.; The names of the precious stones found in *Exodus* cannot be identified with certainty. In the archaeological material of *Iran* there can be found names of semi-precious stones, e.g. when describing the wall-covering of the *Susa* palace of *Dareios* the following names are mentioned: *kapautaka* (lapis lazuli) from *Suguda*, *sīkabarija* (carneol?) from *Suguda* and *aḫsina* (turquoise?) originating from *Ḫᵛārizm*. (R. Bleichsteiner, *Altpersische Edelsteinnamen: Festschrift gewidmet den Teilnehmern am VI. Deutschen Orientalistentag*, Wien 1930).

[82] Relating to the earliest commercial connections see: H. Schmökel, *Zwischen Ur und Lothal, die Seehandelsroute von Altmesopotamien zur Induskultur: Forschungen und Fortschritte* 40 (1966), pp. 143—146.; H. K. Deb, *Vedic India and the Middle East: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters* 14/2 (Calcutta 1948); H. Kennedy, *Early Commerce between India and Babylon: JRAS* XXX (1898). For the later ones: J. Dahlman, *Die Thomas Legend und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christenthums zum Ferner Osten im Lichte der indischen Altertumskunde* (Freiburg 1912), pp. 23—24.; F. Filliozat, *Les relations extérieurs de l'Inde* (Pondicherry 1956), pp. 19—23. For Indo-Greek connections see: W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1938); F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter* I—II (Halle 1947—48); K. S. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Age of Nandas and Mauryas* (Delhi 1952); J. Ph. Vogel, *Notes on Ptolemy: BSOAS* XIII (1950), p. 153, ff, and XIV (1952), p. 78.; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford 1957), etc.

[83] J. Dahlman, *op. cit.*, p. 24.: «*Ihn* (Hippalos) *zu Ehren wurde der Südwestmonsun Hippalos genannt.*» cf.: Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, ed. by D. E. Eicholz (Cambridge Massachusetts 1962); there is an interesting travel-book of an unknown author still extant with the title *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ed. C. Müller: *Geographi Graeci Minoresci*,

Red Sea and the Indian Oeean.[83] Soon after this sea-ports which became the destination of consolidating Roman enterprises developed, thus primarily *Muziris* where even a temple dedicated to *Augustus* was built, *Kalyāṇa* (near Bombay), *Barugaza* (at the delta of Narbada) and *Barbarikon* (near present-day *Karachi*). The specific economic conditions of Rome, the merchants growing wealthier and the Roman ruling strata demanding special luxury articles, all considerably promoted the commercial enterprises directed to India.[84]

According to Pliny the recorder of the age the trade with India amounted to a yearly sum of 100 million sestertius and all this was practically confined to costly and luxury articles. Among these there must have been a number of precious stones and jewels. In Rome it was *Sulla*'s stepson *Scaurus* the first who had a collection of precious stones (about the end of the 1st century B. C.); Roman customs nomenclatures from the years 176—180 A. D. bear witness to the importance of diamond.[85]

Accordingly in the time of Pliny there were jewels originating from India which were wellknown to our learned author. Pliny making use of certain earlier Greek works as well as his own knowledge gives us such an outstanding representation of the field that it has remained the best work of its kind for more than a thousand years. In his *Historia Naturalis* almost all the significant precious stones and semi-precious stones of India are enumerated. The review of precious stones begins with diamond: *maximum in rebus humanis, non solum inter gemmas, pretium habet adamas.* The most beautiful specimens come from India.[86] Pliny confuses emerald with another kind of beryll, the chief place of occurrence of which is the Egyptian *Koptos* and *Scythia.*[87] Speaking of beryll he remarks: *India eos gignit raro alibi repertos.* Indians falsify it with the colouring of rock crystal.[88] *Lychis* (ruby?) is a singularly beautiful red precious stone: *nascitur circa Orthosiam totaque Caria ac vicinis locis, sed probatissimum in India.*[89] Opal occurs solely in India and it can be falsified with the use of glass. *Sardonix* comes from the rivers of India, it has no great value, especially common people wear it in their jewels. *Carbunculus* came

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(Paris 1882); *Roman* connections are dealt with by E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928); M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London 1955); a fundamental work even today dealing with the relationship between Christianity and India is the work of R. Garbe already referred to; a separate information on the archaeological material: M. Wheeler, «*Arakamedu*». *An Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India*: *Ancient India* 2 (1946).

[84] Plinius, III—IV.

[85] Ch. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, III (Bonn 1873), p. 18.

[86] Plinius, XXXVII, 11.

[87] *Ibid.*, 55—57.

[88] *Ibid.*, 62—65.

[89] *Ibid.*, 76.

to Europe either from *Carthago* or from India; *sard*, *jaspis*, *hyacinth* and *xuthos* are of Indian origin.[90]

The work of *Epiphanios* Archbishop of *Salamis* (4th century A.D.) is based on the work of Pliny with the title *De duodecim gemmis*, a *Georgian* translation of which is also extant from the 10th century.[91] The Greek works called by the comprehensive name *lithika*'s date from the 3rd—4th century A.D.[92] They speak of the magic power, healing and supernatural qualities of precious stones in poetic form.

In the Middle Ages the image, which traces the precious stones from India — being far and beyond the reach of Europe, together with mythical stories —, is formed through making use of Pliny and the later works (*lithika*s).[93]

[90] *Ibid.*, 103 ff.

[91] Epiphanios, *De duodecim gemmis*: *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 35, (Wien 1866—), pp. 743—773; for the edition of the Georgian translation: see R. P. Blake and H. de Vis, *Studies and Documents* 1 (London — Philadelphia 1934—).

[92] The most famous *lithika*s are the works ascribed to *Orpheus* and *Dionysios*, cf. Th. Hopfner, *Lithika*: *PWRE* XIII/1 747—796. Greek novel-writing and the *Alexandros* romance of the Middle Ages borrow a great deal from this material, cf.: E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* (Leipzig 1900) and R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechishen Alexanderromans* (München 1954).

[93] The knowledge of the Middle Ages based primarily on the works of the above mentioned antique and late-antique authors and later on the contribution of certain Arabic sources, cf.: Al-Biruni, *Sobranie svedenij dlja poznanija dragocennostej* per. A. M. Belenickogo (Moskva 1963). Marco Polo the famous traveller on land and sea brings fresh news about the precious stones of India, Ceylon and East-Iran; still, India will finally get in touch with Europe only through the «new discovery» of the sea route (Vasco da Gama).

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MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF KAPILAR'S *KURIÑCIPPĀṬṬU*

BY

I. MAJOR

Continuation of the author's paper *Towards a Descriptive Grammar of Kapilar's Kuriñcippāṭṭu* in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVI, pp. 103–112.*

2. Morphologic analysis

2.1. Substantive nouns

2.11. Personal class (*uyartiṇai*). Model: B_S-M_n–M_{Bc}–M_c, where B_S = substantive stem, M_n = morpheme of number, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_{Bc} = Ø Masculine gender, singular number. M_n = -*n̲*/Ø. E.g.: *vēnta-n̲* + Ø + Ø → *vēntan̲* 229.2. (nominative) «king»; *vēḷ*-Ø + Ø + Ø$^+$ → → *vēḷ*$^+$ 174.5. (general oblique case with dative function) «to God Murukan̲». Masculine gender, plural number. M_n = -*r*. E.g.: *vēnta-r* + Ø + Ø → *vēntar* 27.6. (nominative) «kings»; *oṉṉā-r* + Ø + *kkù*$^+$ → *oṉṉārkkù*$^+$ (dative) «to enemies». Feminine gender, singular number. M_n = Ø. E.g.: *makaḷ* + Ø + Ø + + Ø → *makaḷ* 193.7. (nominative) «girl»; *tōḻi* + Ø + Ø + Ø$^+$ → *tōḻi*$^+$ 2.5. (general oblique case with genitive function) «of girl friend». Feminine gender, plural number. M_n = -*ir*. E.g.: *makaḷ* + *ir* + Ø + Ø → *makaḷir* 175.3. (nominative) «girls».

Substantive pronouns:

Number	Person/gender	Direct			Oblique	
		allomorph				
singular	1st	*yāṉ*	12.4.	«I»	*eṉ*	2.4.
plural	1st (excl)	*yām*	133.6.	«we»	*em*	59.7.
plural	1st (incl)	*nām*	22.1.	«we»	*nam*	24.4.
singular	2nd	*nī*	33.3.	«thou»	*niṉ*	181.3.
plural	2nd	(*nīr*)	—	«you»	*num*	231.5.
singular	3rd, masc. (distant)	(*avaṉ*)	—	«he»	*avaṉ*	168.5.
singular	3rd, fem. (near)	*ival*	26.3.	«she»	*ival*	248.3.
singular	3rd, masc.-fem. (reflexive)	(*tāṉ*)	—	«himself/ herself»	*taṉ*	245.1.
plural	3rd, masc.-fem. (distant)	(*avar*)	—	«they»	*avar*	260.4.

* Corrigenda in the first part of the paper: in the title, p. 104, lines 17, 23, 25 and 30 for *Kuriñcipāṭṭu* read *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*; p. 105, note 10 for *uyiraḷapaṭai* read *uyiraḷapeṭai*; p. 106, note 11 and p. 111, paragraph 1.43. for *sandhies* read *sandhis*.

2.12. Impersonal class (*aḫṟiṇai*). Model: B_S-M_n-M_{Bc}-M_c where B_S = substantive stem, M_n = morpheme of number (singular and plural), M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_n = *-m*/Ø, M_{Bc} = *-ttu*/C_B → → $2C_B$/Ø. (If M_n = *-m* and M_c = M_{nom}/M_{voc}/M_{com}, then M_{Bc} = Ø, in all the other cases of this type M_{Bc} = *-ttu* and M_n becomes Ø. M_{Bc} = C_B → $2C_B$ is in all the oblique cases of *aḫṟiṇai*, the stem of which has the phonologic structure $(C)\overline{V}C_B u$, or in the case of longer than disyllabic stems ending in $-\breve{V}C_B u$, where C = any consonant, $\overline{V}$ = any long vowel, $\breve{V}$ = any short vowel, C_B = = *k*/*c*/*ṭ*/*t*/*p*/*ṟ*, *u* = *kuṟṟiyal ukaram*. In all the other substantive nouns of *aḫṟiṇai* M_n = Ø, M_{Bc} = Ø in both the direct and oblique cases.) E.g.: *acca-m* + + Ø + *oṭu* → *accamoṭu* 29.3. (comitative) «with fear»; *vāṉa-m* → *vāṉa*-Ø + + *ttu* + Ø$^+$ → *vāṉattu*$^+$ 48.3. (general oblique case with locative function) «in the sky»; *ēṟu*-Ø → *ēṟṟu* + *oṭu* → *ēṟṟotu* 49.5. (comitative) «with thunders»; *kōṭu*-Ø → *kōṭṭu* + Ø$^+$ → *kōṭṭu*$^+$ 54.3. (general oblique case with locative function) «on the peak»; *eyiṟu*-Ø → *eyiṟṟu* + Ø + a + Ø + Ø → *eyiṟṟa* 131.3. (genitive noun. plur. 3. neut. nominative) «they, which have teeth»; *alari*-Ø + + Ø + Ø$^+$ → *alari*$^+$ 149.3. (general oblique case with genitive function) «of flower».[1]

Substantive nouns of impersonal class have no special plural form. Plural number sometimes is expressed by attached words *iṉam* and *kaṇam* «group». E.g.: *puḷ* + *iṉam* → *puḷḷiṉam* 228.4—5. «group of birds»; *āṉ* + *kaṇam* → *āṉkaṇam* 217.6—7. «group of cows».

Substantive pronouns of *aḫṟiṇai*:

Number	Person/gender	Direct allomorph			Oblique allomorph		
singular	3rd, neut. (distant)	(*atu*)	—	«that»	*ataṉ*	142.4.	
singular	3rd, neut. (near)	*itu*	21.4.	«this»	—		

2.13. Genitive nouns. Model: B_S-M_n-M_{Bc}-M_{gen}-M_p-M_{Bc}-M_c where B_S = substantive stem, M_n = morpheme of number, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_{gen} = morpheme of general oblique case or that of genitive case, M_p = personal pronominal ending, M_c = case-ending. E.g.: (by the allomorph of general oblique case with genitive function):

[1] The class of impersonal substantive nouns has a special group of attributive substantives (the stem of which has the phonologic structure $(C/\breve{V})$ e.g. *a* «beauty», *ce* «red colour», *tī* «sweetness» *pū* «flower», *paṉ* «green colour». They have a defective paradigm, occur mostly in genitive expressed by allomorph *-m*, and, fill the attribute slot. E.g.: *am* (*talir*) 120. 1—2. «beautiful shoot», *cem* (kāntal) 62. 2.—3. «red Lily», *tīm*(*kaṇi*) 188. 4—5. «sweet fruit», *pūm*(*kutacam*) 67. 4—5. «flowering jasmine», *paim* (kurukkatti) 92. 3—4. «red Kurukkatti». The example *a vāṅku* 140.. 4—5. where *a* is an object (in nominative) to the predicate *vāṅku* (*avvāṅku* «taking beauty») can support our interpretation. (See *Tirukkuṟaḷ* No. 1277 too.)

from personal substantive pronoun of plur. 2. *nīr* → *num* + ar + Ø + Ø → → *numar* 231.5. (plur. 3. masc.-fem. nominative) «yours (your relatives)». from impersonal substantive nouns: *maṉa-m* → *mana-*Ø + *ttŭ* + Ø + *ēm* + + Ø + Ø → *maṉattēm* 134.3. (plur. 1. nominative) «we who have mind»; *vīḻai-*Ø + Ø + Ø + *ar* + Ø + Ø → *vīḻaiyar* 161.3. (plur. 3. masc.-fem. nominative) «they who have whistle».

(by the allomorph of genitive case *-iṉ*): *marapŭ-*Ø + Ø + *-iṉ* + *a* + Ø + Ø → → *marapiṉa* 44.3. (plur. 3. neut. nominative) «those which are of use».

2.2. Numerals

2.21. Attributive form of ordinal numeral. Model: B_N- where B_N = numeral stem. E.g.: *oru* 118.3. «one»; *iru* 27.4. «two»; *ēḻ* 215.3. «seven».

2.22. Quantitative noun. Model: B_N-M_p-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_N = numeral stem, M_p = personal pronominal ending, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_{Bc} = Ø. E.g.: *iru* + *ēm* + Ø + Ø → *iruvēm* 21.1. (plur. 1. nominative) «we two».

2.3. Adjective

2.31. Attributive form of adjective. Model: B_A- where B_A = adjective stem.

Adjectives with phonologic structure $(C)\breve{V}Cu(m)$ (before *k,c,t,p* $(C)\breve{V}Cum$, before vowels, nasals and *v,y* $(C)\breve{V}Cu$, an exception is *ciṟu* «small» which has only one form). E.g.: *irum* (*puṉam*) 157.1—2. «big (land)», *iru* (*vāṉattŭ*) 48.2—3. «in the big (sky)», but *ciṟu tiṉai* 38.3—4. «small (millet)».

Adjectives with phonologic structure $(C)\breve{V}C$. E.g.: *oḻ* 62.1 «bright», *mel* 2.2. «soft».

Demonstrative adjective pronoun: a^+ 13.4. «that».

Pronominal adjectives: *pal/pala* 6.2. «many, much»; *ēṉai* 24.1. «other».

2.32. Adjective noun. Model: B_A-M_p-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_A = adjective stem M_p = personal pronominal edning, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c =, case-ending. M_{Bc} = Ø. E.g.: *pal* + *ar* + Ø + Ø → *palar* 203.4. (plur. 3. masc-fem. nominative) «many (people)»; *val* + *ōṉ* + Ø + Ø → *vallōṉ* 146.4. (sing. 3. masc. nominative) «he who is capable».

2.33. Qualitative noun. Model: B_A-*mai*-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_A = adjective stem, *mai* = affix of qualitative noun, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case ending. M_{Bc} = Ø. E.g.: *val* + *mai* Ø + *iṉ*(+) → *vaṉmaiyiṉ*(+) 12.2. (locative) «in strength».

2.4. Verb

2.4.1. Affirmative forms

2.4.11. Temporal finite forms of indicative. Model: B_V-M_t-M_p, where B_V = verbal stem, M_t = morpheme of tense, M_p = personal suffix.

Forms of future & aorist tense. M_t = *ku/um*. E.g.: *nukar* + *kŭ* + Ø → → *nukarkŭ* 118.6. (sing. 1.) «I shall enjoy» (sing. 1. M_p = Ø only after the allomorph *-ku*). *ayar* + *kŭ* + *am* → *ayarkam* 232.5. (plur. 1.) «we shall arrange»;

tēmpù + *um* + Ø → *tēmpum* 26.4. (sing. 3. fem.) «she has been suffering»; *kaluḷù* + *um* + Ø → *kaluḷum* 248.2. (sing. 3. neut.) «it has been weeping» (sing. 3. M_p = Ø only after the allomorph -um).

Forms of present tense. M_t = *-t*. E.g.: *varuntù* + *t* + *i* → *varuntuti* 8.4. (sing. 2.) «thou sufferst».

Forms of past tense. M_t = *-nt*/C_B → $2C_B$. E.g.: *āl* + *nt* + *iciṉ* 34.2. (sing. 1.) «I agreed»; *eṉ* + *nt* + *aṉaṉ* → *eṉṟaṉaṉ* 142.3. (sing. 3. masc.) «he told»; *naku* → *nakkù* + *aṉaṉ* → *nakkaṉaṉ* 183.4. (sing. 3. masc.) «he smiled».[2]

2.4.12. Temporal participial forms

2.4.12.1. Participles. Model: B_V-M_t-M_a, where B_V = verbal stem, M_t = morpheme of tense, M_a = attributive affix.

Participle of future & aorist tense. M_t + M_a = *-kkum*/*-um* (The allomorphs *-kkum*, *-um* consist of two grammemes, those of tense and attribution). E.g. *paṭù* + *kkum* → *paṭukkum* 128.3. «having done»; *uṟa͡i* + *um* → → *uṟa͡iyum* 11.3. «having lived»; *teṟù* + *um* → *teṟūu͡m* 45.3. «having destroyed».

Past participle. M_t = *-nt*/*-tt*/*-i*/C_B → $2C_B$; M_a = *-a*. E.g.: *nil* + *nt* + *a*→ → *niṉṟa* 28.3. «stood»; *nekiḻ* + *tt* + *a* → *nekiḻtta* 3.3. «weakened»; *vāṅkù* + *i* + + *a* → *vāṅkiya* 37.3. «bent down»; *uku* → *ukkù* + *a* → *ukka* 187.3. «fallen».

Short participle.[3] M_t = Ø, M_a = Ø. E.g. *vayaṅkù* + Ø + Ø → *vayaṅkù* 16.4. «shining».

2.4.12.2. Participial noun. Model: B_V-M_t-M_p-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_V = verbal stem, M_t = morpheme of tense, M_p = personal pronominal ending, M_{Bc} = = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_{Bc} = Ø.

Participial nouns of future & aorist tense. M_t = *-v*/*-n*. E.g.: *iya͡i* + *v* + + Ø + Ø → *iya͡ivatù* 24.3. (sing. 3. neut. nominative) «that which will meet»; *naṭuṅkù* + *v* + *aṉam* + Ø + Ø → *naṭuṅkuvaṉam* 133.1. (plur. 1. nominative) «we who have been trembling»; *varu* + *n* + *ar* + Ø + *kkù*$^+$ → *varunarkkù*$^+$ 202.1. (plur. 3. masc.-fem. dative) «to them who have come».

Participial nouns of past tense. M_t = *-nt*/*-iṉ*/*-i*. E.g.: *nil* + *nt* + *aṉaṉ* → → *niṉṟaṉaṉ* 152.3. (sing. 3. masc. nominative) «he who stood»; *iru* + *nt* + + *aṉam* → *iruntaṉam*[4] 106.2. (plur. 1. nominative) «we who were sitting»;

[2] The verb *uṭa͡i* «to have» is non-temporal but it has affirmative meaning. The following forms of this verb occur in the analysed text: *uṭa͡iyēṉ* 142.2 (sing. 1.) «I have», *uṭa͡iya* 261.5. (plur. 3. neut.) «they have», *uṭa͡ima͡i* 30.3., 30.6. (verbal noun in nominative) «the having», *uṭa͡iyam* 97.3. (participial noun plur. 1. in nominative) «whe who have».

[3] The term «short participle» denotes the *viṉaittoka͡i* of classical Tamil grammars. Formally it coincides with the verbal stem but its syntactic functions are the same as those of other participles.

[4] From the diachronic point of view the personal suffixes *-aṉaṉ* (sing. 3. masc.), *-aṉam* (plur. 1.) and *-tiyar* (plur. 2.) consist of more than one morpheme. In the suffixe *-aṉaṉ* and *-aṉam* *-a* is an attributive affix, *-ṉ* is an epenthesis, *-aṉ* and *-am* indicate the person, number and gender. In the suffix *-tiyar* *-ti* is the morpheme of second person *-ar* is the morpheme of plural number for members of personal class (uyartiṇai).

uḷḷù + *iṉ* + *aṉ* → *uḷḷiṉaṉ* 200.3. (sing. 3. masc. nominative) «he who understood»; *vayaṅkù* + *i* + *ōr* → *vayaṅkiyōr* 213. 4. (plur. 3. masc. nominative) «they who were shining».

2.4.13. Non-temporal finite forms. Model: B_V-M_p where B_V = verbal stem, M_p = personal suffix.

2.4.13.1. Imperative forms: *vēṇṭù* + Ø → *vēṇṭù* 1.3. (sing. 2.) «let thou want!» (sing. 2. M_p = Ø only in imperative); *ōmpù* + *miṉ* → *ōmpumiṉ* 233.2. (plur. 2.) «let you beware of» (plur. 2. M_p = *miṉ* only in imperative).

2.4.13.2. Optative forms: *vāḻ* + *i* → *vāḻi* 1.2. (sing. 2.) «may thou live»; *varu* + *tiyar* → *varutiyar* 39.3. (plur. 2.) «may you come».

2.4.14. Non-temporal infinite forms

2.4.14.1. Verbal noun. Model: B_V-M_{VN}-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{VN} = morpheme of verbal noun, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_{VN} = *-āl/-al/-tal/-ttal/-mai*, M_{Bc} = Ø. E.g.: *aṟivuṟù* + *āl* + Ø + + *iṉ*(+) → *aṟivuṟāliṉ*(+) 22.2. (locative) «in the statement»; *kaṭavù* + *al* + Ø + + *iṉ*(+) → *kaṭavaliṉ*(+) 12.5. (locative) «in the constraint»; *tuṉṉù* + *tal* + + Ø + Ø → *tuṉṉutal* 230.5. (nominative) «thickness»; *niḻa* + *ttal* + Ø + *iṉ*(+ → → *niḻattaliṉ*(+) 39.6. (locative) «under destruction»; *uṭai* + *mai* + Ø + Ø → → *uṭaimai* 30.3. (nominative) «property».

2.4.14.2. Infinitive. Model: B_V-*ppa*$^+$/*-a*$^+$, where B_V = verbal stem, *-ppa*$^+$/ /*-a*$^+$ = allomorphs of infinitive. E.g.: *taṉa* + *ppa*$^+$ → *taṉappa*$^+$ 19.4. «to leave»; *nekiḻ* + *a*$^+$ → *nekiḻa*$^+$ 9.5. «to weaken».

2.4.14.3. Verbal adverb. Model: B_V-M_{ad}, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{ad} = = morpheme of verbal adverb. M_{ad} = *-ā*$^+$/*-i*$^+$/*-ū*$^+$/*-kupù/-tù/-ntù/-ttù*$^+$/*-pù*/ /*-ppù*$^+$/C_B → $2C_B/\breve{V}_B-\breve{V}V_B$. E.g.: *paṟi* + *ā*$^+$ → *paṟiyā*$^+$ 101.5. «picking»; *paravù* + *i*$^+$ → *paravi*$^+$ 5.1. «praising»; *puṭai* + *ū*$^+$ → *puṭaiyū* 160.3. «hitting»; *vaḻai* + *kupù* → *vaḻaikupù* 132.3. «surrounding»; *toḻu* + *tù* → *toḻutù* 5.2. «honouring»; *kara* + *ntù* → *karantù* 11.2. «hiding»; *ceṟi* + *ttù*$^+$ → *ceṟittù*$^+$ 12.3. «pressing»; *āy* + *pù* → *āypù* 114.4. «choosing»; *uḻar* + *ppù*$^+$ → *uḻarppù*$^+$ 109.4. «shaking»; *miku* → *mikkù* 158.7. «abounding»; *kuvai* → *kuvaii* 98.6. «piling up». Exception: *cāy* → *cāay* 195.3. «fading».

2.4.14.4. Conditional verbal adverb. Model: B_V-*ppiṉ/-iṉ*, where B_V = verbal stem, *-ppiṉ/-iṉ* = allomorphs of conditional verbal adverb. E.g.: *koṭù* + + *ppiṉ* → *koṭuppiṉ* 30.1. «if giving»; *keṭù* + *iṉ* → *keṭiṉ* 14.5. «if dying».

2.4.2. Negative forms.

2.4.21. Finite forms of negative. Model: B_V-M_{neg}-M_p, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{neg} = morpheme of negation, M_p = personal suffix. M_{neg} = *-al*/Ø. E.g.: *āṟṟù* + *al* + *eṉ* → *āṟṟaleṉ* 29.5. (sing. 1.) «I do not bear»; *peṟù* + Ø + + *āṉ* → *peṟāaṉ* 243.1. (sing. 3. masc.) «he does not get»; *uṟù* + Ø + *āṉ* → → *uṟāaṉ* 243.5. (sing. 3. masc.) «he does not feel»; *il* + Ø + *aṉ* → *ilaṉ* 244.3. (sing. 3. masc.) «he is not»; *collù* + Ø + *ēm* → *collēm* 143.1. (plur. 1.) «we do not say»; *eṉ* + Ø + *ār* → *eṉṉār* 18.2. (plur. 3. masc.) «they do not tell».

2.4.22. Negative imperative forms. Model: B_V-M_{neg}-M_p, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{neg} = morpheme of negation, M_p = personal suffix. M_{neg} = *-ā/-al*. E.g.: *ciṉavu* + *ā* + *tīm* → *ciṉavātīm* 34.2. (plur. 2.) «be not angry»!; *acai* + + *al* + Ø → *acaiyal* 180.4. (sing. 2.) «be not confused!».

2.4.23. Negative verbal adverb. Model: B_V-M_{neg}-M_{ad}, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{neg} = morpheme of negation, M_{ad} = morpheme of verbal adverb. M_{neg} = *ā*, M_{ad} = *tu*. E.g.: *eṇṇu* + *ā* + *tu* → *aṇṇātu* 31.4. «not thinking».

2.4.24. Negative participial forms.

2.4.24.1. Short negative participle. Model: B_V-M_{neg}-M_a, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{neg} = morpheme of negation, M_a = attributive affix. M_{neg} = *ā*, M_a = Ø⁺. E.g.: *ey* + *ā* + Ø⁺ → *eyyā*⁺ 8.1. «not understanding».

2.4.24.2. Negative participial noun. Model: B_V-M_{neg}-M_p-M_{Bc}-M_c, where B_V = verbal stem, M_{neg} = morpheme of negation, M_p = personal pronominal ending, M_{Bc} = morpheme of case-base, M_c = case-ending. M_{neg} = Ø, M_{Bc} = Ø. E.g.: *viṭu* + Ø + *āṉ* + Ø + Ø → *viṭāaṉ* 185.4. (sing. 3. masc. nominative) «he who does not allow»; *aṟi* + Ø + *ēm* + Ø + Ø → *aṟiyēm* 166.3. (plur. 1. nominative) «we who does not know»; *varu* → *vār* + *ār* + Ø + Ø → *vārār* 23.2. (plur. 3. masc.-fem. nominative) «they who do not come»; *viṭu* + Ø + *ēm* + Ø + Ø → + *viṭēem* 177.6. (plur. 1. nominative) «we who do not let loose»; *viṭu* + Ø + + *īr* + Ø + Ø → *viṭīir* 144.2. (plur. 2. nominative) «you who do not answer».[5,6]

2.5.1. Invariable words (significant)

2.5.11. Attributive words: *avaṇa* 41.5. «of that place», *aṉṉa* 49.3. «such, similar», *āṉā*⁺ 26.1. «uninterrupted», *vēṟu* 6.1. «other, different».[7]

2.5.12. Adverbs: *āṅkaṇ* 192.3. «there», *āṅku* 207.5. «there», *āyiṭai*⁺ «besides», *iṭaiyiṭai* 100.5. «from time to time», *ūḻūḻ* 44.4. «again and again», *eṉṟum* 238.4. «ever», 242.7. «never», *ōrāṅku* 19.3. «together», *naṉi* 33.4. «well», *nītu* 182.6. «for a long time», *yāvatum* 180.5. «so».[8]

[5] The verbs having a phonologic stem-structure $(C)VC_Bu$ (where C_B = *k, c, ṭ, t, p, or ṟ*) cause the superlengthening of the first vowel of the affix following the stem. (See forms *uṟāaṉ, teṟūum, viṭīir* etc.)

[6] In the time of origin of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* there was no formal distinction between the finite verbal forms of indicative and the participial nouns, only their syntactical characteristics (their place in the clause or in the sentence) made the differentiation possible in the analysis.

[7] With the exception of the original attributive word *vēṟu* «other» all the other invariable attributive words can be accepted as derivatives of verbs, or nouns from the diachronic point of view. E.g.: *avaṇa* can be accepted as a noun in genitive expressed by allomorph *-a*, *āṉā*⁺ as a negative participle, *aṉṉa* as a participle of the verb *aṉ* (see Tirukkural No. 718, the finite form of the verb *aṉ aṟṟu*)

[8] With the exception of the original adverb *naṉi* «well» all the other words of this group are derivates of verbs or nouns, from the diachronic point of view. E.g.: *āyiṭai*⁺, *iṭaiyiṭai* and *ōrāṅku*⁺ are nouns in general oblique case expressed by allomorph Ø⁺.

2.5.13. Imitative words: *im* 147.4. (for expression of buzzing, sounding), *oy* 166.5. (for expression of unexpectedness, or swiftness of action), *kal* 151.1. (for expression of loud noise).

2.5.2. Invariable words (auxiliary)

2.5.21. Particles: *-um* 4.5. (conjunctive) «and, too»; *-ē* 244.4. (emphatic) «just».; *-ō* 22.4. (interrogative expecting a negative answer) «is not it?».

2.5.22. Postpositions: *āṅkaṉ* 4.2. «in, inside», *uṭaṉ* 96.8. «together, with», *uḷi* 57.7. «in, the time of», *kaṉ* 98.2. «in, on», *toṟum/tōṟum* 127.3., 239.5. «every», *piṉṉar* 174.3. «after», *micai*$^+$ 40.4. «on, above».[9]

2.6. Case-system of nouns (substantive, genitive, quantitative, adjective, qualitative, verbal, participial, and negative participial nouns)

Allomorphs of case-endings join the case-base of nouns (stem + chain of affixes ending with the morpheme of case-base). The difference of construction of case-bases of various nouns has not been taken into consideration here (zero-morphemes preceding the stem are not marked). The structure of case-base of various nouns is given in the corresponding paragraphs. General model: N_{Bc}-M_c, where N_{Bc} = the relevant case-base, M_c = case-ending.

2.61. Direct cases

Nominative, allomorph: Ø, e.g.: *kaviṉ* + Ø → *kaviṉ* 9.2. «beauty».

Vocative (nearer), allomorph: Ø, e.g.: *aṉṉai* + Ø → *aṉṉai* 1.4. «oh, mother!».

Vocative (distant), allomorph: $\breve{V}_B$—$\bar{V}_B$, e.g.: *aṉṉai* → *aṉṉāy* 1.1. «oh, mother!».

2.62. Oblique cases

General oblique case (it occurs in the analysed text with function of genitive, accusative, dative, instrumental and locative). In truth this is the totality of homonymic forms (allomorphs) of various oblique cases. Model: $N_{Bc.ob}$ + O^+, where $N_{Bc.ob}$ = oblique case-base of noun, $Ø^+$ = allomorph of general oblique case (more exactly the phonologic appearance of relevant allomorphs).

This case has been marked out by us for the more objective classification of textual facts, since there is no formal criterion in many cases on the basis of which the morphs could be ascribed to some morpheme. Therefore the recognition of enumerated case-functions has a tentative character. E.g.: with genitive function: *tuy* + $Ø^+$ → *tuy*$^+$ 37.1. «of strength»; with accusative function: *tiṉai* + $Ø^+$ → *tiṉai*$^+$ 38.4. «millet»; with dative function: *pati* + + $Ø^+$ → *pati*$^+$ 46.5. «to the nest»; with instrumental function: *aṇi* + Ø → *aṇi*$^+$

[9] The postposition *micai*$^+$ «on, above» is a noun in general oblique case expressed by allomorph $Ø^+$ from the diachronic point of view.

126.2. «by adornment»; with locative function: *āka-m* → *ākattù* + Ø$^{+}$ → *ākattù*$^{+}$ 249.1. «on the chest».

Genitive case, allomorph: *-iṉ*, e.g.: *nivappù* + *iṉ* → *nivappiṉ* 50.3. «of the rise».[10]

Dative case, allomorph: *-kkù*$^{+}$, e.g.: *aiyar* + *kkù*$^{+}$ → *aiyarkkù*$^{+}$ 7.4. «to sages».

Instrumental case, allomorph: *-āl*, e.g.: *muṉpù* + *āl* → *muṉpāl* 159.3. «by force».

Comitative case, allomorph: *-oṭù*, e.g.: *accam* + *oṭù* → *accamoṭù* 29.3. «with fear».

Locative case, allomorphs: *-iṉ*(+), *-iṉ/-il*, e.g.: *muttù* + *iṉ*(+) → *muttiṉ*(+) 13.1. «in pearl», *uruvù* + *iṉ* → *uruviṉ* 6.3. «in the form».

3. Syntactical analysis

The analysis has been made on the basis of passive («right») syntactical characteristics of the parts of sentence. All the sentences of the analysed text are simple ones.

3.1. Types of sentence:

1. Complete, two-member sentences:

1/a: nominal sentence (affirmative). Model: S = P, S ∈ P. E.g.: *iruvēm āynta maṉṟal itu.* «the marriage chosen by both of us (is) this».

1/b: nominal sentence (interrogative). Model: S = P E.g.: *emmoṭù collalum paḻiyō?* «is it a mistake even to speak with me?»

2. Verbal sentences:

2/a_1 indicative affirmative. Model: S agit P. E.g.: *nīyum varuntuti* «thou sufferst, too».

2/a_2 indicative negative. Model: S non agit P. E.g.: *aṟiñar eṉṉār* «wise people do not say».

2/b_1 imperative, affirmative. Model: (S) age P! E.g.: *vēṇṭù!* «want!»

2/b_2 imperative, negative. Model: (S) non age P! E.g.: *ciṉavātīm!* «be not (thou) angry!»

2/c interrogative. Model: S agit P?; S est P?; E.g.: *nām aṟivuṟāliṉ paḻiyum uṇṭō?* «is there any mistake in our statement?»

3. One-member sentence: address. E.g.: *aṉṉāy!* «oh, mother!»

3.2. Borders and types of sentences in the analysed text:

[10] Another allomorph of genitive, *-a* has been found in the analysed text. E.g.: *iyam* → *iyattù* + *a* → *iyatta* 99.3. «of music».

No.	Borders of sentence	Type	Whether inclusion, if so, in what sentence
1.	2.	3.	4.
1.	1.1.	3	—
2.	1.2.	$2/b_1$	—
3.	1.3.	$2/b_1$	—
4.	1.4.	3	—
5.	1.5.—8.4.	$2/a_1$	—
6.	9.1.—12.5.	$2/a_1$	—
	24.5.—26.4.		
7.	13.1.—14.6.	$2/a_1$	6.
8.	18.2.—18.5.	$2/a_2$	6.
9.	15.1.—18.1.	1/a	7.
10.	21.5.—22.4.	2/c	6.
11.	19.1.—21.4.	1/a	10.
12.	23.1.—24.4.	$2/a_1$	6.
13.	27.1.—29.5.	$2/a_2$	—
14.	30.1.—34.2.	$2/a_1$	—
15.	34.3.	$2/b_2$	—
16.	39.4.—139.4.,	$2/a_1$	—
	142.3.		
17.	35.1.—39.3.	$2/a_1$	16.
18.	139.5.—141.5.	3	16.
19.	141.6.—142.2.	$2/a_1$	16.
20.	142.4.—143.4.,		
	145.5.—179.6.,		
	181.7.—183.4.	$2/a_1$	—
21.	144.1.—145.2.	1/b	20.
22.	145.3.—145.4.	3	20.
23.	180.1.—180.3.	3	20.
24.	180.4.	$2/b_2$	20.
25.	180.5.—181.2.	$2/b_1$	20.
26.	181.3.—181.6.	$2/a_1$	20.
27.	183.5.—200.4.,		
	207.4.—230.4.,		
	233.5.—237.4.	$2/a_1$	—
28.	201.1.—206.4.,		
	207.1.—207.3.	1/a	27.
29.	206.5.—206.6.	3	27.
30.	231.1.—232.5.	$2/a_1$	27.
31.	232.6.—233.2.	$2/b_1$	27.
32.	233.3.—233.4.	3	27.
33.	237.5.—239.3.	1/a	—
34.	239.4.—243.1.	$2/a_2$	—
35.	243.2.—243.5.	$2/a_2$	—
36.	244.1.—244.3.	$2/a_2$	—
37.	244.4.—245.4.	$2/a_2$	—
38.	245.5.—248.7.	$2/a_1$	—
39.	249.1.—251.5.,	$2/a_1$	—
	261.7.		
40.	251.6.—261.6.	$2/a_1$	39.

3.3. Parts of sentences and clauses

3.31. Predicate

In the sentences of type 1/a and 1/b the predicate slot is filled by a noun in nominative:

by a substantive noun (145.2.) in sentence No. 21; by a demonstrative substantive pronoun (21.4). in sentence No. 11; by participial nouns (24.3., 207.3.) in Sentences No. 12 and 28; by a genitive noun (239.3.) in sentence No. 35; by an adjective noun (18.1.) in sentence No. 9.

In the sentences of type $2/a_1$ (No. 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 26, 27, 30, 38, 39, 40) the predicate slot is filled by an affirmative finite verbal form of indicative.

In the sentences of type $2/a_2$ (No. 8, 13, 34, 35, 36, 37) the predicate slot is filled by a negative finite verbal form of indicative.

In the sentences of $2/b_1$ (No. 2, 3, 25, 31) the predicate slot is filled by an affirmative finite verbal form of imperative, or optative.

In the sentences of type $2/b_2$ (No. 15, 24) the predicate slot is filled by a negative finite verbal form of imperative.

In the sentences of type 3 (No. 1, 4, 18, 22, 23, 29, 32) the address is expressed by a noun in vocative: by substantive nouns (four times), by genitive nouns (twice), by adjective noun (once).

3.32. Subject

The subject slot if filled by a noun in nominative: by substantive nouns (158 times), by personal pronouns (10 times), by genitive nouns (15 times), by participial nouns (5 times), by verbal nouns (3 times), by quantitative noun (once), by adjective nouns (twice).

3.33. Attribute

The attribute slot is filled by 1) a noun in general oblique case with genitive function, 2) a noun in genitive, 3) oblique form of a personal pronoun, 4) attributive form of adjective, 5) attributive form of ordinal numeral, 6) participle, 7) invariable word.

1. a. general oblique case realized in Ø allomorph with a personal-class substantive noun (*uyartiṇai*) 05 times, with adjective noun once.

1. b_1 general oblique case expressed by $Ø^+$ allomorph (realized syntagmatically by Ø), with substantive nouns 108 times with verbal nouns 3 times.

1. b_2 general oblique case expressed by $Ø^+$ allomorph (realized syntagmatically in «strong sandhi»), with substantive nouns 8 times, with verbal noun once.

1. b_3 general oblique case expressed by $Ø^+$ allomorph (realized syntagmatically by gemination of following *k*, *c*, *t*, or *p*), with substantive nouns 44 times.

1. c. general oblique case expressed by reduplication of the last consonant of the stem ($C_B \rightarrow 2C_B\dot{u} + Ø^+$), with substantive noun once.

1. d. general oblique case expressed by *-ttu̇*$^+$ allomorph, twice.

2. a. genitive case expressed by (*-ttu̇* + *a*) → *tta* allomorph, twice.

2. b. genitive case expressed by *-m* allomorph, with attributive substantive nouns 28 times.

2. c. genitive case expressed by *-iṉ* allomorph, with substantive nouns 13 times.

3. oblique forms of personal pronouns occur as attribute 14 times.

4. a. Attributive forms of adjective occur as attribute 110 times.

4. b. Demonstrative adjective pronoun occurs as attribute 6 times.

5. Attributive form of ordinal numerals occur as attribute 5 times.

6. a. Short form of participle occurs as attribute 128 times.

6. b. Negative participle occurs as attribute 7 times.

6. c. Participle of future and aorist tense expressed by *-um* allomorph occurs as attribute 13 times, by *-kkum* allomorph once.

6. d. Participle of past tense expressed by *-ta* allomorph occurs as attribute 4 times, by *-tta* allomorph 5 times, by *-nta* allomorph 11 times, by *-iya* allomorph 13 times; by reduplication of the consonant of verbal stem (*uku* → *ukku* + *u* → *ukka* 187.3. «fallen») once.

7. Invariable (attributive) words occurrence in attribute function: *avaṇa*: one time, *āṉā*$^+$: once, *vēṟu̇*: 3 times, *aṉṉa*: 5 times.

3.34. Direct object

The Direct object slot is filled by a noun 1) in nominative, 2) in general oblique case with accusative function.

1) the noun is a personal-class (*uyartiṇai*) once substantive impersonal-class (*aḫriṇai*) one 229 times, a genitive noun 4 times, a verbal noun 5 times, an adjective noun 5 times,

2) the general oblique case expressed by $\emptyset^+$ allomorph (realized syntagmatically by «strong sandhi») twice, (realized syntagmatically by gemination of following *k*, *c*, *t*, or *p*) 2 times (all of them are impersonal-class substantive nouns) the direct object is an oblique form of a personal pronoun in 2 cases.

3.35. Predicative complement

The Predicative complement slot is filled by a noun in nominative, (by a participial noun twice, by a negative participial noun 4 times).

3.36. Adverbial modifier

The Adverbial modifier slot is filled by 1) nouns in a) nominative, b) oblique cases (except genitive); 2) non-temporal infinite verbal forms (affirmative and negative); 3) nouns with postpositions; 4) adverbs.

1/a: by substantive nouns in nominative 6 times.

$1/b_1$: by nouns in general oblique case expressed

by $\emptyset^+$ allomorph (realized syntagmatically by Ø); with substantive nouns 46 times, with verbal nouns 3 times; (realized syntagmatically by «strong sandhi»): with substantive noun once, with personal pronoun once; (realized syntagmatically by gemination of following *k*, *c*, *t*, or *p*) with substantive nouns 10 times;

by allomorph (*-ttu* + $\emptyset^+$) → *ttù*$^+$ 8 times;

$1/b_2$ by nouns in dative case expressed by *-kkù*$^+$ allomorph, with substantive nouns 4 times, with participial noun once;

$1/b_3$ by nouns in comitative case expressed by *-oṭù* allomorph, with substantive nouns 7 times, with personal pronouns 3 times.

$1/b_4$ by substantive noun in instrumental expressed by *-āl* allomorph once.

$1/b_5$ by nouns in locative case expressed by *-iṉ*$^+$ allomorph, with substantive nouns 8 times, with verbal nouns 3 times, with adjective noun once, with qualitative noun once; by *-iṉ*/*-il* allomorphs with substantive nouns 18 times, with verbal nouns 8 times.

2/a The adverbial modifier is an infinitive expressed by *-a*$^+$ allomorph 68 times, by *-ppa*$^+$ allomorph 12 times.

2/b The adverbial modifier is a verbal adverb expressed by *-ā*$^+$ allomorph 2 times, by *-i*$^+$ allomorph 50 times, by *-ū* allomorph one time, by *-kupù* allomorph once, by *-tù* allomorph 10 times, by *-ttù*$^+$ allomorph 7 times, by *-ntù* allomorph 27 times, by *-pù* allomorph 6 times, by *-ppù*$^+$ allomorph one

time, by the reduplication of las consonant of verbal stem ($C_B \rightarrow 2C_B$) once, by superlengthening of the vowel of verbal stem (*uyiraḷapetai*) 6 times; the adverbial modifier is the verbal adverb of *cāy* «to fade» (*cāay*) 3 times.

2/c The adverbial modifier is a negative verbal adverb expressed by *-ātù* allomorph 4 times.

2/d The adverbial modifier is a conditional verbal adverb expressed by *-iṉ* allomorph 8 times, by *-ppiṉ* allomorph twice.

3) The adverbial modifier is a noun with postposition:

with *uṭan* «together» once, with *kaṇ/āṅkaṇ* «in» twice, with *toṟum/tōṟum* «every» 4 times, with *micai*$^+$ «above, on» 3 times, with *piṉṉar* «after» once, with *uḷi* «in the time of» once.

4) The adverbial modifier is an adverb 10 times.

3.4. Inclusion[11]

Inclusion consist of either a complete sentence (e.g. sentences No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 40) or invariable imitative words (*im* once, *oy* twice, *kal* 3 times)

3.5. Appositive construction[12]

The apposition slot is filled by nouns in nominative (by substantive nouns 13 times, by genitive nouns 12 times).

3.6. Word-combinations, members of clauses (on the first level of analysis)[13]

a) verbal forms with internal object, b) postpositional constructions.

These constructions (verb + internal object; noun + postposition) are homogeneous syntagms from the viewpoint of first-level analysis. But there is a second-level syntactic tie between the members of these constructions. All the verbs having «internal object» occur with a direct object on first level in the analysed text. E.g.: *pakai puṟaṅkaṇṭa* 129.1—3. «having put the enemy to flight» can be analysed on the first level like *puṟaṅkaṇṭa* = Predicate,

[11] The term «inclusion» has been introduced by S. G. Rudin (Морфологическая структура тамильского языка, Москва 1972) for the designation of «word-forms, word-combinations etc. included in the clause through their subordination under the verb eṉ». (p. 111).

[12] This type of apposition does not exist in the modern Tamil language. Members of the appositive construction have the identical syntactical function for the other parts of the clause or sentence and relate to the same designatum. They can be extended to full clauses, too. One appositive can relate to more than one qualified term and vice versa, one qualified term can have more than one appositive. E.g.: *taḷalum tattaiyum kuḻirum piṟavum kiḷi kaṭi marapiṉa . . . vāṅki* 43.—44. «taking rattles, bamboo crackers, rappers and other things, everything that is used for scaring parrots away» (*marapiṉa* relates to *taḷal, tattai, kuḻir, piṟa*, but for the predicate *vāṅki* they are all objects).

[13] From the point of view of first-level syntactical analysis the inclusion of type «imitative word + *eṉa*$^+$» (e.g.: *immeṉa*$^+$ 147.4.) are adverbial modifiers. The verb *eṉ* can include full sentences, phrases, verbatim citates of other persons too (as the sentences of No. 7, 8, etc.).

pakai = Object. For the second-level analysis *puṟam* = Object, *kaṇṭa* = Predicate; literally «having seen the back».

For the second-level analysis the active member of postpositional constructions is the postposition. All the word-forms preceding the postpositions are attributes (nouns in genitive, participles) in the analysed text. E.g.: *tuyal varun tōṟum* 127.1—3. «every move», *puṟaṅkoṭutta piṉṉar* 174.3—4. «after having put the enemy to flight».

3.6. Order of words

The following order of words has been accepted as a standard for the analysed text:

a) the subject precedes the predicate,

b) the object and the adverbial modifiers follow after the subject but precede the predicate,

c) the attribute precedes the qualified word-form.

There is a standard order of words in sentences No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40.

Inversions:

a) in sentence No. 8. the predicate 18.2. precedes the subject 18.5.,
in sentence No. 16. the predicate 60.6. precedes the subject 61.4.,
in sentence No. 38. the predicate 248.2 precedes the subject 248.7.,
in sentence No. 39. the predicate 251.3. precedes the subject 251.5.

b) in sentence No. 12. the adverbial modifier 24.4. follows the predicate 24.3.,
in sentence No. 16. all the 100 direct objects and the adverbial modifier 96.7. precede the subjects 97.1. and 97.4.
in sentence No. 27. the adverbial modifier 221.5. precedes the subject 221.6.,
in sentence No. 27. the object 225.1. precedes the subject 225.2.,
in sentence No. 39. the object 261.7. follows the predicate 253.1.

Appendix

1. On changing the syntactical characteristics of verbal nouns.

In most of the cases of the analysed text the verbal nouns formed by suffixes *-āl/-al/-tal/-ttal* have the same active syntactical characteristics like other verbal forms, i.e. they can have subject, object, adverbial modifier but not attribute, e.g.: *yāṉ kaṭavaliṉ* 12.4—5., *paṭar ceppal* 11.6—12.1. At the same time the following word-combinations have been found in the text *em maral* 136.7.—137.1. *em collal* 151.7.—152.1. where the verbal nouns have attributes like other substantives.

Since in the modern Tamil language the comparable verbal nouns have the same active syntactical characteristics as the substantives, it can be supposed that the transition started either in the time of origin of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* or earlier.

2. On the active syntactical characteristics of some adjectives of the analysed text.

Most of the adjectives of the analysed text have no subordination. But the adjective *arum* «difficult» 3.5. has an adverbial modifier (a substantive noun in general oblique case) *vīvu* 3.4. «for curing» (if we transform: *vīvukku arum*). The adjective noun *vallōn* 146.4. «he who is talented» which is formed from adjective *val* «talented» has an object (a substantive in nominative) *pālai* 146.3. «lute»; i.e. the active syntactical characteristics of these adjectives are similar to those of verbs.

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CHRONICA

LE Ier CONGRÈS DE LINGUISTIQUE TURQUE

Le Ier Congrès de Linguistique Turque organisé entre le 27 septembre et le 1er octobre 1972 à Ankara par Türk Dil Kurumu a été placé sous le signe d'un double anniversaire: il y a 900 ans, en 1072/73 naissait un des ouvrages encyclopédiques les plus importants des peuples turcs, le *Divanu Lûgat-it-Türk* de Mahmud Kâšγari, et il y a 40 ans, en 1932, était fondé le *Türk Dil Kurumu*, société appelée à jouer un rôle d'une importance fondamentale dans la réalisation de la réforme de la langue turque entreprise dans l'esprit de Kemal Atatürk ainsi que dans le développement de la linguistique turque.

Cette manifestation solennelle a réuni, en dehors des participants turcs, un grand nombre de turcologues venus de toutes les parties du monde. La session scientifique a duré trois jours. Les rapports des deux premiers jours ont été répartis entre trois groupes, tandis que la troisième journée était entièrement consacrée à Kâšγari.

Au programme de la section *Türkiye Türkçesi* étaient inscrits les problèmes des recherches relatives à l'ancien turc et à la langue moderne. Le premier exposé a traité de l'importance de la réforme de la langue turque et des tâches qui l'attendaient. Il fut suivi par des rapports présentant la question de l'unité linguistique turque, la formation des mots dans la langue moderne, l'influence du français dans la langue littéraire actuelle, les résultats des recherches statistico-phonologiques et d'autres problèmes linguistiques actuels. Les spécialistes de l'histoire de la langue se sont penchés sur des monuments littéraire et linguistiques turcs, tels que les oeuvres *Dede Korkut*, *Marzubanname*, *Süleymanname*, *Harname*, *Sultan Gavri* et *Mevlit*. Parmi les conférences traitant des dialectes turcs il faut en particulier mentionner celles qui étaient consacrée à Evliya Çelebi et aux dialectes turcs, ainsi que celles exposant les dialectes d'Anatolie, de Bulgarie et d'un groupe ethnique vivant en Grèce. C'est dans cette section que furent aussi discutés les problèmes de l'influence que la langue turque a exercée sur d'autres langues, comme par exemple le hongrois et l'albanais, ainsi que les éléments serbes attestés dans un kanunname des XVe—XVIe siècles.

Dans la section *Türkiye dışındaki Lehçeler* nous avons pu entendre des rapports sur les problèmes des langues anciennes et modernes apparentées au turc. Il faut signaler à ce propos la discussion sur les mots proto-turcs de la langue khalaǰ, sur les termes météorologiques et astrologiques de l'arméno-kiptchak et les mots d'origine comane encore attestés de nos jours dans la langue des Comans de Hongrie. Les langues turques parlées aujourd'hui, étaient représentées par les sujets suivants: rapports du gagauz et des dialectes turcs des Balkans, le problème de la syllabe dans l'azéri, la formation des mots dans le kazak, la situation de la langue tatare par rapport aux autres langues turques, problèmes de l'histoire de la langue turkmène.

Enfin le troisième groupe, le *Türk Dilinin Tümü* s'est surtout occupé des problèmes de la morphologie et de la syntaxe comparatives, ainsi par ex. du nom verbal adverbial,

des verbes auxiliaires, des mots composés, des propositions subordonnées et des propositions coordonnées. Parmi les rapports consacrés à la phonétique on retient en particulier pour la nouveauté de la méthode de travail le résumé des recherches sur l'état phonétique du *Kutadyu Bilig* menées à bien au moyen de machines électroniques. Par la suite il fut encore question de la disparition des consonnes turques en position initiale, des noms d'étoile d'origine arabe et des correspondances morphologiques dans le turc et le mongol.

Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, tous les rapports de la troisième journée ont été consacrés à Kâšγari et à son oeuvre. Les conférenciers se sont attachés à mettre en relief l'importance historique, linguistique et littéraire du *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*. L'un d'eux a examiné de manière approfondie les informations qu'il contrent relatives aux Oghouz, d'autres on établi des comparaisons entre la langue de Kâšγari, la langue des textes ouigours de Turfan et la langue de Nesimi. Signalons les exposés traitant des particularités phonétiques de Kâšγari, en premier lieu de la notation des voyelles longues, des mots composés et des termes religieux. Un rapport détaillés a permis aux auditeur de se faire une image des recherches concernant Kâšγari. C'est ici que nous mentionnerons que le *Türk Dil Kurumu* a, de son côté, dignement contribué à la commémoration de Kâšγari en publiant sous forme d'un volume séparé le lexique du *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk* et en lui consacrant un numéro entier du périodique *Türk Dili*. Le numéro en question contient d'intéressantes études traitant de Kâšγari et fait connaître sous forme d'extrait le numéro que la revue *Sovjetskaja Tjurkologija* a consacré en 1971 à l'écrivain turc.

A l'issue de la session scientifique, les participants turcs et étrangers ont déposé une couronne sur le monument funéraire de Kemal Atatürk, en signe de témoignage de leur respect pour ce grand fils du peuple turc qui, au milieu des innombrables soucis de la fondation du pays, a consacré une si grande attention à la création de la langue turque moderne.

Le travail scientifique a été suivi par une excursion de deux jours au cours de laquelle les participants du congrès ont eu la possibilité d'admirer les beautés naturelles et les monuments d'art de Göreme et de ses environs.

Le Ier Congrès de Linguistique Turque a pleinement assumé sa tâche tant au point de vue de la linguistique turque en Turquie qu'à celui de la turcologie internationale. Les turcologues hongrois félicitent le *Türk Dil Kurumu* de son activité et lui souhaitent beaucoup de succès dans la réalisation de son programme d'avenir.

Suzanne Kakuk

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CRITICA

[V. I. Rassadin, *La phonétique et le lexique du tofalar*] В. И. Рассадин, *Фонетика и лексика тофаларского языка.* Ответственный редактор Ц. Б. Цыдендамбаев. Бурятский Институт Общественных Наук. Бурятское Книжное Издательство. Улан-Удэ 1971. 251 P. 1, 49.

L'Institut Bouriate des Sciences Sociales (de la Filiale Bouriate de la Section Sibérienne de l'Ac. d. Sc. de l'U.R.R.S., Oulan-Oudé) dont l'activité dans le domaine des études orientales mériterait une publicité plus ample et plus internationale qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui, a publié une nouvelle monographie importante, consacrée à la langue turque d'un petit peuple vivant dans les montagnes des Saïans orientaux et de l'Altaï. Cette ethnie auparavant dite karagasse (quelques 560 personnes en 1959) porte l'ethnonyme tofalar ou, exactement, tofa (*тофа*), et appartient au groupe sibérien des ethnies turques. C'est ce groupe comprenant les Touvas (ou Soyotes), les Touba, les Turcs de l'Altaï (ou, selon une terminologie qui s'est prouvée éphémère, les Oyrotes), les Turcs d'Abakan (Xaas ou Khakass selon la fausse interprétation de la prononciation tardive du nom chinois des anciens Kirghiz; Šor, Sagaï etc.), les Turcs ouriankhaï de la Mongolie du Nord-Ouest et certaines autres ethnies «tatares» (p. e. les Tatars de Čulym), dont il y a au moins cinq siècles, se séparèrent les Yakoutes qui, avec des clans mongols (surtout bouriates) et tongouses alliés, marchèrent le long de la Léna vers le Nord.

Les particularités des langues turques de Sibérie, les archaïsmes et les innovations de leurs grammaires, leurs rapports particuliers avec le mongol et avec certaines langues sibériennes et paléosibériennes, ainsi que l'histoire des peuples qui les parlent ou les parlaient, ont été étudiées depuis longtemps; on peut consulter une série de dictionnaires, de grammaires traitant de ces langues qui ont reçu leurs formes écrites (latines ou cyrilliques) après la formation de l'Union soviétique, on peut consulter les nombreuses études spéciales concernant des problèmes des langues littéraires et parlées, vivantes et mortes ou en voie de disparition, mais, comme il est prouvé aussi par le livre de Valentin Rassadin, le domaine sibérien des peuples et des langues turcs nous offre toujours des nouveaux renseignements précieux pour l'étude de l'histoire des langues altaïques et pour l'éclaircissement des rapports interethniques des peuples sibériens.

Dans l'introduction (pp. 4—9), M. Rassadin donne les renseignements d'une haute importance à propos de l'histoire et de l'état actuel des Tofalar, avec une brève esquisse de l'histoire des recherches linguistiques et ethnographiques (Pallas et Georgi qui vîrent encore les Karagasses samoièdes, XVIIIe siècle; Castrén, Katanov, Radloff, Dyrenkova, Baskakov, Diószegi et autres). M. Rassadin distingue ici deux

variantes territoriales de la langue tofalar; celles-ci, le parler des Tofa du village de Verchnjaja Gutara et le parler du village de Alygdžer, ne diffèrent que légèrement.

L'analyse phonétique (pp. 15—70) qui est surtout descriptive, mais non sans certaines remarques comparatives, traite la différence des notations phonétiques de Castrén, de Katanov et de Dyrenkova, l'accent et l'intonation nasalisée, contient la classification et la description minutieuse des phonèmes et de leurs allophones, de l'harmonie vocalique, des alternances et des changements combinatoires ainsi que des autres phénomènes phonétiques. L'auteur suit la classification de Ščerba et le système de transcription de Nadeljaev; cette transcription peut sembler un peu compliquée ou bien étrange au lecteur familiarisé avec d'autres systèmes généralement employés, mais il est certain que le système adopté dans ce livre peut également refléter les sons de la langue en question.

Dans l'analyse du lexique (pp. 71—145) l'auteur sépare les mots d'origine turque (éléments turcs communs, turcs particuliers, anciens turcs et turco-mongols) et les mots non-turcs du tofalar: les lexèmes d'origine inconnue qui sont attestés dans les autres langues turques sibériennes, les lexèmes particuliers du tofalar; les mots correspondant aux vocables samoièdes, ketois ou tongouses; les emprunts faits aux langues mongoles (moyen mongol, ancien et nouveaux bouriate, oïrate), les emprunts russes, surtout récents et, pour cette raison, très informatifs pour l'étude de la phonologie du tofalar. Un chapitre de cette partie présente les traits sémantique: la polysémie et les changements sémantiques, la synonymie, l'homonymie et l'antonymie, le tabou et les euphémismes.

Le sommaire (pp. 146—147) des conclusions tirées des deux parties termine l'étude proprement dite, mais les appendices, particulièrement le glossaire, qui occupent quelques 90 p. ne sont pas moins intéressants que les chapitres précédents.

Le glossaire intitulé «Vocabulaire étymologique des mots radicaux du tofalar contemporain» renferme 1300 vocables environ, presque chaque mot est accompagné des données comparatives qui assurent ou suggèrent l'étymologie. Deux petits morceaux folkloriques, un conte sur le renard qui tue un ours et deux loups, et un autre texte qui contient la légende de «l'homme sur la Lune» (un orphelin ravis par le génie de la Lune) représentent la prose tofalar (Textes, pp. 241—243). Dans le reste on trouve une bibliographie (pp. 244—246) et la liste des abréviations (pp. 247—249).

Parmi les traits particuliers du tofalar que M. Rassadin compte, avec raison, la pharyngalisation (c.-à-d. l'articulation pharyngienne) de certaines voyelles. Ce phénomène qui se retrouve dans le touva, dans le salar et dans la langue des Ouigours jaunes et qui est inconnu dans la plupart des langues turques vivantes, se présente ici comme la prononciation d'une voyelle brève faisant l'impression d'une articulation entrecoupé, quasi avec une voix étouffée ou contenue et terminé par une sorte d'aspiration, p.e. [ɑъˣq] «coule !», [sɔъˣq] «bats !», [b̥aъˣq] «vois !». D'ailleurs le phénomène ne se manifeste que dans la première syllabe. D'après la description phonétique ces voyelles brèves et pharyngalisées peuvent être opposées aux voyelles brèves ou longues sans pharyngalisation, en même temps que les voyelles pharyngalisées ne sont attestées que devant les consonnes fortes et sourdes, dont elles sont ainsi inséparables.

Quant au touva, la nouvelle langue littéraire ne marque la pharyngalisation que dans certains mots monosyllabiques qui pourraient être confondus avec les mots quasi-homophones non-pharyngalisés, mais le *Tïva-orus slovarj*, dictionnaire touva-russe, réd. Ê. R. Tenišev (Moscou 1968) la rend par le signe dur et surtout dans les cas où il s'agit des paires pharyngalisée — non-pharyngalisée:

aʿt «cheval» (**at*)
aʿs- «pendre» (**as-*)
aʿžar (*aʿš-*) «ouvrir» (**ač-*)
aʿš «aliment» (**aš*)
baʿk «mauvais» (*bagay* id.)
biʿs «nous» (*s* sécondaire, **biz*)
daʿš «une sorte de poisson» (*?)

dü̈ʿš «midi» (**tüš*) mais, sans pair homographe, *düšte-* «déjeuner»
kaʿdar (*kaʿt-*) «déssécher» (**qat-*)
kaʿdagala- «avoir des furoncles» (<*ka*[ʿ]-*daga*, mong. *qatagi*)
kaʿdïk «bouilli» (**qatïγ*, cf. trkm. *gatïk*)

kaʿt «couche» (**qat*)

keʿdēr «suivre furtivement» (mong. *gete-*)
keʿžē «diligent» (cf. mong. *kičiye-* et touv. *kičēŋi*)
keʿzer (*keʿs-*) «couper» (**käs-*)

keʿzēr «être remise à sa place, être blâmé» (mong. *kesege-*)
koʿdan «cour, campement, . . .» (mong. *qota*, *qotan*)

koʿnču- «maudire» (*?)
köʿdē «douce et ronde excroissance sur le corps» (cf. mong. *köteger* «une bosse sur la poitrine» et atu. MK *kötki* «colline»?)

köʿk «racine» (**kök*)
köʿktēr «relier (p.e. une brochure)»
köʿstelir, pass. du verbe *köʿstēr* «confondre» (cf. trkm. *kösä-*)
köʿstür «tendre (les pieds)» (**kös-*)
köʿškün «nomade» (**köč-*)
kïʿš «hiver» (**qïš*, cf. trkm. *kïš*, yak. *kïs*)
oʿk «flèche» (**oq*)
oʿt «herbe» (**ot*)
eʿt «viande» (**ät*)
čaʿžït «secret» (**yaš-*, cf. yak. *sas-*)
čaʿsār «raboter» (**yas-* dans *yasyaγ* «plat»)
čaʿsār «châtrer» (**yasa-*, mong. *ǰasa-*)

at «nom» (**ad* < **āt*)
as- «errer» (**āz-*)
ažar (*aš-*) «traverser» (**āš-*)
aš «faim» (**āč*)
bak «district» (mong. *bay*)
bis «tranchant» (**bī*, cf. yak. *bī*)
daš «pierre» (**tāš*)
daštï «extérieure», sans pair homographe, probablement < *daʿš-* (**taš*)
düš «sommeil» (**tūš*)

kadar «paître» (*?)
kadagala- «conserver» (mong. *qadayala-*)

kadïk «santé» (**qadïγ*, cf. soyot *qazïq*, Radl. II, 320)
kas «rive» (**qāš*)
kat «baie» (**qat*, mong. *qad*)
kat «beau-père» (cf. **qadïn*)
kedēr «à côté» (**kät*, *käd* «bout, fin»)
kežē «soir» (**kāčä*, yak. *kiähä*)

kezer (*kes-*) «faire le tour (la chasseur, en observant les pièges, etc.)» (**käz-*)
kezēr «couper (le bout de la flèche)» (**käz-*)

kodan «lièvre» (?cf. mong. *γodoyi-*, le verbe du mouvement d'une queue courte, etc.; kara-soyan *ag-godan*, kaz. *quyan*)
končču- «tromper» (*?)
ködē «village, province» (mong. *ködege*)

kök «bleu» (**kōk*)
köktēr «brouter l'herbe jeune»
köstelir «charbonner» (cf. trkm. *kōzä-*)

köstür «se montrer» (**köz-*)
köškün «vieille femme» (mong. *kögsin*)

ok kadalïr «faillir la tête en bas» (*?)
ot «feu» (**ōt*)
et «chose, objet» (**äd*)
čažït «du même âge» (**yāš*)

čazar (*čas-*) «se tromper» (**yāz-*)
čazar (*čas-*) «déplier» (**yaz-*)

čaˆldanïr «éviter» (cf. yak. *salt-* «ennuyer»)

čaˆs «tombac» (*?)
čaˆstïr «exploser» (**yas-*)
čaˆskār «frapper» (**yasya-*)
čaˆtkï «plâtre» (cf. **yaq-* et *yaqïγ*)
čaˆš «natte» (**sač*)

čoˆktār «mouvoir vers le haut» (**yoqla-*)

čöˆp «avoir la force de régler son compte» (*?)
čöˆp «la partie dense (du bouillon)» (cf. yak. *söŋ* «dense»?)
čüˆk «fardeau, somme» (**yük*)

čaldanïr «se former (la graisse du cou de cheval)» (cf. yak. *sāl* «la graisse de la partie supérieure du cou du cheval»)
čas «printemps» (**yāz*)
častïr «se déplier» (**yaz-*)
časkār «vers le printemps»
čatkï «tapis» (cf. **yad-* «dérouler»)
čaš «larmes» (**yāš*)
čaš «jeune» (**yāš*)
češ- «dénouer» (**šeš-*)
čoktār «remarquer l'absence de qq ou de qc» (**yōq*, cf. yak. *suoxtā-*)
čöp «correctement; vrai» (mong. *ǰöb*)

čük «direction» (mong. *ǰüg*)

Dans l'orthographe latine du touva, les voyelles pharyngalisées des monosyllabes étaient rendues par le doublement de la lettre, p.e. *keeş* «peau», mais *keşter*, plur. (aujourd'hui *keš*), *kbbş* «hiver», mais *kbzbn* «en hiver». Dans les formes polysyllabiques elle n'étaient marquées que dans les formes suivantes: *paazb* «sa tête», nom. *paaş* (aujourd'hui *baš*), *aadb* «son cheval» (*aat*), *eedi* «sa viande» (*eet*), *oodu* «son herbe» (*oot*), commes opposables aux formes *pazb* «sa tasse de fer» (*paş*), *adb* «son nom» (*at*), *edi* «son objet» (*et*), *odu* «son feu» (*ot*). En 1937 les formes *pahş*, *ahd* etc. ont remplacé *paaş*, *aadb* etc. et c'est dès 1941 que le signe dur marque l'articulation pharyngienne, comme il est dit dans la grammaire touva de F. G. Ischakov et de A. A. Paljmbach (*Grammatika tuvinskogo jazyka*; *Fonetika i morfologija*, Moscou 1961, pp. 23—26). Selon ces auteurs l'articulation pharyngienne du touva peut représenter la trace d'une consonne disparue.

Néanmoins les paires énumérées plus haut suggèrent une autre solution. Une partie des mots cités sont d'origine mongole où l'articulation pharyngienne, une sorte d'aspiration, apparaît devant les consonnes qui sont ou étaient aspirées dans le mongol. Une autre partie des mots d'origine turque ou d'origine mongole contiennent une consonne finale sourde secondaire qui remonte à une consonne faible ou douce, ainsi la pharyngalisation n'a pas lieu, p.e. *et* < *äd*, *čöp* < *ǰöb*. Une partie des mots reste sans étymologie sure, mais, comme il est brillamment prouvé par M. A. M. Ščerbak dans sa *Sravniteljnaja fonetika tjurkskich jazykov* (Leningrad 1970, pp. 42—46, 54), la plupart des monosyllabes d'origine turque montre une distribution des voyelles pharyngalisées et non-pharyngalisées qui coïncide avec la distribution des anciennes brèves et longues.

Le même état, la coexistence de «la pharyngalisation mongole» et de «la pharyngalisation turque», est attesté dans le tofalar, mais ici, grâce à la notation minutieuse de M. Rassadin, on peut également observer la différence des consonnes finales, des sourdes fortes et des sourdes faibles, qui suivent les voyelles en question. La solution aurait été offerte par les données comparatives de M. Rassadin, mais, victime de l'orthographe actuelle de la langue littéraire turkmène, il n'a pas noté les longueurs des mots turkmènes.

C'est surtout pour des raisons techniques que dans la liste suivante des mots en question, j'ai simplifié la transcription de M. Rassadin en la rapprochant d'une transcription phonologique.

aʿk- «couler» (**aq-*, touv. *ak-* [!], trkm. *ak-*)

aĸ «blanc» (**āq*, touv. *ak*, trkm. *āk*)

arт «col, passage» (**ārt*, touv. *art*, trkm. *ārt*, yak. *ārtük*)

art- [!] «rester, être superflu» (**art-*, touv. *aʿrt-*, trkm. *art-*, yak. *ort-*)

arтiš «genèvrier» (**artuč*, touv. *artiš*, osm. *ardıç*; **ā*?)

aʿs- «pendre» (**as-*, touv. *aʿs-*, trkm. *as-*)

aѕ- «errer» (**āz-*, touv. *as-*, trkm. *āz-*)

aʿš- «ouvrir» (**ač-*, touv. *aʿžar* (*aš-*, trkm. *ač-*, yak. *as-*)

aš «faim» (**āč*, touv. *aš*, trkm. *āč*, yak. *ās*)

aš «aliment», toujours dans le composé *aš ñem*, <*aʿš* (**aš*, touv. *aʿš čem*, trkm. *aš*, yak. *as*)

aš-«traverser» (**āš-*, touv. *aš-*, trkm. *āč-*, yak. *ās-*)

aʿt «cheval» (**at*, touv. *aʿt*, trkm. *at*, yak. *at*)

aт «nom» (**āt*, touv. *at*, trkm. *āt*, yak. *āt*)

aʿt- «lancer (des flèches)» (**at-*, touv. *aʿt-*, trkm. *at-*, yak. *ït-*)

baʿk «mauvais», cf. *baħay* id., touv. *baʿk*, *bagay*

baʿk- «regarder» (**baq-*, touv. *bakïla-*, trkm. *bak-*)

baʿs- «presser» (**bas-*, touv. *ba*[ʿ]*s-*, trkm. *bas-*, yak. *battā-*)

baš «blessure» (**bāš*, touv. *paš*, trkm. *bāš*, yak. *bās*)

baʿš «tête» (**baš*, touv. *ba*[ʿ]*š*, trkm. *baš*, yak. *bas*)

beʿk «fort, solide» (**bäk*, touv. *bek*[!], yak. *bige*, trkm. *bek*)

beʿrt «excellent, bon» (**bärk*, touv., yak. *bert*, trkm. *berk*)

beš «cinq» (**bēš*, touv. *beš*, trkm. *bāš*, yak. *bies*)

biʿs «nous» (**biz*, trkm. *biδ*, touv. *biʿs*, yak. *bihigi*)

bïʿs «neige fine» (touv. *bïskan*)

boʿš «vide» (**boš*, touv. *bošk*[!], trkm. *boš*)

bȯʿrt «chapeau» (**börk*, touv. *bört*)

bȯš «cedre» (touv. *pöš*, alt. *möš*, yak. *bes*)

buт «pied» (**būt*, touv. *but*, trkm. *būt*, yak. *būt*)

büʿt- «se terminer; finir» (**büt-*, touv. *büt-*[!], trkm. *bit-*, yak. *büt-*, cf. encore tof. *büʿtün* «entier»)

čaʿpal «rate» (touv. *čïʿval*)

čaʿpkïš «chauve-souris» (cf. mong. *ǰib*?)

časa- [*-s-*?] «faire; châtrer» (cf. touv. *čaʿsa-*)

čaʿs (*sõ*~*k*) «os» (**yas söŋük*)

čaт- «étendre, dérouler» (**yad*, touv. *čat-*, trkm. *yaδ-*)

čäʿhän «colonne de la tente» (touv. todž. *čaʿyan*)

čeʿhe «combien» (**näčä*)

čeʿš «cheveux» (**sač*, touv. *čaʿš*, trkm. *sač*, yak. *as*)

čeʿt- «poursuivre» (**yet-*, touv. *čeʿt-*, trkm. *ät-*, yak. *sit-*)

čeт- «conduire» (**yet-*, touv. *čet-*, yak. *siet-*)

čïʿt- «se coucher» (**yat-*, touv. *čït-*[!], trkm. *yat-*, yak. *sit-*)

čït «odeur» (**yïδ*, touv. *čït*, trkm. *ïθ*, yak. *sït*)

čoʿk- «se transmettre (maladie)» (**yuq-*, trkm. *yok-*)

čoʿkta- «aller contre le parcours» (**yoqla-*, touv. *čoʿkta-*)

čoт- «extirper» (**yod-*, touv. *čot-*, yak. *sot-*)

čȯʿqrä «écorce des arbres conifères» (touv. *čövürē*[!])

čuĸ «résine» (touv. *čuk*)

čuʿrt [!] «charpente de la tente» (**yūrt*, touv. *čurt*, trkm. *yūrt*, yak. *tūrt*)

daʿhirgan «Ochotona» (touv. *dažïrgan*)

daʿškārï «hors», *daʿštïn* «du dehors» (**taš*, touv. *taš-* [!], trkm. *taš*)

daš «pierre» (**tāš*, touv. *daš*, trkm. *dāš*, yak. *tās*)

dazïl «arbre extirpé» (touv. *dazïl*, sagaï *tazïlga*, cf. mong. *tasul-*)

deʿs «le sang noir qui coule de la blessure» (touv. *des* [!] «caillot du sang»)

des- «s'enfuir» (**täz-*, touv. *des-*, trkm. *deδ-*)

deˇš- «percer» (**täš-*, touv. *deš-*, trkm. *deš-*, yak. *tes-*)

diʒ- «enfiler» (**tiz-*, touv. *dis-*, yak. *tis*)

diš «dent» (**tiš*, touv. *diš*, trkm. *diš*, yak. *tis*)

dïr- «carder la laine» (**tīt-*, touv. *dït-*, yak. *tīt-*)

doʒ «écorce de bouleau» (**tōz*, touv. *toˇs*, yak. *tuos*)

doˇš «glace» (touv. *doš*, yak. *tohō-*)

doš «cerf» (touv. *toš*, tat. sib. *tuxïš*)

dor- «se rassasier» (touv. *tod-*, yak. *tot-*)

dört «quatre» (**tȫrt*, touv. *dört*, trkm. *dȫrt*, yak. *tüört*)

döʒ «racine principale» (**töz*, touv. *dös*)

duʒ «sel» (**tūz*, touv. *dus*, trkm. *dūð*, yak. *tuus*)

duš «vis-à-vis; occasion» (**tūš*, touv. *duš*, trkm. *dūš*; yak. *tus* < mong. *tus*)

dušag [!] «entraves» (**tušay*, touv. *duˇžag*, trkm. *dušak*, yak. *tuhax*)

dusa «aide» (mong. *tusa*, touv. *duza*, yak. *tuha*; turc *tusu*)

dȕʁ «cheveux» (**tüg*, touv. *düg*, yak. *tüü*, trkm. *tüy*)

dȕʒ «égal, plat» (**tüz*, trkm. *düz*, yak. *tüs*)

dȕš [!] «midi» (**tüš*, touv. *düˇš*)

dȕš «rêve, songe» (**tūš*, touv. *düš*, trkm. *düyš*, yak. *tūl*)

dȕˇš- «tomber, descendre» (**tüš-*, touv. *düš-*, trkm. *düš-*, yak. *tüs-*)

eˇtiski «appeau pour attirer le kabarga» (touv. *ediskï*[!])

eˇkki[!] «bon» (**ädgü*, touv. *eki*, trkm. *ey* dans *ey gör-*, yak. *ütüö*)

eˇpši «femelle» (**äbči*, mong. *ebsi*)

ep «comforte» (<mong. *eb*)

eˇrt- «passer auprès» (**ärt-*, touv. *ert-*, cf. yak. *ert-* «ramer»)

eˇs- «enlever, retirer la bouillie» (touv. *es-*, yak. *es-*)

eˇsir «aigle» (touv. *ezir*, cf. yak. *esir*)

eˇsiri- «s'enivrer» (**äsür-*, touv. *eziri-*, yak. *itir-*)

eˇš- «ramer» (**äš-*, touv. *eš-* [!], cf. yak. *es-*)

eš [!] «ami, compagnon» (**eš*, touv. *eš*)

eški [!] «femelle du kabarga» (**äčkü* «chèvre», touv. *öškü*)

eˇt «viande» (**ät*, touv. *eˇt*, yak. *et*, trkm. *et*)

eˇt- «prononcer un son» (**ät-*, touv. *ät-*[!], yak. *et-*)

eʀ- «fermer la porte» (néo-ouig. *ät-* «fermer»)

haš «pente» (**qāš* «bout, rive», yak. *xās*)

haš «(peau) sans poils» (touv. *xaš*)

heš [!] «carquois» (**keš*, touv. todž. *xeš*, yak. *kehex*)

hokaš «veau dans sa première année» (cf. touv. *xokaš*)

iʒ «trace, empreinte» (**iz*, touv. *is*, trkm. *iδ*)

iˇsˇig «chaud» (**isig*, touv. *izig*, trkm. *ïϑϑï*, yak. *itī*)

iš «chose, travail» (**īš*, touv. *iš*, trkm. *īš*, yak. *īs*)

iš- [!] «boir» (**ič-*, touv. *iš-*, trkm. *ič-*, yak. *is-*)

iˇškāri «l'intérieure» (**ičkärü*, touv. *iškēr*, trkm. *ič*, yak. *is*)

iˇt- «pousser» (**it-*, touv. *it-*[!], trkm. *it-*)

ïˇrt «rang supérieure des religieux» (**ïrq*, le yakoute *ïra* est un emprunt fait au mong. *iro*, *iro-a*)

ïš- «enfler» (**šïš-*, touv. *ïš-*, trkm. *čïš*, yak. *is-*)

ïˇt «chien» (**it*, alt. *iyt*, touv., yak. *ït*, trkm. *it*)

ït- «envoyer» (**ïd-*, touv. *ït-*, trkm. *ïy-*, yak. *īt-*)

kaˇhar- «blanchir» (touv. *kazarar*)

kaˇhin «quand» (**qačan*, touv. *kažan*, trkm. *kačan*, yak. *xahan*)

kaˇhik «cuiller» (**qašïq*, trkm. *kašïk*)

kaˇp- «saisir (par le bec, au vol)» (**qap-*, touv. *kap-*, trkm. *gap-*, yak. *xap-*)

kaˇk- «frapper, battre» (**qaq-*, touv. *xak-*, trkm. *kak-*)

kaʒ «oie» (**qāz*, touv. *kas*, trkm. *gāδ*, yak. *xās*)

kaʒ- «creuser» (**qaz-*, touv. *kas-*, trkm. *gaδ-*, yak. *xahïy-*) *kïhïy-*,

kaˇstïn «tempe» (touv. *kastïk*)

kaˇsïrgï «tourbillon» (**qasïrqu*, touv. *kazïrgï*

kaˇš «combien» (**qač*, touv. *kaš*, trkm. *gač*, yak. *xas*)

kaʿt «couche» (**qat*, touv. *kaʿt*, trkm. *gat*, yak. *kat*)

kaʿt- «tordre» (**qat-*, touv. *kat-*[!], trkm. *gat-*, yak. *kïtar*)

kaʿt- «dessécher» (**qat-*, touv. *kat-* [!], trkm. *gata-*, yak. *xat-*), cf. encore *kaʿtïg* «solide»

kaT «vent» (**qad*, touv. *xat*, trkm. *gay*)

kaT «baie» (**qat*, touv. *kat*, mong. *qad*)

keje «soir» (**käčä*, touv. *kežē*, trkm. *gïje*, yak. *kiehe*)

kejir [!] «cartilage» (**kečir*?, touv. todž. *xečir*, touv. *kegjir* etc.)

keʿs- «couper» (**kes-*, touv. *kes-*, trkm. *kes-*, yak. *kïs-*)

keS- «errer, vagabonder» (**käz-*, touv. *kes-*, trkm. *geð-*)

keʿš- «traverser, passer» (**käč-*, touv. *keš-*, trkm. *geč-*, yak. *kes-*)

keT- «mettre (vêtement, chaussure)» (**käd-*, touv. yak. *ket-*, trkm. *gey-*)

kiǰi- [!] «démanger» (**kiči-*, touv. *kiži-*, yak. *kïhïy-*, trkm. *gïǰïg*, mong. *giǰig*, *giǰigde-*)

kiši [!] «homme» (**kiši*, touv., alt. *kiži*, trkm. *kiši*, yak. *kihi*)

kïʿp- «brûler, flamber» (touv. *kïʿp-*, tat. *kap-*)

kïʿs- «presser, serrer» (**qïs-*, touv. *kïs-*, trkm. *gïð-*, yak. *kïhay-*), mais cf. *kïsga* «bref» et *kïʿsïl* «défilé»

kïs- «rougir» (**qïz-*, touv. *kïs-*, trkm. *gïð-*, yak. *kïs-*)

kïS «fille» (**qïz*, touv. *kïs*, trkm. *gïð*, yak. *kïs*)

kïʿš «hiver» (**qïš*, touv. *kïʿš*, trkm. *gïš*, yak. *kïhïŋ*)

kop «racontar» (< mong. *qob*)

koʿrt- «avoir peur» (**qorq-*, touv. *kort-*, yak. *kort-*, trkm. *gork-*)

koʿš «paire» (**qoš*, touv. *koš*, trkm. *goš*, yak. *xos*)

koʿš- «coudre (les chaussures)» (**qoš-*, touv. *koš-*[!], trkm. *goš-*)

kȯK «bleu» (**kȭk*, touv. *kök*, trkm. *gȭk*, yak. *küöx*)

köʿp «beaucoup» (**köp*, touv. *xöy*[!], trkm. *köp*) = *kȯʿφȯy*

kȯʿš nom et verbe de la migration nomade (**köč*, touv. *köš*, trkm. *göč*, yak. *kös*)

kuʿφa «litière ou sous-trait de fines branches des conifères» (touv. todž. *kuʿga*)

kuʿrt «insecte» (**qurt*, touv. *kurt* [!], trkm. *gurt*, yak. *kurd'ak*)

kuʿš «nom d'un oiseau» (**quš*, touv. *kuʿš*, trkm. *guš*, yak. *kus*)

küker «soufre» (< mong. *kükür*)

küS «automne» (**kǖz*, touv. *küs*, trkm. *güyð*, yak. *kühüŋ*)

kuš «force, vigueur» (**kǖč*, touv. *küš*, trkm. *güyč*, yak. *kǖs*)

oʿħuk «кухта» (touv. *oʿžuk* «снег (на сучьях деревьев)»)

oǰuk «trépied» (**očuq*, touv. *ožuk*, trkm. *oǰak*, yak. *ohox*)

oʿk «boule» (**oq*, touv. *oʿk*, trkm. *ok*, yak. *ox* «flèche»)

oT «feu» (**ōt*, touv. *ot*, trkm. *ōt*, yak. *uot*)

oʿt «herbe» (**ot*, touv. *oʿt*, trkm. *ot*, yak. *ot*)

ȯʿhün «épaule» (**ušun*, touv. *öžün*)

ȯʿrt «incendie (de forêt)» (**ört* «feu», touv. *ört* [!], trkm. *ört*, yak. *ört*)

ȯʿš- «éteindre» (**öč-*, touv. *öš-*, trkm. *öč-*)

ȯš «vengeance» (**ȭč*, touv. *öč*, trkm. *ȭč*; yak. *ös* < mong.)

ȯʿt- «traverser, se glisser par» (**öt-*, touv. *öt-*[!], trkm. *öt-*)

ȯT «bile» (**ȭt*, touv. *öt*, trkm. *ȭt*, yak. *üös*)

paK «gueule; joue» (touv. *pak*)

paš «vaisseau, vaisselle» (touv. *paš*)

saʿt- «vendre» (**sat-*, touv. *sat-*[!], trkm. *sat-*, cf. yak. *atïk*)

soʿk- «frapper à mort» (**soq-*, touv., trkm. *sok-*)

süT «lait» (**sǖt*, touv. *süt*, trkm. *süyt*, yak. *ǖt*)

šiš[!] «fuseau» (**šiš*, touv. *šiš*, trkm. *čiš*)

taʿpta- «fouler (aux pieds)» (cf. mong. *dabta-*?)

teʿp- «fouler» (**täp-*, touv. *tep-*, trkm. *dep-*)

topʿok «rotule» (**topïq*, touv. *dovuk*, trkm. *topuk*, yak. *tobuu*)

toˁprak «poussière» (**topraq*, touv. *dovurak*, yak. *toburax*, trkm. *toprak*)

toˁk «large» (**toq* «satisfié», alt. *tok*, trkm. *dok*)

töˁk- «verser» (**tök-*, touv. id., trkm. *dök-*)

tükkü «chien» (péjor.) (**tükü* «appel à un petit de chien»)

uˁs- «puiser» (touv. *uˁs-*, néo-ouig. *us-*, cf. mong. *udqu-*?)

us «maître» (**ūz*, touv. *us*, yak. *ūs*)

uˁš- «voler» (oiseau) (**uč-*, touv. *uš-*[!], trkm. *uč-*)

üš «bout» (**üč*, touv. *uš*, trkm. *üč*, yak. *uhun*)

C'est dire que la pharyngalisation des langues turques est surtout un phénomène combinatoire qui appartient plutôt à la consonne forte (aspirée) ou jadis forte suivant la première voyelle; ce phénomène du touva et du tofalar ne se montre phonématique que dans un nombre restreint de mots opposables. Dans le touva une partie de ces mots présente une alternance (pharyngalisation + consonne faible) ~ (± pharyngalisation + consonne forte) qui peut être considérée comme un paradigme phonétique qui réduit le caractère phonématique de la pharyngalisation.

Certains mots «pharyngalisés» n'ont pas encore d'étymologies sures, mais un groupe des mots opposables montre assez clairement l'ancienne opposition des voyelles longues et brèves (pour le touva v. chez M. Ščerbak) qui eut pour résultat dans le tofalar la bifurcation forte contre faible de la finale forte des monosyllabes. La pharyngalisation n'apparaît pas dans une voyelle qui remonte à une longue (mais elle peut disparaître ou ne pas apparaître même dans les voyelles brèves suivies d'une consonne forte ou apparaître devant une consonne forte sécondaire.

L'articulation pharyngienne est également attestée dans certains emprunts mongols où elle doit être due à la «pharyngalisation» de la syllabe mongole. Cette pharyngalisation (qui toutefois ne se présente pas devant toutes les anciennes fortes des emprunts en question) n'est rien d'autre que l'effet de l'aspiration qui entoure la consonne (jadis) initiale de la deuxième syllabe. C'est cette aspiration qui cause la «pharyngalisation», c.-à-d. l'articulation sourde ou media de la voyelle brève qui la précède et la «préparation» à l'aspiration a pour résultat la différence de l'initiale non-aspirée des mots sans ou avec une aspirée à l'initiale de la deuxième syllabe, voici p.e. la différence des initiales et des voyelles des mots khalkha dans une prononciation emphatique: *bal* (*Bbâl*^{L}) «miel» et *bat* (*Bᴀˁt*) «solide» (cf. encore Š. Luvsanvandan: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII, 179sq). L'aspiration perd son effet à l'initiale si la première voyelle est longue; ce fait est bien attesté dans les dialectes mongols où se manifeste la loi des deux aspirées. (Dans le mongol même une nasale peut empêcher l'effet de l'aspirée suivante qui s'explique par le fait qu'ici l'aspiration doit partir par le nez; dans le touva on trouve la pharyngalisation même devant une *n*, p.e. *koˁnču-* «maudire», mais cette nasale est probablement secondaire, ?cf. bour. *xolšor* «déréglé; moquerie», kalm. Ö *xolčr* «verschwenderisch, leichtsinnig» [Ramstedt], tofalar *hirinsā*, russ. крыльцó, tofalar *tīsičči*, *tīsinči*, russe *múcяча*, yak. *tīhinča* où la nasale est due à l'affriquée étrangère.)

Pour la pharyngalisation du salar je cite M.Ê.R. Tenišev (*Sur le folklore et la langue des Salars*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV, p. 264, §5) qui dit que «la lettre *h* après les voyelles, indique le caractère pharyngien . . . Cette particularité s'explique par la présence des consonnes aspirées . . . On trouve aussi des voyelles pharyngalisées dans la langue des Sarygouigours et des Touviniens, c'est à dire dans les langues ayant des consonnes aspirées», cf. encore Ê. R. Tenišev et B. Ch. Todaeva, *Jazyk želtych ujgurov*, p. 12: *kö'p* «beaucoup», *a't* «cheval», *o't* «herbe», *o'kus* «vache», *a'k-* «couler», *o'k* «flèche», *te'te* «il a dit» et les textes de S. E. Malov (*Jazyk želtych ujgurov*, Moscou 1967): *yške köᶻken* «deux agneaux» (160), *ïške*

«deux» (162), *oˣt* «feu», *saˣqïs* «huit» (160), *ĕšt* (166), *ïšt* (169) «chien», *pĕr šăza bīs kīse yaˣtu-tro* «dans la caisse il y a cinq hommes» (164; *bir*, 匣子 *hia-tseu*, *bēš*, *kiši*, *yat-*), *kīse* (170), *teˣti* «il a dit» (16, 173), *ke'l'tᶜe* «il est venu», *araˣqï* «vin» (13, 171), *ï't*, *īt* «viande» (13, 205), *aˣt* «cheval» (211, 213), *at* «nom» (5, 7, 8, 184) etc.

M. Rassadin signale qu'en Sibérie, hors de la famille des langues turques, la pharyngalisation est connue dans le ketois et dans le lamoute, mais pas encore dans les langues samoièdes (p. 22; il cite ici l'opinion de M. Nadeljaev, selon laquelle le phénomène en question est le résultat d'un substrat samoiède ou d'une autre langue). Quant au samoiède, le nenec, pareillement au ketois, a également des plosives pharyngiennes, mais dans ces langues qui représentent les groupes tongous, ouralien et paléosibérien la distribution de l'articulation pharyngienne diffère essentiellement de l'état qui caractérise le touva ou le tofalar.

Le glossaire tofalar de M. Rassadin abonde en mots particuliers qui ne sont pas enregistrés dans les autres langues turques ou qui sont propres au groupe sibérien. Parmi les «mots sans famille» on lit des termes relatifs à l'élevage du renne, à la chasse, des noms des animaux sauvages, des plantes etc. (pp. 88—91: le lexique d'origine inconnue, ici on trouve certains mots omis dans le glossaire, p.e. *čeᶜkpe* «champignon» et *čeᶜkpe* «gluton», pour le dernier cf. mong. *ǰegeken*, *ǰigege*, kalm. *zēkn*, Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*). Pour *ńiŋge* «mince» cf. mong. *nimgen*, mod. mong. *ńimgen*, *ńiŋgen*, pour *merhe* «canne» cf. atu. *bärgä*, mong. *beriye*, pour *haš* «chauve» cf. tu. *qašya* et mong. *qalǰan*, pour *ōda* «très» cf. encore mong. *oyoyata*, oïr. *oyōto*, pour *edirā̄* «кожемялка» cf. kalm. *edrŋ* (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*).

La riche monographie de M. Rassadin évoque une série de problèmes relatifs à la phonétique historique (p.e. la bifurcation forte—faible des anciennes initiales fortes), à la phonologie synchronique (p.e. la distribution et la fréquence des divers phonèmes, les phonèmes «libres» figurant dans n'importe quelle position et les phonèmes «liés», déterminés par leurs positions, le caractère et les limites des oppositions, cf. l'opposition vélaire—palatale qui ne s'étend pas aux consonnes gutturales qui s'opposent comme fortes et faibles ou plosives et fricatives) et au lexique (p.e. la date des diverses couches des emprunts mongols, les anciens éléments bouriates et moyen mongols dans les langues turques de la Sibérie, l'étymologie des mots «sans famille», les traces des substrats), mais ce compte rendu est déjà trop long et je le termine avec l'espoir que M. Rassadin nous présentera les résultats de ses nouvelles études sur les langues turques de la Sibérie du Sud, dont l'importance a été soulignée cette fois par son livre consacré au tofalar.

G. Kara

ILHAN BAŞGÖZ *Turkish Folklore Reader*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, volume 120. Published by Indiana University, Bloomington, Mouton & Co., The Hague. [1971]

Ever since its establishment one of the major objectives of the Uralic and Altaic Series has been to publish linguistic monographs as well as textbooks for university teaching purposes. The Editorial Board concentrated first of all on the poorly represented fields, e.g. the Altaic languages for which no manuals in English were available. The missing of a Turkey Turkish grammar was not due to neglect, as even in the last few years several grammars have been issued in various European languages.

But grammars, as a rule, give only illustrative material and very short reading selections, so the needs for reading practice has to be supplemented by the teacher himself. And in most cases, by virtue of a misinterpretation of the requirements of modern teaching methods, the daily newspaper is taken recourse to, which inciden-

tally is the most easily accessible material. But newspapers have a special style not easy to handle and the purified vocabulary (though the roots are taken from Old Turkic and the dialects) is not the most suitable material for grammatical analysis for an intermediate course student.

The other «extremity» generally adopted for language teaching purposes is to offer selections from classical Turkish literature, which, with its Arabo-Persian vocabulary and alien syntactic peculiarities, is likely to cause unsurmountable difficulties even for a higher grade student.

The practicable route was initiated by A. Tietze in his «Literary Reader» (2nd edition, 1968) providing a choice of the literature of the last 40 years, avoiding the preceding epoch the language of which seems an entirely different language for the modern student. The present volume, the «Turkish Folklore Reader» was the next fortunate step on the route embarked upon. Ilhan Başgöz realized that there existed a gap between the exercise books and the Literary Reader in the difficulty grades. He reached back therefore to the rich source of the vernacular and the folk language, equally well understood by any social class.

Folklore texts with their pure vocabulary and genuine Turkish sentence patterns are the best material for the intermediate grade of language teaching. In order to avoid misapprehension, it has to be pointed out that a folklore text for teaching purposes is not the same as a dialectal text for a linguist. In this case the author rewrote the folk stories, «corrected», «regularized» and reshaped their language, but did not deprive them of the folk wit and of the savour of the vernacular expression. I have traced the method of the author in some tales taken from Caferoğlu's texts, and I became convinced that the «rewriting» was restricted to phonetical peculiarities, the original content and the stylistical peculiarities were preserved untouched. This method is not at all alien to story-tellers and folk singers (meddāhs, āšïqs, etc.) when they take their texts either from oral experience or an already printed specimen, adapting them to the cultural level of their audience (cf. P. Boratav's remarks in PhTF II, 2).

The author of this reader tried to conceal his identity as an eminent folklorist, because he concentrated on the teaching gaol. In accordance with this aim he presented the texts in their order of difficulty. Fortunately he could not deny his folklorist self, and culled his material from the field of folklore harvest: from the gleanings of P. Boratav, A. Caferoğlu, H. Koşay, and others, but in the first instance from his own rich collections. Furthermore he gave a list of genre classification, from which it becomes clear that the volume was also intended to be illustrative of the gamut of folklore genres (PhTF, II, 3).

This combined method is furthered by brief but comprehensive articles on folklor genres, modestly relegated to the vocabulary section.

Grammatical (stylistical) peculiarities are explained in the notes in a simple way so as to meet the needs of a wider circle of pupils also.

I. Başgöz rendered a good service in reintroducing folk tales into current language teaching. The only regrettable point that the reviewer can mention is that the author economised with space. One should have wished that he included double as much material in this valuable collection. Nevertheless it is to be hoped that the second edition will make up for this deficiency.

E. Schütz

F. Zejnalov, *Müasir türk dillärindä kömäkči nitg hissäläri. (Oguz grupu dillärinin materiallarï äsasïanda)* [Auxiliary Words in the Modern Turkic Languages. On the Basis of Materials of the Oguz Group]. Baky 1971, 311 p.

In describing linguistic patterns the difficulty of the task lies not so much

in the description of the great paradigmatic correlations as in that of the so called «empty» words which surround the «meaningful» words. In his monography under review F. Zejnalov deals with a large quantity of the auxiliary words of the modern Turkic languages (*kömäkči nitg hissäläri*).

The first chapter of the book briefly summarizes the results of previous research on the auxiliaries from the first Turkic grammar up till now. In F. Zejnalov's view auxiliary words must be classified as such on the basis of the following main criteria:

(1) the auxiliary word must be one that has lost its original lexical meaning, (2) it establishes the syntactic relation between words, phrases or sentences, or (3) it marks slight differences in the contents of the sentence, (4) it is morphologically invariable, and finally (5) it cannot form an independent phrase in the sentence.

In view of this definition he lists among the auxiliaries not only the postpositions which amplify the declined nominal forms but the conjunctions and modifiers as well. Although this conception is not entirely faultless (the inclusion of the conjunctions, for instance, is rather arguable because these entities do not belong strictly to the inner structure of the sentence), his system is more developed and rational than several of the previous works in this field according to which auxiliary words would include interjections and auxiliary verbs, too. (pp. 25, 29)

F. Zejnalov assumes that the most adequate way of the classification of postpositions is to consider their origin, i.e. the part of speech they have developed from (p. 68). His division, however, does not follow this principle consistently.

I. «Invariable postpositions» (*sabit gošmalar*). Their origin is not traceable to any other wordroots except by hypotheses. Such are e.g. *kimi* «as, like», *üčün* «for», *ǵörä* «by», *ilä* «with», etc.

II. Postpositions which take their origin from different word-classes: 1. from nouns: *bašγa* «beside, outside», *özǵe* «other», etc., 2. from adverbs: *sonra* «after», *ävväl* «before», etc., 3. from verbs: *ǵörä* «by», *doγru* «according to», etc. Since this latter group of the postpositions may be words of full value in the sentence as well as auxiliary words the author calls them «variable postpositions» (*gejri-sabit gošmalar*) (p. 115).

III. Postpositions derived from nouns which take possessive endings (*kömäkči adlar*): *e.g. alt-* «under», *üst-* «above», *ič-* «inside, in», *ön-* «before», etc.

The great difference in the classification of postpositions between this work and others, like J. Deny's Turkish grammar (J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris 1920) is mainly due to the fact that while Deny classifies the postpositions according to the cases required by the postpositions, a strictly descriptive approach, whereas F. Zejnalov deliberately completes this approach with that of the linguistic historian's, so he is preoccupied first of all with the morphological structure of the different postpositions, in accordance with his comparativist approach.

The classification of the modifiers is indeed an old problem of linguistic research, because it is rather difficult to draw a dividing lines between adverbs, conjunctions and «real» modifiers. In his Turkish grammar Deny does not treat the modifiers as an independent word-class. A. N. Kononov's work (*Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*, M.—L. 1956) on the other hand, differentiates between modifiers (*modaljnye slova*) and particles (*časticy*, pp. 345—346). In Azerbaijan linguistics the first appearance of the categories «modifiers» and «particles» (*modal sözlär* and *ädatlar*) is found in A. Z. Abdullajev, *Kömäkči nitg hissäläri*, Baku 1958. There are several other works dealing with the auxiliary words in other modern Turkic languages (see e.g. the footnotes of the book under review).

According to Zejnalov, the words which express the speaker's subjective

attitude towards the reality content of the sentence must be divided into three groups: (1) original particles (*χalis ädatlar*): *da/dä* «also», *mï/mi/mu/mü* «whether», etc. (p. 178), (2) modal particles (*modal ädatlar*): *bäli* «yes», *joχ* «not», *hätta* «even», etc. (p. 179) (3) modifiers (*modal sözlär*): *šübhäsiz* «doubtless», *älbättä* «of course», *bälkä* «perhaps», etc. (p. 241).

The particles adhere strictly to other words, expressing certain subjective difference in the meaning of these words. Their phonetic forms alter in accordance with the rule of the vowel harmony of the Turkic languages. These are called particles by the author while the modal particles are conceived as forming a transitional category between the particles and the modifiers. The distinctive feature of the modal particles as compared to particles is the invariable phonetic form and the independent meaning while they differ from modifiers in that they cannot form sentence words. But we do not think this classification is too convincing. In our opinion the term «modal particle» (*modal ädatlar*) makes the division too complicated. We are much inclined to believe that we are faced here with two layers of the modifiers instead of two categories: (1) modifiers that are embedded — in the sentence structure, and (2) modifiers that are sentences in themselves.

The Turkic languages contained only a few conjunctions originally because the sentence stress and the predominant character of the use of participial phrases eliminate the necessity to use of conjunctions. The use of the conjunctions, especially in the subordinate clauses, was introduced into these languages through foreign linguistic influence. Today, however, they seem so wide-spread in the modern Turkic languages that their classification has become necessary. F. Zejnalov divides the conjunctions into two groups: (1) original conjunctions (*χalis baylajïǰïlar*): *vä* «and», *ki* «that», *amma* «but», *jaχud* «or», etc., (2) idiomatic conjunctions (*baylajïǰï sözlär*): *onun üčün* «therefore», *onun üčün dä* «for all that», *buna ǵörä ki* «in order to», etc. (p. 272).

This conception contrasts the single conjunctions with those consisting of more than one part. But there is a functional difference, too, beside the formal one. The single conjunctions connect words and clauses (sentences) alike, while the idiomatic conjunctions serve only for linking clauses (sentences).

It is a pity, therefore, that the importance of the syntactic functions is relegated into the background, and the classificatory principles of the successive chapters are on the whole insufficiently co-ordinated. So, in the classification, for instance, of the postpositions, the *ǵörä* form (which is of verbal origin) occurs both among the «invariable postpositions» and the «postpositions of different origin». In classifying the conjunctions he follows the etymological principle, dividing them into those defying analysis (of Arabic, Persian and Turkic origin) and compound conjunctions. On the other hand, he classifies the particles, in fact, according to the functional principle.

All in all, F. Zejnalov's present work has largely contributed to Oguz, and especially to Azerbaijan linguistics, in the field of the auxiliary words. He achieved it by his systematization which is superior to any previous work.

Mary Kenessey

Р. А. Шерхунаев, *Сказитель Леохон Петров*, Irkutsk 1969, 91 S. Р. А. Шерхунаев — О. Д. Тармаханова, *Народный певец-сказитель Бурятии, А. А. Тороев*, Ulan-Ude 1969, 51 S.

Der Forscher, der seine Aufmerksamkeit den hervorragendsten Dichtungen der mongolischen Folklore, den Heldenliedern, widmet, kann mit Interesse in den Büchern von R. A. Šerchunaev blättern. Es ist bekannt, daß außerhalb des Territoriums der Mongolischen Volksrepublik das von Burjatisch-Mongolen besiedelte sowjeti-

sche Land die reichste Fundstätte der mongolischen Heldenlieder ist. Die Lieder, die hier gesammelt worden sind, sind nicht nur in Hinblick auf ihre Bedeutung, sondern auch in bezug auf ihren Umfang riesengroß: die Länge einiger von ihnen macht hunderttausend Zeilen aus.

Schon seit langem systematisieren die Forscher diese Lieder, obwohl die Forschung der burjatischen Folklore immer noch hinter der gründlichen Untersuchung der Folklore anderer mongolischer Völker zurückbleibt. Es gibt sowohl östliche als auch westliche Wissenschaftler, die Versuchen, die burjatische Volksdichtung aus dem großen Ganzen der mongolischen Volksdichtung auszuheben und sie, als eine abgesonderte Einheit, getrennt zu besprechen. Trotz der oft unterschiedlichen wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung weist aber die Folklore der verschiedenen mongolischen Völker im Laufe der Jahrhunderte soviel Identität und Aenlichkeit auf, daß es ein großer Fehler wäre, die Aufmerksamkeit nur auf die Unterschiede zu lenken.

Bei der Untersuchung und Analyse der Heldenlieder wird sehr oft die Person der Sänger vernachlässigt, obwohl die individuellen Probleme des Sängers, und die Umstände des Vortrags in vielen Fällen das Profil des Liedes bestimmen. Anders gesagt, es besteht eine Wechselwirkung zwischen dem Sänger und dem Lied, denn der Sänger kann seine Leistung nie gleicher Weise wiederholen. Die gegebenen Verhältnisse können eine entscheidende Wirkung auf den Text des Liedes ausüben: der Sänger kann den Text — abhängig von den Verhältnissen — kürzer oder länger fassen. Die Stimmungselemente können das Lied natürlich nicht nur quantitativ sondern auch qualitativ beeinflussen: in bestimmten Fällen hebt der Sänger die Tragik des Liedes hervor und läßt die lustigen Stellen aus.

Die Umstände des Singens hat die Wissenschaft bis heute beinahe gänzlich vernachlässigt, was jener Tatsache zuzuschreiben ist, daß uns in vielen Fällen nicht nur die Umstände des Singens, sondern auch die Person des Sängers unbekannt sind. Ein seltenes und wertvolles Dokument ist die Biographie des dscharutischen Sängers Padschai. Ziemlich unbekannt ist uns auch das Repertoire mancher Sänger. Auch in dieser Hinsicht ist eine Ausnahme der schon erwähnte Padschai, dessen Tätigkeit von W. Heissig und G. Kara gründlicher untersucht wurde (G. Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*, Budapest 1970, und W. Heissig, *Innermongolische Arbeiten zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte und Folkloreforschung*: *ZDMG* 115 [1965], 153—199).

Die Aufmerksamkeit von R. A. Šerchunaev wird vor allem von der Tätigkeit der Sänger und von den Umständen der Mitteilung erweckt. Er untersucht vor allem den Sänger und nur in zweiter Linie das gesungene Produkt. Außerordentlich wertvoll ist die Geschichte der Sammlung des Liedes «Abaj Geser», die der Sammler nach Mitteilungen von I. N. Madason bearbeitet. Madason hat im Februar 1941 Pjoochon Petrov besucht, bei dem ihm es gelungen ist, eine der populärsten burjatischen Varianten von «Geser» einzusammeln. Außerordentlich beachtungswert ist die Tatsache, daß der Sänger kurz vor dem Besuch von Madason seinen neugeborenen Enkel verloren hatte, und es gelang ihm — nach seinen eigenen Worten — nur mit großen Schwierigkeiten eine gekürzte Variante des Werkes vorzusingen. Leider ist uns nur diese gekürzte Variante überliefert worden.

Die Untersuchung der Tätigkeit und des Repertoires des blinden burjatischen Sängers A. A. Toroev wirft dagegen Fragen durchaus anderer Art auf. Toroev ist nämlich nicht nur ein Interpret der Traditionen auf künstlerischem Niveau, sondern auch ein bewußter Dichter. Seine in Zusammenhang mit den aktuellen politischen Problemen und Geschehnissen geschriebenen Gedichte werfen unvermeidlich die Frage auf, wo man die Grenze zwischen Folklore und Literatur ziehen kann? Kann Apollon A. Toroev als ein

Folkloresänger oder als ein Dichter volksmäßiger Gesinnung aufgefaßt werden?

Auf diese Frage bleibt leider auch Scherchunaew die Antwort schuldig, obwohl die Tätigkeit der burjatischen Sänger ausgezeichnet geeignet ist, die prinzipiellen Fragen der mongolischen Literatur und Folklore zu untersuchen.

Außerdem wäre auch der Vergleich der Petrowschen Variante mit anderen Fassungen nicht unnütz gewesen, obwohl dessen Durchführung schon den Aufgabenkreis der Monographien übersteigt.

Die veröffentlichten Monographien sind äußerst nützlich, denn sie ermöglichen einen Einblick in das verwickelte Verhältnis von Folkloresammlern und Textmitteilern, in das Privatleben der Mitteiler, das mit dem Endprodukt in engem Zusammenhang steht. Wir sind der Meinung, daß es auch in der Zukunft nützlich wäre, ähnliche, die Textmitteiler betreffende Monographien zu veröffentlichen.

L. Lőrincz

FRANÇOIS DE VAUX FOLETIER, *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes*. Paris 1970, 282 p.

It is only in a restricted sense of the word that we can speak about a history of the Gypsies. As to their history prior to their arrival in Central Europe (Hungary, 1416), their language is the only source of information about their wanderings from India. In the subsequent centuries, their history is practically confined to the orders and statutes passed against them by the European authorities. Therefore, historians pay scant attention to this people, leaving research concerning them entirely to the ethnographers.

The distinguished French archivist Vaux de Foletier has rendered a great service by publishing a number of articles on the history of Gypsies in ancient France. The result of his research is the book under review extending the study on Gypsies to the other European countries as well. He collected all important data available on the Gypsies from different countries and summarized the investigations by the best experts in Gypsiology. As far as possible, he lets the documentary material speak for itself: decrees, historical accounts from past centuries, occasional remarks of travellers. His data are always reliable — a prerequisite seldom attained in this field.

The book offers much more than is promised by the simple title. It is a source book of Gypsy history *and* life, describing the latter, too, within a historical framework. The Gypsy professions, customs, religious beliefs, fortune-telling, family organization are illustrated by a rich number of documents from past centuries. Despite its fascinating caleidoscopic nature, the book does not disintegrate into a collection of disjointed details: it is a well-proportioned and very readable work. The lucidity of its style reminds the reader of the admirable little volume by J. Bloch. The extensive bibliography will be welcomed by all specialists.

J. Vekerdi

CSENKI SÁNDOR, *Cigány népmesék* [Gypsy folk tales]. Transl. by GYÖRGY MÉSZÁROS. Püspökladány (Hungary) 1972, 171 p.

S. Csenki, who died at the age of twenty-five in the first days after the siege of Budapest (19. 1. 1945), collected a number of Gypsy folk tales in his native village of Püspökladány (Eastern Hungary). He took down the texts from dictation, in the original Gypsy (Romany) language, mostly in 1942. After his tragic death, his brother took care of the manuscript which is now deposited in the ethnographic museum of the secondary school at Püspökladány. It contains some 65 tales. Thus, it is the greatest collection of Gypsy folk tales ever recorded in Romany language. It gives an exhaustive picture of the répértoire of tales of a closed Gypsy settlement. Only

two of the former informants are alive. His chief story-teller, who was about thirty-five in 1942, died a few years ago.

Csenki had a perfect knowledge of Romany, and the texts recorded by him reflect the original wording with great accuracy. In 1971, I rechecked some strange grammatical forms of the text in Püspökladány and they turned out to be peculiar to this local sub-dialect of *vlach* Gypsy as spoken in Hungary. Thematically my rechecking led to a negative result. The descendants of Csenki's informants had but a fragmentary knowledge of the tales and even the two story-tellers still alive (two old women) had forgotten their stories.

The Gypsiologist Gy. Mészáros has selected and translated 27 of the stories, and the Council of Püspökladány published the volume, *pietatis causa*. The translation follows the original closely. The selection gives an idea of the thematic variety of the collection. Most of the stories are fairy tales on a dragon killer, on a rescuer of the king's daughter, on a sky-high tree, on vampires, etc. The Gypsies have a predilection for this genre and when asked to tell a *paramiči* (tale), they will tell a fairy tale. Ranking second in the volume are the humorous stories, often with a Gypsy as their hero, and sometimes interwoven with erotic elements. They belong to the most original products of Gypsy story-telling and are less influenced by Hungarian models than other tales. Historical anecdotes about the popular figure of King Matthias and his soldiers also penetrated, Gypsy folklore, and some of them are presented in this volume.

Thematically, the stories reflect the common stock of Hungarian and other Central and South East European folk tales. Most of them are borrowed immediately from Hungarian, some from Rumanian. It is, however, a peculiarity of Gypsy folk tales that only the motives of tales are borrowed from the non-Gypsy environment, the composition itself is rather independent of the original non-Gypsy models (cf. also *AOH* XXIV, 1971, p. 399 sqq.). The heroes of Gypsy tales act now and then brutally, the ending is at times unhappy. In this collection, however, such unfamiliar traits are not numerous.

It is hoped that the entire collection will be soon published in original Romany with a translation in some Western language.

J. Vekerdi

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GARDIZI ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA (746—780 A.D.)

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

The new edition of the work *Zayn al-akhbār* of Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Ḥaiy ibn Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī published by ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy Ḥabībī in 1968 in Tehran[1] is an important contribution to the study of Iranian history, comparative chronology as well as to the history of the steppe-dwelling peoples.

In addition to the text the new edition contains an introduction in Persian to the manuscripts of the *Zayn-al-akhbār* and the problems which the editor had to face. After the text Ḥabībī gives a list of the rare words and phrases occurring in the work and their meanings (pp. 303—310) with the detailed interpretation of some of the words (pp. 311—312). Also among the supplements (pp. 312—315) he publishes again the preface written by the recently deceased Saʿīd Nafīsī to the *Zayn al-akhbār* (pp. 313—315) as well as the introduction of another outstanding Persian scholar, the late Muḥammad Qazvīnī, to the work. The edition has a further supplement (pp. 319—320) in which Ḥabībī compares a number of corresponding sections in the texts of Gardīzī's work and Ibn Rusta's *Kitāb al-ʾaʿlāq al-nafīsa*. A careful index of the proper names (pp. 321—351) ends the new edition.

The publication of Ḥabībī will certainly give a new impetus to the Gardīzī research. Especially the sections of the text not published so far will induce new findings. In other cases, by successfully reconstructing certain sections of the text which were known so far in their faulty shape only, Ḥabībī gives valuable aid to the better understanding of the contents of the work.

In his introductory expositions Ḥabībī, on the whole, agrees with the findings published in the relevant literature. Thus, in the first place, he accepts the view[2] that the Oxford manuscript is nothing but a late (1781 A.D.) copy of

[1] = *Enteshārāt-e Bunyād-e Farhang-e Īrān*, 37. *Manābe-e Taʾrīkh va Joghrāfiyā-ye Irān*, 11. — As to earlier literature on Gardīzī (editions and investigations) see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Sect. II/1, p. 68; I/2, p. 256; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose Persane* 1 (Paris 1963), pp. 71—73. Important observations with regard to the *Zayn al-akhbār* were made by M. Kmoskó on whose literary remains see K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV (1954), pp. 19—90, esp. 82—90.

[2] V. Minorsky: *BSOAS* XII (1948), pp. 625—626.

the Cambridge manuscript written in 1497—1498 or 1523—1524, with the same errors of the scribes, omissions, faulty forms of proper names and occasional confusion in pagination.[3] Both manuscripts were produced in India, with the Indian *nesta'liq* type duct. Ḥabībī also emphasizes the difficulty of establishing the correct readings owing to the numerous errors of the copyists. The diacritical points of the letters are often missing, and the transcribing of the proper names of foreign origin is especially poor. In some cases, as Ḥabībī states, the copyist obviously inserted the marginal notes — mostly in the wrong places — into the text. All this seems to indicate, according to Ḥabībī, either the extreme negligence of the Indian copyist, or his failure to understand the Persian text. We may add that, compared with the vast number of errors, there are but few cases in which the Oxford copyist tried to correct the erroneous readings of the Cambridge original (Minorsky, *loc. cit.*).

Gardīzī wrote his work after 1041 A. D. and he dedicated it to the Ghaznevid Sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd (1050—1053 A. D.). The homeland of our author was Gardīz near Ghazna in Afganistan. Certain Persian words of dialect character in the *Zayn al-akhbār* also witness to the East-Iranian dialect spoken there. The language of the work is simple. V. Minorsky compares it with the language of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*. Its style, not only in its geographical descriptions but also in its chapters dealing with historical and ethnographic subjects, is unassuming. Some of its linguistic archaisms (e.g. *andar* and *hamī* for later New-Persian *dar* and *mī*) were fairly faithfully preserved by the Cambridge copyist.[4]

However, speaking of Gardīzī's language, we must add to the expositions of Minorsky and Ḥabībī that only a part of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is an original composition since the major part of the work[5] is the translation — and partly a very poor one at that — of Arabic texts. This can be established in those cases in which we also have at our disposal the Arabic original. Such is the case, with the description of the Turkish peoples of the steppe which was also used, beside Gardīzī, by several other Persian, Arab and Turkish compilers. The whole section, as has been long known,[6] is taken from the work *Kitāb*

[3] As it was shown already by H. Éthé, *Catal. Codd. MSS Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars XIII, P. I, *Persian MSS* (Oxf. 1899), col. 11.

[4] Lazard, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[5] One of the main Arabic sources of the *Zayn al-akhbār* was Salāmī's lost *Ta'rīkh wulāt Khurāsān*. This was pointed out by the first editor and commentator of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, W. Barthold, (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 10—11, 21); on Salāmī see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* I (Leiden 1967), p.352 (n° 5). — The translations from Salāmī's work in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, though we do not possess the original, seem to be, on the whole, much better than those made on the basis of Jayhānī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*.

[6] Minorsky, *Marvazī*, pp. 6—11; cf. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV, pp. 86—88.

al-masālik wa-l-mamālik, «The Book of Routes and Kingdoms» of the Khorasanian wazir, al-Jayhānī. The translation in the *Zayn al-akhbār* (ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 255—279) of this important chapter[7] belongs to the poorest of the whole work. It teems with minor and major inaccuracies and misunderstandings, and this can only in part be accounted for by the fact that probably the Jayhānī manuscript itself on which the translation of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is based had many faults.

Speaking further of the language of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, it is also important to note that, judged by the evidence of the narratives of folk etymology to be discussed below, Gardīzī's command of the Turkish language was also poor. It was because of his imperfect knowledge of the language that, in some cases, he missed the very points of the stories. Thus, for instance, in this chapter about the Kimäk-Turks (ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 257—258),[8] he explains that the title *tutugh* was given to the Kimäk ruler because of the adventure he had had on the bank of the Irtish river. While standing there, he heard a voice and saw a plait of hair swimming in the water. He quickly jumped into the water, grabbed the tress and saved — his own wife. Thereupon the Kimäk began to call their ruler *tutugh* «for he heard the voice, went into the water and was not afraid».

It is obvious that the author of the original story of popular etymology was under the impression that the title *tutugh* — which is of Chinese origin — is a derivative with the suffix *-uq* of the Turkish verb *tut-* 'seize, grab', while Gardīzī, ignorant of the Turkish language, omitted from the quoted sentence precisely what was the etymological clue to the story, the words «and grabbed the tress».

The most valuable part of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is the third part with its 25 pages which make Gardīzī's work a significant source of East-European and Asian history. This part is composed of three sharply distinctive elements: 1) genealogical and aetiological narratives about the Turkish peoples of the Eurasian Steppe (Oghuz, Qarluq, Kimäk, Yaghma, Qirghiz), 2) geographical expositions dealing with Tibet, two Turkish peoples of Asia Interior: the Toquz-Oghuz and the Barskhan, as well as with the Chinese; a description of the peoples of the East-European Steppe and of a number of the neighbouring countries (Khazar, Volga Bulghār, Majghir, Saqlāb, Rūs, Sarīr, Allān), 3) itineraries leading the reader into the aforesaid countries of Europe and Asia. Of them one, the itinerary leading to the domicile of the Türgish and Chigil,

[7] Edited and translated for the first time by V. Bartol'd, *Otchet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu* (S.-Petersburg 1897), pp. 78—126.

[8] Translated by Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 89—91.

obviously belonged in Gardīzī's source to the description of these peoples. Gardīzī, however, omitted the description and affixed the itinerary, as an incoherent supplement, to the end of the whole chapter.

It is at the beginning and the end of the whole part that Gardīzī gives the list of his immediate sources for the description of the steppe-dwelling peoples. Such sources are the *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* of the Khorasanian wazīr *al-Jayhānī*, the *Kitāb rubʿ al-dunyā* of Abū ʿAmr ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the book of ʿUbaydallāh ibn Khurradādhbih under the title *Kitāb-i akhbār*. But Gardīzī also mentions other information he had from «all kinds of» sources.

As to the quotations from the work of al-Jayhānī, we briefly note that, in line with the great progress of recent research, we relate these quotations to a single description composed about 870 A. D. on the basis of Arab and Persian caravan-merchants. There are indications that it was also from the work of Jayhānī that Gardīzī took most of the descriptions covering the Steppe of Central Asia, China and Tibet as well as the bulk of the data in the itineraries of China and Tibet.

But when he comes to the description of the Turkish peoples of the central part of the Eurasian Steppe (the region between the Sir-darya and Irtish rivers, the lands flanking the river Ili and Dzungaria), he no longer relies on the works of Jayhānī and ibn Khurradādhbih. This we can easily understand because these peoples lived much nearer to Gardīzī's home in Afghanistan than either the European peoples or those of the Far East and, some of them, as, for instance, the Oghuz and Qarluq had already been strongly involved in the political life of Western Turkestan. Thus Gardīzī, who wrote his work about 1050 A. D., might have likely been satisfied with Jayhānī's older descriptions — written about 870 A. D. — to cover distant peoples, but obviously could not borrow the obsolete data of the same author when he dealt in his work with nearby peoples well-known in his own country. Since, however, he himself was no geographer and had no first-hand information about the countries he described, he had no other choice but to use a source which, though not new either, and in fact even about a hundred years older than the data borrowed from Jayhānī, contained no obviously obsolete details which might have annoyed his readers. Such a historical source was the book entitled *Rubʿ al-dunyā* the copy of which used by Gardīzī featured the name of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as its author.

Abū ʿAmr ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (720—about 757 A. D.) who died prematurely was one of the great personalities of early Arab literature whose great accomplishment was out of proportion to the brief span of his life. As one of the founders of scientific Arab prose, he was the first to translate the Middle Persian history of the Sasanid dynasty, the *Khvatāy-nāmak*. His translation has subsequently exerted a very great influence upon all the Arab

works dealing with world history. But his other translations from Middle Persian were also widely popular.[9]

The report on the Oghuz[10] constitutes the first part of Gardīzī's chapter about the steppe-dwelling peoples. The introductory lines of the chapter read as follows: «In his work entitled *Kitāb-i akhbār*, ʿUbaydallāh ibn Khurradādhbih says that the Turks belong to the Chinese. Then Abū ʿAmr ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, in his work *Kitāb rubʿ al-dunyā*, tells us that, when Noah the prophet (peace be unto him!) disembarked from the Ark, the world had no inhabitants at all. He had three sons: Sām, Ḥām and Yāfith. Then he distributed the world between his sons. Thus he gave the Black, the Negroes, the Abessinians, the Nubians and the Berbers, together with their territories, the land and the sea with its islands, to Ḥām. Irāq, Khorāsān, Ḥijāz, Yemen, Syria and Īrānshahr became the share of Sām. The Turk, Saqlāb, Gog and Magog, all the way up to China, became the property of Yāfith».[11] Then the quotation from the book of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ continues and is followed by two aetiological legends. The first discusses the rain-making stone of the Turks which first belonged to Yāfith, then of his descendants, to the Ghuzz (Oghuz). The second describes certain traits of the appearance and character of the Turks: their sparse hair and evil disposition. The cause of these traits was, according to the legend, that it was only by feeding him with ant eggs and wolf's milk that his mother could cure Yāfith of a disease in his childhood. When he reached adulthood, the consumption of ant eggs in his childhood had the effect that he had only sparse hair, while the consequence of his former drinking of wolf's milk was his wicked nature. These traits were then inherited by his descendants, including Turk, the ancestor of the Turkish peoples.

These legends, which are bare of any historical data, form the introduction to the detailed description of the other Turkish tribes. This Gardīzī begins with the following words: «Now I am going to tell about them, by tribes, what I have found in books (*kih andar kutub yāftam*). These words might naturally suggest that the following descriptions are no longer taken from the work of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ but from some other source. This, however, would be a hasty conclusion. For one of the descriptions, that of the Qirghiz, constitutes the direct sequel to the legend of the ant eggs in the introductory chapter. It is also an aetiological legend which is designed to explain the external appearance of the Qirghiz. As contemporary Chinese sources also inform us,

[9] F. Gabrieli: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition) III (1960), p. 883; M. Grignaschi, *Les «Rasā'il 'Arisṭāṭālīsa 'ilā-l-Iskandar»: Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas* XIX (1967), pp. 7—83; Grignaschi: *VII Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1972), pp. 230—250.

[10] Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 255—256; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 80—81 [Russian transl. pp. 103—104].

[11] The quoted sentences form part of a Muhammadan *Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς*.

red (blonde) hair and blue eyes were common among the Qirghiz.[12] The legend quoted by Gardīzī explains this remarkable fact by maintaining that the Qirghiz intermarried with the Slavs who were generally known in the Arab world to have red hair.[13] The name *saqlāb* (Slav) is also explained in the legend which, in the manner of folk etymology, derives the word from the Persian *sag* ('dog') and *lab* ('mouth'), expressing that the ancestor of the Slavs, the son of Yāfith, was fed as child with dog's milk. The same son, says the legend, was born blind, since an ant, when the sick Yāfith in his childhood had been given ant eggs to eat, had cursed him with not having any joy in his son. Thus the description of the Qirghiz obviously assumes that the readers know what they were told in the introductory chapter and also forms the sequel to that chapter.

At the same time, the description of the Qirghiz is also closely related in its contents to the reports on the Qarluq,[14] Kimäk,[15] Yaghma[16] and Barskhan.[17] This is borne out not only by the identical style we find in the said chapters, the appearance of the name-giving heroes, the aetiological legends and explanations in the manner of the folk etymology, but also by the fact that the description of the Qirghiz[18] contains a number of historical data which have reference to the descriptions of the other Turkish peoples. Thus, in the first place, the chapters on the Qirghiz, Qarluq and Yaghma also speak of the *khāqān* of the Toquz-Oghuz as one of the two greatest Turkish rulers (the other was, according to the descriptions of the Qarluq, Kimäk and Yaghma, the Western Turkish khaqan). Besides, the descriptions of the said Turkish peoples also relate chronologically identical situations: all speak of an era in

[12] L. Ligeti, *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription Chinoise*: *Acta Orient. Hung. I* (1950), pp. 140—185; 151.

[13] Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* III, 4. 27; cf. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* V. 15 (ed. Dümmler, p. 107); — Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* (ed. de Goeje), p. 141: on the Rūs; Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld) III, p. 405: on the *Ṣaqlāb*; cf. K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII (1961), p. 248.

[14] Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 256—257; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 81—82 [104—105]; cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 288.

[15] Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 257—258; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 82—83 [105—106]; cf. B. E. Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo kimakov IX—XI vv. po arabskim istochnikam* (Alma-Ata 1972), pp. 19—20.

[16] Ed. Ḥabībī, p. 260; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 84—85 [108]; Marquart, *Komanen* pp. 94—95.

[17] Ed. Ḥabībī, p. 265; ed. Bartol'd, p. 89 [113]. — Gardīzī may have known of the Barskhan origin of Sultan Säbüktigin, cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 39, 272.

[18] Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 260—262; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 85—86 [108—109]; cf. O. Karaev, *Arabskie i persidskie istochniki IX—XII vekov o kirgizakh i Kirgizii* (Frunze 1968), pp. 26—27.

which of the Turkish tribes, the Western Turks, the Toquz-Oghuz, the Qarluq, the Kimäk and the Yaghma played the leading role.

However, with regard to the facts covered, the reports on the Yaghma and Kimäk are also closely related. Thus, according to the report on the Kimäk, the title of the Kimäk ruler was *shad-tutugh*, while, according to the report on the Yaghma, the intention of the khaqan of the Western Turks, by giving the title *tutugh* to the Yaghma ruler, was to annoy, in this way also, the *shad-tutugh* of the Kimäk. At the same time, there is also close connection between the reports on the Yaghma and the Qarluq: the introductory lines of the description of the Yaghma inform us that the khaqan of the Western Turks began to be worried about his hegemony when he noticed the growth of the numbers of the Qarluq in his land, and saw that the Qarluq had established contacts with the Hephthalites living in his country. On the other hand, the report on the Qarluq describes in detail why the Qarluq flooded the territory of the Western Turks, and, speaking about the end of this process, it also related how the Qarluq overthrew the rule of the khaqan of the Western Turks.

From all this we may infer that Gardīzī's quotation from the *Kitāb rubʿ al-dunyā* includes, in addition to the introductory report (about the Turk-Oghuz), the reports about the Qarluq, Kimäk, Yaghma, Qirghiz and Barskhan as well. The exact date of the composition of these reports has not yet been ascertained. According to J. Marquart, certain parts of the reports about the Yaghma and the Kimäk seem to point to the last period of the Western Turkish empire, that is, the first part of the 8th century, when the Qarluq had already become a thorn in the flesh of the Western Turks, and the Hephthalites also reappeared on the scene.[19] It seems, however, that a much more exact dating is possible. As to the *terminus post quem*, there can be no doubt that these reports were composed after the fall of the Eastern Turkish empire (744 A. D.) and during the time of the Uyghur empire (744—840 A. D.). But it is also clear that the sixties of the 8th century A. D. would yield an even closer approximation of the *terminus post quem*. For the Qarluq, Kimäk and Yaghma reports speak of an era in which yet the khaqan of the Western Turks held sway over the western part of Central Asia. The Qarluq report, on the other hand, already relates the rebellion of the Qarluq who kill the khaqan of the Western Turks and take over the sovereignty over the former Western Turkish empire. The Qarluq uprising took place in the seventies of the 8th century. Consequently the report about this event could not have been composed earlier than about 770 A. D. So the time span in which we may find our date must be between 770 and 840. A more exact answer which we may find might also solve another problem, that is, the question as to whether we can accept Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as the author of the *Kitāb rubʿ al-dunyā*.

[19] Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 94.

Trying to give a closer approximation, we might start out from a threefold correspondence which has not so far been noticed. On the one hand, certain details of the report about the Yaghma are in complete agreement with the *Uyghur Inscription of Shine-usu*, and, on the other hand, with the *Dynastic Histories* of the Chinese and some chapters in certain Chinese works of encyclopaedic nature. Then, both the *Uyghur Inscription* and the Chinese sources are specific about the exact date of the events concerned. In this way it becomes possible to fix the exact date of the report about the Yaghma and, together with this, also the date when the report about the Turks in the *Kitāb rubʿ al-dunyā* was composed.

According to the report on the Yaghma in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, it was from among the Toquz-Oghuz that the tribe of the Yaghma emigrated and fled west to join the Qarluq then under Western Turkish sovereignty. But soon afterwards enmity broke out between them, and the Yaghma, obeying the command the the khaqan of the Turks, moved further, led by their ruler Yaghma, to settle down among the Qarluq and the Kimäk. At the same time, so Gardīzī's report on the Yaghma informs us, there lived a group of rich nomadic horsemen left (north) of China. As, at some time, dissension arose among them, some of them left the group and placed themselves under the protection of the khaqan of the Western Turks, who, at their request, gave them permission to join the Yaghma. The neighbouring Qarluq, however, treated them badly, and so finally, on the order of the khaqan of the Turks, they moved further and settled down among the Qarluq and the Kimäk. There, however, they soon became exposed to the pressure of the Kimäk leader, the *shad-tutugh*. In the end they settled down near the khaqan of the Western Turks. He gave the title *Yaghma-tutugh* to their leader.

From the chronological viewpoint it is important to note first that, according to this report, the Qarluq lived under the rule of the khaqan of the Western Turks. This state of affairs, as we know, came about in 745 A. D. In 742 the Qarluq, together with the Uyghur and Basmil, had rebelled against the Eastern Turks and made the Basmil ruler their khaqan. In 744, the Uyghur first deposed the Basmil ruler and then established their sovereignty over those Qarluq tribes as well that, as it seems, had moved, in the course of the narrated events, to the Ötüken mountains.[20] The Qarluq tribes, however, living in the west, in the upper region of the Irtish river and at the Altai, considered this

[20] On the dissolution of the Eastern Turkish empire (742—745 A. D.) see the report of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, cap. 215/B (ed. *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szŭ*, vol. XIII, Peking 1958, p. 1505), translated by Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, I, pp. 230—231; J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris 1955), pp. 2—4; on the Ötüken Qarluq (the Yabāghū of Gardīzī) see cap. 217/B of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* (p. 19631), translated by E. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 86; cf. C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*[2] (Canberra 1972), p. 8.

a hostile action. This seems to be indicated by the *Shine-usu Inscription* (N 11, ed. Ramstedt, p. 16)[21] which tells us that the Qarluq, as early as in 745, shifted their allegiance to the Western Turks. From this time onward, hostilities between the Uyghur and Qarluq, with but brief intermissions, continued to the end of the Uyghur empire (840 A. D.).

As Gardīzī's report on the Qarluq indicates, he also knows of an eastern tribal group of the Qarluq, moreover, telling a story of folk etymology, he explains the name *Yabāghū* which was the designation of the Ötüken Qarluq tribes. Judging by his report, the Yabāghū were composed of numerous tribes and they too, like the western Qarluq tribes, soon joined the Western Turks. But, after a brief period, they rebelled against the khaqan of the Western Turks also. They were who killed the khaqan and took his possessions. The report emphasises that a great number of Yabāghū-Qarluq tribes had settled down on the territory of the Western Turks. Even as late as in the 11th century, in the age of Kāshgharī,[22] one of the Yabāghū tribes played an important historical role.

The report on the Yaghma in the *Zayn al-akhbār* tells us further that the example of the Qarluq groups was followed by two groups of the Uyghur (Toquz-Oghuz) ruler's own subjects. As regards to the Yaghma tribe, the background of their flight to the West is illuminated by the *Shine-usu Inscription* of the Uyghur qaghan Bayan čor (N 11—O 7, pp. 16—21)[23] which relates that, after the death of the first Uyghur ruler, a big rebellion led by his eldest son, Tay Bilgä Yabghu, broke out on the territory of the Uyghur empire. Of the «Nine Oghuz» tribes of the Toquz-Oghuz, excepting the leading tribe of the Uyghur, all the other eight Oghuz tribes (in the text of the *Inscription*: Säkiz-Oghuz: «Eight Oghuz») took part, and even the Toquz-Tatar gave their support to the rebels. In the end, however, the Uyghur qaghan, Bayan-čor, successfully crushed the revolt. Some of the rebels surrendered themselves to the qaghan, while the others fled. Of the name of the place to which the latter groups fled but a single letter is now extant in the *Inscription* (O 7: . . . . . q^a). However, in view of Gardīzī's report on the Yaghma, we are in the position to make a fairly safe conjecture for the missing characters: *qarluqa* «to the Qarluq».[24] At any rate, it is clear that some of the Oghuz rebelling in 749 left the Oghuz territory after the victory of the khaqan, and one cannot doubt that the flight of the Yaghma as reported by Gardīzī was related to this event. There is, in this connection, another — hitherto unappreciated — fact recorded in the Chinese sources. It indicates that it was, on the one hand, at the head

[21] Ed. S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (Leningrad 1959), p. 35 [39].

[22] *Dīwān*, ed. Constantinople I, p. 28 (*Yabāqū*).

[23] Ed. Malov, p. 35—36 [39—40].

[24] Malov [41, l. 19] thinks of the Qitañ.

of the Bayirqu tribe of the Toquz-Oghuz that Tay Bilgä led his rebellion against the Uyghur kaghan, and, on the other hand, that Tay Bilgä, following his defeat, sought refuge in the Chinese court.[25]

As to the other fleeing group of the Oghuz recorded by Gardīzī, that is, the rich horsemen who, from the northern neighbourhood of China, went to the Qarluq, the Uyghur inscription as well as the Chinese sources also contain some very accurate and detailed references. According to the Chinese sources, in the fifties of the 8th century three famous nomadic chieftains played important roles on the northern frontiers of China: Abuz yabghu, Ko-shu Han and An Lu-shan.[26] Abuz yabghu, who was named after the Abuz, a sub-group belonging to the Sikär tribe of the Toquz-Oghuz, served the Eastern Turks as yabghu until 742, and, in the same year fled to the Chinese court. Abuz yabghu and An Lu-shan, however, never really trusted each other, and in 752, it came to an open breach between them.[27] After they severed their contacts, since An Lu-shan still enjoyed the full support of the emperor, there was no other choice for Abuz yabghu than to flee. He first went to the area of Bayan-čor in the north who, according to the *Shine-usu Inscription* (S 8, p. 29),[28] had just come home from a protracted military campaign in the west. The words of the *Inscription* seem to indicate that a part of Bayan-čor's people sided with Abuz yabghu. But even this could not prevent Bayan-čor's victory, and the only option for Abuz yabghu was to flee to the Qarluq. It is again the Chinese sources that inform us about the flight of Abuz. They tell us that, after his defeat, An Lu-shan succeeded in persuading the the people of Abuz to shift their allegiance to him.[29] Thus the group following Abuz in the flight was not possibly large. At first, the Qarluq opened the doors before Abuz yabghu and permitted him to join the Yaghma (Gardīzī). Later, however, complying with an order from the Chinese, they extradited him to a Chinese general who took him to the capital where he was executed in 754.[30] When, therefore, Gardīzī relates that the Qarluq committed improper acts (*nāravā'īhā*

[25] His arrival is reported in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, cap. 971, 17 v° (= p. 11413) and cap. 975, 21 v° (= p. 11458).

[26] E. G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London 1955), p. 167, n. 87; R. des Rotours, *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan* (Paris 1962), p. 117, n. 6, pp. 123—127; H. S. Levy, *Biography of An Lu-shan* (Berkeley 1960): an annotated translation of cap. 200/A of the *Chiu T'ang*-shu. — I have proposed the reading *Abuz* for the Chinese *A-pu-szŭ* and for the *.b.z* (*Baz*?) of the *Turkic Inscriptions* in a paper read on the occasion of the session of the Permanent International Altaic Conference held in Szeged (25. VIII. 1971; to appear in the acts of the session).

[27] Des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[28] Ed. Malov, p. 37 [42].

[29] Des Rotouts, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[30] Des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 127; cf. Chavannes, *Documents, Notes additionnelles*, p. 87, n. 4.

hami-kardand) against the newcomers then this obscure phrase seems to denote the extraditing of Abuz yabghu.

All this shows that the source fo Gardīzī was best informed about the events which had taken place between 745 and 753 in Central Asia. If we considered only these data we would have no difficulty in identifying Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as the first recorder of the events related. However, as we already indicated above, the report about the Qarluq also refers to the fall of the Western Turkish empire about 760—766 A. D. — an event which took place about seven years after the death of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. So we must exclude him as the original author of the report. The simplest solution, in this case, seems to be to ascribe these reports to the son of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who, according to the latest findings of research[31] was the author, among other writings, of works translated from the Greek and published under the name of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. But we must also reckon with the other possibility that the real author of our reports was a Muhammedan Persian who lived in the neighbourhood of Eastern Iran and had excellent informations about the Turkish peoples of Central Asia. As the original source of the said informations we might consider some Mohammedan merchants or envoys. For, in the period between 745 and 760, Uyghur Qarluq and Arab envoys kept on arriving in almost every year[32] in the Chinese court. In 753, the year in which Abuz was captured and sent to the Chinese court, two Qarluq delegations (one of them consisting of 130 members) were sent to the Chinese court, and in the same year two Arab missions (one of them consisting of 25 high ranking persons) also arrived.[33] At any rate, the Mohammedan envoys had excellent opportunities in the Chinese court to obtain accurate information about the events which were taking place in Central Asia.

[31] P. Kraus: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XIV, p. 4; F. Gabrieli: *Enc. of Islam* (new ed.) III, p. 833.

[32] Chavannes, *Documents. Notes additionnelles*, pp. 74—96.

[33] Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 86—88.

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NOTES ON AN ARABIC AMULET SCROLL

BY

A. FODOR

1. The most characteristic feature of popular Islam can be found in the belief in different kinds of good and bad spirits, in latent forces of the world around us.[1] The connection to these supernatural powers, able to bring bad as well as good luck to mortals, has to be formed in order to render them harmless or obtain their goodwill. Beyond the magic practices furthering occasional contact, the *permanent* connection is principally assured by wearing written amulets, which habit is proved to be alive by a number of amulets accessible in print: the *al-Sabʿ ʿuhūd al-sulaymāniyya* (The Seven Solomonic Contracts; on leaf or scroll to be found in the whole Arabic world), the *Ḥirz Murjāna* (The Amulet of Murjāna; written in Maghrebi script, wide-spread in North Africa on scroll), the *Ḥirz al-Jawshan* (The Amulet of the Armour; well-known in the whole Arabic world in booklet form), the *Ḥijāb al-ḥisn al-ḥasīn* (The Amulet of the Enforced Castle; popular in the whole Arabic world in book form).[2] The special literature dwells upon the first two amulets as well as the conjuring books providing prescriptions of magic operation and using written amulets of all kinds as the main sources to studies of this direction,[3] but relatively little attention is paid to the written amulets, which, however, reflect the world of popular belief at a given period more faithfully than the centuries old magic books suggesting a far too static picture. So an outline of the historical development of Arabic magic is missing.

[1] On the literature on popular Islam see S. M. Zwemer, *Hairs of the Prophet: Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* I (Budapest 1948), 48, n. 2.

[2] This list is almost identical with that published by E. Doutté regarding the situation at the beginning of the century: *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger 1909), 152 sq. Amulets written in Arabic in book form and used by Egyptian Copts are: *al-Sabʿ mulūk* (The Seven Kings), *Ṣalāt al-sitt* (Prayer of the Virgin), *Ṣalāt al-anbā Shannūda* (Prayer of the Father Shannūda), *Ṣalāt Yūḥannā al-wazīr* (Prayer of the vizir Yūḥannā).

[3] The principal works regarding Arabic magic are: Doutté, *op. cit.*; E. Westermarck, *Survivances paiennes dans la civilisation Mahométane* (Paris 1935); H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin 1930); R. Kriss—H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam* II (Wiesbaden 1962), where abundant literature is to be found.

2. Reference to the use of written amulets seems to be found in the Koran 6 : 7[4] as well: *wa law nazzalnā ʿalayka kitāban fi qirṭāsin falamasūhu biʾaydīhim laqāla-l-ladhīna kafarū in hādhā illā siḥrun mubīnun* ('Although we had caused to descend unto thee a book written on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had surely said, This is no other than manifest sorcery'). The word *qirṭās* here might mean some kind of writing-material, probably parchment, except paper of course, or might refer simply to the form of the lowered *kitāb*, *i.e.* to the scroll.[5] The *tafsīrs* and the translations do not offer comment on this point.[6]

In this verse, too, Muḥammad carries on his usual polemics against his adversaries who took him for *kāhin* (soothsayer), for *shāʿir majnūn* (possessed poet) inspired by the jinns.[7] There was room for the uneasiness of the Prophet, because the comparison between a pagan poet and soothsayer inspired by his jinnee and Muḥammad communicating with his own spirit Gabriel as well, was unavoidable to be drawn.[8]

Taking a step forward, comparison could be drawn between the two products of these two relations, *i.e.* the verse of the *shāʿir* (or the directions provided by his jinnee) and Muḥammad's Koran, too.[9] Muḥammad is inspired in the same way as the *kāhin*: Gabriel transmits the revelation to him often in the peal of bells.[10] According to the frame story of the *al-Sabʿ ʿuhūd al-sulaymāniyya* Solomon meets Umm al-ṣibyān, a demon shouting in a terrible voice, from whom he extorts the so-called «seven contracts» protecting their holder against all evils.[11] According to the author of a late 19th century book on popular healing practices in Egypt, the sheikhs or magicians claim to be in possession of amulets procured from the jinnee subordinate to them, and waiting for the jinnee's arrival they beat brass bells with great force.[12]

[4] As for the numbering of the Koran verses, I am relied upon the Cairo edition; at establishing concordances I used the *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras* of M. I. ʿAbd al-Bāqī (Cairo), and for quotations I used Sale's translation.

[5] On the meaning of *qirṭās* see Lane, *Lexicon* I/7, 2517; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns* I (Hildesheim 1970), 77.

[6] Cf. *e. g.* G. Sale, *The Koran* (London 1891), 89; R. Bell, *The Qur'ān* (Edinburgh 1937—9); Savary, *Le Coran* (Paris 1960), 196; *Tafsīr al-Jalīlayn* (Cairo), 106; Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf* (Calcutta) I, 395; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (Cairo) VII, 82, 90.

[7] Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 35 sqq, 56, 75 sqq; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford 1953), 127 sq; D. Masson, *Le Coran et la révélation judéo-chrétienne* II (Paris 1958), 644 sq.

[8] I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* I (Leiden 1896), 4 sqq.

[9] Looking at the comparison from Muḥammad's view see the tradition quoted by Goldziher (*op. cit.* 7), where Allah gives the *shiʿr* (*i.e.* poetry) as Koran to Iblīs.

[10] Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 24 sq.

[11] On the destructive effect of Gabriel's voice see Winkler, *op. cit.*, 3.

[12] J. Walker, *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt* (London 1934), 32. On jinnees in general see J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin 1927), 148 sqq; G. Van

To come back to the Koran quotation in question, Muḥammad might have cited it with the aim of precluding the possibility of any comparison with the magician and his production. Of course all this is conditioned upon written amulets being so widely popular in fact as to start the idea of the comparison at all.[13]

It is also worth mentioning in the magic books as well as in present day usage a written amulet is often called *kitāb*,[14] and the thing it is written on *qirtās*.[15] In the course of time even the Koran itself (as a whole or parts of it) came to play the role of the most powerful written amulet in the world of magic.

3. The lengthy Arabic magic literature provides us with the exact course of making written amulets in ever so many cases. According to a prescription of the *Shams al-maʿārif* an amulet can be made for helping one in managing his affairs with the mighty ones in the following way[16] (the total magic operation is called *ʿamal*[17] *i.e.* «work», *fāʾida*[18] *i.e.* «usefulness», *mujarrab*[19] *i.e.* «sg test-proven»): the patient[20] should not eat fat on the day in question, he should observe fast if possible, take some sweets thereafter, then say the *maghreb* and beginning to recite the Throne-verse he should keep on doing it until the *ʿashā*-time, then tell the verse 17 times again, each time adding a magic formula which includes his desire and his order given to the servant-spirits of the Throne-verse (the latter being the *tawkīl* or *qasam* or *daʿwa* or *ʿazīma*)[21] along

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Vloten, *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern*: *WZKM* 7 (1893), 169 sqq, 8 (1894), 59 sqq.

[13] On the prevalence of writing see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 11 sqq; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* I (Halle 1889—90), 106 sq; *Der Dîvân des Ǵarwal b. Aus Al-Hutej'a*: ZDMG 46 (1892), 19; Zwemer, *Studies in Popular Islam* (London 1939), 100 sqq. It is not probable that in a financial and commercial center as well developed as Mecca, writing should not have taken place every day. Jewish people, in any case, had long before known lengthy written amulets (L. Blau, *Das alt- jüdische Zauberwesen* [Budapest 1898], 96 sqq).

[14] Al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā* (Cairo) II, 74; *Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma* (Cairo), 179. The latter is probably incorrectly ascribed to al-Būnī. Al-Ghazāli, *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (Cairo), 35 sqq. In Assuan a Nubian magician made amulets for me too, and they were also entitled *kitāb*.

[15] Al-Būnī, *Shams* IV, 115; Al-Jazā'irlī al-Maghrabī, *al-Sirr al-rabbānī* (Cairo), 31.

[16] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, II, 73 sq.

[17] See *e. g. ibid.*, I, 11, II, 74. In Egyptian colloquial Arabic: *shughl* (*i.e.* work).

[18] Al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, 53 sqq; Ibn Sīnā, *Majmūʿa* (Cairo), 22 sq.

[19] *E. g.* al-Dayrabi's work: *Mujarrabāt* (Cairo).

[20] His name is *ṭālib*; against whom he asks magic is the *maṭlūb* (or *maʿmūl lahu*); and the man who executes the actual operation, is the *fāʿil* (al-Marzūqī, *al-Jawāhir al-lammāʿa* [Cairo], 20).

[21] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, I, 66 sq; Al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, 40; cf. Doutté, *op. cit.*, 122 sq, 343.

with some of the Koran verses. The proper amulet is only now possible to be executed, written on pure paper in musk, saffron and rose-water. In addition to the above, the text is completed by the usual demon names[22] and a magic square, *i.e. wifq* (or *khātam, jadwal*).[23] This is followed by the censing with specified nostrums, and then the amulet is to be rolled up which action has a magic significance as well, because it represents the rolling up of the adversary's tongue. The scroll at last is to be put into the front part of the turban of the patient. The amulet has to be protected against certain things, because it tends to lose its effectiveness.[24]

From the contents of the amulets written on papyrus in the 1st—4th centuries of the Hijra, found in Egypt and published by Grohmann, it is clear that they were rather short ones and mostly included the best-known surahs of the Koran (i.e. the *Fātiḥa*, the *Ikhlāṣ*, the two last surahs and the Throne-verse).[25] They were intended for bearing a general protective character or expressing a definite wish (such as protection against the Qarīna, dog bite, scorpion bite, or assuring the *rizq*). In course of time the structure of the amulet became more complex serving different purposes according to the changing social demand. A characteristic example of this is the *al-Sabʿ ʿuhūd al-sulaymāniyya*.[26] In present day usage the short amulets of a general character or those expressing a particular wish seem to come to the fore.[27]

Not only the contents of the amulet, but also its material and form are undergoing change. The old papyrus, gazelle skin, parchment have all vanished giving place to paper. As regards formats, in addition to the triangular and scrolled ones those folded into an oblong come more and more to the fore,[28] while metal as well as leather amulet-holders are replaced by textile.[29]

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[22] On explaining those of a Hebrew origin see Goldziher, *Hebräische Elemente im muhammedanischen Zaubersprüchen*: *ZDMG* 48 (1894) 358 sqq; Winkler, *op. cit.*, 30 sqq.

[23] See *e. g.* Ibn al-Hājj al-Kabīr, *Tāj al-mulūk* (Tunis), 156. The *ḥirz* (*i.e.* amulet) often consists of only one *qasam* written around a magic geometric figure *i.e. ṭilism* (al-Būnī, *Manbaʿ* 81 sq). In many cases the *jadwal* alone makes up the amulet (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 154 sq).

[24] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, 170; Kriss, *op. cit.*, 107.

[25] F. Bilabel—A. Grohmann, *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* (Heidelberg 1934), 416 sqq.

[26] As for its text apart from the printed amulet see al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, 42 sqq; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Raḥma fī-l-ṭibb* (Cairo), 268 sqq. With translation: Doutté, *op. cit.*, 112 sqq; Winkler, *op. cit.*, 57 sq; Kriss, *op. cit.*, 111 sqq. Besides The Seven Solomonic Contracts it contains Koran verses arranged in well-defined groups, which assure good health, love, success etc. for its wearer.

[27] See the description of the amulets published by Kriss (*op. cit.*, 103 sqq); cf. A. R. Nykl, *A Shepherd's Amulet*: *JAOS* 69 (1949), 34 sq.

[28] On the origin of the amulet forms see Winkler, *op. cit.*, 111; Kriss, *op. cit.*, 60 sq, 65; O; Löfgren, *Äthiopische Wandamulette*: *Orientalia Suecana* XI (1962), 95. n. 6. There are surprisingly close parallels to the Arabic amulet scroll and holder to be found

4. Further on we shall introduce an amulet written in Maghrebi Arabic on a paper scroll, which on the strength of its structure might be assigned to the second one of the above mentioned three periods. I bought it in Cairo, in 1972, from an antique dealer, who was unable to give any information about its origin. Its maker used two kinds of ink: a rusty brown and a dark brown tending to black (in accordance to the generally used red and black ones). The paper is thick and glazed like parchment, the dimensions of the scroll being 8×87 cm but its fore-part is obviously missing. Its width accordingly corresponds to that of the 187 cm long *Ḥirz Murjāna* also written in Maghrebi script. The amulet should be dated probably in the early 19th century or even somewhat earlier. The Maghrebi script does not necessarily mean the place of origin as well because, according to the author of the mentioned book on popular healing, the Egyptians liked the Moors as magicians very much, and welcomed them.[30] Such a Maghrebi magician could have written this amulet for his Egyptian client for whom, as he looked upon it, a special value could even be added to the amulet by the Maghrebi script unusual in Egypt.

Plate One

The text is divided into 8 triangles (in rusty brown) and 5 diamonds (in dark brown except the central one). Starting left from the upper right corner the triangles are to be collated at first, then comes the central diamond, the upper right and left ones, and finally the lower right and left ones:

(1) باب — العقد الل — اللسان ال (2) الجن والانس اللهم — يامن وضع رقاب ا — الملوك فهم — من
سلطا — نه خايف — يفون — ٣٠٠ د (3) يامن — تفرد — بالعز — والعظمة — فجميع (4) خلفه من
خيفته — وجلون يامن — اعز — اولياء — بالنظا — مالدنيى ( ) (5) وهم يومئذ يب — يبثون ∴ —
ءالاء — (6) — ءالاء ءالاء او — ولياوك يا — الله المح - المحيط — بالحق - و — (7) انز —

among relics of Pharaonic Egypt: at about 1000 B. C. there was a high popularity of papyrus amulet scrolls worn in wooden holders, including promises of the gods to protect the owner from all evils (I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fourth Series, Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom [London 1960] I, xviii sq). From Carthago, too, has come an Egyptian, cylinder-like amulet holder with metal scroll ([7th–6th. cc. B. C.] J. Leclant, *Ägyptische Talismane aus den punischen Nekropolen*: *Archeologia Viva* I/2 [1968–69], 99). Large-sized scrolls of a layout partly similar to that of our amulet scroll under discussion are to be found in Ethiopia as well (see *e. g.* Löfgren, *op. cit.*). For these latter data I have to express my sincere thanks to Dr. L. Kákosy.

[29] On amulet-holders and their size see Kriss, *op. cit.*, 59 sq.

[30] Walker, *op. cit.*, 28 sq. On Egyptian magic, besides those parts of the well-known works of Lane and Blackman relating to the subject, see A. Amīn, *Qāmūs al-ʿādāt* (Cairo 1953); A. Rushdī Ṣāliḥ, *al-Adab al-Shaʿbī* (Cairo 1971), 121–200.

لته — وبالحق نزل — ادخلوا علي — (8) عليهم الباب — فاذا دخلتموه — فانكم غا — لبون — وعلى الله فتوكلوا — ان كنتم موم — منين سبو — ح سبو — ح (9) قدوس — قدوس رب الملا — ئكة والروح توكل ايها — الملك المطيع الا — سماء الله (10) يعقد — جميع ال — السنة الا — نس — والجن بلا — بلاحول ولاقوة — الابالله العلى — العظيم ∴ عسى — الله ان يجعل — بينكم وبين — بين الذين — عاديتم — مودة — ٧١٩ (11) مود — ة والله — ق — ١١٢ ١٩٣ — الله غفور — رحيم ∴ واتـ — تقوا الله لـ — لعلكم تفلحو — ن اصممت — واعقدت — والجمت — ورب (12) ور — ب حلت — ووثقت — كل لسان اولاد — بنى ءادم وحواء — بقدرة الله الو — ثاق التى ليس لها — اجلال ولااز — نطلاق ولا — انساق — حتى اسـ — تنحل (13) الركبة — من الساق قل كونوا حجا — حجارة او حديدا. (14) او — خلقا صم بكم عمى فهم — لايعقلون ∴ لايتكلمون الا — من اذن له الرحمن وقال — صوابا ∴ والله المو — افق

«(1—2) Chapter on the binding of jinns' and people's tongues. O God who has pulled the heads of kings down, and they are afraid if his power. 5300. (3) O who is powerful and great alone and everybody (4) is behind Him because of the fear of Him. They are afraid of Him, o, who made benefactors powerful in the worldly order (?). (5) And they will rise again that day. Benefactions (?). (6) Benefactions (?). Benefactions (?). Benefactors of you, o God who surround the truth. And (7) you have sent it down, and it hath descended with truth (Koran 17: 105). Enter ye (8) upon them suddenly by the gate of the city; and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall be victorious: therefore trust in God, if ye are true believers (Koran 5: 23). Glorious. Glorious. (9) Holy, Holy. Lord of the angels and the Spirit. Take measures, o king, who are obedient to God's names. (10) All the tongues of the people and the jinns are to be bound by the expression ,,There is no power, no force anywhere but with the almighty great God''. Peradventure God will establish friendship between yourselves and such of them as ye now hold for enemies 719. (11) Friendship. For God is q 193 112; God is inclined to forgive, and merciful (Koran 60: 7). And fear God, that ye may be happy (Koran 3: 200). You deafened and bound and arrested, and my Lord (12) and my Lord with the power of the reinforcing God you loosened and reinforced all the tongues of the children of Adam and Eve who will be unable to pay respect or start speaking fluently or speaking in rhymed prose, until (13) the knee will be unfastened from the leg. Answer, Be ye stones, or iron (Koran 17: 50), or some creature (Koran 17: 51). They are deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore they do not understand (Koran 2: 171). They shall not speak in behalf of themselves or others, except he only to whom the Merciful shall grant permission, and who shall say that which is right (Koran 78: 38). And God is the helper.»

Previous to the content analysis the formal characteristics are to be summarized as follows: there is a multiple *status constructus* in the (1) and (2),

so it is improper to use the article *al* before *ʿaqd* as well as *lisān*. The very same irregularity occurs in the (9) in connection with the word *asmā'* being a possession itself. Again in the (3) *fa-l-jamīʿ* (or *fajamīʿu-l-nās*) would be the more acceptable instead of *fajamīʿ*. Sometimes the diacritical dots are missing, the sentences are now and then separated by three dots and by a circle and dot in one case. Aiming at saving space as well as at continuity, a line or two is often finished with the beginning of the first word in the following line. Of the *al-muwāfiq*, last word in the (13), the *āfiq* is written on the margin of (12).

As for its contents, the amulet plate presents a magic formula, *daʿwa*, in which the petitioner wishes to assure the «binding» of the tongues of his adversaries as well as all jinns and people speaking anything malicious against him. The expression of «binding» takes us back to the probably oldest branch of Arabic magic where the use of knots play an important role.[31] It is well-known that the two final surahs have come into being for inactivating knot-magic bringing on illness, too.[32] Binding can be afflicted on a man to make him unable to approach women;[33] on a woman;[34] on a whole village;[35] or even on a dog to stop it from barking.[36] The binding of the tongue is ever so important because the tongue is a source of malicious speaking, regarded as a most powerful weapon in magic.[37] For neutralizing a binding there is the action of loosing (*ḥall*) which usually includes loosing of actual knots.[38]

The *daʿwa* of our amulet begins with the usual vocative formulas, which have nevertheless an important function in representing the sympathetic magic founded on analogical effect (*e.g.* the king humiliated the kings — he would do likewise with the enemies of the wearer of the amulet as well). The role of the numeral 5300 is partly to assure the odd cardinal, partly to have, perhaps, a secret meaning, symbolizing different names of God by numerical values.[39] The word *ālā'* refers to the good works received with the help of the

[31] On knot-magic in general see Doutté, *op. cit.*, 87 sqq; Kriss, *op. cit.*, 58

[32] Playing a leading role also in magic literature: *e. g.* al-Dayrabī, *op. cit.*, 29 sq. Here they appear to be able not only to protect someone but also «bind» others.

[33] Al-Jazā'irlī al-Maghrabī, *op. cit.*, 31.

[34] Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 190 sqq.

[35] Ibn Sīnā, *op. cit.*, 9.

[36] By the help of the name of Qiṭmīr, the dog of the Seven Sleepers (al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 246).

[37] On procedures for binding the tongue see *e. g.* al-Būnī, *Shams* II, 87 sq; *Manbaʿ* 258, 281 sq; al-Marzūqī, *op. cit.*, 36. On the malefic power of the word in the magic of today, see my article *e. g.*: *The Evil Eye in Today's Egypt*: *Folia Orientalia* XIII (1971), 58.

[38] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, 197; *Shams* I, 86 sq; Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 174 sq; Al-Dayrabī *op. cit.*, 114 sq; *Al-Luʾlu' wa-l-murjān* (Cairo), 4.

[39] On the magic role of numbers see Kriss, *op. cit.*, Index *s. v.* Zahlen.

amulet, as being considered to be gained by the mere putting down of the word. A similar part is played by the word *awliyā'*, too.[40]

Within the *da'wa* a definite group is formed by the Koran verses. The original context does not play a part in their selection, the only point is to find a word or action in them, able to help in realizing the purpose of the amulet by the mere analogy of an identical notion or action. The expression «you have sent it down and it hath descended with truth» is a paraphrase of the Koran 17 : 105 often to be seen on amulets.[41] The binding of tongue was especially necessary when appearing before the mighty, what is referred to by the quoting of that verse in the Koran encouraging penetration into the alien town (5 : 23) in the (8) as well as the (9).[42]

The (9) contains the *tawkīl* in which the magician lays a charge on one of the spirits' kings referring to different names of God. The approaches of God as *subbūḥ quddūs rabb al-malā'ika wa-l-rūḥ* (Glorious, Holy, Lord of the angels and of the Spirit) are widely popular in the conjuring texts.[43] The *rūḥ*, the Spirit derived from the notion of the Holy Spirit is the mediator of God's command, rising above the angels.[44] The epithets *subbūḥ* and *quddūs* are liked ever so much because they do not generally appear among the 99 beautiful names of God (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*).[45] The word *malik* 'king' in use might refer to one of the seven demon kings ruling over the individual days of the week.[46]

In the (10) a way of binding tongues is represented in quite a concrete form: the formula *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata . . .* is an example of the personification of magical forces, where the word has become an active force itself.[47]

The two Koran quotations in the (10) and (11) (*i.e.* 60 : 7 and 3 : 200) are intended to assure happiness as well as reconciliation of his adversaries to the wearer of the amulet. The total sum of the numerals 193 and 112 is 305, equal to the numerical value of the word *qādir* «powerful» (this is referred to by the

[40] On its occurence in conjuring literature see al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, IV, 13.

[41] Al-Būnī, *Manba'* 179 sq, 238; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 173.

[42] Cf. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Ṭilimsānī, *Shumūs al-anwār* (Cairo), 168. In part it occurs also in *al-Sab' 'uhūd al-sulaymāniyya* among the *al-sab' āyāt al-manjiyāt*.

[43] *E. g.* al-Būnī, *Shams* II, 75; al-Jazā'irlī al-Maghrabī, *op. cit.*, 22; al-Ṭūkhī, *Kitāb siḥr al-kahhān* (Cairo), 50.

[44] M. Horten, *Die religiöse Gedankenwelt des Volkes im heutigen Islam* (Halle 1917), 57 sqq; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (Leipzig 1872), 48 sq; Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 233. cf. al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, IV, 33 sqq.

[45] Doutté, *op. cit.*, 209. On the benefit of the *quddūs* see al-Būnī, *Shams* II, 18 sq; al-Ghazālī, *al-Maqṣid al-asnā* (Cairo), 38 sq.

[46] See *e. g.* Kriss, *op. cit.*, 82.

[47] Cf. Doutté, *op. cit.*, 117 sq. On the frequency of the formula see *e.g.* al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, II, 75, IV, 5, 12 sq, 17.

letter *q* before the numerals). In the text of the Koran verse the word *qadīr* of the same meaning should be put here.[48]

The verb forms of second person continuing in the (12) as well are expressing the total physical destruction of the enemies.[49] The use of the word *waththāq* as an attribute to Allah is rather strange and is probably founded on its analogy with the predicate *waththaqta*, fitting into the final *q* rhymes of the following *intilāq*, *insāq* and — in the (13) — *al-sāq* words at the same time. It is clear that here we have an incantation originally intended for reading aloud, in which the identical rhymes played a fundamentally important part.[50] With the image of the knee being unfastened from the leg, the author could express the setting in of death.

The Koran verses appearing in the (13) (*i.e.* 17 : 50—51; 2 : 171; 76 : 38) are threatening with muteness come upon all creatures. 2 : 71 and 78 : 38 are especially popular owing to the words connected with muteness appearing in them.[51] The final formula *wa-l-lāhu-l-muwāfiq* is rather used with the participle *muwaffiq* at the end of the description of magic operations.[52] It is no accident that the last three letters (*alif*, *f* and *q*) are to be found in the (12), namely the magician symbolically fastens the end of the amulet with this action, making it inaccessible to others.

Plate Two

It is divided into six squares, reads starting from the upper right corner (1) to central left (2), upper left (3), central right (4), lower left (5), lower right (6). The (1) (except the title), (2) and (6) are written in dark brown, the other ones in rusty brown. As it contains Koran verses except the title, we shall publish only the translation.

«(1) The usefulness of the verses of love. And they love them as with the love due to God; but the true believers are more fervent in love towards God (Koran 2 : 165). And he hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever riches are in the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts, but God united (2) them; for he is mighty and wise (Koran 8 : 63). The love

[48] An additional mistake is the absence of *minhum* after the *ʿādaytum* in the (10) and of *wa* before the *al-lāh ghafūr* in the (11).

[49] On a similar usage see *e. g.* al-Būnī, *Manbaʿ* 260 sqq; al-Ghazālī, *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* 36 sqq; al-Ṭūkhī, *op. cit.*, 72 and *al-Siḥr al-ʿazīm* (Cairo), III, 18.

[50] On the role of the rhymes played in the *hijā'* poetry see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* 26 sqq.

[51] *E. g.* al-Būnī, *Manbaʿ* 144, 260, 278; *al-Asrār al-ilāhiyya* (Cairo) 20; *al-Lu'lu' wa-l-murjān* 20; al-Awghānīstānī, *al-Jawāhir al-ghāliyya* (Cairo), 53.

[52] See *e. g.* Al-Būnī, *Shams* I, 12, 108, II, 87. On *muwaffiq* see Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Kabīr, *Tāj al-mulūk* 153.

and eager desire of wives, and children, and sums heaped of gold, (3) and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the provision of the present life; but unto God shall be the most excellent return (Koran 3: 14). (4) And I bestowed on thee love [this word repeats itself] from me (Koran 20: 39). But she resolved within herself to enjoy him, and he would have resolved to enjoy her (Koran 12: 24). God said; We will strenghten thine arm by thy brother (Koran 28: 35). He hath inflamed her breast with his love [this word repeats itself] (Koran 12: 30) (5) with violent love [this expression is not from the Koran]. God said, We will strenghten thine arm by thy brother, and we will give each of you extraordinary power (Koran 28: 35). With much affection (Koran 89: 20). And he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour (Koran 3: 103). (6) They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islam. Answer, Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islam: rather God upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith; if you speak sincerely (Koran 49: 17). How often hath a small army discomfited a great army, by the will of God? and God is with those who patiently persevere (Koran 2: 249). And when they went forth to battle aginst Jalut [Goliath] and his forces (Koran 2: 250).»

From a linguistic point of view, the superfluous use of the article *al* before the word *āyāt* in the expression *Fā'idat al-āyāt al-maḥabba* is a characteristic here, too. The verses are now and then separated from each other by three dots.

This part is strictly connected with the former in content: the Koran quotations (with the words expressing love, attraction) chosen seemingly at random, express the wish of the wearer of the amulet for not only binding the adversaries' tongues, but for gaining people's goodwill and ingratiating himself into the favour of the mighty. And if all this is not of use, there is the reference to Goliath in the (6) as a symbol to the victory of the weak.

So, here we have to deal not with pure love magic, but with a special form of it destined to assure the friendly feelings of others.[53] Such procedures are collected under the title *al-Dukhūl ʿalā-l-mulūk wa-l-umarā'* (Entering to kings and emirs) in conjuring books.[54] 2: 165, 3: 103, 8: 63, 20: 39 often appear in the magic formulas of the *maḥabba*.[55]

[53] For examples see al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, II, 75, 92 sq, III, 3 and *passim*. On love magic see *ibid.*, I, 35, 86 and *passim*; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 241 sqq; al-Ṭūkhī, *op. cit.*, II, 224; Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-kanz al-madfūn* (Cairo), 21 sqq. For modern practice see H. Al-Sharbatī, *Min wasā'il (al-jalb) wa-l-maḥabba ʿinda-l-ʿirāqiyyīn: al-Turāth al-shaʿbī* I/6, (1970), 33 sqq.

[54] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, Fihrist. The *maḥabba* and the *ʿaqd* occur together e. g. *ibid.*, I, 85, II, 258, IV, 12, 27.

[55] *Al-Sabʿ ʿuhūd al-sulaymāniyya*; *al-Luʾlu' wa-l-murjān* 20; al-Ṭūkhī, *al-Mandal* (Cairo), 50; etc.

Plate Three

The oblong and its diagonals are made up of the words of surah 112 (in dark brown colour). Within the individual triangles names of the following prophets are to be read: Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Ismail, Alyasaʿ (in rusty brown colour); Loth, Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad, Jesus, Job, Moses, Jonah, Hūd (in dark brown colour).[56]

In connection with a similar plate in this book, al-Būnī reveals only that it is very useful, but concluding from the Koran verses written around the figure its main purpose might be to protect against magic.[57] In another conjuring text the Koran 8: 62—63 makes up the figure, being here protection and obtaining the *maḥabba* the express aim.[58]

Plate Four

It holds a 10×10 cm magic square[59] (figures in rusty brown) in which the total sum of the horizontal and vertical rows as well as of the members of both diagonals is 505. Its structure comprises squares measuring 4×4, 6×6, 8×8 and 10×10 each of them making up a quadrat in itself. The only mistake in its composition is that the figures 34 and 38 in the third row from above have to be inverted.[60]

6	2	11	14	88	89	92	98	100	5
94	21	25	28	74	75	79	82	20	7
93	77	34	38	60	66	68	37	24	8
86	72	62	50	53	56	43	39	29	15
83	69	61	55	44	49	54	40	32	18
17	31	42	45	58	51	48	59	70	84
16	30	36	52	47	46	57	65	71	85
10	23	64	67	41	85	33	63	78	91
4	81	76	73	27	26	22	19	80	97
96	99	90	87	13	12	9	3	1	95

[56] On the personage of these prophets see. Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 289 sqq.

[57] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, I, 92. On the benefit of surah 112 see *e. g.* al-Dayrabī, *op. cit.*, 27 sqq.

[58] Al-Ṭūkhī, *Ism al-lāh al-aʿẓam* (Cairo), 58.

[59] On Arabic magic quadrats in general see W. Ahrens's works: *Der Islam* 7 (1917), 186 sqq, 12 (1922), 157 sqq, 14 (1925), 104 sqq. The principle of making a quadrat is to a certain extent similar to that of a crossword puzzle, and it is worth mentioning that the latter already existed in ancient Egypt as well (I. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle* [Leiden 1966]).

According to the sorcery books this square does not belong to any of the planets, but it is useful in dispatching any business as well as against poison and for obtaining the *maḥabba*.[61]

Plate Five

Adjoining a geometric figure it reads as follows (written in rusty brown):

وقال ان هذه عمامة — النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم — اللهم انفعنا من بركات النبوة — عليهم الصلوات الله عليهم — اجمعين — الخاتم الاخلاص — وايضا المباركة فى بعض الاركان مبارك فيه

«This is said to be the turban of the Prophet (May God bless him and may He give him peace!). O God give us a share in the blessings of prophecy. May God's blessings fall on them, on all of them! The seal of the *Ikhlāṣ* [Sincerity]. And may one of the pillars be also blessed. It is blessed.»

The improper use of the article *al* before *al-ṣalawāt* and *al-khātam* is obvious in this inscription as well.

The plate fulfils a manifold magic role. A reference to the Prophet's turban puts it in that group of amulets which came into being owing to the magic power attributed to different objects of the Prophet.[62] The mentioning of the Prophet's turban may refer to the prescribed place of wearing the amulet at the same time, namely the turban of the actual owner was made absolutely secure by this reference.[63] The expression *khātam al-Ikhlāṣ* (Seal of the surah *Ikhlāṣ*) indicates that the figure not only symbolizes the Prophet's turban but also plays the part of one of the amulet seals.

Plate Six

It holds a 3×3 square consisting of a numerical quadrat (with members 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 346, 347, 348 in dark brown) and a verbal quadrat of Allah's epithets beginning with *alif* (*i.e. aḥad* 'one'; *awwal* 'first'; *ākhir*

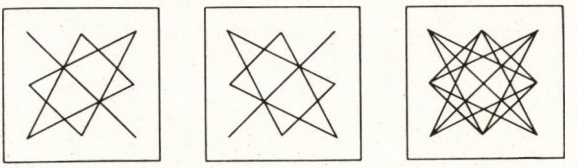
[60] For examining the numerals of the quadrat my sincere thanks are due to Mrs. M. Zimányi.

[61] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, IV, 93; al-Damanhūrī, *Shifā' al-Ẓam'ān* (Cairo), 6 sq; al-Marzūqī, *op. cit.*, 48 sq. On a not real, 10^2 magic quadrat see *e. g.* al-Būnī, *Manbaʿ* 162.

[62] That is why *e. g.* the poem *al-Burda* (The Mantle) of al-Būsīrī (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 217 sq), or the shoes, hair, tooth etc. of the Prophet (Zwemer, *Hairs of the Prophet* 51) are regarded as amulets. On a turban amulet see Kriss, *op. cit.*, 53.

[63] Amulets are to be worn in the most varied places: in the turban, on the head, under the tongue, on the arm; there are some which are to be put under the threshold or to be consumed by fire (al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, 147, 258; al-Jazā'irlī al-Maghrabī, *op. cit.*, 26 sqq, 31; *al-Lu'lu' wa-l-murjān* 3; ʿAlī Ṭālib — al-Maghrabī al-Fāsī — al-Ghazālī, *Majmūʿa* [Cairo], 21; Ibn Sīnā, *Majmūʿa* 20).

'last'; *azalī* 'eternal'; all in rusty brown) arranged in groups of three again. If we join those members belonging to the same group in the numerical (a) and the verbal (b) quadrat, we find that the two is a reflection of each other (c) which means that the quadrats were deliberately arranged in this way.



a b c

According to Westermarck's interpretation the two intersecting squares symbolize the two eyes, and protect against malefic glance in magic.[64]

One of the conjuring books attributes to this complex numerical and verbal quadrat the characteristics of bracing its wearer up in his belief in the unity of God (*i.e. tawḥīd*) and instructing him in science.[65]

Plate Seven

The last plate of the scroll (making up actually one plate in common with the previous one) holds a faultless 9×9 magic quadrat (figures in rusty brown) in which the total sum of those members in one row is 369.[66]

13	76	75	74	9	14	15	16	77
12	26	61	60	23	27	28	62	70
11	25	35	50	33	36	51	57	71
10	24	34	40	39	44	48	58	72
81	65	53	45	41	37	29	17	1
80	64	52	38	43	42	30	18	2
79	63	31	32	49	46	47	19	3
78	20	21	22	59	55	54	56	4
5	6	7	8	73	68	67	66	69

[64] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, 50 sq. On quadrat figures cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*: *Der Islam* 13 (1923), 227 sqq.

[65] Al-Ṭūkhī, *op. cit.*, 50.

[66] On the representation of an identical quadrat (however with many mistakes) see al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, 58.

This quadrat is attributed now to the Moon now to the Saturn as for the planets, setting out the *maḥabba*, getting promotion, prevailing over adversaries, going on errands, protection against illness are among its benefits.[67]

As the last magic quadrat closing the amulet scroll, it also played the part of the final *khātam*, *i.e.* seal, of the amulet.[68]

The decoration seen all over the scroll (the outlines in dark brown, the other parts in rusty brown) plays a magic role completing the text and intensifying the effect of the amulet. The double lines so popular on Jewish amulets as well,[69] the triangles arranged in zigzag line,[70] the groupings made up of three dots,[71] the squares are all frequent components of amulets, and fulfil important protecting duty.[72] The figure on Plate Five has a task of its own again, apart from those mentioned above: through the dots put into the middle of the squares fivefoldness prevailing over its complicated structure, it is supposed to protect the wearer of the amulet against all evil glances.[73]

The significance of this amulet scroll is to be summarized in being rather an example of a magic nearer to the official religion, as opposed to the lower-level popular magic represented by conjuring books, which is characterized by explicitely malefic wishes and well-known, obscure demon names, absent from our amulet at hand.[74] Starting from this fact as well as from the nature of the wishes in the amulet and from the careful finish of the scroll, we are to advance the supposition that the one-time owner of this scroll was an early 19th century member of the Egyptian middle class probably working in the administration (that is why he lays stress upon human relations), and probably considering popular magic foolish supersition himself. But that does not alter the case that the remnants of belief in spirits in Islam, however impliedly, survived in all social strata.

[67] Al-Marzūqī, *op. cit.*, 45 sqq; Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Ṭilimsānī, *Shumūs* 86; al-Ghazālī, *al-Awfāq* (Cairo), 16; al-Ṭūkhī, *al-Siḥr al-ʿaẓīm* III, 195. The 9^2 quadrat is the *khātam* of the *daʿwa* of the Friday (I. M. ʿUbayd, *Mamjūʿa ʿamaliyyāt wa mujarrabāt al-Ghazālī al-kabīr* [Cairo] 103 sq).

[68] On the significance of the *khātam* see Winkler, *op. cit.*, 110 sqq.

[69] *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (new edition) *s. v.* Amulet.

[70] See *e.g.* Kriss, *op. cit.*, the illustrations: 61, 66/1A, 72/8, 82/1. The triangles arranged in zigzag line appear already on Babylonian amulets imitating a writing tablet (G. Driver, *Semitic Writing* [London 1954], Plates 11/1, 32/1). On this phenomenon see Bilabel–Grohmann, *op. cit.*, 425 sq.

[71] Al-Būnī, *op. cit.*, 103.

[72] Doutté, *op. cit.*, 181 sqq and Westermarck, *op. cit.*, 48, 57 sqq, who emphasizes in this connection the protection against an evil eye.

[73] On protection against the evil eye see Doutté, *op. cit.*, 323 sqq.

[74] On their difference see *ibid.*, 219, 304.



Plate One



Plate Two

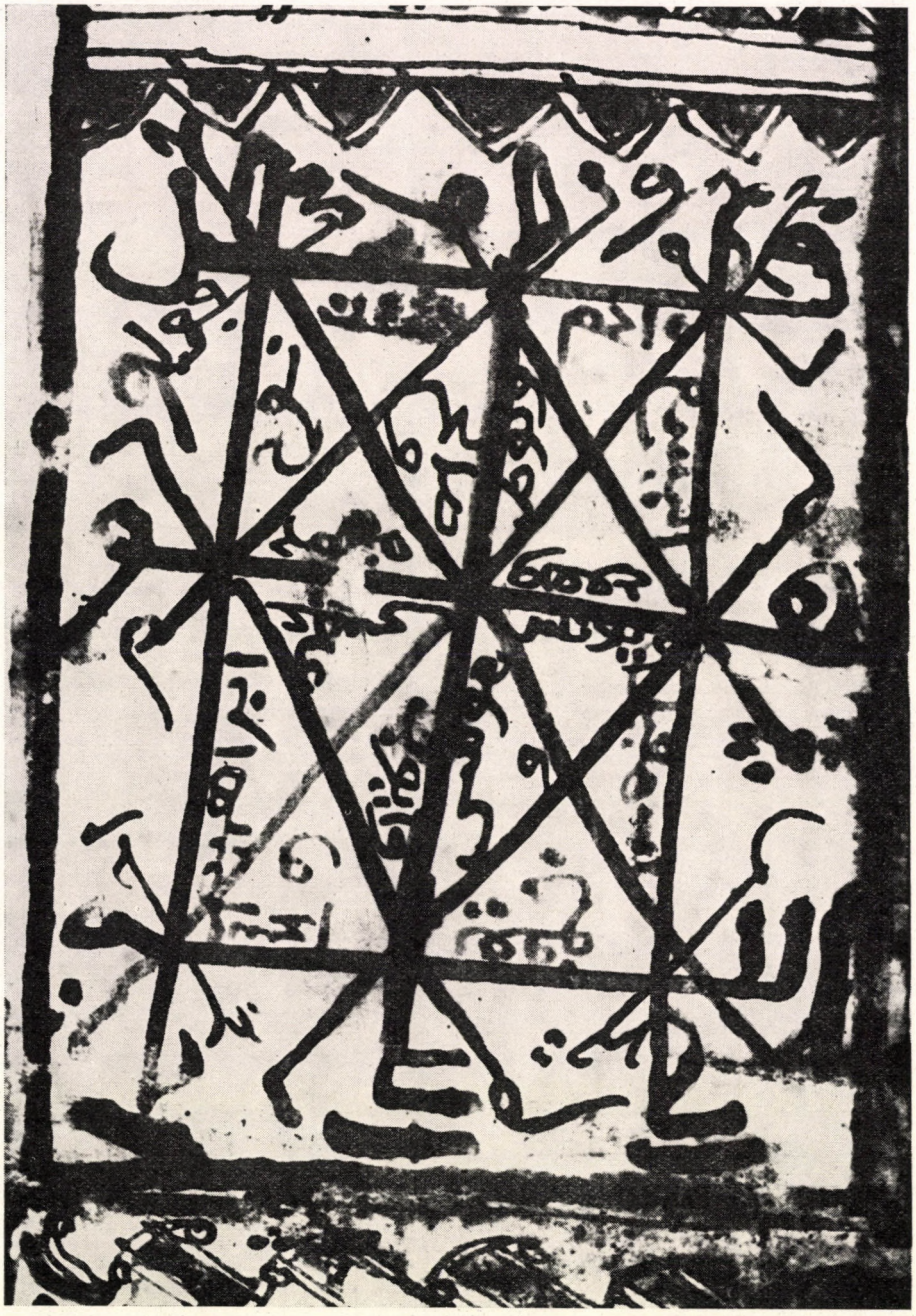


Plate Three



Plate Four

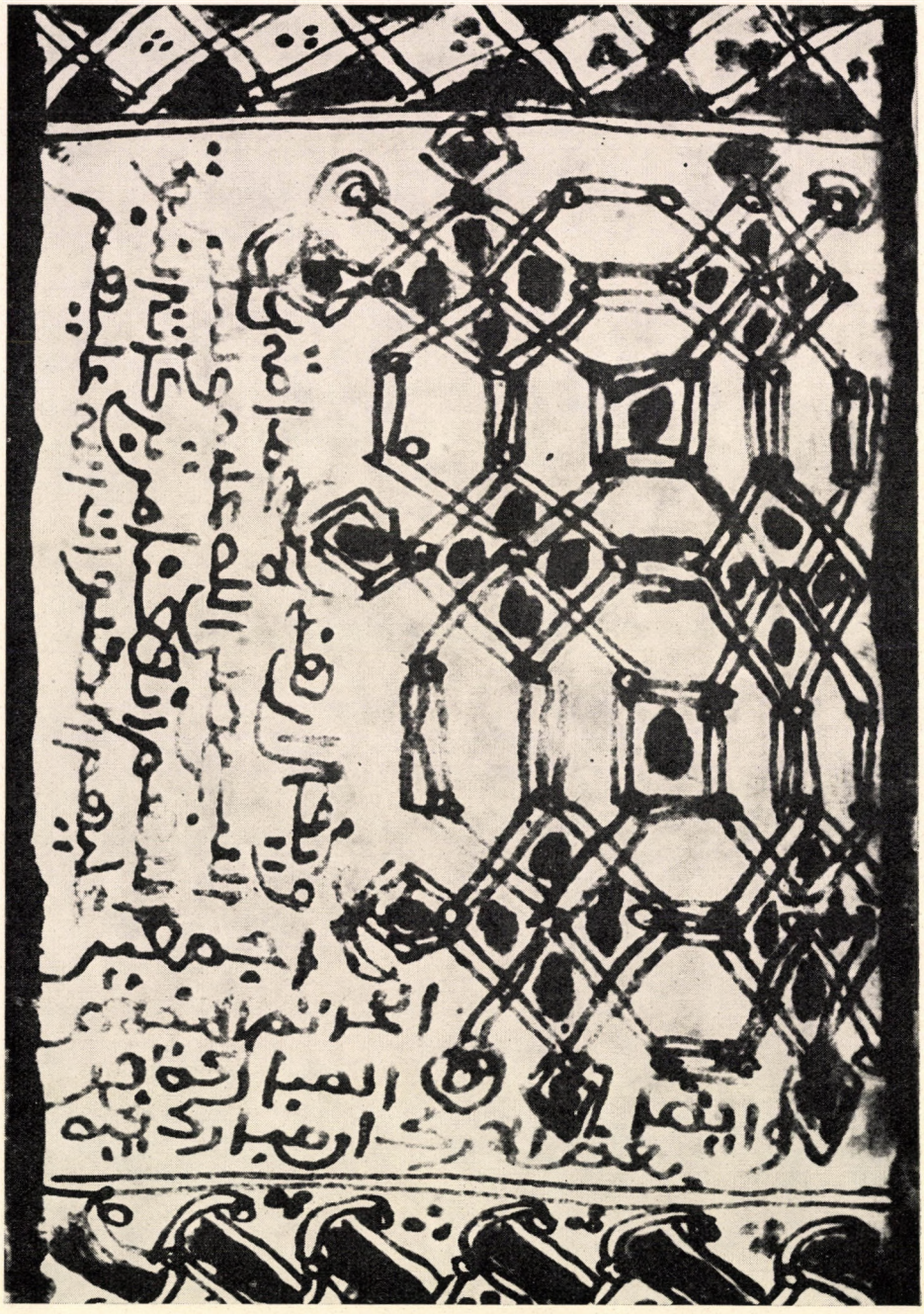


Plate Five



Plate Six



Plate Seven

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ALADDIN AND THE WONDERFUL LAMP

BY

E. GAÁL

«I have seen the complete work more than once, and it is indeed a vulgar, insipid book» — recorded the author of Fihrist, written in 988 A. D., in his chapter «concerning the Story-Tellers and the Fabulists and the names of the books which they composed» about the Thousand and One Nights.[1] The place that it won for itself in world literature proved his opinion to be hasty and mistaken, although it was shared by almost all Arab scholars in the Middle Ages. This work, the Arabian Nights, regarded as second-rate in the Arab world, has enjoyed fantastic success in Europe.

At the end of the 17th century, the French traveller Antoine Galland discovered a 16th century manuscript of it. Between 1704—14 in a charming Baroque paraphrase Galland[2] excellently reproduced the erotic, mystic and at the same time realistic world of the Arabian Orient and he contributed considerably to the recognition of the role of Arabic culture as preserver and intermediary.

The examination of the collection of tales, its structure and motifs had already been begun by Arab scholars. Masʿūdī (died in 956 A. D.) mentions an old Persian book the *Hazār Afsān* («Thousand Tales») which «is generally called the Thousand and One Nights; it is the story of the King and his Vizier, and of the Vizier's daughter and her slave-girl: Shírázád and Dínázád».[3] For years thanks to the additions of the story-tellers, new stories, the motifs, tales and legends of neighbouring peoples and conquered nations were grafted on to the Persian root, and this great collection was held together by the «chest-of-drawers» structure which makes it «Arabian». The collection took its present shape in 16th century Mameluk Egypt. In all probability this final form was the result of just such a conscious collecting process as that mentioned by al-Nadīm, the compiler of Fihrist. He tells about a certain al-Jahshiyāri (died in 942 A. D.) the author of the *Book of Viziers* «who began to compile a book

[1] R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 458.
[2] R. A. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 458—59.
[3] R. A. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 456—57, note 1 on 457.

in which he selected one thousand stories of the Arabs, the Persians, the Greeks and other peoples, every piece being independent and inconnected with the rest. He gathered the story-tellers around him. He was a skilful craftsman, so he put together from this material 480 nights, but death surprised him before he completed the thousand tales as he had intended».[4] For the crystallization of the Thousand and One Nights more than one generation was needed.

Seven cultures were pointed out by Enno Littman[5] as the origin of the tales and stories. These are the Indian, the ancient and middle Persian, the Babylonian (which is represented only in particularities), Ancient Arabian, and that belonging to the period of the Arab-Islamic caliphate, the Syriac-Jewish-Christian, the Egyptian (ancient Egyptian, and Egyptian from the period of Hellenistic and Islamic Egypt), and a few European motifs, which were adopted by the Arabs during the Crusades.

The bulk of the tales were composed in Egypt. According to the opinion of Th. Nöldeke the waggish, ironical gaiety, as also the presence of the supernatural powers and magicians, is characteristic of the Egyptian tales composed in Cairo.[6]

Opinions differ, however, as to whether these tales composed in Egypt preserve Ancient Egyptian motifs and stories. Several scholars attempted to demonstrate the continuity of the Ancient Egyptian motifs. Among them it is necessary to touch upon Th. Nöldeke who proved that the Story of Rhampsinit's treasury[7] appeared suddenly in the story of Ali al-Zaibak. He thinks Amasis,[8] the bold commander who succeed to the throne of the Pharaohs, is a forefather of Ali al-Zaibak, who became a sultan in a new Aramaic tale, too. W. Spiegelberg recognized the monkey able to read and write, (an enchanted man in the story of the Burden-bearer and the Three Girls) as the old Egyptian Scribe-God, Thoth represented many times as a monkey.[9] The story of the little lion (in the Stories about the Animals and Men) is traced back to an old Egyptian story by František Lexa.[10] It is shown that the antecendents of the Sindbad stories is the old Egyptian story of the shipwrecked sailor. The robbers of Ali Baba hiding themselves in earthen vessels used the same methods as the old Egyptian soldiers during the siege of Jaffa, when they occupied the town secretly after being taken into the town in goatskins.[11] The famous

[4] R. A. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 458.
[5] E. Littman, *Tausend und eine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, Tübingen 1923.
[6] Th. Nöldeke, *Zu den ägyptischen Märchen*: *ZDMG* 42 (1888), 68—72.
[7] Herod. II 121—123.
[8] Herod. II 169—182.
[9] E. Littman, *op. cit.*
[10] Fr. Lexa, *Ar. Or.* 2 (1930).

«sesame» spell used by the robbers has also roots in the Coptic literature according to the opinion of László Kákosy.[12]

As for Hungarian research, let us consider for a moment the recently published works by László Kákosy[13] and Sándor Fodor[214] who demonstrated the continuity Arab and Coptic themes in the Arabic culture of various regions. Their results show that it is worthwhile investigating in the Thousand and One Nights such themes as are rooted, if not in the age of the Pharaohs, then in the culture of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

For the present we should like to deal with the theme of one of the best known tales, namely the theme of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp, which it is possible to trace from the above-mentioned periods of Egyptian history.

We can find this tale in the translation of Galland, but in the collections published in the last century, like in the editions of Calcutta (1814—18), of Bulak (1835), of Breslau (1825—43) we look for this tale in vain. The Arabic manuscript turned up only at the end of the last century, and was published by H. Zotenberg in 1888. From this fact the conclusion was drawn that this tale was dictated by Hanna, a Christian from Syria, to Galland, who brought with him only four volumes of manuscripts from his Oriental travels and this material was not enough for 1001 nights. There are scholars who have gone further. According to them we are dealing with an Arabic translation of a European tale written in one of the Romance languages originally. According to E. Littman the text shows a very strong European influence, in certain cases its train of thought is unfamiliar to the Arabs. Another group of scholars who accept it as being of Arab origin, date it very late among the tales composed in Egypt, because of the mention of coffee, of which the Arabs knew nothing before 16th century.[15]

The story of Aladdin we can divide into three, well defined parts. The two protagonists, Aladdin and the Moorish magus are living at the two most far-off points of the Medieval Arabian world; the magus in Western Africa and Aladdin in the town of Kalas of China. The first part of the story narrates their meeting. Aladdin a fifteen years old boy spends all his time playing and knocking about the streets with his fellows. Here meets the Moor, who has spent forty years of his life looking for the treasures hidden in the town of Kalas. The magus insinuates himself into Aladdin's and his mother's confidence, knowing that he can get this wealth only with the help of this boy. His attempt

[11] A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, Leipzig 1923, 216—18, Pap. Harris 500.

[12] Kákosy L., *Varázslás az ókori Egyiptomban in Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 7, Budapest 1969, 81—82, note 172.

[13] Kákosy L., *op. cit.*

[14] Fodor S., *Az arab piramislegendák in Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 10, Budapest 1971.

[15] Cf. E. Littman, *op. cit.*

to gain the treasure and the lamp promising world power is unsuccessful. Aladdin frightened to death succeeds in finding the wonderful lamp in the cave but when he wants to return, he is unable to cross the narrow well because of his pockets and shirt filled chock-full of treasures. The magus does not fly to his assistance, for he is interested only in obtaining the lamp and not in the boy's safe return. Aladdin who recognises the Moor's real aim too late, is temporarly inprisoned in the cave, and the magician goes away to Western Africa empty-handed. The boy escapes from the cave with the help of the genie of the ring which he had got from the Moor. The first part ends with this incident.

Part two narrates the love-story of Aladdin and the princess Badr al-Budūr. Aladdin having discovered the power of the lamp by a fortunate accident, obtains with its help such wealth that he wins the hand of the princess in spite of the Vizier's machinations.

At the end of the story the Moor appears on the scene again. For a short time he gets back the lamp, but Aladdin with the help of his wife traps and kills him. (There is one more episode, the story of the Moor's brother and the holy Fatimah. In our opinion this episode is not an integral part of the tale.)

In the following we should like to deal with the first part of the story, with the motifs of fortune-hunting, the wonderful lamp, the wealth produced by the genie of the lamp.

By way of introduction it is necessary to emphasize that all the themes listed above are to be found on the Egyptian magical papyri from the period of the Roman Empire, and the sequence of magical events in the first part of the tale, the culmination of which is the winning of the wonderful lamp, is directly connected with the lychnomanteia, divination with the lamp[16] to be found in the so-called great demotic magical papyrus of London—Leiden from the 2nd—3rd centuries A. D.[16a]

In the 2nd—4th centuries A. D. it is very difficult to make any distinction between the divination (*μαντική*) and magic (*μαγεία*) because the inductive (*ἔντεχνος*) divination gave omens not only by means of natural or artificially produced signs but by the improving of the methods used in hydromanteia, lekanomanteia, in which the adepts fell into a trance by gazing at the gelaming surface of water, whereupon gods, spirits and ghosts of the dead appeared before them in visions and told them of future events. (At this level of the development appeared the divination with mirror, lamp and crystal, too.) The magic had taken the same development when it reached the stage of theurgia

[16a] F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, London 1904, Vol. I.

[16] F. Cunen, *Lampe et coupe magiques (PGM,V, 1—58)*, *Symbolae Osloenses* 36 (1960), 65—71.

recognised as the most developed method by the ancients. At that point the two activities were interlocked.[17]

One of the papyri of the 3rd century A. D. at Leiden (recto of that papyrus on which there is the old Egyptian myth of the so-called «Sonnenauge», mentioned at the beginning) mentions two prescriptions for making magical rings.[18] According to the description, the adept should engrave on one side of a blue jasper a snake, a cross, stars, a sun-disk and above these the word Abrasax; he should frame this carved stone in a golden ring with the same signs carved on it. With the help of a prayer the ring gets the magical power to conjure up ghosts, to destroy enemies, to induce sleep, to tell fortunes, to obtain wealth, to produce illness of the body and of the soul, and all this — instantly. Aladdin got this type of ring from the Moorish magician before letting himself down into the cave.

The Greek magical papyri have preserved for us such methods too. With the help of these a magician can win the assistant divinity (*πάρεδρος*) round to supply him with wordly goods. The ghost of the wonderful lamp possessed the powers of such an assistant divinity. We know the way to win over these divinities from a papyrus of Berlin written in the 4th century A. D.[19] According to the text a shining star appears in the room after the magical activity which then takes the shape of an angel. This assistant divinity, a theos pneuma, does everything that he is ordered to do. Among other accomplishments, he can bring silver and gold, open doors, supply food (any food except pork), arrange the room for the reception of guests with the help of demons, bridle evil spirits, make the magician invisible.

The theme of tomb-robbing also appears in the first part of the tale.[20] This is of Egyptian origin. Until the middle of the last century Egypt was a paradise for grave-robbers and treasure-seekers. Documents dating from the 12th century B. C. have survived to tell of a gang that robbed cemeteries in the reign of Ramses IX. In ancient Egypt, the decline of the central government's power was accompained by the expansion of the robbers' activities which were thwarted during the 21st dinasty only by transferring the remaining royal mummies from the Valley of the Kings to a secret place. After the Arabian invasion the despoiling of the tombs gathered momentum, the Arabian rulers

[17] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, articles of Kleinfeller and Hopfner on Magia and Manteia.

[18] K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I—II, Leipzig 1928—31, II. 72.; W. Springelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge nach dem Leidener Papyrus*, Strassburg 1917.

[19] K. Preisendanz, *op. cit.* I, 4.

[20] We do not agree with C. R. Long, *Archeology* 1956, 210—14, she was looking for a concrete type of Egyptian tomb, and she found that the tombs of the Saite period look like the cave described in our tale.

themselves took part in the organized plunder. In the 14th century A. D. a special «technical book» was at the robbers' disposal. This work mentions the use of incense as an important aid to the despoiling of tombs. The incense was made on a hill west of the pyramid of Cheops. In our tale we also find the incense, the Moor caused Aladdin to light a fire on the hill, hiding the treasures and beside the blaze he performs the magical rituals which succeed in moving that stone block covering the cave's exit.

The first part of the tale is not simply a story of the despoiling of a tomb. The magic performed on the hill does not gain the treasures. Before his magical activity on the hill with Aladdin the Moorish magician did research work for more than ten years to get an everyday lamp. In our opinion we are confronted by a special revaluation of the divination with the lamp which was popular in Egypt at the time of the Roman Empire.

In antiquity beside its original purpose the lamp played an important part in the funeral cult. Hundreds of lamps have been excavated from graves. But the bulk of these lamps were never used to light up the crypts. These lamps were lit once at the very most — at the time of the burial — but most of them were laid, brand-new, along with the other things, beside the dead. This type of once or never used lamps have been found in the Egyptian graves from the time of the Roman Empire, too. Lamps were laid in the Phoenician, Mycenaean tombs, but this practice was becoming customary at the time of the Roman period. At that time not one but two lamps were burried beside the dead.

The lamp played an important role in popular belief. They inferred tempest and rain from its crackle. We can find reference in Vergil also:

> «*Nec nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae*
> *Nescivere hyemen: testa cum ardente viderent*
> *Scintillare oleum, et putres consrescere fungos*»[21].

In the same manner Apuleius provides evidence concerning weather forecasting with the help of a lamp in the Metamorphoses,
«*cum ecce iam uespera lucernam intuens Pamphile: 'quam largus' inquit, 'imber adevit crastino et perconbanti marito, qui comperisset istud, respondit sibi lucernam praedicere*».[22]
Johannes Chrysostomos mentions the practice of lighting several lamps before the birth of a child. Each of the lamps bore a name, and the child received the name of whichever lamp burned longest. The lamp was considered as a useful tool for keeping demons at bay. Lamps were burried at the corner of

[21] Vergil, *Georg.*, Lib. I. 390—92.
[22] Apuleus, *Methamorphoseon*, Lib. II. 11.

houses, under the doors in the Near East. Lukianos said that the lamp of Megapenthes was called as witness by Hermes and it gave an account of the crimes committed by his owner, by the tyrant in the lamplight.[23] Similarly Lukianos tells of his visit to Lychnopolis where the lamps lived human lives.[24]

In view of this it is not accidental, that the lamp played an important part in the art of magic.

The so-called «great magical papyrus of Paris» preserved for us the method of the divination with lamp with meticulous care. According to the text the magician, dressed in special clothes, must begin the magical act by reciting the magic spells over the lamp, facing the rising sun. In this magical hymn he praised the snake, the powerful lion, the magic power of the fire and asked the God of fire, the invisible creator of fire to appear in the lamplight, to flame as a divine spirit around the lamp. The magician who recited this or similar magical spells or incantations (they were usually repeated seven times, with eyes now open, now closed) could attain higher and higher states of auto-suggestion. In this divination they used a lamp made of gold-stone and its wick was soaked with the tallow of a black ram. In front of the lamp filled with fine oil the magician should continue with this until he saw in the lamp-light a vision of a hall with a god seated in the middle of it. At this stage of the rite it is possible to ask the god sitting on the throne a question or to get him to do certain tasks.[25]

Because of the cardinal motif of this type of divination was suggestion or hypnosis they used media in the course of it.

In the prefaratory part of our tale the divination with the lamp that shows the closest connection was preserved by the so-called «great demotic magical papyrus». We cite the magical activity according to Column VI of this text from the 2nd—3rd centuries A. D. verbatim:

«(VI/1) An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean *dark cell* without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a withe *lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean,* and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at down in his rising and bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times (4) and you take it into the cell, *you being pure, and the boy also,* and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. *You put pure frankincense on the brazier.* You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make open his eyes towards the lamp; then

[23] Lukianos, *Cataplus,* 27.
[24] Lukianos, *Ver. hist.,* I. 29.
[25] K. Preisendanz, *op. cit.,* I 64.

he sees the *shadow of the god about the lamp*, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire» (italics mine — E. G.).[26]

They attached unusual importance to the selection of the medium. Column III of the same papyrus contains the followings;
«(III/11) . . . and you *take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman*, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands previously, (*to learn*) *whether he will be profitable, you make him lie on* (?) *his belly*; (13) *you clothe* (?) *him with a clean linen tunic* (?), you call down into his head, there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic» (italics mine — E. G.).[27]

We think that between the two passages mentioned later and the first part of the Aladdin story the similarity is evident. The magician of the papyrus is the Moor of the tale, but his medium is Aladdin, who never slept with a woman. The tale complies consistently with these requirements, because Aladdin makes use of the services of the lamp until he wins the hand of the princess Badr al-Budūr, or, to be more exact, he does not rid himself of the Moor completely until his marriage is consummated.

The tale closely dramatizes the instructions written on the papyrus concerning the choice of the medium. The Moor spends much of his time in getting acquainted with his medium. He makes an effort to insinuate himself into Aladdin's confidence, he dresses him in new clothes. Also Aladdin is attracted by the magician because he wants to make a merchant of the boy. We should not press this identity of the motifs too far, but we can venture to declare that the composers of the tale made use of even those parts of the magical rite described on the papyrus which had no meaning for them. At the time of the adoption they did not know certainly why the medium had to lie flat on his stomach, but they used this particular also. They obviously felt it to be significant in some way. Aladdin, who is prepared for the marvellous phenomena ensueing on the spot where the Moor performs his magic runs away panic-stricken when he sees them. The Moor, trying to prevent the disruption of his magical ritual, knocks the boy unconscious.

The tale and the text of the papyrus differ as to the function of the lamp. On the papyrus the lamp is only the instrument of the magic, in the tale it is not only the instrument but the aim of the magic as well. Namely, the tale interrupts the continuity of the magical action at the moment when Aladdin fails to return from the cave, and the magician cannot call immediately the spirit of the lamp. Aladdin discovers its magical power only later when in need of food and money he wants to sell it and he cleans it for sale. It seems that, in the tale the spirit of the lamp, which in the text of the papyrus the shadow of the god is summoned without any magic but only by the rubbing

[26] F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 51—52.
[27] F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 33.

of the lamp — that is, mechanically. Really this possibility is not far from the original practice in which only brand-new, clean lamps are used. Cleanness is the quality of the lamp stipulated on the papyrus, and the condition of the lamp thus gives rise to a series of actions or rather the aim of these actions. According to the demotical papyrus the rites must be performed in a dark place. The tale complies with this requirement too. Aladdin, when he wants to call the genie of the lamp always goes to his room, and, Arab architecture being what it is, his room was no doubt a dark place. There is a specific reason for this given in the tale. The mother of Aladdin became unconscious when her son called the genie by chance the first time. By withdrawing to his room he is trying to protect his mother.

After listing these analogs we think the conclusion seems self-evident, namely the tale of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp is rooted in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

Finally we must return to the dating problem of the tale. Recently a monograph was published about Arab divination.[28] The author proves by analysing several texts of al-Masʿūdī and Ps.-Jāḥiz (died 869 A. D.) that the Arabs practised both intuitive and inductive magic. A Ps.-Jāḥiz passage mentions that the Arabs read omens in bird-calls, in the appearance of wild animals, in the croacking of ravens, in the cooing of pigeons, in the swishing sound made by genies, in the form of clouds, in the constallation of the starts, and so on.[29]

For us it is more important that they discovered omens in the blazing flames above the brazier and the lamp. These omens are the following: if a flame blazes up above the brazier on the left side, it means rain and snow; if it happens on the right side of it, it means whirlwind; if the flame is turning around the brazier, its means debate in the settlement; if it turns before the brazier, it means that the head of the house is returning from his trip; if it turns behind the brazier, the tenants of the house will become ill; if the flame makes a laughing sound, its means happiness and sorrow together.[30]

This kind of soothsaying is substantially the same as that mentioned by Vergil and Apuleius. The descriptions given by the Arabian authors are confirmed by classical auctors. According to Cicero the Arabs used birds in their soothsaying.[31] Appian in one of his fragments writes that at the time of the Alexandrian revolt of the Jews during the reign of Trajan he had to flee from Egypt and he got an Arabian guide. This man proved from three croackings of a raven that they would lose their way.[32]

[28] T. Fahd, *La divination Arabe*, Strasbourg 1966.
[29] ʿIrâfa, 3, mentioned by T. Fahd.
[30] T. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 476–77.
[31] Cicero, *De divinatione*, I. 41.
[32] Appian, *Historia Romana*, Vol. I., Fragmenta 19, *περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας*.

The Arabs conquered the Hellenised territories, among them Egypt, and adopted many methods from among the more than one hundred divinations used in these countries. For example, lekanomanteia and hydromanteia have left their traces in the Thousand and One Nights, too.

But we do not find any reference to lychnomanteia. From this fact we draw the conclusion, that the seed of the Aladdin story was formed very early right after the occupation of Egypt by the Arabs, when this practice, the divination with the lamp, was still a living activity. The tale which preserves the memory of lychnomanteia, although written down relatively late, *i.e.* in the 16th century, was in fact of very early origin. Only as an element of the tale was lychnomanteia preserved, and it was never adopted into Arab magical practice.

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BEMERKUNGEN ZUM UGARITISCHEN TEXT *KRT*

VON

M. MARÓTH

Die Anfangszeilen des Textes *Krt* erwiesen sich als crux interpretum, bis heute sind die Kommentatoren in ihrer Deutung noch nicht zu einem einheitlichen Standpunkt gelangt. Es hat den Anschein, als ob wir noch immer weit entfernt vom genauen Verständnis der Zeilen wären, denn alle Lösungsversuche hinken irgendwie. Natürlich sind von den bisherigen Versuchen, wenn sie auch nicht alle Probleme im Zusammenhang mit der fraglichen Stelle lösen könnten, dennoch viele Detailfragen gelöst worden. Alle bedeuten sie einen Schritt auf dem Weg nach vorn. Die nachstehend publizierten Überlegungen haben sich das Ziel gesetzt, mögliche Antworten auf die noch offenen Fragen zu geben.

Die Grundlage meiner Untersuchung bildet das Werk von J. Gray: *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (Leiden 1964). Diese Arbeit faßt die bisherigen Forschungen zusammen und gibt die beste Übersetzung.

7. *bt mlk 'etdb*
   dšbʿ ('a)ḫm lh
   ṯmnt bn 'um

10. *krt ḥtkn rš*
    krt grdš mknt
    'aṯt ṣdqh lypq
    mtrḫt yšrh
    'aṯt trḫ wtbʿt

15. *ṯ'ar 'um tkn lh*
    mṯlṯt kṯrm tmt
    mrbʿt zblnm
    mḫmšt y'etspršp
    mṯdṯt ġlm ym

20. *mšbʿt hn bšlḥ ttpl*

Der zitierte Abschnitt lautet in der Übertragung von J. Gray wie folgt:

7. The house of the King was destroyed,
The House which had seven brothers
Yea eight, sons of one mother.

10. *Krt* our sire was crushed,
Krt was stripped of his establishment;
His legitimate wife did he find,
Yea, his rightful spouse.
He married a wife and she gave him issue,

15. He had offspring of (one) mother.
At three years old they were perfect in health,
At four years, prices (all).
At five Rešef gathered them to himself,
At six darkness of day;

20. At seven, lo! they fell one after the other by the sword.[1]

Im zitierten Abschnitt scheint heute schon ein sicheres Ergebnis die Lesung *'etbd* in der 7. Zeile statt des dort vorkommenden *'etdb* zu sein. Das wird auch durch das in der 24. Zeile in ähnlichem Kontext vorkommende *y'etbd* unterstützt.[2] In der Deutung der 8. und 9. Zeile gibt es keine Schwierigkeit. Aufmerksamkeit verdient jedoch der Umstand, daß in den beiden ähnliche Gedanken enthaltenden Zeilen das Anfangswort auch in seiner Bedeutung ähnlich ist: beide sind Numeralien. Man darf aber die beiden Numeralien nicht mit dem Auge des Mathematikers untersuchen, weil es als literarisches Topos gilt, daß der eine Satz der Familie des *Krt* sieben, der andere acht Kinder zuschreibt. Ähnlich argumentiert auch Gray im Kommentar seines zitierten Werkes.[3] In der 10. und der 11. Zeile war die Deutung des Wortes *ḫtk* problematisch. Gray beruft sich sogar auf mehrere richtig zu sein scheinende Erläuterungen,[4] z. B. auf die von Driver[5] und die von Ullendorff.[6] Beide Erklärungen versuchen zwei Bedeutungen des Wortes (Vater/Sohn) zu beleuchten, obzwar

[1] J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (Leiden 1964), S. 11.
[2] A. a. O., S. 30.
[3] A. a. O., S. 30. Vgl. außerdem: W. W. M. Roth, *The Numerical Sequence* $x/x+1$ *in the Old Testament*: *Vetus Testamen* 12 (1962), S. 300–311. Ähnliche Wendungen kommen nicht nur in literarischen Texten in semitischen Sprachen vor. Ein bekanntes Beispiel hierfür ist *o terque quaterque beati* (94. Zeile der *Aeneis*).
[4] *A. a. O.*, S. 30.
[5] G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh 1956), S. 138.
[6] *Ugaritic Marginalia* II: *JSS* VII (1962), S. 341.

diese Bedeutungen zweifelsohne aus dem Kontext erschlossen werden können.[7] Ihr gemeinsamer Fehler ist, daß ihrer Aufmerksamkeit das Vorkommen des Wortes mit der Bedeutung «Vater» im Alten Testament entgangen war, wie dies von M. Dahood[8] und A. F. Scharf[9] nachgewiesen wurde. Heute kann die Bedeutung des Wortes *rš* nicht mehr in Zweifel gezogen werden,[10] auch die des parallel zu ihm vorkommenden Wortes mit ähnlicher Bedeutung *grdš* «vernichten» nicht. Das wird auch durch die ähnliche Bedeutung des syrischen Wortes ܓܪܕ,[11] durch die Parallelstellung zu dem Wort *rš* sowie in der 23.—24. Zeile zu dem Wort *y'etbd* unterstützt, gegenüber jenen Versuchen, die es von dem hethitischen Wort *gurtaš* ableiten,[12] oder es zwar aus dem Kontext zu erklären versuchen, dennoch aber zu einer unrichtigen Schlußfolgerung kommen.[13] Auch die Sätze dieser beiden Zeilen haben einen ähnlichen Gehalt, auch der Aufbau der Sätze ist ähnlich.

In der 12.—13. Zeile kann die Erklärung von *lypq* Schwierigkeiten bereiten. Die Lösung von Albright, Pedersen,[14] Ginsberg[15] und Gray[16] scheint richtig zu sein, dernach das Präfix *l* eine emphatische Rolle hat, keine negierende Partikel ist.[17] Auch die Bedeutung des Wortes *mtrḫt* kann als geklärt gelten. Hier sei nur eine Erklärung aus der Reihe von vielen ähnlichen angeführt: «a woman acquired by the payment of the bride-price».[18]

Ähnlich dem bereits erwähnten zweizeiligen Abschnitt kann auch in diesen beiden Zeilen neben der inhaltlichen Identität eine strukturelle Identität festgestellt werden, und dies ist schon das dritte Zeilenpaar, in dem das erste Wort eine ähnliche Bedeutung hat oder vollkommen identisch ist in beiden Zeilen. Das kann auch beobachtet werden, wenn wir uns den Abschnitt von der 21. bis zur 25. Zeile ansehen. Die Zeilen 21. und 22. enthalten einen parallelen Satz, das einleitende Wort beider Zeilen ist identisch: *y'n*. Auch die Zeilen 23., 24. und 25. enthalten ähnliche Gedanken, das einleitende Wort einer jeden

[7] C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Roma 1965), S. 168: 39. IV, Zeile 35; S. 138: 76. III, Zeile 34—35.

[8] M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*. (Rome 1965), S. 58.

[9] A. F. Scharf: *Verbum Domini* 38 (1960), S. 213—222.

[10] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, unter Berufung auf die Deutung von Driver, Ginsberg, Aistleitner und Virolleaud.

[11] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, S. 31. und C. H. Gordon: *UT*, S. 381.

[12] In der Bedeutung «Burg», «Festung». Diese Lösung wurde zuerst vorgeschlagen von Ch. Virolleaud, *La Légend de Kéret Roi des Sidoniens* (Paris 1936).

[13] G. R. Driver: *CML*, S. 146, außerdem: J. Aistleiner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin 1963), S. 69.

[14] J. Pedersen, *Die KRT Legende*: *Berytus* VI (1941), S. 67.

[15] H. L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret*: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton 1955), S. 143.

[16] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*

[17] C. H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Creta* (New York 1966), S. 101.

[18] C. H. Gordon, *UT*, S. 499.

Zeile hat eine ähnliche Bedeutung, alle verweisen auf das Ausmaß der Zerstörung. 23. Zeile: *m'ed*, 24. Zeile: *btm*, 25. Zeile: *bphyrh*. Die Bedeutung der Wörter lautet in der Übersetzung von Gray: «entirely», «the whole» und «the entirety».[19]

Es ist also zu sehen, daß diese Konstruktionsart charakteristisch ist für den ganzen zitierten Abschnitt und seine Umgebung. Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, daß es im Falle der 14. und 15. Zeile anders wäre. Die beiden Zeilen haben einen ähnlichen Gehalt. In der Zeile 14. hat das Wort *tb't* die Bedeutung «geboren», wie dies von Gray unter Verweis auf den gedanklichen Rhythmus nachgewiesen worden ist.[20] Zugleich verwies er auch auf diese Bedeutung der Wurzel im Arabischen. Leider blieb er aber hier stehen und führte seine Gedanken nicht konsequent weiter. Aufgrund des obigen muß nämlich angenommen werden, daß auch die Anfangswörter dieser beiden Zeilen eine ähnliche Bedeutung haben müssen. Das erste Wort der 14. Zeile ist *'att* «Frau». Diese Bedeutung muß auch das Wort *t'ar* haben. Das ist auch möglich, wenn wir die beiden hebräischen Wörter שְׁאֵר und שַׁאֲרָה berücksichtigen, die Bedeutung beider Wörter ist «die Verwandte».[21] Gegen die Identifizierung von ugaritisch *t'ar* und der beiden hebräischen Wörter spricht auch kein Lautgesetz, im Gegenteil, überraschenderweise steht auch die Form שְׁאֵר ohne feminine Endung wie das Wort *t'ar*. Diese Deutung des ugaritischen Wortes kann auch dann keine inhaltlichen Schwierigkeiten bereiten, wenn wir es wortwörtlich verstehen, denn bei den Arabern z. B. gilt bis zum heutigen Tag die Ehe zwischen Cousins und Cousinen väterlicherseis als etwas Lobenswertes.[22] Außerdem liegt es auf der Hand, daß das Wort *t'ar* bei dieser Deutung weiblich ist. Man muß dies nicht willkürlich, gegen jede sprachliche Überlegung tun, wie man dies bei Gray sehen kann.[23]

Aus dieser Deutung folgen jedoch zwei Dinge. 1. daß die Wörter *tkn*, *tmt* und *ttpl* feminine Formen der 3. Person Singular und keine maskulinen Formen der 3. Person Plural sind. 2. daß die Formen *mtltt*, *mrb't* usw. nicht das Alter des Kinder (*t'ar*) von *Krt* bezeichnen.

Zwei umfassende ugaritische Grammatiken werden gebraucht, die von C. H. Gordon[24] und die von St. Segert.[25] Beide halten die Formen *mtlt*, *mrb'* usw. für Bruchzahlwörter.[26]

[19] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, S. 13.

[20] J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan* (Leiden 1957), S. 95.; ders., *The Keret Text* . . . , S. 32.

[21] *Leviticus* 18, S. 10—20.

[22] Es ist aber wahrscheinlich, daß das Wort nicht in dieser konkreten Bedeutung aufgefaßt werden muß. Es muß wahrscheinlich als Synonym für Frau aufgefaßt werden.

[23] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, S. 32.

[24] C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, S. 1—158.

[25] St. Segert, Угаритский язык (Москва 1965).

[26] Gordon, S. 50; Segert, S. 41.

Wenn wir die in unserem Text vorhandenen Bruchzahlen (1/7, 1/6, 1/5, 1/4, 1/3) addieren, erhalten wir nach Gordon zum Ergebnis 153/140, das ist jedoch etwas mehr als 1, d. h. als die ganze Familie des *Krt*.[27] Als Parallele hierzu erwähnt er die mathematische Deutung des Horus-Auges bei den Ägyptern. Seine Beweisführung ist jedoch nicht stichhaltig, weil der ugaritische Text ein literarischer Text ist, und ähnliche mathematische Lösungen auch von den Ägyptern nur in mathematischen, nicht aber in literarischen Texten angewendet wurden.[28] Auf die Schwäche der Deutung der Zahlwörter als Bruchzahlen können wir am besten aus der Erläuterung von St. Segert schließen. Er stellt fest, daß diese ugaritische Bildungsart allein dasteht im Vergleich zu den übrigen semitischen Sprachen, weil in den anderen Sprachen die Bruchzahlen nach dem Vorbild von *qutl* gebildet werden.[29]

Als Beweis für die letzteren Worte von St. Segert und gegen die Deutung der ugaritischen Zahlwörter vom Typ *mṯlṯ* als Bruchzahlen muß darauf verwiesen werden, daß die nach dem Vorbild von *fuʿl* gebildeten Bruchzahlwörter zu den allgemeinen Eigenheiten der semitischen Sprachen gehören. Denn so ist es im Akkadischen,[30] das zum östlichen Zweig der semitischen Sprachen gehört, im Syrischen,[31] das zum nordwestlichen, und im Arabischen, das zum südwestlichen Zweig gehört.[32]

Die Zahlwörter vom Typ *mufaʿʿal* bezeichnen im Arabischen Multiplikativa. Ein solches Multiplikativum ist der Ursprung von zwei bekannten Substantiven: von مُسَدَّس «sechsschüssig, d. h. Pistole», sowie von مُثَلَّث «Dreieck».[33] Eine ähnliche Bildungsart ist auch im Hebräischen bekannt. Die Bedeutung von *məšullāš* ist «dreifach»,[34] die vom *ərubbāʿ* «viereckig».[35] Diese Bildungsart ist also in einer nordwestlichen und in einer südwestlichen semitischen Sprache zu finden.

Das Arabische weist auf dem Gebiet der Bildung der Zahlwörter archaischere Züge auf als die übrigen semitischen Sprachen; ähnlich auch das Ugaritische in einigen gut nachweisbaren Fällen. Es reicht hier aus, auf das ugaritische *ṯlṯ'id* und Multiplikativa ähnlichen Typs zu verweisen, deren Suffix *'id*

[27] C. H. Gordon S. 50; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London 1964), § 266, S. 197.

[28] Dies ist klar nach Gardiner, *a. a. O.*, doch wurde dies mündlich auch durch László Kákossy bestätigt.

[29] St. Segert, *a. a. O.*

[30] W. von Soden, *Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik* (Roma 1952), § 70 h, S. 93.

[31] C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1960), § 162, S. 80.

[32] C. Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1960), § 84 c, S. 113.

[33] C. Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*, § 84 e, S. 113.

[34] Ez. 42,6; Koh. 4,12.

[35] *I. Könige.* 7,5.

identisch ist mit dem im arabischen Wort بَوْمَئِذٍ bewahrten Suffix *'iḏin*.[36] Ebenfalls ähnlich ist die Bildung des Ordinalzahlwortes im Arabischen und im Ugaritischen sowie in Äthiopischen, das dem Arabischen nahesteht. Alle diese Sprachen bilden sie nach dem Vorbild von *fāʿil*. Das Wort sechster lautet arabisch *sādis*, äthiopisch *sād²s* und ugaritisch *ṯādiṯ*, wie man darauf aus der Schreibweise *ṯdṯ-* aus dem Wort *ṯṯ* mit der Bedeutung «sechs» schließen kann.

Aufgrund all dieser Ähnlichkeiten scheint es logisch zu sein, daß auch aufgrund der ugaritischen Zahlwörter vom Typ *mṯlṯ* eher die Ähnlichkeit der Bildung als die Willkür des späten Kommentators entscheidend sein soll. Es ist interessant, daß der erste Kommentator des Textes *Krt*, Virolleaud, sowie nach ihm auch Pedersen diese Numeralien als Multiplikative deutete. Dies wurde erst später aus dem allgemeinen Bewußtsein verdrängt, wie davon auch die beiden zitierten ugaritischen Grammatiken zeugen.[37] Die Deutung Grays, nach welcher die fraglichen Numeralien auf das Lebensalter verweisen, zeigt eigentlich eine mit der Deutung als Multiplikativum verwandte Lösung.[38]

Schließlich fordert auch der Textzusammenhang eine ähnliche Deutung, abgesehen von den sprachlichen Überlegungen. Aus dem Text geht klar und deutlich hervor, daß die Familie des *Krt* von einem Schicksalsschlag getroffen wurde, infolgedessen die ganze Familie ausstarb. Zur Darstellung der Größe dieses Schlages ist nur die Steigerung und nicht das Nacheinander der Zahlen von abnehmender Größenordnung geeignet.[38a]

Als Endergebnis kann festgestellt werden, daß in bezug auf die Bildung der Numeralien die ugaritische Sprache keine isolierte Ausnahme innerhalb der semitischen Sprachen bedeutet, wenn wir die vor uns liegenden Texte richtig deuten.

Im Falle der 12. und 13. Zeile ist deutlich zu sehen, daß das Verb *lypq* das Prädikat des Satzes der 12. Zeile ist und zugleich auch zur 13. Zeile hinzuverstanden werden muß. Einen ähnlichen Aufbau haben auch die Zeilen 16. und 17., das Prädikat *tmt* muß auch an das Ende des Satzes in der 17. Zeile hinzuverstanden werden. Das ist auch der Fall bei den beiden Sätzen in der 18. und 19. Zeile, das Prädikat beider Sätze ist *y'etsp*. Bei der Erklärung des Wortes *ġlm* scheint die Deutung Grays, die die komplizierte Lautveränderung ظ < غ voraussetzt, übertrieben zu sein,[39] viel eindeutiger ist der Vorschlag

[36] R. Borger, *Zwei ugaritologische Kleinigkeiten*: *Vet. Test.* 10 (1960), S. 71—72. Interessanterweise akzeptiert auch Borger die Erklärung der Zahlwörter vom Typ *mufaʿʿal* als Bruchzahlen.

[37] Ch. Virolleaud in: *La Légend de Kéret Roi des Sidoniens*; J. Pedersen in: *Die KRT Legende*.

[38] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, S. 32, unter Berufung auf *Gen.* 15, 9 und *I. Sal.* 1, 24.

[38a] J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest 1959). Er faßt die Zahlwörter als Ordinalzahlen auf: die dritte, die vierte usw.

[39] J. Gray, *a. a. O.*, S. 33.; *The Legacy of Canaan*, S. 96.

J. Aistleitners, der das Wort von der arabischen Wurzel *ġlm* ableitet.[40] Außer auf die von Aistleiner angeführte Analogie möchte ich auch auf das arabische Wort غَلَمَ verweisen, dessen Bedeutung «to be stirred (waves)» ist.[41]

Natürlich beziehen sich die Multiplikativa auf die Mutter und das von ihr geborene Kind bzw. auf die von ihr geborenen Kinder. Von den Kinder erfahren wir nur indirekt etwas aus den Ausdrücken «geboren» und «zur Mutter werden», deshalb stehen im Text die Numeralien in Kongruenz mit den Wörtern *'aṯṯ* und *ṯ'ar*.

Im Sinne dieser Ausführungen lautet meiner Auffassung nach die wahrscheinlichste Übersetzung der zitierten Stelle wie folgt:

7. Vernichtet war das Königshaus,
das sieben Söhne hatte,
acht Söhne einer Mutter.

10. Krt, unserer Vater, war beschädigt,
dem Krt war der Palast zerstört worden.[42]
Er fand seine gesetzmäßige Frau,
seine wahre Verlobte.
Er nahm sich eine Frau, die gebar,

15. seine weibliche Verwandte wurde für ihn zur Mutter,
(aber) ihre Dreifaches starb gesund,
ihr Vierfaches an Krankheit,[43]
ihre Fünffaches riß Ršp mit sich hin,
ihr Sechsfaches die Welle des Meeres,

20. ihre Siebenfaches,[44] siehe, fiel durch die Waffe.

[40] J. Aistleiner, *Wörterbuch*, S. 248.

[41] J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut 1951), S. 533.

[42] Natürlich muß bei der Übersetzung des Wortes *mknt* berücksichtigt werden, was J. Gray im Zusammenhang mit der Deutung dieser Stelle auf S. 31 seines Werkes schreibt: das Wort ist als accusativus respectivus aufzufassen.

[43] M. Held, *The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew*: *JAOS* 88 (1968), S. 90–96. Diesen Sinn verlagt die Übersetzung des Wortes *tmt* sowie die auch von Gray akzeptierte Übersetzung des Wortes *ktrm*, die so ein Antonym zu *zblnm* ist.

[44] In der 205–206. Zeile des Textes *ṯnh kspm 'atn wtlth ḫrṣm* bedeutet *tlt* nicht mit Gewißheit «ein Drittel», obzwar es sprachliche möglich ist, denn man könnte es auch als Zahlwort vom Typ *fu'l* lesen. Sicher ist jedoch, daß die Bruchzahlwörter auch im Ugaritischen nach dem Muster von *fu'l* gebildet wurden.

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ON THE SURVIVAL OF THE BYZANTINE ADMINISTRATION IN EGYPT DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE ARAB RULE

BY

'ABD AL-MUN'IM MUKHTĀR

As the Arab invadors of the Ancient World had no appropriate administrative system to manage their new empire it was necessary for them to adopt the local systems of the invaded countries, which was not unusual with their predecessors either.

The financial and fiscal system of the Arab administration, as adopted from the Roman and Byzantine periods in Egypt, did not effect substantial changes in the living standards of the Egyptians. In the first century of Arab rule the native inhabitants enjoyed relative freedom, as they remained the real masters of their country, holding the same administrative positions. The Arabs did not interfere in their local affairs till the end of the first century when they took complete control. However, the situation was far from satisfactory.

In Ptolemaic Egypt, in spite of the fact that the financial situation was not too favourable, the country was better off as the revenues were spent in side the country, whereas under Roman and Byzantine reigns they went to foreign treasuries. Such was the case under the Arab reign, too; the revenue and the corn were taken to the capital of the Arab state.[1]

When the Arabs appeared on the scene the Byzantine rule in Egypt was very weak and could not prevent the increase of crises in political, economic, administrative and religious life, which rendered the country an easy prey for the Arabs. They did not content themselves with the military supremacy; they also started to reform the administrative system towards greater centralisation. Under the Byzantine Empire the various districts of Egypt were governed by an official who possessed absolute power, and towards the end of the sixth century enjoyed almost unlimited authority. The Arabs left the Byzantine *dukos* (Arabic *dūqas*) in office but they deprived him of all his military power relegating it to the Arab governor, *wālī*, who was also made chief

[1] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (Cairo 1961) IV. 96—101; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* 163.

commander of the Arab forces stationed in Egypt.[2] That two other officials of the same rank were appointed at the same time, presumably, points to the weakening of the power of the diokesis.

Egypt was, in fact, divided into two administrative provinces: Upper Egypt and Delta. The function of the provincial officials *Dūqas-Tukas* (prefects of the provinces), who were chosen from local inhabitants, was purely civil and administrative.[3] Before the Arab conquest Egypt was divided into Delta, Heptanomis, Arsinoites and Thebaides — all together 36 nomes — each governed by an *epistrategos*. At the end of the fourth century Egypt, after several modifications, became an independent *diocesis* under an *augustalus*. Justinian the Great finally re-organised Egypt, abolishing the unity of the provinces and dividing it into a series of separate districts, each of which was directly subject to the *praefectus orientis*, thus reuniting the former civil and military authorities. In this way he repealed the separation of the two forms of jurisdiction established by Diocletian.[4]

The districts in the two provinces set up by the Arabs were further divided into smaller units (called *Kuwra* after the Greek term κώσα or χωριον) which corresponded to those in the late Byzantine period. There were about eighty *Kuwra*s and every *Kuwra* consisted of smaller administrative units like villages and other kind of settlements.[5] The official center of a *Kuwra* was not a large city but the biggest village.

On top of the whole administrative organ stood the Συμβουλος, the Arab governor (*wālī*) in Arabic. According to the early documents he was supported by the leaders of the two provinces, and his main duties were to collect the revenues of the country, to command the Arab garrisons, to exercise jurisdiction and to ensure the provision of rizq (sustenance) for the Arab settlers. As his duties were too numerous to cope with sufficiently the central authorities of the Arab state appointed another Arab official, called *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* (chief tax-collector) to manage the fiscal affairs. Perhaps he was appointed so as to prevent the governor from abusing his power.[6]

For military reasons Caliph ʿOmar appointed ʿAbdullāh b. Saʿd b. ʿAbī Sarḥa to help the governor ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in ruling Upper Egypt and Arcadia (Fayyūm). It was he who had all the military power over Upper Egypt and

[2] Sayyida K., *Miṣr fī ʿAṣr al-Wulāh*. (Cairo?), 12; Sévère, Évêque d'Aschmonain, *History of the Patriarch*, 229; Wellhausen, J., *Das Arabische Reich*, (Cairo, Arabic translation), 31; Milne, *Egypt under the Roman Rule*, 219.

[3] Sayyida, *op. cit.*, 131; Taubenschlag, *The Law of the Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri* (Warszawa 1955), 579.

[4] Sayyida, *op. cit.*, 25—26; Taubebschlag, *op. cit.* ,579—80.

[5] Sayyida, *op. cit.*, 22.

[6] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 168; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, II. 21; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Cairo 1959), 224.

the Southern borders.[7] In 645 A. D. (*i.e.* 25 H.) the new Caliph, ʿOthmān ordered him to take over the post of the *ṣāḥib al-kharāj*, too, ʿAmr b. ul-ʿĀṣ was offended and resigned from his post. Following this ʿAbdullāh took over both offices and in order to bring the whole country under his control he established the office of *diwān al-kharāj* (central finance department). By this he succeeded in subjecting all the districts to his central supervision.[8] The function of the *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* was the same as that of the «diocetes» in the late Byzantine period. All financial administration was concentrated in his hands and, as it appears from the documents, he was responsible for the local fiscal administration managed by Copts and Greeks. Probably he was the only Arab official to take part in civil administration in the early period of Arab settlement.

For the Arab settlers a separate administrative system was worked out to represent their interests. It was based on an Arab pattern, managed entirely by Arab administrators. It had three main offices:

(1) *Dīwān al-jund* kept a record of the soldiers and their families whom the state provided with the rizq (sustenance).[9]

(2) *Ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (chief commander of the police) who had the right to take over the governor's office if he was absent or fell ill. His authority was restricted mainly to the capital and the Arab settlements.[10] The maintenance of public order was left to local administrators in the country. In the early times the Arab garrison was moved to the country during the harvest to support the village police force in collecting the taxes. Later «bucelarii» of local origin were appointed to perform this duty, similarly to the Byzantine practice.[11]

(3) *Qāḍī* (judge) whose duty was only of religious character and concerned only the Moslems.

Later, at the time of the Omayyads, two more offices were attached to those mentioned above: *dīwān rasā'il* (secretariat) and *dīwān al-barīd* (department of post and secret services).

When the position of the Arab settlers seemed firmly established the Caliph found it was time for the Arabs to take over the administration entirely and arabize the whole system. In 694 A. D. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān ordered that Arabic should be made the official language of administration. He also wanted to see the non-Moslem majority in the administration replaced by Arabs. This reform was soon carried out, however this does not mean that the

[7] Sayyida, *op. cit.*, 22; Siyūṭī, *ibid*; Balādhuri, *ibid.*

[8] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 237.

[9] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* (Cairo?), 144. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, 243.

[10] Hussaini, *The Arab Administration* (Arab. trans. Cairo 1954) 104.

[11] Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, [= *APEL*], III. 22; Hardy, E. R., *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931), 60—67, 107.

Byzantine administrative system was changed automatically, because it survived for two more centuries of the Arab rule.[12]

According to Arab traditions it was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (685—705), the brother of the Caliph, who was authorized to carry out the reform in Egypt, but the fiscal documents and other reliable sources proved that al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and not his uncle, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was the chief executive of the reform. In 705 A. D. al-Walīd authorized his brother, ʿAbdullāh, who was appointed by their father as successor to his uncle the governor of Egypt to put in force the policy of arabization.[13] This work was carried on later by Ibn Yarbūʿ al-Fazārī al-Ḥimṣī, first secretary of the governor. It seems certain that the arabization was put into force at the beginning of the reign of the Copt patriach Alexander II (705—730),[14] according to contemporary records.

Though the arabization covered almost every field of the administration, fiscal documents show that the Arabic language was not the only language in use; about half a century later Copt and Greek were equally prevalent. Copt and Greek phrases as well as Greek numbers were used in documents even three centuries after the reform was initiated. The fact that in the first century of the Arab rule the Byzantine system of administration seems to have prevailed shows that no radical change took place in the country. Therefore a true picture of the Byzantine administration before the Arab conquest can be gained from the data available in the records of the first century of the Arab rule. At the same time the importance of this transitional period is that this is where the roots of the later Arab system can be found.

Among the high officials of the administrative staff were the *chartularii* who were known to the Arabs as *al-kuttāb* (secretaries). The fiscal records provide some data about the existence of this post but they do not contain further information about its scope of authority.[15] So the documents mention that the chartularii had secretaries in the two provinces:[16] *εἰς διανομάχ τῆς ἀνω χώρας* and *εἰς τὰς ειανομὰς τῆς κάτω χώρας*. This also proves that the post of the «chartularii» existed under the Arab reign. It appears that the clerical staff at the secretariat of the Arab governor was divided into two departments, each headed by one of the «chartularii». These departments managed the affairs of Upper and Lower Egypt.[17] In agreement with the fiscal documents Sévère

[12] Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, 144; Hussaini, *op. cit.*, 204, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 211.

[13] Spyūṭī, *op. cit.*, II. 14; Sévère, *op. cit.*, 8, 14; Sevère, *op. cit.*, 308; *APEL*, III. 29, Hussaini, *op. cit.*, 205, 295.

[14] Suyūṭī, *op. cit.* ,II. 14; Sévère, *op. cit.*, 308—9.

[15] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 266.

[16] Bell H., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV. *The Aphrodite Papyri* (Oxford 1910) [= *GPBM*], *Pap.* 1447, 137, 138.

[17] Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, (Cairo?, in Arab.) 391. Bell, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, XXI.

of Ashmonain recorded the following: «. . .and there were appointed for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (685—705) two trustworthy secretaries (*kātibān*), whom he set over the whole land of Egypt and Maryūṭ and Marāqiya and Pentapolis which is Libya. One of them was named Athanasius and he had three sons and was a native of Edessa in the land of Syria; while the other's name was Isaac and he had two sons; they were natives of Shubra Tani . . .»[18] But it is not clear whether they were in charge of administrative or fiscal matters. As the governor was also responsible for fiscal affairs at this time, the «chartularii» might have carried both assignments. On the other hand, the Christian historians, who alone are considered reliable sources of this age, speak about their ecclesiastical duties and their supremacy among the non-Moslems.[19]

In another narrative Athanasius, the Copt, the chief of the *Dīwān* (*mutawallī al-dīwān*) and the *chartilarii* are only in subordinate position. The same narrative mentions that Athanasius and the scribes (*al-kuttāb*) approached ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz asking him, on the occasion of the death of Simon, the Copt Patriarch (701—703): . . .to despatch Gregory the bishop of al-Qays, to Alexandria, to watch over the possessions of the Church and everything connected with it . . .»[20] This detail does not help us clear the confusion caused by the same author, Sévere, by mentioning the two *chartularii* earlier.

Since the *Dīwān*, the secretariat of the governor's cabine, was the central tax-office, too, Athanasius could not be its chief-official because only Arabs could take this position. Nor could he be the chief of the non-Moslem secretaries or the chief of the clerical staff of the administration. According to Theodor, the chief of the tax-office in Alexandria (*mutawallī Dīwān al-Iskandarīya*) Athanasius could only have been the chief of the tax-office of the capital-where natives were allowed to take this office.[21] This is confirmed by the same author in another passage: «After the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Athanasius was called with his son to Damascus to meet the caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik who arrested them and confiscated his wealth, and at the same time he despatched his own son ʿAbdullāh to Egypt as new governor, to take over Kuwra Miṣr»[22] Kuwra Miṣr means the Topos of Miṣr with Fusṭāṭ as its center, i.e. the tax-office of the capital. This information makes it uncertain that the chief *chartularii* existed in the early times of the Arab rule in Egypt.

In lack of further evidence we must consider the *chartularii* as officials of high rank because they shared the respect and privilegies due to every

[18] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 266, 272, 276.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 266.
[21] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 311.
[22] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 308, 266—310, 311.

Archon (*ἄρχων*) and Pagarchus and they had a great number secretaries subordinated to them.[23]

According to the sources the *chartularii* played an important role in the management of the affairs of the Coptic Church and by taking part in the leadership of the administration they were able to represent their countrymen's interest.[24]

The civil administration in the provinces was apparently highly organized and totally centralised so much so that even for a few solidi the governor was to write a letter in two copies to the pagarch. The main tax-office (*ἔνταγια*) probably had a lot of clerks employed in the smaller tax collecting centers in the country.

The governor of the province, (*dioicetes*, in Arabic *dūqas*, in Coptic *Archan*, and *Toparch* or *praefectus* as referred to in other texts has at his disposal a great number of secretaries, clerks and messengers of his own:[25] *Βαρεδαριοι—Συμμαχοι—Στρατιωτης*) It seems that the administration as a whole was divided into two major parts in accordance with the territorial division of Upper and Lower Egypt each part being under the supervision of a high ranking official called prefect. In reliable sources the prefects of the provinces are as follows: Peter, the prefect of Upper Egypt, who was converted to Islam in 705 A. D.,[26] Menas, the prefect of Lower Egypt[27] who was later replaced by John,[28] and the subordinate prefects: Sinodes in the Rīf, Theophanes in Maryūṭ[29] and Philoxenus in Arcadia (*i.e.* Fayyum).[30]

As it comes to light from the early Arabic and Coptic sources the prefect (*dūqas*) was authorized to deal with fiscal matters, too, in his province along with his civil duties. In the early times of the Arab conquest the civil and fiscal administration was carried by two clerks. Menas, appointed as prefect of Lower Egypt by the Emperor Heraclius was now re-established in his former authority. But later John who had been the prefect of Damietta was appointed by the Arabs to replace Menas who was then authorized in the fiscal affairs of the province. According to Coptic references «Menas increased the taxes which ʿAmr had fixed at 22.000 gold dinaris and the sum which he got together

[23] *GPBM*, Pap. 1447; APEL, Pap. 165, 166, 167. Pap. 167 gives him the title of the general grovernor of Egypt.

[24] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 266, 308—9.

[25] GPBM, *Introduction*, XXIV, 1418, 1374. The Papyri gave those officials the title of *Βαρεδάριοι, Συμμαχοι, Στρατιωτης*

[26] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 305. *GPBM*, Pap. 1379.

[27] John Bishop of Nikiu, *The chronicle of* (Oxford 1916), CXX. 29.

[28] John of Nikiu, *op. cit.* ,CXXI. 6.

[29] John of Nikiu, *op. cit.*, CXX. 29; Sévère, *op. cit.*, 234.

[30] John of Nikiu, *op. cit.*, CXX. 29.

was 32.037» in order to win the confidence of the Arab general governor, while of course he became unpopular with the Copts.[31]

In the Province of Egypt there were several tax offices all subordinated to the central tax-department in Fusṭāṭ. The scope of authority of some clerks in the central tax-department was extended to some districts outside the capital. The central department divided into two sections. This seems supportable by fiscal documents: one application, for example, is addressed to the *Dīwān asfal al-Arḍ* (the tax-office of Lower Lands.[32] In another document money is applied for to cover the expenses of the construction of a barn in Fusṭāṭ. This also was addressed to the same department as barns belonged to there. The document reads as follows: *λογω τοῦ παραδιδο μίνον γενήματος ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω χώρας*. So it seems that the construction and the maintenance of barns and consequently the whole financial system was similarly divided into two parts.[33] According to documents tax-offices were organized in the following hierarchy:

I. The central finance department of the province of Egypt divided into two sections each with subordinate offices.

II. The tax-office of Kūra Miṣr.[34]

III. Main subordinate offices:
   a) Tax-office of Alexandria
   b) Tax-office of Maryūṭ and its neighbouring districts[35]
   c) Tax-office of Sakhā[36]

The fiscal and tax records enumerate a number of officials dealing with the financial matters of Egypt.

ὑπουργοι or ʿĀmil Kharāj al-Kūra, head official of the finance office in the capital, considered at the same time as subordinate official of the pagarchus. He also held the title of the Greek *ἀμαλίτης*.[37]

λογογραφος was the collector of the taxes, keeper of accounts and representative of the pagarchus to the governor of Egypt.[38]

[31] John of Nikiu, *op. cit.*, CXXI. 6.

[32] *APEL*, Pap. 143; Abel L., *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museum zu Berlin*, hg. v. d. *Arabischen Urkunden* (Berlin 1896–1900). II. 2.

[33] *GPBM*, Pap. 1379, 1335, 1404, 1426.

[34] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 308.

[35] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 259, 311.

[36] Sévère, *op. cit.*, 263.

[37] *GPBM*, Pap. 1359, 1375, 1433; *APEL*, Pap. 173.

[38] *APEL*, Pap. 167; Preisigke F., *Paulys Real-Enzyclopädie*; *GPBM*, Pap. 1336, 1414, 1416, 1434, 1435, 1470.

These officials also include the chief of the central treasury,[39] inspector of taxes (*Augustal, Gasṭāl, Qasṭāl*),[40] inspector of barns (*ṣāḥib al-hariy*),[41] or καταγραφον, the keeper of ορριον,[42] and the embolarch.[43]

It appears that the chartularii exercised their authority over general affairs through the governor general's administrative staff, the prefects of the provinces were concerned with public affairs while financial affairs came within the tax-officers' jurisdiction.[44] Fiscal documents present plenty of evidence as to the fact that every prefect had a tax-officer appointed to his assistance. The separation of the offices, which were in one hand in the early days of the Arab rule, reflects a general policy of the Arab Caliphate.

When the Arabs conquered Egypt religious persecution was put an end to. The exemption of the Arabs and Moslems from taxation passed the burden onto the Copts. Although this made a number of aboriginal inhabitants convert to Islam the increase in the Moslem population was not remarkable. If Arab historians are reliable, the new converts, too, were exempted from taxes.[45]

A large number of important posts were held by Christians: nearly all posts of the *pagarchi*, and those of the subordinate local officers, as well as the offices of naval centers and arsenals.[46] Besides, the Christians were sometimes allowed to hold the office of the prefect, the chartularii. There were Christians even in the governor's council.[47] That means the Arab administration was Byzantine in reality and Arab in its form.

It is a striking piece of evidence of the Arab tolerance in the first century of the Arab rule that the Christian notaries in the governor's chancellary in Fusṭāṭ, when writing the governor's letters in Greek, were not required to use any of the distinctive Moslem formulae (*basmala*). They used non-commutable phrases, like: ἐν ὀνοματι τοῦ πατρος και τοῦ νίον.[48] The local officials continued to employ the Christian symbol of the cross in their accounts and the minutes on the back of the letters.

In the administrative system described above the country was divided into small units the administrative staff of which was made up of local citizens.

[39] *GPBM*, Pap. 1414, 1494, 1508, 1533.; *APEL*, IV, Pap. 106.

[40] *GPBM*, Pap. 1392; *APEL*, 149, II. 18, 143.

[41] *GPBM*, Pap. 1386, 1387, 1404, 1407, 1415; *APEL*, Pap. 268.

[42] *GPBM*, 1420, 1552.

[43] *GPBM*, 1441, 1457; *APEL*, Pap. 165.

[44] *GPBM*, Pap. 1447, *Introd.*, XXIV; *Collection of the Papyri Erzherzog Rainer.* (Vienna), I, 97, Pap. 4565.

[45] Wallhausen, *op. cit.*, 211—3.

[46] *GPBM*, Pap. 1375, 1447, 1449.

[47] *GPBM*, Pap. 1375, 1447.

[48] *GPBM*, Pap. 1444, 1442, 1574, 1584, 1373, 1447; *APEL*, Pap. 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 179, 183.

This staff was headed by the pagarchus who played an all important role in the affairs of administration both financial and civil wise.

Pagarchi were of the class of the rich landowners who oppressed the small holders. During the Byzantine period they were strong enough to make their influence felt in the administration.[49]

The official documents carried the title of *Παγαρχος* and the semi-official versions written in Coptic carried the title of *διοικητης*. These titles were regularly applied on documents.[50] The second term, however, had the priority over the first. The two terms are synonyms in fact: *εκ του ὑητερου Παγαρχου.*

As for this title it appears that the Arabic name replaced the Greek one: *ṣāḥib* was used for *παγαρχος.*[51] Generally speaking both administrative languages, the Greek and the Arabic, borrowed much from each other either in translated or transcribed forms, e.g., *amīr—αμισας*; *ʿāmil—αμαλίτης*; and *maʾzūn* or *māzūt—μειξων*; *gasṭāl, qasṭal—augustalis*; *arkhan—ἄρχων etc.*[52]

As the Coptic was the language used at the grass roots level of administration, that is in villages, it is quite understandable that the usage of the conservative title *pagarch* survived the longest in the Coptic documents.[53] The word *dioikētes* in its abbreviated form on top of each page occurred in the letters written by the governor's clerks, which shows that the term was familiar to the clerks.

In the first century of the Hijra the Arabs never used the honorary titles. When they wanted to show their respect toward an official they used metonymy or any other title meaning «commander». Close inspection of documents written by local officials reveals that no honorary title was attached to the pagarchs. Letters coming from the local community were addressed to him by his Coptic or Greek title. The usage of the Byzantine terms existed for a long time among the local authorities, illustrating the high rank which was reserved for the pagarch as well as demonstrating how difficult it was for the new rulers to get assimilated.

The pagarch was addressed by the following titles: *ἴλλουστριος, ενδοξοτατος, λαμπροτατος.*[54] In order to appreciate the respect expressed in these titles we must remember that the first of them was carried by the *symbolos* himself, *i.e.* Egypt's governor. As for his scope of authority the pagarch was in charge of the administration of a clearly defined area called

[49] *GPBM, Introduction*, XXXVI. *APEL*, 164.
[50] *GPBM*, Pap. 1359, 1408.
[51] *GPBM*, Pap. 1368, 1370, 1378.
[52] *GPBM*, Pap. 1379, 1433; *APEL*, Pap. 149. 245.
[53] G. Rouillar, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte Byzantine*, (Paris 1928) 202.
[54] *GPBM*, Pap. 1362, 1380, 1505, 1610, 1496; *APEL*, Pap. 167.

topos that was directly related to the central authorities and subordinated to the *duqas* (the governor of the province known in the Roman period as *epistrategos*). The administrative unit under the supervision of the *pagarch* was called *pagarchia* in Coptic or *topos* and its Greek name was *διακητης*. It was called *Kūra* in Arabic after the Greek term *χυριον*.

The *pagarch* was assisted in his duties by some subordinates who, like in the Roman and Byzantine periods, were appointed on the bases of the summons (*λειτουργια*) of the *ὑπουργος*[56] (they were also responsible for the appointment of the personal subordinates of the governor, in the court as well as in the provinces[57]). Next to the pagarch in rank was the hypodect whose responsibilities were the same as the *comogrammateus* in Roman times. In the last days of the Byzantine period the hypodect carried several duties which were divided among a great number of officials during the Arab rule. Thus the functions of the hypodect were given to the following office-holders:

1) The *logographos*, who collected the taxes and kept record of the accounts and was the representative of the pagarch to the governor of Egypt. He carried both the duties of the *toparch* and the *topogrammateus* of the late Roman period.[58]

2) The *augustal*, the tax-inspector, keeper of the local treasury, whose duties were unclear, but they were probably similar to those of the Roman *practores*. His duties also included the supervision of barns. (*sitologoi* in the Roman period.)[59]

3) Keeper of the local *katagraphos*.

4) The chief of the village, in Arabic *māzūt* whose name was taken from the Greek *μειξοτερος*, which corresponds to *μειξων* and *Πρωτοχωμητης*. He, also carried the title *πραγματευτης* which was in Coptic texts *plašane* or *lashana* in Arabic.

5) In small settlements some subordinates of the *pagarch* were responsible for the local security and order. The role they played resembles that of the Byzantine watchmen or guards of the landlords called *buccelarii*. Presumably the regular Arab troops supported these police forces and assisted them in collecting the taxes. In return to this they enjoyed certain benefits.[61]

[55] *GPBM*, Pap. 1496.

[56] Sayyida, *op. cit.*, 25; *APEL* ,II, 18, Pap. 149, *GPBM*, Pap. 1359.

[57] *GPBM*, Pap. 1616; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *op. cit.*, 152—4, E. G. Turner, *Egypt and the Roman Empire*, JEA, XXII. (1936). 7. *GPBM*, Pap. 1225. *APEL*, Pap. 228.

[58] *APEL*, 87. Pap. 167.

[59] *GPBM*, Pap. 1392; *APEL* ,III, 18, 143, Pap. 149.

[60] *GPBM*, Pap. 1420, 1552, 1339, concerning *the Māzūt* see, *Pap.* 1370, 1375, 1332, 1404, 1407 and *Introduction*, XXIX; *APEL* Pap. 160, 286, 287, 148; III. 7.

[61] Hardy, *op. cit.*, 60, 67, 107. *APEL*, Pap. 150.

6) The *pagarch* was to, order the nobles of the village to elect reliable people as assessors, *επιλεγομαι* to fix taxes.[62]

In a brief summary we can state that the documents sufficiently prove that the Arabs adopted the system of administration of the Byzantine times, with all its terms and fiscal language, up to the 11th century. Even at the end of the Middle Ages the fiscal protocols contained many of the Greek terms used in this period.

[62] *GPBM, Introduction,* XXVII, Pap. 1420, 1508, 1533, 1552, 1494.

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TEXTE AUS DER GENISA

VON

A. SCHEIBER

I. Der Text des Echad mi jodea

Das Echad mi jodea wurde — gleich wie das Chad gadja — ans Ende der Haggada gestellt, um die Aufmerksamkeit der Kinder wach zu halten. Die wissenschaftliche Forschung ermittelte, dass es ebenso wie das Chad gadja aus nichtjüdischer Umwelt, wahrscheinlich aus der deutschen Volksdichtung, vom Judentum übernommen und zu seinen Zwecken umgestaltet wurde.

In der Folklore ist es als Katechismuslied bekannt. Die Kirche gebrauchte diese Frage-und-Antwort-Form zum Memorieren ihrer Lehren. Sie fasste damit den Katechismus zusammen. Daher ihr Name. Ihr Urheber ist Eucherius, Bischof von Lyon, der im XI. Kapitel (De numeris) seines um 449 verfassten Werkes «Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae» die Zahlsymbolik in riesigen Sprüngen von 1 bis 1000 führt.

Von der Kirche gelangte es in den Kreis des Volkes und wurde sehr populär. Es ist bekannt in der englischen, tschechischen, dänischen, estnischen, flämischen, französischen, litauischen, mährischen, deutschen, niederländischen, norwegischen, italienischen, russischen, österreichischen, portugiesischen, spanischen und schwedischen Volksdichtung — um nur einige zu erwähnen.[1]

Seine erste ungarische Variante taucht in der Kirchenlieder-Sammlung des Domherrn von Esztergom (Gran), György Náray, auf (*Lyra Coelestis*, Tyrnaviae 1695, pp. 6—8). Gleichzeitig mit ihm notierte es der Jesuitenpater István Tarnóczy (*Holtig való barátság*, Nagy-Szombat 1695, pp. 56—63). Vor Jahren stellte ich seine Parallelen in der ungarischen Volksdichtung zusammen. Es erwies sich, dass es deren etwa ein halbes Hundert gibt.[2] Ich fand seine Texte in der ungarischen Kolportage-Literatur;[3] ebenda auch seine Parodien im Zusammenhange mit dem Kartenspiel.[4]

[1] B. Heller: *IMIT Évkönyve* 1938, pp. 28—45; *Ethnographia* LI (1940), pp. 250—252; A. Scheiber, *Mikszáth Kálmán és a keleti folklore* (Budapest 1949), pp. 5—16; H. Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* (Berlin 1968), pp. 321, 410.

[2] A. Scheiber: *Journal of American Folklore* LXIII (1950), pp. 463—465; *JQR.* XLVI (1955/56), pp. 355—356.

[3] A. Scheiber: *Western Folklore* XIII (1954), pp. 27—28.

[4] A. Scheiber: *Midwest Foklore* II (1952), pp. 93—100; siehe noch *Carmina Burana* (Budapest 1960), pp. 213—214.

Es ist aber nicht nur im Kreise der Kirche bekannt. Wir finden es auch im Islam.[5] Die mohammedanische Disputationsliteratur machte gerne Gebrauch davon. Die Handschrift Nr. 97. der Snouck Hurgronje-Sammlung in der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek enthält ein Märchen, das den Scheich Ibn Jazid al-Bustani zum Helden hat. Der Scheich machte 45mal den Weg nach Mekka. Aber sein Religionseifer begnügt sich nicht damit. Er will die Christenheit bekehren. Er kommt nach Katalonien und begegnet dort einem Christen namens Ruhban. Dieser lädt ihn in die Simeonkirche ein, wo ihn 1000 Mönche erwarten. Unter ihnen gibt es einen 160jährigen, der dem Scheich Fragen aufgibt. Kann er sie beantworten, so wollen alle sich zum Islam bekehren. Solche Fragen waren: Was ist 1 und nicht 2; was ist 2 und nicht 3, und so weiter bis 14. Die Antworten sind: 1. Allah; 2. Tag und Nacht, oder Adam und Eva, oder Sonne und Mond . . .; 12. Monate; 13. Sonne, Mond und 11 Sterne in Josefs Traum; 14. Die sieben Himmel und die sieben Erden. Nach weiteren Fragen werden Ruhban, die tausend Mönche und die Christen alle rechtsgläubig.

Dies erwähne ich nur als Beispiel dafür, dass es noch ein Gebiet gibt, das die Literatur der Frage noch nicht in Betracht gezogen hat. Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass die christlichen Varianten bis zwölf, die jüdischen bis dreizehn, die mohammedanischen bis vierzehn gelangen.

Es ist eine allbekannte Tatsache, dass es in die Haggada nicht vor dem Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen wurde. Die Juden in Cochin (Indien) sangen es bei Trauungsmahlen, gleich wie es bei ungarischen Bauernhochzeiten gesungen wurde.

Der älteste Text des Chad gadja kam vor zwanzig Jahren in Jerusalem zum Vorschein.[6]

S. Sharvit veröffentlichte jetzt den Text des Echad mi jodea aus der Genisa von Cambridge (T.-S. N.S. 271[33]).[7] Hier erhielt er sich fragmentarisch, von der 9. Frage gelangt er bis zur Mitte der zwölften. Der Mitteiler ist der Meinung, dass wir diesmal die orientalische Variante kennenlernten. Nach zwei Absätzen wird darauf verwiesen, dass das שמע ישראל als Refrain gesagt werden muss.

Aus zweiter Hand führt er an, dass S. A. Wertheimer lange vorher ein altes Pergamentblatt gefunden habe, das mehrere Jahrhunderte alt aussah,

[5] Ph. S. van Ronkel: *Acta Orientalia* X (1931), pp. 62—66.

[6] *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Folklore and Literature* (New York 1954), pp. 214—218; E. D. Goldschmidt, *The Passover Hagada* (Jerusalem 1960), p. 110.

[7] S. Sharvit: *Bar Ilan. Annual of Bar-Ilan University* IX. *Memorial to H. M. Shapiro* I (Ramat-Gan 1972), pp. 475—482. Der Kern ist schon im Midrasch Schemuel zu finden. Siehe B. Yashar: *Sinai* L (1962), Nos. 6—7, p. 475.

worauf der vollständige Text des Echad mi jodea und davor stehend das שמע ישראל ה׳ אלהינו ה׳ אחד zu lesen sei. Wo es sich befindet, weiss er nicht.

Es entging der Aufmerksamkeit des Verfassers, dass wir diesen Text beinahe vor einem Jahrzehnt in der Genisa von Cambridge aufgefunden hatten, wohin er durch Ankauf von S. A. Wertheimer geraten war (Or. 1080. Box 1[34]). Dies war somit der erste Text des Echad mi jodea, der aus der Genisa bekannt wurde. Wir publizierten sein Faksimile, ihn selbst jedoch noch nicht.[8] Diesmal wollen wir es tun. Er stimmt zum grossen Teil mit der von Sharvit veröffentlichten Variante überein. Anstatt der dortigen vier Absätze jedoch bekommen wir hier alle zwölf. Damit schliesst er auch ab. Der 13. Absatz der westlichen Variante blieb im Orient weg.

Er ist auf ein langes Pergamentblatt geschrieben. Ein Schulknabe mochte ihn abgeschrieben haben, wie die orthographischen Fehler vermuten lassen. Solche Schreibübungen finden sich in grosser Anzahl in der Genisa.[9]

Der Scheiber beginnt mit dem ersten Satz des Schema Jisrael und geht dann zu den Fragen und Antworten über Echad mi jodea. Nach jeder Strophe weist das Zeichen פְּ (= Pizmon) auf den Refrain hin. Die Stilisierung weicht ab vom allbekannten Text, die Antwort jedoch nur einmal: 11. die Geschwister Josefs.[10]

Wir geben die Photokopie der Handschrift wieder, damit auch die Forscher Gelegenheit haben, einen Eindruck davon zu erhalten.

Korrekturnachtrag. Im Sommer 1973 fand ich in New York unter den Genisen des Jewish Theological Seminary of America Fragmente von zwei Exemplaren einer lithographierten Haggada. Beide enthalten das Echad mi jodea (ENA. 1697/6—8; 2437/27 a—*b*). Die Fragen gehen bis 13. Der Text ist fehlerhaft: 7 und 9 berühren einander (Geburtsmonate), wie auch 12 und 13 (Eigenschaften Gottes).[11]

II. Warnung vor einem Finanzbeamten

Im folgenden wird von dem Stück No. 123/f. der Kaufmann-Genisa die Rede sein. 1 Blatt, Papier, 10×15 cm, Fragment.

P. 1/a: Der weiter unten stehende Text, ein Brieffragment in Quadratschrift.

[8] A. Scheiber: *Isr. Wochenblatt* LXV (1965), No. 16.

[9] S. D. Goitein, *Jewish Education in Muslim Countries* (Jerusalem 1962), pp. 43—45; B. Narkiss: *Illuminated Hebrew Children's Books from Mediaeval Egypt*: *Scripta Hierosolymitana. XXIV. Studies in Art* (Jerusalem 1972), pp. 58—71.

[10] I. Moscona, *Rituals and Customs of the Bulgarian Jews in the Past*: *Annual* VII (Sofia 1972), p. 192.

[11] Siehe jetzt S. Sharvit: *Tarbiz* XLI (1971/72), pp. 424—429; A. Scheiber: *ibid.*, XLII (1972/73).

P. 1/b: Brieffragment in der kursiven zuneigenden Quadratschrift. Hiemit wollen wir uns bei einer anderen Gelegenheit befassen.

Der Text, der uns hier interessiert, handelt von einem christlichen Finanzbeamten — offenbar in Alexandrien — der der jüdischen Gemeinde Geld abpressen will. So tat er es auch mit den Arabern. Es ist dies ein Begleitbrief eines Rundschreibens, der in den Synagogen zu verlesen war. Dies darf jedoch dem Finanzbeamten nicht zu Ohren kommen.[12]

Schreiber und Adressat des Briefes ist unbekannt. Das beiliegende Lichtbild wird vielleicht zur Agnoszierung des Schreibers verhelfen.[13]

[12] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I (Berkeley — Los Angeles 1967), pp. 229—266; II (Berkeley — Los Angeles — London 1971), pp. 374—380; A. Scheiber: *Acta Or. Hung.* XXVII (1973), p. 141.

[13] Über die Kaufmann-Genisa siehe neulich J. Maier, *Bedeutung und Erforschung der Kairoer «Geniza»: Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* XIII (1970), p. 59.

I

MS. Cambridge

Or. 1080. Box 1[34]

שמע ישראל ייי אלהינו ייי
אחד : אחד מיודע אחד
הוא יודע אחד אלהינו בשמים :
שנים מיודע ענים הוא |||
שני לוחות הברית אחד
אלהינו בשמים פן שלשה
מיודע שלשה הוא יודע
שלשה האבות שני לחות הבר[ית]
אחד אלהינו בשמים פן ארבעה
מיודע ארבעה הוא יודע ארבעה
אמהות ושלשה האבות שני
לחות הברית אחד אלהינו בשמים
פן חמשה מיודע חמשה הוא
יודע חמשה ספרי תורה וארבעה
אמהות ושלשה האבות שני
לחות הברית אחד אלהינו
בשמים פן ששה מיודע ששה הוא
יודע ששה ספרי משנה וחמשה
ספרי תורה וארבעה אמהות ושלשה [האבות]
שני לחות הברית אחד אלהינו
בשמים פן שבעה מיודע שבעה הוא
יודע שבעה ימי שבתות ששה
ספרי משנה וחמשה ספרי תורה וארבעה

אמהות ושלשה האבות שני לחות
הברית אחד אלהינו בשמים פן
שמנה מיודע שמנה הוא יודע
שמנה ימי מילא שבעה ימי
שבתות ששה ספרי משנה וחמשה
ספרי תורא וארבעה אמהות ושלשה
האבות שני לחות הברית אחד
אלהינו בשמים פן תשעה מיודע
תשעה הוא יודע תשעה פרחי בטנה
שמונה ימי מ֯ה שבעה ימי שבתות
ששה ספרי משנה וחמשה ספרי תורא
וארבעה אמהות ושלשה האבות
שני לחות הברית אחד אלהינו בשמים
פן עשרה מיודע עשרה הוא יודע
עשרה דבריה תשעה פרחי בטנה
שמונה ימי מילא שבעה ימי שבת[ות]
ששה ספרי משנה וחמשה ספרי תו[רא]
וארבעה אמהית ושלשה האבות שני
לחות הברית אחד אלהינו בשמים [פן]
אחד עשר מיודע אחד עשר הוא יודע
אחד עשר אחי יוסף עשרה דבריה
תשעה פרחי ⟨בטנה⟩ שמונה ימי מילא שבעה

27 ימי] בכ"י „יומי".

33 ימי שבתות] בכ"י „יומי".

45 מילא] בכ"י „מלא".

ימי שבתות ששה ספרי מש[נה]
וחמשה ספרי תורא וארבע[ה]
אמהות ושלשה האבות שני לחות ה[ברית]
אחד אלהינו בשמים פן שנים עש[ר]
מיודע שנים עשר הוא יודע שנים
עשר שבטיה אחד עשר אחי יוסף עשר[ה]
דבוריה תשעה ירחי בטנה שמונה ימי מילא
שבעה ימי שבתות ששה ספרי משנה
וחמשה ספרי תורא ארבעה
אמהות ושלשה האבות שני
לחות הברית אחד אלהינו
בשמים

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46 ימי] לפניו כתוב „שבעה" שנית. שבתות] בכ"י „שבתת".
52 דביריה] בכ"י „דבריה".
52 מילא] בכ"י „מלא".
53 שבתות] בכ"י „שבתת".

II

MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/*f*

[1a] . . . . . .

כי הסופר הערל מבקש ע[לילות]
המעשים שהוא עושה עם
הישמעאלים והקדרים אז ר[אה]
שהוא מסבר להכביד עו[לו]
אשר אינם שוקלים מם ורא[ה שהם]
שמרו נצח להודיעם א[ל]
ידם גם כי החבר נט׳ רח׳
כי הוא מבין וחכם ויע[שה כחכמתו]
ואל יתרשל כי זו מצוה
[ל]עבור הכנסיות במכת[ב]
סוד[י] ואל יתודע לסופר ה[ערל ואל]
יקשה עליו כי עד עתה
קדושינו יפר עצתו וי[תן]
שבר טוב מן השמים
תגיע כלל הכתב . . . . . .
. . . . . .

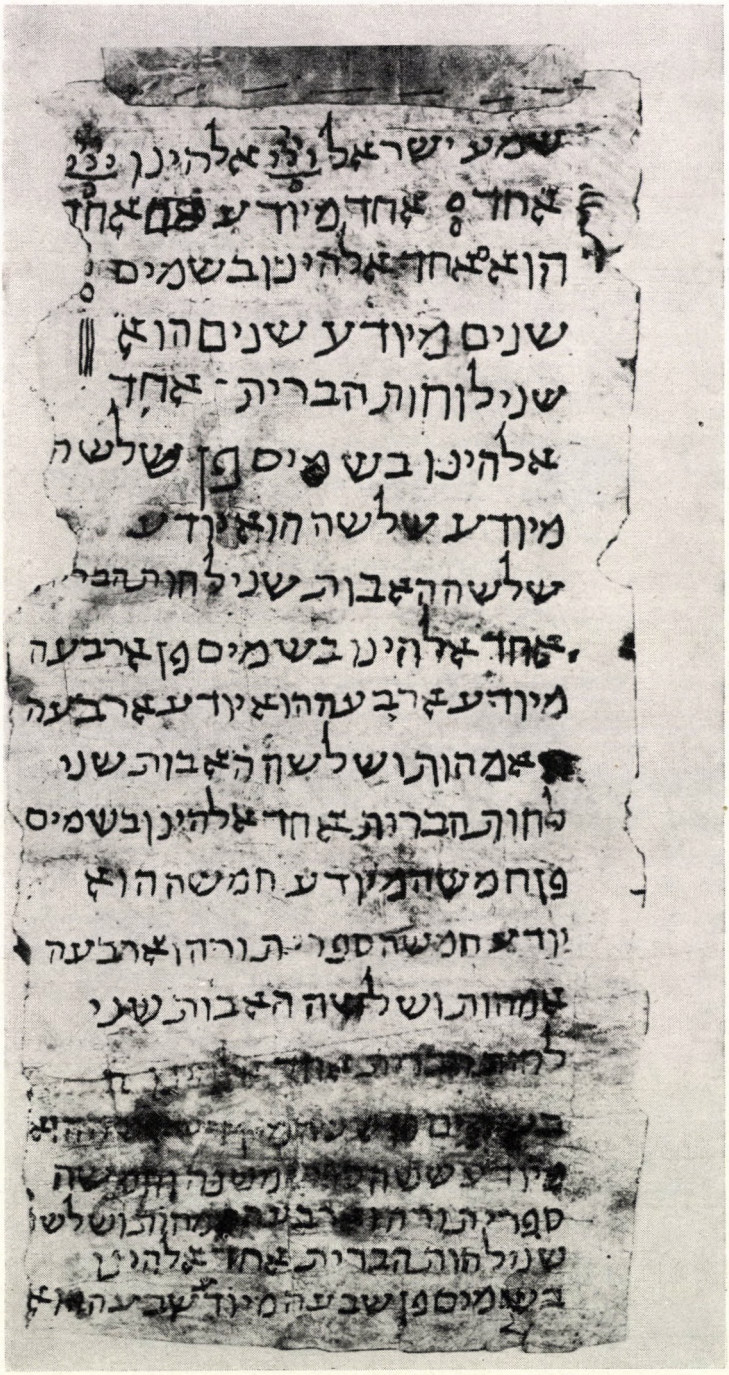

Abb. 1. MS. Cambridge, Or. 1080. Box 1[34]. Oberer Teil



Abb. 2. MS. Cambridge, Or. 1080. Box 1[34]. Unterer Teil

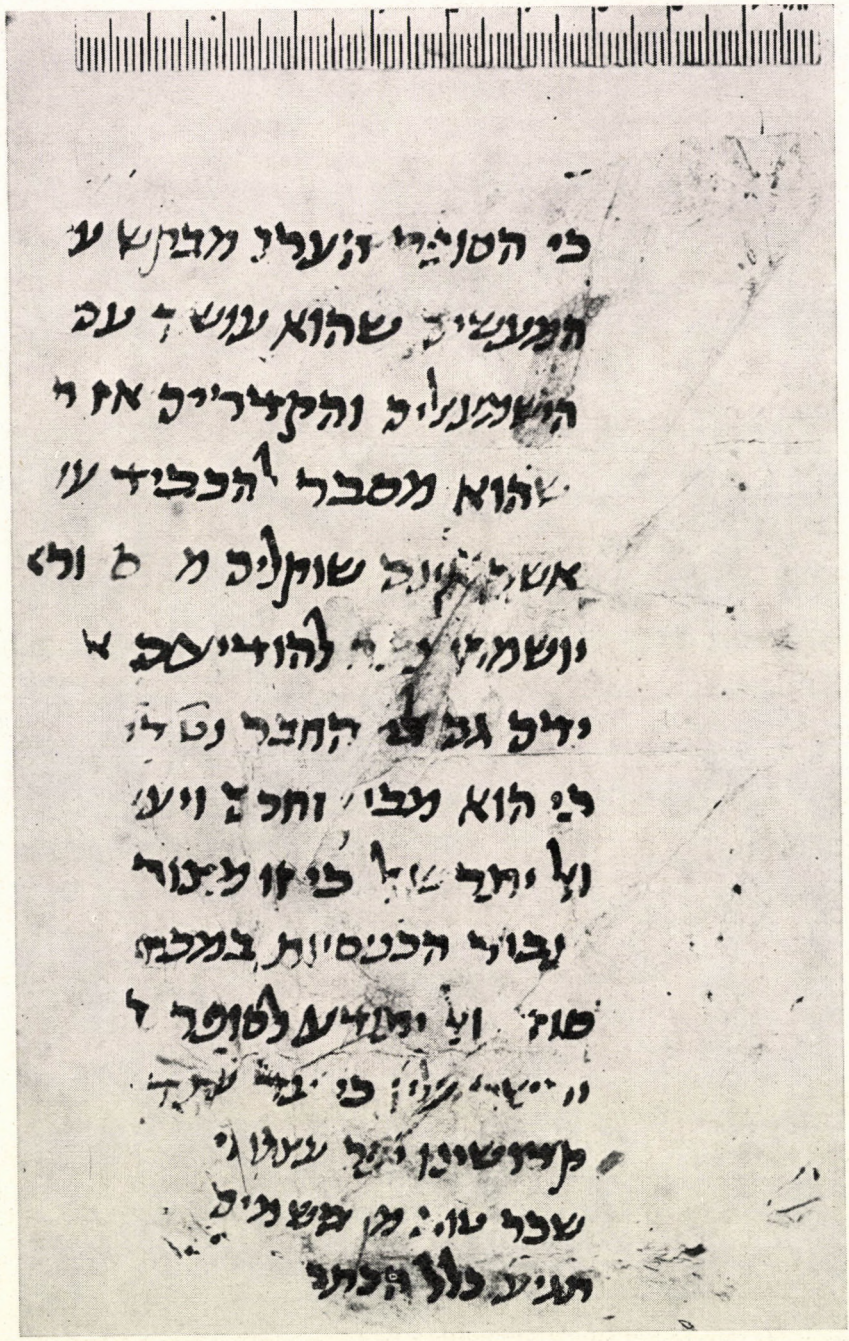

Abb. 3. MS. Kaufmann, No. 123/f

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus XXVII (3), pp. 333–343 (1973)

SUR L'INSTITUTION DE LA *MU'ĀḤĀH*: ENTRE LE TRIBALISME ET L'*UMMA*

PAR

R. SIMON

Dans les recherches sur la société arabe, et en premier lieu dans l'analyse de l'ordre légal et des institutions, au cours de ces dernières décennies, on remarque un certain intérêt dû en partie à l'influence de la sociologie touchant à la naissance et au caractère de la communauté musulmane aussi bien qu'aux relations entre le caractère de la communauté d'une part, les institutions et l'ordre legal de l'autre. Or ces premières tentatives tâtonnantes révèlent justement que l'étude philologique-historico-philosophique approfondie du caractère de l'*umma* muḥammedienne, caractère non plus tribal, mais non encore étatique, n'en est qu'à son premier stade.[1] C'est toujours l'analyse, parfois très formaliste de la «Constitution de Médine» qui se trouve au centre des recherches sur l'*umma* muḥammadienne,[2] et l'on rencontre rarement

[1] Après les recherches du pionnier qui fut J. Wellhausen, toujours exemplaires à beaucoup de points de vue (v. surtout: *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 4. Heft, Berlin 1889) v.L. Massignon, *L'umma et ses synonymes: notion «de communauté sociale» en Islam: REI* (1941—1946), pp. 151—157 (*Opera Minora*, t.I 1969, pp. 97—103) et ses importantes remarques historiques et philologiques, pour la définition conceptuelle de l'*umma*. Pour les recherches à venir il est à signaler que Massignon parle de synonyme ou de différence substantielle fondée sur l'égalité, là où il doit s'agir de certains aspects ou fonctions historiques de l'umma (comme dans le cas de la *milla* ou de la *ǧamāʿa*). Pour la formulation théorique-sociologique des problèmes, il faut tenir compte des importantes études deJ. H. Kramer, *La sociologie de l'islam* (première édition: 1951; v.: *Analecta Orientalia*, vol. II, Leiden 1956, pp. 184—193); *L'état musulman* (première édition: 1951; v. *op. cit.*, pp. 194—201); *L'islam et la démocratie* (première édition: 1948; v. *op. cit.*, pp. 168—183). V. encore: Ilse Lichtenstädter, *From particularism to unity: race, nationality and minorities in the early Islamic empire: Islamic Culture* XXIII (1949), pp. 251—280; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956 (surtout ses remarques aux pp. 238—244, 264—267) et du même, *Islam and the integration of society* (London. 1961); C.A.O. v. Nieuwenhuijze, *The Umma — an analytic approach: Studia Islamica* 10(1959), pp.5—22; G. E. von Grunebaum, *The nature of Arab unity before Islam: Arabica* 10 (1963), pp. 5—23 où il tente d'appliquer les archétypes de Fr. Meinecke dépourvus d'historicité, à l'évolution arabe.

[2] V. l'article récent de R. B. Serjeant contenant quelques nouveaux points de vue à peine élaborés et insuffisamment documentés, dans lequel il distingue huit parties de la

l'analyse de l'*umma* muḥammadienne comme processus historique à double visage, problème qui pourrait être formulé de la façon suivante: quelles ont été les tentatives de Muḥammad pour transformer les rapports de propriété, les formes organisationnelles et les formes de conscience, en vue de créer une communauté locale, plus exactement en vue d'instaurer un principe d'organisation et une institution de la communauté locale, c'est à dire l'état, ces tentatives ayant été faites non plus dans le cadre du tribalisme mais, et ceci est à souligner, sur la base de l'état tribal. Nombre d'éléments organiques et cohérents de ce processus figurent comme *disiecta membra* dans les recherches poursuivies jusqu'à présent. (Ainsi la Constitution de Médine, interprétée comme période à une ou plusieurs phases, à propos de laquelle l'importance d'autres tentatives est à souligner; la «religion d'Abraham», comme conception religieuse-idéologique de la nouvelle communauté en cours de formation, ayant un caractère à la fois isolateur et unificateur; le développement des rapports de propriété dans les oasis occupées, comme les terres des Banū'n-Naḍīr et des Banū Qurayẓa, Ḫaybar, Wādī al-Qurā, Fadak, Taymā', Tabūk, Dūmat al-Ǧandal). Un de ces éléments organiques est l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* dont le caractère double (le fait que Muḥammad ait essayé de dépasser l'état tribal en partant de la tribu) n'a pas été traité jusqu'à présent, pas plus qu'on n'a posé la question des relations réelles ou supposées entre le caractère,l'issue de cette tentative et la conception de l'*umma* de la Constitution de Médine, question à propos de laquelle il faudrait insister sur l'aspect neuf de cette tentative, et sur la raison pour laquelle cette «nouveauté» était vouée à un échec temporaire ou définitif. (Ceci permettra de poser aussi la question de savoir si la communauté locale de la Constitution de Médine ne contient pas plus d'éléments tribaux que, du moins potentiellement, l'expérience de la *mu'āḫāh* qui voulait transformer la communauté fondée sur le sang, primaire et originelle en une communauté non plus originelle, conditionnée par la religion, mais toujours naturelle.)

Au cours des recherches poursuivies jusqu'à présent, l'analyse de l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* n'a fait l'objet exclusif que d'une seule étude.[3] A part cette étude les recherches ont consacré bien peu d'attention au problème. Les prises de position connues jusqu'à présent peuvent être résumées comme suit: *a*) beaucoup des chercheurs touchent le problème à titre accessoire (ou évitent même d'en parler) en examinant la carrière de Muḥammad, le développement de l'islam précoce, la formation et l'interprétation du *Qur'ān*,[4] *b*) plusieurs

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Constitution de Médine, d'après des critères formels: *The «Constitution of Medina»*: *The Islamic Quarterly* VIII, Nr. 1—2 (1964), pp. 3—16.

[3] I. Lichtenstädter, *Fraternization* (*Mu'ākhāt*) *in early Islamic society*: *Islamic Culture* XVI (1942), pp. 47—52.

[4] Le silence d'une partie des sources est significatif, étant donné la difficulté d'interprétation du phénomène: v. p.e. le silence d'al-Yaʿqūbī, chez qui, connaissant ses ten-

déclarent que le sens, la fonction de l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* leur échappent, certains s'en rapportent à la déformation de la tradition,[5] et il y en a qui, conformément à l'interprétation hypercritique de la tradition musulmane, la considère comme une tradition fictive[6]; parmi les auteurs qui interprètent les fonctions concrètes de la *mu'āḫāh*, *c*) certains en soulignent l'aspect défensif,[7] *d*) selon d'autres le but de la *mu'āḫāh* aurait été d'assurer la paix et la bonne entente entre les musulmans et de refréner la rivalité entre *muhāǧirūn* et *anṣār*[8]; *e)* et enfin, il y en a qui estiment que la «fraternisation» aurait servi un but purement stratégique, notamment celui d'assurer l'accord et une cohésion plus grande des différentes unités combattantes des musulmans, lors d'une attaque de l'ennemi.[9] Il est à signaler que les points de vue précédents ne voyai-

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dances proalides, l'on s'étonne de ne pas voir mentionnée la *mu'āḫāh* de ʿAlî et de Muḥammad figurant dans d'autres sources; il ne signale que d'une manière générale, l'aide des *muhāǧirūn* de la part des *anṣār*: *wa-qadima'l-muhāǧirūna fa-nazalū manāzila'l-anṣār fa-wāsū-hum bi'd-diyār wa'l-amwāl*. V. *Ta'rīḫ al-Yaʿqūbī*, 1358/1939, an-Naǧaf, vol. II, p. 31); il est à noter que Ṭabarī ne fait pas mention de l'événement; parmi les spécialistes, Nöldeke le mentionne à propos du v. 76 de la *Sūrat al-anfāl* (v. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2. Aufl., I. Teil, Leipzig 1909, p. 189), et en plus, par l'interprétation du v. 75 et par la mise en doute de son caractère d'*āya nāsiḫa*, c'est la méconnaissance du phénomène qui s'exprime. Il est significatif qu'en traitant le vers 6 de la *Sūrat al-aḥzāb* — I/p. 207 — il ne touche même pas la question. R. Paret touche le problème à titre accessoire et ne pose pas la possibilité de le mettre en rapport avec la *mu'āḫāh* (R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart—Berlin—Köln—Mainz 1971, p. 192k ad 8/72, 75, p. 398 ad 33/6).

[5] V. p.e. L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. I (Milano 1905), p. 409, n. 2, § 50; Fr. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, deutsch von H. H. Schaeder (Heidelberg 1961[3]), p. 208 sq.

[6] H. Lammens, *Le triumvirat Abou Bakr, ʿOmar et Abou ʿObayda: Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth* IV (1910), p. 133, n.2;

[7] V. Fr. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 208; v. encore: *EI* s. v. *Muhammad* (Fr. Buhl), vol. III, p. 700_b.

[8] V. L. Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 408. En même temps il note à la p. 409, n. 2, que la *mu'āḫāt* pourrait être interprétée comme une expérience politique de Muḥammad, qui n'aboutît pas au résultat attendu. E. Sachau (Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb at-tabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau, Bd. III, Leiden 1904, *Einleitung*, p. XXXIV) risque également cette dernière affirmation, sans signaler de manière plus précise le caractère et l'importance de l'expérience.

[9] V. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford 1956), p. 248 sq. Watt ne rattache pas la *mu'āḫāh* à l'*umma*, et il la considère essentiellement comme le prolongement du *ḥilf* préislamique. Son interprétation particulière est fondée sur deux endroits de Wāqidī. En les prenant comme point de départ, il met en doute. l'affirmation univoque des sources concernant la date de la «suppression»; nous connaissons pourtant d'autres exemples à la conservation et la continuité de la *muwālāh* ou de la *mu'āḫāh* même après la suppression de l'hérédité, survenue après Badr. Et en plus, *avant* Badr, on pourrait comprendre que l'éventuelle fonction stratégique ait occupé une place importante

ent pas de rapport entre la *mu'āḫāh* et l'*umma*, par contre nombreux sont ceux qui acceptent le point de vue musulman, et y voient le prolongement ou la simple modification de l'institution du *ḥilf*, soumise à l'organisation fondée sur la consanguinité de la société tribale préislamique et qui complète cette organisation.[10] Une version spéciale de cette position est représentée par I. Lichtenstädter qui, tout en signalant comme simple généralité le fait que l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* doit représenter une nouvelle forme organisationnelle par rapport au groupe fondé sur la consanguinité[11], fait sienne l'interprétation qui considère la *mu'āḫāh* comme la simple application du *ǧiwār* et surtout du *ḥilf*, et selon laquelle les «frères» musulmans seraient des frères de sang groupés sur la base du sang, par le *ḥilf*. Elle n'est donc pas en mesure de résoudre la contradiction réelle ou supposée (dépassement de l'organisation consanguinaire par le moyen de l'organisation-même), de la résoudre d'une manière concrète

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parmi les fonctions de la *mu'āḫāh*; sa nécessité est loin d'être convaincante en 627/8 ou 628/9, et surtout on ne voit pas pourquoi il fallait avoir recours, dans ce but au moyen du ḥilf préislamique. Car c'est ainsi que Watt simplifie et méconnait la *mu'āḫāh*.

[10] Pour le ḥilf v. *EI*, New Edition, v. III (1971), s. v. *ḥilf* (E. Tyan), p. 388_b—389_a et: Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥūfī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿarabīya min aš-šiʿr al-ǧāhilī* (al-Qāhira 1962), pp. 285—293. Dans l'ancienne bibliographie les *Muhammedanische Studien de* Goldziher, I. Teil (Halle 1888), pp. 63—69. restent d'une importance fondamentale. L'excellente analyse historico-philologique de Goldziher, fait ressortir d'une manière claire la fonction historique du *ḥilf a)* le *ḥilf* ou *taḥāluf* est l'attribut inhérent de la communauté (tribale) primaire, unie par les liens du sang, qui, et c'est la première parmi ses fonctions, était le moyen fondamental de l'unification, de la formation de groupes de différentes grandeurs, unification basée sur des liens du sang d'abord fictifs puis réels. Goldziher doit avoir raison en affirmant, sans exagérer le rôle rempli par le *ḥilf* dans la société tribale, que c'est probablement le *taḥāluf* qui peut être considéré comme la forme originale de la formation tribale (p. 64). Goldziher, conformément à sa théorie de *muruwwadīn*, lie d'une façon naturelle et à juste titre le *ḥilf* à la *muruwwa*, comme la valeur la plus estimée du système de valeurs de celle-ci (p. 68, n. 7.); *b)* le *ḥilf*, comme le moyen, la forme, le symbole du particularisme de la société tribale est, de par sa nature, étranger à l'unité de la communauté secondaire (musulmane) qui n'est plus basée sur les liens du sang. C'est ce qui est lapidairement exprimé dans le *ḥadīt* attribué à Muhammad: *lā ḥilf*^{a} *fī'l-islām*, dont le complètement, réel ou fictif, servant de transition compromissionnaire (*lā ḥilf*^{a} *fī'l-islām walākin tamassukū bi-ḥilf al-ǧāhilīya*) lie l'institution du *ḥilf* d'une manière encore plus nette au tribalisme précédant l'islam. Les types et les différentes fonctions du *ḥilf*, énumérés par E. Tyan (*loc. cit.*) révèlent qu'il s'agit bien d'une institution tribale, au service du tribalisme. Si la forme du *ḥilf-walā'* se conserve à l'époque islamique, et surtout dans la période omayyade, elle est soumise à l'état territorialement organisé, tout comme certains éléments conservés de l'état tribal sont soumis à l'*umma* qui n'est plus organisée sur la base des liens du sang.Il est notoire que la tradition considère la *mu'āḫāh* comme un cas spécial du hilf, v. *EI*, Bd. III, p. 584s, s. v. *Mīrāth* (S. Schacht). Cette même position se reflète dans les recherches arabes contemporaines, v. p. e. Aḥmad Ibrāhīm aš-Šarīf, *ad-Dawla al-islāmīya al-ūlā* (al-Qāhira 1965), p. 68 sq (*wa'l-mu'āḫāh tasmīya islāmīya li'n-niẓām al-ʿarabī al-qadīm wa huwa niẓām al-ḥilf*).

[11] V. I. Lichtenstädter, *Fraternization*, p. 47; *From particularism*, p. 258.

(historique-philologique) ou d'une manière théorique (vu les rapports contradictoires de la *mu'āhāh* avec le tribalisme d'une part, avec l'*umma* d'autre part). Ce qui reflète de la façon la plus évidente l'échec d'une telle interprétation, c'est l'accent mis, sans prise de position d'ailleurs, sur la *mu'āhāh* de la Mecque, mentionnée par quelques sources tardives (Ḥalabī, Diyārbakrī, Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn Ḥağar, Ibn al- Aṯīr)[12] et, au point de vue théorique, en rapport étroit avec ce qui précède et avec l'interprétation du *ḥilf*, c'est la conception de la *mu'āḥāh* considérant la tentative toujours dans le cadre du tribalisme.[13]

[12] V. *Fraternization*, pp. 49—51. La mise au premier plan de cette mu'*āḥāh* de la Mecque serait le seul élément nouveau de l'article de Lichtenstädter. Cependant la *mu'āḥāh* de la Mecque ne peut pas être située historiquement dans les circonstances déterminées par l'état tribal de la période mecquoise (ce que d'ailleurs ni les sources tardives, ni Lichtenstädter ne tentent de faire), étant donné que, dans la période mecquoise de la formation de l'islam, cette nouvelle institutionn'aurait eu ni cadre ni fonctions réelles. Dans cette période, c'est en effet le *ḥilf* ou le *ǧiwār* d'un seul clan (*ʿašīra*) ou celui des unités à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du clan, qui pouvait représenter l'unique rapport de caractère caractère défensif, etc. Mais justement la plupart de ceux qui sont mentionnés dans les sources tardives, comme les «frères» des *mu'āḥāt* de la Mecque n'en avaient pas besoin. Les données de la Sīra nous font connaître une exception importante, notamment Abū Bakr qui appartenait au Banū Taym, clan relativement faible mais qui ne sollicita pas le *ǧiwār* de ʿUmar appartenant au Banū ʿAdī (le supposé «frère» mecquois d'Abū Bakr, d'après les sources tardives), mais celui de Ibn al-Duġunna qui lui, appartenait au Banū'l-Ḥārit b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna (v. as-Sīra an-nabawīya li-Ibn-Hisām al-Qāhira 1955², v. I, pp. 372—374). Pour l'aspect des poursuites et pour le rôle de la défense des clans, v. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, pp. 117—119. Par rapport aux cas des »paires« manifestement fictives (comme p. e. le cas des paires Muḥammad — ʿAlī ou Hamza — Zayd b. Ḥārita, etc. dont les membres appartenaient au même clan et qui représente une contradiction *in subiecto*) il est plus simple de rejeter la supposition des «paires» comme celle de ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥāriṯ appartenant au Banū'l-Muṭṭalib, clan pauvre et sans puissance, et de Bilāl (v. W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 88 sq). Bilāl, qui était d'abord l'esclave (*muwallad*) d'un membre du Banū Ǧumaḥ et qui, après s'être converti, dans la période mecquoise (avant l'émigration abyssinienne) devint le *mawlā* de Abū Bakr (v. Ibn Hišām, v. I, p. 317 sq), est devenu aux temps de la *mu'āḥāh* (de Médine) le frère d'Abū Ruwayḥa ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Haṯʿamī (v. Ibn Hisām, v. I, p. 506 sq). La non-existence de la *mu'āḥāh* de la Mecque est prouvée, outre les raisonnements d'ordre théorique-historique, par l'*argumentum ex silentio*, soit par le mutisme des sources précoces (le *Qur'ān*-même, Ibn Isḥāq/Ibn Hišām, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd, al-Balāḏurī) pour ne rappeler que les sources qui contiennent un rapport sur la *mu'āḥāh* (de Médine). Il est par ailleurs significatif que lorsqu'il s'agit des sources relatives à la *mu'āḥāh* Lichtenstädter ne se réfère, à part Ibn Isḥāq et Ibn Saʿd (qu'elle mentionne en passant) qu'à des sources tardives et elle ne fait même pas mention des endroits du *Qur'ān* se rapportant au problème ni non plus d'al-Balāḏurī, de Buḥārī ou d'an-Nuwayrī.

[13] C'est l'extension de cette fausse conception qui marque son étude parue sept ans plus tard (en 1949: *From particularism*) dans laquelle elle attribue un rôle de premier ordre aux institutions des *ḥilf*, *ǧiwār* et *walā'*, parmi les facteurs unificateurs de l'époque préislamique et de l'islam précoce. Il n'est guère nécessaire de souligner qu'au point de vue historique, ces institutions servaient essentiellement le particularisme de la société

Les sources précoces situent la date des débuts de l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* dans les premières temps qui suivirent l'hégire,[14] et estiment que la fin en est marquée par la bataille de Badr, soit par le vers 33/6, apporté après la bataille.[15] Cette période est une phase *transitoire* d'une importance fondamentale: en quittant la Mecque Muḥammad ne quittent pas seulement le Qurayš, il devait aussi affronter le problême consistant à dépasser, à rejeter le tribalisme; il est significatif qu'à Médine il ne tentera *plus* jamais d'organiser les musulmans dans des tribus, ni de les placer, même à titre provisoire, dans le *ḥilf* ou le *ǧiwār* d'un des clans, ce qui aurait équivalu à accepter le tribalisme dans l'avenir aussi.[16] Au moment donc où Muḥammad ne veut *plus* organiser

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tribale, le changement *quantitatif* et le fonctionnement des unités indépendantes, et que ces moyens ne permettaient pas la formation d'une unité plus grande et qualitativement nouvelle, dépassant la tribu ou l'organisation éphémère des tribus. Il est notoire que la survivance de ces éléments *tribaux* représentait, dans le premier siècle de l'islam, soit dans l'*Arabisches Reich*, le principe d'organisation, le cadre, la base des forces centrifuges, opposées à l'unité de l'umma, et que la défaite des Omayyades, tout comme la réorganisation qualitative de l'armée, étaient dues, non en dernier lieu, au particularisme concrétisé par ces éléments.

[14] Ibn Isḥāq ne signale pas la date de manière explicite, mais traite l'événement avant la mort de Asʿad b. Zurāra, chef du Banū'n-Naǧǧār. Il rattache les deux éléments en disant« *wa-halaka fī tilka'l-ašhur* . . . (Ibn Hisām, v. I, 507); à propos du dernier évenement, nous savons qu'il est survenu quelques mois après l'hégire, (v. Tabarī, v. I, p. 1260); dans le cas d'al-Balāḏurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh(al-Qāhira 1959), p. 270 sq, c'est encore l'endroit seul de l'exposé qui permet d'en situer la date après l'hégire, dans la première année; selon l'expression de Ibn Saʿd (v. I/2, p. 1): *lammā qadima rasūl Allāh . . . āḫā* . . . (v. une définition semblable chez an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, v. 16, al-Qâhira 1955, p. 347); d'après l'histoire racontée, à plusieurs reprises et avec différents isnâd, par Buḫârî (*Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Buḫārî, al-Qāhira 1378/1958, v. III, p. 68 sq; v. V, p. 38 sq, 88) nous pouvons conclure qu'il a dû arriver immédatement après l'hégire (v. Ibn Sa'd, v. III/1, p. 89).

[15] V. al-Balāḏurī, p. 271, se référant à al-Wāqidī (wa-qāla'l-Wāqidī: *wa'l-'ulamā' yunkirūna'l-mu'āḫāh ba'da Badr wa-yaqūlūna: qaṭa'at Badr al-mawārīṯ*, v. Ibn Sa'd, v. I/2/1; an-Nuwayrī, v. 16, p. 348). Pour l'interprétation du 8/75, qui donne beaucoup à réfléchir, il est à noter que an-Nuwayrī cite ce vers, comme apporté après Badr,et non pas le 33/6, mentionné par plusieurs sources. Il est très important que l'endroit se rapportant à la *mu'āḫāh* est identique. V. encore *Tafsīr* al-Bayḍāwī (al-Qāhira 1358/1939, p. 553, ad 33/6).

[16] Et il ne le fera pas lorsque, après la mort de Asʿad b. Zurāra, il deviendra naqīb des Banū'n-Naǧǧār. V. Ibn Hišâm, v. I. p. 507 sq. (Ṭabarī, v. I, p. 1260). Cependant, à la Mecque, après la mort de Abū Ṭālib, survenue en 619, il devait continuer à vivre dans le cadre de la société tribale. Abū Lahab étant devenu le chef du clan, il a perdu l'appui de son clan et recherche des protecteurs, mais il le fait toujours dans le cadre du tribalisme. Après l'intermède bien caractéristique et sans succès de Ṭā'if, il doit courir à la recherche d'un défenseur (*muǧīr*), sans quoi il ne peut rentrer à la Mecque. Il sollicitera d'abord l'appui d'al-Aḫnas dont la réponse sera: *inna'l-ḥalīf lā yuǧīru alā'ṣ-ṣarīḥ* (Ṭabarī, v. I, 1203). Pui il s'adresse à Suhayl b. ʿAmr appartenant au Banū 'Amir b. Lu'aiy qui le

les musulmans dans des tribus, il n'est pas encore à même de créer une nouvelle forme de communauté basée sur le principe territorial et non plus sur une organisation elle-même fondée sur la consanguinité. La reconnaissance du nouveau, la création des conditions de sa réalisation, les conclusions tirées dans les différents domaines (économique, politique, organisationnel, religieux) tout ceci devait être le produit d'un processus plus ou moins long; tout comme le *desiderium pium* d'une relative cohérence des différents côtés devait être la condition et la conséquence de la lutte permanente. Les premiers résultats spectaculaires et explicites, reconnus et dûment mis en relief par les sources et la littérature spéciale furent, dans le domaine organisationnel, la tentative d'umma de la Constitution de Médine, et dans le domaine religieux-idéologique, la création de la religion d'Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*).[17] Nous pouvons ajouter que le début des razzias régulières, en corrélation économique-politique avec les faits précédents et d'où naquîrent la notion du *ǧihād* et celle de la conquête,[18] avait peut-être une importance du même ordre. La tentative de la *mu'āḫāh*

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refuse, et finalement c'est Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī qui acceptera la proposition (al-Balāḏurī, p. 237; Ṭabarī, v. I, p. 1203).

[17] Le rôle fondamental et le processus de la formation de la religion d'Abraham ont été pour la première fois reconnus par l'orientaliste hollandais Snouck Hurgronje qui l'a présentée dans sa thèse de doctorat écrite en 1880. V. actuellement une traduction partielle en français: *Le pélerinage à la Mecque* (*Oeuvres choisies* de Snouck Hurgronje, présentées en français et en anglais par G. H. Bousquet et J. Schacht, Leiden. 1957, pp. 171—213). La modification récemment proposée de sa position (v. E. Beck, *Die Gestalt des Abraham am Wendepunkt der Entwicklung Muhammeds*: *Le Muséon* LXV, 1/2/1952, pp. 73—94 et Y. Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran. L'histoire d'Abraham dans le Coran et la naissance de l'islam* (Paris. 1958) ne change rien à l'essentiel, étant donné que, pour la religion d'Abraham, la question n'est pas de savoir si c'est Muhammad lui-même qui l'a créée *ex nihilo* (comme le prétendait Snouck Hurgronje) ou si elle apparaît déjà dans les *sūrāt* données à la Mecque, des indices d'une connexion entre Abraham et la Kaʿba existant dès l'époque préislamique (comme le soutiennent Beck et Moubarac), mais de reconnaître la fonction, ou plutôt les fonctions qualitativement nouvelles qu'a remplies la *millat Ibrāhīm* dans la différenciation religieuse-idéologique de l'islam, chose qui ne pouvait s'accomplir de manière à former un système cohérent, qu'après l'hégire.

[18] D'après Ibn Isḥāq (v. I, p. 590) les *muhāǧirūn* engagent leurs attaques contre les caravanes de la Mecque dès la seconde année, tandis que Wâqidî les date déjà de la première. Selon le témoignage des sources, les musulmans ont effectué au moins 70 razzias avant la mort de Muḥammad; l'importance de ces razzias est marquée par le fait que Muḥammad participait presqu'à la moitié d'entre elles: Ibn Hišâm, v. II, p. 608 sq (27 razzias avec sa participation, 38 sans lui); Ibn Saʿd, v. II/1, p. 1 (27 avec, 47 sans); Ṭabarī, v. I, p. 1756 sq (26 avec, 35 ou 48 sans). Pour juger des razzias il est indispensable de signaler, et voilà pourquoi nous en soulignons l'importance, que les musulmans de la Mecque luttaient contre leurs anciens compagnons de tribu et de clan. Pour apprécier le caractère conscient de l'acte v. *Qur'ān*, 22/39; 2/216; 2/224 sq; 47/4 sq. Pour les leçons de la razzia de Naḫla (A. H. 2, raǧab/624, janv.), atteinte au mois sacré, institution fondamentale de la société tribale (v. 2/217).

et moins spectaculaire et beaucoup moins explicite mais, du point de vue historique et théorique elle est presque aussi instructive; on peut donc la situer sur le chemin du développement de *l'assemblée musulmane* en *communauté musulmane*, et, au point de vue économique-organisationnel-religieux, entre la fin du tribalisme qui s'est réellement et symboliquement manifestée dans l'hégire, et la forme organisationnelle qualitativement nouvelle qui avait ses propres bases religieuses-idéologiques (la religion d'Abraham), autrement dit l'umma territorialement organisée, esquissée pour la première fois dans la Constitution de Médine. On peut considérer comme les corrélatifs ou plutôt les phénomènes parallèles de la *mu'āḫāh*, dans le domaine politique, un vide spécifique qui ne peut être caractérisé que par des négatifs donc par la définition de ce qu'il n'est pas, ainsi par exemple la fustigation des musulmans restés à la Mecque et la désolidarisation d'avec ceux;[19] dans le domaine religieux, la possibilité de collaboration avec l'*ahl al-kitāb*;[20] du point de vue économique: la dépendance absolue et l'assujettissement total aux anṣâr.[21] C'est le cadre où nous devons situer la tentative de la *mu'āḫāh* dont le caractère non plus tribal mais non encore *umma*ïque apparaît clairement dans la concrète situation historique, mais qui peut aussi être dégagé assez nettement des informations laconiques que fournissent les sources. L'introduction de l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* et son bref fonctionnement sont une tentative de *modus vivendi* pour la communauté musulmane dans les conditions qui viennent d'être exposées. Le caractère excessivement *abstrait* de certains de ses aspects, et le caractère concret, réduit à *l'unique*, des autres, reflète bien la situation donnée. Des tâches concrétes doivent être menées à bonne fin; en premier lieu, assurer la survie de la communauté musulmane, et surtout des *muhāǧirūn*, arrachés à leur sphère organisationnelle-économique, parallèlement, maintenir l'autonomie de l'islam en prenant provisoirement pour base l'arrachement au tribalisme comme condition choisie et enfin n'anticiper l'ouverture vers le nouveau que par d'une manière négative — au nom d'une conception religieuse abstraite. Ainsi l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* a un aspect facile à saisir: la rupture avec le tribalisme, autrement dit la volonté de Muḥammad de ne pas organiser la communauté musulmane, composée de différents éléments, sur le tribalisme; la condition de cette position (et c'est l'autre aspect de la question) était par contre quelque chose qui n'existait encore que d'une manière abstraite (c'était la communauté musulmane non encore organisée sur le plan social-territorial-étatique) et qui ne pouvait être réalisée qu'aprés une expérimentation plus

[19] V. *Qur'ān*, 8/72; 4/89, 95.

[20] Ce qui est marqué, dans les 17 ou 18 mois premiers d'après l'hégire, par la *qibla* de Jérusalem (Ibn Sa'd, v. I/2, p. 2; Ṭabarī, v. I, p. 1280 sq); par l'emprunt de la *'āšūrā'* (Tabarī, v. I, p. 1281) et la prière de midi (v. *Qur'ān*, 2/238).

[21] V. les circonstances de l'*ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*, et notamment l'histoire de Wāṯila b. al-Asqa' chez al-Balāḏurī, pp. 272 sq.

ou moins longue; il s'agissait donc d'une condition première de plus en plus concrète, qui devint en même temps un résultat. (Une des phases de cette expérimentation est précisément la Constitution de Médine dans laquelle domine déjà le principe territorial réalisé dans un but politique; cependant l'*umma* se compose encore d'éléments hétérogènes dont une partie,acceptée par l'*umma*, mais lui assujettie, ne s'est pas dépouillée du tribalisme.).[22] Entre ces deux aspects (le rejet de l'état tribal et l'anticipation abstraite de l' *umma*) nous trouvons les fonctions économiques-politiques-défensives concrètes de la *mu'āḫāh* existantes dans l'intérêt du dernier.

C'est l'unité inséparable des deux aspects qu'exprime de façon marquante le document, le plus important peut-être de la *mu'āḫāh*, le vers 82 de la *Sūrat al-anfāl* qui met fin au règne des liens du sang; le caractère décisif, radical de ce changement consiste dans le fait qu'il exprime une désolidarisation même à l'égard des musulmans restés à la Mecque (*wa-'lladīna āmānū wa-lam yuhāǧirū mā la-kum min walāyati-him min šaʾy*^{in}[23]) et qu'il considère comme *awliyā'* les uns des autres ceux qui étaient non seulement des *mu'minūn*, mais encore avaient participé à l'hégire et avaient lutté sur le chemin d'Allāh avec leurs biens et avec leurs personnes (les *muhāǧirūn*) et, d'autre part ceux qui leur avaient donné refuge et les avaient assurés de leur soutien (les *anṣār*) (*inna'lladīna āmanū wa-hāǧarū wa-ǧāhadū bi-amwāli-him wa-anfusi-him fī sabīl Allāhi wa'lladīna āwaū wa-naṣarū ūlā'ika baʿḍu-hum awliya'u baʿḍ*^{in}).[24] Le nouveau principe organisationnel de la communauté est donc un principe à caractère essentiellement *religieux-politique* que Muḥammad ne peut concevoir que d'un manière générale puisqu'il n'est qu'aux débuts d'un «nouveau» encore non concrétisé et puisque ce principe (une nouvelle communauté générale), a ou peut avoir de nombreuses possibilités de réalisation. C'est pourquoi la seule chose pouvant être explicite et univoque, c'est la séparation d'avec les *kāfirūn* et les *muslimūn* restés chez eux, qui refusent la lutte et s'en tiennent au tribalisme. La même conception explicite caractérise le vers 33/6 apporté après Badr, qui

[22] S. D. Goitein fait des remarques substantielles sur les relations entre l'objectif fixé et la tactique souple de Muḥammad (en traitant de la formation de l'umma muḥammadienne), dans: *The four faces of Islam*: *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden 1966), p. 35.

[23] V. encore d'autres parallèles: 4/89-91, 95—100. Pour l'interprétation des vers, v. R. Paret, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 103, pp. 192 sq (il considère la *walāya* comme *Freundschaft* et *Pflicht zur Hilfeleistung*. Nous rappelons ici la signification du choix du terme par Muḥammad, du terme qui, bien qu' emprunté à la société tribale, disposait d'un champ sémantique suffisamment large pour que Muḥammad ait pu le mettre à son service).

[24] Conformément à la fonction prise dans un sens plus restreint de la *mu'āḫāh*, précisée dans les sources et à cause du 33/6 rattaché au vers, les commentaires complètent, précisent le *ūlā'ika baʿḍuhum awliyā'u baʿḍin*, c.-à-d. *fī'l-mīrāt*. V. p. e. al-Bayḍāwī, p. 246; *Tafsīr* al-Ǧalālayni (al-Qāhira 1952), p. 152.

est déjà conçu dans l'esprit de la Constitution de Médine et dans lequel, conformément aux rapports de force concrets, il restitue l'hérédité fondée sur la consanguinité, acceptant ainsi un compromis même s'il ne le fait que dans l'intérêt de l'*umma*, organisé sur une base territoriale (*ūlū'l-arḥām baʿḍuhum awlā bi-baʿḍin fī kitāb Allāh min al-mu'minīn wa'l-muhāğirīn*).[25] C'est au caractère abstrait et général, de la nouvelle forme organisationnelle que se réfèrent les médiations encore sans caractère spécifique données par le *Qur'ān* (*īmān, hiğra, nuṣra*), qui, en tant que facteurs nécessaires du progrès, sont les prémisses importantes et nécessaires mais non suffisantes de l'institution de la *mu'āḫāh* ou *muwālāh*, comme de l'instauration d'une nouvelle forme organisationnelle. (Elles ont d'une part, un caractère trop exclusif et ne sont suffisantes que pour la formation d'une communauté étroite et fermée, d'autre part elles sont unilatérales, causalement déterminées, et ne contiennent pas le facteur de finalité.) La manière prudente et hésitante dont les sources sont rédigées, exprime bien cette transition entre l'état non plus tribal mais non encore territorial ou, d'une façon plus concrète, entre une communauté qui n'est plus naturelle, et une organisation qui n'est pas encore territoriale mais repose sur le principe religieux. Prenons l'expression d'Ibn Isḥāq: *ta'āḫaū fī'llāh*»[26], un terme de al-Bayḍāwī: *al-muwālāh fī'd-dīn*[27], ou l'expression spécifique de plusieurs sources[27] dans laquelle l'apposition-même reste dans la sphère de l'abstrait: . . . *āḫā* (c.-à-d. Muḥammad) *bayna'l-muhāğirīn wa'l-anṣār, āḫā bayna-hum ʿalā'l-ḥaqq wa'l-mu'āsāh*.[28]

Les fonctions économiques, défensives, etc. appelées à résoudre des tâches quotidiennes urgentes, mais nécessairement impuissantes à remplir l'abstraction ouverte de la *mu'āḫāh* ou *muwālāh fī'd-dīn*, ne représentaient que quelques facteurs concrets et pratiques de cette nouvelle forme de possibilité. Ceci doit être signalé une nouvelle fois car cette organisation communale à caractère transitoire ne doit pas être jugée du point de vue de la succession et de la défense réciproques entre les «frères» *anṣār* et les *muhāğirūn*, ces derniers devant être au contraire, jugés du point de vue de la *mu'āḫāh*, ce qui était rendu difficile par le fait qu'il aurait fallu placer quelques *moyens ou facteurs concrets* dans le général qui n'est pas concret dans sa totalité. Cependant l'ampleur de ces éléments peut être également élargie par rapport à ce que nous savons grâce aux recherches poursuivies jusqu'ici, ce qui permettrait de mieux concrétiser la généralité de la *mu'āḫāh*. Le fait que primitivement la *mu'āḫāh* n'était nullement réduite à l'hérédité réciproque mais qu'elle impliquaint la con-

[25] V. le vers identique de 8/75.

[26] Ibn Hišām, v. I, p. 505.

[27] Al-Bayḍāwī, p. 553, ad 33/6; l'autre terme est déjà plus explicite, mais en même temps trop exclusif: *at-tawāruṯ bi'l-hiğra* (*loc. cit.*).

[28] Ibn Saʿd, v. I/2, p. 1 (avec les mêmes termes: an-Nuwayrī, v. 16, p. 347). Voir encore un terme semblable: *al-Balāḏurī*, p. 277.

ception d'une communauté de biens beaucoup plus ample qu'auparavant, est bien témoigné par deux traditions d'al-Buḫārī: selon la première, la plus générale, les *anṣār* (frères) auraient proposé de partager leurs palmeraies et Muḥammad l'aurait refusé en ne demandant qu'un intéressement des produits, conforme aux besoins.[29] La même tendance se manifeste dans une tradition concrète d'al-Buḫārī, connue dans plusieurs versions, et selon laquelle le «frère» médinois de ʿAbd ar-Rahmān b. ʿAwf, l'*anṣār* le plus aisé, Saʿd b. ar-Rabīʿ lui offre la moitié de ses biens ainsi qu'une de ses deux femmes.[30]

En résumé nous pouvons affirmer qu'il ne nous semble pas hardi de voir dans l'expérience de la *muʾāḫāh* un facteur précoce et important dans le processus de la formation de l'*umma*, le facteur d'une transition entre l'état non plus tribal et non encore *umma*ïque, dans laquelle Muḥammad, ayant dépassé l'état tribal, fait un pas, pour le moment nécessairement abstrait, vers une nouvelle forme organisationnelle qui pourrait être définie comme une *communauté secondaire, organisée non point sur une base territoriale, mais sur une base religieuse, une communauté qui n'est plus naturelle.* Cette tentative était une étape transitoire, nécessaire à la formation de l'*umma*: elle faisait voir d'une part les limites du dépassement de l'état tribal (la leçon en est tirée dans la Constitution de Médine), et frayait d'autre part le chemin vers le principe territorial avec la tentative unificatrice des *muhāǧirūn* et des *anṣār*, qui implique déjà la détermination territoriale.

[29] Al-Buḫārī, v. V, p. 39 (l' isnād: aṣ-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad Abū Hammām-al-Muǧīra b. 'Abd ar Raḥmān-Abū' z-Zinād-al-A'raǧ-Abū Hurayra).

[30] Al-Buḫārī, v. III, pp. 68 sq; v. V, 38 sq, 88 (*fa-aqsimu mālī niṣfayni wa-lī'mra'tani fa-'nẓur aʿǧaba-huma ilayka fa-sammi-hā lī utalliq-hā*).

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QUELQUES MOTS SUR LA VERSION ARABE D'UN OUVRAGE MÉDICAL TURC-OTTOMAN DU XVIIe SIÈCLE

PAR

GEORGES VAJDA (Paris)

Le manuscrit arabe 6891 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, acquis par achat en 1965, n'a encore fait l'objet d'aucune description ni d'analyse. Il s'agit d'un volume de 230 feuillets, 215 × 150 mm, 17 lignes à la page. Ecriture maghrébine soignée, de la main d'un copiste professionnel; vignette ornée en tête, titres rubriqués, encadré d'un filet rouge et réclames; texte généreusement vocalisé. D'après le colophon (fol. 230), la copie fut exécutée pour la bibliothèque d'un grand personnage dont le nom est cependant énoncé, mauvaise rédaction ou erreur de transcription, d'une manière peu claire; *Ibn al-mawlā Abī* (au cas indirect, exigé par la construction de la phrase) *l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Baša Abī ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad*. Le manuscrit, non daté, semble être du XVIIe—XVIIIe siècle.

Si la copie est maghrébine, et du Maghreb oriental plutôt qu'occidental, l'ouvrage, manuel de médecine, est visiblement l'oeuvre d'un praticien de l'Orient musulman; plusieurs indices nous suggéraient dès l'abord qu'il s'agissait d'un livre écrit dans l'actuelle Turquie, tout en étant rédigé dans l'arabe correct en gros, mais sans prétention au haut style, des savants musulmans de tous les pays. De toute façon, le traité ne pouvait être ancien, car il cite (fol. 160) Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, mort en 1008/1599.

Nous en étions resté là au premier examen du volume, lors de son entrée à la Bibliothèque, non pourtant sans y avoir relevé quelques caractéristiques peu communes dans les ouvrages de ce genre datant de l'époque présumée. Nous y reviendrons plus loin.

Une nouvelle inspection du texte, entreprise en janvier 1973, en vue de la rédaction du présent article qui nous a été demandé par les *Acta Orient Hung.* et que nous apportons volontiers à l'excellente revue hongroise d'orientalisme à titre de souvenir de nos premières études d'arabe et de turc à l'Université de Budapest, en 1927/8, nous a permis de constater que le manuscrit 6891 portait en fait la version arabe d'un manuel de médecine en turc-ottoman dont la même bibliothèque possédait depuis longtemps un exemplaire sous la cote Supplément Turc 953.[1]

[1] Cf. Edgard Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs* [de la Bibliothèque Natio-

Comme beaucoup d'ouvrages composés dans l'aire de culture islamique, même rédigés dans une langue littéraire autre que l'arabe, ce traité porte un titre formulé en cette dernière langue: *Ġāyat al-bayān fī tadbīr badan al-insān*, «Exposé de haute clarté sur le régime du corps humain» (en langage plus intelligible: «Précis d'hygiène et de médecine humaines»). Il a pour auteur un personnage sur lequel nous possédons des renseignements sinon très abondants, du moins suffisants pour le situer: Ṣāliḥ ibn Naṣr Allāh Ibn Sallūm al-Ḥalabī.

Né à Alep et formé dans sa ville natale aux différentes disciplines du savoir de son époque et de son milieu, il se spécialisa en médecine et fit une belle carrière dans la capitale même de l'empire, s'étant élevé jusqu'au grade de *ra'īsul-aṭibbā'*. Il mourut à Yenişehir, le 3 rabī' II 1080 (31 août 1669)[2]. Son ouvrage susnommé, mentionné, en plus des continuateurs de Ḥāǧǧī

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nale], vol. II, Paris, 1933, p. 107; Blochet n'a pas renvoyé à la brève notice (interpolée, imprimée entre crochets) dans Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalifa (H H), *Kašf al-Ẓunūn* (Lexicon Bibliographicum), éd. G. Flügel, t. IV, p. 298, n° 8510.

Voir aussi l'appendice *Āṯār-i-naw*, d'Aḥmad Ḥanīfzāde, dans le même édition, t. VII, p. 553, n° 14598; sous le n° 14888, p. 616, Ḥanīfzāde donne une notice un peu plus développée de l'ouvrage en turc; selon cette notice, le traité aurait été rédigé, par ordre du Sultan, à Edirne, en ǧimādā II 1075 (déc. 1664 – Janvier 1665). Notons ici que d'après l'interpolateur du *Kašf al-Ẓunūn*, éd. Flügel, t. IV, p. 294–295, n° 8490 (texte non retenu dans l'édition Yaltkaya-Bilge) Ibn Sallūm (la leçon erronée à cet endroit a été corrigée t. VII, p. 807–808) avait laissé le brouillon en arabe d'une rédaction plus ample de son manuel de médecine (intitulée *Ġāyat al-itqān fī tadbīr badan al-insān*); ce texte fut mis au point par Yaḥyā Efendi, mort en 1117/1705 et traduit plus tard (en 1141/1728) en turc sous le titre de *Nuzhat al-abdān fī tarǧamat ġāyat al-insān*, par Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad, dit *Waṭwāṭ*; des manuscrits de cette traduction sont enregistrés par Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Katalogu*, t. I, İstanbul 1961, p. 579–580, n° 1788–1791 et t. II, p. 378, n° 3048; cette traduction a été imprimée à la fin du XIXe siècle, d'après Bursalı Mehmet Tahir (cf. la note suivante); l'imprimé (que nous n'avons pas vu) figure dans le répertoire *Milli Kütüphanede mevcut arap harflı türkçe kitapların muvakkat katalogu* II, Ankara 1957, p. 614.

[2] Voir ses notices (en plus des indications fournies par les sources citées dans la note précédente) dans les répertoires biographiques, en arabe et en turc respectivement): al-Muḥibbī, *Ḫulāṣat al-'aṯar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ašar* (Le Caire 1284/1867), t. II, 240–242, qui date son décès, comme d'ailleurs Ḥanīfzāde, de 1081 (la leçon de l'imprimé se retrouve identique dans le ms. arabe 2083 de la B.N., fol. 265 v); és 'Ušāqīzade (Uşakizade), *Zeyli şekaik* (*'Ušâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert*. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Hans Joachim Kissling, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 408–409, n° 305. Notre auteur figure également dans le répertoire de Bursalı Mehmet Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*, t. III, p. 224. Le titre de l'ouvrage qui nous occupe est indiqué dans les deux notices en turc; la seconde nous informe qu'une copie s'en trouve à la bibliothèque d'Aya Sofya; de fait, le vieux registre *Devfteri kütuphane'i Aya Sofya*, İstanbul 1304/1886, p. 219, en enregistre deux, sous les numéros 3679 et 3680 (nous ignorons les cotes actuellement portées par ces manuscrits). Plusieurs autres copies sont enregistrées par Karatay, *op. laud.*, t.I, p. 577–579, n°s 1782–1787.

Ḥalīfa, par deux de ses notices biographiques dont nous avons pu prendre connaissance a attiré dans notre siècle l'attention d'Abdulhak Adnan (Adivar) qui lui a consacré un bref aperçu dans son livre *La Science chez les Turcs Ottomans*.[3]

Adnan Adivar a relevé, d'après la préface du traité et le contenu de celui[4] que l'auteur ne s'était pas borné à résumer la médecine savante, traditionnelle dans les pays islamiques et qui avait fait peu de progrès depuis Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), mais qu'on observait chez lui une certaine ouverture (dont on a d'autres exemples dans la science ottomane du XVIIe siècle) vers le savoir médical de l'Occident: il lui arrive de se référer à des médecins européens qu'à notre regret, nous n'avons pas réussi à identifier[5]; il promet aussi, et il a tenu sa promesse, de parler d'affections morbides non décrites par les médecins anciens, comme la syphilis et le scorbut. Nous nous proposons de traduire ici, sur le texte arabe confronté avec le texte turc, la page qu'il a écrite sur l'origine, le tableau clinique et la thérapeutique de la première de ces maladies.[6]

Paris B.N. Arabe 6891, fol. 218v—219v; Suppl. Turc 953, fol. 215v

Le mal franc.[7] Sa matière est empoisonnée.[8] Cette maladie a fait son apparition à une date récente. Les médecins anciens ne l'ont pas mentionnée

[3] Paris 1939, p. 96—97. Adnan Adivar, qui s'est servi du manuscrit turc de Paris, signale, d'après la préface (qui ne figure pas dans la version arabe) que l'ouvrage fut dédié au sultan Muḥammad IV (1648—1687) et il date la dédicace de 1655; ce chiffre est peut-être une faute d'impression pour 1665 qui correspondrait à la date donnée par Ḥanīfzāde (*supra*, n. 1); dans la préface même, il n'y a, sauf erreur de notre part, aucune date.

[4] L'ouvrage se compose (sans compter la dédicace en style orné que la version arabe n'a pas retenue) d'une brève introduction sur l'objet, l'éminente dignité et la nécessité de la science médicale, et de quatre «discours» (*maqāla*), subdivisés à leur tour selon les besoins de l'exposé: I. Hygiène générale; II. Médicaments simples et composés; III. Thérapeutique des maladies affectant une partie du corps; IV. Pathologie et thérapeutique des maladies affectant le corps entier; en appendice: quelques remèdes spécifiques (*ḫawāṣṣ*). Plan, on le voit, des plus classiques, sans aucune originalité, celle-ci ne se manifestant que dans les quelques détails qui vont être signalés dans ce qui suit.

[5] Nous en avons repéré deux: Ylm'ryws (arabe, fol. 127v) = 'Ylm'ryws (turc, fol. 122v), à propos d'une affection de l'oeil; ce personnage est qualifié de *ḥakīm al-ifranǧ*; Sn'rytws (arabe, fol. 133r) = Sytrnws (turc, fol. 128r), à propos d'une affection de la bouche; qualifiée simplement de *ḥakīm*.

[6] Cf. E. Jeanselme, *Histoire de la Syphilis*, Paris 1931; H. P. J. Renaud et G. S. Colin, *Documents marocains pour servir à l'histoire du «Mal Franc»* (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, t. XXVII), Paris 1935.

[7] Dans le texte arabe: *maraḍ al-ifrānṣī* (en marge, d'une main maghrébine plus récente: *maraḍ kabīr*, qui est en effet le nom usuel de cette maladie en Afrique du Nord), le texte turc porte *firenk zaḥmeti*, mais dans la préface (fol. 4), l'auteur écrit *ḥabbi ifrenǧi*; cette dénomination n'est pas dans les dictionnaires turcs, mais Bocthor et à sa suite Dozy (*Supplément* I, 239) l'ont enregistré pour l'arabe de Syrie.

[8] C'est une maladie infectieuse.

le Roi d'Espagne envoya son armée dans les pays du Nouveau Monde.[10] Les Espagnols conquirent certains pays dans ces régions et l'armée se mêla à la population. Or la maladie dont il s'agit était particulière à ces pays et elle se répandit de là en Espagne d'où elle se propagea dans tous les pays, particulièrement à Stamboul et en Egypte; c'est pourquoi elle reçut le nom de «maladie des Francs». Elle se transmet surtout par le coït et les relations intimes, et aussi héréditairement par le père et par la mère. Selon certains, elle est comme la peste: elle passe d'un pays à l'autre.

Elle prend origine dans les qualités nocives empoissonnées qui bloquent les humeurs. C'est pourquoi elle ne présente pas de signe(s cliniques) précis. Voici cependant quelques uns de ses signes: douleurs dans les os, pustules malignes, chute des cheveux et de la barbe, odeur fétide du corps, gonorrhée et tumeurs mauvaises à l'intérieur du corps.

Facile à soigner quand elle est prise au début, elle l'est très difficilement une fois invétérée.

On commence le traitement en purgeant le corps de (ses) humeurs (peccantes). Si le tempérament du malade est sanguin, la saignée s'impose. Après avoir purgé le corps, on traite la maladie par des remèdes bénéfiques, appropriés, comme la queue de renard, le cola, le jujubier, le bois du sassafras.[11] On fait bouillir (infuser) toutes ces plantes et le malade en doit boire la décoction.

(On soigne) aussi (cette maladie) par sudation, en appliquant le procédé que voici: on prend du jujubier, de la queue de renard et du cola, douze drachmes de chaque; on les fait bouillir dans douze *roṭl* d'eau, jusqu'à réduire (le liquide) de moitié. Le Patient en absorbera quotidiennement soixante drachmes, jusqu'à ce qu'il transpire. Si le malade est de tempérament chaud, on additionnera tout cela d'un peu de santal et de nénufar. S'il est de tempérament froid, on ajoutera des raisins secs et de la réglisse.[12] L'emploi de la queue de renard est bénéfique.

Un autre traitement, dangereux celui-ci, consiste en fumigations de mercure ou bien en absorption de mercure en pastilles ou encore en frictions dans leurs livres, car elle (n)'est apparue qu'à la fin du VIIIe siècle[9] lorsque

[9] *fī āḫir al-qarn aṯ-ṯāmin:* l'expression est maladroite; l'auteur veut dire sans aucun doute: à la fin du siècle dont les années sont exprimées par des chiffres dont le premier est 8; le texte turc est clair: *doquz yüze yaqın zamanda* «au temps proche de 900»; en effet, les dernières années du neuvième siècle de l'hégire coïncident avec le premier voyage de Cristophe Colomb (897h. = 4 novembre 1491 — 22 octobre 1492).

[10] *yeni dünya*, aussi dans le texte arabe.

[11] *ḏanab al-ṯa'lab* (alopécure, vulpin des prés); *ǧawz ǧīnī* («noix de Guinée», on dit aussi *ǧawz al-zanǧ*); *šaǧarat al-nabī* (appelé aussi *nabaq*); Ṣāsafrās, cf. Jeanselme, *op. laud.*, p. 193 («plante qui croît en Floride»).

[12] *'urūq al-sūs*.

de mercure.[13] Etant donné la difficulté de ce traitement, nous ne l'avons pas mentionné dans notre livre.[14]

Cette maladie exige des précautions alimentaires.[15] La consommation de biscuits au raisin lui convient ainsi que le bouillon de poulet. Si le malade est pris d'une faiblesse, on le mettra au poulet rôti.

[13] Fumigations mercurielles, cf. Jeanselme, pp. 199—201 et 271 suiv.; frictions mercurielles, *ibid.*, p. 187 suivv.; cf. Renaud-Colin, *op. laud.*, index, au mot «mercure».

[14] Cela semble vouloir dire: nous n'en décrivons pas la technique.

[15] Impose de suivre un régime.

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GILANICA: LANGERUDI

BY

ÉVA APOR

In 1971 I had the opportunity to spend the summer, at the Caspian coast in the Gilan Province of Iran. During my stay there I was able to collect considerable materials from Langerud, Lahijan and Deyleman, from these three different districts of Gilan Province. In this paper I begin to present my collections with the materials from Langerud.

Langerud is a small town along the river of the same name, about 15 km from Lahijan to the East and 9 km from Chamkhale (on the Caspian coast) to the West, with a population of about 15 000. Till the beginning of the 19th century it was the river-port of Lahijan, but with the growth of Anzali (today Bandar Pahlavi) it lost its importance. As a particularly wet district the main products are rice, tea and silk cocoons. The native inhabitants speak a pure Gilaki dialect. My informant was Šakībāi Langerūdi, a man of 44, native poet of Langerud.

The form of verses is *dobeyti* with a metre of *hazaj*, and with one exception (No. 23), it is in free verse. The verses are presented in phonetical transcription. *ɑ̰* represents a labial retracted vowel with low tongue position, mainly long; *ɑ̈*: illabial front vowel with low tongue position, long or short; *ə̰*: illabial flat vowel, «schwa», with mid tongue position, mainly short. An English translation and a glossary are added. The numbers in parentheses in the glossary refer to the number of the verses.

1.

sərəyti čādər ū bɑ̰ytī ti dīmɛ̰
bəzəy ātəš mi ǰūne məsle hīmɛ̰
bəsutəm goršəbom mū ǰonə làku
vigir čādər hiǰāb rəsmə yedīmə

you put on a *čādor* and you hid your face,
you put fire into my soul like wood,
I burned, I burned to ashes, lassie dear,
take off the *čādor*, the veil is an old [fashioned] custom

2.

boləndbālā, làkoy, mi dilbərī tū
gərūn yāγūtə mī engušterī tū
γəšəngdīmī, γəšəng ǰūn, mē̯ bə əyne̯
səfīd gūle̯ gilāse̯ həšpe̯rī tū

slenderly-built girl, my sweetheart you are,
precious ruby of my ring you are,
fair-faced you are, fairy dear, for me like
white cherry-blossom of Hashtper you are

3.

χodāyā ke̯y bune̯ gīlānə be̯ynəm
i šehre ǰī bəšūm lāǰūnə be̯ynəm
o čȧybāγānə sər hendē γorūbān
mə χoškel̯ yārə, mī re̯yhānə be̯ynəm

oh, God, when will it be possible [that] I can see Gilan,
[that] I can go from this town, [that] I can see Lahijan,
and [that] the tea-gardens again at sunset,
my beautiful beloved, my Reyhan I can see

4.

gunī tī màssə be̯ynen kā̆sə kā̆sə
γàsàm χūnī ti hàrfān hàmme ràssə
dē̯ ī zerbul màsàlle̯ yàd nedā̆nī
gàleš tàrif ko̯ne χoᵘ̯ bàrdə màssə

you say, they carry your *māst* [yogurt] bowl by bowl,
you swear all your words are true,
do not you remember this proverb any more:
«the mountain-shepherd commends the *māst* [which he] himself carried»?

5.

làko̯y ǰūn mū ti čəšmāne bəmīrəm
nəbū rāzī ti hiǰrūne̯ bəmīrəm
to̯ kāsəčəšm u mūbūrī làko̯y ǰūn
ilāhi mū ti zulfō̯ne bəmīrəm

lassie dear, for your eyes I die,
do not be content, of your separation I die
you are blue-eyed and fair-haired, lassie dear,
by God, for your curls I die

6.

hȧǰā̄ǰē̯ ǰūn girəftārəm to̯ dū̯nī
pirābūm vȧllȧhī mū dər ǰe̯vo̯nī
hȧǰā̄ǰē̯ ǰūn bəšū bəgū mi yāre
mi vīsin təlχə bī tū ze̯ndẹgō̯nī

dear swallow, I am captured, you know,
I got old, by God, in youth,
dear swallow, go tell my sweetheart,
«life is bitter for me without you»

7.

lȧko̯y ǰūn ǰo̯z to̯ mū yārī nedā̄nȧm
bəduš mū ǰuz ti γȧm bārī nedā̄nȧm
nešū lȧku nešū ȧz ləngərūd mō̯
der ī šer ǰoz to̯ de̯ldārī nedā̄nȧm

lassie dear, besides you I have no friend,
besides your sorrow I have no burden on my shoulder,
do not go, lassie, do not go from Langerud, I
have no sweetheart in this town besides you

8.

biye̯y bīrūn hȧvā mȧhtābə lākū
ti vīsīn mī dile̯y bītābə lākū
biye̯y tī e̯nte̯zārī be̯ mi čəšmō̯n
neχōte tī vīsīn bīχābə lākū

come out, the night is moonlit, lassie,
for you my heart is impatient, lassie,
come, my eyes are waiting for you,
it does not sleep, it is sleepless for you, lassie

9.

nekon làkoy mi emre bīvefāī
nezen ātəš mi ǰūne bā ǰodāī
nešū əz ləngərūd bī tū nədānę
làkoy jūn ləngərūd mę bə sefāī

don't be, lassie, faithless to me,
don't set fire to my soul with departure,
don't go from Langerud, without you
lassie dear, Langerud holds no pleasure for me

10.

ilāhī làkyǰūn ātəš bəgīrī
bəsūǰi męsle hīme tā bəmīrī
bəmīrī dər ǰęvoᵘnī tā pəs əz mǭ
nebī āsəγ làkoy nàmzud nəgīrī

God grant, lassie dear, [that] you catch fire,
you burn like wood to die,
you die in youth that after me
you should not be in love, lassie, you should not get a fiancé

11.

ti čęšmūn męslə nərgəs nāz dàne
ti āʔšəγ bon làkoy āvāʔz dàne
mi vərǰę ǰī nešū dər sīnę mī dil
làkoy əz to hizāron rāz dàne

your eyes like narcissus, have grace,
to be in love with you, lassie, has a melody,
don't go from me, my heart in the chest,
lassie, has thousands [of] secret[s] from you

12.

χodāǰūn hàǰęrę χęyli ǰęvūnę
ǰęvūnę yeteref šīrinzəbǭnę
vəli bā ī hàme χūbī nədǭnem
mi emre či visin nāmęhrebūne

dear God, Hajere is very young,
[she] is young, in one respect, [and] is sweet-tongued,
but with all of this goodness, I do not know,
why she is unfriendly to me

13.

piyāde bāl bəbāl làkoy mən o tu̯
biyey sizdəbədər bəšim pərəškū
dur əz mərdom bəbim tənhāyī tənhā
bəgərdim bāy o səhrā mᵉslə āhū

on foot, hand in hand, lassie, I and you,
come, [it is] thirteenth, let's go to Pareshkuh,
let's be far from people, quite alone,
let's walk in the garden and the meadow, like a gazelle

14.

tᵩ məl làku zə yəm āvāᵩrə boᵘdī
tᵩ mā bā ti nᵉgeh bīčārə boᵘdī
bəχəsānem ti visin nāmə àfsūs
noχondī tu mi nāmə pārə boᵘdī

you made me vagrant, lassie, from sorrow,
you made me helpless with your look,
I sent a letter to you, alas,
you did not read it, you tore my letter to pieces

15.

ànàrdàr tīti boᵘde dᵩunᵉ dᵩnᵉ
gole nərgəs bəzəl làkoy ǰᵉvᵩnᵉ
mi yār bī làkuǰun àfsūs àfsūs
àrus čoᵘdən bəbordən tā ti χᵩnᵉ

the pomegranate-tree opened out the flowers one by one,
the narcissus-flower has sprout, lassie dear
you were my sweetheart, lassie dear, alas, alas,
[they] took you to your house to marry

16.

ti dombal ləngərūd ō rəšt o lāǰūn
bəgərsəm tā̆ nidīm ǰūne mi āǰūn
biye mū vā̆kətəm əz bəs bəgərsəm
biyey lā̆ku biyey ǰūnə ti mȧrǰūn

after you all over Langerud and Rasht and Lahijan
I walked. I did not see you, for my father's soul!
come, I am tired from the lot I walked,
come, lassie, come, for your mother's soul!

17.

mi dərdə ī dəvā dərmon nəkṷne
zəbṷnə mi dilẹ̯ hiškes nədṷnẹ̯
bəšin miy yā̆rə bā̆rin āšināyūn
lȧlə hȧrfə lȧlə mȧr χūb dṷne

this medicine does not assuage my pain,
nobody knows my heart's language,
go [Pl.] and bring [Pl.] my sweetheart, [they are] acquaintances,
the mute's mother knows well the mute's word

18.

mọ̯ mẹ̯slə dār χošk bīvəlg-o-χāləm
ləkā̆tə čəngərə bəškəstə bāləm
mi dil χā̆nə biyəm ti vərǰə əmmā
ruχọ̯ne ǰəlfə mọ̯̄ bīnodovāləm

like a dry tree, I am without leaf and branch,
[like] a shot coot, I am broken-winged,
my heart wants me to go [= I should like to go] to you, but
the river is deep, I am without a boat

19.

əz ī šəhr u əz ī mərdọ̯m sirȧbum
dorəngī bəs bidẹ̯m vəllā pirȧbum
āb-o-dọ̯nə noχordə mẹ̯slə kəftər
bəneštəm hər koǰā γāfẹ̯lgirȧbum

I became weary of this town and of this people,
double-dealing I saw enough, by God, I got old,
not eaten food, like a dove,
wherever I set down, I was taken unawares

20.

gȧle̯š lȧkoy gȧle̯š lȧkoy ne̯šū kū
ne̯šū vəllā šune̯ mi čəšmə ǰī sū
gȧle̯š lȧkoy biyey čȧršəmbə bāzār
bəhīnəm ti vīsīn dy̯tə ȧləngū

shepherd girl, shepherd girl, don't go to the mountain,
don't go, by God, the light goes from my eyes,
shepherd girl, come [to the] Wednesday-market,
I buy two bracelets for you

21.

te̯le̯mbārə noγon kəǰ boᵘ̯də lǡkū,
se̯fīd o̯ zərd o̯ səbz rəǰ boᵘ̯də lǡkū
bošom tī mārə vərǰə χȧssəgārī
ti mār hāze̯r nəboᵘ̯ ləǰ boᵘ̯də lȧkū

silkworm nursery pupated, lassie,
white and yellow and green arranged in row, lassie,
I went to your mother proposing [marriage],
your mother did not agree, she was stubborn, lassie

22.

gȧle̯š lakoy ti bār səngīnə e̯mrūz
ti pirhən me̯slə golrəngīnə e̯mrūz
no̯konī χȧndə gūyā do̯nī hətmən
mi diley ti vīsīn γəmgīnə e̯mrūz

shepherd girl, your burden is heavy today,
your dress is like rose-colour today,
you don't smile, as if you know, surely,
my heart is sorrowful for you today

The above verses were partially published in the booklet *Lakoy* (Langerud 1346).

23.

sobə zūd
tā χorūs χoᵘ kukurẹkūrẹ gunẹ̄
gilẹmərd əm
χabəǰī virisine bidārà bunẹ̄
zẹne āp āp čàyə vərǰə̄ χo dimẹ̄

dokune
sərdə kàlāh χoškə̀ himẹ̄
fūzẹnẹ̄
vinnẹsẹ dūd
bọl bọl ātəš deke zūd

nene čày
àbenē tàχčə ǰi χōᵘ sàrdə pàlā
χọnẹ χōᵘ yəlnàhàrẹ
fičinẹ sofrà
χodā šōkr kọnẹ̄

gunẹ bismīllāhi ràhmānə ràhīm
hàne heyvānə ǰə ǰīr
nene gẹrvāzə χo dūš
vigine dāsə

šunẹ

fətəšə bāyə bəkārẹ biǰàrẹ
χodā hàrčẹ gilẹmərdə bədàrẹ
gilemərd χəssə nəbun

early morning
when the cock says cock-a-doodle-doo
the Gilani, too,
wakes up from sleep, becomes awake,
beats water, water from the well [to] his face,

he puts
dry wood on the cold fireside,
he blows [it],
not to smoke,
the fire goes up in flame soon

he puts tea on,
brings his cold rice from the shelf,
he eats his breakfast,
gathers the cloth,
thanks God

he says: «bismīllāhi rȧhmānə rȧhīm» [in the name of God, Merciful and Charitable],
comes down from the veranda,
slings the spade on his shoulder,
takes the sickle,

he goes,

reaps the garden, the planted rice-field.
God save all Gilanis!
Gilani, don't be tired!

Glossary

āb-o-dǫnə (19) «آب و دانه; food»
āhū «آهو; gazelle» *męslə āhū* (13)
āǰūn (16) «آقاجان; father»
āp (23) «آب; water»
āšəγ āǫšəγ, «عاشق; lover, enamoured» *ti āǫšəγ bon* (11) lit. «to be your lover», *nebī āšəγ* (10) «you should not be in love»
āšināyūn (17) «آشنا; acquaintance, friend» (Pl.)
ātəš «آتش; fire» *nezen ātəš* (9) «don't set fire», *ātəš bəgīrī* (10) «[that] you catch fire», *bǫl bǫl ātəš deke zūd* (23) «the fire goes up in flame soon»
āvāǫrə «آواره; vagrant, homeless» *āvāǫrə boᵘdī* (14) «you made [me] vagrant»
āvāǫz «آواز; voice, melody», *āvāǫz dȧne* (11) «[it] has melody/song»
ȧbenē (23) «میاورد; [he] brings»
بارد َن = آوردن اتکل متکل : نابه‌نه = نمیاورد
cf. *bȧrin* (17), *bęynen* (4), *bȧrdə* (4)
ȧfsūs (14) «افسوس; alas!»
ȧləngū (20) «النگو; bracelet»
ȧnȧrdȧr (15) «درخت انار; pomegranate tree» *dȧr* درخت; cf. *dār* (18)
ȧrus (15) «عروس; bridegroom, bride» *ȧrus čoᵘdən* (15) «to marry»

ȧz (7) «از; from», *ȧz ləngərūd* (7) «from Langerud», cf. *əz*

əm (23) «هم; too, also», cf. *emre* (9), *hȧme* (12)

əmmā (18) «اما; but»

əynẹ̊ (2) «عینا; just like»

əz «از; from», *pəs əz mọ̊* (10) «after me», *əz to* (11) «from you», *əz mərdom* (13) «from people», *əz bəs bəgərsəm* (16) «from the lot I walked», cf. *ȧz*

bā «با; with», *bā ī hȧme χūbī* (12) «with all this good», *bā ǰodāī* (9) «with separation»

bāγ «باغ; garden», *bāγ o səhrā* (13) «garden and plain/field», *fətəšə bāγə* (23) «[he] reaps the garden»

bāl|əm «بال; wing», *bəškəstə bāləm* (18) «I am broken-winged»

bālā «بالا; cf. *bolə̈ndbālā* (2)

bār «بار; burden, load», *ti bār* (22) «your burden», *bārī nedȧnȧm* (7) «I have no load»

bāzār «بازار; market», *cȧršəmbə bāzār* (20) «the Wednesday-market»

bāl «بال; arm», *bāl bəbāl* (13) «hand in hand»

bȧrde «آورد; carried, brought», *χoᵘ bȧrdə mȧssə* (4) «the mast carried by himself», cf. *ȧbene* (23)

bȧrin (17) «بیاورید; carry! (Pl.), bring! (Pl.)», cf. *ȧbenē* (23)

bə «برای; for», *mẹ̄ bə* (2) «for me», Sotude: برای‌تو = به‌تو

bə «به; on», *bə duš* (7) «on shoulder»

bə|bim (13) «بشویم; let us be», *dur əz mərdom bəbim* (13) «let us be far from people», Sotude: (هند) baon — بئن
(لا — ان) bon — بن = بودن/شدن
Rastorgueva 149: *buon, bu-*, cf. *bẹ* (8), *bunẹ* (3) (23), *nebī* (10), *nəboᵘ* (21), *nəbū* (5), *nəbun* (23), *goršəbom* (1), *yāfẹlgirȧbum* (19), *pirābūm* (6), *pirȧbum* (19), *sirȧbum* (19)

bə|bordən (15) «بردند; [they] took [you], [they] carried [you]», cf. *bȧrdə* (4)

bə|dȧrẹ̊ (23) «بدارد; [that he] save», *χodā hȧrčẹ̊ gilẹmərdə bədȧrẹ̊* (23) «[I wish] God save all Gilanis!», Rastorgueva 124: *daštən, dar-, dašt-*, cf. *dȧne* (11), *nedānȧm* (7), *nedānẹ̊* (9), *nedānī* (4)

bə|gərsəm (16) «گردش‌کردم; I walked» Sotude: gardasan = گردسن
gardastan — گردستن

bə|gərdim (13) «گردش بکنیم; let us walk» Sotude: gardasan — گردسن gardastan — گردستن;

bə|gīrī (10) «بگیری; [that] you catch», *ātəš bəgīrī* (10) «[that] you catch fire», Sotude: giftan — گیفتن = گرفتن cf. *nəgīrī* (10)

bə|gū (6) «بگو; tell», Sotude: gutan — گوتن = گفتن cf. *gunẹ* (23), *gunī* (4)

bəhīnəm (20) «میخرم; I buy», Sotude: baχien — بخین = خریدن

bə|χəsā̆nem (14) «فرستادم; I sent»

bə|kā̆rẹ (23) «کاشته; planted», *bəkā̆rẹ biǰàrẹ* (23) «the planted the rice-field»

bə|mīrəm (5) «میمیرم; I die», Sotude: mardan — مردن, cf. *bəmīrī* (10)

bə|mīri (10) «بمیری; [that] you die» cf. *bəmīrəm* (5)

bə|nəštəm (19) «نشستم; I set down», Sotude: neshtan — نشتن

bəs «بس; very much, enough», *əz bəs bəgərsəm* (16) «from the much I walked», *dorəngī bəs bidẹm* (19) «I saw enough double-dealing»

be|sūǰi (10) «بسوزی; [that] you burn», Sotude: soχtan — سختن, cf. *bəsutəm* (1)

bə|sutəm (1) «سوختم; I burnt», cf. *bəsūǰi* (10)

bə|šim (13) «برویم; let us go», Sotude: shoon — شن = رفتن, cf. *bəšin* (17), *bəšū* (6), *bəšum* (3), *bošom* (21), *nẹšū* (20), (11), (9), (7), *šunẹ* (23), (20)

bə|šin (17) «بروید; go (Pl.)», cf. *bəšim* (13)

bə|škəstə (18) «شکسته; broken», *bəškəstə bāləm* (18) «I am broken-winged», Sotude: shekassan — شکسن

bə|šū (6) «برو; go (Sg.)», cf. *bəšim* (13)

bə|šum (3) «برو; [that] I go», cf. *bəšim* (13)

bə|zə(l) (15) «زد; put», *gole nərgəs bəzəl làkoy ǰẹvọnẹ* (15) «the narcissus-flower has sprout, lassie dear», Sotude: zeen-زن, cf. *bəzəy* (1), *nezen* (9), *zẹne* (23)

bə|zəy (1) «زدی; [you] set», *bəzəy ātəš mi ǰūne* (1) «you put fire into my soul», cf. *bəzə(l)* (15)

bẹ (8) «اند; are», *ti ẹntẹzārī bẹ* (8) «they are waiting for you», cf. *bəbim* (13)

bẹynəm (3) «ببینم; [that] I see» دیدند = بِیدِن : اتکل متکل
مبین = نَیْن | مبیند = اینِه | cf. *bidẹm* (19)

bẹynen (4) «میبرند; they carry»,

bẹytī (1) «گرفتی; you took», *bẹytī ti dīmẹ̄* (1) «you hid your face», Sotude: گرفتن برداشتن = vitan — ویتن
اتکل متکل : بَیْتِ = گرفته | ویتیم = برمیداشتیم

bī «بی; without», *bī tū* (6), (9) «without you»

bīčārə «بیچاره; helpless», *bīčārə boᵘdī* (14) «you made me helpless»

bidār|ȧ «بیدار; awake», *bidārȧ bunę̄* (23) «he wakes up» lit. «becomes awake»

bidęm (19) «دیدم; I saw» cf. *bęynəm* (3)

bīχāb|ə (8) «بی‌خواب; sleepless»

biǰār|ę (23) «بیجار; rice-field» (Acc.)

bīrūn (8) «بیرون; out», *biyę̄y bīrūn* (8) «come out»

bismīllāhi rȧhmānə rȧhīm «in name of God, Merciful and Charitable»; بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

bītāb|ə (8) «بی‌تاب; impatient, restless»

bīvəlg-o-χāləm (18) «بی‌برگ وشاخه‌ام; I am without leaf and branch»

bīvefāī (9) «بی وفائی; faithlesness»

biyəm (18) «بیایم; [that] I go», *mi dil χȧ̈nə biyəm* (18) lit. «my heart wants me to go», i.e. I should like to go, Sotude: amon — امن haman — هامن = آمدن, cf. *biye* (16), *biyęy* (8), *hȧne* (23)

biye (16) «بیا; come (Sg.)», cf. *biyəm* (18)

biyęy (8) «بیا; come (Sg.)», cf. *biyəm* (18)

boᵘdə Sotude: budan — بودن = کاری‌را انجام دادن کردن *kəǰ boᵘdə* (21) «pupated, made silk», *ləǰ boᵘdə* (21) «[she] was stubborn», *rəǰ boᵘdə* (21) «[it] arranged in a row», cf. *boᵘde* (15), *boᵘdī* (14)

boᵘde (15): *tītī boᵘde* (15) «[it] burst into bloom», cf. *boᵘdə* (21)

boᵘdī (14): *āvāᵍrə boᵘdī* (14) «you made [me] vagrant», *pārə boᵘdī* (14) «you tore [it] up», cf. *boᵘdə* (21)

bǫl (23) «شعله; flame», *bǫl bǫl ātəš deke zūd* «the fire goes up in flame soon», Sotude: bal — بل = شعله و زبانه آتش
بل بیتن = شعله‌ور شدن و زبانه کشیدن آتش

boləndbālā (2) «بلند بالا; slenderly-built, of a high stature, tall»

bošom (21) «رفتم; I went», cf. *bəšim* (13)

bunę̄ (3) «میشود; it is possible, becomes», *bidāra bunę̄* (23) «[he] wakes up», cf. *bəbim* (13)

būr (5) cf. *mūbūrī* (5)

čādər (1) «چادر; veil, čādor», *sərəyti čādər* (1) «you put on a čādor», *vigir cādər* (1) «take off the čādor»

čȧγ (23) «چاه; well, pit», *āp čȧγə vərǰə̄* «water from the well» (23)

čȧršəmbə «چهار شنبه; Wednesday», *čȧršəmbə bāzār* (20) «the Wednesday-market»

čȧy (23) «چای; tea»

čȧybāγān (3) «باغهای چای; tea-gardens (Pl.)»

čəngərə (18) «چنگره; coot», Sotude: changar — چنگر = ازپرندگان آبی است

čəšm|ə (20) «چشم; eye», *mi čəšmə ǰī* (20) «from my eye», cf. *čəšmāne* (5), *čəšmo̱n* (8), *čẹšmūn* (11)

čəšmāne : *ti čəšmāne* (5) «for your eyes», cf. *čəšmə* (20)

čəšmo̱n : *mi čəšmo̱n* (8) «my eyes», cf. *čəšmə*

čẹšmūn : *ti čẹšmūn* (11) «your eyes», cf. *čəšmə* (20)

či «چه; what», *či visin* (12) «why, lit. for what»

čoᵘdən : *ȧrus čoᵘdən* (15) «to marry»
اتکل متکل : چاکونه = درست‌کند | چَوْدَم = درست کردم | چَوْدِی = درست کردی

dār (18) «درخت; tree», cf. *ȧnȧrdȧr* (15)

dās|ə «داس; sickle», *vigine dāsə* (23) «takes the sickle»

dȧne : *rāz dȧne* (11) «[it] has a secret», *āvāᵍz dȧne* (11) «[it] has a melody/song», *nāz dȧne* (11) «[it] has grace», cf. *bədȧrẹ* (23)

dər (6) (10) (11) «در; in», cf. *der* (7)

dərd|ə «درد; pain, ache», *mi dərdə* (17) «my pain (Acc.)»

dərmon (17) «درمان; remedy, cure», *dərmon nəkų̱ne* (17) «[it] does not assuage»

dəvā (17) «دوا; medicine»

dẹ (4) «دیگر; any more»

e : *bo̱l bo̱l ātəš deke zūd* (23) «the fire goes up in flame soon», dakatan — دکتن = افتادن

dẹldār|ī (7) «دلدار; sweetheart», *dẹldārī nedānȧm* (7) « I have no sweetheart», cf. *dil* (8)

der (7) «در; in», cf. *dər* (6), (10), (11)

dil (8) «دل; heart», *mi dilẹy* (8) «my heart», *zəbų̱nə mi dilẹ* (17) «my heart's language», *mi dil χānə biyəm* (18) lit. «my heart wants me to go», i.e. «I should like to go», cf. *dẹldārī* (7), *dilbərī* (2)

dilbər|ī (2) «دل‌بر; sweetheart», *mi dilbərī tū* (2) «you are my sweetheart», cf. *dil* (7)

dīm|ī «دیم; face», *γəšəngdīmī* (2) «you are fair-faced», *χo dimẹ̄* (23) «into his face», *ti dīmẹ* (1) «your face (Acc.)»

dokune (23) «میریزد; [he] pours», *dokune sərdə kȧlāh χoškə himẹ̄* (23) «he puts dry wood on the cold fireside», Sotude: dokudan — دکودن = پوشیدن لباس ریختن مایعات

dombal «دنبال; after», *ti dombal* (16) «after you»

do̱nī (22) «میدانی; you know», Rastorgueva 123: «*danəstən, dan-, danəst-*, cf. *dūnī* (6), *dų̱ne* (17), *nədo̱nem* (12), *nədų̱nẹ* (17)

dorəngī (19) «دورنگی; double-dealing»

dūd (23) «دود; smoke»

dɣne (17) «میداند; [he] knows», *χūb dɣne* (17) «[he] knows well», cf. *dǫnī* (22)

dºunę dǫnę (15) «یکی یکی; one by one»

dɣ̄nī (6) «میدانی; you know», cf. *dǫnī* (22)

dur (13) «دور; far», *dur əz mərdom* (13) «far from the people»

dūš (23) «دوش; shoulder»

dɣtə (20) «دوتا; two pieces», *dɣte ələngū* (20) «two bracelets (Acc.)»

emre «همراه; with, together», *mi emre* (9) «with me», cf. *əm* (23), *hàme* (12)

ęmrūz (22) «امروز; today»

engušter|ī «انگشتر; ring», *gərūn yāɣūtə mī engusterī tū* (2) «precious ruby of my ring you are»

ęntęzārī «انتظار; waiting», *ti ęntęzārī* (8) «your waiting»

eyvān «ایوان; veranda», *(h)eyvānə ǰə ǰīr* (23) «down from the veranda»

fətəšə (23) «میتراشد; [he] reaps», *fətəšə bāyə* (23) «reaps the garden», Sotude: fatâshtan — فتاشتن = تراشیدن وپاک‌کردن سطح زمین با داس و بیل

fičinę (23) «جمع میکند; [he] gathers», *fičinę sofrà* (23) «[he] gathers the cloth», Sotude: fichien — فیچین = بر داشتن برچیدن مرتب کردن.

fūzęnę̄ (23) «فوت میکند; [he] blows, puffs», Sotude: fuuzeen — فوزن = فوت‌کردن

gàleš (4) «گالش; shepherd», Sotude: گالش = کوه نشینان گاو دار

gàleš làkoy (20) «گالش لاکوی; shepherd-girl»

gərūn (2) «گران; precious»

gęrvāz «بیل; spade», *nene gęrvāzə χo dūš* (23) «[he] slings the spade on his shoulder», Sotude: گرواس = گر واز = گرباز = بیل

gīlān|ə (3) «گیلان; Gilan (Acc.)»

gilās (2) «گیلاس; cherry», *səfīd gūlę gilāsę həšpęrī tū* (2) «white cherry-blossom of Hashtper you are»

gilemərd (23) «گیله‌مرد; Gilani, the native of Gilan», *gilemərd χəssə nəbun* (23) «Gilani, don't be tired!», *χodā hàrčę gilęmərdə bədàrę* (23) «God save all of Gilanis»

giriftārəm (6) «گرفتارم; I am captured»

gol «گل; flower», *gole nərgəs* (15) «narcissus flower», cf. *gūl* (2)

goršəbom (1) «سوخته شدم; I burned [to ashes]», Sotude: gurshâbostan — گورش‌آبستن = زیاد سوخته شدن کته cf. *bəbim* (13)

gūl « گل; flower», *səfīd gūlę gilāsę hešpęrī tū* (2) «white cherry-blossom of Hashtper you are», cf. *gol* (15)

gunę (23) « میگوید; [he] says», cf. *bəgū* (6)

gunī (4) « میگوی; you say» (Sg.), cf. *bəgū* (6)

gūyā (22) « گویا; as if, maybe, it seems»

γāfęlgirābum (19) « غافل گیر شد; I was taken unawares», cf. *bəbim* (13)

γàm (7) « غم; sorrow, grief», cf. *γəm* (14)

γàsàm « قسم; oath», *γàsàm γūni* (4) «you swear (Sg.)»

γədīm|ə (1) « قدیم; old, old-fashioned», *rəsmə γədīmə* (1) «it is an old (fashioned) custom»

γəlnàhàrę (23) « صبحانه; breakfast, Acc.)», Steingass: قل = a little, a small quantity, Sotude: قله‌ناها = صبحانه

γəm « غم; sorrow, sadness», *zə γəm* (14) «from sorrow», cf. *γəmgīnə* (22), *γàm* (7)

γəmgīn|ə (22) « غمگین; [it is] sad»

γəšəng « قشنگ; pretty, beautiful»

γəšəngdīm|ī (2) « قشنگ دم; fair-faced», «you are fair-faced»

γorūbān (3) « غروبها; at sunset, in the evening»

hāzęr « حاضر; ready, agree», *hāzęr nəboɣ* (21) «[she] did not agree»

hàǰàǰę (6) « چلچله; swallow», *hàǰàǰę ǰūn* (6) «dear swallow», Sotude: *hâǰhâǰi* — هاجهاجی

hàǰęrę (12) « هاجر; Hajere, woman's name»

hàme « همه; all, the whole», *bā ī hàme χūbī* (12) «with all this good», cf. *əm* (23), *emre* (9), *hàmme* (4)

hàmme (4) « همه; all», cf. *hàme* (12)

hàne (23) « میاید; [he] comes», *hàne (h)eyvānə ǰə ǰīr* (23) «[he] comes down from the veranda», cf. *biyəm* (18)

hàrče (23) « هرچه; whoseever, all», *χodā hàrčę gilęmərdə bədàrę* (23) «[I wish] the God save all of Gilanis», cf. *hərkoǰā* (19)

hàrfān (4) « حرفها; words (Pl.)»

hàvā (8) « هوا; weather»

hərkoǰā (19) « هرکجا; wherever, cf. *hàrcę* (23)

həšpęr|ī (2) « هشتپر; Hashtper» place name in Gilan

hətmən (22) « حتما; surely, certainly»

hendē (3) « بازهم; again»

heyvān cf. *eyvān*

hiǰāb (1) « حجاب; veil»

hiǰrūn|ę « هجران; separation», *ti hiǰrūnę* (5) «of/for your separation»

himē (23) (1) « هیزم; wood (Acc.)»

hiškes (17) « هیچکس; nobody»

hizār|on (11) «هزاران; thousands (Pl.)»

χab|əǰī «خواب; sleep», *χabəǰī virisine* (23) «gets up from sleep»

χāl (18) «شاخه; branch», cf. *bīvəlg-o-χāləm* (18), Sotude: xâl — خال = شاخ های بزرگ درختان

χănə (18) «میخواهد; [it] wants», *mi dil χănə biyəm* (18) lit. «my heart wants me to go» i.e. «I should like to go», Rastorgueva 124: *xastən, xay-, xast-*

χàssəgārī (21) «خواستگاری; asking a girl in marriage»

χəssə (23) «خسته; tired», *χəssə nəbun* (23) «don't be tired»

χẹyli (12) «خیلی; very»

χoᵘ «خود; my, thy, his etc. own», *χoᵘ χəlnàhārẹ* (23) «his breakfast (Acc.)», *χoᵘ kukurẹkūrẹ gune* (23) «[the cock] says cock-a-doodle-doo», *χoᵘ bàrdə màssə* (4) «māst/yogurt carried by himself»

χodā «خدا; God», *χodā šokr kọnẹ̄* (23) «[he] thanks God», *χodā hàrčẹ gilẹmərdə bədàre* (23) «God save all Gilanis»

χodā|ǰūn (12) «خداجان; Oh, God»

χodā|yā (3) «خدایا; Oh, God»

χọnẹ «خانه; house», *ti χọnẹ* (15) «to your house»

χọnẹ (23) «میخورد; [he] eats», Rastorgueva 134: *xurdən, xur-*, cf. *noχordə* (19), *χūni* (4)

χorūs (23) «خروس; cock»

χošk (18) «خشك; dry», *χoškə himẹ̄* (23) «dry wood (Acc.)»

χoškẹl (3) «خوشگل; beautiful», *mə χoškẹl yāre* (3) «my beautiful beloved (Acc.)»

χūb (17) «خوب; well/good»

χūbī (12) «خوبی; goodness, excellence», *bā ī hàme χūbī* (12) «with all this good»

χūni (4) «میخوری; you eat», *γàsàm χūni* (4) «قسم میخوری; you swear», cf. *χọnẹ* (23)

i, ī (4) (3) (12) «این; this»

ilāhi (5) «الهی; Oh, God!», «God grant»

ǰə «از; from», *(h)eyvānə ǰə ǰīr* (23) «down from the verenda», Sotude: *je* — جه = از cf. *ǰī* (3), (11)

ǰəlf|ə «جلف; deep», *ruχọne ǰəlfə* (18) «the river is deep», Sotude: jalf — جلف = عمیق کود ژرف

ǰẹvọnẹ (15) «جوانه; a sprout, a new shoot»

ǰẹvọnī (16) «جوانی; youth», *dər ǰẹvọnī* (16) «in youth», *ǰẹvoᵘnī* (10)

ǰe̯vu̯n|e̯ «جوان; young», *hàǰe̯re̯ χe̯yli ǰe̯vu̯ne̯* (12) «Hajere is very young»

ǰi «از; off, from», *i šehre ǰi bəšum* (3) «[that] I go from this town», Sotude: je — جه = از cf. *ǰə* (23), *mi vərǰe̯ ǰi* (11) «[don't go] from me», *χabəǰi virisine̯* (23) «gets up from sleep»

ǰir «پایین; down», *(h)eyvānə ǰə ǰir* (23) «down from the veranda», Sotude: jir — جیر = پائین

ǰodāi (9) «جدا; departure»

ǰon|ə «جان; dear», *ǰonə làku* (1) «lassie dear», cf. *ǰūn* (2)

ǰo̯z «جز; besides, except», *ǰo̯z to̯* (7) «besides you», cf. *ǰuz* (7)

ǰūn (2) «جان; dear», «soul», *ǰūne mi āǰūn* (16) «for my father's soul!», *mi ǰūne* (1) «my soul (Acc.)», *nezen ātəš mi ǰūne* (9) «do not put fire into my soul» (Acc.), cf. *ǰonə* (1)

ǰuz (7) «جز; besides», *ǰuz ti yàm* (7) «besides your sorrow», cf. *ǰo̯z* (7)

kāsəčəšm (5) «blue-eyed», *to kāsəčəšm u mūbūrī* (5) «you are blue-eyed and fair-haired», Sotude: kâschashm — کاس‌چشم = کسیکه دارا ی چشم زاغ است

kàlàh (23) «اجاق; fireside, fireplace», *sərdə kàlàh* (23) «cold fireside», Sotude: kale, kole — کله = اجاق

kāsə (4) «کاسه; bowl, cup», Sotude: kâse — کاسه = بشقاب

kəftər (19) «کبوتر; dove, pigeon»

kəǰ «ابریشم; silk», *keǰ bo̯ydə* (21) «pupated», Sotude: kach/kaj — کچ / کج = ابریشم

ke̯y (3) «کی; when»

ko̯ne̯ «میکند»; *šōkr ko̯ne̯* (23) «he thanks», Sotude: kudan — کودن = کردن انجام دادن کاری‌را, cf. *nəkune* (17), *nekon* (9), *no̯konī* (22)

kū (20) «کوه; mountain»

lāǰūn (16) «لاهیجان; Lahijan» place-name in Gilan, *lāǰūnə be̯ynəm* (3) (Acc.) «[that] Lahijan I see»

làkoy (2) «دختر; girl, lassie», *làko̯y ǰūn* (5) «lassie dear», cf. *làku* (7), *làkuǰūn* (10), Sotude: لاکوی

làku (7) «دختر; girl, lassie», cf. *làkoy* (2), *làkuǰūn* (10)

làkuǰūn (10) «دختر جان; lassie dear», cf. *làkoy* (2), *ǰūn* (2)

làl|ə «لال; mute», *làlə hàrfə* (17) «the mute's word (Acc.)», *làlə màr* (17) «the mute's mother»

ləǰ : *ləǰ bo̯ydə* (21) «[she] was stubborn», Haïm: لج کردن

ləkātə (18) «shot», Sotude: = lakande — لکنده = خسته و واماندہ lakante — لکنته = شکار تیر خورده

ləngərūd (9) «لنگرود; Langerud», place-name in Gilan
mā (14) «مرا; me» Acc.
mār «مادر; mother», *ti mārə vərǰə* (21) «to your mother», cf. *màr* (16), (17), Sotude: mâr — ما
màhtāb|ə «مهتاب; moonlit», *hàvā màhtābə* (8) «the night is moonlit»
màr «مادر; mother», *làle màr* (17) «the mute's mother», *jūnə ti màr ǰūn* (16) «for your mother's soul!», cf. *mār* (21)
māss|ə (4) «ماست; māst, yogurt» Acc.
mə «my», *mə χoškẹlyārə* (3) «my beautiful beloved (Acc.)», cf. *mi*
məl «مرا; me» Acc., *tọ məl làku* (14) «you [made] me, lassie»
mən «من; I», *mən o tū̱* (13) «I and you», cf. *mọ̄* (10), (18)
mərdọ̀m (19) «مردم; people», *əz ī merdọ̀m* (19) «from this people»
məsl|e (1) «مثل; like», *məsle hīmẹ̄* (1) «like wood (Acc.)», cf. *mẹ̀sl|ə* (18)
mẹ̄ : *mẹ̄ bə* (2) (9) «برای من; for me», cf. *mi*
mẹ̀sl|ə (18) (10) (13) (11) «مثل; like», cf. *məsl|e* (1)
mī (11) «my», *mī dil* (11) «my heart», *mi ǰūne* (1) «my soul», *mi emre* (9) (12) «with me», *mi nāmə* (14) «my letter (Acc.)», *mi vərǰẹ̄ ǰī nešu* (11) «do not go from me», *mi rẹ̄yhānə* (3) «my Reyhan (Acc.)», cf. *mə* (3), *mẹ̄* (2) (9)
mọ̄ (10) (18) «من; I», cf. *mū* (1), *mən* (13)
mū (1) «من; I», cf. *mọ̄* (10) (18)
mūbūr|ī «موبور; fair-haired», *mūbūrī* (5) «you are fair-haired»
nāmə (14) «نامه; letter»
nāmẹ̀hrebū̱n|e (12) «نامهربان; unfriendly»
nāz (11) «ناز; grace, delicacy», *nāz dàne* (11) «[it] has grace»
nàhàrẹ̀ cf. *yəlnàhàrẹ̀*
nàmzud (10) «نامزد; fiancé», *nàmzud nəgīrī* (10) «[that] you should not get a fiancé»
nə|boʷ : *hāzẹ̀r nəboʷ* (21) «[she] did not agree», cf. *bəbim* (13)
nə|bū : *nəbū rāzī* (5) «do not be content», cf. *bəbim* (13)
nə|bun : *χəssə nəbun* (23) «do not be tired», cf. *bəbim* (13)
nə|dọ̀nem (12) «نمیدانم; I do not know», Rastorgueva 123: *dan-əstən, dan-, danəst-*, cf. *dọ̀nī* (22)

nə|dụnẹ (17) «نمیداند; [he] does not know», *hiškes nədụnẹ* (17) «nobody knows», cf. *dọnī* (22)

nə|gīrī «نگیری»: *nàmzud nəgīrī* (10) «[that] you should not get a fiancé», cf. *bəgīrī* (10)

nə|kụne : *dərmon nəkụne* (17) «[it] does not allay», cf. *kọnē̤* (23)

nərgəs (11) «نرگس; narcissus»

ne|bī «نشوی: *nebī āšəɣ* (10) «[that] you should not be in love», cf. *bəbim* (13)

ne|dānàm «ندارد; I do not have»: *yārī nedānàm* (7) «I have no friend», cf. *bədàrẹ* (23)

ne|dānẹ «ندارد; it has not», cf. *bədàrẹ* (23)

ne|dānī «نداری»: *yàd nedānī* (4) «you do not remember», cf. *bədàrẹ* (23)

nẹgeh (14) «نگاه; look», *bā ti nẹgeh* (14) «with your look»

ne|χōte (8) «نمیخوابد; does not sleep», Rastorgueva 124: *xuftən, xus-, xuft-*, Sotude: xuftan — خوفتن

ne|kon (9) «نکن; do not make, do not do», cf. *kọnē̤* (23)

nene «میگذارد; he puts», *nene čày* (23) «he puts tea on», *nene gẹrvāzə χo duš* (23) «he slings the spade on his shoulder», Sotude: nean — نئن = نهادن, Rastorgueva 125: *naan, nəh-, na-*

nẹ|šū (20) (11) (9) (7) «نرو; do not go», Sotude: shoon — شن = رفتن cf. *bəšim* (13)

ne|zen «نزن»: *nezen ātəš* (9) «don't set fire», cf. *bəzəl* (15)

nōdovāl «قایق; boat», *mọ̄ bīnōdovāləm* (18) «I am without a boat», Sotude: newdonbal — نودنبال = قایقهای کشیده و درازی است

noɣon (21) «کرم ابریشم; silkworm», Sotude: nowqân — نوغان = کرم ابریشم

no|χondī (14) «نخواندی; you did not read», Rastorgueva 122: *xandən, xand-*,,

no|χordə (19) «نخورد; not eaten», cf. *χọnẹ* (23)

nọ|konī «نمیکنی»: *nọkonī χàndə* (22) «you do not smile», cf. *kọnē̤* (23)

o (3) «و; and», cf. *ū* (1)

pārə «پاره; a piece»: *pārə boʷdī* (14) «you tore it to pieces»

pərəškū (13) «پرشکو; Pareshkuh» place name in Gilan

pəs (10) «پس; then, after», *pəs əz mọ̄* (10) «after me»

pirābūm (6) «پیرشد; I got old», cf. *bəbim* (13)

piràbum (19) «پیرشدم; I got old», cf. pirābūm (6)

pirhən (22) «پیراهن; slip»

piyāde (13) «پیاده; on foot»

rāz «راز; secret», *rāz dàne* (11) «it has a secret»
rāzī (5) «راضی; content»
ràss|ə (4) «راست است; it is true»
rəǰ «ردیف; row, line», *rəǰ boɣdə* (21) «arranged in row», Sotude: rach /raj — ردیف = رج/ رچ
rəngīn|ə (22) «رنگین; colour, coloured»
rəsm|ə «رسم; custom», *rəsmə yədīmə* (1) «it is an old custom»
rəšt (16) «رشت; Rasht», place name in Gilan
rẹyhān|ə (3) «ریحان; Reyhan (Acc.)» woman's name
ruχọne (18) «رودخانه; river»
sàrd|ə «سرد; cold», *sàrdə pàlā* (23) «cold rice (Acc.)», cf. *sərdə* (23)
səbz (21) «سبز; green»
səfīd (2) «سفید; white», cf. *sẹfīd* (21)
səhrā «صحرا; plain», *bāγ o səhrā* (13) «garden and plain»
səngīn|ə (22) «سنگین; heavy», «it is heavy»
sərəyti (1) «به‌سر کردی; you put on», *sərəyti čādər* (1) «you put on a čādor» saraytan — سر بتن = سر کردن
sərd|ə «سرد; cold», *sərdə kàlāh* (23) «cold fireside», cf. *sàrd* (23)
sər «روی; in, on»
sefāī (9) «صفاء; enjoyment, pleasure»
sẹfīd (21) «سفید; white», cf. *səfīd* (2)
sīnẹ (11) «سینه; breast, chest»
siràbum (19) «سیر شدم; I became weary of . . .», Sotude: serâ-bostan — سرآبستن serâboon — سرآبن = سیر شدن cf. *bəbim* (13)
sizdəbədər (13) «سیزده‌بدر; thirteenth of the year»
sob «صبح; morning», *sobə zūd* (23) «early morning»
sofrà «سفره; table cloth», *fičinẹ sofrà* (23) «he gathers the cloth»
sū (20) «سو; light»
šəhr (19) «شهر; town», cf. *šehr* (3), *šer* (7)
šehr «شهر; town», *i šehre ǰī bəšum* (3) «[that] I go from this town», cf. *šəhr* (19)
šer (7) «شهر; town», cf. *šəhr* (19)
šīrin cf. *šīrinzəbọ̄n|ẹ̄* (12)
šīrinzəbọ̄n|ẹ̄ (12) «شیرین‌زبان; [is] sweet-tongued»
šokr «شکر; thank», *χodā šokr kọ̄nẹ̄* (23) «[he] thank God»
šunẹ (23) (20) «میرود; goes», cf. *bəšim* (13»

tā (10) (23) «تا; when, until, till»

tāb|ə cf. *bītāb|ə* (8)

tȧ (15) (16) «تورا; you (Acc.)», *tȧ nidīm* (16) « I did not see you»

tȧχcə «طاقچه; shelf», *tȧχčə ǰi* (23) «from (off) the shelf»

tȧrif «تعریف; commend», *tȧrif kǭne* (4) «he commends»

təlχ|ə «تلخ; bitter», *təlχə* (6) «it is bitter»

tənhā (13) «تنها; alone», *tənhāyī tənhā* (13) «quite alone»

tẹlẹmbār|ə «تلمبار; silkworm nursery/farm», *tẹlẹmbārə noγon* (20) «silkworm nursery/farm», Sotude: telambâr — تلمبار = محل پرورش کرم ابریشم

teref «طرف; side, direction», *ye teref* (12) «[on the] one side»

ti «your» (Gen.), *ti dīmẹ̄* (1) «your face», *ti māssə* (4), *ti hȧrfān* (4), *ti čəšmāne* (5) etc.

tītī : «شکوفه; blossom», *tītī boɣde* (15) «burst into bloom», Sotude: titi — تی تی = شکوفه

tǫ (14) (6) (5) «تو; you», cf. *tū*

tu (14) «تو; you», cf. *tū*

tū (2) (13) «تو; you», cf. *tǫ*

ū (1) «و; and», cf. *o* (3)

vākətəm (16) «خسته شدم; I am tired out», Sotude: vâakatan — واکتن = واماندن وخسته شدن

vȧllȧhī (6) «والله; By God!»

vəlg «برگ; leaf», cf. *bīvəlg-o-χāləm* (18), Sotude: valg — ولگ

vəli (12) «ولی; but»

vəllā (19) (20) «والله; by God!»

vərǰə «پهلو کنار; side, to, at», *ti vərǰə* (18) «to you», *bošom ti mārə vərǰə* (21) «I went to your mother», *āp čȧyə vərǰə* (23) «water from the well», Sotude: varje — ورجه = پهلو کنار, cf. *vərǰẹ̄* (11)

vərǰẹ̄ «side, to, at», *mi vərǰẹ̄ ǰī nešū* (11) «do not go from me», cf. *vərǰə*

vigine (23) «برمیدارد; he takes», *vigine dāsə* (23) «he takes the sickle», vitan — ویتن = برداشتن

vigir (1) «بردار; take off», *vigir čādər* (1) «take off the čādor»,

vinnẹsẹ (23): *vinnẹsẹ dūd* «دود بلند نشود, not to smoke», esan — اسن = ایستادن

virisinẹ (23) «برمیخیزد; gets up», *χabəǰī virisinẹ* (23) «he gets up from sleep», Sotude: virisan — ویریسن virishtan — ویریشتن = برخاستن

visin «برای بهر; for, to», *ti visin* (14) (20), *ti vīsīn* (8) «for you», *či visin* (12) «why? for what?», *mi vīsin* (6) «for me», Sotude: visi — ویسی = برای بهر

yāγūt (2) «یاقوت; ruby»

yār|ə «یار; sweetheart, friend», *bəgū mi yāre* (6) «tell my sweetheart», *yārī nedā̄nȧm* (7) «I have no friend», cf. *yȧr*

yȧd : *yȧd nedā̄nī* (4) «you do not remember»

yā̄r «یار; friend, sweetheart», *mi yā̄r bī* (15) «you were my sweetheart», *miy yā̄rə bā̄rin* (17) «bring (Pl.) my sweetheart», cf. *yār*

ye (12) «یك; one», *ye teref* (12) «one side»

zə «از; from», *zə γəm* (14) «from sorrow»

zəbu̯n|ə «زبان; language», *zəbu̯nə mi dile̯* (17) «my heart's language (Acc.)», cf. *šīrinzəbō̯nē̯*

zərd (21) «زرد; yellow»

ze̯ndeg̯o̯nī (6) «زندگانی; the life»

ze̯ne (23) «میزند; he beats», *ze̯ne āp* (23) «he beats water», cf. *bəzəl* (15)

zerbul mȧsȧll|e̯ (4) «ضرب المثل; proverb» (Acc.)

zūd «زود; early, soon», *bo̯l bo̯l ātəš deke zūd* (23) «the fire goes up in flame soon», *sobə zūd* (23) «early morning»

zulf|ō̯ne (5) «زلف; curl (Pl.)», *mū ti zulfō̯ne bəmīrəm* (5) «for your curls I die»*

Abbreviations

اتکل متکل : حسن علی محمودی : اتکل متکل. تهران ۱۳۴۸.

Haïm: Haïm, S., New Persian-English dictionary. 1—2. vols. Teheran 1960—62.

Rastorgueva: Giljanskij jazyk. Otv. red. V. S. Rastorgueva. Moskva 1971.

Rubinčik: Rubinčik, Ju. A., Persidsko-russkij slovarj. 1—2. vols. Moskva 1970.

Sotude: منوچهر ستوده : فرهنگ گیلکی. تهران ۱۳۳۲.

Steingass: Steingass, F., A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary. London 1930.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE «BALLAD OF THE SNAKE»

BY

L. SZEGŐ

The so-called «Ballad of the Snake» is the most popular ballad among the Wallachian Gipsy inhabitants of Hungary. Although in the second half of the last century there existed a lot of Gipsy folk ballads, mainly in the territory of Transylvania (see the publications of F. Miklosich[1]), they have entirely disappeared by now, and researchers can not find them even in fragments of other folklore pieces (the «slow» or «table» songs: *loke* or *mesalyake gilya*).

Besides the geographic one, we have to consider several other causes of this disappearance: *e.g.* the social reason (the modern way of life prevents the members of smaller communities from keeping up their tradition of telling long stories: tales, ballads etc.) and the effect produced by the peculiar Wallachian Gipsy folkloric *genre*, the *loki gilyi*. As I have shown elsewhere[2], the long, and, to a certain extent, incoherent *sujet*-construction of this type of song is very elastic or «liquid», so it may incorporate any elements of other pieces, applying them to its prosodic structure. For example we can observe the dissolution of any «non-important» fragments of a living ballad — the «Song of the Cat» — in the context of many variants of the *loki gilyi* (see text examples No. 1 and 2).

Only one ballad seems to resist this dissolving effect of the *loki gilyi* even to the present time: the so-called «Ballad of the Snake». (However, one can observe some signs of dissolution even in this case: a few lines of the ballad occur in some «slow songs» when these lines are in accordance with them from a thematical point of view — see No. 3.)

There is another sign of extinction of this unique ballad: in many Wallachian Gipsy communities singers perform only two or three strophes of it, and the other part of the whole song is saturated with thematically quite different textual units, periods, strophes or sometimes even groups of strophes.

[1] F. Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. Akad. Denkschriften (Wien 1872–1880).

[2] L. Szegő, *Cigány népballadák* [Gipsy Folk Ballads] in *Forrás*, 1971 : 3, pp. 24–25 (in Hungarian).

But this phenomenon cannot be considered except as part of the whole syndrome of disappearance of the *genre* of the ballad, and it is not significant for the ballad in question.

The whole «Ballad of the Snake» consists of about 35 lines (the number depends on the variants), and this size suggests that the text is not corrupt and has no «empty patches». Our hypothese will be proved by taking a view of the Hungarian and Slovak variants (examples No. 4, 5) and comparing their texts with that of the Gipsy ballad: there are no missing elements, there are no missing details in the Gipsy variants (see No. 6, 7).

«The Snake» — though it is the most particular present-day Wallachian Gipsy folk ballad — is not quite genuine because it must be seen as a representative of the Central European «husband-killer wife» ballad-circle. As our examples will prove, it has its *pendants* in other Central European peoples' folklore, and perhaps it is not mistaken to suppose that this ballad goes back to the 18th century Central European market-songs and horror tales. (It was the Gipsy horse-dealers who attended most frequently these markets.)

The «Ballad of the Snake» poses some rather difficult problems, the solving of which would not only be a philologic *trouvaille*, but perhaps a historical and sociological one too.

We can group our problems around two fundamental issues: the relation between the murderer and the victim and the fact of the murder. First, let us look at the personal relation between the victim and the killer. In every known variant the victim is the brother of the murderer; and the latter's sweetheart is the third person of the *sujet*. We may be mistaken, but this cast smacks of some white-washing or amelioration. The figure of the fellow-lover is the typical representative of the folk ballads' tragical third person, the seducer. In the final part of the ballad he himself hints at this role: *Vi man kade shaj murdares . . .*

Why? According to the literal meaning of the texts the roles of the two males are quite different. Between the sweetheart and the brother there cannot be rivals in love, their position is not the same and it would be perfectly natural that the girl's feelings are much stronger towards her lover than the despotic elder brother. But supposing that the so-called «elder brother» is nothing else but the *husband* of the «girl», the situation immediately becomes understandable. (We can take into consideration that even in the present-day Wallachian Gipsy usage there is an intimate form of the vocative locution *mure gazha* «my husband»: *phrala*, the original meaning of which is «my brother».) In addition to this, one can take note of the vocative formule in the first lines of No. 7, and the whole style of No. 9 (*«romnyi»*, *«romnye»*; *«muro rom»*), being aware that the noun *«rom»* refers exactly to the marital bonds of the victim and the murderer. We are bound to suppose the illusory character of the existence of any *real* brothers. An ethnologic point can help

us: it was an extraordinarily rare case (if such a case could occur at all) that a young, pretty girl should have to keep house for her brother, or that a young girl should live alone with her brother. It would be quite strange in the age of the closed dwelling-place communities and the large families.

But if we are right, there arise the following questions: What could be the reason for this change of roles? What kind of customs or prohibitions forces performers to hide the husband? Was killing a brother regarded as a less grievous crime than killing the husband? But several folk ballads speak about the crime of the husband-killing women! We think that the solution of this tangled problem must be sought in the fact that exactly this Gipsy ballad has survived the others up to the present, or at least this one is the most complete and most popular of them.

Presumably the «Ballad of the Snake» is not very old; we suppose it is much younger than the other ones, especially than the representatives of the south-east European, Balkan folk ballads. And a further point: among the Central European «husband-killer wife» ballads this one is not popular at all; in the Hungarian and Slovak population it has no more than one or two variants. These facts seem to prove that the story, related in the context, did take place at some time, but it must have been a quite extreme case and it had no social background supported by the customary reactions of the given social groups and *milieu*.

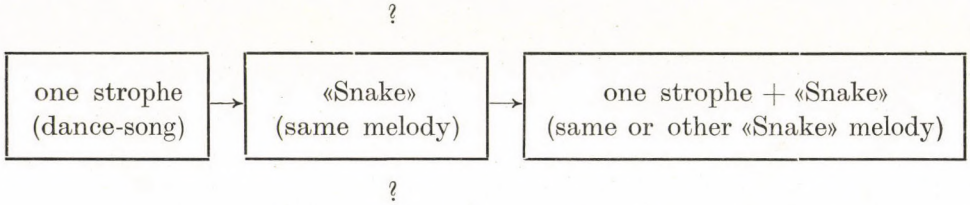
The ballad about the brother-killing girl (and very understandably also for our Gipsies: about the *husband*-killing *wife*), heard from the Hungarian, Slovak or other inhabitants of the Hungarian Highlands, seemed very strange to them and must have become the *symbol* of intracommunal and intraethnical murder in general; especially of the agressive action of the amorous wife. The killing of the elder brother has only wild romantic and harmlessly irreal associative relations so it really could hide the emotional reality of the probably impossible husband-killing. I am inclined to presume that my tentative to identify the brother with the husband was only a *secondary one*; the primary identification was made by the native performers of the ballad. Thus it seems that there were two factors involved in the surviving of the ballad's cast: one of them must have been *tradition* which always preserves the fundamental *sujet*-structure of the folkloric pieces — but the other could be the continuous and close mutual relation between the necessity of hiding, some *symbols* and the constant and unchanged forms of the smaller Wallachian Gipsy social groups too. The vocative form *phrala* could assist in the consolidating of this structure but it could have played only a secondary role.

But there is another question in the very closed and firm context of this ballad — a problem of a more philological nature but the solution of which at present seems to be absolutely hopeless. We have to turn our attention to the first lines (more exactly: in some of the variants to the first *period*;

in the other ones to the first *verses*; more concretely to the motif of the «washing in the river». (*«Terni Manci po folyovo, Kothe thovel voj kretinca»*; *«Ternyi romnyi tela podo, Kothe thovel pesko lolo dikhlo, So keres tu, terne romnye, Tela kado chorro podo? Thovav muro lolo dikhlo, Sosa ande phandav muro shero.»* etc.) At first look these opening phrases could represent the usual scenic images at the beginning of several Central and East European folklore pieces; but we must note, that (1) the Hungarian and Slovak equivalents of this ballad have no real opening nature pictures, and (2) in the Gipsy folk songs and ballads, as a general rule, there are very few occurrences of such images.[3]

But apart from this fact, there are some more interesting pecularities of this passage. First: the ballad is rather short (compared with some others of Balkan origin), we could suppose that each of its elements must have its independent importance, in close connection with the whole structure of the story. What could be the reason of the necessity of the initial verses? In the other parts of the text there are no words about washing or river or bridges at all!

At the beginning of my research I thought, too, that the *incoherency* of the slow songs in general must play an important role here: I have thought that the melodic and stylistic similarity of the *loke gilya* and the ballads could project the attributes of the former to the latter. The reason of this assumption was given by the other Gipsy folk song (see text No. 8) which belongs to the dance-songs (*khelimaske gilya*). I had to compare this one-strophe song with another variant of the «Snake»: the latter was textually rather similar to my text No. 7, but its melody was that of a common dance-song, by and large identical with that of No. 8. (This phenomenon has no verifying power of course, since there are not many possibilities to vary melodies.) So my first hypothesis was as follows:



This conception could seem fairly usable, but in the course of further research I was forced to realize that in this way we can get an explanation only for the reasons of the joining of the given strophe or period to the basic context of the ballad, but the more important question, the problem of their

[3] See references in another study: J. Vekerdi, *Gipsy Folk Songs*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX (1968), p. 339.

joint survival remains unanswered. First I tried to leave the melodies out of consideration and to approach the problem by merely philological methods.

Examining the first lines of the ballad, we are inevitably struck by the action of washing some clothes (for the present let us not specify what kind of clothes): it is completely extraneous to the whole material of the context. We have to look for its origin — and there are a lot of pieces in the Hungarian (especially Transylvanian) husband-killer wife's ballad-circle, the first strophes of which are very similar to that of ours. (See *e.g.* in Gy. Ortutay's excellent selection.[4]) But while the Hungarian variants include a real explanation of the bedsheet-washing by relating that the wife has stabbed her husband to death (perhaps with a carving-knife), this kind of commentation must be absolutely rejected in our case, as the murder is committed by an ineffective application of the snake's poison. (The poison of snakes can hurt the human being only by intravenous injection.) We must take note of the fact too, that in Wallachian Gipsy folk songs or present-day ballads the word *lolo/-i* «red» occures *solely* in the attributive constructions *loli mol* «red wine», *lolo khuro* «bay» and *loli coxa* «red skirt» where the latter is the symbol of the woman's richness.[5] So we must think that in this case the attribute of the kerchief, that is to say the fact that it is *red*, must have a peculiar meaning, viz. it is red from blood, concretely it is *bloody*. (Cf. Hung. *vörös* or *veres* «red» from *véres* «bloody».) But why is it? Why is it bloody, when the murder was committed in a non-sanguinary way?

This seems to be the first unanswerable question at present. We do know that the folklore of the Wallachian Gipsy population has developed in the territory of Transylvania and the story about the husband-with-a-knife-killer wife has its origin from the same place too, but (1) probably this special ballad is of later origin, and goes back to the time when the earlier one had been perfectly forgotten among the Hungarian population and there are no traces of any mutual borrowings of ballads between the Transylvanian Hungarians and Gipsies, and (2) this piece of husband-killer wifes' ballads was not too popular with the Hungarian population at all. And there is an other very important point: we do not know — because among the very abundant collections of the last decades of the 19th century no references can be found that the given husband-killer wife's ballad would ever have been taken over by Gipsies. Among the Gipsy folk ballads there are no *pendants* of it, the only occurrence of this type of ballads is our piece, the «Snake». And although the motif of the washing of clothes springs presumably from a 19th century

[4] *Magyar népballadák* [Hungarian Folk Ballads]. Ed. by Gy. Ortutay (Budapest 1968). See pieces No. 236—238.

[5] Cf. the very popular *khelimaski gilyi*: *Muri romnyi chi chorel, chi drabarel, Haj sa inke loli coxa phiravel.* (My wife neither steals nor tells fortune And yet she does wear a red skirt.)

Transylvanian folk ballad, the *first* well-known variant of the «Snake» was written down in the second half of this century,[6] in the territory of the Great Hungarian Plain. There is no trace of it in the earlier publications. It seems to be much younger than any of the Hungarian variants, and there are no marks of any connection between them.

Consequently we can summarize our main problems: (a) the *sujet* of the present Wallachian Gipsy ballad relates a murder by poisoning but the opening lines of the verse refer plainly to a bloody way of murder; (b) these starting lines are of Hungarian (and maybe also of Rumanian) origin but there are no signs of any Gipsy borrowings of the ballad in which these lines occur and, (c) we must reject the possibility of the accidental incorporation of these lines into the text of the ballad because they can be found in *every* complete variant of it. And here the next question arises: although we know that there is a marked tendency of the *loki gilyi* to incorporate *any* non-important elements of ballads into its own context, and we have already seen that these lines really seem absolutely non-important, — what can then be the reason that the given opening strophe or sequence of lines has not disappeared, on the contrary it seems to become a *conditio sine qua non* at the beginning of the ballad's performance, both stylistically and textually. In the present stage of research I do not venture to answer these questions, but I hope that further research will prove my presentiments. Briefly, I have tried to find out the possible connection between the existence of the opening strophe and the supposed hiding of the murder of a husband, and presume that the ballad about the husband-with-a-knife-killer wife could have been rather well-known at some time among the Wallachian Gipsy population, though not too popular, in consequence of the above-mentioned reasons, nevertheless the «innocent» opening lines of it have become the connecting hook of the two stories — the manifest textual reminder of the more profound link of the given brother-killing sister and of the forgotten wife who killed her own husband.

Speaking about the intact survival of the starting strophe, finally we must examine the problem of the survival of the *whole ballad* and the reasons of its popularity. Our first question (the problem of survival in general) seems to be rather meaningless, as the first traces of the ballad are from the early years of the second half of this century (in the manuscript collection of K. Erdős), but asking the native performers we can find out that the ballad is not so young at all, and the preceding generation also knew it well. The motives of the handing down of the ballad can be explained by the general timelessness

[6] As we know, the only copy of it is in the private property of the collector's widow (Hungary, Gyula). It is a typewritten manuscript with no date. Being aware, however, that the collector's researches were conducted mainly in the Hungarian Plain, we can suppose that this piece also originates from the same area.

of the *sujet*: some other ballads, relating plausible stories connected with a concrete place, time and persons can disappear by the details fading, or by the subject-matter becoming «out of date» — but this thematically abstract and absolutely *emotional* story could resist all annihilating effects. There could be some other factors too, contributing to the survival of the ballad; *e.g.* we can compare its common melody with the other 20th century Wallachian Gipsy ballads from the territory of Hungary; our ballad's melody is the nearest to the common *loki gilyi*'s — native performers tend to describe the «Snake» as one of them as they cannot feel *genre* differences. (We can observe that the prosodic construction of the «Snake» is completely similar to that of most table songs.)

These facts can answer our other question, the problem of popularity too. We must not forget, however, that the main factor of popularity is undoubtedly the close personal and social relations between the Wallachian Gipsy groups in Hungary — in the age of the development of other ballads these relations were not so close (the groups were wandering and the communication between the smaller communities was weak). The «Snake» had every condition for survival technically too.

1.

Ha bemegyek a kocsmába,	If I go into a pub,
Megiszok egy fél pálinkát,	I drink half a brandy,
Megiszok egy fél pálinkát.	I drink half a brandy.
Haj keramma mulo mato,	I pretend I got drunk,
Haj marav la, sar ek dilo,	And I beat her like a madman,
Haj marav la, sar ek dilo.	And I beat her like a madman.
Phen-ta mange, muri gazhi,	Tell me, my wife,
Kon maladas e felyastra,	Who knocked at the window,
Kon maladas e felyastra?	Who knocked at the window?
D' e mucica, e mucica,	A pussy cat did,
Anda paluno somseda,	From next door,
Anda paluno somseda!	From next door!
De nas kodi e mucica,	But it was not a pussy cat
Ke la muca naj kolopo,	As a cat wears no hat,
Galbeno si ando punro!	It was brawny in the leg.
De zha tuke te colaxaren,	You just go to get married,
De shutyuvo, sar ek patrin,	But I'll get withered
Sar ek patrin ando paji!	Like a leaf in the water.

De gogyindaspe o ternoro,
Haj phandel la kaj o tyilo,
Taj marel la, sar ek dilo.[7]

The young man thought it over
And he is tethering her to a stake
And he is beating her like a madman.

2.

Ica-mura, muri gazhi,
Kaj sanas tu kadi ratyi,
Kadi lungo, bari ratyi?

Kitty-kitty, dear wife,
Where have you been tonight,
During this long, great night?

Bemegyek én a kocsmába,
Kikértem [sic!] *egy fél pálinkát:*
Belémgyullad a pálinka.

I go into the pub,
I have asked for half a brandy
And the brandy got burnt inside me.

Ica-muca, muri gazhi,
Kon maladas tyi felyastra,
Kon sas kodo lasho shavo?

Kitty-kitty, dear wife,
Who was knocking at your window,
Who was that good fellow?

Taj sas apal muro gazho,
Muro sano, kalo gazho,
Taj kerel i shukar voja.

It was my husband,
My slim, black husband
And he is having a good time.

Pacha apal andi luma
Devla, kerel shel ezera,
Shel ezera, te xasalyvav!

But peace of the world
My god, worth a hundred thousand
A hundred thousand, or I'll be lost!

Be se mentem a kocsmába,
Hordják a bort literszámra,

No sooner had I entered the pub
Than many liters of wine was brought (to me)

Hordják a bort a pincérek.

The waiters are bringing it.

Pala dopash, dopash ratyi
Apal *sürgönyi* kapindem:
Kurvindas i kali gazhi.

After mid-midnight
I got a cable:
The black woman became a whore.

De ma, devlam, xurde love,
Te shaj kerav muri voja,
Shukar voja le Romenca!

Give me, god, some cash money
To have a good time,
To have a nice good time with the Gipsies!

Chi matyilem, *édesanyám,*
Tajsa apal voja las ma,
Koran apal detehara![8]

I did not get drunk, mother,
But I had a good time
Early in the morning.

[7] From my own collection. Coll. in 1967, Máriabesnyő (near to Budapest). Performed by a young man, surnamed Németh. The lines, originally performed in Hungarian are underlined in the Gipsy texts.

3.

Mimi, Mimi, híres Mimi
Elment kukoricát szedni.
Shurasa shinel e sara,
Te na shunen e zugasha.

Phen-ta mange, muri gazhi,
Ko' sas 'ratyi pe felyastra?
I mucica, e somseda,
I mucica, e somseda.

Ke nas kodi i mucica,
Ta sas kodo tyo kurvashi!
De tyo kurvashi apal ja,
Anda palunya somseda!

Te shutyuvav, muro gazho,
Sar ek patrin ando paji,
Ke nas kodo o kurvashi,
Ke sas kodi i mucica!

Mimi, Mimi, híres Mimi,
Sar trajis tu tye romesa?

Nashtig pijav e phralisa,
Si ma jek phral, mudarel ma.

Taj marel ma sar ek dilo,
Taj phandel ma kaj o tyilo —
Nashtig pijav e phralisa,
Ke marel ma, sar ek dilo.[9]

Mimi, Mimi, famous Mimi
She went to gather some maize.
She cuts it with a knife
So that it makes no noise.

Tell me, my wife,
Who was by the window last night?
A pussy cat, from next door,
A pussy cat, from next door.

But it wasn't a pussy cat,
It was your lover!
Your lover, oh,
From next door!

I'll get withered, dear husband
Like a leaf in the water!
Because it wasn't a lover of mine,
It was a pussy cat!

Mimi, Mimi, famous Mimi,
How are you getting on with your husband?
I cannot drink with the brother
I have a brother, he kills me.

He beats me like a madman
And he tethers me to a stake —
I cannot drink with the brother,
Because he beats me like a madman.

4.

White stone by the cloister,
The girl who can get married is well off.
— If you want to get married,
You have to kill your brother.
— I cannot do it,

[8] From my own collection. Coll. in 1967, Óbuda (a suburb of Budapest). Performed by a young girl, nicknamed Vali.

[9] From my own collection. Coll. in 1968, Pilisvörösvár (vill. NW from Budapest). Performed by an old woman, nicknamed Szidi.

I cannot poison my brother.
— Go and see the green brushwood,
You'll find a poisonous snake there.
Cut it into three pieces,
And put it onto three plates. —
There comes Janko from the forest,
He carries a pretty load of wood.
— Come here, little brother,
Have some good soup. —
When he ate from the first plate,
One of his cheeks went pale.
When he ate from the second one,
His other cheek went pale at once.
When he ate from the third,
All of his body got paralysed.
— Hurry to the pharmacy, little sister,
Bring me some medicine.
You may as well go for water
To refresh my soul. —
By the time she came back
He had passed away.
— You perfidious girl! leave my house,
You would kill me too, just as you killed your brother.
— A white rose is blooming,
I have neither brother nor husband.
I poisoned my brother
And I could not get married after all.[10]

5.

If you want to be mine, my dear,
You have to kill your brother.
How could I kill him,
I have not learnt to kill. —
Go to the green forest,
You'll find there a poisonous snake,
From the poison of the snake
You make him some soup.

[10] See Gy. Ortutay, *op. cit.*, No. 264. (p. 713.) First published in *Ethnogaphia* (Budapest 1909), No. 76.

There comes Janko from the forest,
He brings some wood, oh miserable man
What have you cooked, little sister?
All the courtyard smells of it.
I have cooked a little pigeon,
I took it from above the pent-roof,
It was cooking all the night,
And did not let me sleep.

As he ate a plate of it,
He went pale on one cheek at once,
When he ate another plate of it,
Both of his cheeks went pale.
After he ate a third one,
All his strength went away.
Go and get me some wine, little sister,
Let my heart go free!
By the time she came back with the wine,
His soul got out of him.
She rushed to the priest,
From the priest to the cantor,
From the cantor to the carpenter,
From the carpenter to her lover.

I am yours, I am already yours,
I killed my brother.
Go away from my home, little sister,
You will not be my wife:
You'd get angry with me
And would poison me, too.[11]

6.

Terni Manci po folyovo
Khote thovel voj kretinca.
Zhala khote o kurvashi:
Phen-ta, Manci, kames ma-*e*,
Kames ma-*e*, kames ma-*e*,

Young Manci, on the river
She washes her apron there.
The lover comes there:
Tell me, Manci, if you love me,
If you love me, if you love me

[11] Coll. by L. Madarász. In a manuscript of Hungarian literal translation given to me by the Collector. Coll. in 1967, Dunaharaszti (near to Budapest). Performed by Mrs. Mojsza, an old Slovak woman.

Vagyhogy nichi, ke pushkedav tu ando jilo!	Or not, or else I'll shoot you in the heart?
Sar kamos tu me, phrala,	How should I love you,
Ke si ma jek phral, mudarel ma!	I have a brother who kills me!
Pe kodo tu shaj zhutisa:	You can help it:
Xutyil sapes mirgeshones —	Take a poisonous snake —
Eta o vesh, xutyil sapes mirgeshones,	There is the forest, take a poisonous snake (there)
Haj tyirav les tye phraleske!	And cook it for your brother!
Kana kado Manci shundas,	When Manci heard it,
Fugalaspe e vesheske.	She rushed to the forest.
Zhala khere lako jek phral:	Her brother came home:
So tyiradan, terni Manci?	What have you cooked, young Manci,
So tyiradan, terni Manci,	What have you cooked, young Manci,
Ke vadno saga maladas ma!	Because it smells strongly?
Kan' angluni roj voj xalas,	When he ate the first spoonful of it,
Leski jek rig galbenindas;	One side of him turned yellow;
Kana dujto roj voj xalas:	When he ate another spoonful of it (he said):
An-ta, phenye, muro sherand!	Bring me my pillow, sister.
Chi das voj, hoj, o sherand:	She did not bring the pillow:
Lashi tuke vi buchoma!	A stump will do for you!
Gelas Manci kaj o terno shavo:	Manci went to the young man:
Phen-ta, phrala, les ma aba,	Tell me, brother, will you marry me
Vagyhogy nichi, *vagyhogy pedig* dilyardan ma?	Or not, or you got me mad?
Sar te los tu me, oj, Manci,	How should I marry you, oh Manci,
Hajkam vi man mudaresa,	You might kill me as well
Sar tye guglore phrales!	As you killed your own brother!
Haj, devla, so kerdem me:	Oh my god, what have I done,
Jek phral sas ma, mudardem les.	I had one brother, and I killed him.
Ushtyi opre, muli mama,	Get up, my dead mother
Haj inger ma pasha tute . . .[12]	And take me with you . . .

[12] From my own collection. Coll. in 1966, Budapest. Performed by József Bihari, a young Gipsy intellectual, born in Bátaszék (county Tolna).

7.

Ternyi romnyi tela podo

Kothe thovel pesko lolo dikhlo.
So keres tu, terne romnye,
Tela kado chorro podo?
Thovav muro lolo dikhlo,
Sosa ande phandav muro shero.
Thovav muro lolo dikhlo,
Taj le phralore' zhukarav.
So phenes tu, terne romnye:
Les ma, phenye, *vagyhogy* nichi?
Chi lav, mo, tu, terna Roma,
Si ma jek phral, mudarel tu!
Mudarel tu, pushkedel tu,
Le zhuklenca xaxavel tu!
Pe kodo shaj zhutisaras:
Xutyil sapes mergeshones!
Xutyil sapes mergeshones,
Taj tyirav les tye phraleske!
So tyiradan, mri phenori?
Vadno saga maladas ma!
Trine mashe' me xutyildem,
Le pujonca tyiradem le.
Phrala, phrala, vagy rucis le,
Vagyhogy, phraloro, xasa le.
Si the xav le, mi phenori:
Trin gyesora taj trin ratya,
Trin gyesora taj trin ratya
Chi suttine mure jakha!
Kana o phral ek roj xalas,
Lesko chikat shargulindas;
Kana e dujto roj xalas:
An-ta, Babi, muro sherand!
An-ta, Babi, muro sherand,
Te shav tele muro shero.
Taj avilas o terno shavo:
Shaj les ma tu, terna Roma!
Chi lav me tut, terne romnya,
Ke vi manca kade keres,
Sar tye phralores mudardan,

There is a young women under the bridge,
She is washing her red kerchief there.
What are you doing, young woman
Under that poor bridge?
I am washing my red kerchief
That I fasten up my hair with.
I am washing my red kerchief
And I am waiting for my little brother.
What do you say, young woman,
Do you marry me, sister, or not?
I won't marry you, young man,
I have a brother, he kills you!
He kills you, he shoots you,
He gives you to the dogs to eat!
We can help it:
Catch a poisonous snake!
Catch a poisonous snake
And cook it for your brother!
What have you cooked, little sister,
Because it smells very strongly!
I caught three fish
And I cooked them with chickens.
Brother, brother, either you hate them
Or you eat them, little brother.
I have to eat them, little sister:
Three days and three nights,
Three days and three nights
My eyes have not been closed.
When the brother ate a spoonful of it,
His forehead turned yellow;
When he ate another spoonful of it:
Bring me my pillow, Babi!
Bring me my pillow, Babi,
So that I can put down my head.
And the young man came there:
You can marry me, young man!
I won't marry you, young girl
Because you would do the same to me
As you killed your little brother,

Vi man kade shaj mudares!
Oj-hoj, devlam, so me kerdem,
Ek phral sas ma, mudardem les!
Ek phral sas ma, mudardem les,
Taj chi o Rom, mamo, chi las ma . . .

Koporsóm se legyen fából,
Legyen mezei virágból . . .[13]

You would kill me the same way.
Oh, oh, what have I done, my god,
I had one brother and I killed him!
I had one brother and I killed him
And the young man did not marry me either, mummy . . .
My coffin should not be made of wood,
Let it be made of wild flowers . . .

8.

Chorro shavo tela podo
Lelas romnya thaj naj modo.
Av tar avri tela podo:
Shaj les romnya, si tu modo![14]

There is a poor fellow under the bridge,
He would marry a girl but he has no chance.
Get away from under the bridge:
You can marry a girl, you'll have a chance!

9.

Aj-haj chorro, aj-haj dilo,
Taj shinel ma, sar ek dilo!

Na chumide ma po drom,
Hajkam dikhel muro rom!
Taj marel ma sorro ratyi, *mamám*

Aj-haj *mamám*, so te kerav,
Karingso zhav, shinel ma haj marel ma . . .[15]

Oh you poor fellow, oh you madman,
He will smash me to death like a madman!
Don't kiss me on the highway,
Maybe my husband will see it!
And he beats me all night long, mummy
Oh mummy, what can I do,
Wherever I go, he smashes me and beats me . .

[13] From my own collection. Coll. in Sárbogárd (county Fejér), 1971. Performed by Mrs. Rostás, a wife of an old horse-dealer. — Besides these two ones, two further variants were published by J. Vekerdi (*op. cit.*, pp. 346—347). His texts, however, are by no means so unequivocal and clearly composed as ours. In one of them — collected in Óbuda — the vocative locution is also *terne romnye*.

[14] Coll. by A. Hajdú, published in *Études Tsiganes* (Paris 1962), No. 1—2.

[15] From my own collection. Coll. in 1973, Pilisvörösvár. Performed by a young woman, nicknamed Babi. Rhytmically this piece belongs to the *khelimaske gilya*.

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CHRONICA

ЯНОШ УРИ — ПИОНЕР ВЕНГЕРСКОЙ СЕМИТОЛОГИИ

Отмечая 100-летний юбилей основания Кафедры семитской филологии при Будапештском университете им. Лоранда Этвеша уместно упомянуть о деятельности венгерского ориенталиста Яноша Ури, предвестника этой отрасли науки, жившего и работавшего за границей и долгое время почти не известного в Венгрии.

Янош Ури родился в 1724 г. в Надькереше. Учился в родном городе, потом в Дебрецене, позднее — в Хардервейке и Лейдене. Ференц Балог ошибочно отмечал, что Ури родился в Дебрецене.[1] На основании данных Имре Печи — метрики о крещении — местом рождения Ури надо считать Надькереш.[2] Nagykőrösi Naptár, выходивший под ред. Кароя Баллаги за 1861 г. также подтверждает данные Имре Печи. Школьные годы Янош Ури провел в Надькереше и в Дебрецене. Точных данных о том, когда и сколько лет он прожил в этих городах, у нас не имеется. Широкие познания Я. Ури в области ориенталистики, знание многих восточных языков подтверждают предположение о том, что эти науки он постиг в Дебрецене. Дебреценская духовная коллегия имела в этом отношении прочные и давние традиции, в ее библиотеке уже в 18-ом столетии было множество книг по арабской, персидской и другим восточным литературам и языкам. Преподаватели коллегии: Дьердь Мартонфалви, Дьердь Мароти, Дьердь Чипкеш Комароми, Петер Мелиус и др. отличались глубокими познаниями в восточных языках. В дебреценской коллегии интенсивное изучение восточных языков было необходимо для занятий по теологии, для толкования библейских текстов. Таким образом вполне понятно, что интерес к ориенталистике возник у Яноша Ури довольно рано. В Дебрецене Ури, по всей вероятности, провел один год.[3] Михай Бенедек ставший позднее затисским суперинтендантом, во время посещения Оксфорда лично от Ури узнал, что последний учился в Голландии — в Хардервейке и в Лейдене.[4] В Хардервейке он закончил филологический и теологический факультеты; 8 июня 1753 г. Ури защитил докторскую диссертацию на филологическом факультете, а 28 июня 1755 г. — на теологическом.[5] В Хардервейке Ури обучался восточным языкам

[1] Balogh Ferenc, *Uri János magyar tudós Oxfordban*: *Sárospataki Füzetek* X (1866), 409.

[2] Péchy Imre, *Egy magyar Vámbéry a XVIII. században*: *Figyelő*, 1876, 14—16.

[3] Исайя Будаи в книге, полученной от Я. Ури, пометил, что Ури был воспитанником дебреценской коллегии.

[4] Zoványi Jenő, *A Harderwijk-i egyetem magyarországi hallgatói*: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1891, 433—436.

[5] Докторские диссертации Я. Ури совершенно случайно попали в Библиотеку им. Сечени: «. . . когда мы за немалую сумму купили собрание диссертаций, состоящее из нескольких томов, в них оказались и две диссертации Ури:

a) *Dissertatio Inauguralis De Fulmine . . . summisque honoribus . . . publico examini submittit Johannes N. Uri Körösino — Hungarus . . .*

b) *Dissertatio Philologico-Theologica Inauguralis de Rege Feliciter Regnante . . . Johannes Uri Körösino — Hungarus . . .* Из статьи: Horváth István, *Uri Jánosról . . .*: *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1830, 121—124.

у Теодора Шеллинга, о котором позднее отзывался с большой симпатией. В те времена студентов особенно привлекал лейденский университет, где преподавал известный ученый профессор Схельтенс. Янош Ури отправился в Лейден слушать лекции Альберта Схельтенса.

В издании Album Academicum Leyden 1756. 17 сентября стоит следующая запись: Johannes Uri Körösino-Hungarus 29 (лет) T. et Ph. Dr.»

Габор Эри Фюлеп, суперинтендант, в 1765 г. встречался с Я. Ури, о чем свидетельствует следующая запись: «С Яношем Ури я встретился и познакомился в Лейдене и узнал, что он владеет восточными языками.»[7]

Альберт Схельтенс, выдающийся ориенталист своего времени, создал господствующую в ту пору школу в области семитской филологии, авторитет и вес которой был потерян только в конце столетия под влиянием школы Сильвестра де Саси. Согласно концепции Схельтенса все семитские понятия надо было трактовать, исходя из арабского языка. Для точного объяснения древнееврейских слов прежде всего принималось во внимание их арабское значение, вопреки тысячелетней словарной практики и экзегетической традиции.[8] Ури полностью разделял эту точку зрения и в духе этой концепции написал свои труды: Origines arabico-hebraicae и Prima decas originum Hebraeorum ad loca biblica rectius intelligenda, Leiden 1761.

На судьбу Яноша Ури в дальнейшем в значительной мере повлияло увлечение английского ученого Томаса Бодлей коллекционированием восточных книг и рукописей. Т. Бодлей (1545—1613) хотел создать библиотеку для всего протестантского научного мира, и особый интерес он проявлял к собиранию восточных рукописей. Эта традиция позднее развивалась дальше многими выдающимися библиотекарями оксфордского университета, в том числе и Томасом Джемсом, таким путем в Бодлеане был собран очень ценный и богатый в своем разнообразии рукописный материал. Примерно к 1770-му году перед руководством библиотеки оксфордского университета встала неотложная задача: систематизировать и произвести каталогизацию этого огромного собрания рукописей. Для выполнения этой сложной работы требовался ученый с чрезвычайно широкими, многосторонними познаниями. Нужно было найти такого ученого, который в одинаковой мере владел бы древнееврейским, арамейским, арабским, сирийским, эфиопским, персидским, турецким, греческим, латинским а также английским языками. Кроме того этот ученый должен был быть знаком с филологией, литературой и историей многих восточных стран. Таким многосторонним ученым не располагала не только оксфордская библиотека, но и вся Англия тех времен. О том, как Янош Ури попал в Оксфорд Габор Эри Фюлеп упоминает в свои записках следующим образом: «Пребывая в Англии в 1765 году я упомянул Яноша Ури известным оксфордским ориенталистам Ганту и Кенникоту . . . которые попросили меня прислать его в Оксфорд для приведения в порядок восточных и особенно турецких манускриптов, о чем я и сообщил ему по прибытию в Лейден . . .»

Более достоверным кажется предисловие к Каталогу, где сказано, что английский посол в Нидерландах сэр Джозеф Йорке по предложению лейденского университета рекомендовал оксфордской библиотеке Яноша Ури для выполнения этой, требующей глубокой эрудиции в облати ориенталистики, работы.

[6] Goldziher Ignác, *Uri János*: *Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből* XX (1907), 347.

[7] *V. S. . . . Vasárnapi Újság* 52. évf., 26. sz. (1905), 414—415.

[8] Goldziher Ignác, *Emlékbeszéd Henrik Leberecht Fleischer felett*: *Akadémiai Emlékbeszédek*, Bp. 1889, V. kötet, 4. sz., 10.

В предисловии к Каталогу,[9] датированном от 2 февраля 1787 года говорится: «Венгр Янош Ури во время пребывания в Лейдене обучался восточным языкам у известного ученого Схельтенса. Этого, рекомендованного нам мужа, мы приняли, выплачивая ему годичную стипендию до тех пор, пока он полностью выполнит порученное ему задание. Над завершением этой работы он трудился в течение нескольких лет. Некоторые кодексы, написанные на древнееврейском, халдейском, эфиопском, сирийском, арабском, персидском и турецком языках он проштудировал каждый в отдельности, содержание их иногда коротко, но, если этого требовала важность документа, то и более обстоятельно описал; имена авторов и названия трудов, насколько это было возможно, он записал на языке оригинала, привел в порядок и классифицировал это несметное количество кодексов.»[10] Продолжение каталога, составленного Я. Ури, появилось в свет только в 1821 г. под редакцией Николл.[11]

Каталог древнееврейских рукописей, составленный Я. Ури, был дополнен в 1868—1886 гг. ученым А. Нейбауэром.[12] Янош Ури 15 лет работал над каталогом, который был опубликован в 1787 г.

Сведения о Я. Ури встречаются и в письмах Бьорнштеля.[13] В письме, написанном 14 сентября 1770 г. в Париже он пишет: «. . . сейчас в Оксфорде с большим усердием работают над составлением списка восточных рукописей. Надеюсь, что каталог будет безукоризненным, так как они его составляют по образцу каталога Casiri Bibliotheca Escurialensis Arabica Hispanica. Эту работу выполняет один молодой, но очень способный венгр по имени Ури . . .». И в письме от 2 октября 1775 г. говорится: «. . . не может равняться с каталогом библиотеки Эскориала . . . Ури большой ученый . . . уже издавал разные арабские и персидские стихотворения, дополнил персидский словарь Менинского. Восточно-Индийское Общество хотело издать этот словарь в Лондоне, но до сих пор еще не издало.»[14] О большой работе, проделанной Ури, свидетельствует тот факт, что он, наряду с другим, описал и каталогизировал с большой точностью 1400 арабских и 177 персидских рукописей.[15]

Ури до конца своей жизни остался в Оксфорде. Исайя Будаи в 1794 г. посетил в Лейдене профессора Чернак (венгра по происхождению) и жившего в Оксфорде Яноша Ури.[16] Ури очень благосклонно принял И. Будаи и подарил ему два своих труда, которые в настоящее время находятся в библиотеке дебреценской теологической академии. На первой странице книги можно прочесть запись, сделанную рукой Будаи.[17] У нас не имеется никаких сведений о том, что Янош Ури, когда-либо возвращался в Венгрию.

[9] *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium, videlicet Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, Syriacorum, Aethiopicorumque Catalogus* Jussu Curatorum Preli Academici a Joanne Uri confectus. Pars prima Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano MDCCLXXXVII.

[10] Goldziher Ignác, *Gr. Kuun Géza t. és ig. tag emlékezete*: *Akadémiai Értesítő* 1907, 448—449.

[11] *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogi Partis Secundae*. Volumen Primum, Arabicos completens. Confecit Alexander Nicoll A. M. MDCCCXXI Oxfordii.

[12] E. Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library* 1845—1945, Oxford. 1952, 106.

[13] Jacob Jonas, *Björnstählς Briefe an seinem ausländische Reisen an den Könige Bibliothekar C. C. Gjörwell in Stockholm*. Aus dem Schwedischen Übersetzt von Just, Ernst Groskund, II. Auflage, Leipzig und Rostock 1780) I, 163. См. Krüchten József *Töredékek Uri János életírására*: *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1817, 117—119.

[14] Björnstähl, *Briefe* III. köt., 262—263.

[15] Craster E., указ. соч., 102—107.

[16] Péchy, *Egy magyar Vámbéry a XVIII. századból*: *Figyelő*, 1876, 27 p.

[17] *Pharus artis grammaticae Hebraicae*, Oxonii 1784; *LXX Hebdomadum quos Gabriel ad Danielem detulerat, interpretatio, paraphrasis, computatio cum vocabulorum difficiliorum explicatione*. Oxonii 1788.

По мнению И. Печи Янош Ури был не только библиотекарем, но и профессором оксфордского университета.[18] Гольдциэр это опровергает.[19] Хотя в биографии Адама Кларка говорится: «Теперешний профессор университета д-р Вайт и еще многие известные ориенталисты, отличившиеся в области восточных литератур, обязаны своими знаниями Яношу Ури . . .»[20] В июле 1796 г. Пал Шарвари тоже посетил Ури в Оксфорде. Об этом он сообщил Миллеру.[21]

Научные интересы Я. Ури были очень разносторонние: естественные науки, языкознание, литература, история. Его многосторонние труды касаются самых разнообразных тем. Расположив в хронологическом порядке ниже приводим его основные труды:

1. Dissertatio Inauguralis de Fulmine ... Harderwijk 1753. диссертация на звание доктора филологических наук. Исследования, касающиеся отражения в литературе естествоведческой темы. Явление молнии в восточных и классических литературах.

2. Dissertatio Philologica — Theologica Inauguralis de Rege feliciter regnante שילה Harderwijk 1755. Диссертация на звание доктора теологии. Тарктует спорные вопросы в об''яснении Генезиса 49 : 10.

3. Carmen mysticum Burda dictum Abi Abdallah Mohamed ben Seid Busiridae Aegyptii. E cod. MS. Bibl. Lugd. Batav. latin conversum. Accedunt Origines arabico-hebraicae. Lugd. Batav. 1761. (II ed. 1771.) Издание стихотворений «Бурда», с комментариями. «Бурда» относится к святым писаниям, состоит из 172 дистихонов. Этими стихами провожают покойника, отдельные строки гравируются на амулетах, и им придается мистическое значение. Стихи переведены на все языки ислама.[22]

4. Origines Arabico-Hebraicae. Lugd. Batav. 1761. (57—76. p.) В приложении к этому труду имеется и другая работа Ури. Объяснение и применение панарабского принципа школы Схельтенса в семитской филологии.

5 Prima decas originum Hebraeorum genuinarum ad loca biblica rectius intelligenda. Lugd. Batav. 1761. Этимология еще 10 древнееврейских-арабских слов по методу Схельтенса.

6. Carmen arabicum, sive verba doctoris Auheddini al Nasaphi de religionis Sonniticae principiis numero vincta, nec non Persicum, nimirum Saadi Shirazidae operis Pomerium dicti initium ubi de Deo T. O. M. Edidit et latine vertit. Oxonii 1770. Издание догматических поучительных стихов теолога Аль Насафи, перевод на латинский язык и объяснения к нему. К работе приложено введение к Бустану Саади на персидском и латинском языках.[23]

7. Epistolae Turcicae et narrationes Persicae editae ac latine conversae; appendix de litterarum apud Persas inter se permutatione. Oxonii 1771. Турецкие письма и персидские рассказы в подлиннике и в латинском переводе.

8. Rabbi Jehudae Salomonis vulgo dictu Charisi eloquentiae Hebraicae principis, primus et tricesimus consensus de latrone transfiguratio nuper e codice MS latine conversus. Londini 1773.

9. Kennicotti, Dissertatio generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum. Oxonii 1783.

[18] Péchy, указ. соч., 14—16., 26—28.

[19] Goldziher, указ. соч., 353.

[20] *An Account of the Religions and Literary Life of Adam Clarke*, London. 1833 II, 298.

[21] Széchenyi Könyvtár, Fol. Hung. 470. В воспоминании J. F. Miller'a: «Memoria Joannis Uri Hungari apud Britannos Oxonii in Bibliotheca Bodeica codicum orientalium interpretis» (Széchenyi Könyvtár, Qart. Latin. 19).

[22] Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* I, 264—266. Goldziher, указ. соч., 347.

[23] Goldziher, указ. соч., 350.

10. Pharus artis grammaticae Hebraicae. Oxonii 1784.

11. Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum orientalium Catalogus. Oxonii 1787. Основной труд его научной деятельности — каталог восточных рукописей Бодлеяны. В предисловии к каталогу руководство библиотеки отмечает выдающуюся работу Я. Ури. Имеется и предисловие к каталогу, написанное самим Ури, «но его изданию под разными предлогами воспрепятствовал каноник д-р Рандольф.»[24]

12. LXX hebdomandum quos Gabriel ad Danielem detulerat, interpretatio, paraphrasis, computatio cum vocabulorum difficiliorum explicatione. Oxonii. 1788.

13. Abi Mohammed alcasim vulgo dictu Hariri quinquagesisumus Bussensis e codice MS. Bibliothecae Bodleiae, latina conversas a J. U. Accedunt dialogi Persico-angelici. См. *Sárospataki Füzetek* X (1866), 403—415.

Янош Ури скончался 18 октября 1796 г. в Оксфорде и был похоронен в оксфордской церкви Св. Михаила. Отдельной могильной плиты с его именем нет. В некрологе, напечатанном в издании The Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle LX, 1796, 884. говорится, что «18 октября 1796 г. у себя дома скончался Янош Ури, в возрасте свыше 70 лет. По происхождению венгр, доктор юридических наук лейденского университета. В течение долгих лет служил в оксфордском университете, выдающийся упорядочитель восточных рукописей Библиотеки Бодлея.»

Т. Шер

[24] *Catalogus Bibliotheca Parriana* 1827, 62.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus XXVII (3), pp. 393–396 (1973)

CRITICA

Isaac Albalag: *Sefer Tiqqun Ha-Deʿot*. Texte présenté, édité et annoté par G. Vajda. Jérusalem 1973. 8°, ב + [2] + + 117 + V p. (Publications de l'Académie Nationale des Sciences et des Lettres d'Israël. Section des Lettres.)

Isaac Albalag schrieb wahrscheinlich in Catalonien im Jahre 1292 sein einziges, auf uns gekommenes Werk, *Tiqqun Ha-Deᶜot*. Es ist dies die hebräische Version von al-Ghazâlîs Werk Maqāṣid al-Falâsifa, mit Prolog und 75 Anmerkungen. Darin gesteht er seine Auffassung: Philosophie bedeutet die Lehren des Aristoteles, wie sie Averroës erklärte. Auf diese Weise stellt er sich dem Avicenna und dem Maimonides entgegen.

Aus dem Texte dieses Werkes waren bis auf unsere Tage nur die von J. H. Schorr herausgegebenen Exzerpte bekannt (*He-Halutz* IV, 1859; VI, 1861; VII, 1865.).

Die Wiedererweckung des alten hebräischen Schriftstellers ist das Verdienst von Prof. G. Vajda. Früher sammelte er die auf ihn bezüglichen — in geringer Zahl vorhandenen — Daten und übersetzte den hebräischen Text beinahe vollständig ins Französische (*Isaac Albalag, averroïste juif, traducteur et annotateur d'al-Ghazâlî. Études de philosophie médiévale* XLIX [Paris 1960]). Ihm verdanken wir auch das gedrängte Stichwort Albalag in der *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (II, Jerusalem 1971, col. 520.).

Das arabische Original des al-Ghazâlî erschien in Kairo 1355/1936, später seine spanische Übersetzung (M. Alonso, *Algazel: Maqâṣid al-Falâsifa o Intenciones de los Filósofos* [Barcelona 1963]).

Jetzt erhalten wir von Vajda die kritische Ausgabe des hebräischen Textes. Die von Schorr gebrauchte — aus Reggios Nachlass stammende — Handschrift ist nicht vorhanden, oder verborgen. Ausser ihr sind von ihm 13 vollständige und 6 fragmentarische Handschriften bekannt; der Herausgeber hat beinahe alle gesehen und benützt. Die eine befindet sich in der Kaufmann—Sammlung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (No. 287). Vajda korrigiert das Datum im Katalog von M. Weisz: Statt 1434 ist 1424 zu lesen, und gibt eine Anweisung betreffs der richtigen Bindung der Blätter.

Der Text ist fehlerlos und rein, in der Anmerkung sind die variae lectiones angegeben. Wie jede Publikation Vajdas ist auch diese pünktlich und gewissenhaft. Sie lässt nichts zu wünschen übrig. Diese Textausgabe kann sich jeder Forscher zum Muster nehmen. Ausgezeichnete Tabellen und Indexe geben Anweisungen hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs des Werkes und seiner Quelle.

Was alles sich in einem solchen mittelalterlichen Text anfindet, dafür will ich ein einziges Detail zitieren. «Ist es möglich, dass der Mensch ewig lebt, gleichwie die Masse unseres Volkes an Aschers Tochter, Serach glaubt, oder die Masse der Völker an Juan Votadios? All das ist unmöglich» (p. 91, Z. 17—19). Bereits Simonsen wies darauf hin, dass hier auf eine bekannte

Variante der Sage vom ewigen Juden angespielt wird im XIII. Jahrhundert, auf die von Butadeus (*H. Cohen-Festschrift* [Berlin 1912], pp. 299–300; G. K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* [Providence 1965], pp. 21–23; L. Petzoldt, *Deutsche Volkssagen* [München 1970], pp. 413–414, No. 297a; A. Scheiber, *Fabula* XIII [1972], p. 162).

Ebenso ungeduldig erwarten wir auch die von Prof. Vajda besorgte Herausgabe von Jûsuf al-Basîrs *Kitâb al-Muhtavî*, die der berühmte Gelehrte — auf Grund der Kaufmann-Handschrift — seit langen Jahren im Sinne hat.

A. Scheiber

PÉTER KUSTÁR, *Aspekt im Hebräischen*. Band IX. der Theologischen Dissertationen, herausgegeben von Bo REICKEN, Basel 1972, 66 p.

P. Kustár's dissertation contributes towards the clearing of some of the most interesting problems of the verbal system in Semitic and other languages. Some of its shortcomings, however, shed light on the necessity of a more thoroughful consideration of categories and methods as related to the whole of a well-defined grammatical theory.

The main question Kustár examines is the role that *qṭl* and *yqṭl* play in the verbal system of Hebrew. To answer this question, first, he briefly summarizes the history of research in this field. He is right to point out that the main deficiency of these approaches lies in the fact that either they are one sidedly deductive trying to use the superficial categories of Western languages in analysing Hebrew, or, on the contrary, they use exclusively inductive methods from which only a fragmentary picture of the whole system can be formed. (But he is not quite right in suggesting that using one particular theory invariably means forcing deductive formulae on a language. It seems that he does not differentiate sufficiently between a discovery procedure and the linguistic analysis itself.)

In his view the only effective way to discover the structure of the verbal system and through this to understand the role of the verbal forms *qṭl* and *yqṭl* is to trace these forms in the sequence of utterances, that is in the Old Testament. This is a most fruitful remark and seems to be one of the most significant achievements of Kustár's work, namely that he uses texts instead of sentences or even shorter segments to analyse verbal categories. In doing this he sets up three major categories and having defined them he investigates their relations and tries to explain how these categories appear in different languages. These three categories are *tempus*, *action*, and *aspect*. He defines them as follows: « . . . *Tempus* betrachtet das Verhältnis der Handlungen zueinander mittelbar vom zeitlichen Standpunkt des Sprechenden aus, *Aktio* macht das auch mittelbar durch den räumlich-zeitlichen Standpunkt des Täters. *Aspekt* betrachtet aber das Verhältnis der Handlungen zueinander unmittelbar, ohne Hinsicht auf den Standpunkt des Sprechenden und des Täters.» (p. 44) The verbal system of every language, as Kustár states, mark two of this triplet as its categories, the third one can only be expressed by syntactic or lexical means. To decide whether this statement is true or not, universally, does not fall within the scope of this review, but his dichotomy into «syntactic and grammatical» means (p. 50) is not justified (word order, on the one hand, and verbal paradigm on the other). After analysing these categories Kustár states that the two present tenses in Hebrew verbal system are *action* and *aspect* from which it is the *aspect* that is relevant to the *qṭl*—*yqṭl* difference. These forms do not occur isolated in texts but they form different kinds of «waw-consecutive series» expressing text-coherence: « . . . Die hebräische Sprache bezeichnet durch das *wᵉ-* oder *wâ-* Verbindungswort die Zusammenhörigkeit der Sätze, d. h. eine Gedankenreihe, die

sich aus mehreren einfachen Sätzen zusammensätzt» (p.36). Then he seeks answer to the question of how the speaker, through this category of grammatical aspect, sees the actions expressed by the verb-series: «Durch den Gebrauch der *qṭl*- und *yqṭl*-Aspektkategorien unterscheidet der Sprechende die Handlungen danach, welche von ihnen in dem unmittelbaren Verhältnis der Handlungen zueinander als determinierend und welche als determiniert zu betrachten sind . . . Die determinierenden Handlungen werden durch die *qṭl*-Formen und die determinierten Handlungen durch die *yqṭl*-Formen bezeichnet. Es hängt ausschliesslich von der Betrachtung und dem Urteil des Sprechenden ab, welche Handlungen er als determinierend und welche als determiniert betrachtet.» (p. 45)

The author then analyses in detail, with various text-examples cited from the Old Testament, the main characteristics of «Handlungsreihe», the role of the *qṭl*—*yqṭl* forms and word order. The conclusion he draws is that the *qṭl* represents «die Knotenpunkten» and the *yqṭl* «der Faden» of the narration. *Qṭl* forms the condition, motive and incentive of actions expressed by *yqṭl* forms. Thus Kustár points to the correlation within the Hebrew verbal system between the motive and result of an action. (Formulating this knowledge about Hebrew verbal forms in a slightly different way we get a syntactic-semantic trait «peripherial—nonperipherial».)

Concluding our remarks on Kustár's Aspekt we must say that he made the first steps toward a better understanding of Biblical Hebrew by investigating some widely held views on *qṭl-yqṭl* forms and «waw-consecutive», by examining the functions of the two verbal sets and their relation to each other in texts (considering series of actions rather than isolated units). What is regrettable is that he did not make clear some of his ideas and left some terms in his definitions unexplained (while he does not use them within the framework of a well-defined theory or method, *e.g.* the notions of «betrachten», «räumlich-zeitlich Standpunkt», «mittelbar», «unmittelbar»). What is lacking, too, is the definition of the status of «verbal system». Perhaps it would have been necessary to explain what sort of theoretical or practical considerations support the setting up of a separate linguistic level on which the problem of verbal system and verbal forms are of central importance and has to be kept separately from the whole of the grammar. The values of this book, however, largely outweighs its shortcomings and we are awaiting the further results of the author's research extending the scope of this study — as he promises in the closing part of his book — to other books of the Old Testament, to other verb-stems and to the translation problems of the Bible, too.

T. Iványi

С. Г. Рудин, Морфологическая структура тамильского языка. Изд. Наука, Москва 1972 [S. G. Rudin, *Morphologic Structure of the Tamil Language*. «Nauka», Moscow 1972], 167 p., Rbl. 0.76.

As the author indicates in the introduction, his work deals with the contemporary, non-stylized literary Tamil language. The first part of his book gives the exact definition of the linguistic concept of «word» and morphonologic and syntactophonologic criteria of its distribution in Tamil, the inner structure of Tamil words, rules of distinction between morphemes and particles and a systematic table of all the bound morphemes of modern literary Tamil including the indication of their possible place in the chain of morphemes. The second part starts with general characteristics of the grammatical classification of Tamil words. Further, the full paradigm of each class of words is represented with the abstract structure of word-forms and superforms. Its classification system is generally based on that of traditional Tamil grammarians but some important new terminologies and

systemization are introduced mainly in the field of verbal forms and stems. The last, third part of the book consist of a short review of syntactical characteristics of Tamil word-forms, a skeleton syntax of contemporary, literary Tamil. The bibliography attached to the book includes 111 items.

The greatest value of this book is the extremely precise description and systemization of linguistic facts, based on the inner logics of the analysed synchronic stratum on the language. Although the author examines only the contemporary Tamil language, an enormous background of diachronic studies can be felt behind each of his statements. In difference from some other recently published Tamil grammars written by some Indian and European authors who have tried to impose Latin-based, Sanskrit-based, or English-based classifications on the linguistic realia of contemporary Tamil and have tried to explain their diachronic origin on a similar basis, the systematization presented by S. G. Rudin's work is in harmony with the best achievements of contemporary general linguistics and with the genuine, inner structure of the modern Tamil language.

This book justly deserves the interest of not only the experts and students of Tamil linguistics, but those of general linguistics also. Its clear, strictly consistent construction can be taken as a good exemple by authors of grammars of any contemporary language.

I. Major

Amrita Sher-Gil, Essays by VIVAN SUNDARAM, GEETA KAPUR, GULAM MOHAMMED SHEIKH, K. G. SUBRAMANIAM, edited by MULK RAJ ANAND, Marg Publication, Bombay, sine anno [1972], 144 pages, 40 rupees.

This is the first comprehensive monography on the life and work of the founder of modern Indian painting, Miss Amrita Sher-Gil (1913—1941), daughter of a Hungarian woman and a Sikh officer. The book consists of reproductions of all her paintings with full chronology, a detailed story of her life, articles written by her and her letters to the family and others, essays dealing with problems of evolution of content in her painting, with dialects of academicism and pictural situation of traditional Indian art and with the east-west dilemma in the light of her art.

The beautiful installation of the book and the valuable essays which contain many new facts unknown earlier about her life and work are worthy to the importance of the famous paintress whose heritage can be traced in the works of almost all the contemporary Indian painters.

I. Major

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