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L. FEKETE

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GÜL-BABA ET LE *BEKTĀŠĪ DERK'ĀH* DE BUDA

Par

L. FEKETE

Personnage religieux mahométan, le fameux Gül-Baba fut en même temps une figure historique éminente à l'époque turque de la ville de Buda. Ce que nous savons de lui est plutôt vague et même erroné puisque, au cours des siècles, des éléments étrangers se sont melés à nos connaissances authentiques, de sorte qu'il y a, à présent, quatre problèmes principaux à résoudre à propos de Gül-Baba : d'abord le tekke de Gül-Baba, puis le turbeh de Gül-Baba, ensuite son nom et sa personne, enfin le nom de la colline nommée Colline de Gül-Baba. Dans les quelques pages qui suivent, c'est à ces quatre questions que nous essayons de donner des réponses précises et satisfaisantes.

C'est à la première question que nous pouvons répondre encore le plus facilement. Le tekke de Gül-Baba, institution d'un long passé, est plusieurs fois mentionné et dans les documents officiels et dans les ouvrages des voyageurs et des historiens ; grâce à leurs données on peut le reconstituer, du moins dans ses traits généraux, mais d'une manière assez nette et précise.

Ce tekke fut fondé par Mehmed pacha dans les premières années du régime turc, entre 1543 et 1548[1]. On mentionne pour la première fois son nom en l'année 974 (= 1566/67) lorsque, au cours des devis de réparations, le bâtiment est appelé *tekkīye-i Gül-Baba* (تکیهٔ کل بابا)[2]. On trouve déja plus tôt les traces des derviches, habitants du tekke à Buda : en 1547, deux

[1] *Moscouiter wunderbare Historien . . . . Warhafftige Beschreibung . . . . Der wunderbaren Wasseren in Ungaren Verzeichnuss*, durch G. Wernher beschrieben, Basel 1563, p. 195. Evliyā Čelebi attribue sa fondation à Ġāzi Mīḫālzāde (Siyāḥatnāme VI, p. 244); il ne dit pas plus précisement à qui il donne cette appelation, mais on peut le deviner d'après un autre passage de son récit de voyage. A propos d'Edirne et du *bektāšī-tekke* de cette ville, supprimé d'ailleurs à son époque par un ordre du sultan, il raconte que ce tekke fut fondé par Ġāzi Mīḫālbei oġlu Yaḥyā (III, p. 150). Comme nos sources appellent Mehmed, le pacha de Buda précité, Yaḥyā-pašāzāde, par le Ġāzi Mīḫālzāde d'Evliyā Čelebi il faut certainement entendre le même Mehmed dont G. Wernher, son contemporain nous entretient.

[2] Vienne, *Mscrts orientaux de la Bibl. Nat.* Mxt. No 583, pp. 121—124.

moulins du Danube sont mentionnés, appartenant tous les deux à des *abdāl (abdālān)*, ou des derviches[3] et il est très probable que ces derviches étaient ceux de Gül-Baba-tekke.

Que le tekke suivait les règles de l'ordre *bektāšī*, c'est Evliyā Čelebi qui le dit expressément pour la première fois, aux environs de 1660 ; mais on peut tirer la même conclusion d'une part des rapports du tekke avec l'armée et l'Etat, rapports démontrés par les devis précités vers 1566, et d'autre part des paroles de Ibrāhīm Pečevī aux environs de 1640. Pečevī raconte que les ghazis de Buda ayant rapporté un gros bouc d'une de leurs entreprises militaires, l'ont remis au Gül-Baba-tekke pour être immolé — ce qui prouve que le tekke de Buda tout comme les *bektāšī-tekke* en général étaient en rapports étroits avec le Janissaires[4].

Le tekke se trouvait au-dessus de la rue Török, sur le versant oriental de l'actuelle *Rózsadomb* [Colline des Roses], et ses ruines furent déblayées seulement à la fin du siècle passé, lors des constructions de cette époque. Sa salle centrale était une salle de prière *(meidān)* pour les exercices spirituels communs et il contenait encore une salle plus ouverte pour l'été et une salle mieux fermée pour l'hiver. Il y avait dans ces meidān, grace aux «présents offerts par les pauvres», des chandeliers, des veilleuses, des cassolettes *(buḫurdān)*, des récipients d'eau de rose *(gülābdān)*[5], choses qui correspondent exactement aux traditions des bektāšī ; les murs étaient couverts partout des souvenirs poétiques des hadchis, ce qui est également en accord avec l'énumération du meidān se trouvant au Caire, dans un *bektāšī-tekke*, nommé *Kasr al ayn tekkesi*[6]. A la grande salle s'ajoutaient des cellules servant de demeures aux membres effectifs de l'ordre, puis une grande cuisine, des offices, des communs et des dépôts. C'est que la tekke, dans ces temps-là, était une espèce de cuisine populaire où les pauvres recevaient sans restriction et les passants pendant trois jours, le vivre et le couvert gratuits, en général un morceau de pain et un bol de soupe au blé ou au riz. Pour suffire à cette mission, la maison possédait des immeubles ayant appartenu plus d'une fois à l'Eglise catholique au moyen âge, comme l'ancienne «église de Felhéviz», deux maisons attenant à l'ancienne chapelle de Saint-Michel,

[3] Vienne, *Mscrts orientaux de la Bibl. de l'ancienne Académie Consulaire* I. F. No 21.

[4] II, p. 141.

[5] Evliyā Čelebi VI, p. 244.

[6] *Türkiyat Mecmuasi* VI, p. 24 ; Evliyā Čelebi X, pp. 246—250. — Il semble que, pour ce qui concerne l'installation et la vie du tekke Gül-Baba, on puisse trouver une source précieuse dans les archives du tekke Gül-Baba situé aux environs d'Adrinople (Édirné) : non seulement leur nom est le même, mais ce tekke appartenait à la même congrégation de derviches que le tekke de Buda. Nous avons trouvé un inventaire du tekke Gül-Baba d'Andrinople dans la Bibliothèque Nationale «Vassil Kolarov» de Sofia, parmi les écrits en langue turque. Malheureusement, par des raisons qui ne dépendaient pas de nous, nous n'avons pu nous procurer le texte de cet inventaire.

cinq «maisons paroissiales» dans les mêmes parages, quatre maisons faisant partie d'un couvent *(kešḫišāne)* et des «bains du Qïrāl Yānōš», ensuite «certains champs de blé», enfin toute la commune de Solymár appartenaient à notre tekke[7]. Il est probable qu'il les possédait tous comme dons de l'État depuis sa fondation, et il est tout aussi probable que le cheik du tekke recevait du Trésor des appointements réguliers. Les membres du tekke ramassaient encore en mendiant passablement d'aumônes et il y eut une époque ou le chef de la maison «qui portait par devant sur sa ceinture une grande pierre blanche», acceptait des dons en argent de personnes non-mahométanes, après leur avoir offert des fruits[8].

Voila les faits et les circonstances qui peuvent donner une idée générale de la vie quotidienne des membres du Gül-Baba-tekke : En temps de paix et chez eux, les derviches se consacraient à leurs pratiques religieuses, puis vaquaient aux travaux des champs et s'occupaient des affaires économiques du tekke. En temps de guerre, ils partaient eux aussi en campagne avec les soldats pour stimuler leur zèle guerrier.

En ce qui concerne le turbeh dit de Gül-Baba, il se trouvait près du tekke et fut élevé, selon nos sources, sur la tombe d'un pieux derviche, avant 1551, grâce aux soins du même Mehmed pacha qui avait également fait construire le tekke de Gül-Baba. Le voisinage du tekke et du turbeh est visible sur les cartes et dessins aux textes arabes et latins, dessinés par des Turcs et des Italiens[9] ; de plus, un tel voisinage correspond aux traditions de l'ordre puisqu'on avait l'habitude d'enterrer les membres éminents de l'ordre près des tekke, dans leurs jardins, afin que les membres du même ordre, étant «frères», restassent ensemble après la mort. L'ouvrage de G. Wernher paru en 1551 mentionne aussi un turbeh aux environs des bains chauds supérieurs[10] ; il n'en dit pas le nom, mais il s'agit probablement du même turbeh de Gül-Baba.

Grâce à ces données contemporaines, la question de la date de construction et celle de la destination du turbeh pourraient être considérées comme résolues, si, par une phrase fantaisiste, J. Hammer n'avait pas tout embrouillé. C'est qu'en parlant du mariage avec Esmī Ḫān, devenue veuve, du pacha Qalailï Qoz ʿAlī, J. Hammer raconte qu'avant d'épouser cette princesse de la famille du sultan, le pacha avait été obligé de divorcer de sa première

[7] Vienne, *Mscr. orientaux de la Bibl. Nat.* Mxt. No 613.

[8] E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia...*, p. 115.

[9] *Rapports et cartes géographiques de L. Marsigli sur les sièges de Buda en 1684—1686*, publiés par E. Veress, *Budapest Régiségei* [Monuments Anciens de Budapest], IX, pp. 105 et suiv.

[10] G. Wernher, *op. cit.*; ses données sont connues de plusieurs savants modernes ; cf. J. Podhradczky, *Eredeti két magyar krónika* [Deux chroniques hongroises authentiques], p. 82 et L. Némethy : *Századok* [Siècles], Budapest 1884, p. 609.

femme, et que maudit par celle-ci, il était mort un an après. Dans les vignes ou sur la colline où on l'avait enterré «. . . besuchen noch heute Türken sein Grab als Gülbabas, d. i. des Rosenvaters, eines Glaubenskämpfen und Blutzeugen im heiligen Kriege, während Ali nur Martyr seines Ehrgeizes nach den drei Rossschweifen und der Sultanin Hand»[11].

Ce qui est authentique dans ce récit et découle de sources historiques, c'est le mariage du pacha et les malédictions de la femme repoussée[12]. Par contre, la date de la mort est erronée[13]. De plus, l'identification du pacha avec Gül-Baba est une image arbitrairement introduite dont J. Hammer n'indique même pas la source. Pečevī qui 30, 40 ou 50 ans après la mort d'ʿAlī pacha demeura longtemps à Buda, ayant été chargé de plusieurs fonctions différentes et qui par sa soeur aussi, femme d'un *muqābeleǰi* de Buda avait des relations constantes avec cette ville, dit simplement qu'ʿAlī pacha fut enterré à Buda sur une colline[14]. Nous trouvons la même chose chez Evliyā Čelebi[15] qui mentionne plusieurs fois et le turbeh de Gül-Baba et la mort de celui-ci, à savoir de Gül-Baba. De toute façon, ce n'est pas ʿAlī pacha qui fut enterré dans ce turbeh.

En ce qui concerne la construction et les réparations du Gül-Baba turbeh, nous n'avons pas d'autres renseignements ; nous savons seulement que le turbeh est resté debout jusqu'à la fin du régime turc, comme lieu de pélérinage, près du tekke. Evliyā Čelebi lui-même raconte y être allé et y avoir prié, de plus, selon l'usage du temps, il a mis en vers les sentiments que Gül-Baba lui avait inspirés[16] ; nous reviendrons encore sur ces vers!

Le turbeh a heureusement subsisté à travers les luttes pour la possession de Buda et, fidèlement au traditions concernant l'emploi de telles constructions, même à l'époque chrétienne il fut mis au service de la religion. Passé aux mains des Jésuites, il fut en 1689, transformé en chapelle en l'honneur de Saint Joseph[17], puis, après la suppression de l'ordre, vers 1773, déclaré propriété d'Était. Plus tard encore, il changea de maitre : en 1833, il devint

[11] J. Hammer, *GOR*[2] II, p. 507. Ses données sont reprises par A. Nemes, *Gül-Baba története* [Histoire de Gül-Baba] : *Vasárnapi Ujság* [Journal de Dimanche], Budapes 1874, p. 196, par A. K. Fischer, *Gül-Baba* Budapest 1898 ; par Rumbey oġlu Fahr-eddīn : *TOEM* III, p. 965 et par d'autres encore.

[12] Pečevī, II, p. 26.

[13] Le mariage d'ʿAlī pacha où même le prince Ernest fut invité, eut lieu après le 24 novembre 1583 ; après ce mariage, loin de Buda et élevé à la haute dignité de *vezīr*, le même ʿAlī vit à Istamboul, puis, de retour à Buda, il mourut seulement en 1587.

[14] II, p. 26.

[15] VI, pp. 244—248.

[16] *Loc. laud.*

[17] J. F. Miller : *Epitome vicissitudinum et rerum memorabilium de urbe Budensi*, Buda 1760, p. 101.

la propriété de József Toma, «bourgeois élu» de Buda[18], puis, en 1858, celle de János Wagner, ingénieur[19]. C'est ce dernier qui fit élever «le château» qui est encore debout mais que, selon les dernières nouvelles, on va bientôt démolir.

Selon le témoignage de Pečevī et d'Evliyā Čelebi, le turbeh fut un lieu de pélérinage très fréquenté au XVII[e] siècle ; les ghazis rentrés sains et saufs des guerres, les Mohamétans arrivés souvent de très loin à Buda, «les pélerins des mers et des terres» y venaient assidument pendant tout le régime turc, durant un siècle et demi[20]. Après le repli de la puissance turque, le turbeh a perdu ce caractère et cette signification, d'une part parce que les Mahométans ne pouvaient guère plus venir à Buda, d'autre part parce que, comme nous venons de le dire, il fut transformé en chapelle catholique. Mais une fois en possession des laics, le turbeh fut de nouveau visité par des Mahométans de Bosnie qui connaissaient encore par oui-dire le souvenir de Gül-Baba et qui, en venant jusqu'à Buda, s'arrêtaient aussi à Zvornik, devant le tombeau du cheik Qāimī qui avait été jadis le cheik de Ḥaji Sinān aga à Saraievo[21].

Vers le milieu du XIX[e] siècle, une fois tous les trois ans, les propriétaires du turbeh ouvraient ce dernier aux pélerins ; plus tard, ils l'ont mis à leur disposition sans restriction aucune ou presque. En 1873 le même turbeh donna abri a des derviches afghans et persans qui, pendant l'été se dispersèrent un peu partout dans les riches campagnes hongroises ; mais, à la prière du consulat de Turquie, le ministère de l'intérieur leur défendit de mandier en Hongrie[22]. On a enterré, à cette époque, sept derviches afghans soignés à l'hôpital des Frères de la Miséricorde ; l'un d'eux laissait même une veuve, une femme souabe de Buda.

De l'aspect extérieur du turbeh, nous n'avons aucun dessin contemporain ni description détaillée, excepté la brève remarque d'Evliyā Čelebi selon laquelle le turbeh était recouvert de plaques d'étain, puis d'autres descriptions d'il y a 100 ans, de 1855, enfin de 1873[23] ; un cadastrage général officiel ne fut fait qu'en 1878[24] puis en 1916. Sur ces images, les murs latéraux du turbeh construits en pierre de taille, sont entourés sur une haute base d'un cadre de pierres plates. Parmi les huit pans de mur unis il y avait sur

[18] J. Podhradczky, *op. cit.* p. 84.

[19] A. K. Fischer : *Gül-Baba*, p. 10 ;

[20] Evliyā Čelebi VI, p. 244.

[21] J. Podhradczky, *op. cit.* p. 84 ; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien u. der Herzegowina* I, Wien 1893, p. 508.

[22] *Vasárnapi Ujság*, Budapest 1855, p. 84 et 1873, p. 417.

[23] *Vasárnapi Ujság*, *ibid.*

[24] Comité Nationale des Monuments d'Art, 1878, nos. 28 et 36 (cf 1877 nos. 82 et 86).

le premier une ouverture de porte encadrée d'un demi-cercle taillé et au-dessus d'elle un oeil-de-boeuf oval, également encadré ; le même oeil-de-boeuf se retrouvait en face de l'entrée au cinquième mur, tandis que sur le troisième et cinquième murs de l'octogone il y avait de grandes fenêtres en demi-cercle, entourées, comme les autres ouvertures, de cadres de pierre plats, formes d'architectures qui provenaient encore de l'époque turque. Aujourd'hui, de ces fenêtres, il n'existe plus que les deux fenêtres ovales en oeil-de-boeuf, tandis que les autres sont bouchées. Toute la construction octogone est fermée par une corniche dentelée ; c'est sur celle-là que devait s'élever la coupole octogone à nervures qui, selon l'image de 1855, était aussi construite en pierres de taille, tandis que sur les reproductions ultérieures, elle était couverte de bardeaux de bois ; les formes mêmes de la coupole étaient pareilles aux formes de coupole assez communes qui étaient en vogue, au milieu de XVIII[e] siècle, dans l'architecture de la région de Pest[25]. Le sommet de la coupole se terminait par une lanterne octogone, celle-ci couverte de nouveau par une coupole octogone plus petite. Cette dernière était surmontée d'un globe d'où sortait une barre de métal supportant une demi-lune dont les deux extrémités se dressaient vers le ciel.

En ce qui concerne l'intérieur du bâtiment, notre source la plus ancienne est encore Evliyā Čelebi qui raconte qu'on y voyait la *ṣanduqa* de Gül-Baba recouverte de drap vert, sa tête vénérable surmontée du couvre-chef brillant des derviches bektāšī, tandis que tout autour, sur les murs, des tablettes «āyet» étaient suspendues[26]. Un dessin et une description plus récente, remontent seulement jusqu'au milieu du siècle passé. En 1855, on ne voyait plus dans la «mosquée» — c'est ainsi que l'immeuble était qualifié à cette date, — qu'un tapis, un sabre de bois et deux pierres portant des inscriptions inconnues, tandis que les murs étaient couverts des noms des gens pieux qui «depuis plusieurs siècles» étaient venus au saint tombeau en pélérinage. Le sabre de bois était un accessoire de rite religieux : dans les forts pris par la force des armes — et tel était Buda aussi aux yeux des Turcs — le *ḫaṭīb* récitait sa prière de vendredi dite *ḫuṭbe* en s'appuyant sur un sabre de bois nu. En ce qui concerne les inscriptions murales, elles sont datées très probablement de l'époque succédant à celle des Jésuites et englobant tout au plus soixante-dix ou quatre-vingts ans, car il est simplement inimaginable que les Jésuites, ayant transformé le turbeh en chapelle catholique, eussent respecté les inscriptions de murs. En 1862, au-dessus de la fenêtre ovale, en face de la porte d'entrée, on pouvait encore voir dans le plâtrage un arc assez net en accolade, tandis que des chaises et des tables étaient rangées le long des

[25] D'après J. Kapossy.
[26] VI, p. 244.

murs, ce qui démontre suffisamment que le bâtiment, à cette époque, ne servait plus que de débarras. Cependant, les murs étaient encore couverts de grands cartons portant des inscriptions *(levḥa)*, de chapelets mahométans *(tesbīḥ)*, de sabres, de haches, de kešKül ; ainsi le turbeh comprenait les accessoires et les objets d'usage à la fois d'un lieu de prière es d'un tekke[27]. Le turbeh possédait encore un livre de pélerins où les visiteurs devaient inscrire leurs noms. Par contre, il n'avait pas de ṣanduqa, ce qui fit dire, d'ailleurs à tort, à A. K. Fischer en 1898, que le bâtiment avait dû être une mosquée et non un turbeh, «car au-dessous de ses assises on ne trouvait pas de crypte»[28].

Ce turbeh fut restauré d' abord en 1885, au frais du consulat général turc à Budapest, puis pendant la première guerre mondiale on en refit le plâtrage intérieur et on y construisit une nouvelle *ṣanduqa*[29]. Tous les objets énumérés plus haut furent alors transportés ailleurs pour être gardés, depuis, en un lieu étranger. Aujourd'hui le bâtiment est propriété privée, mais, comme monument historique, se trouve placé, depuis 1914, sous la surveillance du Comité National des Monuments Historiques.

Après avoir fixé ainsi nos connaissances concernant le tekke et le turbeh, nous pouvons nous occuper de la personne et de l'individualité de Gül-Baba.

Pour commencer, nous devons constater que Gül-Baba a toutes les apparences d'une presonnalité historique, mais le fait qu'une source vraiment historique ne le mentionne que longtemps après sa mort et que, sans Evliyā Čelebi, nous saurions à peine quelque chose sur lui, rend à peu près incertaine sa réalité historique. Ce fut Evliyā Čelebi, voyageur turc du XVII[e] siècle qui s'occupa le premier de la figure attachante de ce derviche, en donnant même quelques détails sur sa vie et sur sa personne. C'est lui qui nous apprend que Gül-Baba naquit, il y a à peu près deux cents ans, dans la ville de Merzifon en Asie-Mineure[30], qu'il fut un mahométan pieux, derviche de l'ordre bektāšī et qu'il appartenait même à la famille du prophète, à *āl-i ʿabā* (au sens moral, naturellement : il menait une vie profondément spirituelle et, comme jadis les parents du prophète, il portait un habit de bure) ; de plus que, à partir de Mehmet II (mort en 1481) et sous les règnes successifs de Bajazet II, de Sélime et Suleiman, il participa à toutes les campagnes de ces conquérants, puis en 1541, il vint avec l'armée turque en Hongrie pour

[27] *Vasárnapi Ujság* Budapest 1862, p. 328.

[28] *Op. cit.* p. 17.

[29] Ayant en même temps, fouillé le sol du turbeh, on y a trouvé deux squelettes dont l'un a été reconnu pour celui d'un homme de 45 ans.

[30] Je tiens à faire remarquer qu' Evliyā Čelebi en énumérant les curiosités et les notabilités de Merzifon (II, p. 398), ne mentionne point Gül-Baba.

mourir, après la prise de la ville, dans l'ancienne église de Notre-Dame transformée en djami, pendant le premier service religieux mahométan. Evliyā Čelebi nous raconte encore que le sultan Suleiman appartenait lui aussi aux fidèles de notre derviche, qu'il porta même, pendant un bout de chemin, son cadavre à son lieu de repos et qu'ayant définitivement annexé Buda à son empire et ayant remis le pouvoir au premier gouverneur militaire de Buda, à Suleiman pacha, il consacra encore la ville à la protection de Gül-Baba et élut le pieux derviche comme patron : *gözǰü* (گوزجی) de Buda[31].

Les renseignements d'Evliyā Čelebi sont non seulement notre source la plus abondante, mais aussi notre source unique, du mois de l'époque turque, en ce qui concerne Gül-Baba. Nous ne connaissons personne d'autre qui puisse nous informer sur ce derviche et ce n'est que d'une époque plus tardive, presque récente, que nous possédons encore quelques données sur la vie et la légende de Gül-Baba.

Un de ces renseignements modernes nous vient de Á. Vámbéry qui dit avoir entendu, en 1861, un pélerin des Indes venu à Buda raconter que Gül-Baba avait appartenu à l'ordre *hilālī ;* qu'il avait beaucoup erré par le monde en couchant toujours à la belle étoile ; que cependant il était extrêmement propre et c'est pourquoi on l'appelait Gül-Baba bien que, véritablement, il s'appelât Šeiḫ Zekī ; qu'à l'approche de sa dernière heure, à Kandahar où il séjournait alors, il avait eu le désir de revoir encore une fois la ville de Buda ; et que, pénétré tout d'un coup d'une très grande force, il arriva en deux heures à Buda où il devait mourir au bord du Danube[32].

L'autre renseignement moderne que nous possédons a paru en 1935, dans la revue Ün, publiée à Isparta, en Asie-Mineure. D'après ce renseignement, le grand savant Veliyyiddin à Bagdad, aurait envoyé ses deux fils, «deux ghazis» dont l'un, Seyyid Cafer s'appelait autrement Güldede, et l'autre, Esseyyid Hüsein s'appelait aussi Sünbüldede (nés tous les deux probablement à Bagdad) à la cour du sultan Suleiman et sur l'invitation formelle de ce souverain ; puis au cours de l'année qui, d'après le calendrier chrétien, devrait correspondre à 1541, année de la pris de Buda par les Turcs, Güldede serait tombé au champ d'honneur à Bodin (Buda) et Sünbüldede en Roumanie, dans le district *(nāḫiye)* nommé Ulubey ; sur tous les deux (aux deux endroits!) le même Ebussuud efendi aurait prononcé la prière

[31] VI, p. 225. Cl. Huart, probablement par erreur, attribue à Pečevī *(Enz. des Isl.* II, p. 192) l'information selon laquelle le sultan aurait choisi Gül-Baba comme saint patron de la ville de Buda. En vérité, à l'endroit cité par Cl. Huart (I, p. 227) Pečevī parle uniquement de l'occupation définitive de Buda et des dispositions de Suleiman, sans même mentionner Gül-Baba.

[32] *Vasárnapi Ujság* Budapest 1861, p. 278.

des morts et le sultan Suleiman lui-même aurait paru à la cérémonie funéraire . . .[33]

On n'a pas besoin d'insister pour prouver que ces deux renseignements modernes manquent de l'apparence même de toute probabilité ; il est d'autant plus vraisemblable que c'étaient les pélerins venus au tombeau de Gül-Baba qui s'entretenaient de ces histoires et de bien d'autres du même acabit. L'influence d'Evliyā Čelebi est si manifeste sur le second renseignement que, malgré les dates qu'il contient, il ne peut pas passer pour un renseignement nouveau ; quant à l'autre, plein de détails légendaires, il repousse d'avance toute crédibilité.

On voit d'autre part, dans les deux récits que la figure de Gül-Baba devait paraître extraordinaire aux yeux des générations ultérieures, que la silhouette du derviche mort se projetait toujours d'une manière plus grandiose dans la perspective des temps et qu'on savait entourer sa personne de contes et de légendes d'autant plus nombreux qu'il s'éloignait davantage dans l'histoire. Non seulement ces deux récits modernes, mais déja les paroles d'Evliyā Čelebi sont empreints de traits plus ou moins légendaires. Evliyā Čelebi lui-même a écrit ce qu'il savait sur lui 125 ans après la prétendue mort de Gül-Baba, en s'occupant très longuement et d'une façon détaillée de la personnalité du pauvre derviche tandis que Pečevī, plus ancien en date et plus doué du sens du réel, ne dit rien de la personne de Gül-Baba, enfin l'historien J̌ellāzāde qui avait eu pourtant une charge officielle dans le camp du sultan à Buda et qui rend compte amplement de la prise de Buda et des

[33] Voici le texte original, d'un style assez difficile, avec toutes ses fautes d'ortographe et ses inconséquences d'écriture : «... 948 tarihinde kutbülarifin Veliyyiddin ibni Yalınkılıc Hüseynülgazi Kanunī Sultan Süleymanın daveti üzerine mahdumu (Güldede) nam Seyyid Cafer ile diğer mahdumu (Sünbüldede) nam Esseyyid Hüseyin Gazileri göndermiş tarihi mezkūrde (Güldede) Macaristanin Bodin şehrinde ve (Sünbüldede) dahi Romanyanın Ulubey nahiyesinde şehiden vefatlariyle Kanunī Sultan Süleyman maa ordu cemaat teşkil ederek Ebüssuud efendi imametiyle namazları kılınmış. Müşarünileyh Veliyyiddin Bagdad şehrinde Serremenreaya gitmiş Eimmeiisnaaşereden imamı Mehmed Taki Musa ahfadından Gelincik ana Sultan nam Fatimatüzzehra binti Abdülvahid Celebiyi tezevvüç ile müşarünileyhadan (Güldede) ve (Sünbüldede) tevellüd etmiş müşarünileyha Fatimatüzzehra (945) tarihinde vefatiyle kendisi Üsküdara gelip bir tekkede evkatgüzar iken Sultan divaniye aşcıbaşı ve Mesnevīhan tayin olunup kendisine kutbiyet verilmiş Cezayire gönderilmiş orada müşarünileyten azim keramet görülmüş ve (955) tarihinde Cezayirde vefat ettiği Babiālide vaki Sicili Osmanīnin dördüncü cildinin (610) uncu sayfasinda mestur ve Fransa ve Ispanya ile olan muahedeleri Fransa hazinesinde mahfuzdur *(Ün, Isparta halkevi mecmuasi II,* [1935] p. 269.). (Les paranthèses, excepté les dernières contenant l'indication de la source, sont celles-mêmes de l'article cité.) — Je tiens à faire remarquer que dans l'ouvrage de Meḥmed Süreyyā qu'on cite généralement sous le titre de Sijill-i ʿOs̱mānī, ouvrage auquel on pourrait penser d'après les dernières lignes du texte cité, ne traite que les mots souches commençant par Veli... sur la page 610. du IV. vol. ; seulement ces mots n'ont aucun rapport avec le texte ci-dessus cité.

premières dispositions des Turcs dans la ville, ne sait rien de la décision du sultan concernant le choix d'un saint patron pour la ville de Buda et ne mentionne même pas le nom de Gül-Baba, de sorte que les contemporains ne savaient rien de Gül-Baba. On est donc presqu'obligé d'admettre que Gül-Baba n'avait pas de contemporains, qu'il n'était pas une figure historique, qu'il n'a même peut-être jamais vécu ou du moins qu'il n'a pas vécu sous le nom de Gül-Baba.

C'est par l'analyse et la juste interprétation de ce nom de Gül-Baba que nous allons arriver à éclaircir cette question; il nous reste donc à nous occuper encore de l'élucidation de ce problème.

Le nom de Gül-Baba s'est prêté déja à plusieurs interprétations diverses. Pour y contribuer avec profit, nous allons examiner d'abord toutes les variantes du nom qu'on retrouve dans les anciens monuments ayant une valeur de source historique.

Dans les documents officiels et dans les manuscrits turcs, le nom se retrouve plusieurs fois sous la forme de بابا كل [34].

Dans les sources turques imprimées et chez les écrivains de langue turque, on retrouve également la même forme : بابا كل [35].

Sur deux cartes géographiques turques de 1684 que je fais connaitre en facsimilé, le nom se retrouve quatre fois sous la forme de بابا كل [36].

Parmi les auteurs européens, on trouve la forme *Julpapa* chez E. Brown[37], puis la forme *Gyulbaba* dans la légende, écrite par une main européenne, de la vue dite de Magliar sur la carte turque dessinée en 1684, enfin la forme *Ghiul Baba* dans le texte de Marsigli publié au même endroit[38].

Dans les textes turcs précités, le mot كل n'est nulle part vocalisé et ainsi on pourrait le prononcer de manières différentes ; cependant les sources européennes écrites en caractères latins ne laissent pas de doute sur la prononciation du nom avec la voyelle *ü* dans la première syllabe (*Gül*-Baba). Ce qui corrobore encore cette prononciation, c'est que ce nom n'est pas isolé dans le monde osman-turc : à l'époque de Mehmed II il y avait un homme nommé Gül-Baba, membre lui aussi très probablement d'un ṭarīqat quel-

[34] Vienne, *Mscrts orientaux de la Bibl. Nat.* Mxt. no 583, pp. 121—124, de l'année 1566/67, puis Mxt. no 613, de l'année 1580 ; enfin plusieurs fois, dans les écrits du même genre de Devlet arşivi à Istamboul.

[35] Pečevī II, p. 141 ; Naʿīmā I, p. 289. etc.

[36] *Rapports et cartes de L. Marsigli sur les sièges de Buda en 1684—86*, publiés par E. Veress, *Budapest Régiségei* [Monuments Anciens de Budapest] IX, pp. 105 et suiv.

[37] *op. cit.* p. 115.

[38] *Budapest Régiségei* [Monuments Anciens de Budapest] IX, p. 142. De même dans l'ouvrage de Zenarolla et Bizozeri, contemporains de L. Marsigli et travaillant sur les traces de celui-ci. Selon l'ouvrage ci-dessus cité de J. Podhradczky (1830), le nom en question est Tiullbaba, qu'il tient, dit-il, d'un moine hindou.

conque[39] ; de plus, aux environs d'Edirne, la géographie turque connaît un endroit qui s'appelle également Gül-Baba. Evliyā Čelebi écrit ce nom sous la forme de بابا كل [40], le Tarihi Silaḥdār l'écrit plusieurs fois d'une manière phonétique sous forme de بابا كول[41], de sorte que, du moins pour la prononciation, aucun doute n'est possible à ce sujet.

Quant au nom même de Gül-Baba, plusieurs interprétations sont encore en cours.

Son premier commentateur européen, E. Brown, a traduit ce nom en 1669/71 ; Gül-Baba, selon lui, signifie «Julpapa ou le Père des Roses»[42]. Cette interprétation, longtemps valable et généralement acceptée, ne fut mis en doute que beaucoup plus tard.

Les interprètes orientaux ont expliqué ce nom dans le même sens, c'est-à-dire comme «Père des roses».

Une autre explication de ce même nom nous vient, autant que je sache, d'I. Kúnos qui l'a lu comme *Kel baba* et l'a interprété en «Père Chauve»[43]. Bien que cette explication n'ait été imprimée que sous la forme d'un mot d'esprit et attende aujourd'hui encore d'être démontré, elle s'est généralement étendu grâce à la publicité d'une part du Lexique Pallas[44] et, d'autre part grâce à l'ouvrage populaire de B. Tóth où cette explication est également mentionnée[45].

L'idée, en soi et à première vue, ne parait pas impossible, puisqu'une qualité ou un défaut physique figurent souvent devant les noms de personne turcs : des noms tels que *Kel* Ahmed, *Kel* Jūsuf, *Köse* . . ., *Ṭopal* . . ., *Kör* . . ., *Ṭabani yasï* . . . etc. se retrouvent souvent dans l'osman-turc et précisément à Buda, aux environs de 1570[46]. Mais si nous prenons en considération que des Européens de la même époque transcrivaient ce nom en «Julpapa», «Rosenvater», «Giul-Baba» et que les Turcs de ce temps écrivaient également la forme «Gül-Baba» et interprétaient ce nom comme Père des Roses, l'interprétation «Père chauve» nous paraît aussi inepte qu'indéfendable.

[39] F. Babinger, *GOW*, p. 213. — J. Hammer lit ce nom de lieu de la même manière *GOR*[2] III, p. 548.

[40] V, p. 330.

[41] II, pp. 401, 799, 801.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

[43] «Tarhaju» («chauve») selon l'expression d'I. Kúnos. D'après lui, *Kelbaba* fut changé par l'étymologie populaire en *Gültaba*, car la «mosquée», comme il appelle le turbeh, fut bâtie à la Colline des Roses, c'est-à-dire à la Colline de *gül* ; ainsi, il englobe dans un petit article trois erreurs grossières.

[44] *Pallas Lexikon*, Budapest 1894, VIII, p. 365.

[45] B. Tóth, *Magyar ritkaságok* [Curiosités Hongroises], Budapest 1899, pp. 116—130.

[46] *EI* II, p. 748, Silaḥdār II, pp. 487, 505, 672, Rāšid I, p. 150a, Vienne, *Bibl. Nat. Mscrits Orientaux*, Mxt. no 598.

Une troisième interprétation de ce même nom de Gül-Baba nous est proposée par M. Gy. Németh[47] qui concoit l'interprétation «Père des Roses» comme une étymologie populaire, car, selon lui, un nom comme Père des Roses est difficile à accorder avec ce que nous connaissons des anciens noms osmans-turcs. Selon M. Gy. Németh, le nom provient du verbe *gül-*, tout comme le nom de Dädä Korkud vient du verbe *qorqut-* et le nom de Gälbäri-Sultan vien du verbe *gäl-* etc.

Une telle analyse du nom me semble juste et son point de départ impeccable ; sa seule lacune consiste dans le fait qu'elle s'isole des données historiques, bien que, parmi nos sources historiques il s'en trouve plusieurs se rapportant à ce nom de Gül-Baba. A la lumière de ces mêmes données, le nom peut s'expliquer autrement : son origine, selon mon avis, ne remonte pas au verbe *gül-*, mais au nom *gül*, comme on le croyait d'ailleurs jadis et comme je tâcherai de l'établir dans les lignes suivantes.

L'objection selon laquelle nous connaissons dans le turc plusieurs noms de personne formés de noms d'animaux, tandis que nous en connaissons à peine qui soient formés de noms de plantes, est une objection assez juste ; cependant nous rencontrons plus d'une fois des noms de personne formés avec *gül* ou bien avec le mot *sünbül* (jacinthe). En dehors des deux noms de Güldede et de Sünbüldede déjà cités, nous pourrions encore citer كل طوقمق خان[48], كل رستم خان[49], Sünbül Sinān[50], Qara Sünbül ʿAlī[51]. Il est possible que dans ces cas-là, peut-être dans la sphère culturelle persane, les mots de *gül* et de *sünbül* aient déjà un sens mystique et que *gül* y signifie peut-être le symbole de la foi ardente, tandis que *sünbül* celui de la pureté spirituelle. Nous trouvons plus d'un exemple pareil chez Evliyā Čelebi qui, à cause de ses penchants de derviche, énumère méthodiquement tous les tekke à propos de la description de chaque ville. En présentant la ville de Konya, il décrit le tekke de J̌elāleddīn Rūmī et y ajoute que chaque derviche et chaque visiteur qui participent aux exercices du culte hebdomadaires sont les «*gül*» d'un jardin quelconque[52] ; de même que chaque habitant du Memī-Baba-tekke est le *gül* d'un jardin, le captif d'un désir, d'une langueur quelconque et le rossignol d'un *gül*[53] ; que Ḫīẓīr-Baba, cheik d'un tekke de Buda, est enterré dans le jardin des roses, dans le *gülistān* y attenant[54] ; que le tekke d'Imām Riẓā compte au moins trois cent derviches dont chacun est le *sün-*

[47] *KCsA* II, p. 379.
[48] Evliyā Čelebi IV, p. 306.
[49] Evliyā Čelebi IV, p. 316.
[50] Evliyā Čelebi I, p. 208.
[51] Evliyā Čelebi I, p. 216.
[52] Evliyā Čelebi III, p. 27.
[53] Evliyā Čelebi V, p. 580.
[54] Evliyā Čelebi VI, p. 245.

bül d'un jardin ou d'une charmille[55] ; et qu'au seuil et à la porte du tekke de Sidi Ġāzi, des pièces d'argent, des *güls* en argent et des clés et des cadenas d'argent sont fixés ou accrochés[56]. On sait que l'ordre de derviches fondé par *Sünbül* Sinān portait le nom de *ṭarīqat-i sünbülī*.

Je crois donc que si l'on veut expliquer le nom de Gül-Baba, il faut partir de ce sens figuré, mystique du mot *gül*. Dans la langue des mystiques, ce même mot possède encore plusieurs significations dont je veux énumérer les suivantes : تسبيح كل praeses invocationis Dei (امام سبحه)[57], *guli tasbīḥ* : the Imam or leader of prayer[58], A kind of gland-shaped ornament into which the two ends of a chaplet-string are brought and fastened[59], كلبانك (كل بانك) : «cantique ou prière chanté en même temps par les membres d'une réunion quelconque»[60], : كل le fer ardent que, pendant leurs danses religieuses, les derviches Rufai, dans leur extase, touchent de leurs mains, embrassent et mordent même (d'Ohsson, Allg. Schilderung, II, p. 534)[61].

Th. Menzel écrit[62] que parmi les objets en usage chez les derviches, l'un s'appelle : «*zengirli šiš = gül, charb* (pointe d'aiguille avec boule et chainette)». Il dit encore qu'une partie du bonnet des derviches s'appalait également *gül* ... «Plus important que le bouton, l'ornement particulier du bonnet de derviche se voit surtout chez les Qādirī dont le signe distinctif est le *gül* ou *mihr-i-gül* appliqué au *merkez-i istivā (qubbe)* que l'on considère comme *erenler damġasï* . . .» — enfin que ce même *gül* était l'insigne, en plusieurs variantes, de bien des ordres et des rangs de derviches.

La signification du *gül* serait donc, d'après ce qui précède : prêtre, chantre, récitant ; rose de fer ardent que le derviches rufāī, pendant le culte, prennent dans la main, embrassent et mordent dans leur extase ; *zenǰirli šiš* (pointe d'aiguille avec boule et chaniette) ; ornement particulier du bonnet de derviche, surtout chez des Qādirī comme leur signe distinctif ; insigne sur le turban du prieur d'un monastère qui se porte sur le turban *(tāǰ)*. La signification de Gül-Baba : derviche à l'âme zélée ; rose de l'arbre de l'ordre ; l'homme qui, pendant les services religieux en commun, dirige et entonne les prières ; l'homme qui sait saisir et embrasser le fer ardent dont le toucher «est aussi agréable que l'odeur de la rose», comme une rose épanouie ; celui

[55] Evliyā Celebi IV, p. 317

[56] Evliyā Čelebi III, p. 14.

[57] Vullers II, p. 1014.

[58] Steingass, p. 1092.

[59] Redhouse, p. 1559.

[60] Šemseddīn Sāmī, p. 1175.

[61] Cf. Th. Menzel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Dervisch-tāǧ : Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, p. 191.

[62] *Op. cit.* pp. 179, 191, 192.

qui garde et soigne le fer ardent ; celui qui sur la pointe de son bonnet divisé en quartiers porte l'insigne du prieur, le *gül*, etc.

Evliyā Čelebi, ayant visité le tombeau de Gül-Baba, devait savoir probablement toutes les significations de ce même mot, puisqu'il écrit que Gül-Baba, avec le bonnet resplendissant des Bektāšī-derviches تاج بكتاشىء پر نورلر sur la tête, dort du sommeil éternel «parmi les fleurs» (شكوفه‌زار اىچره). De même il songeait certainement au sens figuré du mot qui convient le mieux aux derviches lorsque dans deux de ses trois poésies écrites en l'honneur de Gül-Baba, il appelle ce dernier *güllü baba*, «Père des Roses» :

كل كلزار حقيقت و هدى
قطب اقطال بودن كللى بابا

— — — — — — — — — —

مرزبفوندن كله‌رك طوندى وطن
شه سليمان زمانى كللى بابا [63]

Parmis les données les plus récentes, c'est au même sens que rapporte la poésie écrite par un admirateur de Gül-Baba, placée par l'auteur dans le Gül-Baba turbeh et publiée par Rumbey oğlu Fahreddīn dans le *TOEM*[64].

Gül-Baba n'est donc pas un nom donné déjà dès l'enfance ; mais un nom acquis plus tard, comme ceux que les derviches se donnaient eux-mêmes ou bien recevaient des membres du même ordre. (P. ex. Qoyun-Baba ou «Mouton-Baba», car celui qui portait ce nom bêlait, au lieu de parler ; Geykli-Baba, «le baba des cerfs» qui descendait du mont dans la ville en compagnie d'un cerf apprivoisé.) Gül-Baba fut vraiment le «Père des Roses», mais non point celui des roses terrestres et passagères ni même le fondateur du culte des roses sur la colline que la municipalité finit par nommer la Colline des roses, sous l'influence consciente ou inconsciente de la mémoire de notre derviche. Non, il fut un éminent derviche, serviteur amoureux de la rose ardente, lui-même la plus belle rose du rosier de son ordre, porteur du *gül*, cet insigne du prieur.

En effet, au moins deux des renseignements qui nous soient restés sur la personne de Gül-Baba, justifient plutôt cette dernière explication de son nom. Ayant passé à Buda, entre 1669 et 1671, E. Brown écrit à propos de la description de Gül-Baba tekke que le prieur ou le chef du monastère s'appelle *Julpapa* ou le Père des Roses[65]. De même L. Marsigli, l'excellent ingénieur et orientaliste, écrit, en parlant des tekke de Buda, que par *Gül-*

[63] VI, pp. 244, 245.
[64] *TOEM* III, p. 962.
[65] *Op. cit.* p. 115.

Baba les Turcs entendent *Padre Rosa, comme nous dirions en italien «Padre Giacinto»*[66]. Si donc ces écrivains occidentaux avaient raison en parlant ainsi, — et il est très peu probable que L. Marsigli ait fait erreur — nous pouvons admettre que le nom Gül-Baba n'était pas un nom propre et qu'une personne nommée Gül-Baba n'a peut-être jamais existée ; par contre, Gül-Baba étant un nom commun, il y avait toujours à Buda un *gülbaba*, c'est-à-dire la personne qui était chargée dans cette ville de la dignité de prieur dans le Bektāšī-tekke.

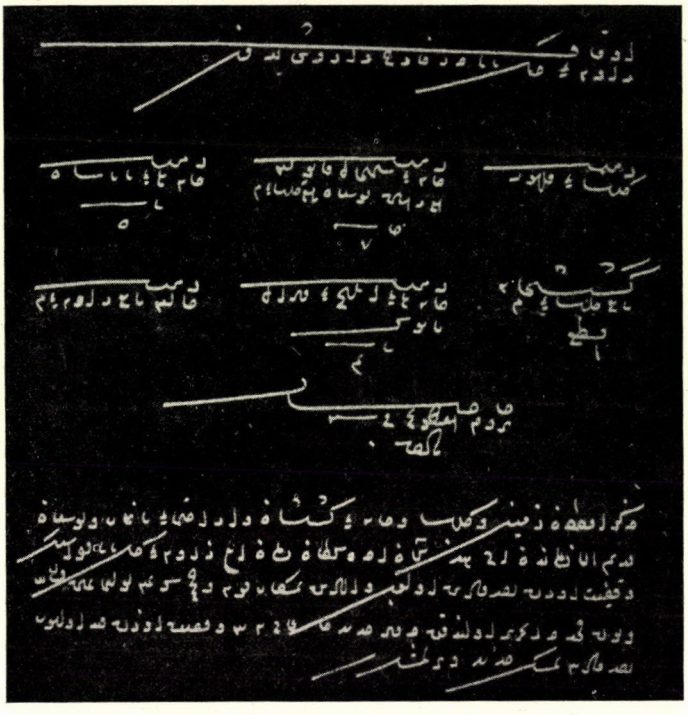
Une dernière controverse à propos du nom de Gül-Baba se rapporte au nom de la montagne, à l'époque turque, où se trouvait le Gülbaba-tekke et le Gül-Baba-turbeh. Déjà dans les *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* [Bulletin d'Études Linguistiques][67], je me suis occupé longuement de cette question et si je donne ici le résumé de mon article, c'est que je voudrais présenter dans leur ensemble les rectifications de toutes les erreurs qui se rapportent à ce nom de Gül-Baba.

La colline boisée où se trouvaient le Gül-Baba-tekke et le GülBaba-turbeh, est nommée, d'ailleurs par erreur, *Mihnet tepesi*, «Colline de la Douleur» dans tous les ouvrages historiques et même dans les «guides» de Budapest, depuis celui de J. V. Haeuffler jusqu'à celui, très soigné d'ailleurs, de G. Thirring. C'est encore J. Hammer qui a répandu et enraciné cette erreur[68]. D'après une donnée erronée de Rāšid, J. Hammer a transféré le nom turc du «Mont des Aigles» (d'aujourd'hui Sashegy — au moyen âge Mont des Oiseaux : Madárhegy) à la Colline des Roses et, pour mettre le comble à son erreur, il a mal lu et interprété ce nom (Mihnet tepsi — Leidenhügel) ; enfin, en voulant expliquer le nom turc par le calvaire qui s'y trouvait *après* l'époque turque, il a fait triple d'une double erreur. La forme exacte du terme chez Rāšid n'est pas Mihnet tepesi, mais *Moʿanet tepesi* (populairement *Maʿunet tepesi)* ou bien, dans sa variante turque, *Loqma tepesi*, c'est-à-dire le Mont de l'équipement, des fournitures. Ce nom s'applique au Sashegy d'aujourd'hui (Mont des Aigles) puisque les troupes turques allant en campagne avaient l'habitude de s'équiper et de se fournir en vivres au pied de ce mont, à Kelenföld et à Németvölgy. Par contre le mont où se trouvaient le Gül-Baba *tekke* et le Gül-Baba-turbeh, s'appelait toujours, à l'époque turque, *Gül-Baba tekkesi baïrï* (Colline de Gül-Baba-*tekke)*, *Gül-Baba baïrï* (Colline de Gül-Baba), *tekke baïrï* (Colline du *tekke)*.

[66] *Budapest Régiségei* IX, p. 142.

[67] Vol. L, Budapest 1936, p. 71.

[68] *GOR*[2] III, p. 706. L'erreur fut reprise par J. V. Haeuffler, *Historische Skizzen* [Esquisses historiques], avec carte (Buda-Pest 1854), p. 53, J. Repiczky, *Család Könyve* [Livre de la Famille] Pest 1855, I, p. 170. A. Nemes, *Vasárnapi Ujság* [Journal de Dimanche] Budapest 1874, p. 196, et par bien d'autres auteurs encore.



اوقاف زاوية كل‌بابا در خارج واروش بدون
زمين كليساء فلهوز*
زمين خانهء سنمحال قاپولنه** مع زمين بوستان مع كنيساء م [مزبور] خانه
زمين خانه‌هاء پاپاسان باب ٥

* Il s'agit ici du nom de lieu hongrois *Felhéviz*. On appelait *Felhéviz* les sources thermales qui se trouvaient au nord de Bude. — *Kiiisa-i felheviz* veut dire: l'église qui se trouve auprès des sources thermales au nord de Bude.

** Il faut lire: *Szent Mihály-kápolna*, ce qui signifia, en hongrois, «chapelle de saint Michel».

كشيشخانه تابع كليساء م [مزبوره] زمين خانه‌هاء قيرال يانوش*** باب ۴
زمين خاليه تابع زاويه‌ء م
حاصل بروجه مقطوع فى سنه ۵۰****

ذكر اولان زمين و كليسا و خانهء كسيشان و اراضىء باغات و بوستان قديم الازماندن الى هذ الان ازن سلطان زمان ايله زاويهء كل‌بابا فقراسنك وقفيت اوزره تصرفلرنده اولوب و اللرنده تمسكات قويه و حجج شرعيه بولنماغين ولايت مزبوره محددا تحرير اولندقده دفتر جديد خاقانى‌به وقفيت اوزره قيد اولنوب تصرفلرينه تمسك جديد ويرلمشدر

*** Le nom *Király János* est composé d'un nom de famille (*Király* «Le Roi») et d'un nom de baptême (*János* «Jean»). Mais l'expression *Király János* peut signifier en même temps «le roi Jean». Le texte veut donc dire: «Le bain de Jean Király» ou bien, peut-être, «le bain du roi Jean».

**** La somme est écrite non pas en chiffres arabes, mais en signes de noms de nombres «,siyāqat'».

Л. Фекете

ГЮЛЬ-БАБА

Гюль-Баба был одним из самых выдающихся магометан в истории культуры г. Буды во время оккупации Венгрии турками, имя и учреждения которого на протяжении веков часто упоминаются как в турецких, так и в иноязычных источниках. В этих источниках вперемешку приводятся как правильные, так и несостоятельные сообщения о его личности, поэтому наши сведения о нем не вполне надежны и пожалуй местами даже ошибочны.

В отношении Гюль-Бабы требуется выяснить четыре вопроса: вопрос о текке, тюрбе и личности Гюль-бабы, равно как и о наименовании горы идентичного названия. Статья посвящается разрешению этих вопросов.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

MONOGRAPHS ON SYRIAC AND MUHAMMADAN SOURCES IN THE LITERARY REMAINS OF M. KMOSKÓ

By
K. CZEGLÉDY

A packet of MSS in the custody of the Manuscript Library of the Hungarian National Museum[1] and another in the Manuscript Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences[2] constitute together the literary remains of Mihály Kmoskó (1876—1931). As the successor of I. Goldziher in the Philosophical Faculty of the Budapest University, Mihály Kmoskó, Professor of Semitic philology, was known by contemporary scholars chiefly as an expert on Syriac philology. His MS remains have, however, been left unnoticed by philological literature — an unfortunate omission as these writings represent a valuable contribution to philology and are by no means outdated.

The MS remains of Kmoskó consist of three extensive works. One is quite completed while the other two are nearly finished for publication. The themes of all three are closely related to Syriac philology, the main field of Kmoskó's investigations. Yet, taken as a whole, they represent a new phase of Kmoskó's learned labours that is little known in specialist circles. Although it is not our task to present here a comprehensive picture of Kmoskó's many-sided literary activity which also encompassed the various branches of Hebrew philology, Aramaic philology, Assyriology, Sumerology, Islamitics, General History of Religion, Patristics, Hungarian History, we must nevertheless trace the way that led to the writing of the three treatises the MSS of which are now to be found among his literary remains.

As a young scholar, Kmoskó turned his attention to the problems of Semitic — particularly Syriac — philology, and his interest in these questions was definitely engaged when, in the course of his travels to Beyrout and in Palestine in 1899—1900, he established personal contacts with Syrian scholars. In 1900—1902 Kmoskó studied the Syriac MS material of the British Museum and of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The rich findings of his researches were published, from the next year onward, in the *Oriens Christianus* under the title *Analecta Syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici excerpta*. Kmoskó took

[1] Catal. of. MSS. : N° 1746/Fol. Hung. I—II = M in the following notes.
[2] Catal. of MSS. : Történelem N° 4r 242/I—IV = A in the following notes.

his excerpts from various Syriac MSS, yet all of them were significant from the viewpoint of *Diatessaron* research and, in general, of the textual history of the *Peshitta*.[3] With these publications Kmoskó entered a very important field of Syriac philology. A little later we find his name among the editors of the *Patrologia Syriaca* (ed. R. Graffin). In this series Kmoskó edited several documents of Syriac literature dating from before the great Christological struggles, thus the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Baruch*[4] and two martyrologies of Šemʿôn bar Ṣabbàʿē, with some liturgical texts attributed to Šemʿôn.[5] In the same collection he made some very instructive observations on the policy of Šāpūr II towards the Persian Christians.[6] From the translation literature of Syria he published here the *Testamentum Patris Nostri Adam*.[7] In 1909 he published an important treatise in Hungarian on the flourishing of the famous Syrian school of Nisibis at the time of Ḥ^{e}nànā of Adiabene.[8]

It was still in 1901, in the course of studying the MSS of the British Museum that Kmoskó found the MS of the *Liber Graduum*. Kmoskó believed that this peculiar ascetic writing, which reflects Gnostic influences and is also important from the viewpoint of *Diatessaron* research, was one of the oldest remaining monuments of Syriac literature.[9] As a note of his in the *Oriens Christianus* indicates, he had the intention of editing this work as early as 1903.[10] In the next few years he completed the study of further twelve manuscripts of this same work and, although his MS was soon ready for printing and even the types were set, the extensive work was not actually

[3] Cf. *Or. Christ.* II, pp. 33—51 ; III, pp. 93—105 ; IV, pp. 194—203. As to the value of these works, cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), p. 21, n. 2.

[4] Cf. S. Székely (Kmoskó's colleague in Budapest University), *Bibliotheca apocrypha I* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1913), pp. 261—84 ; Baumstark, *op. cit.* pp. 25—6.

[5] Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* IV (Freiburg im Breisgau 1924), pp. 341—2, 383.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 333—4, 380—2.

[7] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 95—6.

[8] *Hittudományi Folyóirat* [Theological Review] XX (1909), pp. 577—617. Kmoskó makes here very instructive comments on a subject much discussed before and after him by J. Guidi, E. Nestle, J. Labourt, A. Scher, H. R. Nelz and R. Duval. Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 113—4 ; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[9] The Syrian scholar I. E. Rahmani also agrees with Kmoskó's early dating of the *Liber Graduum*. The argument in favour of the early date is based, in the first place, on the fact that the *Liber Graduum* shows no influence whatever of the great Christological debates. Yet, in most religious systems, the Gnostico-ascetic trend of literature may exist more or less independently of the «official» trends. This too substantiates the opinion of Baumstark *(op. cit.*, p. 165) that the *Liber Graduum* is a product of the VIth century Syriac translation literature, composed after the pattern of a Greek original.

[10] *Or. Christ.* II, p. 35. n. 1 : «Opus hoc anno proximo in vol. III. Patrol. Syriacae publicaturus sum.»

published until 1926,[11] that is, twenty-five years later than originally planned, and at a time when Kmoskó's attention had already shifted from Syriac texts.

In the meantime Kmoskó took part in the editing another great series of patristic writings, the *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau). In this series he edited, in 1914, the *Letters of Ammonas*,[12] an ascetic writing of ancient Syria which is translated from a Greek original.

World War I brought a turning point in the learned career of Kmoskó. Although he succeeded in making a tour in Asia Minor and Palestine in 1916, when he had occasion to renew his contacts with certain Syrian circles of these regions, his ties with the great Syriac MS and publishing centres in Paris, London and Rome were severed. At the same time new demands were made upon his scholarly work by those investigating the history of the Magyars prior to the conquest of Hungary. These circles suggested that Kmoskó study the Eastern, chiefly Arabic sources dealing with the history of the Turkish peoples of the Steppe — with them the Magyars — in the IV—IXth centuries. The study of pre-Conquest Magyar History had made essential progress in some of its aspects between 1900 and 1918. Although most of the results achieved had no bearing upon the main problem of pre-Conquest Magyar History, that is, the question of the evolution of Magyar society, they nevertheless shed light upon some problems concerning the relations of language and of tribal organisation that existed between the Magyars of the Steppe and the Turkish peoples. It was felt, however, that the progress of historical research working chiefly on linguistic material had greatly outdistanced the study of written sources. In 1900, indeed, Géza Kuun edited the Eastern sources of pre-Conquest Magyar History,[13] but his work failed to meet modern requirements even at the time of its publication, and so the need for a new edition became increasingly acute, with the passing of the years. I. Goldziher (1850—1921), Kmoskó's senior colleague and illustrious contemporary, whose interest had been engrossed for decades by his Islamitic reserarches, was not in a position to meet this need. So Kmoskó had to shoulder the task. In his inaugural lecture in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences he said this about the new work : «In such circumstances I believed that, . . . by undertaking the revision of the *Eastern Sources* among the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*, what I shall hope to perform will not only be a useful piece of work, but will actually supply a keenly felt want. When, however, I got into stride I had to realise with growing clarity that, considering the ends in view, . . . the limits of the task were rather narrowly defined by Kuun. From the

[11] *Patrol. Syr.* I/3. Paris 1926.

[12] *Patrol. Orient.* X/6. 1914. Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 84—5.

[13] In the jubilee volume published on the occasion of Hungary's millennial celebrations *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútfői* [*Sources of Hungary's Conquest*] (Budapest 1901).

Eastern Sources some essential texts are missing, others are published deficiently, in excerpts only.» Kmoskó thought it to be a particularly important omission that Kuun's edition left out the Muhammadan reports on the Slav and Turkish neighbours of the pre-Conquest Magyars in their homeland in what is now the Southern part of the Soviet Union.

The first findings of Kmoskó's new researches were published in 1918.[14] From this time on until his death in 1931, that is, for thirteen years, Kmoskó devoted all his energies to his new task. In the course of this time, after the death of I. Goldziher, he was elected a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1922), then he also succeeded Goldziher as Professor of Semitic Philology in the Philosophical Faculty of Budapest University (1923).

Judging by his printed publications, Kmoskó's scientific activity seems to have fallen off considerably in volume during these thirteen years. This is, however, a misleading impression, for the three extensive monographs in Kmoskó's MS remains clearly show that, in order to discharge the assumed obligation, he kept working systematically during all this period on those Eastern geographical and historical sources which have reference to the IV—IXth century history of the Magyars and those Turkish peoples that were in contact with them. Thus the articles published in these years — hardly comparable in volume with his MS monographs — represent but a fraction of Kmoskó's actual output.

The MS remains of Kmoskó consist of 2180 large handwritten pages, the text of each corresponding to about a printed page. 1610 pages appear to be a finished text, while 570 pages are in the draft stage. Two monographs are written in Hungarian, the third in German. The first half of the MSS was deposited in the Manuscript Library of the National Museum in 1931, in the year of Kmoskó's death, and the second half was acquired in 1941 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The pages of the MSS were never numbered by Kmoskó, and so they got badly mixed up — almost inaccessible for readers. Independent attempts were made by both libraries to rearrange the pages, but quite unsuccessfully, for, taken apart, both packets are obviously incomplete, and it is often very difficult to separate the first draft or drafts from the final copy.

Now our task is to report, mainly by quotations, on the contents of Kmoskó's MSS. In doing this, we must, of course, take into consideration that twenty-five years have passed since the writing of these monographs. During this time many new sources have been discovered and the opinions concerning the old ones have also changed. Copious literature has since also been published on particular problems. A mere enumeration of new findings

[14] *Die Regierung des Sultans Selim I laut Bericht einer arabischen Chronik : Túrán III* (1918), pp. 363—7.

and publications would itself make a whole book. Since our present aim is reporting rather than an evaluation of Kmoskó's works, we must exercise restraint in commenting upon the themes and arguments of the MSS.

A)

Judged by the great number of references in his MSS, it must have been the review of the Syriac sources that Kmoskó carried out as the first phase of his plan. This work was within the range of his former interests and so paved the way to his new task.

Although the data concerning the Steppe in the Syriac Sources had been occasionally made use of by several scholars, among them chiefly by Th. Nöldeke and J. Marquart, no systematic collection of these sources had ever been made, nor their critical evaluation completed. Thus Kmoskó had to render, in many respects, pioneering work both in the collecting of the material and in its explanation. He, however, died before publishing the results of his great labours, a work which remains unparalleled ever since. Sporadic efforts have undoubtedly been made in this field, without being, however, of a systematic character, the only exception being the valuable works of N. Pigulevskaya.[15]

The title of Kmoskó's work is «Syriac Sources on the Peoples of Gog and Magog». The MS, which is written in Hungarian, would make *circa* 240 printed pages. The first draft is also extant among the pages. In this the word *Appendix* is added to the said title of the final copy, indicating that Kmoskó's intention was to attach this treatise — an independent piece of work — to the part dealing with the Muhammadan sources. The two copies agree in the essentials, the final copy being, of course, more elaborate in some of its parts than the first draft.

The MS is complete in every respect and quite ready for printing. Yet a formal preface is missing from both packets and no special reference is made to this work either in the MS fragment of Kmoskó's academic inaugural lecture or in his printed articles. The outline of the work is clear and well arranged :

Part I. Introduction.

1. Transcription, pp. 4—5.
2. Introductory remarks, pp. 6—15.

[15] Cf. her works quoted in : Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей (Москва 1952), pp. 42—8.

3. Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Sources, pp. 16—61.
A) The Syrian Legend of Alexander, pp. 16—34.
B) Zacharias Rhetor, pp. 35—6.
C) Syriac Chronicles, pp. 37—57.
D) Hagiologies, pp. 58—61.

Part II. Extracts from Syriac Sources.

A) Extracts from the Syrian Legend of Alexander, pp. 62—89.
D) Extracts from the Work of Zacharias Rhetor, pp. 90—5.
C) Extracts from Syriac Chronicles, pp. 96—220.
B) Extracts from Hagiologies, pp. 221—41.

PART I. INTRODUCTION (PP. 1—61)

1. Transcription (pp. 4—5).

This chapter is very important as in the subsequent parts of the work Kmoskó generally uses the transcribed forms of the Syriac words denoting the names of Syriac authors, historical sources, persons, geographical entities and peoples, giving Syriac lettering in very few cases only. In transcribing the consonants, Kmoskó follows the standard system of Semitic philology, and his method of transcription also registers the modifications in the pronunciation of the plosives («*bgdkpt*») which become spirants after vowels (e. g., $b > \beta$ etc.). As to the vowels, $\hat{a}, \hat{o}, \hat{u}, \hat{\imath}$ in Kmoskó's system represent long or short vowels written with *matres lectionis*, $\bar{a}$ etc. mark long vowels written with vowel-signs. — This system is, on the one hand, too meticulous, while, on the other hand, it has its deficiencies. In view of the philological ends pursued, transliteration would undoubtedly have been of greater service. In this case, however, one could have dispensed with marking the modifications which the pronunciation of the «*bgdkpt*» sounds undergoes. On the other hand, it would have been necessary to distinguish between the transcription system of the *w* and *y* used as *matres lectionis* and that of the *àlaf*,[16] since the use of the *àlaf* in Eastern Syriac differs somewhat from that in Western Syriac.

This chapter closes with the discussion of the most frequent errors in lettering and of the groups of letters that are easily interchangeable. — Here we miss an explanatory note to the effect that a part of the following texts is translation from Greek or Middle Persian, and the customary method of Syriac transcription of the Greek and Pehlevi letters is also left unexplained.[17]

[16] Cf. the system of transliteration elaborated by Baumstark in cooperation with other scholars: Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. VI—VII.

[17] Cf. below, pp. 60, 66.

2. Introductory Remarks (pp. 6—16).

Even experts of Syriac would appreciate the instructive discourses in this chapter on Syriac literature and the aids to the study of it.

a) Bibliographies (p. 6.).

The bibliographical references of this paragraph and quotations in later chapters indicate that Kmoskó wrote his work between 1918 and 1922. This may be seen from the fact that Kmoskó does not quote the standard work of A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, which was published in 1922. The list of bibliographies begins with the enumeration of the printed catalogues of the collections containing Eastern and Western Syriac MSS. Kmoskó's remarks in this paragraph are generally in agreement with what Baumstark writes on the subject. Noteworthy is his remark about the Syriac Jacobite MSS : «It is here, in the same St. Mark Monastery of the Jacobites in Jerusalem that a part of the library belonging to the patriarchal monastery called Dêr az-Zaʿfarân, near Mardin, is kept. The catalogue of these books — hitherto unpublished as far as I know — was prepared by the Jacobite monk, P. Ephrem Barṣûm, as I learned this on the occasion of my visit to Jerusalem in 1916.» The list of the MS catalogues is followed by a brief enumeration of the works on the History of Syriac Literature.[18]

b) *General Remarks on Syriac Literature (pp. 7—8).*

We find very valuable information in the works of Syriac Literature about the peoples of the North. These reports, however, while extending over a longer period (VI—XIIIth centuries) than that covered by the Muhammadan sources (IX—XVth centuries), are far less numerous than the latter. The data in the Syriac sources furnish an important complement to the Muhammadan sources. «These products of Syriac literature begin to ebb away about the time when the first Arabic sources of geography and history appear. Since no one has undertaken so far, either in Hungary or abroad, the work of collecting and reviewing systematically these data of Syriac literature, we believe that we render a useful service to the students of pre-Conquest Magyar History, when we collect and publish the historical data in Syriac literature on the peoples of the North.»

The relative paucity of Syriac writings can be explained mainly by the fact that Syriac literature was cultivated by monks, and thus intended for a comparatively small group of readers, in sharp contrast to Arabic literature which owed its phenomenal flourishing, besides the patronage of califs, emirs and other rich benefactors, to financial gain and moral prestige which its cultivation yielded. Arabic literature, according to the nature of Islam, is an essentially lay literature, while Syriac literature is strictly ecclesiastical.

[18] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—8.

Political conditions favourable to the emergence and development of a national literature were also absent among the Syrians who, living scattered on the territories of the Byzantine and Persian empires, never attained real political independence. Higher positions were barred to the Syrians even in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Emperor Justinian I (527—565) did not hesitate to remove even the Monophysite bishops and was still less patient with the lay adherents of this Christological doctrine. In the Western provinces of the Persian Empire all denominations of Christianity were merely tolerated, and the fire-worshipping clergy of the state religion did everything to suppress the Christians. It was, owing, in the first place, to these circumstances that Syriac literature had to seek shelter within the walls of monasteries. After the Arab invasion (636 A. D.) punitive taxation drove most of the Christians into the fold of the Islam, while the rest were prevented from occupying administrative positions of influence. There was but one field in which Christians proved indispensable ; in medicine they retained their leading position for centuries.

Kmoskó then reports on the most important places where Syriac MSS are preserved, the libraries of existing ancient Syrian monasteries : α) that of Scete, or the Valley of the Ascetics in Nitria, southeast of Alexandria, established by the Syrians on Egyptian soil, in order to be able to witness the austerities of the famous Egyptian ascetics ; β) the Greek monastery founded by Emperor Justinian in the vicinity of Mount Sinai, now noted for the discovery, by Agnes Smith Lewis, of the *Syrus Sinaiticus*, this ancient Syriac translation of the Gospels,[19] γ) that of the Jacobite Patriarch in Mardin, Northern Mesopotamia, south of Diyarbekir whence a part of the MSS was transferred to the Jacobite monastery of Jerusalem. The books of these libraries, which still exist or were only emptied in the last century, constitute but a fraction of the treasures once accumulated in Syrian monasteries. The monastic libraries in Syria proper must have been particularly rich in MSS — thus those in Qennešrē, in the vicinity of Aleppo, in the Monastery Màr Mattai near Mosul, in the cloisters of Rabbàn Hormuzd and Margā, which, pillaged times without number, are now either in ruins or disappeared completely.

Kmoskó then mentions some amusing details as to the fate of MSS stolen from the Syrian monasteries. When a valuable MS was found in what was once Syrian land, it, as a rule, soon disappeared, and it took years until it turned up again in some European library or in the collection of some rich Englishman, or, in recent times, in the possession of some American book-lover. «I saw with my own eyes several valuable Syrian parchments, in the

[19] Cf. now : *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery Microfilmed.* Library of Congress, Washington 1952.

possession of my unforgettable teacher in Vienna, Professor Wilhelm Neumann, which, according to the marking on their backs, once belonged to St. Catherine's Monastery on the Mount Sinai. I do not know where Neumann got them, but it is more than probable that they were offered for sale by professional thieves of MSS. While on my tour in the Near East, in 1916, I heard more than once that certain heads of Eastern churches purloined the MSS of their own episcopal libraries and sold them abroad! It has been through these underground passages that the remains of the great monastic MS collections reached the larger libraries of Europe, the Ambrosiana of Milan, the Bodleyan Library of Oxford, that of Cambridge, or the state libraries of Paris and Berlin etc.»[20]

Since the primary purpose of the monastic libraries was to meet the spiritual needs of the cenobites, monastic literature consisted, above all, of theological works (Bibles, commentaries, patristic writings, polemic treatises, collections of synodal canons etc.) and liturgical books (breviaries, missals). Other branches of literature were but modestly represented in these libraries, perhaps only Church History having a relative predominace. The Syrians studied with diligence the Syriac translations of the works on Church History by Eusebius and Sokrates, and followed their example in composing the history of their own church. They wrote books dealing with the lives of their famous church leaders and martyrs. They had little interest in the events of worldly politics ; only their chief priests were really interested in these matters who acted as the main political representatives of the Syrians in their dealings with the Byzantine and Persian authorities.[21]

Kmoskó thought that the value of Syrian works on history was particularly enhanced by the denominational diversity of the Syrian Christians, as each group looked at the events from a peculiar viewpoint, thus insuring a many-sided presentation of the same events. In this way independent and mutually complementary traditions developed. At the same time, the Syrian denominations were not isolated from each other. Works by scholars belonging to different denominations, being passed from hand to hand, often broke through the walls of denominational exclusivity. It often happened that historians made use, without scruples, of works by authors who were absolutely opposed to their own denomination. «Thus, for instance, the Jacobite Barhebraeus, Primate of the Eastern Syrians, had absolutely no pangs of conscience when he copied the chronicle of the Melkite Agapios, failing, of course, to indicate his source.»

[20] As to the adverse fate of Syriac MSS, cf. the Introduction to vol. III of Wright's *Catalogue*.

[21] On this rôle of Syrian Church dignitaries cf. Pigulevskaya : Советское Востоковедение V (1948), p. 77.

In the course of describing, in general, the literature produced by the four Syrian denominations, Kmoskó discusses first the literature of the *Melkites*, those Syrians who remained loyal to the emperor *(malkā)* and to Byzantine orthodoxy. He notes that the Melkites exchanged their Syriac for the Arabic language after the Arab conquest.[22] So the literary activity of Agapios and Eutychios (Saʿîd ibn Baṭrīq) must be discussed with the relevant Arabic literature. The *Maronites* who, with the support of Emperor Herakleios, planted the doctrines of monotheletism in the regions of the Libanon, were scarcely able to produce literary works of independent importance.[23] Much more significance must be attached to the historical writings of the Monophysite *Jacobites*, this most important denomination of the Syrians. The Jacobites were, at first, unable to get a foothold on Persian territory, but when the Arabs invaded Mesopotamia, Màrûtā (d. 649), the archbishop of Tagrit, organised the church of the Persian Monophysites and made it so independent of the Antiochian patriarchate of this denomination that his successors, under the name *mapr^{e}yàn*, acting as primates of the Eastern Monophysites, displayed an almost complete independence in managing the affairs of their church. It was from Tagrit that missionary activity started in the course of which the Monophysites invaded the Caucasus and even India, although their missionary endeavour, with the exception of India, has left no lasting results. Many of their historians are known today by their names only as their works have not been found. From among the extant works of Jacobite historians Kmoskó mentions here only those that are relevant to his theme, thus the writings of Joshua the Stylite, John of Ephesus, ps.-Dionysios Tell-mahrensis, the *Liber Calipharum*, the great work of Michael Syrus and the work of Barhebreus. In addition to the works of history the Jacobites also had a significant literature of hagiography. From the viewpoint of Kmoskó's theme the most important of these is the *Biography of Peter of Iberia* (d. 485), royal prince, then monk and finally the bishop of Maiyuma in Palestine. Kmoskó notes that the author of this work mentions the White Huns.

The most important data on the Northern peoples are found in the literature of the fourth Syrian denomination, that of the *Nestorians*. Kmoskó gives a brief account of the appearance of Nestorios, the spreading of his teaching, the banning of the Nestorians from Roman territories and the growth of Nestorianism on Persian territory, chiefly in Nisibis. He points out that the Persian Christians saw a great opportunity in adopting the teachings of Nestorios, for they believed that, by severing the ties binding them to the Byzantine church, they would allay the distrust of the Persians

[22] Cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* II: *Studi e testi* vol. 133 (1947), pp. 3—7.

[23] Cf. Graf. *op. cit.*, pp. 94.

and that even the open persecution, directed against them almost continually since Šāpūr II, might cease. It was this consideration that moved Bar Ṣaumā, the Metropolitan of Nisibis, who had been appointed by the Persian king Pērōz as *marzbān* of the Roman frontier territories, to adopt under oath, at a synod held in agreement with the Persian king in 484 in the town of Bêt Lapàṭ, the teachings of Nestorios. His example was followed by the Katholikos of Seleukia, Aqàq, the ecclesiastical head of the Persian Christians who, at a synod convened in February 486 in Seleukia, adopted and enacted the Nestorian Christological teaching of Bar Ṣaumā.

Then Kmoskó gives the synopsis of the Northern references that can be found in the Nestorian sources. This is worth quoting *verbatim* : «The history of the Nestorian church is closely related to our theme inasmuch as this was the only Christian church that carried out an extensive missionary activity among the Turks and Chinese of the Far East. It was as early as the time of Khosrav Anûšarwân that the messengers of the Hephthalites conveyed the request to the Katholikos Mār Abâ[24] — then a prisoner — that he ordain a bishop for them (about 550). Between 643—646 Elijâ, the metropolitan of Marw, converted the king of a Turkish tribe and baptised him with his people ;[25] about the same time Nestorian missonaries, under the reign of T'ai Tsung (627—650 A. D.) arrived in the town of Ch'ang-an and obtained permission from the emperor to erect a church building in Hsi-an-fu, „the town of peace and righteousness" — as this is attested by the Syriac-Chinese inscription of 781 in Hsi-an-fu.[26] This famous inscription names Ḥ^{e}nānîšô^{ʿ} as the head of Eastern Christianity, who, in fact, died a year earlier, in 780. But it was during the time of the patriarchate of Timothy I (780—823), his successor, that the missionary expansion of the Nestorians reached its zenith. The seminary of the Eastern missions of the Nestorians was the monastery of Bêt ʿAbê ;[27] it was from here that the Nestorian monks started on their dangerous journeys to the peoples of Tibet, China and to the Turkish peoples. According to a letter of Timothy he ordained a metropolitan for *Bêt turkājê* (Turkestan), and the patriarch promises, in the same letter, that he will ordain, in the near future, a metropolitan for *Bêt Tuptājê* (Tibet) also.[28] That the missionary efforts of the Nestorians, even in later times, were not unsuccessful is shown by the case of the king of the Kerait Turks who lost his way in the snow. This king, after his deliverance, adopted with

[24] Cf. below, p. 65—6. (Note of Kmoskó = K).

[25] Cf. the relevant passage in the Chronicle edited by Guidi, below, p. 58. (K).

[26] Cf. Labourt, *De Timotheo I, Nestorianorum Patriarcha* (Parisiis 1904), p. 47 (K).

[27] Cf. Thomas of Marga, *Historia monastica* V, 1—12 ; Labourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 43—4 (K).

[28] Museo Borgiano, K VI, 3, fol. 47, p. 647 of the MS ; cf. *Oriens Christianus* 1903, p. 308 ; Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (K).

his people the Christian faith.[29] The same is attested by the Syriac inscriptions on tombs that were discovered in 1885 between the localities of Pishpek and Tokmak. These inscriptions, executed between 1249 and 1345, testify that Nestorian Christianity was firmly established at that time in the region of the Chu river.[30] According to Barhebraeus, Qublaj, the Great Khan of the Mongols sent two Uighur monks to the katholikos Denḥâ in 1281 ; one of these became later the patriarch of the Nestorians under the name of Jabalâhâ.[31] It is also worth notice that Mār Jôḥannān, who was ordained bishop by Mār Šemʿôn, the Nestorian Katholikos, in 1490, calls himself, in a letter written with his fellow-bishops in 1504 to the Katholikos Mār Elijâ, the Metropolitan of Atel, that is, Itil.[32] It might be assumed that this was only a see *in partibus infidelium* but even if a merely titular designation, it must have had its history and historical origin, and the very title indicates that the missionary activity of the Nestorians had been extended to the Northern shores of the Caspian Sea.»[33]

All this shows that the Nestorian sources are richer than the Jacobite ones in references to the Steppe. But alas, most products of Nestorian historical literature were lost. The literary remains of the Jacobites were preserved in those few monastery libraries which escaped destruction because of location in far-away corners or in the middle of the deserts. The Nestorian sees, however, were exposed places, and the cloisters of the Nestorians were surrounded by Kurds and other wild semi-nomadic peoples. In these unfortunate circumstances the MSS of these cloisters have never been preserved *in situ;* they have been either destroyed or acquired by private collectors, owing their survival to mere chance. From among the extant documents of Nestorian historical literature Kmoskó mentions the work of Mᵉšîḥā Zᵉḥā, the Chronicle edited by Guidi, the *Chronicle of Seert*, the church histories of Mārī ibn Sulaimān, ʿAmr and Ṣalība. From among the Nestorian works in Arabic language he mentions the chronography of Elijā bar Šînàjâ with which he then deals in the Muhammadan part of his monograpgh. As when dealing with Jacobite histories, here too he enumerates those historical writings which are mentioned by other sources but are not extant in original. The Nestorians also possessed a significant hagiographical literature which has a certain significance

[29] Cf. the relevant report in the work of Barhebraeus, below, p. 50. (K).

[30] Cf. F. Nau, *Les pierres tombales Nestoriennes du Musée Guimet.* Paris 1913. (Extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.* T. XVIII, N° 1. 1913) (K).

[31] Barhebraeus, *Hist. Eccles.* ed Abbeloos et Lamy, Lovanii 1877, III, col. 451 (K).

[32] Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* III, 593 ; the same work discusses the conversion of the Eastern Turks (Vol. IV, pp. 481—3) and of the Kerait Turks (pp. 483—6) (K).

[33] Arab sources also mention that a part of the population of Itil, the Khazar capital, was Christian (Iṣṭaḫrī : *BGA* I, p. 220 ; Ibn Ḥauqal ; *BGA* II, p. 279 ; Masʿūdī : *Murūǰ* II, p. 10 ; Ibn Faḍlān *apud* Yāqūt II, p. 437) (K).

from the viewpoint of the history of the nomads. — Kmoskó attached great significance, from the viewpoint of the history of Syriac literature, to the fact that, in the last decades, some native Syrian scholars had mastered modern philological methods and begun the important work of publishing the documents of Syriac literature (I. E. Rahmani, Addai Scher, A. Mingana, P. Asbath, P. Bedjan). This made him hope that their activity will unearth many a lost treasure of Syriac literature. We now know that only a partial fulfilment of his hopes has been granted. Destructive events in the Middle East, during World War I and ever since, have not spared the lives of Syrian scholars and the premature death of many of them has shattered the prospects of a revival of learning in those regions.

3. Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Sources (pp. 16—61).

A) The Syrian Legend concerning Alexander (pp. 16—34).

In this chapter Kmoskó introduces four different works which all recount the story of the fortified gate built by Alexander the Great against Gog and Magog. All four stories have legendary and apocalyptic features. They are important from the viewpoint of our theme inasmuch as they identify the formidable people of Gog and Magog with the Huns, describing the appearance and customs of the latter and expressing the fear which the Persians and Byzantines felt when they thought of the nomadic peoples of the Steppe beyond the Caucasus.

a) The Prose Legend (pp. 16—21).

The Syriac translation of the Alexander legend of pseudo-Callisthenes has an appendix in which the campaign of Alexander the Great against the peoples of the North, the erection of a bulwark against the peoples of Gog and Magog and the victory of Alexander over the Persian king Tubarlaq are recounted. The Syriac text itself of this legend — as published by Budge — is a translation from Middle Persian, as was demonstrated by Th. Nöldeke, but it is quite closely related to the Greek original of pseudo-Callisthenes.[34] The appendix portrays Alexander the Great as a devout Israelite who believes in the immediate coming of the Messiah. In the course of his Northern campaign he pushes as far as the Land of Darkness from where he returns and erects a protective wall against the peoples of Gog and Magog. At the end of the legend we read that Alexander, after his victory over the Persian king Tubarlaq, goes to Jerusalem, via Alexandria, and then returns to Alexandria. He gives orders, before his death, that his silver throne be preserved in Jerusalem.

[34] *Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien.* XXXVIII/5, pp. 14—15 (K); cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

Kmoskó points out that the basic motif of the legend is undoubtedly taken from the vision, in Ezechiel's prophecy, of the apocalyptic march of Gog and Magog, but it is refashioned in a complicated manner, with the addition of folk-lore elements. He proves, with quotations, that certain portions of the legend show an affinity with the epic of Gilgamesh. This is why a poetic variant of the legend speaks of the search for the Fountain of Life as the goal of Alexander's journey. It was as early as the *Jewish Wars* of Josephus *(Bell. Iud.* 7, 7, 4) that the connexion between the Alexander Legend and the story about the containment of the Northern peoples was established.

The legendary bulwark of Alexander was identified by folk tradition with the Gate of Derbend which was actually erected by the Persian kings in the Vth century. The Koran also mentions, in the 93rd verse of Sura XVIII the brazen embankment of Dū-l-Qarnain *(«two-horned»)*. Later Muslim tradition took the existence of this dam *(sadd)* raised by Dū-l-Qarnain for an ascertained fact. When, in 841, the Qirghiz nomads north of the Lake Baikal conquered and expelled the Uighurs living in the regions of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers, the resulting mass movements inspired the vision in the dream of Calif al-Wāṯiq (842—847) that the dam of Alexander the Great had burst. He was so terrified by this dream that he sent his interpreter Sallām to inspect the place. We have no right to doubt Sallām's mission, but the story of the dam is mere fiction, as this was already noted by al-Bīrūnī.[35]

Since the IXth century the figure of Dū-l-Qarnain, this shadow of Alexander the Great, is a frequently discussed topic in Muhammadan tradition. As the Christian Arab writer, Agapios, testifies, an Alexander romance of several volumes was widely read in this age.[36] It was to this romance that Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dainawarī,[37] Ṭabarī,[38] Qudāma ibn Ǧaʿfar,[39] Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī,[40] Eutychios,[41] Maqdisī[42] and Taʿālibī[43] and other authors

[35] Cf. below, p. 81 (K).
[36] Ed. Cheikho, p. 119 (K).
[37] Ed. Guirgass, pp. 31—2 (K).
[38] I, p. 693 (K).
[39] *BGA* VI, pp. 204—7 (K).
[40] *BGA* V, pp. 298—9 (K).
[41] Ed. Cheikho I, pp. 77—85 (K).
[42] Ed. Huart III, pp. 78, 154 (K).
[43] Ed. Zotenberg, pp. 411—42. As to the Christian Arabic fragments of the Alexander Legend cf. de Slane, *Cat. de Ms. arabes de la Bibl. Nat. Paris*, N° 212, fol. 283v—322; N° 309, fol. 13r—32; N° 312, fol. 54v—59 (K). — The Muhammadan sources dealing with the Gate of Alexander the Great are also discussed by C. E. Wilson in a work of his which, on more accounts than one, calls for serious criticism: *Hirth Anniversary Volume (Asia Major)*, pp. 575—612; cf. A. Abel: *Annuaire* (Université Libre de Bruxelles) XI (1951), pp. 5—18; Е. Э. Бертельс, Романи об Александре, М.—Л. 1948.

freely helped themselves. As to the age of the Syriac variant published by Budge, in fixing the *terminus ante quem* one must take as a significant fact that the Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios — written about 775 — already knows this legend and contains copious extracts from it. Consequently the legend must have come into being before the second half of the VIIIth century. It is much more difficult to fix the *terminus a quo*. Although there are two obviously *ex eventu* prophecies at the end of the legend, it is very difficult to identify the events to which the vaticinations refer. The first prophecy is the alleged inscription of Alexander's Gate, foretelling that the Huns will depart after the passing of 826 years. Since the Syrians had used the calendar of the Seleucids or, of Alexander, as they called it, which began with the 311th year B. C., we are safe in assuming that the 826th year was identical with 515 A. D. when, according to numerous sources, the «Huns» (Sabirs) burst forth from the valleys of the Caucasus and devastated the provinces of Cappadocia, Galatia and Pontus. Accepting this date, Nöldeke thought that the legend was put into writing about the year 515.[44] His argument is only apparently weakened by the analysis of the second prophecy. This says that, «after the passing of 940 years», the empires of the Huns, Persians and Arabs, the 24 empires «enumerated in this book» will rise and devastate each other. What will be left of them will be destroyed by the Roman Empire. This vaticination is obviously a later interpolation as the legend itself knows of only 15 empires «shut up behind the gates». Thus the interpolator is unquestionably referring to a date in another book in which the number of the barbarian nations is 24. The concluding lines of the legend betray this source when it is prophesied that the Roman empire will last unto the end of the world when it will yield its power to Christ. This is namely the theme of a Syriac writing of apocalyptic character, the so-called Prophecy of pseudo-Methodios (see below) which was written about 670 with the purpose of comforting the Melkite Christians upon whom Arab rule had been imposed. This writing maintained its significance in subsequent centuries, and, after numerous revisions, made its influence felt even in the Middle Ages. Considering that it was also under the influence of pseudo-Methodios that an appendix was added to the Legend concerning Alexander, we cannot use the chronology of the Seleucids in computing the above-mentioned year 940, for this would yield 629 A. D. — a date without any significance from the viewpoint of the interpolator, as the victory of Emperor Herakleios over the Persians came in 628, while the next events of importance, the loss of Syria and Egypt, took place in 636 and 640, resp. Therefore the interpolator could not be identical with the person who, in the VIIIth century,

[44] Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 64 (K).

under the influence of pseudo-Methodios, added the appendix to the Alexander Legend. So the only remaining possibility is, while adhering to the text of the legend, that we add 940 to the previously given date and to take the resulting sum, 1455, as a cue. As it is generally known, Constantinople fell in the spring of 1453, and this event was followed, at the end of July, 1456, by the victory of John Hunyadi and John Capistrano at Belgrade. The date prophesied in the legend is between the two, and gives at once the meaning of the vaticination : As much as the Christian world was grieved by the fall of Constantinople, a town believed to be impregnable, not less intense was the joy when Hunyadi's victory at Belgrade was annonunced. The news of this victory spread to the Middle East and inspired one of the readers of the Alexander Legend to add, to the prophecy concerning the Huns, another vaticination in which the year preceding the Victory at Belgrade, 1455, was given as the beginnig of the momentous change of world history, as indicated by Pseudo-Methodios, the end of which will be, according to him, the fall of Islam and the victory of Christianity.

In conclusion (p. 21) Kmoskó reports on the five MSS upon which the edition of Budge is based.

b) The Metric Homily «De fine extremo» by Ephraem (p. 22).

The wall of Alexander the Great in mentioned by two further Syriac writings of poetic character. One of these — probably the older one — is a *mēmrā* (metric homily) with seven-syllable lines, generally ascribed to the famous ecclesiastical poet of Syria, Ephraem Syrus who died in 373 A. D. The writing *De fine extremo* was published by Lamy in the third volume of the collection *S. Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones*. The homily reminds one strongly of another sermon by Ephraem entitled *Λόγος εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου* the Greek text of which is found in two different places of the Roman edition. It also resembles the prose variant of the legend so that we cannot but regard it — particularly the middle part of it — as an awkward metric variant of the prose legend. Lamy is nevertheless willing to accept this poor versification as an original work of Ephraem, but his argument is vitiated by the fact that the text contains a clear reference to Muhammad and the «sons of Hagar». Thus, in trying to fix the date of its composition, we must take, as a *terminus a quo*, the year of 636, the bloody battle on the banks of the Yarmuk, as a result of which the Romans lost Syria for ever. The poem clearly reflects the general panic and despair which followed the catastrophic defeat of the mighty army of emperor Herakleios. Lamy tries to support his case by mentioning that the Huns actually invaded and devastated, at the time of Ephraem, the regions of Edessa, as this is attested also by the Armenian version of Ephraem's biography. But Lamy's argument

collapses if we take into consideration that the metric homily is based on a late prose variant — a fact of which Lamy could have been aware. At one time a considerable literature of apocalyptic character was fathered on Ephraem, so it is no wonder that this *mēmrā*, with its seven-syllable lines, that is, written in the metre of Ephraem, was also ascribed to him. — We may note, in connection with these expositions of Kmoskó, that Nöldeke's review[45] of Lamy's Ephraem edition had obviously escaped his notice. Nöldeke's findings are essentially in agreement with those of Kmoskó, inasmuch as he too rejects Lamy's arguments in favour of the authenticity of the writing. We may state, however, that Kmoskó's expositions, had they been published in print, would have undoubtedly helped to dispel the uncertainty concerning the *mēmrā* of Ephraem, and would have probably prevented A. R. Anderson from contradicting Nöldeke and reasserting the authenticity of the homily.[46] Anderson's chief argument is still the Armenian variant of Ephraem's biography and another Armenian source.[47] This, however, is not cogent enough to make us reject the opinion held by Nöldeke and Kmoskó.

c) The Metric History of Alexander attributed to Ja'qôb of S^{e}rûg (pp. 23—4).

The prose text of the legend was later recast by another ecclesiastical poet. The authorship of this second metric version of the legend is attributed to Jacob, the bishop of Serugh (d. 521). It was edited, on the basis of three more or less independent recensions by Hunnius.[48] Kmoskó thought that Hunnius, in reconstructing the text, was guided by misconceptions. On the one hand, he took the three variants as an identical type of the text, then, on the other hand, he failed to identify the metric pattern of the poem, that is, each stanza consisting of two twelve-sllyble lines. In his arrangement of the text the lines in the larger units add up either to even or odd numbers. The twelve-syllable metre (4+4+4) of the poem was the favourite pattern of Bishop Jacob of Serugh. Just as the seven-syllable poetic version of the Alexander Legend was attributed to Ephraem on the basis of its metre, in the same manner, it was the twelve-syllable metre that made people regard Jacob as the author of this poem. Yet his authorship is entirely out of question. This is clearly seen in the passage about the Persian king Tubarlaq. The text relates that, after his triumph over Tubarlaq, an angel appeared to Alexander the Great, admonishing him to make peace with the Persians

[45] *WZKM* IV (1890), pp. 245—6.

[46] A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass. 1932), pp. 15—9.

[47] *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* II, ed. V. Langlois (Paris 1869), p. 34. As to the value of this proof, cf. below p. 50, 64.

[48] *ZDMG* LX (1906), pp. 169—209, 802—21 (K).

in terms of which he should take away from them the whole of Asia Minor up to the river Tigris. So the poem presupposes a situation, in which the whole of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt belonged to the Persians, and it was Alexander's task to redeem these territories by his successful negotiation of the peace treaty. This situation in the poem is, of course, obviously analogous to that actual historical situation which arose in 628, after the victory of Emperor Herakleios over the Persians. So it had been the rôle of Herakleios that was ascribed to Alexander the Great, while Tubarlaq came to personify Khosrav II. These identifications give the *terminus a quo* as 628. The text of the poem gives no date by which to fix the *terminus ad quem*. It is probable, however, that the poem was composed long after the appearance of Muhammad when the Arabs too thought to have discovered a sign of the world's end in the debouchement of the Turks through the Gate of Gog and Magog. It was after the civil war of the califs Amīn and Ma'mūn that the Turks began to infiltrate the territories of the Califate, and, as mentioned above (p. 32), Calif Wāṯiq was seized by panic at the very thought that with the destruction of the Gate mentioned in the Koran nothing would hinder the Turks in their passage through it. This makes it probable that the poem was written in the IXth century when the peoples of the Near East lived in a frenzied fear of Turkish invasion and generally believed that the appearance of the Turks would portend the end of the world. As to the poem's references to the Barbarians, the passages describing the anthropological traits of the Barbarians are particularly interesting.

d) «The Book of the Bee» by Solomon, Bishop of Basra (pp. 25—6).

Detailed references are made to the peoples of Gog and Magog by Solomon, the Nestorian bishop of Basra in the first half of the XIIIth century, in his work entitled *Kᵉṯàbā dᵉ-dəbbôrîṯā* [Book of the Bee]. This title was meant to express the author's method of collecting, with the industry of the bee, the material of his book from various ancient writings. The book comprises the entire history of the world from the creation to the end of the world. As he himself says in the LIIIrd chapter, he took the LIII—LVth chapters — which are of special interest for us — from the book of «Methodios, Bishop of Rome», that is, from the above-mentioned Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios.

e) The Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios (pp. 26—34).

On the ensuing pages (pp. 25—34) Kmoskó deals in detail with the work of pseudo-Methodios and with the writings that betray indebtedness to this author. The rather detailed and circumstantial treatment may be explained by Kmoskó's predilection for a field in which he made some important discoveries and also by his preoccupation, in his last years, with the problems

concerning pseudo-Methodios. He does not speak of these studies in his MSS, but a paper of his, which he presented in Vienna, on the 13th of June, 1930, to the *VI. Deutsche Orientalistentage* and published in the next year in the VIth volume of *Byzantion* under the title «Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodius» (pp. 273—96), clearly indicates that Kmoskó was engaged, in his last year, in very intensive researches concerning pseudo-Methodios. In a note to the title of his Vienna paper[49] he remarks that his long article is but an abstract of an extended treatise which will be soon published. This writing was not found among his MSS, but a reference is made, on page 31 of the Syriac MS volume now under discussion, to a monograph of his, in preparatory stages, on pseudo-Methodios. This monograph was to contain a substantial introduction to the work of pseudo-Methodios, the circumstances and time of its composition and its influence, both in the East and in the West, upon apocalyptic literature and consequently upon the interpretation of history throughout the course of the Middle Ages. As the main part of his monograph, Kmoskó intended to feature the Syriac text of pseudo-Methodios which he discovered in the Vatican Library, in a codex (Cod. Vat. Syr. 58. A. D. 1564) which, although described already by Simeon Assemani in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, had entirely escaped the notice of those who investigated the problem of pseudo-Methodios before Kmoskó. Kmoskó actually began the writing of the monograph as we find two fragments[50] among his MSS, one of which is from his introduction and the other from the critical apparatus prepared by him for this text. The text of his paper published in *Byzantion* and his expositions on pp. 23—34 of his MS have several points of contact. The main difference between the two is that, while the main themes of his Vienna lecture are the discovery of the Syriac original of pseudo-Methodios, the mutual relations of the Latin, Greek, Slav and Syriac texts to each other and the time and circumstances of its composition, his handwritten expositions, beside a brief treatment of these themes, deal mainly with the literary influence of pseudo-Methodios.

In his manuscript expositions Kmoskó reviews the Latin variants of the text, as known through Sackur's edition, and the Greek and Slav variants as published by Istrin. He states that priority must be given to the old Latin translation. He rejects the view shared also by Sackur, that the original was composed in Greek, because a comparison of the Syriac text discovered by Kmoskó with the Greek text clearly bears out the originality of the Syriac. This is corroborated by the fact that the Syrians were familiar with the Apocalypse of pesudo-Methodios. This work is mentioned three times in the Syriac-Arab dictionary of Bar Bahlûl, is explicitly quoted twice by Michael

[49] *Loc. cit.*, p. 373, n. 1.
[50] A IV, pp. 256—7.

Syrus and is referred to by the Metropolitan ʿAbdîsôʿ of Nisibis in his metric history of literature with the following words : «Bishop Methodios who wrote about the succession of generations . . .» The title of the work, in the Syriac text, is as follows : *Speech which was composed by the blessed Mar Methodios, Bishop of Olympos and a martyr, about the succession of Royal Empires and the End of the World*, and the title of the Latin translation is : *Incipit Sancti Methodii episcopi Paterensis Sermo de regnum cantium et in novissimis temporibus certa demonstratio.* As the title suggests, the writing consists of two parts: one dealing with the past and another with the last things. Kmoskó points out that apocalyptic writings, as a rule, contain three parts. In the first part history is reviewed by some ancient authority who purports to be the author of the whole work. Events are traced in this first part up to the time of the purported author. The second part covers the sequence of events between the age of the purported author and the time of the real author. The narration of events is, in fact, *vaticinatio ex eventu*, which, however, by its calculated vagueness, tries to make the impression of a genuine prophecy. The third part is the apocalyptic section, in the strict sense of the word, in which the author leaves the firm ground of the present and speaks of the future, unvoluntarily giving himself away by the vagueness of his forecasts. The second part is strangely missing in the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios, and the author, when dealing with the past, presents a simple historical review. Then he so cleverly passes to his forecasts that the line between the two parts can hardly be established. On the following pages Kmoskó describes in detail the contents of the Syriac codex. Since this description was published with the text of his Vienna lecture as well, there is no need to discuss it here in detail. From the viewpoint of our subject particular importance must be attached to pseudo-Methodios' enumeration of the peoples inclosed by Alexander the Great. The list of these peoples was discussed by Marquart also, in his *Streifzüge*. Kmoskó relies on eight different works to publish a comparative table of this list (1. Cod. Vat. Syr. 58 ; 2. Book of the Bee ; 3. Pseudo-Methodios ed. Istrin ; 4. Cod. Ottob. gr. 192 ; 5. Pseudo-Callisthenes ed. Müller ; 6. Hist. of Alexander ed. Budge ; 7. Pseudo-Dionysios ed. Tullberg ; 8. Pseudo-Ephraem ed. Lamy). He states that some of the names can be traced back to the *Peshitta*. The second group of names derives from the popular history of Alexander the Great. Certain variants may spring from some unknown recensions of the Alexander romance. Kmoskó thinks that the list in the Alexander romance of pseudo-Callisthenes, inserted by a Christian interpolator, is taken directly from the work of pseudo-Methodios.

The text of pseudo-Methodios played a very important part, both in the East and in the West, even centuries after its composition. Its influence was especially remarkable in France where, in the beginning of the VIIIth

century, the Southern territories were in danger of Arab invasions, while the aristocrats, defending their privileges, were involved in a desperate struggle with the royal court. The Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios was instrumental in popularising the idea of sovereignty by God's grace, thus smoothing the path for the empire of Charlemagne, and inspiring the hope that the Western Roman emperor, as the sword of Christianity, will lead his people to victory over the Islam. Another effect of the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of Hungarian history. According to Kmoskó this apocalypse had a very important part in insuring the success of the roving bands of Magyars who, in the period of their marauding excursions, got as far as the Atlantic Ocean. Under the influence of pseudo-Methodios the peoples of Western Europe regarded the appearance of marauding Magyars as a portent of the world's end, and this very idea paralysed their will to resist, so that they sat idle while the Magyars devastated their countryside. A witness to this depressed mood is found in a letter addressed to bishop Bado of Verdun which was published in the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*.[51] Kmoskó concludes his expositions by enumerating those who later recast the text of pseudo-Methodios.

The only comment we wish to make here is that the chapter dealing with pseudo-Methodios is one of the most valuable parts of Kmoskó's MSS remains. By his discovery of the original Syriac text he made a very significant contribution to the study of the work of pseudo-Methodios. His expositions on the significance of this apocalypse are also very important. The study of recent literature shows that these statements of appraisal are no exaggerations. A. R. Anderson, who only had Kmoskó's Vienna lecture at his disposal, agrees, in the essentials,[52] with Kmoskó's findings to which he adds his own results, thus establishing some new facts that are foreshadowed in Kmoskó's handwritten work. Anderson, too, thinks that the influence of pseudo-Methodios was «immense» in Medieval literature and, as he states, Kmoskó had no small part in establishing this conclusion.

B) The Geographical Appendix to the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor (pp. 35—6).

The Syriac redaction of the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor, which was originally composed in Greek, more precisely, the geographical appendix of this Syriac text, is of ontstanding importance for the history of the Northern peoples. It contains, on the one hand, a detailed list of the peoples living north of the Caucasus and, on the other hand, outlines the dissemination of Christianity among these peoples. The Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor

[51] It was first published by Martène and Durand : *Collectio amplissima veterum scriptorum* I (Paris 1724), pp. 230—5 ; cf. *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*, pp. 329—35 (K).

[52] *Op. cit.*, pp. 44—57.

consists of 12 books. Of these only books III—VI may be regarded as translations ; books X and XI are lost, while the other books are compilations from various sources. From the viewpoint of our subject the most important part of the work is the geographical appendix to the fragmentary XIIIth chapter in which the Syrian redactor presents a geographical description of the inhabited earth *(oikoumene)* which, as he asserts, was originally prepared on the order of the Egyptian king Ptolemaios Philometor who sent envoys to the kings of various countries, asking them to send descriptions of their own and the neighbouring countries. With the exception of the data from the North-Eastern, North-Western and Northern regions the king obtained these descriptions. The Syriac redactor thought it necessary to produce the missing data. Thus he included in his redaction a list of the Northern peoples. Kmoskó quotes the text of Zacharias Rhetor from Land's edition ; he did not know yet of Brooks' edition which was published in 1921.

We may note here that Kmoskó, although he clearly indicates the great significance of Zacharias Rhetor, fails to give such a thoroughgoing treatment to this work as he accorded to the apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios. This is all the more regrettable as those who made a study, since Land's edition,[53] of the list of Zacharias, thus Nöldeke,[54] H. Gelzer,[55] Marquart,[56] Chavannes,[57] Zlatarski;[58] among the Hungarians, Gy. Moravcsik,[59] J. Németh ;[60] and most recently P. Pelliot,[61] A. Maricq[62] and W. B. Henning,[63] have concentrated their researches upon the individual names of peoples in the list, and only E. Honigmann[64] and N. Pigulevskaya[65] have returned to the problems of literary history affecting the appendix as a whole. Particularly insufficient

[53] Cf. his edition in *Anecdota Syriaca* III (Leyden 1875), pp. 2—340.

[54] *Tabari*, p. 115, n. 2 ; cf. Barthold : Зап. Вост. Отд Имп. Русск. Арх. Общ. XI (1897), p. 345.

[55] H. Gelzer in the work *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, transl. by K. Ahrens und G. Krüger (Leipzig 1899), p. 383.

[56] *Streifzüge*, p. 355—7 ; cf. F. W. K. Müller : *Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth* (Berlin 1920), pp. 312—3 ; H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica* (Berlin 1934), p. 40.

[57] *Documents*, p. 250.

[58] История на българската държава I (Sofia 1918), p. 35.

[59] *Ungarische Jahrbücher* X (1930), p. 63.

[60] *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [Ethnic Evolution of the Pre-Conquest Magyars]. Budapest 1930, p. 179.

[61] *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot II (Paris 1950), p. 207.

[62] In E. Honigmann—A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis:* Acad. Royal de Belgique. Mémoires in 8°. XLVII/4 (Bruxelles 1953), p. 82.

[63] *BSOAS* XIV/3 (1952), p. 505.

[64] *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ* (Heidelberg 1929), p. 116

[65] Сирийские источники по истории народов СССР (М.—Л. 1941), pp. 9—14.

has been the attention paid to the question concerning the immediate origin of the names in the list, that is, the question of intermediate sources, the solution of which might, at the same time, furnish the key to the date of composition of the work.

C) Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Chronicles (pp. 37—57).

a) Joshua the Stylite (pp. 37—8).

One of the most ancient and most valuable of the Syriac chronicles is the historical work that is known under the name of Joshua the Stylite. It was written in the first decade of the VIth century and contains, among other things, valuable data about the nomadic peoples. It was preserved in an anonymous historical work (Cod. Vat. Syr. 162) which scholars, following the opinion of Assemani, once used to attribute to Dionysios Tellmahrensis. In this book the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite constitutes an independent part, copied *in toto* and incorporated in his own work by the unknown VIIIth century author.

Kmoskó outlines the debates about the authorship of the Stylite's chronicle. He quotes the note of a copyist by the name of Elisha on folio 65 of the Vatican MS in which Elisha asks God's blessing «upon the stylite Màr Îšô' of the Zûqnîn monastery who wrote this book of reminiscences of bad times past.» S. Assemani took this sentence as a reference to the author of the VIth century chronicle incorporated in the VIIIth century work. Nau challenged this view and preferred to interpret the above sentence as a reference to the author of the VIIIth century work. This, however, did not settle the question. Haase reasserted Assemani's view, identifying Joshua with the author of the VIth century product of Monophysitism. Kmoskó leaves open the question. He merely stresses that the author of the Vth century work must undoubtedly have been a contemporary of the narrated events. His narration is extraordinarily vivid, picturesque and pragmatic; every line of his betrays the contemporary whose soul gave sympathetic response to the sufferings and troubles caused by war. «We may say without exaggeration that this brief chronicle, which contains many valuable data concerning the Huns, is one of the best historical works ever penned by Syrians.» In conclusion Kmoskó lists the editions and translations of Joshua the Stylite.

Recent research concurs with Kmoskó's estimate of this chronicle. In reconstructing the events of the Graeco-Persian wars, this chronicle is an indispensable source which is on a par with the best Byzantine sources. It is equally important from the viewpoints of Byzantine as well as Persian history. Christensen often avails himself of its reports in reconstructing Persian history,[66]

[66] A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2] (Copenhague 1944), p. 80.

while Stein makes the same use of it when writing the history of the Byzantine empire.[67] In her monograph, connected with certain Byzantine and Persian subjects, Pigulevskaya publishes its Russian translation with copious explanations.[68] Yet the problem of its authorship is still unsettled. The most important conjecture was made by Baumstark who admits that the sentence in question by the copyist may refer, in a formal sense, to both works.[69] He nevertheless emphasises that the work was obviously written not in Zûqnîn but in Edessa (although, of course, it can also be conjectured that the author had moved from Edessa to Zûqnîn). With his opinion Baumstark, in essence, joins those (Nöldeke, Duval, Brockelmann) who adopted Nau's view. Kmoskó and, in part, recent literature too have failed yet to scrutinize Joshua's sources. Joshua the Stylite wrote in Edessa, that is, in a city lying between Byzantium and Iran. So in theory, his reports on the nomads must be traced to Middle Persian and Byzantine sources — either written or oral. This is, of course, very important from the viewpoint of interpreting the names of nomadic peoples as listed in Joshua's chronicle. His reports on the Nomads were made use of before Kmoskó by Nöldeke and Marquart in their studies on the history of Iran's Northern boundaries.[70] Of late R. Ghirshman too made use of his data on the Hephthalites.[71] But as far as a really systematic exploitation is concerned, only Pigulevskaya availed herself of Joshua's reports[72] in her monograph on the peoples of the Steppe.

b) The Edessa Chronicle (p. 39).

Some data about the Huns are also to be found in the *Edessa Chronicle*, which are all the more valuable as they were recorded by a well-informed author who, in composing his narrative, had drawn upon the archives of the city Edessa. The chronicle begins its records with 131 B. C. and ends with 540 A. D. The latter date also suggests the time of the chronicle's composition.[73]

In the following lines Kmoskó limits himself to a mere enumeration of the chronicle's editions and translations. We feel that it would have been helpful to tell the readers that Edessa was one of the important centres of Syria's literary and cultural life where valuable documents had accumulated which are significant for the history of both the city and of Syria. So later

[67] E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris 1949), *passim.*
[68] Месопотамия на рубеже V—VI. вв. н. е. (М.—Л. 1940).
[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 146.
[70] Nöldeke mainly in his *Tabari*, Marquart in his *Streifzüge* and *Ērānšahr*.
[71] R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Le Caire 1948), p. 146 *s. v.*
[72] *Op. cit.*, *passim.*
[73] Baumstark had a similar view : *op. cit.*, p. 99.

writings, as *The Lives of Edessa Saints* and *The Legend of Euphemia*, may have garnered their information from these literary sources of Edessa. This conjecture is of great significance in assessing the value of several data (cf. below, p. 64).

c) The Chronicle of Arbela (p. 39).

Another historical writing, composed at a time that makes it almost a contemporary of the Edessa Chronicle, is the chronicle of the Nestorian churchman M^{e}šîḥā Z^{e}ḥā of Adiabene who records the church history of Adiabene.[74] The chronicle was published by Mingana and translated into German by Sachau. Its references to the nomads are particularly important from the viewpoint of Hephthalite history. Kmoskó, as previously so now too, fails to discuss the question concerning the immediate source of the people's names in the text.

d) The Chronicle of Joannes Ephesinus (pp. 40—2).

It is, in the first place, from the viewpoint of the history of Avars and Slavs that we must attach significance to this chronicle which was written towards the end of the VIth century. Kmoskó reviews in detail the biography of Joannes which is well attested by several sources. His life reflects the vicissitudes of the Church of the Monophysites, and so his biography presents, at the same time, a very instructive panorama of his age.[75] His chronicle consisted originally of three parts ; the first of these was lost. The original of the second part is also missing, but the above-mentioned (41) historical work, which is preserved in the Cod. Vat. 162, has a hithertoo unpublished third part that «contains, almost *verbatim*», the second part of Joannes' *Church History*. Among later writers Michael Syrus also perused the work of Joannes, and, through the writing of the latter Barhebraeus as well. Some fragments were published also in Land's *Anecdota*. The third part, although in a defective condition, is still extant. This part covers the events between 572 and 585 and is one of the most valuable sources of early Slav history.

Kmoskó's rather instructive appraisal is as follows : «From the viewpoint of the movements of Monophysitism the work of Joannes is one of the most important sources. His style is careless, his manner of narration is sometimes quite confused and his work exhibits all the marks of a hasty and unsystematic composition. The author himself is conscious of these defects which he excuses by the circumstances of composition (III, 2, 50) ; the major

[74] Cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ; Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 134—5.
[75] Cf. Pigulevskaya, Сирийские источники, pp. 15—28.

part of his work was written in times of persecution ; he had to hide his writings, books and notes in various places, sometimes for years, and so it happened that he occasionally had to continue the writing of his work when its finished parts were inaccessible and, because of lapses of his memory, he wrote about events which had already been discussed in previous chapters of his work, and, then later he had no time to smooth the uneven parts of his narration. This weakness of the work was also recognised by Michael Syrus and he made laborious efforts to arrange its parts in a chronological sequence and thus use it for the purpose of his own chronicle (ed. Chabot, 327 = II, 356—7).»

With regard to these expositions of Kmoskó we may note here that the relation between the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* and the second part of Joannes' work seems to be to us more complicated than it appeared to Kmoskó. For instance, it is not only from the work of Joannes that the author of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* quotes Malalas, but he takes his Joannes quotations from a compilation which, beside the work of Joannes, draws upon other sources as well.[76] So preference should be given to the opinion of those who maintain certain qualifications in identifying the second part of Joannes' work with the third part of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle.*

Similarly, the relation of Michael Syrus to Joannes also remains an unsolved problem for us. Michael too goes beyond the work of Joannes in making use of other sources, even in cases when the work of Joannes appears to be the only known source.[77]

Finally we must state a serious deficiency in Kmoskó's expositions inasmuch as there is a reference to the invasion of the Huns in the year of 395 in a fragment of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* edited by Nau, and Kmoskó omits to mention this both in his introduction to the work of Joannes and in that to the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* and also fails to publish this reference in his extracts taken form these two histories (cf. below, pp. 57, 59).[78]

e) The Chronicle published by Guidi (p. 43).

Important data about the history of Bahrām Čōbēn, the rebellious chieftain of Hormuzd IV and also concerning the spreading of Christianity among the Turks are contained in this historical fragment the MS of which is preserved with the text of the *Synodicon Orientale.*

The chronicle, even in its present shape, presents a well-rounded narration of events. It recounts the ascension of Hormuzd IV to the throne,

[76] Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 829—31.

[77] Marquart, *Streifzüge* p. 479—89.

[78] The fragment in question has been discussed by Marquart ; of latest in: *Caucasica* VII (1931), p. 125.

his tyrannic reign, the rebellion of Bahrām Čōbēn, the flight of Khosrav II to Emperor Maurikios, his war against Bahrām Čōbēn, the death of Maurikios, the subsequent Byzantine-Persian war, the victorious counter-offensive of Herakleios, the final collapse of the Persian empire and, at last, the emergence of the Arabs whose victories are attributed by the author to divine will. Beside the history of the world, the author also deals with the history of the church, with the events in the life of the Nestorian church. So he recounts the missionary work of Elias, the Metropolitan of Marw, among the Turks. He also gives one of the oldest descriptions of the Turks' rain-making magic.

The author of the work is not known ; Nöldeke thought that he was a native of Iraq or Xuzistan. Kmoskó, accepting Guidi's view, holds it probable that the various parts of the chronicle were written at different times. Its references to the Persians exhibit certain archaic features, and so it may be assumed, with great probability, that the chronicle was composed about 670—680. Though not long, this chronicle is a very valuable source : its description of the beginning of the reign of Khosrav II differs from that of the Arab sources, thus proving very useful in checking the data of the latter.[79]

f) The Liber Calipharum (p. 44).

This writing which is preserved on fol. 1—57 of a work bearing the catalogue mark Brit. Mus. Add. N° 14,643, saec. VIII, relates, among other things, the invasion of the Huns in 395, in the year of the death of Theodosios the Great, into Asia Minor. Its introductory chapter is a laconic account of the world's nations and most notable islands, followed by a review of the main events of the Old Testament. The latter is based on the 23rd chapter of the book *Taḥwijàtā* [The Demonstrations] which is the work of the IVth century author Aphraates. The second part is a pell-mell jumble of names and historical data. The passages dealing with the Huns and Slavs are to be found in this part. The third part presents a list of the most important synods, while the fourth gives the succession of califs. It was on account of the subject of this fourth part that Land, the first publisher of the work, gave to it the somewhat inaccurate[80] name *Liber Calipharum*. The author is not known. Considering the names in his list of the califs, he was probably a contemporary of Calif Hišām (724—743).

g) The Zûqnîn Chronicle (pp. 45—6).

Mention has been made above (41, 44) of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* which is preserved in the work bearing the catalogue mark Cod. Vat. Syr. 162.

[79] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 207 ; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* I (Paris 1951), pp. 121—7.

[80] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 274.

In his introduction to this work Kmoskó discusses Nau's discovery who was the first to challenge the view held since S. Assemani that his chronicle is the work of Dionysios Tellmahrensis.[81] He notes notes that Nau had not yet had the Syriac text of the great chronicle of Michael Syrus at his disposal. Since the second part of the chronicle of Joannes Ephesinus was incorporated both into the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* and into the work of Michael Syrus, it would not be difficult to corroborate, by new arguments, the opinion of Nau who traced the third part of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* to Joannes Ephesinus (cf., however, 44).

The fourth, concluding, part of the chronicle recounts the events under the reign of Justinos II and his successors, the last kings of the Sāsān dynasty, the Omayyads of Damascus and the first califs of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty up to 776. Only this part of the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* can be regarded as an independent work. In this part of his work, in which he does not make use of sources, the author proves to be a rather second-rate writer. His work is poorly documented and overburdened with platitudinous reflections. His style is bizarre, his elocution awkward and he is ignorant of chronology. We have no hints as to his identity.

h) The Anonymous Chronicle of Events to 846 *(p. 46).*

«Several valuable data about the campaign of Calif Sulaimān against Constantinople in 716—717 and about the war waged by the Omayyad Prince ʿAbd al-Malik against the Khazars are to be found in the Syriaç chronicle of events up to the year of 846. The MS of the anonymous chronicle bears the catalogue number Br. Mus. Add. 14.642, saec. X. It was first published by Brooks *(ZDMG* LI [1897], pp. 569—588; cf. *CSCO* Ser. III, 4. *Chron. Minor.* pp. 157—238).»[81b]

i) The Chronicle of Seert (p. 47).

This chronicle which was first published by Addai Scher is written in Arabic, yet it is obviously a translation of a Syriac original. So Kmoskó finds it proper to discuss this work among the Syriac sources. It has particularly important bearings on the history of the Hephthalites whom the chronicle repeatedly mentions in connection with the history of the Persian kings. Its Mosul fragment presents the history of the Christian church up to the reign of Theodosios II, more precisely, to 422. The Seert fragment is an ecclesiastical and political chronicle which is presented within the framework of the history

[81] Cf. Baumstark, *ibid.* (274); cf. R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, Leipzig 1940.

[81b] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.* 273.

of the Nestorian patriarchs. It covers the events up to the middle of the VIIth century.

We can make no accurate inferences as to its author and the time and date of its composition. The *terminus a quo* is the time of the patriarch Îšô' bar Nûn (820—824) who is mentioned by the author in the first part of his chronicle. As to the *terminus ad quem*, it is significant that the work of the XIIth or XIIIth century Nestorian writer, Mārī ibn Sulaimān, in the part of his work dealing with the history of the Nestorian patriarchs, has numerous passages which exhibit a word-to-word agreement with the corresponding passages of the Seert Chronicle. Kmoskó's explanation is that Mārī had known and used the Chronicle of Seert.

We may note here that Kmoskó had missed C. F. Seybold's review[82] of the chronicle's printed editions. In this Seybold comes essentially to the same conclusion as Kmoskó, inasmuch as he stresses that it was not in the time of the insignificant 'Abbāsid Ẓāhir (d. 1226), but in the time of the Fāṭimid Ẓāhir (1021—1036) that the chronicle was written, that is to say, not long after 1036 and still in time for Mārī to use the chronicle as the main source of his own work. Kmoskó, however, could not know of Marquart's pertinent expositions, as these were only published posthumously, in 1936, in the supplement of Marquart's book *Wehrot und Arang*.[83]

j) The Kitāb al-Mijdal by Mārī ibn Sulaimān (pp. 48—9).

The author is one of the main representatives of the historical traditions of Nestorianism. The first part of his book deals with systematic theology, while the second part presents historical theology. The first half of the second part has the history of the Nestorian patriarchs as its theme, but some extremely valuable data of secular history are also contained in it. The time covered by this part reaches to the middle of the XIIth century.

Kmoskó points out that some data furnished by Mārī can only be taken *cum grano salis*. In some cases he falls into serious errors. Thus he mixes up the Persian kings Šāpūr I and II, and regards emperor Markianos, who died before the ascension of the Persian king Pērōz, as the latter's contemporary. On the other hand, he reports on events of which other sources say very little or nothing. Thus he mentions that the Byzantines also suported Pērōz against the «Turks» (Hephthalites). The only writer who mentions this fact among the other Eastern authors is Joshua the Stylite. As to his data on the

[82] *ZDMG* LXVI (1912), pp. 742—6; Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 5—6, Graf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 195.

[83] J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, ed. H. H. Schaeder (Leiden 1938), pp. 176—7.

Northern nations, his report on the conversion of the Kerait Turks calls for special attention. Then Kmoskó reviews the edition of Mārī's work by H. Gismondi and the redactions of the writing by ʿAmr ibn Mattā and Ṣalība ibn Jūḥannā.[84]

k) The Chronicle of Michael Syrus (pp. 50—5).

One of the most voluminous and most valuable products of Syriac historical literature is the Chronicle of the Jacobite patriarch Michael «the Great» which presents the events to 1194—1195. In view of its importance Kmoskó gives it a very thoroughgoing treatment. Following Barhebraeus, he presents the main facts of Michael's life and tells the story how his MS was found. He states that the chronicle became known in the last century through an Armenian translation.[85] He mentions the Karšūnī (Arab written with Syriac letters) exemplar of the work which was acquired by the British Museum in 1891. He refers to the opinion of Wright, already expressed in his history of the Syriac literature, that the original of the chronicle was extant in the library of a Syrian monastery — no one knowing which monastery. Then Kmoskó recounts the European journey, in 1897, of I. E. Rahmani who later became patriarch of the Syrians. In Vienna Kmoskó had met with Rahmani who had brought along a copy of Michael's chronicle. Rahmani had negotiations with several academies of learning about the publication of the chronicle, but the discussion, «owing to the exorbitant demands laid down by Rahmani», remained unsuccessful. But further effort was made to secure the MS when J. B. Chabot, in the next year, undertook his journey to the Near East with the purpose of finding the MS. He succeeded in this, «after various and allegedly romantic episodes», and he published, between 1899 and 1910, with the support of the French Academy, a facsimile edition and translation of the MS.

The MS owned by the Jacobite monastery of Edessa is a copy made in 1598 from another copy which, however, was prepared directly from the autograph. In spite of this, it abounds in disturbing omissions and other errors. The same may be said of the Arabic translation, although, on the whole, it is a faithful interpretation of the Syriac original. The errors of the copyists and of the Arab translator must be attributed, in the first place, to the complicated structure of the chronicle. (It has a «three-column» pattern, the outer one registering the data of church history, the middle column those of secular history, while the inner column the earthquakes, meteorological phenomena

[84] Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 200—2; 216—8.

[85] Published in French translation by Dulaurier, in *JA* Sér 4, vols. XII—XIII (1848—9) (K).

etc.) Such an error was made, e. g., by the Arab translator, in chapter XIV which is on the «Turks», where the author himself deviates from his plan and, while adhering to this theme, places his first chapter into the first and the second chapter into the second column. As the chapters are unequal in length, the fourth chapter is arranged as to appear as the continuation of the first. It adds to the confusion that the author sometimes omits the numbering of his chapters. No wonder that the Arab translator, unmindful of the inner structure of the work, presented a faulty sequence of events. After these explanations Kmoskó reviews the contents of the chronicle's twenty-one chapters.

It is especially the part dealing with church history that establishes the value of Michael's chronicle. There can be no doubt that in this part, by the publication or accurate epitomising of original documents as well as by his independent investigations into the sources, Michael performs a first-class job. On the other hand, the part of his chronicle that deals with secular history is much less valuable. In recording secular events Michael is not more than a dryasdust and often careless compilator. As to the problems of secular history, he hardly makes any independent researches worth of notice, and the alien sources used are also small in number.

Then Kmoskó reviews the sources of the VIII—XIth chapters which are of special interest to us. These are Zacharias Rhetor, John of Ephesos, Dionysios Tellmahrensis, the work of Jacob of Edessa the major part of which was lost, the lost work by John of Litarba, Ignatios of Melitene and other authors of less note. Michael also makes allusions that, in some instances, he had to use non-Christian, that is, in all probability, Arabic sources. But his text admits no conclusions as to the identity of these non-Christian sources. The value of Michael's work is, at any rate, enhanced by the fact, that he publishes reports from numerous Syriac sources which are no longer extant.

l) The Historical Works of Barhebraeus (pp. 56—7).

One of the best known representatives of Syriac writers of history is Barhebraeus, the *mapr^{e}yàn* of the Eastern Jacobites. It was the time of his youth that witnessed the campaigns of the Mongolians in Asia Minor. His studies comprised theology as well as practically all branches of the learning of his age, from philology to philosophy, from medicine to astronomy. But this encyclopaedic scope of his interests rather hampers the independent working of his mind. His works which were made for practical purposes are orderly and clear-cut summaries based on alien sources.

His Syriac chronicle continues the great *opus* of Michael. He himself tells, in his introduction, that, since the death of Michael, no one among the

Syrians had cultivated the study of history. So to meet the need, he prepared, during his stay in Maragha, on the basis of Syriac, Persian and Arabic MSS found there, a sequel to Michael's work. As to earlier times, the work of Barhebraeus has hardly anything that would represent an independent advance over the work of Michael. But, in his record of the events following 845, that is, the death of Dionysios Tellmahrensis, he sometimes draws upon Arabic sources too. As to the times after the death of Michael, his chronicle is a source of first-class significance.[86]

Immediately before his death that occurred in 1286 Barhebraeus also published the Arabic version of his chronicle. This is, however, not a mere translation but rather a thoroughgoing recast of his original work. His main sources in this later version, beside the work of Michael, are the chronicle of Agapios and — in the biographical sections — the writing of al-Qifṭī.[87]

His third work is also based on Michael's chronicle, specifically on the outer column of the latter which records church history. Two thirds of the work are devoted to the history of the Jacobite patriarchate of Antiochia and one third to the history of the Jacobite and Nestorian churches in Eastern Mesopotamia. In the second part of his work he profusely quotes Nestorian chronicles, chiefly the work of Mārī. It is from the latter source that he culls his reports on the conversion of the Kerait Turks.[88]

D) Introduction to the Hagiologies (pp. 58—61).

a) The Life of Ephraem (p. 58).

Ephraem began his work in Nisibis, when emperor Jovinian, after the disastrous campaign of Julian the Apostate, surrendered Nisibis to the Persians. He then moved to Edessa where he remained until his death in 373. This Syriac variant of his biography is extant in two recensions. The Paris recension mentions the offensive of the Huns against Edessa which yet took place in Ephraem's lifetime, that is, before 373. Kmoskó thinks that it is rather difficult to assess this fact properly. In his opinion the incursion of the Huns in itself would pose no difficulty, but the silence of the *Edessa Chronicle* about this event is rather strange. So we must be cautious in making use of this date in the Paris recension (cf. below, p. 64).

b) The Biography of Peter of Iberia (p. 59).

This work is a translation from Greek, but the Greek original is not extant. Peter of Iberia, a prince royal, was twelve years old when he was

[86] Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[87] Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 274—5.
[88] Cf. W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen* (Berlin 1935), p. 128.

taken as a hostage to the court of Theodosius II. Later, in order to take the vows, he escaped first to Jerusalem, then to Maiyuma near Gaza where he became bishop after the Synod of Chalkedon. He had a notable part in spreading the doctrines of Monophysitism. As a result of his work, the position of the Monophysites was consolidated in Oxyrynchos, Egypt and also in Arabia and Phoenicia. He died at the age of eighty around 489.

According to Kmoskó, his biography was written about 500. The author of the work is not known ; it can only be inferred, on the basis of intrinsic arguments, that he belonged to the intimate circle of Peter. The bearing which the work has on our theme is the mention of the White Huns as the neighbours of the Iberians.

Commenting briefly on Kmoskó's expositions, we may note here that he does not quote Nöldeke's review that deals with Raabe's edition of Peter's biography.[89] It seems that Nöldeke's pertinent observations and critical comments had escaped his attention. So his expositions cannot even adumbrate the lively debate that broke out after his death around this biography.[90] We have no space here to deal with the points of this debate, and only wish to state that the facts known to us at present admit no other conclusion but that the biography was written after 528 — an inference quite important in assessing the above-mentioned reference to the White Huns.

c) The History of the Karkā d^e-Bêt S^{e}lôk Martyrs (60).

As this writing contains the history of martyrs of one town only, under the reign of the Persian king Yazdgerd II, it cannot be properly called a martyrology but rather a town chronicle. Its data are, on the whole, trustworthy.

Mention is made in the work of the Persian king's campaign against a people called *ṭšōl*. Kmoskó thinks that the name is the Turkish word for 'sand'.[91] According to the Armenian Chronicle of Elisha, Yazdgerd waged four wars against the «Kushans». But, apart from this writing, our Syriac and Arabic sources do not speak of Yazdgerd's wars.

d) The Life of the Nestorian Martyr Màr Grîgôr (p. 60).

«From the viewpoint of our theme we must take special interest in the biography of Mār Grîgôr, the Nestorian martyr, who, by the order of Khosraw, was beheaded on Good Friday in 542. The writing mentions a people called

[89] *Literarisches Centralblatt* 1894 : pp. 484—6.

[90] Cf. E. Honigmann : *Mémoires* in 8°. Acad. Royal de Belgique. XLVII/3 (Bruxelles 1952), pp. 52—7.

[91] This explanation has been first put forward by Marquart, in *Ērānšahr*, p. 51

hangārājê that, according to the situation presupposed by the narrative, lived on the Southeastern slopes of the Caucasus. As to the identity of the author and the time of the work's composition we have no data. In view of its frequent use of Persian terms of technical nature we may assume that it was written prior to the Arab conquest and soon after the death of Mār Grîgôr.»

e) The Biography of the Nestorian Patriarch Màr Abā (p. 61).

«From the viewpoint of our theme particularly valuable data are to be found in the biography of the Nestorian patriarch Mār Abâ. This writing mentions the former biography's *hangarājê* as *kangarājê*, and also mentions the *haqtarāyê* people whose identity with the Ephthalites is suggested by Labourt.

Mār Abâ headed the Nestorians from 540 to 552. His biography seems to be reliable, though we have no positive knowledge as to its author and to the time of its composition.»

PART II. EXTRACTS FROM SYRIAC SOURCES (PP. 62—241)

A) Extracts from the Syrian Legend of Alexander (pp. 62—241).

a) The Prose Legend (pp. 62—70).

Kmoskó gives an annotated Hungarian translation of *The History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Budge) on pp. 255—71. The notes make about one fourth of the translation. They explain textual difficulties, proper names, names of peoples and refer to the parallel passages of other sources.

b) The Metric Homily «De fine extremo» by Ephraem (pp. 71—4).

An annotated translation from Lamy's edition *(S. Ephraemi Syri Hymni et sermones* III, pp. 189—99). The notes chiefly refer to the metric reconstruction of the text and to certain passages of the sermon in which allusions are made to the Islam.

c) Extract from the Metric Homily attributed to Jacob of Serugh on Alexander the Great (pp. 75—81).

The translation of lines 236—565 from the above-mentioned edition of Hunnius. The notes deal with the passages concerning the Fountain of Life in Babylonian and Muhammadan sources.

d) Chapter VIII of the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios (pp. 82—7).

Kmoskó publishes three variants of this chapter : a Hungarian translation based on the Syriac text of the Cod. Vat. Syr. 58, the Greek version

taken from Istrin's edition (pp. 17—20) and the Latin text based on a VIIIth century Latin translation edited by Sackur (pp. 72—5).

The notes deal with questions of textual criticism.

e) Abstract from the Book of the Bee (pp. 88—9).

A Hungarian translation based on the Syriac text of Budge's edition (pp. 145—7). The notes discuss the forms in which the names of Northern peoples appear in the text.

***B)* Extract from the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor (pp. 90—5).**

Kmoskó gives a Hungarian translation of the passage dealing with the peoples of the North in the geographical appendix (ed. Land, *Anecd. Syr.* III, 336—9).

The notes refer to certain difficulties in the text, to the Caucasian mission of Christians — particularly Armenian Christians (with an appraisal of the researches made by Brosset, Tournebize, Laurent, Manandjan, Marquart and others), and to the forms in which the names of Northern peoples appear in the text. Kmoskó's notes also deal with the mission of Probos and, at the end of the text, with the report on the Nestorians of Persia.

It is rather strange that Kmoskó, although the facsimile of the text also stood at his disposal, does not give the names of the Northern peoples in the unvocalised forms as written in the MS (like Brooks' edition, p. $214_{18\text{-}26}$). Similar objection may be made to the practice of the translators (the Latin translation of Brooks, the English by Hamilton—Brooks, the German translation of Ahrens—Krüger, Duval *apud* Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 250). Marquart[92] is more precise in rendering these names: *Ūn(u)gūr*, *Ūg(u)r*, *Burgar*, *Kas(i)r;* but we must emphasise that in Syriac the *scriptio plena* can also be used to denote short vowels, and that the *a* is not the only pronunciation of the syllables which are without vowel signs. Thus, for instance, the pronunciation of the written word *ûngûr* may be *onogur* or something else as well. Marquart's complements are not always convincing. So, e. g., the complemented *i* in the word *kas(i)r* is highly questionable.

But the most important defect of Kmoskó's expositions is that he fails to investigate the question of the immediate sources of the names. We know, for instance, of the names *abdel* and *eptalīt (ɔ : eftalīt)* that both denote the Hephthalites, and that the name *eptalīt*, in view of the lack of aspiration at its beginning and of the Graecising *-itai* ιται at its end, must, with all probability, spring from Byzantine source. It is also remarkable that the names *abdel* and *efthalit(ai)* are found together in the work of Theophylaktos

[92] *Streifzüge*, p. 356.

Simokattes (7, 7, 8), while the names *onogur*, *ogur*, *sabir*, *avar* are to be found in the usage of Priskos. If we, however, assume that it was through Byzantine mediation that these names got into the Syriac text, Marquart's position of regarding this list of names as an enumeration prepared in 555[93] is rendered untenable. It was as late as in 558 that the Avars began to enter the ken of the Byzantines. Yet the year 555 is given by the author himself (ed. Brooks $213_{20\text{-}24}$). Thus the question emerges whether this list of names is not a later interpolation in the chapter on the Huns. The assumption that the Syriac author had already before 555 learned of the Avars, from some non-Byzantine source, is, in itself, not impossible, but we must take into consideration that he speaks of the Northern peoples that live on the nearer and farther side of the Caucasus, and this is a statement which, before 555, could by no means refer to the Avars.

Kmoskó does not deal with the name *hrôs* which, in spite of chronological and other difficulties, seems to be the transcription of the Byzantine *῾Ρῶς*.[94] Neither does he discuss the name *kwalis* which, as it was recently discovered, is the name of the *k(w)aliz* who played some part in Hungary also.[95] The Muhammadan K(w)aliz came to the West in the company of the Pechenegs. It is remarkable that this name is absent from the older Byzantine sources.[96] Also absent from extant Byzantine sources is the name *k.s.r.* Kmoskó refers briefly to the opinion held by Marquart and Gelzer who try to identify this word with *Ακάτζιροι*, resp. with the name of the Khazars.[97] Pelliot too takes *k.s.r.* as the name of the Khazars and he agrees with Marquart that the list was prepared in 555. On the other hand, Henning, while reading *k.s.r.* as the name of the Khazars *(χazar ~ χazir ; Ἀκάτζιροι ~ *aq-χasir, *aq-χazar)*, firmly rejects the hypothesis about the Greek origin of the list. He thinks that the forms in which the names of the list appear do not indicate a Greek original. But he does not elaborate his arguments.

All these problems call for a new investigation. Even so we may perhaps state here that the data in the Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor can only be used with caution and careful criticism. The author of the Syriac appendix wants to give a picture of the inhabited earth to his readers. But he himself stresses that the world has changed considerably since the days of Ptolemaios and that the picture he presents must be thoroughly revised, particularly with regard to the description of the Northern territories, Armenia and the Caucasus. The new description of the Northern territories gives, at the same time, an opportunity to the author to recount the history of missionary efforts

[93] *Ibid.*
[94] Cf. Pigulevskaya : Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей, pp. 42—8.
[95] Cf. Czeglédy : *Études Slaves et Roumaines* I (1948), pp. 62—4.
[96] Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II (Budapest 1943), p. 290.
[97] Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

by Byzantine and Armenian Christians on territories inhabited by the Huns. His informations on this subject, judged by the forms of names used by him in his account, were taken from Byzantine and Armenian sources. On the whole, we have no reason to challenge the authenticity of his reports, neither should we doubt that the geographical appendix was written in 555. But we must consider that all later copyists could have added contemporary intelligence to the enumeration of Northern peoples. We must all the more take this into account as the author of the appendix himself had the explicit purpose of bringing up to date the geographical knowledge of the age of Ptolemaios by adding recent data. So it is hardly possible to take the year 555 or, with regard to the whole of the Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor, the date 569, as being the original date of the list of Hunnic peoples.

C) Extracts from Syriac chronicles (pp. 96—220).

a) Joshua the Stylite (pp. 96—115).

As indicated in his introduction, Kmoskó regarded this work as the most important product of Syriac historiography. Accordingly, he publishes a considerable part of the text (pp. 8—20 ; pp. 44—63 in Wright's edition of the text, 92 being the total number of pages) in Hungarian translation. In this part comparatively small space is given to the notes. Kmoskó had a noteworthy comment on p. 9_{16}: ܟܘܫܢܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܟܘܫ: «Marquart (Ērānšahr, p. 58) reads here the word *kiûnājê* to mean the *Chionites* who are also mentioned in the time of Sapur II by Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 9, 4 ; XVII, 5, 1 ; XVIII, 6, 22). Ammianus reports that, when Sabor was preparing for war, the kings of the Chionites and Albanians marched on the side of the Persian king. He further says : *Chionitae et Gelani omnium acerrimi bellatores Saporis.* To my mind this hypothesis of Marquart lacks convincing force. If, for northing else, for the fact that the same Ammianus Marcellinus has *Hunni* (XXXI, 1, 2) as well as *Chuni* (XXXI, 8, 4) to denote the Huns. Nöldeke (Geschichte der Perser aus Tabari p. 115) tries to read *kûšanājê* instead of *kijûnājê*, but this emendation is utterly unfounded.»

We may note here, with regard to Kmoskó's expositions, that today, in the entire literature on the subject, the name-form *χyôn(àyē)* is regarded as corresponding to the *χyōn* of the Middle Persian. The same name is also given, on their coins, by the Hephthalites, as their own name.[98] From this we may make the important inference that the Western part of the Hephthalite empire, adjoining Persia, was inhabited by the Chionites.

Thus the name *Chionitae* points to Persian mediation. The reference of Ammianus Marcellinus to the Chionitae as the *Hunni* proves nothing else

[98] Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—21.

but that he took a part of his informations on the Chionites from Byzantine source.

The leading clan of the Chionites was called *qadiš*. This name is often used in the reports on the conquests of the Arabs in Afghanistan. The same name is used in the work of Joshua (ed. Wright, p. 17_{22}) to denote a nation which lived near the Western boundary of Persia, on the Byzantine-Persian frontier territory. Kmoskó does not deal with the question discussed by Nöldeke and Marquart whether the *qadiš* that are mentioned as living both on the Western and on the Eastern frontiers of Iran are the same people. Nöldeke rejected the idea of identity, while Marquart, working on the same data, arrived at the conclusion that the two ethnic fragments were of the same origin.[99] As we shall see below, it is the analysis of the Syriac sources that may shed new light upon this problem (cf. below p. 62—3).

b) Extracts from the Edessa Chronicle (pp. 116—7).

Kmoskó presents two short passages in Hungarian on the basis of Guidi's edition *(CSCO Chron. min.* I, pp. 5—6 ; 12—3). The first fragment reports on the invasion of the Huns into the Byzantine empire in 395.[100] In his notes to this fragment Kmoskó discusses the parallel passages of the relevant Byzantine and Eastern sources.

The second fragment speaks of the presbyter *ʿAbsamyā*, the son of Ephraem's sister, who, in 404, composed metric homilies on the invasion of the Huns into Byzantine territory.[101]

The third fragment reports on the great invasion of the Huns (Sabirs) in 531 into Asia Minor. This invasion, which constituted a chapter of the Persian-Byzantine War, is mentioned by numerous Byzantine sources[102] and also by Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, p. 278c = II, 192).

The first of these three passages is often referred to by the literature on the subject — the second and third passages are less known.

c) The Church History of Joannes Ephesinus (pp. 118—30).

Kmoskó took his extracts from the third part of the work which has not been incorporated by later writers in their compilations

[99] Nöldeke : *ZDMG* XXXIII (1879), 157—63; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 77—8.

[100] Cf. O. Gebhardt : *Die Akten der edessenischer Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 3. Reihe, VII/2 (Leipzig 1911), p. LIV.

[101] Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 67—8.

[102] Cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

The extracts deal with the battles which the Avars and Slavs fought in the Balkans at the end of the VIth century, about 572—582.

Kmoskó's Hungarian translations of the extracts are based on the edition of Cureton (117, the Avars ; 187, Avars and Slavs ; 360—3, Turks; 375—8, 395—403, Avars and Slavs; 412—4, Avars, Gepidae, the siege of Sirmium).

The reports of Joannes Ephesinus spring from Byzantine sources and furnish valuable parallels to the narratives of the same events by Menandros and Theophylaktos Simokattes. Its data concerning the Slavs were scrutinised by Dyakonov[103] and recently by Pigulevskaya.[104] Less attention has been paid to its data on the Avars and Turks and its account of the journey made by the embassy of Zemarchos (ed. Cureton, p. 395—8). In the latter we find the record of episodes unmentioned by the account of Menandros which reflect the experiences of Zemarchos and the Persian embassy in the court of the Turkish prince. Kmoskó's notes mainly refer to parallel reports in Byzantine and other sources.

In the introduction (cf. above, p. 43) the *Arbela Chronicle* is discussed before the work of Joannes Ephesinus.

d) The Arbela Chronicle (pp. 131—3).

Kmoskó publishes the part of the chronicle which covers the time from the death of Pērōz to the reign of Kavād (ed. Mingana, pp. 67 — 70) in Hungarian translation with notes.

We quote Kmoskó's comment on the passage reporting the battles of Pērōz against the «Huns» and his death : «Our author does not mention the year of Pîrûz's death, but this omission is not important inasmuch as we know from other sources that the king died in 484 (Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 425). But we have not known the month of the king's death in battle. The only conclusion which Nöldeke reached, by comparing the chronological data of relevant sources, was that the last year of Pîrûz came to its end on the 23rd of July, 484. This roughly corresponds to the date given in the *Arbela Chronicle* (August). Our Arab sources, as it is known (cf. Tabari I, p. 875), give the names *hajâtilah* and *turk* (ibid., p. 878), resp., to the enemies of the king. Joshua the Stylite calls them *kiûnājê* (§ 10) and *hûnnājê*, resp. ; the Armenian chronicle of Łazar P'arpec'i has the name *hephthalite* (cf. Langlois, II, p. 349) and the name in the work of Sebēos is *khušan* (Macler's translation, p. 4).»

The end of the fragment reports on the great invasion of the Huns in 505, in the course of the Byzantine war of Kavād. «According to Procopius

[103] А. П. Дьяконов, Иоанн Ефесский (Ст. Петерб. 1908).
[104] Сирийские источники, pp. 15—28.

(Pers. I. 8) and Evagrius *(Hist. Eccl.* III, 43) armies of the Huns broke through the Caucasian Gates into Azerbaidshan, in 505, so that Kavād was forced to call back his troops operating against the Byzantines and make peace.»[105]

e) Extracts from the Chronicle published by Guidi (pp. 134—8).

Kmoskó brings two fragments in translation. The first deals with the rebellion of Bahrām Čōbēn (ed. Guidi, pp. 15—7) and the other with the Nestorian mission of Elias, Metropolitan of Marw, among the Turks (ibid., p. 34—5) and with the rain-making shamans of the Turks.

The passages reporting on Bahrām Čōbēn also mention the «Gate of the Turks». In this connection Kmoskó explains that, according to a Byzantine variant of the reports on Bahrām Čōbēn, he went to the North, into Armenia, and it was here that he conquered the Turks, while the other versions (Arabic and Armenian sources) say that he fought the Turks in the regions of the Oxus. According to Kmoskó the chronicle under discussion seems to indicate that the campaign of Bahrām was directed against some Caucasian mountain pass in the North.

In one of his notes Kmoskó deals in detail with the literary activity of Elias the account of which can also be found in the metric history of literature by ʿAbdîšôʿ. The chronicler tells about the city of Marw that it was established by Alexander the Great and its first name was *Alexandria.* Kmoskó points out that the Greek sources corroborate certain statements of the Syriac chronicler and he sums up the history of Marw from ancient times to Timur's reign and our days. Elias worked in the middle of the VIIth century. «We cannot state positively whether the missionary activity of Elias of Marw preceded or followed the Arab conquest. According to Labourt *(De Timotheo I Nestorianorum patriarcha,* Parisiis 1904, p. 42) : ‚Chronicon a Guidi editum sub Maremmeh catholico (ann. 643/6) memorat Eliam metropolitam permultas e Turcis aliisque gentibus ad fidem convertisse'. But the text of the chronicle does not indicate when Elias became patriarch and how long he lived. Thus the exact date of the event cannot be fixed. It is also difficult to tell who are meant by the word ‚Turks' in the text. Arabs speak of the Ephthalites also as Turks, thus perhaps misnaming them. But we know positively that a part of Khorasan was inhabited by Ephthalites sometimes under Turkish rule.»

f) Extracts from the Liber Calipharum (pp. 139—41).

Kmoskó gives translation of the very detailed report on the invasion of the Huns, in 395, in the second part of the chronicle (ed. Brooks, p. 146).

[105] Cf. Stein, *op. cit.,* p. 98—9.

His numerous notes are mainly of chronological nature. The second fragment *(ibid.*, pp. 146—7) deals with the age of emperor Herakleios, reporting also on the invasion of the Slavs in 623.

g) Extracts from the Zûqnîn Chronicle (pp. 142—5).

Kmoskó gives three fragments of the chronicle in translation. With the publication of the first (ed. Chabot, pp. 4—7) Kmoskó has the purpose of demonstrating the serious chronological errors of the chronicler. E. Stein has lately dealt with this theme.[106] The second fragment *(ibid.*, pp. 24—6) recounts the war waged in 731 and 732 by Maslama and Ǧarrāḥ against the Khazars in the course of which the gate «built by Alexander the Great» in the Caucasus was destroyed. The third fragment *(ibid.*, pp. 43—4) relates the march of Marwān through the Turkish Gate and his battles with the Khazars.

Kmoskó thinks that the second and third fragments contain some data of historical value.

h) Extracts from the Anonymous Chronicle of Events to 846 (pp. 146—7).

The important fragment which Kmoskó brings in translation deals with the wars between the Arabs and Khazars from 715 to 728 (ed. Brooks, pp. 234—5). In his notes Kmoskó offers the data of the parallel sources (Byzantine, Arabic).

i) Extracts from the Nestorian Chronicle of Seert (pp. 148—52).

The extracts recount the story of the Byzantine girls sent to the Hephthalites (ed. Scher, IV, 224), the marriage of the Persian king Yazdgerd *(ibid.*, V, p. 316), events from the history of the Hephthalites *(ibid.*, VII, p. 107) and the history of Kavād and Jāmasp *(ibid.*, pp. 124—8).

The abstracts exhibit remarkable variations in the writing of the name of the Hephthalites. According to Kmoskó, «if the هفترانيين كفترانيين forms express the genuine phonetic value of the name it would be possible to assume that the original form of the name was *kaftarān* which would have the same relation to *haftarān* as the word *hunnājê* to the variant *kiûnājê*. Unfortunately, we can say nothing certain about this matter.» The question was also discussed by Marquart.[107] Although he did not explain the causes of the strange variations, he indicated that the pronunciation of χ instead of the generally pronounced *h* is a peculiarity of the Armenian

[106] Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 827—9.
[107] *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 176—7.

dialect of the Van region. In connection with this question we may briefly note that the key to this problem must be sought in the history of writing rather than in linguistics. The Arabis form is the simple transliteration of a written Syriac form ܗܦܛܠܐ The Syriac form ܗܦܛܠܐ reflects the plural **haftalān* in Middle Persian, as the phonetic value of the Syriac letter ܦ is *χ* and the letter ה in Middle Persian writing is both capable of denoting *χ* and *h*. The form *hayāṭila* indicates an Arabic source, as well as the name *turk* which is used as the fourth name of the Hephtalites, From all this it may be inferred that the author of the *Seert Chronicle* used, directly or indirectly, not only Syriac and Arabic[108] but also Middle Persian sources.

j) Extracts from the Work of Mārī ibn Sulaimān (pp. 153—5).

Kmoskó's translated extracts contain the following passages of Mārī's work : the chapter on the relations between Pērōz and the Turks (Hephthalites ; ed. Gismondi, p. 40), the reports on the death of Pērōz *(ibid.*, p. 42), on the reign of Kavād and Khosrav (p. 45), the reigns of the Persian king Hormuzd and the Byzantine emperor Tiberios (p. 55), the reign of Khosrav II (pp. 56—7), the story of how Timotheos converted the Turkish kaghan (p. 73) and the record of the conversion of a Turkish prince with his 200,000 subjects to Christianity (pp. 112—3).

In his notes Kmoskó deals mainly with the relation of Mārī's text to the *Seert Chronicle*,[109] and he also refers to the parallel passages in Byzantine and Syriac records. As to the conversion of the Turkish prince, Kmoskó remarks that this event probably reflects the Legend of Prester John on the basis of which Western Christians in the Middle Ages looked for Christians in the mountains of Asia, hoping that these will make an alliance with them against the Muhammadans.

k) Extracts from the Chronicle of Michael Syrus (pp. 156—219).

Of all Syriac sources Kmoskó's longest extract is taken from Michael's chronicle. The reasons for this are the great length of the work and the great number of its references to the Barbarians.

The narration of events in the extracts begin with the periods of emperors Arkadios and Honorios and continue with the reigns of emperors Theodosios II, Markianos, Leo, Zeno and Anastasios. Numerous references are made to the invasion of the Huns into the Balkans and to their participation in the Byzantine-Persian wars. Mention is made of the battle fought by Pērōz against the

[108] Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Hephthalites. Kmoskó gives numerous passages that deal with the history of Justinianos' reign. Among these we find the history of the conversion of *Gordijos*, a ruler of the Huns, and of his battles fought against his brother (cf. Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 431). Detailed data are found in these fragments about the invasions of the Huns and Slavs into the Balkans and about the battles in which the Huns participated on Mesopotamian and Armenian territories. The extracts also contain some records of events that took place during the reigns of emperors Justinos, Tiberios and Maurikios. Among these, special attention should be given to the account of the embassy of Zemarchos and to reports on the siege of Sirmium, on other events in which the Avars participated and on the deeds of the Slavs, Ants and Langobards in the Balkans. Very important is the report on the «exodus» of the Bulgars the parallels of which are known from other sources. Michael often refers to the history of the Khazars, beginning with the age of emperor Herakleios. Detailed treatment is given to the relations that were established in the first half of the VIIIth century between the Byzantine emperor and the Khazars and also to the strifes of Arabs and Khazars. Recounting the events of the IXth century, Michael often recalls the rôle which the Bulgars played in the Balkans. The last extract of Kmoskó is the full text of book XIV that deals with the Turks. In this Michael discusses the origin of the Turks, their habits, the history of their exodus and their conversion to Muhammadanism. Copious notes are attached which make about one fourth of the extracts. Kmoskó also makes use of the Armenian and Arabic variants of the chronicle and endeavours to cite all relevant data of the parallel Byzantine and Arabic sources. (His work, as regards, for instance, the age of Justinianos, compares in some aspects with E. Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*.) From the viewpoint of literary history noteworthy are the expositions of Kmoskó in which he discusses the relation of the Syriac sources to the text of Michael's work. The work of Barhebraeus is not the only source which he constantly cites for comparison ; he also keeps in view other works, thus, for instance, the *Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum* which was first published by Rahmani. With regards to the latter Baumstark states[110] that its text «imperatively» calls for a comparison with the text of Michael. In the passages discussed Kmoskó performs this comparison in a really thoroughgoing manner. He also keeps in mind the possibilities which the comparison of Michael's text with the *Zûqnîn Chronicle* might offer for reconstructing the text of Joannes Ephesinus. He makes detailed comments on the report concerning the «exodus of the Bulgars», but he does not yet refer to Gy. Moravcsik's study which discussed the parallel reports in Byzantine sources.[111]

[110] *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
[111] *UJb X* (1930), pp. 53–90.

There is, however, a later note, written by Kmoskó's own hand — the last note in the whole MS — in which he quotes a paper of Gy. Moravcsik published in 1927 on the conversion to Christianity of Gordas *(Gordijos* in Michael's text), king of the Huns.[112]

l) Extracts from the Syriac Chronicle of Barhebraeus (pp. 220—30).

The reports of the extracts cover the time from Theodosios the Great to Romanos. The last of them deals with the Transcaucasian invasion of the «Slavs» (Russians) in 943. A separate fragment discusses the origins of the Saljuk dynasty.[113] Most of the fragments discussed are taken from the Chronicle of Michael Syrus. Kmoskó never fails to refer to these parallel passages. The close relation existing between the texts of Michael and Barhebraeus is exhibited with particular clarity in Kmoskó's first draft (A II, pp. 137—54) where Kmoskó presents the two texts in parallel columns. What makes the text of Barhebreaus valuable is not so much its few factual divergencies, but rather its way of frequently spelling certain names in forms different from those in Michael's text. Further variants of these names are also to be found in the Arabic version[114] of Berhabraeus' chronicle. These are given by Kmoskó in his notes. There is, for instance, a very instructive difference in the spelling of the name of a son of Saljuk. The Syriac text of Barhebraeus has *Jagbu*, while the Arabic writes *Baiγu*. While, however, the Arabic spelling may be a graphic variant for *Jabγu*, the same cannot be said of the Syriac variant.

m) Extracts from the Church History of Barhebraeus (p. 230).

Kmoskó translates the story about the conversion to Christianity of the Turkish ruler with his 200,000 subjects, as recorded in the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (ed. Lamy III, col. 279—81). The people referred to is called *turk* by Barhebraeus, but he also mentions the tribal name *kerait*.

Further extracts are not published, and this is, in our opinion, an omission as it will be seen from what we are about to say of this matter. As we mentioned above (p. 56), parts of Iran's frontier territories, adjoinig Afghanistan, and her Western territories bordering on Northern Mesopotamia

[112] *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language] XXIII (1927), p. 263 (K).

[113] The Turkish translation of E. A. Wallis Budge's English version *(Abû'l Farac Tarihi* I (Ankara [1945]: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından* II Seri. N° 11.) shows the importance attached to Barhebraeus' work by the investigators of Saljuk history.

[114] Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 274—5.

were inhabited by a people called *qadiš*. Nöldeke[115] and, of late, Honigmann,[116] on the basis of Joshua the Stylite and Byzantine sources, succeeded in locating precisely the dwelling-place of the Western *qadiš* near Mosul, in the vicinity of Singara and Tebet. Marquart suggested their common origin,[117] in spite of the great geographical distance between the Eastern and Western *qadiš*, Since, however, he added no new facts to Nöldeke's data, his argument is not convincing. We, on the other hand, believe that there is a passage in the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* which may decide this problem. In this passage *(Chron. eccl.* ed. Lamy, III, col. $159_{9,17}$; $175_{12\text{-}15,\ 18}$) dealing with the history of the Eastern *mapr^{e}yàns* it is stated that, in electing the *mapr^{e}yàn* in Singara, in the sixties of the VIIIth century, the choice fell on the ecclesiastic *Joannes Chionita* ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܬܐ who then succeeded another Joannes. We hold that the connection between the *χyôn(àyā)* and the Middle Persian *χyōn* names is obvious, while the mentioning of Singara indicates that, in this case too, the geographical appurtenance of the name *qadiš* to the *χyōn* is the same as in the case of the *qadiš* of Afghanistan. We discuss this question in detail elsewhere, and we only wish to say here that the *χyon* name on the Hephthalite coins as well as this new Syriac date have, in our opinion, extraordinary significance not only for establishing the identity of the *Chionitae* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus among the Mesopotamian allies of Šāpūr, but also for locating the Hephthalite *χyōn*, that is, the White Huns, and thus, for solving the question of the Huns.[118]

D) Extracts from Syriac Hagiographies (pp. 231—41).

a) Extracts from the Life of Ephraem (pp. 231—2).

The fragment given here by Kmoskó was edited by Lamy in the second volume of Ephraem's works (II, p. 74—5). In a long note Kmoskó subjects the fragment's report on the invasion of the Huns into Edessa to a very careful scrutiny. He writes, among other things: «The first appearance of the Huns on the frontiers of the Roman empire was observed in 375 when they, under the leadership of Balamber, pushed their way through the land of the Alans and attacked the Goths (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 2—4; XXXI, 8_4; Eunapius frg. 42; Jordanes, Getica; Cassiodorus, Hist. trip. VIII, 13). Taken in itself, the assumption is not impossible that the invasion

[115] Nöldeke: *ZDMG* XXXIII, pp. 157—60.

[116] E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Bruxelles 1935), p. 17.

[117] Ērānšahr, p. 77.

[118] We have dealt with this problem in detail in *Magyar Nyelv* L (1954), pp. 142—51.

of the Huns took place towards the end of St. Ephraem's life or in the time of Eulogius' episcopate, and we would not like to endorse the judgment of Rubens Duval who rejects as erroneous the opinion expressed to this effect in the Paris recension of Ephraem's Life *(Littér. Syr.*[2], p. 335). Nevertheless it must be admitted that, at present, we have no historical arguments with which to buttress this report of the biography.» Kmoskó discusses the relevant passage in the homily ascribed to Ephraem as well as the Armenian biography of Ephraem, and he also indicates that the Legend of Euphemia too reports on an early invasion of the Huns into Edessa (cf. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* CXVI, 145). But Kmoskó does not attach decisive importance to the testimony of these reports. Of late, Marquart too referred, in this connection, to the date in the Legend of Euphemia. We must, however, note that a Greek variant of the Legend gives 395 as the date of the event.[119] This means that this report in the Legend of Euphemia cannot be used to authenticate either the invasion of the Huns, allegedly prior to 373, or the alleged invasion of the «White Huns» mentioned in the above-discussed Life of Peter of Iberia.

b) Extracts from the Life of Peter of Iberia (p. 233).

Kmoskó's passage which is taken from Raabe's edition (pp. 4—5) speaks of the allegedly Caucasian homeland of the White Huns and of their alleged invasion into Byzantion. Kmoskó's notes to the translated text con sist of a few words only, but the empty spaces reserved indicate his original intention to enlarge on his comments. We only wish to note here that the White Huns, according to the report of Prokopios *(Bell. Pers.* I, 10), were not nomads and they lived not in the Caucasus, but on the Northeastern borders of Iran. The reason of the biographer for calling them «White Huns» instead of Huns is that, in his age, the empire proper of the Huns had long been disintegrated, but all the more important was the rôle which the Eastern neighbours of Iran, the Hephthalite White Huns, played. It was by the same working of the chronicler's mind that the name of the Hephthalites got into a variant of the Legend of Euphemia.[120] There can be no doubt that the references of this variant point erroneously on the one hand to the Hephthalites living east of Iran and on the other to the invasion of the Huns into Edessa, in 395 — an event well attested by other sources.

c) Extract from the History of the Karkā d°-Bêt S°lôk Martyrs (pp. 235—6).

Kmoskó translates from Bedjan's edition (II, p. 518; also published by Brockelmann, a fact unmentioned by Kmoskó) and on the basis of Hoff-

[119] Ed. Gebhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 150_1; cf. Marquart: *Caucasica* VIII (1931), p. 126.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 151_1.

mann's review[121] the passage which reports on the campaign of the Persian king Yazdgerd against the people called *ṭšôl*. After the campaign Yazdgerd had a town built with the name of *Sahristān-i Yazdgard* on the territory of the *čol* people. Kmoskó notes that Yāqūt mentions three towns by this name and «it is very likely that the chronicler refers to the first of these, for Elisha too mentions that Yezdegerd, waging continuous wars, from the fourth to the eighth year of his reign, against the Kušan Turks, kept on replacing his troops, and he also built a town where he set up his court during these wars (Langlois II, p. 186).»

Barthold and Marquart also investigated the question of the *čol* people — a clan of the White Huns living near Gurgān and also known to Muhammadan sources. Barthold erroneously held them to be Turks,[122] while Marquart's opinion was that the *čol* also appeared in the Caucasus, in later times, west of the Caspian See.[123] He regards the name *Čol* borne by the fortress of Derbend as a proof of his assumption. We must, however, point out that the name in question is known as *Čor* to all Armenian authors (so to Prokopios also, *Bell. Goth.* IV, 3 : *Τζούρ*).[124] The form *Čol* is used only by the Albanian Moses Kałankatvac'i who wrote in Armenian.[125]

d) Extracts from the Martyrology of Màr Grîgôr (pp. 237—9).

Kmoskó quotes from Bedjan's edition those passages of the martyrology which report on the *hangaràyē* people. Hoffmann also reviewed these fragments in his work mentioned above. With regard to the name *hangaràyē* Kmoskó's comment is as follows : «As to the interpretation of this word two opinions have been advanced. Hoffmann *(Auszüge* 81_{737}, 294) reads this word as *hajgrājê* and takes it to mean the *eger* [heger] people that lived in the region of Kolchis. He makes this conjecture on the assumption that he passage speaks of the war which, according to Prokopios *(Bell. Pers.* II, 15—17) broke out in 541. But this is an untenable supposition . . . There seems to be more probability in Braun's conjecture *(Das Buch der Synhados*, Stuttgart und Wien, 1900, pp. 32, 35) who surmises the Khazars under this name.»

e) Extracts from the Biography of Màr Abā (pp. 240—1).

From this writing again Kmoskó brings those parts in translation (following the edition of Bedjan) in which the name of the Caucasian people

[121] *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* VII/3 (Leipzig 1880), pp. 43—60; cf, Brockelmann, *Syr. Gramm*[5]., pp. 50—68; Pigulevskaya: Учение зап. (Сер. Востоков.), 1954, № 189, pp. 215—29.

[122] *Enz. Isl.* IV. p. 972, *s. v. Türken.*

[123] *Ung. Jahrb.* IX (1929), pp. 97, 102—3.

[124] Cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.* I, 218—9.

[125] Ed. Sahnazarean I, 274_{10}.

kangaràyē occurs. He indicates in his notes that the same people is mentioned, in connection with the same historical events, in two Nestorian works, but the writing of its name is slightly at variance in the two. The martyrology of Màr Grîgôr writes *hangaràyē*, while the Life of Màr Abā uses the variant *kangaràyē*. «What people is here referred to? — asks Kmoskó — I dare not decide.» He says further «that the name *kangarājê* reminds one strongly of the old name κάγγαρ applied by Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos to the Pechenegs, while the name *hangarāyê* is similar to *hungari*. I do not know whether this similarity would admit far-reaching conclusions.»

We think, however, that Kmoskó should not have left this question open. A closer investigation bears out that both the martyrology of Màr Grîgôr and the Life of Màr Abā are translations from Middle Persian originals. This is clearly indicated both by the great number of Middle Persian loanwords and by the translation character of the Syriac text. The very detailed comments of both authors on the internal condition of the Persian empire can also be best fitted into the time preceding the Muhammadan conquest. Thus the difference in the first letter of the name must be explained by stating that both ways of writing go back to the letter ה of the Middle Persian original which latter, in that script, had double phonetic value: *h* and *χ*. When the authors undertook to copy the unfamiliar name from the Pehlevi original, they faced two choices. The author of the Life decided on *χ* and so used the character ܟ of the Syriac script for the first letter of the name. The author of the martyrology read *h* in the original and so began the name with a Syriac *h* letter. From all this the conclusion follows that the *χangaràyē* people of the Syriac writings is identical with the *kangar* people mentioned by the Emperor Konstantinos.[126] We hold that this fact is of very great importance from the viewpoint of Pecheneg, pre-Conquest Hungarian and even of Eastern European history.[127]

B)

Kmoskó's second MS, like the first, is without a title page and a preface. Taking a title script in the Syriac volume as a cue, the title of the second MS must have been approximately this: «Arab Writers on the Peoples of Gog and Magog». The MS is in Hungarian and would amount, in print, to about 740 pages. It contains extracts from 20 Arabic writings on geography and 15 Arabic works on history and other subjects. Extensive introductions, dealing

[126] We studied the biographies of Màr Grîgôr and Màr Abā in an essay written in Hungarian: *IV—IX. századi népmozgalmak a steppén* [Migrations of the peoples on the Steppe in the in the IV—IXth centuries] (Budapest 1954) the results of which we hope to publish in English as well.

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 38—45.

with the history of literature, and numerous and copious notes of explanatory nature are added. They contain *verbatim* translations of those passages of the above-mentioned sources which refer to the nomadic peoples of the Steppe.

Judging by the references of the Syriac volume, the first draft of the MS — at least in part — must have been completed by 1923. In a lecture[128] delivered in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on the 19th of March, 1928, Kmoskó referred to this writing of his as a work which, «alas, has remained so far unpublished». It can be stated, by the quotations in the MS, that the final version of the work was completed by about 1927.

In this work, unlike in his Syriac volume, Kmoskó deals with sources well-known from monographs and articles. Nevertheless, what he undertakes is more than a mere summarising of findings. His introductions to and notes on the sources are based on independent research and contain many findings which, even today, strike one with their novelty and are, in more than one respect, very significant. Although Kmoskó did not have the purpose, at that time, to give a comprehensive picture of the geography and history of the Steppe, his scattered notes to the individual sources present, in fact, a coherent whole of geographical and historical informations.

As regards its dimensions, this work of Kmoskó is one of the largest collections of Muhammadan sources. The two parts of the work, one dealing with the geographical and the other with the historical sources, would each make about 370 printed pages. The pages in certain parts of the MS are badly mixed up, but have been assembled, without practically any loss, from the two packets of MSS. Only the Idrīsī extracts, which are indicated in the introduction, are missing. As to these extracts, it may be assumed that Kmoskó had awaited the *X*uwārizmī edition of H. Mžik which was actually published in 1926 but had not yet reached Kmoskó in 1927.

This work, like the first, begins with a general orientation dealing with questions of transcription, the structure of Arabic proper names and with Arabic bibliographies. The rest of the work, the geographical and historical parts have an identical plan. Both parts begin with introductions to the individual sources which are then followed by the annotated extracts. The historical part ends with an extensive chronological synopsis which comprises both the Syriac and Muhammadan sources and refers to the parallel data taken from Byzantine and other sources. There is also a one-page list in the MS packet containing the names of the most frequently quoted works.

Kmoskó's interest is concentrated upon those Muhammadan sources which refer to the Turkish peoples and the Magyars, living on the Steppe in Southeastern Europe. So, in reviewing the work, we shall pay particular

[128] A I, p. 11.

attention to these. Yet in the case of these sources we must reiterate, with added emphasis, what we said of the Syriac sources: relevant articles and monographs, that have been published since Kmoskó's death, would fill a smaller library. Hence we had to give up the idea of an even approximately complete enumeration, all the more, since the bibliography of recent works on Arab authors is accessible in the *Supplementbände* of C. Brockelmann, in the work of G. Graf, which has been often quoted above, and also in the recent excellent works of the Russian scholar V. Minorsky.[129]

The table of contents of the «Arab Writers on the Peoples of Gog and Magog» is as follows:

1. Writers of Geographies.

A) Table of Contents A I, pp. 13—4 + A III, pp. 206—11 (cf. M I 391—5).
B) General Informations M II, pp. 1—9.
C) Introduction to the Works of Arab Geographers I M II, pp. 10—78.
D) Extracts from the Works of Arab Geographers M II, A I.

Introduction		Extracts
a) Χuwārizmī	M II, pp. 13—6	
b) Ǧarmī	p. 17	
c) Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā	p. 18	A I, pp. 123—32
d) Ibn Χurradādbih	pp. 21—3	A I, pp. 17—31+49—74
e) Yaʿqūbī	p. 24	A III, p. 206: *Šāš*
f) Ibn al-Faqīh	pp. 25—7	M II, pp. 134—53
g) Qudāma	pp. 28—9	M II, pp. 154—69
h) Ibn Faḍlān	p. 31	M II, pp. 319—38
i) Ǧaihānī	pp. 33—49	
j) Ibn Rusta	pp. 51—4	M II, pp. 170—205
k) Abū Dulaf	pp. 55—9	A I, pp. 196—210
l) Balχī	pp. 59—60	
m) Iṣṭaχrī	p. 61	M II, pp. 210—55
n) Ibn Ḥauqal	p. 62	M II, pp. 256—88
o) Muqaddasī	pp. 63—4	M II, pp. 289—310
p) Bakrī	p. 65	A I, pp. 133—51 + M II, pp. 311—8
q) Abū Ḥāmid	pp. 66—7	A I, pp. 153—65
r) Idrīsī	pp. 68—9	
s) Samʿānī	p. 70	
t) Yāqūt	pp. 70—2	A I, pp. 166—93

[129] In his editions of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (*Gibb Mem. Ser.* NS. XI) and of Marvazi *Forlong Fund*, vol. XXII).

u) Qazwīnī	p. 73	A I, pp. 212—32
v) Ibn Saʿīd	p. 74	
w) Dimišqī	p. 75	A II, pp. 1—17
y) Abū-l-Fidā'	pp. 77—8	M II, pp. 339—62

To the extracts from the works of Ibn Rusta and Bakrī Kmoskó also added the parallel passages of the Persian Gardīzī (M II, pp. 206—9, 318). Gardīzī's reports on the Northern peoples are also published consecutively (A I, pp. 75—104, 119—22).

2. Arab Historians.

A) Table of Contents A I, pp. 14—5 + A II, pp. 19—27.
B) Introduction to the Works of Arab Historians M II, pp. 79—132
C) Extracts from the Works of Arab Historians M II, A II, III.
D) Extracts from other Works A III, pp. 118—36
E) Table of Chronology A III, pp. 159—205 + M I, pp. 591—2
F) List of the most frequently quoted Works A III, p. 155

B) Introduction (pp. 79—132).

a) General Characterisation of Arabic Historiography (pp. 79—83).
b) Early Representatives of Arabic Historiography (pp. 84—90).

	Introduction	Extracts
c) Balāḏurī	p. 91	A II, pp. 28—69
d) Yaʿqūbī	p. 92	A II, pp. 70—104
e) Dainawarī	p. 93	A II, pp. 106—28
f) Ṭabarī	pp. 94—6	A II, pp. 130—90
g) Eutychios	p. 97	A II, pp. 192—208
h) Agapios	p. 98	A II, pp. 209—32
i) Masʿūdī	pp. 99—111	M II, pp. 363—437
j) Maqdisī	pp. 112—9	A III, pp. 1—23
k) Ibn Miskawaih	pp. 120—1	A III, pp. 70—82
l) Ṯaʿālibī	p. 122	A III, pp. 34—69
m) Bīrūnī	p. 123	A III, pp. 25—33
n) Elias Nisibenus	pp. 124—5	A III, pp. 84—94
o) Ibn al-Aṯīr	p. 126	A III, pp. 95—116
p) Ibn Xaldūn	pp. 127—32	

D) Extracts from other Sources (cf. A II, 25—27).

a) Nadīm	A III, pp. 118—9
b) Kāšγarī	A III, pp. 121—36

E) Chronological Synopsis from 375 to 696 A. D. A III, pp. 195—205 + M I, pp. 591—2

F) List of Works most frequently quoted A III, p. 155

I. WRITERS OF GEOGRAPHIES

B) General Information (M II, pp. 1—9).

This chapter presents first the customary method of transcribing Arab letters. Then the structure of the Arabic proper names is explained. This is followed by a very important passage that deals with ancient Arabic bibliographies. The significance of this part of Kmoskó's work consists in the fact that, at the time of its composition, no adequate historical survey of Arabic geographical and historical literature had existed. The IIIrd, IVth and supplementary volumes of the *Enzyklopaedie des Islam* had not yet been published, and so Kmoskó could not have used the important articles *Djughrāfiyā* (J. H. Kramers) and *Ta'rīkh* (H. A. R. Gibb) of the supplementary volume. It was only after the completion of Kmoskó's work that the important surveys by Barthold of Muhammadan historical and geographical writings were published[130] which later also furnished, in many respects, a foundation for the important new surveys of Minorsky. Thus Kmoskó based his introductions on independent researches. The most important sources, in this his work, were the ancient Arabic bibliographies. Of these he perused the works of Ibn Qutaiba, Nadīm, Andalusī, Yāqūt, Qifṭī, Nawawī, Ibn *X*allikān, Barhebraeus and Hajji *X*alīfa. It was from these works that he took his data about the life and literary activity of the authors discussed, unearthing some facts hardly known in previous literature on the subject.

Kmoskó begins by quoting the well-known words of Andalusī (p. 47) about the beginnings of Arabic learning. According to him Manṣūr was the first of the califs to patronise sciences. Then Ma'mūn appealed directly to the Byzantines in order to acquire the most famous works of Greek scholars, among them the works of Ptolemaios.

C) Introduction to the Arabic Geographical Writings (M II, pp. 10—78).

a) Xuwārizmī (M II, pp. 13—6).

As we mentioned above, Kmoskó, at the time of writing his work, had not at his disposal the *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* (ed. Mžik) of *X*uwārizmī, this most noted Arab redactor of Ptolemaios. Hence he had to limit his expositions,

[130] In the Introduction to his facsimile-edition of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*.

which are very noteworthy, to the biography and literary activity of *Xuwārizmī*.[131]

b) Ǧarmī (p. 17).

Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Ǧarmī wrote his work, which later got lost, in the middle of the IXth century, after his return from Byzantine captivity. He wrote on Byzantine history, geography and on the conditions of peoples living in the neighbourhood of Byzantium (Danubian Bulgars, Avars, Volga Bulgars and Khazars : Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 189—90). Ǧarmī's work is quoted by Ibn *Xurradāḏbih (BGA* VI, p. 105), Qudāma *(BGA* VI, p. 257), Masʿūdī *(BGA* VIII, p. 179) and Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert II, p. 290). Ǧarmī has the peculiarity of calling the Black Sea *Baḥr al-χazar*, and we find the same designation in the quotations from his work. Following this observation, Kmoskó rejects the assumption proposed by Harkavy and accepted by Marquart[132] also that the description of the Northern peoples in the work of Ibn Rusta was taken from Ǧarmī's work, although it is Caspian Sea that Ibn Rusta called *Baḥr al-χazar (BGA* VII, p. 141).[133]

c) Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā (p. 18).

It was the now lost work of another prisoner of war returning from Byzantium, Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, whence Ibn Rusta *(BGA* VII, pp. 119 *sq.)* took certain passages and inserted them into his work. Kmoskó takes special interest, from the viewpoint of his theme, in the description of the foreign mercenaries who watched the gates of Byzantium. He thinks, however, that Hārūn's description of Rome is much less trustworthy. Kmoskó discusses the assumption of Marquart that Yaḥyā, who mentions Boso, the king of Burgundy elected in 879, wrote his work about this date.[134] Kmoskó rejects this view, arguing that the Arab *Burǧān* is not the name of Burgundy but of the Danubian Bulgaria.

The extracts (A I, pp. 123—32) contain Hārūn's descriptions — quoted by Ibn Rusta — of Constantinople and of the road leading from Askalon to Rome.

d) Ibn Xurradāḏbih (p. 21—3).

In his introduction Kmoskó first discusses the three genres of geographical literature that were developed in the IXth century and bear the

[131] Cf. Czeglédy : *Acta Orient. Hung.* I (1950), pp. 46—54.
[132] *Streifzüge*, p. 20, 28, 144 (K)
[133] Cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. 419, 422—3, 430.
[134] *Streifzüge*, pp. 269—70.

traditional titles : *kitāb al-buldān, kitāb-al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and *kitāb al-χarāǰ*. Then he discusses in detail the activity of Ibn Χurradāḏbih, the contents of his *Kitāb-al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and also the hypotheses of de Goeje about the two editions of the work.

The extracts from the work (A I, pp. 17—31 + 49—74) contain the titles of the world's rulers and the descriptions of the province Šāš and of the roads leading to Šāš and toward the Turks and the description of Ferghana. Kmoskó's notes to these portions of the text are quite copious ; they amount to about four fifths of the texts. Kmoskó also gives a thoroughgoing treatment to those portions of the text which deal with the Byzantine empire, the countries of the North and with the roads leading to these lands. In what is one of the most carefully elaborated parts of his work Kmoskó translates and comments on the travel reports of Sallām as reproduced by Ibn Χurradāḏbih. He publishes, on p. 71 of A I, an illustration portraying, on the basis of the text, the Gate of Alexander the Great.

e) Yaʿqūbī (p. 24).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the contents of Yaʿqūbī's geographical writing and notes that «the available MS of the work is defective. It is quite a loss that we do not possess Yaʿqūbī's reports on Armenia, since he, judged by the parallel passages of his historical work, was more familiar with the history of this country than the other Arab authors.»

Kmoskó publishes no extracts from Yaʿqūbī's work, and, judged by what we find on p. 206 of A III, it was only the description of Šāš that he intended to publish in his work.

f) Ibn al-Faqīh (pp. 25—7).

In his detailed introduction Kmoskó deals with the assertion of an-Nadīm that Ibn al-Faqīh «skinned» the work of J̌aihānī. «The probability is that our author did not know of J̌aihānī's work, and so he could not use it. The *loci* of sources (see below) which we collected from the works of authors who used J̌aihānī's writing are absent from the compendium of Ibn al-Faqīh. The problem is definitely settled by the statement of Muqadassī *(BGA* III, p. 16) : J̌aihānī believed that the world had fives seas ; Ibn al-Faqīh knows of four only! *(BGA* V, p. 7).» Kmoskó does not yet mention the MS of Ibn al-Faqīh which was discovered in 1923.[135]

[135] Cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht: Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* XXIV/3 (Leipzig 1939), p. VII.

The extracts (M II, 134—53) contain portions from the introductory part of the work and passages dealing with the oceans, the Byzantines, Northern Persia, commercial relations of the Slavs with that country, Azerbaidshan, Armenia and Khorasan.

g) Qudāma (pp. 28—9).

In summing up the life and work of Qudāma, Kmoskó relies mainly on Yāqūt's work. «The list of the roads leading toward the land of the Turks tallies, almost *verbatim*, with that of Ibn Χurradāḏbih, only the first is somewhat more detailed. It seems that the two authors drew upon the same source, but Ibn Χurradāḏbih inserted a shortened version of the source's text into his own work.»

The extracts (M II, pp. 154—69) contain the description of the roads leading into Turkestan, giving their length as well as a report upon the peoples living on the borders of Islam.

h) Ibn Faḍlān (p. 31).

In his introduction Kmoskó does not yet mention the new Meshed text of Ibn Faḍlān.[136]

The extracts (M II, pp. 319—38) contain Yāqūt's variant of the travel report.

i) J̌aihānī (pp. 33—49).

Among the Arabic geographical writings the oldest and most valuable report on the Northern peoples was prepared by J̌aihānī. Kmoskó, in his work written in German, gives a very thoroughgoing treatment to the J̌aihāni problem. A comparison of text shows that Kmoskó regarded his German expositions as his final copy (cf. below, p. 85—8).

j) Ibn Rusta (pp. 51—4).

The most important extractors of J̌aihānī's work were Gardīzī and Ibn Rusta. The editor of the latter's work, de Goeje, puts the date of composition before 902. This date, of course, is connected with J̌aihānī's time of composition and, indirectly, has a very great significance in assessing the

[136] Published in the work quoted in the previous note. It was edited for the first time by the Soviet Academy of Sciences : Путешествие Ибн Фадлана на Волгу, под. ред. И. Ю. Крачковского (М.—Л. 1939) ; cf. Czeglédy : *Acta Orient. Hung.* I, pp. 217—60.

the date of the description of the Northern peoples. It is one of the most important findings of Kmoskó that he clearly demonstrates de Goje's error as to the date of Ibn Rusta's work.

The final copy of both the introduction and the extracts (M II, pp. 170—205) are to be found in the German work of Kmoskó (cf. below, p. 87—8).

k) Abū Dulaf (pp. 55—9).

Kmoskó discusses in detail the alleged travel report of Abū Dulaf. He does not attach too great a value to the work.[137] «Marquart, on pages 74 *sqq* of his *Streifzüge* made strictures upon the passages of the *risāla* which report on the Turks, demonstrating that the order of the Turkish tribes was unquestionably erroneous, but his critique was still too mild. He thought that the travel itself was perhaps a fact . . . His restrained criticism can only be explained by his failure to study intensively the second part of the *risāla* that recounts the return of the author. If he had scrutinised this part of the work, he would have certainly learned that Abū Dulaf never visited India and that he took his data about India from the tales of travelling merchants.» Kmoskó had not yet known of the new, Meshed MSS of the *risāla-s* of Abū Dulaf.[138]

The extracts (A I, pp. 196—210) contain the full text of the «travel report» as preserved in the work of Yāqūt.

l) Balχī (pp. 59—60).

Kmoskó, on the basis of Yāqūt's *Iršād*, reviews the facts of Balχī's life and, following the *Fihrist*, discusses his literary activity. Although Kmoskó was interested in the problem of the «Atlas of Islam» as well,[139] he is content here with a mere reference to the basically important article of de Goje.[140]

m) Iṣṭaχrī (p. 61).

Kmoskó reviews in detail the MSS of the work and indicates that, in his translation, he will pay particular attention to the important variations that occur in the Gotha MS.

[137] Cf. H. Mžik : *OLZ* 1942 Sp. 240—2.

[138] The first *risāla* was published by A. Rohr-Sauer in *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, Heft 26 (Stuttgart 1939), the second is being prepared for edition by Prof. Minorsky; cf. *BSOAS* XIV/3, p. 681.

[139] Cf. his review of K. Miller's *Mappae Arabicae* in *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* II (1927) pp. 322—4.

[140] Cf. now : J. H. Kramers : *Acta Orientalia* X (1932), pp. 9—30.

The extracts (M II, pp. 210—55) contain a considerable part of the work in Hungarian translation, with notes: the introductory parts which have important bearings on the problem of *iqlīm*, the descriptions of Armenia, Arrān, Azerbaidshan, the Khazar See (Caspian Sea) and of Transoxania. The notes make about one fifth of the extracts.

n) Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 62).

In his introduction Kmoskó tells how Iṣṭaχrī and Ibn Ḥauqal met and how the work of the latter was written (cf. *BGA*, II, p. 236). He does not speak of the MSS of Ibn Ḥauqal's work.[141]

The extracts (M II, pp. 256—288) contain the same parts as in Iṣṭaχrī's case excepting the description of the Sea of Rūm. Among the explanatory notes to the portion dealing with the Armenians there is an extensive and important note (p. 265) on the accession of the Armenian Bagratid dynasty to the throne.

o) Muqaddasī (pp. 63—4).

The work of Muqaddasī (Maqdisī), who was the best representative of the Balχī school, is the last one among the Muhammadan geographies that have direct information about the peoples of the North. After Muqaddasī Arab writers of geography, almost without exception, are content with copying previous reports, oblivious of the great changes that were taking place both in the North and in the East: Kievan Russia comes into being and this breaks the dominance of the Khazars, the Magyars, under the pressure of the Pechenegs, leave Southern Russia for Central Europe, Turkish dynasties replace the rule of the Sāmānid Dynasty and, in the first half of the XIth century, the Oghuz Turks begin their march towards Khorasan.

The extracts (M II, pp. 289—310) contain the description of Transoxania.

p) Bakrī (p. 65).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the nine fragments of Bakrī's work. He points out that the work, with its very important bearings on the history of Slav peoples,[142] is very significant, in virtue of its quotations from the work of Jaihānī, for the history of the Turkic peoples of the Steppe and also from the viewpoint of Magyar history. Unfortunately Bakrī's work is in

[141] Cf. Kramers' Preface to the first fasc. of Ibn Ḥauqal's new edition.

[142] On the Muhammadan sources concerning the early history of the Slavs see: Tadeusz Lewicki: *Slavia Antiqua* II (1949—50), pp. 321—85.

a fragmentary condition, and therefore «the literary remains of Bakrī ought to be reappraised. It is probable that his works would yield many data which might be utilized in the investigations into the history of the Magyars.»

In the extracts (A I, pp. 133—51 + M II, pp. 311—8) Kmoskó offers all the nine fragments in Hungarian translation. On p. 18 he gives as a supplement, the description of the Pechenegs by Gardīzī.

q) Abū Ḥāmid (pp. 66—7).

Abū Ḥāmid was one of those XIIth century Muslim merchants who, on their far-reaching journeys, visited Hungary also. Because of its obviously worthless reports on «miraculous things», experts, from Silvestre de Sacy's time to the present, have attached little value to this work. Kmoskó, however, does not share unreservedly this opinion and points out that «the author, when he tells of his own experiences, adds valuable historical and geographical data to the store of our knowledge.»

The extracts (A I, pp. 153—65) contain the travel reports of Abū Ḥāmid on the Northern countries, among them the descriptions of the Caucasus, the country of the Volga Bulgars, of Hungary and of «Rome».[143]

r) Idrīsī (pp. 68—9).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the biographical data of Idrīsī and the division of his work according to the climates. Kmoskó does not yet mention the problem concerning the connection between the works of Xuwārizmī and Idrīsī. But it seems that he had realised, at the time of making his extracts, the need to have the text of Xuwārizmī in order to assess properly the text of Idrīsī's work.[144] This is indicated by a note to his lecture held on the 19th of March, 1928.

s) Samʿānī (p. 70).

Kmoskó's introduction to this work consists of a few lines only. It is but for the sake of completeness that he mentions this work. Shortly after the writing of Kmoskó's MS Barthold published certain parts of Samʿānī's work in English translation.[145]

[143] Cf. C. E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el-Granadino* (Madrid 1953).

[144] Cf. first of all : Tadeusz Lewicki's Introduction to his *La Pologne et les Pays voisins dans le «Livre de Roger»* I (Kraków 1945).

[145] In his Geographical Survey of Transoxania : *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion (Gibb. Mem. Ser.* NS. V), pp. 64—179.

t) Yāqūt (pp. 70—2).

Kmoskó held Yāqūt to be one of the most important authors from the viewpoint of his theme. His biography is well-known from the work if Ibn Xallikān. Kmoskó reviews in detail the literary activity of Yāqūt and enumerates those older geographers from whose works Yāqūt took the data of his geographical encyclopaedia.

In the extracts (A I, pp. 166—93) Kmoskó gives a translation and explanation of 65 entries containing Northern references.

u) Qazwīnī (p. 73).

After giving a few facts of Qazwīnī's life, Kmoskó reviews the works of this author. The main source of his Cosmography was Yāqūt's work. Kmoskó does not set a high value on Qazwīnī's writing ; it is a poor patchwork and the major part of its reports is not trustworthy.

Since, however, Qazwīnī's reports often offer comparisons with the accounts of the Northern peoples in the other sources, Kmoskó — very properly — gives in his extracts (A I, pp. 212—32) extensive portions of Qazwīnī's work that contain descriptions of the Northern climates.[146]

v) Ibn Saʿīd (p. 74).

Kmoskó's introduction contains some biographical data, the list of the works of Ibn Saʿīd, with the remark that the Ptolemaios redaction of Ibn Saʿīd was also used by Abū-l-Fidā' in the geographical work of the latter.

In the absence of a reliable edition of the Arabic text it is only in connection with certain extracts taken from the work of Abū-l-Fidā', that he quotes several reports of Ibn Saʿīd.

w) Dimišqī (p. 75).

After some remarks of biographical nature Kmoskó reviews the contents and sources of Dimišqī's Cosmography.

Kmoskó's extracts (A II, pp. 1—17) deal with the descriptions of rivers, lakes, seas, Eastern empires, of the Turks, Slavs and of the Qipchaq tribes.[147]

y) Abū-l-Fidā' (pp. 76—8).

Kmoskó reviews in a very thoroughgoing fashion the geographical work of Abū-l-Fidā' the text of which Reinaud once prefaced with his basically important introduction to the geographical literature of the Arabs.

[146] On Abū Ḥāmid and Qazwīnī see Marquart : *Ung. Jahrb.* IV (1924) : *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert.*

[147] Cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 157—8.

The extracts (M II, pp. 339—62) deal with the descriptions of the world's rivers and of the Northern parts of the earth. In connection with the lands of the North the Magyars, also under the names of *bašγird* and *hunkar*, are repeatedly mentioned. Kmoskó also presents, on the basis of this work a table indicating the positions of the Northern territories as marked by their latitudes and longitudes.

II. ARAB HISTORIANS

B) Introduction to the Works of Arab Historians (M II, pp. 79—132).

C) Extracts from the Works of Arab Historians (M II, A II, III).

In giving a general characterisation of Arab historiography (pp. 79—83) Kmoskó discusses the development of the historical *ḥadīṯ*, then proceeds to characterise the two great groups of Arabic histories: those following the time reckoning of the hijra and the historical monographs. Then Kmoskó reviews the genealogical *(nasab)* literature and gives a list, under numbers 1—32, of the lost or little known products of early Arabic historiography.[148]

a) Balāḏurī (p. 91).

Kmoskó reviews the facts of Balāḏurī's life, his works which are lost according to him, with the exception of the *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*.[149]

The extracts (A II, pp. 28—69) deal with the history of the conquest of Armenia, Azerbaidshan and Khorasan. In the passages published here frequent mention is made of the Khazars and of the Transoxanian and Afghanistan Turks. In the notes Kmoskó deals mainly with the parallel passages of Ṭabarī's chronicle. In his explanations he often relies upon the classic work of Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz.*

d) Yaʿqūbī (p. 92).

Kmoskó's introduction deals mainly with the sources of Yaʿqūbī's chronicle.

The extracts deal with the history of the Sāsānid dynasty, the description of the Northern countries, a review of China's kings. The passages quoted from the second part of the chronicle deal with Azerbaidshan's conquest and the history of the Arab governors of Armenia. All these passages include numerous references to the Khazars and the Turks.

[148] Cf. now: Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden 1952).

[149] Cf. however P. Kahle: *ZDMG* XC (1936), pp. 716—8.

e) Dainawarī (p. 93).

Kmoskó has but a few lines of introduction to the historical work of Dainawarī, a Muslim polymath.

The extracts (A II, pp. 106—128) contain the history of the Sāsānid dynasty, including the long passage which deals with Bahrām Čōbēn.

f) Ṭabarī (pp. 94—6).

Kmoskó calls Ṭabarī, this great Arab historian, one of the most fertile writers of the world. He stresses that Ṭabarī was, above all, a Muhammadan scholar who had little interest for the matters of the «unbelievers». Hence he devotes, in his gigantic work, but a few words to such events as, for instance, the siege of Constantinople under the califate of Sulaimān. Kmoskó discusses in detail Ṭabarī's annalistic manner of recording events and also his most important sources.

The extracts (A II, pp. 130—90) deal with the history of the Sāsānid rulers from the time of Bahrām Gōr until the Muhammadan conquest and the course of Arab conquests in Armenia and the Caucasus under the reigns of the first califs and the ʿAbbāsid rulers. In his notes Kmoskó always refers to parallel Arabic data and to the corresponding passages of the Syriac chronicles.

g) Eutychios (p. 97).

In his introduction Kmoskó surveys the facts of Eutychios' life, the contents and editions of his historical work and refers to the chronicle of Yaḥyā al-Anṭaqī which is a sequel to the work of Eutychios.[150]

The extracts (A II, pp. 192—208) contain the history of the Persian kings. The last fragment also deals with the Persian campaign of Herakleios.

h) Agapios (p. 98).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the three parts of the work of the Melkite bishop who was a very fertile writer. He states that the third part of the work, which was also used by Masʿūdī, contains some very valuable data.[151]

The extracts (A II, pp. 209—32) contain portions from Agapios' reports on universal history, church history and chronicle. The passages taken from the *Chronicle* abound in references to the Khazars.

[150] Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—8, 49—51.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 39—41.

i) Masʿūdī (pp. 99—111).

Kmoskó prepared his longest introduction to the works of Masʿūdī. In it he discusses in detail the extant and lost writings of this author. Particularly interesting are his expositions about the sources used by Masʿūdī. Kmoskó gives a list of all the 80 sources of this writer.

The extracts (M II, pp. 363—437) present very long passages from the *Murūǰ ad-ḏahab* (chapters VIII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XXIV, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, LXVI, CXXIII), from the *Tanbīh* (the description of the seas, the history of Byzantium, exchanges of prisoners of war between the Byzantines and Muhammadans) and from the *L'abrégé des merveilles* which is attributed to Masʿūdī.

j) Maqdisī (pp. 112—9).

In his introduction Kmoskó surveys the problems of literary history concerning the great work of Maqdisī and reviews the contents of the work. Speaking of the sources of the work, he deals with Maqdīsī's quotations from the work of J̌aihānī.

Among the extracts (A III, pp. 1—23) Kmoskó brings passages from those chapters of volume II which have references to the Turks, from the part containing Persian history in the third volume, and from volume IV, the thirteenth chapter of which deals with geography.

k) Ibn Miskawaih (pp. 120—1).

After some remarks of biographical nature Kmoskó reviews the contents of Ibn Miskawaih's world history, the editions of de Goeje and L. Caetani and the translation of Amedroz and Margoliouth.

The extracts (A III, pp. 70—82) deal with the reign of Khosrav Anōšarvān and contain the fragments of the alleged diary of Khosrav.[152]

l) Ṯaʿālibī (p. 122).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the edition of Zotenberg. Then he appraises the work of Ṯaʿālibī which is, in his opinion, of inferior value, as Ṯaʿālibī's primary purpose was to produce a work of belles-lettres.

The extensive extracts (A III, pp. 34—69) contain the history of the Sāsānid kings — a chronicle with legendary features.

[152] Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 168. n. 1.

m) Bīrūnī (p. 123).

In his introduction Kmoskó discusses one of the then known works of Bīrūnī, the *Kitāb al-āṯār al-bāqiya.*

The extracts (A III, pp. 25—33) deal with the criticism of Sallām's «travel report», a list of the titles borne by kings and princes and a passage from the history of the false prophets in which the Turks are also referred to.[153]

n) Elias Nisibenus (pp. 124—5).

In his introduction Kmoskó discusses in detail the bilingual — Syriac and Arabic — History of Elias a part of which is a chronicle, while the other is a chronological summary.[154] He reviews the MS of the work and deals with the question of the sources used by Elias. He argues convincingly that the chronicle of al-*X*uwārizmī was not used by Elias in the Arabic original, but — as this is indicated by the Syricisms of his text — in Syriac translation.

The extracts (A III, p. 84—94) are taken from the part of the chronicle covering the events between 440 and 780. The passages selected from this part are mainly those which have references to the Turks and Khazars.

o) Ibn al-Aṯīr (p. 126).

Kmoskó's introduction deals with some biographical facts and discusses the relation between the works of Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aṯīr.

The extracts (A III, pp. 95—116) contain some accounts of battles fought by the Arabs in Armenia, the Caucasus and Khazaria between 642 and 935. A long passage recounts the invasion of the Russians into Barda'a.

p) Ibn Xaldūn (pp. 127—32).

In his note Kmoskó often refers to Ibn *X*aldūn, this brilliant ingenious representative of later Arabic historiography. He discusses in detail the facts of this writer's life and reviews the leading ideas of the *Muqaddima.*

Kmoskó gives no consecutive extracts from this work.

D) Abstracts from Other Sources (cf. A II, pp. 25—7).

a) Nadīm (A III, pp. 118—9).

Kmoskó brings without an introduction the passage of Nadīm's work dealing with the Turks and Russians.

A third fragment contains the short history of Calif Ma'mūn's reign.[155]

[153] Cf. Z. V. Togan : *Die Nordvölker bei Bīrūnī* in *ZDMG* XC (1936), pp. 38—51.
[154] Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 177—89.
[155] Cf. Marquart : *WZKM* XII (1898), pp. 168 *sqq.*

b) Kāšγarī (pp. 121—36).

Kmoskó translates without an introduction and on the basis of the Constantinople Arabic text, the description of Turkish peoples and languages[156] and from the glossary those items, with explanations, which have references to Turkish peoples, tribes, localities, and to geographical names, titles of rulers and the religion of the Turks.

***E)* Chronological Synopsis (A III, pp. 195—205 + M I, pp. 591—2).**

Kmoskó's chronological synopsis is the first attempt of this nature with regard to the period under discussion. As Kmoskó takes into account, beyond the data of Arabic and Byzantine sources, those of the Syriac sources as well, his synopsis is also important from the viewpoint of Turkish, Khazar, Byzantine, Persian, Armenian, and, Arabic history.

The only purpose which Kmoskó had with his synopsis was to present a chronological framework of the events. It was the same method of treating synoptically the Syriac, Arabic and Byzantine sources that he employed in his article[157] *Araber und Chasaren* published in 1924 and 1925 in the *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, when he attempted to reconstruct certain chapters in the history of Khazar and Arab wars.

C)

The third MS of Kmoskó is in German. Its title page is among the MSS and gives the subject of the work as follows : *Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken.* — Nach den Handschriften von Cambridge und Oxford herausgegeben und übersetzt von Michael Kmoskó, Professor an der Universität Budapest. — The work would make about 240 printed pages.

The second page of the Introduction is extant, with the last lines of the Preface and with a list of the most frequently quoted works. Certain passages in Kmoskó's introductions to Gardīzī and the parallel texts clearly show his original plan. After reviewing the contents of Gardīzī's historical work, Kmoskó states : «Dieser kurze inhaltliche Übersicht zeigt, dass Gardīzīs Geschichtswerk jenem Typus der orientalischen Geschischtstchreibung am nächsten steht, welcher in den Werken des Masʿūdī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, Mahbūb al-Mambigī und besonders des Ibn Χaldūn vertreten ist. Alle diese Werke sind dadurch kennzeichnet, dass sie der geschichtlichen Darstellung der Ereignisse eine Art Prolegomena vorausschicken, welche

[156] Cf. Brockelmann : *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* I (1921), pp. 26—40 ; Pelliot : *T'oung Pao* XXII (1923), p. 347.

[157] *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* I, pp. 280—92 ; 356—68.

freilich der Tendenz der einzelnen Schriftstellern gemäss sehr verschieden sein können. Solche Prolegomena enthalten meistens Geographie und Völkerkunde ; vertritt jedoch der betreffende Historiker einen besonderen wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt, so lässt er ihn in der Einleitung gelten. So ist z. B. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al Maqdisī eigentlich ein Apologet des Islam ; kein Wunder daher, wenn seine Prolegomena (Band I—III der Ausgabe von Huart) beinahe ausschliesslich Theologie enthalten. Ibn Χaldūn ist ein Evolutionist und Geschichtsphilosoph : seine *Muqaddima* enthält eine Art Soziologie.

Auch die Perser haben diese Methode übernommen, jedoch mit dem Unterschiede, dass sie jene Abschnitte, welche keine eigentliche geschichtliche Darstellungen enthalten, als Anhang ihren Werken nachfolgen lassen. Wir müssen jedoch noch eine andere Besonderheit solcher Anhänge erwähnen, nämlich die, dass sie sehr oft kürzere oder längere Abhandlungen über die Türken und ihre Stämme enthalten, so z. B. in dem anonymen Geschichtswerk *Muǰmil at-tawāriχ*, Rašīd ad-dīn, Mīrχwând u. s. w. Warum, ist leicht zu erklären. Nach dem Sturze der Samaniden, wurde das iranische Element in ganz Vorderasien zurückgedrängt und die Türken sind jetzt öffentlich und anerkannterweise auf seine Stelle getreten. Est ist ganz natürlich, dass diese Wendung die einstigen Herren dieser Länder stark überrascht hat. Das öffentliche Interesse wendete sich selbstredend den neuen Gebietern zu ; man wollte wissen wer sie sind, woher sie stammen, was ihre Vergangenheit sei. Das dürfte der wahre Grund sein, dass solche Abhandlungen über die Türken massenhaft verfasst und gelesen wurden. Nach dem Einfall der Mongolen wurde das den Türken entgegengebrachte Interesse noch grösser, kein Wunder daher, wenn in den späteren Geschichtswerken, angefangen von Rašīd ad-Dīn, solche erweiterte Abhandlungen über die Türken so zu sagen integrierende Bestandteile aller Geschichtswerke geworden sind.» (A IV, pp. 29—30.)

It was with these considerations that Kmoskó developed the structure of his work. By taking the preface to the parallel texts into account, the table of contents of the work may be reconstructed as follows :

A) Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken.

a) Vorwort (A IV, p. 26).
b) Gardīzī und sein Geschichtswerk (A IV, pp. 27—30).
c) Gardīzīs Bericht über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 31—3).
d) Die Quellen der Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 34—60 + 80—103 + 167—8).
e) Persischer Text von Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Törkenstämme (A IV, pp. 106—51).
f) Übersetzung und Kommentar (A IV, pp. 176—237).

B) Paralleltexte zur Abhandlung Gardīzīs über die Türken.

a) Einleitung (A IV, pp. 169—74).
b) Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.
c) Ibn Rusta, Übersetzung (IV pp. 238—50).
d) Maqdisī, Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 251 + 17—9).
e) Bakrī, Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 20—5 + 161—4).
f) Abū-l-Fidā'.
g) Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, Persischer Text (A IV, pp. 61—6), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 1—10).
h) Muǰmil at-tawārix, Persischer Text (A IV, pp. 67—76), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 152—60).
i) Muḥammad-i-ʿAufī, Persischer Text (M I, pp. 598—622).
j) Rašīd ad-Dīn.
k) Šukrullāh.
l) Mīrχwând.
m) Kitāb muḫtaṣar al-ʿaǰā'ib, Arabischer Text (A IV, pp. 77—9), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 165—6).

A) Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken.

b) Gardīzī und sein Geschichtswerk (A IV, pp. 27—30).

In this chapter Kmoskó deals with the *nisba Gardīzī* and the facts of Gardīzī's life. Then he publishes a detailed table of contents of the *Zēn al-aχbār*. The name Gardīzī, which is connected with Gard z of Afghanistan, and certain — linguistically suspect — parts of the *Zēn al-aχbār* might give rise to the hypothesis that Gardīzī was of non-Persian origin and Persian was not his mother tongue. The language of the chapter on the Turks is particularly faulty: «Diese ist in der Tat hie und da recht unpersisch, die Wortfolge sonderbar, die ganze Ausdrucksweise unbeholfen und plump, jedoch nicht deshalb, weil der Verfasser kein geborener Perser war, sondern darum, weil diese Abhandlung aus einer arabischen Vorlage floss, deren Originalsprache Gardīzī zu stark beinflusste.» (A IV, p. 27.)

After carefully reviewing the report on the Turks, Kmoskó deals with the MSS of Gardīzī and with the editions of the report on the Turks by Barthold[158] and G. Kuun.[159] Concerning Barthold's work Kmoskó makes the following remark: «Seine Textausgabe ist eine gute, gediegene Arbeit,

[158] *Mém. de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie.* Sér. VIII, cl. phil.-hist. vol. I, No 4 (1897), pp. 80—126.

[159] In the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest* (K).

soweit eine auf einer einzigen Handschrift fussende Ausgabe eines persichen Textes gelingen kann. Im Besitze bedeutender Sprach- und Fachkenntnisse ist es ihm tatsächlich gelungen, viele ohne diakritische Punkte geschriebene Eigennamen des Textes von Oxford zu enträtseln. Auf der anderen Seite weist seine Text-Ausgabe auch manche Schwächen auf : er hat den ihm vorliegenden Text zu radikal behandelt, emendierte dort, wo es nicht notwendig war, und griff öfters zu Konjekturen, welche sich jetzt als unrichtig herausstellen. Diese Fehler sind jedoch leicht zu entschuldigen : der ihm vorliegende Text war so unsicher, dass er ihn kaum anders behandeln konnte.» (A IV, p. 32.) Kmoskó, too, gives a devastating criticism of G. Kuun's edition : «Die Grundlage seiner Textausgabe war ebenfalls die Handschrift von Oxford, nur hat er sie selbst nie gesehen, sondern benützte eine Abschrift derselben, welche ihm E. Sachau zur Verfügung gestellt hat ; diese Abschrift war leider mit dem Original nicht verglichen, weil, wie Kuun behauptet, er daran durch Krankheit und Schwäche gehindert war. Kein Wunder daher, dass seine Textausgabe recht erbärmlich ausgefallen ist. Er hat seine, übrigens vorzüglich kopierte Vorlage öfters missverstanden, falsch gelesen, fehlerhaft abdrucken lassen und den unverständlich gewordenen Text hie und da aufs Geratewohl übersetzt. Es muss jedoch bemerkt werden, dass sein Konsonantentext trotz der vielen Fehler treuer ist, als Bartholds philologisch vorteilhafter ausgestaltete Text.» (A IV, p. 33.) Kmoskó says this about his own edition: «Meine Textausgabe fusst auf der Handschrift von Cambridge, Kings College 213, deren Photokopie ich der Zuvorkommenheit der Bibliotheksverwaltung von King's College verdanke . . . Auf die Photographie der anderen Handschrift habe ich verzichtet, weil die Textausgaben von Barthold und Kuun sich derart ergänzen, dass man die wahre Textgestalt der Handschrift ohne Schwierigkeit ermitteln kann.» *(Ibid.)*[160]

d) Die Quellen der Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme (A IV. pp. 34—60 + 80—103 + 167—8).

Kmoskó's discussion of Ǧaihani's lost work is one of the most valuable parts of his entire MS remains. In the course of his disquisitions he also deals with the lost work of Ibn *X*urradāḏbih. His comments were included in his lecture to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the 19th of March, 1928, then he published them with important additions, in volume XIV (1929) of the *Történeti Szemle* [Historical Review], when he made some remarks on the Raverty's alleged MS of Ibn *X*urradāḏbih. His remarks, still of a surprising topicality, were made in connection with the quotations

[160] In Barthold's opinion the Oxford text of Gardīzī is a copy made from the Cambridge MS. Kmoskó thought that both derive from a common archetype.

which Raverty subjoined to the English translation of chapter XXIII of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. They are as follows: «The attention of Barthold was also aroused by these quotations. As we learn from the English edition of his *Turkestan*, published in 1928, he turned to Professor Browne, in 1922, inquiring about the Ibn Xordādbeh MS which was mentioned by Raverty. The reply was that, after the death of Raverty in 1907, only few of the MSS in his former possession were sold and these did not include the said MS. Last year I asked Dr. István Janicsek to search Raverty's literary remains most of which he then actually found in the MS collection of the India Office. But he did not find the Ibn Xordādbeh MS. When I asked Sir Denison Ross about this matter, after his last lecture in Budapest, his laconic reply was this: ‚Raverty was a fool' ... When I was preparing the final copy of the present writing, I tried again Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī (p. 969 *sq.*) whether I could get something out of it. The result was nothing less than astonishing. I had already known that the — generally miswritten — form of the proper names in the alleged Ibn Xordādbeh quotation strikingly resemble those in the Cambridge MS of Gardīzī which, moreover completely fits Raverty's description: ‚The copy of this work which I have referred to, unfortunately has been damaged by damp in the middle of each page for some thirty or forty pages in the very portion I wanted most to be perfect' — the upper part of the Cambridge MS, from page 187, turned yellow, owing to damp, and is consequently difficult to read — but I had still hesitated to identify Raverty's Ibn Xordādbeh MS with the Cambridge text of Gardīzī. But now I found it strange why Raverty gave the name Khurdādbih of Abdullāh to the author of his alleged source, that is, a Persian name, and a wrong one at that, since the real name of Ibn Xordādbeh was ʿUbaidallāh. At last I found the solution of the puzzle on folio 197 of the Cambridge MS where it is written that the reports on the Turks are compiled from Ǧaihānī's work *masālik wa-mamālik*, from a writing entitled *tawḍīʾ ad-dunjā* and from the book of Xordādbeh of ʿAbd allāh. Abiding as we do by the law of sober induction, we cannot attribute this remarkable convergence of errors to mere chance.»

Kmoskó's discussion of the name of J̌aihānī, his family and life are also very instructive. In these he presents various poetic and prose passages from Yāqūt's *Iršād* with detailed critical comments. He discusses in detail the question of J̌aihānī's dualistic *(ṯanawī)* views and characterises his writings. He has this interesting observation: «Wenn wir nur bedenken, dass laut Gardīzī und al-Muqaddasī al-Ǧaihānī's Buch auch eine Beschreibung von Indien enthielt, so können wir nicht umhin anzunehmen, dass auch dieses Stück *(BGA* VII, pp. 132—9) seinem Werke entlehnt ist. Es ist ferner merkwürdig, dass in diesem Stücke nach jenem geheimnisvollen قال der Verfasser in erster Person laut wird *(BGA* VII, p. $133_{3\text{-}19}$, 134_{9}). Ein anderes ‚Ich-Stück' kommt aber auch in der Beschreibung von Sarīr vor *(BGA* VII,

p. 148_{15}), welches doch anerkannterweise von al-Ǧaihānī herrüht. Es drängt daraus förmlich der Schluss auf, dass der hochangesehene Reichsverweser der Sāmāniden, trotz dass er Ibn *X*ordādbeh's Reisebuch eigentlich nur erweiterte, kein gewöhnlicher Kompilator, sondern ein Forschungsreisender war.»

Kmoskó treats very thoroughly those quotations which were preserved, from Ǧaihānī's work, in the writings of later authors (Masʿūdī, Ibn Ḥauqal, Muṭahhar i. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, Muqaddasī [Maqdisī], Bīrūnī, Bakrī, Ibn Rusta), and discusses the short references of later writers to Ǧaihānī (A IV, pp. 44—60 + 80—2).

We should attach extraordinary significance to Kmoskó's statements with regard to the time in which the work of Ǧaihānī was composed. It is well known that it is from the work of Ǧaihānī that Ibn Rusta quotes the report on the Volga Bulgars which refers to a time after 920. But, as de Goeje asserts, the *ante quem* of the time in which the work of Ibn Rusta was composed is 902! In connection with this painfully puzzling problem, which is still unsolved, Kmoskó offers the following convincing statements: «In der Beschreibung von Medina kommt nun folgende Zeitangabe vor (BGA VII, p. 73_{10-13}): ‚Kopie der Inschrift, welche sich im Innern der Moschee, oberhalb der Bögen und unterhalb der Zinnen befindet, so wie wir sie bei dem Pilgerzuge des Jahres 290 (902) gelesen haben'. Aus dieser Angabe hat der gute, ehrliche und naive de Goeje den Schluss gezogen, dass Ibn Rusta im J. 902 Mekkah und Medinah besuchte. Aber, um Gotteswillen, kommt es denn bei orientalischen Schriftstellern unzählbar nicht vor, dass sie den Wortlaut ihrer Quellen samt Haut und Haar herausschreiben, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, dass sie sich mit solchen arg herausstechenden fremden Federn lächerlich machen? Nicht Ibn Rustah pilgerte im Jahre 902 nach Mekka, sondern der Verfasser seiner Quelle, nämlich al-Ǧaihānī. Alle Beweise, welche de Goeje anführt, um wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass Ibn Rustah's Werk vor d. J. 301 abgefasst wurde, passen auf al-Ǧaihānī's Buch vollkommen, nur muss ich dabei ein Versehen des gelehrten Holländers berichtigen. Er beruft sich auf die Stelle BGA VII, p. 74_{3-5} aus welcher er den Schluss zieht: ‚De Motadhido loquitur tanquam de coetaneo'. Das ist jedoch nicht richtig. Es handelt sich dort um das Ende der bereits erwähnten Moschee-Inschrift, welche besagt: ‚Der Imām Abū-l-ʿAbbās, der Fürst der Gläubigen — möge Allāh sein Leben verlängern — hat im Jahre 282 (895) die Restaurierung der Moschee angeordnet.' Aus diesen Worten folgt jedoch bei weitem nicht, dass der Verfasser vom Chalifen Muʿtaḍid als von seinem Zeitgenossen rede. Dieser Chalife war nämlich im Rabiʿ II 289 (April, 901) schon tot und der Verfasser hat jene Inschrift erst im nächsten Jahre gelesen, folglich konnte den frommen Wunsch nicht aussprechen: möge Allāh sein Leben verlängern', sondern der ganze Satz bildet das Ende der Inschrift und ist davon nicht zu trennen. Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich nur soviel, dass das Jahr 902 für die Abfassungs-

zeit al-Ǧaihānī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* die Bedeutung eines *terminus a quo* habe.»

Together with the results achieved by Prof. Minorsky[161] the findings of Kmoskó, concerning J̌aihānī's work, represent the most important facts of progress, since the relevant publications of Marquart and Barthold, toward the solution of the J̌aihānī problem. Kmoskó took a negative attitude to the question of Herzfeld's alleged J̌aihānī MS of Meshed origin: «Diesbezüglich hat unlängst St. Janicsek berechtigten Zweifel erhoben ; Janicsek beruft sich darauf, dass der Buchtitel *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* ein ziemlich verbreiteter war (Ibn Χordādbeh, Iṣṭaχrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bakrī), so dass schon deshalb eine Verwechslung der Verfasser sehr leicht möglich war, er beruft sich ferner auf die Handschriften des British Museum, Add. 23,542 und Or. 1587, welche ebenfalls dem Ǧaihānī zugeschrieben werden, obwohl sie eigentlich eine persische Übersetzung des Ṣuwar al-aqālīm von Abū Zaid al-Balχī, des Vorläufers des Iṣṭaχrī bieten. Auch Leningrad besitzt eine Kopie desselben Werkes, welches bereits Dorn (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, XIX, 1874, S. 292) beschrieben hat.» Recent researches of Prof. Minorsky have fully justified Kmoskó's doubts.[162]

e) Persischer Text von Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 106—51).

Kmoskó's text is based on the Cambridge MS and differs on many points from that of Barthold. The apparatus subjoined to the text contains the enumeration of all variants. It must be strongly regretted that Kmoskó's new Gardīzī edition was never published.

f) Übersetzung und Kommentar (A IV, pp. 176—237).

Kmoskó's translation also differs on many points from those prepared before him, and his commentary also has many new and interesting features.

B) Paralleltexte zur Abhandlung Gardīzīs über die Türken.

a) Einleitung (A IV, pp. 169—74).

In his introduction Kmoskó gives a brief review of the works which contain the parallel texts to those reports of Gardīzī which have references to the Turks. In a few cases (Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Abū-l-Fidā', Rašīd ad-Dīn,

[161] Cf. his edition of Marvazī's text, Index, s. v. *Jayhānī*.
[162] *BSOAS* XIII (1949), pp. 89—96.

Šukrullāh, Mīrχwând) Kmoskó gives introductions only, without texts and translations.

g), h), i), m).

In the cases of four sources *(Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, Muǰmil at-tawārīχ, Muḥammad-i-ʿAufī, Kitāb muḫtaṣar al-ʿaǰā'ib)* Kmoskó also presents, beside the translations and explanations, the critical editions of the texts. Of these editions, had they been printed in 1928, it would have been, in the first place, Kmoskó's ʿAufī text that would have called forth considerable interest. Today, however, when we have learned to know, through Prof. Minorsky's edition, the original text of ʿAufī's source, that is, of Marwazī, Kmoskó's ʿAufī edition has become less interesting. But the discussions, with which Kmoskó comments on the text of ʿAufī, may prove very instructive even in our days.

It is known that Marquart raised certain problems, in his work on the Komans, concerning the fact that ʿAufī's text, as he asserts, has the other name *murqa* for the people of the *qūn*. Although Marquart's work was known to the two illustrious scholars P. Pelliot and Barthold,[163] the origin of the *murqa* people was not discovered until 1937 when Prof. Minorsky, on the basis of the newly discovered Marwazī MS, stated that, with the word *murqa*, Marquart fell victim to a fatal error inasmuch as the original has *firqa* in the place of *murqa*.[164] Following the publication of Prof. Minorsky's finding, the question was also discussed by H. H. Schaeder.[165]

In this connection we must point out that already Kmoskó, on the basis of ʿAufī's text, discovered Marquart's error. Kmoskó, when he was reconstructing the Persian text of ʿAufī for his work, used six MSS (Wien, Mxt 375 ; Oxford, Bodl., Elliot, 169, 171/2, 173, Brit. Mus. Or. 236, Add. 16,862) and he also took into account the text of Barthold's edition. In connection with the text of Marquart he makes the following observation : «The report on the Turks, with translation and exhaustive explanations, was published by Marquart . . . Komanen, p. 40 sqq. Unfortunately his text, which is based on later MSS and mainly on the extracts of Barthold, is beset, in some places, by errors.»[166] The place referring to the *qūn* people is also subject to this criticism. The text of this place, in Kmoskó's edition, is as follows : وایشان فرقه اند که قون ایشانرا می خوانند (M I, p. 606_{17}), in Kmoskó's translation: «A fraction of them is known by the name qūn.»

[163] Cf. Pelliot : *JAs* 1920 : pp. 80—220, Barthold in *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 16*—*51.

[164] *Marvazi*, p. 98.

[165] *ZDMG* XCVI (1942), pp. 131—2.

[166] *Történeti Szemle* 1929: p. 41.

The other noted error of Marquart was that he, on the basis of Bakrī's superficial J̌aihānī abstract, developed his theory concerning the Caucasian homeland of the Magyars.[167] In this case too Kmoskó relies on ʿAufī's text to reject Marquart's explanation : «What makes the description of the Khazars important is the fact that it refers to the great mountains bordering on their land and the indigenous peoples of this region, the *Ṭūlās* and *Aluγnah* (Ibn Rusta : *Lūγar*, al-Bakrī : *Uγūnah*) . . . As we know, Gardīzī does not mention these two peoples, while it is in connection with the Magyars that al-Bakrī speaks of them. In my work entitled Gog and Magog — which is still in MS — I stated several years ago that the sentence containing the reference to the *Ās* and *Uγūnah* peoples in the abstract of al-Bakrī belonged originally to the description of the Khazars in which an incoherent and defective sentence still marks the place from which the sentence was excerpted.» Prof. Minorsky too came later to a similar conclusion.[168]

From the *Muǰmil at-tawāriχ* Kmoskó presents the chapter on the Turks. In a discourse written in Hungarian[169] Kmoskó investigated in detail the list containing the titles of the Oriental kings.

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Our aim has been to present as fully as possible, even at the cost of restraining criticism, the manuscript remains of Mihály Kmoskó. Our above review, as we believe, has also shown that Kmoskó succeeded in assembling a large and valuable collection of well or less known sources which contain information about the peoples of the Steppe, and that much of the historical material accumulated in this collection may yet prove useful not only for historians but also for orientalists. The structure of his work (as regards introductions and excerpts with explanatory notes) resembles in certain respects the excellent Материалы по истории туркмен и Туркмении I (М.—Л. 1939) as published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

As to a publication of the Hungarian MSS, this could hardly be considered. But certain parts of his German work as well as his reconstructions of the texts of Gardīzī and ʿAufī might call, with more right, for an eventual publication. Kmoskó's commentaries too have many valuable parts to which we hope to accord some day a more exhaustive treatment.

[167] *Streifzüge*, p. 160—76.
[168] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 459.
[169] *Magyar Nyelv* XXIII (1927), pp. 288—93.

К. Цегледи

МОНОГРАФИИ О СИРИЙСКИХ И МАГОМЕТАНСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ СРЕДИ РУКОПИСЕЙ В НАСЛЕДСТВЕ М. КМОШКО

В архивах Венгерского Национального Музея и Академии Наук Венгрии хранится по одной связке рукописей, которые вместе представляют собой рукописное наследство венгерского ориенталиста М. Кмошко (1876—1931).

М. Кмошко, ставший в 1922 году после И. Гольдцихера заведующим кафедрой семитической филологии в университете г. Будапешт, был известен научному миру в первую очередь как специалист по сирийской филологии. Именно эта отрасль науки привлекала уже молодого ученого, и его важнейшие труды а также и издания текстов, опубликованные в 1901—1914 гг., относятся к этой отрасли науки.

Во время первой мировой войны связи Кмошко с великими сирийскими рукописными коллекциями и издательскими центрами прервались. В это время он взялся за собирание и обработку восточных источников к венгерской истории. Зная, что венгры до завоевания страны жили в южно-российских степях в соседстве тюркских народов и входили в тюркский племенной строй, Кмошко распространил свои исследования и на тюркские степные народы. Эта работа занимала его начиная с 1918 года вплоть до его смерти, т. е. в течение 13 лет. За это время по сравнению с предыдущим периодом, Кмошко опубликовал очень мало работ. Однако, обследование его рукописного наследства показывает, что за эти 13 лет Кмошко написал между прочим три объемистых монографии, публикация которых уже не успела состояться.

Первая его монография была написана между 1918 и 1922 годами. Она содержит сирийские источники, относящиеся к степным народам. Ее объем соответствует примерно 240 печатным страницам, язык — венгерский. В ней даны отрывки из сирийской исторической и агиографической литературы а также из ряда глав сирийской легенды о Александре Великом на венгерском языке с весьма ценными вводными примечаниями и детальными объяснениями. Сирийскими источниками пользовались в своих изложениях истории степи еще Т. Нельдеке, Й. Маркварт и другие. Систематическая обработка этих источников, однако, встречается только в рукописях Кмошко. Следовательно, издание этой монографии представляло бы важный научный интерес. Часть обсуждаемых Кмошко вопросов изложена в вышедшей в 1941 году работе Н. Пигулевской.

Другой рукописный очерк Кмошко, охватывающий примерно 740 печатных страниц, содержит отрывки на венгерском языке из работ арабских историков и географов в одинаковом размере, и к ним даны введения и обильные объяснения.

Третья рукопись написана на немецком языке. По своему объему она равна примерно 240 печатным страницам. Заглавие : «Gardīzīs Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme.» На основе двух рукописей Гардизи здесь даны текст с критическими замечаниями и перевод сообщений Гардизи о степных народах а также и оригинал и перевод параллельных сообщений других магометанских авторов. Примечания Кмошко к тексту имеют значение не только с точки зрения истории тюркских народов, но и весьма поучительны при изучении истории всей Восточной Европы.

Л. ЛИГЕТИ

О МОНГОЛЬСКИХ И ТЮРКСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ И ДИАЛЕКТАХ АФГАНИСТАНА*

С лингвистической точки зрения Афганистан несомненно является одной из самых интересных территорий, ведь на этой территории говорят на таком большом числе языков и на столь различных типах языков, что она решительно напоминает богатую лингвистическую карту Кавказа. В круг нашей задачи не входит рассмотрение распределения этих языков и диалектов,[1] а также не входит в круг нашей задачи описание их самых новых исследований. Нужно однако сказать несколько слов в рамках этой общей взаимо-обусловленности, хотя бы и кратко, о двух группах этого богатого языкового материала; одна из них органически связана с предметом настоящего доклада, а другая, в определенных случаях, находится в тесной связи с первой. Первой является тюрко-монгольская, а второй иранская группа. Начнем с последней.

Иранские языки, принадлежащие к самым древним живым языкам Афганистана, представляют собой очень пеструю картину. Так называемые памирские языки, далее афганский язык и наконец таджикский язык в Афганистане представляют собой четко отграниченные типы иранских языков, имеющие разное лингвистическое и историческое значение, а кроме того они не в одинаковой мере находятся в распоряжении научных исследований.

Долгое время памирские языки были в наименьшей мере изучены. Впрочем, только на одной части этих языков говорят в Афганистане небольшие языковые общины в горных ущельях, в недоступных шалашах; на другой же, ни в коем случае не меньшой части этих языков, говорят на территории Индии и Советского Союза. Внимание ученых постепенно привлекалось к ним в связи с открытиями в Центральной Азии, в ходе которых был обнаружен ряд до тех пор неизвестных иранских языков, вследствие чего стало ясно, что с точки зрения истории иранских языков, следует

* Доклад, прочитанный на годичном собрании Венгерской Академии Наук 28 мая 1952 г.

[1] Хорошим справочником по различным языкам Афганистана является труд G. Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan (введение), Oslo 1926. (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforksning, Serie C, I, 2.)

уделять больше внимания исследованию изолированных языков, на которых говорит небольшое число людей.

При таких обстоятельствах едва ли является случайным, что в последние десятилетия в исследовании и научной разработке памирских языков заметен серьезный подъем; результатом этого были труды Зарубина, Климчицкого, Вавилова, Morgenstierne, Sköld'a, Lentz'a и т. д.; их труды оказали неоценимую помощь в иранистике; они открыли новые перспективы для дальнейших исследований.[2]

Афганский язык — пушту —, само собой разумеется, является одним из рано подвергшихся менее-более систематическому исследованию; он является в общем наиболее изученным из всех языков Афганистана. В самых последних десятилетиях изучение этого языка велось также с успехом; достаточно, если сошлемся на лингвистические и фольклорные материалы, собранные на территории афганских наречий, афганский этимологический словарь и т. д.

Все-таки было бы ошибкой думать, что в этой области уже нечего делать. Наоборот, как раз теперь, все больше и больше внимания обращается на вопиющие недостатки в этой области, тем более, что уже сами афганцы занялись научным исследованием своего родного языка и начали заботиться об его развитии и чистоте.

Обучение афганскому языку в школе, его употребление в государственной жизни, литературе и науке требует решения серьезных проблем, особенно, если примем во внимание специфические общественно-политические условия Афганистана. Для афганского языка, диалектно сильно расчлененного, нужно было позаботиться прежде всего об едином литературном и разговорном языке. Первая попытка в этом отношении уже сделана, в основу нового языка в основном легло канадагарский диалект. Впрочем, с новым литературным языком знакомит нас прекрасный афганско-русский словарь Зудина и Бертельса, появившийся в 1950 г.[3]

Особого внимания заслуживает, что Афганская Академия Наук приступила к изданию нормативной грамматики афганского языка и многотомного афганского толкового словаря.

Совсем не так обстоит дело с исследованием персидских и таджикских диалектов Афганистана. Персидский язык, наряду с афганским и

[2] О значительном обогащении исследований свидетельствует следующий, недавно вышедший из печати труд: В. С. Соколова, Очерки по фонетике иранских языков, II (осетинский, ягнобский и памирские языки), Москва—Ленинград 1953. Изд. Ак. Наук СССР.

[3] Краткий афганско-русский словарь. Составил А. Б. Зудин, под редакцией члена корреспондента А Н СССР проф. Е. Э. Бертельса. Москва 1950. О формировании афганского литературного языка и роли Академии Наук Афганистана в его формировании см. введение в словарь (стр. 1—5) и стр. 561—564.

даже в ущерб афганскому, долгое время играл большую роль в государственной жизни, литературе и т. д.[4] Все-таки интересно, но и в полне понятно, что он не приспособился к форме обиходного персидского языка, употребляющегося в Персии, но употреблялся в форме, которая в деталях иногда очень отличалась от него, и развивался главным образом на основе кабульского наречия, вследствие чего сформировалось какое-то литературное койнэ. Нужно сказать, что этот особый персидский литературный язык по сущности является ничем иным, как литературной формой кабульского наречия таджикского языка.[5]

Особенности таджикского литературного языка Афганистана, встречающиеся как в словарном составе, так и в грамматическом строе, можно объяснить на основании местных таджикских наречий. К сожалению, в области исследования таджикских наречий Афганистана почти что ничего не сделано. Не считая небольших монографий по литературному таджикскому языку, называемому кабульским, и бадахшанским наречием, да несколько разбросанных и общих замечаний, собственно говоря, весь огромный материал можно считать незнакомым.[6]

А между тем часто влияние «персидского» языка на афганский язык, памирские языки, тюркские и монгольские диалекты Афганистана в области словарного состава и грамматического строя в совершенстве часто можно понять только при помощи таджикских черт, имеющихся в таджикских наречиях Афганистана. Не подлежит сомнению, что метод некоторых прежних исследователей, пытавшихся объяснить это влияние при помощи литературного персидского языка, является в корне ошибочным и не может привести к результатам.

Конечно, правильную картину развития, специфического положения таджикских наречий Афганистана можем получить только тогда, если примем во внимание и другие самые важные наречия. К этим принадлежат определенные персидские диалекты Персии и Индии, а в первую очередь аджикские диалекты на территории СССР, прежде всего в Таджикистане.

[4] «Хотя представители родовой аристократии, сохраняющие связь со своими поместьями, зачастую и владеют афганским языком, но в правящих кругах он в значительной степени был вытеснен языком персидским, до начала 1933 г. бывшим единственным государственным языком Афганистана.» П. Б. Зудин — Е. Э. Бертельс, Краткий Афганско-русский словарь, стр. 561.

[5] Краткий, но ценный обзор, опубликованной на этом языке литературы, дан в Большой Советской Энциклопедии, 2-е изд., т. 3, стр. 507.

[6] L. Bogdanov, Stray notes on Kabuli Persian : Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XXVI (1930), 1—123. — D. L. R. Lorimer, The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti dialects of modern Persian. With vocabularies. (Royal Asiatic Society, Prize Publication Fund, Vol. VI, London 1922). — G. Morgenstierne, Persian Texts from Afghanistan : Acta Orientalia VI (Oslo 1928), 309—328.

Несомненно, что дело с исследованием персидских и таджикских наречий вне Афганистана обстоит более благополучно, однако нет сомнения в том, что в этой области самую большую помощь могут оказать научные результаты, достигнутые советскими языковедами в области исследования таджикского языка и диалектов, употребляемых на территории СССР.

Таджикский народ, перед которым Советская Конституция открыла все возможности культурного подъема, развивает свою литературу и науку на родном языке; этот богатый и очень ценный материал с точки зрения языкознания представляет собой неисчерпаемый золотой клад. Особого внимания заслуживают прежде всего появившиеся в последнее время лексикографические труды, среди которых особо следует выделить большой таджикско-русский и русско-таджикский словари, появившиеся в издании Таджикского филиала А Н СССР и Академии Наук Таджикской ССР[7].

Тюркские языки на территории сегодняшнего Афганистана появились сравнительно поздно. Хотя правда, что уже в эпоху западно-тюркского государства, северные и северо-восточные районы Афганистана покорили предводители небольших тюркских племен. По предположению W. Barthold'a — карлуки, например, осели здесь уже в VII или VIII веке,[8] однако, по всей вероятности, заселение упомянутых районов предками каких бы то ни было современных тюркских групп нельзя отнести к такой ранней эпохе. Во всяком случае следующее положение сформировалось значительно

[7] С русскими и советскими исследованиями в области таджикской диалектологии подробно знакомит нас труд: В. С. Расторгуева, Очерки по таджикской диалектологии. Выпуск 1, Варзобский говор таджикского языка (Введение, 1. Обзор литературы по таджикской диалектологии, 9—19). Выпуск 2. Северные таджикские говоры: Полосышайдан—Ашт—Чуст—Кассансай. Москва 1952 (Академия Наук СССР). — Таджикско-русский словарь под общей редакцией академика Е. Н. Павловского, члена-корреспондента АН СССР Е. Э. Бертельса, Джалона Икроми и Рахима Джалила. Том 1, А—Н, Сталинабад—Ташкент 1946 (Государственное издательство Таджикской ССР). — К сожалению, я знаком только с первым томом этого важного словаря. Возможно, что и не появилось больше томов этого произведения, которое, впрочем, заменяется следующим выдающимся двухтомным трудом. — Русско-таджикский словарь, под редакцией А. П. Дехоти и Н. Н. Ершова, главный редактор член-корреспондент АН СССР Е. Э. Бертельс. Таджикский филиал Академии Наук СССР, Институт истории, языка и литературы. Москва—Сталинабад 1949. Этот грандиозный труд издан в формате четверти листа на 880 страницах и содержит 45 000 слов. Таджикско-русский словарь. Под редакцией М. В. Рахими и Л. В. Успенской, главный ректатор член-корреспондент Академии Наук СССР Е. Э. Бертельс. 40 000 слов. С приложением грамматического очерка, составленного В. С. Расторгуевой. Академия Наук Таджикской ССР. Институт языка и литературы. Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей. Москва 1954.

[8] W. Barthold, 12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte Türken Mittelasiens (Berlin 1935), 100. Эти взгляды Бартольд подчеркивает и в иных трудах, напр.: Enzycl. Islam, 766, Очерк истории Семиречья, Фрунзе 1943, 21. Ср. еще: А. Ю. Якубовский, Вопросы этногенеза туркмен в VIII—X вв.: Советская Этнография 1947 (3), 53.

позже, а окончательную форму могло получить только в период перед монгольским нашествием и после него.

Тюркские языки Афганистана с точки зрения лингвистической классификации принадлежат к трем типам: кыпчакскому, огузскому и туркийскому *(turkī)*; все они в меньшей или большей мере иранизированы.[9] Самыми значительными из них являются узбекский и туркменский. Оба они, конечно, находятся в тесной связи с подобными тюркскими языками на территории СССР и являются их наречиями, с лингвистической стороны очень интересными, но мало знакомыми. Особого внимания заслуживает мало известное кызылбашское наречие, на котором говорят вблизи Кабула. Наконец, нужно считаться также с еще точно не определенными тюркскими языками или диалектами, на которых говорят главным образом в северных районах.

Тюркские языки Афганистана раньше не подвергались лингвистическому исследованию; практически все они считались незнакомыми. Первое издание материала относится ко второй половине 30-х годов; его подготовил G. Jarring. В своем однотомном сборнике он опубликовал материалы по андхуйскому узбекскому диалекту, а кроме того издал всеобщий справочник по классификации тюркских языков Афганистана, главным

[9] В этой части я придерживаюсь своей собственной системы классификации тюркских языков. В последнее время советскими тюркологами была рекомендована заслуживающая внимания классификация тюркских языков, отличающаяся в известных отношениях от моей классификации. Ср. Н. А. Баскаков, К вопросу о классификации тюркских языков: Известия Ак. Наук СССР, том XI (1952), 121–134. С. Е. Малов, Древние и новые тюркские языки, там же, 135–143. Следуя классификации Н. А. Баскакова, тюркские языки Афганистана придется причислить к «огузской», «кыпчакской» и «карлукской» группам. Я должен отметить, что считаю наименование «карлукский» на русском языке более удачным, чем иноязычный и неудобопонятный термин «туркийский». Помимо этого, к историческим наименованиям «огузский» и «кыпчакский» лучше подходит имеющий также исторический характер термин «карлукский», чем применение иноязычного (персидского ترکی *turkī)* названия, возникшего в тюркской ономастике сравнительно поздно. После проведения контрольных обследований весьма вероятно, что я сам приму термин «карлукская группа». Пока-что хочу указать на то, что лишь одна часть печенегов говорила на языке огузского типа, первоначальный же печенегский язык принадлежал к тюркским языкам кыпчакского типа, как это убедительно выяснили исследования J. Németh'a; ср. J. Németh, Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica II, Budapest 1932), Anhang I. Die Sprache der Petschenegen und Komanen, стр. 50–59. Я с большой радостью приветствую мнение Н. А. Баскакова, по которому и хазарский язык должен быть включен в «булгарскую группу». В исследовании столь своеобразной западной ветви тюркских языков, единственным живым продолжением которой является чувашский язык, мнение Н. А. Баскакова представляет собой важную новую точку зрения, обещающую несомненно весьма значительные новые результаты в области исследовании истории тюркских языков.

образом на основании изданных раньше путевых записок и этнологических трудов.[10]

Как известно, тюркские языки— на которых говорят в северных районах Афганистана, просто невозможно отделить от тюркских языков и диалектов, на которых говорят к северу от афганской границы.[11] При их исследовании и научной обработке само собой разумеется, не можем обойтись без того огромного материала, который предоставляет нам советская тюркология по узбекскому, киргизскому и туркменскому языкам.

Монгольский язык или монгольские диалекты в Афганистане появились еще позже, чем тюркские. Этот вопрос сам по себе является очень интересным: проникли в Афганистан какой-нибудь из монгольских языков до монгольского нашествия, или же в действительности эфталитский язык принадлежал к монгольскому типу языков? С практической точки зрения однако, этот вопрос на этот раз не имеет никакого значения, ибо можно установить, что все монгольские диалекты Афганистана восходят к эпохе нашествия монголов.

Что касается монгольского языка Афганистана, то в этом отношении долгое время господствовала полная неразбериха. Одни считали монголами по языку аймаков, другие племя хазара («варвары»), а были и такие, которые монгольский язык приписывали исключительно могалам или моголам.

Первый настоящий монгольский языковый материал из Афганистана издал более ста лет тому назад Leech.[12] Этот материал, изданный в 1838 г. и содержащий не совсем полтораста слов и несколько примеров, разработал в 1886 г. Gabelentz; он доказал, что, материал, несмотря на изобилие персидских элементов, носит несомненно монгольский характер.[13] Следующая попытка исследования была сделана только в 1903 г., когда

[10] G. Jarring, Uzbek Text from Afghan Turkestan. With glossary. — Lund—Leipzig 1938, V, 246. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 34. Nr. 2.) — Его же, On the Distribution of Turk Tribes in Afghanistan. An Attempt at a Preliminary Classifixation. — Lund—Leipzig 1939, 104. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 35 Nr. 4). — Ср. еще: K. Menges, Zum Özbekischen vom Nord-Afghanistan: Anthropos XLI—XLIV (1946—1949), 673—710.

[11] G. Jarring, On the Distribution of Turk Tribes, 11.

[12] B. Leech, Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky and the Panjabi Languages, with Vocabularies of the Baraky, the Pashi, the Laghmani, the Cashgari, the Teerhai, and the Deer Dialects: Journ. of Asiatic Society of Bengal VII (1838), 538—556, 608—620, 711—732, 780—787. Этот, появившийся в продолжениях труд, содержит могольский материал на стр. 785—787 под заглавием «A Vocabulary of the Language of the Moghal Aimaks». Этот труд в немножко измененном виде был издан и отдельно Географическим Обществом Бомбея под заглавием «Vocabularies of Seven Languages, Spoken in the Countries West of the Indus».

[13] H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Über die Sprache der Hazaras und Aimaks: ZDMG XX (1866), 327—334, в том же томе (612—613): Ergänzungen und Berichtungen von Prof. Fleischer.

Ramstedt, после того как ему не удалось попасть в Афганистан, на афганско-русской границе собрал в течение пяти дней от двух моголов кое-какой материал.[14] Понятно, что и после того картина о монгольском языке Афганистана осталась схематичной и далеко не удовлетворяющей.

Как раз поэтому вызывали беспокойство известия побывавших на месте исследований о том, что каждая их попытка исследовать монгольский язык, оказалась напрасной, и, что таким образом, монгольский язык Афганистана следует считать мертвым.[15]

II.

После всего этого в 1936—37 гг. по поручению Венгерской Академии Наук я попытался выяснить: действительно ли совсем исчез язык монгольских завоевателей Афганистана, а поскольку нет, то собрать все, что возможно при данных условиях в течение времени, имевшегося в моем распоряжении.

Мне удалось найти могольский язык и даже познакомиться с его несколькими диалектами. Но оригинального фольклорного материала при самом тщательном исследовании я не мог найти. Я удивился, когда заметил, что почти все моголы являются двуязычными; кроме родного языка они прекрасно говорят на местном таджикском диалекте и почти что скрывают знание могольского языка; вот поэтому так трудно напасть на их следы. Значительная часть прежних могольских племен ныне уже совсем не упо.

[14] G. J. Ramstedt, Mogholica. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan: JSFOu XXIII: 4 (1906), 1—60.

[15] Dr. E. Trinkler, Afghanistan, eine landeskundige Studie auf Grund des vorhandenen Materials und eigener Beobachtung: Ergänzungsheft Nr. 196 zu «Petermanns Mitteilungen» (Gotha 1928), 53—54: «Trotz meiner Nachforschungen konnte ich keinen Hinweis auf das Vorhandensein mongolischer Dialekte finden. Wohl aber sprachen zur Zeit Baburs (1483—1530) die Hesareh noch mongolisch.» В Мешхеде, а даже в Герате, в ходе моих поисков за могольским языком долгое время и я получал одни отрицательные ответы. Однако по G. Morgenstierne (Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, 6): «While the Mongol Hazaras have generally adopted a peculiar dialect of Persian, Mongolian is still spoken by the Taimanis about Rud-i-Gas and Adraskand near Sebzawar (the village of Mir Mana, Bedak, Hazi kuh, Karez Sultan, Pir Surkh, Gaza and Chashma Khuni were mentioned), and possibly also between Maimana and Herat.» Информации Morgenstierne очевидно происходят из вторых рук, поэтому и не могут быть точными. Такого рода информации легко могут сбить человека с толку, даже в том случае, если они почерпнуты на месте у моголов, ибо могольскими считают и такие населенные пункты, которые уже давно потеряли оригинальный язык, или же могольским считают и такое село, в котором на могольском языке говорят одна-две семьи или же знают этот язык один-два человека, да и то как второй язык со слишком ограниченной функцией.

требляет могольского языка, а знает только местный таджикский диалект. Таким образом не было трудно установить, что могольский язык находится в самом деле в стадии вымирания. Об этом процессе свидетельствует между прочим и то, что поскольку он и встречается, то изобилует таджикскими диалектными элементами в словарном составе, а в определенных случаях даже в грамматическом строе.[16]

Главной целью моего путешествия в Афганистан было разыскание могольского языка; эта работа из-за специфики условий была связана с большими затруднениями. Несмотря на это, мне удалось собрать словарный материал, состоящий из более 4000 слов с соответствующими предложениями (примерами), незначительное количество текстов, и, наконец, я приобрел от одного из моих учителей автографический сборник стихов рано умершего могольского поэта *Qâdər*, писавшего на персидском, арабском и могольском языках.[17]

В ходе моих исследований в области могольского языка Афганистана я попытался выяснить: живет ли этот язык у хазара («варваров») и аймаков, которых раньше считали монголами.[18] Мои исследования принесли отрицательный результат, но с другой стороны помогли сделать очень ценные наблюдения.

Кроме моих исследований в области могольского языка я не отказался также от богатых возможностей, предоставившихся мне для изучения тюркских языков Афганистана, хотя это и не было мною запланировано. В это время об этих языках почти что ничего не было известно (даже упомянутая книга J a r r i n g'a вышла в свет только в 1938 г.). Я чувствовал, что насколько бы ни были мои записи схематичными и неполными, с точки зрения тюркологических исследований, они сделают услугу.

[16] В связи с двуязычностью моголов возникают важные вопросы принципиального характера; а именно, что значит скрещение языков применительно к могольскому языку, каков результат скрещения? Я более подробно занимался этим вопросом на основе сталинского учения о языке. В своем выступлении на собрании Венгерской Академии Наук 1951, где я высказался в связи с докладом N é m e t h G y u l a, A kevert nyelvrendszer kérdéséhez (Az oszmán-török nyelv kettős rendszere) (К вопросу о смешанной системе языков. Двойная система османо-тюркского языка). См. Сообщения I отдела Венг. Ак. Наук II (1952), 332–342

[17] На стихотворениях *Qâdər* с точки зрения формы и содержания заметно влияние персидской и арабской поэзии. Поэтичесикй язык, который он намеревался создать, тоже изобилует элементами арабского и персидского словарного состава. Но эти чужие элементы имеют совсем другой характер, чем те, которыми пользовался разговорной могольский язык. *Qâdər* в своих стихотворениях употребляет арабские и персидские слова в их литературных формах, а так как не обладал прочными знаниями по грамматике и орфографии этих языков, иностранные слова у него встречаются чаще всего в искаженном виде.

[18] С литературой, касающейся моголов, хазара и аймаков в общих чертах знакомит нас G. J a r r i n g, On the Distribution of Turk Tribes, 79—81.

Первые свои подробные записки я сделал об одном узбекском диалекте, на котором говорит племя маймэнэ-кухи, (всего 200 домов), но живущее на значительно большей территории. Точных диалектных границ, к сожалению, ни здесь, ни в другом месте мне не удалось установить. По этим диалектам я собрал фольклорный материал, в частности несколько *dastân*, расказанных в прозе ; я сделал к нему объемистый глоссарий, замечания по грамматике и т. д.

Мой другой большой тюркский материал записан на территории конгратского диалекта узбекского языка. Однако этот материал с лингвистической точки зрения представляет собою значительно более интересный и редкий диалект, чем предыдущий. Конгратский диалект принадлежит к так называемому кыпчакскому типу узбекских диалектов. По этому диалекту я собрал преимущественно лексический материал и короткие песни.

По другим узбекским и туркменским диалектам, а также по языку кабульских кызылбашей я принес с собой только фрагментарный материал. Я старался рассмотреть каждый мне попавшийся диалект, но для их изучения в моем распоряжении было часто только несколько дней, а иногда всего несколько часов. Такой материал, конечно, не может состоять из иного, чем из более-менее длинного или короткого глоссария, из нескольких коротких произаических текстов или песен.

III.

Результаты моих лингвистических исследований в Афганистане я собираюсь опубликовать в трех различных по объему томах. В один из них вошел бы материал относительно могольского языка, в другой — мои исследования в связи с диалектом маймэнэ-кухи, а в третий — общий справочный материал а также небольшие по объему записи. К их окончательной подготовке к печати я приступил теперь и начал работу с тома, упомянутого на третьем, последнем месте ; вот это и делает мой нынешний отчет актуальным.

Этот том, можно надеяться, выйдет в свет в скором времени. Об этом давно запланированном произведении (Une mission linguistique en Afghanistan), о некоторых его важнейших достижениях я хочу теперь дать краткий отчет.

Собственный материал моих исследований относительно могольского языка войдет в особый том, им я тут по существу не хочу заниматься. Но излагаю все то, что на основе исторических источников и моих исследований относится к появлению могольского языка в Афганистане. Могольский язык несомненно был внесен в Афганистан во время монгольских завоеваний монгольскими гарнизонами, которые там поселились и постепенно полностью акклиматизировались в среде иранского населения.

Точно определить время проникновения могольского языка в Афганистан, пока не очень возможно. Весьма вероятно, однако, что этот процесс произошел в общем при персидских илханах, а также несомнено, что афганистанские монголы пришли не сразу а в нескольких следующих одна за другой волнах; последний раз, может быть, уже в период после падения илханов.[19] Во всяком случае очень интересно, что по местным преданиям монголы якобы пришли в Афганистан под водительством ханов *Darmân χân*, *Zeinal χân*, *Aryun χân*, и *Buryut χân*.

С лингвистической точки зрения могольский язык в Афганистане, как и дагурский в Северной Маньчжурии или монгольские диалекты провинции Ганьсу, относится к числу т. н. окраинных диалектов. Это значит, что и могольский язык сравнительно рано оторвался от общемонгольской языковой общности, развивался обособленно, самостоятельно. В результате этого своеобразного развития могольский язык тоже сохранил много таких характерных для средне-монгольской эпохи свойств, которые вовсе неизвестны в обще-монгольских диалектах, с другой стороны, частью под влиянием окружающих языков, в нем произошли такие изменения, которые для общемонгольских диалектов являются чужими. Это обстоятельство само по себе в достаточной мере объясняет большое значение могольского языка в Афганистане с точки зрения монгольского языкознания.[20]

Но с помощью большего языкового материала мы можем сегодня определить и те средне-монгольские диалекты, которые можно связать с могольским языком в Афганистане. Если рассматриваем языковые критерии, то без труда можем установить, что могольский язык носит по существу те же характерные черты, как и монгольские глоссарии, написанные на арабском и персидском языках в XIII—XV вв. (лейденский неизвестного автора, Ибн Муханна, Мукаддимат ал-адаб, неизданный и истамбульский и парижский глоссарии), потом монгольские глоссы Рашиду-'д-Дина, Джуваини, Хамдуллаха Казвини, Эвлия Челеби и других. Эти магометанские авторы описанный ими язык называют «могал» или «могол», то есть так, как называют себя моголы в Афганистане, ставшие в магометанском окружении магометанами.

Несомнено, что монгольские части, которые в ходе монгольских завоеваний попали в Персию и на окружающую ее территорию, вышли из самых различных племен, следовательно, нет никакого основания думать, что все

[19] Разумеется, что говоря в этом отношении о монголах Афганистана, следует учесть и такие племена, которые уже раньше потеряли свой язык монгольского происхождения, в том числе, хазара. О поселении могольских племен Афганистана ср. Г. Д. Санжеев, Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков, том. I (Москва 1953), стр. 6.

[20] На основе доступного ныне материала древние особенности могольского языка ясно подытожены в очерке Г. Д. Санжеева, там же, стр. 27.

они говорили на одном диалекте, или, что они говорили на таких диалектах, которые существенно отличались от остальных восточно-монгольских диалектов. Несомненно, в то же время и то, что попавшие на запад общие по языку монгольские группы, оторванно от монгольской языковой общности, в постоянном соприкосновении с окружающими тюркскими и иранскими языками, постепенно перешли к обособленной жизни и стали развиваться самостоятельно.[21]

В этом смысле, я думаю, не будет ошибкой, если западную группу, которую в широком смысле тоже можно называть могольской, будем считать отдельной группой средне-монгольского диалекта; от этой западной средне-монгольской языковой группы происходит и сегодняшний могольский язык в Афганистане. Конечно, следует подчеркнуть, что начиная еще со средне-монгольского периода, эту группу нельзя считать вполне единой с точки зрения языка, ведь тенденция к сформированию диалектов появилась уже весьма рано ; диалектное расчленение хорошо заметно у отмирающего могольского языка в Афганистане.

Мы должны сослаться и на то, что в области исследования памятников могольского языка средне-монгольской эпохи, перед нами стоит целый ряд задач; в ходе этой работы особенно большое внимание следует уделять обработке монгольских элементов в персидском, чагатайском и других языках.[22]

В ходе изложения моего исследования относительно могольского языка я подробно занимаюсь материалом, собранным моими предшественниками, попытаюсь исправить их ошибки и дополнить, по возможности, их неполные сведения. После ценной работы Ramstedt'a почти никто не пользовался ранним, в работе довольно неудобным, глоссарием Leech'a. Об этом можно только сожалеть, тем более, что эти две записи сделаны по двум совершенно различным могольским диалектам. Правда, в этом значительную роль могло сыграть и то, что из-за обработки Gabelentz'a,

[21] Мы должны согласиться с Санжеевым в том, что в XIII—XIV вв. различия между монгольскими диалектами были значительно меньше, чем сегодня. См. Г. Д. Санжеев, К некоторым вопросам изучения исторического развития языков. Изв. Ак. Наук (Отд. лит. и яз.), X (1951), 76. Это, конечно, далеко не значит, что монгольский язык XIII—XIV вв. был единым, и, что у него еще не было диалектов. Достаточно сослаться на записки той эпохи, в которых упоминаются могольские диалекты и имеющиеся между ними различия (напр. Рашиду-'д-Дин). На основании моих, до сих пор неопубликованных, исследований в области киданьского языка, я пришел к заключению, что диалектные различия существовали уже до XIII века, более того, мы должны считаться с диалектными различиями киданьского языка даже в IX—X вв.

[22] Следует подчеркнуть, что монгольские элементы не во всех нынешних тюркских языках заимствованы из средне-монгольского языка. Относительно монгольских элементов в одной из групп тюркских языков, а именно сибирской, см. Hasan Eren, Sibiriya türk dillerinde moğol unsurları (оттиск из неназванного журнала, 35—43).

которой уделяли сравнительно больше внимания, материал Leech'a стал далеко не благонадежным; многочисленные недоразумения, описки, опечатки, не то что привлекали, а скорее устрашали. Поэтому следует заметить, что ответственность за это несет прежде всего Gabelentz, а не Leech.

Могольский материал сборника Leech'a, как я отметил, в свое время появился в двух местах: в Журнале Бенгальского Азиатского Общества и отдельно в издании Географического Общества Бомбея, якобы в виде оттиска первой статьи. Этим оттиском и воспользовался Gabelentz. Но этот «оттиск» никак не является оттиском статьи, появившейся в JASB в нем другое распределение слов, другая орфография.[23] И что самое главное, этот «оттиск» кишмя кишит опечатками, такими ошибками, по которым и следа нет в статье, появившейся в упомянутом журнале (хотя и она не лишена опечаток). Интересно, что большая часть ошибок объясняется скорее неправильным чтением рукописи, чем типографскими ошибками: *eeknia* «падает» (вместо *îkina*), *modar* «сегодня» (вм. *inodar*), *koma* «после» (вм. *koinà*), *kujunu* «щея» (вм. *kujunn*), *inchman* «гость» (вм. *mehmàn*), *unutar* «спит» (вм. *nuntar*), *odwe* «день» (вм. *odur*), *oknya* «умер» (вм. *okuja*), *nunoo* «сесть (на коня)» (вм. *unnù*) и т. п. Затруднение, создавшееся вследствие таких ошибок увеличилось и тем, что в некоторых случаях вкралась ошибка и в толкование слов, что препятствовало правильному отождествлению данных могольских слов: слово *kala*, Gabelentz переводит как «Kette», а в журнале JASB имеется правильное толкование «chin» (может быть в тексте Gabelentz'a стояло «chain»?); значение слова *konghan* по мнению Gabelentz'a «Licht», а в действительности английское слово «light» является двузначным — оно значит не только «свет», но и «легкий», и только последнее является правильным соответствием могольскому слову; слово *chah* по толкованию Gabelentz'a значит «gut, wohl»; однако английское слово «well» тут обозначает «колодец».[24]

[23] Я не мог достать «оттиска», которым пользовался Gabelentz, так что мне не удалось установить, который из двух вариантов является более ранним. В опубликованном в JASB варианте не только что меньше опечаток, но и фонетическая транскрипция точнее. Только в этом варианте обозначается долгое *ā (à)*; долгие гласные в нем еще: *î* (иногда *ì*) *ù*; последние в оттиске, которым пользовался Gabelentz, обозначаются при помощи *ee*, *oo*.

[24] Исправление этих ошибок сразу дает правильное объяснение могольских слов, которые считались загадочными. 1° *kala* «подбородок» ~ хаз. (Dj, Dz, T) *kalla* «подбородок», перс. Қ *kalla* «то же самое»; афг. З *kala* «голова (скота)», узбек. Qt, KM *kalla* «голова», осм. *kelle* «abgeschlagener Kopf»; «Kopf, auf den eine Prämie gesetzt ist»; перс. *kala* «the face or cheek» (St), *kalla* «the head» (Haim); перс. *källe* «1. голова; макушка, темя; 2. верхушка» (Миллер, 404); 2° *kongàn* «легкий» ~ мог. R *kùngōn*, M *kùŋgân*, *kùŋgᾰ̂* «то же самое»; IM, MA, AI *köngen*; монг. *könggen* «то же самое»; 3° *chah* «колодец» ~ мог. Mr *čā* «пропасть; колодец», M, *čā*, *ča* «колодец»; перс. *čāh* «a well, pit; a prison, dungeon; a snare» (St) перс. *čah* «1. колодец; 2. яма, углубление; шахта» (Миллер, 161).

Что касается могольского материала Ramstedt'a, то это ценный труд, и можно только удивляться, что он сумел создать за такое короткое время труд такого объема. Естественно, что остались в нем неразобранные, неправильно истолкованные слова, что в фонетических записях замечается кое-где колебание, а иногда даже неточность. Действительно, поразительно непрывычное впечатление, которое производит на исследователя, приезжающего с территории монгольских языков, могольский язык в Афганистане, со своим иранизированным фонетизмом, с иногда, казалось бы, непонятными грамматическими свойствами и не в меньшей мере многочисленными иранскими элементами в словарном составе.

Самую большую трудность для Ramstedt'a, конечно, могло представлять и то, что он встречался очень часто с такими таджикскими диалектизмами, которых он раньше не встречал ни в одном из источников. Вот несколько примеров.

В одном тексте (Mogholica, 11) Ramstedt дает три слова: *sapčā*, *malda*, *masqa*; ни одного из них не переводит, в глоссарри ставит возле них вопросительный знак и все истолковывает как «etwas Essbares». Все три слова являются словами местного таджикского диалекта. Слово *sapča* я тоже встретил в мангутском диалекте могольского языка, где оно имеет значение «маленький, еще неспелый сорт дыни, которую едят»; это слово в такой же форме и с тем же значением имеется и в гератском таджикском диалекте. J. E. T. Aitchison[25] записал это слово так: *sabcha* «the gourd of Benincasia cerifera, was eaten as a vegetable» (178). Слово *malda*, кажется, относится к более редко употребляемым словам, хотя его этимология и ясна. В диалектах марда и мангут я сам тоже слышал форму *malda*, его значение: «хлеб, разрезанный на маленькие куски, смятый с жиром, сахаром (предпочитается особенно женщинами)». По мнению моих осведомителей могольское слово по значению полностью совпадает с хорошо известным в гератском таджикском языке словом *čaŋgali*, которое по мнению Steingass'a имеет следующее значение: «hot bread, syrup or honey and butter made into a cake». А слово *maska* (это правильная форма, *masqa* же основывается на ошибочной записи), можно сказать, общеизвестное. Более важным сведениями являются следующие: мог. Mr, M *maska* «масло»; узбек. KM *maska*; сарт. *maska* «свежее коровье масло» (Наливкин, 82); вост. тюрк. *mäskä* «свежее масло» (Радл. IV, 2108); джаг. مسکا «beurre frais» (P d C 499); перс. مسکه *maska* «fresh butter» (Steingass 1238), *mäske* «сливочное масло» (Миллер, 494); перс. Мешх. *mäskä*; тадж. *maska* «сливочное масло» (Рахими — Успенская, 217); тадж. Гер. *maska* «масло»;

[25] J. E. T. Aitchison, Notes on the Products of Western Afghanistan and of North-Eestern Persia: Transactions of the Botanical Society, Edinburg XVIII (1890). Работа вышла и отдельным оттиском; цитирую на основании оттиска.

тадж. Каб. *maska* «butter» (Bogdanov, 92); йидга *masko*, мунджи *maska* «butter» (Morgenstierne, 229); вахи *maska* «id.» (Morgenstierne, 530); хинд. *maska* «butter» (Platts, 1035).

Во второй части своей книги я разработал материал, собранный по диалектам аймакскому, хазара и вообще по таджикским диалектам в Афганистане. Не будучи иранистом, вначале я не намеревался записывать такой материал, а то, что я все таки собрал, прежде всего служило справочным материалом для меня самого. Я должен был проверять язык аймаков и хазара из-за могольского языка; в ходе моей работы над могольским языком для меня становилось все яснее, что без знания местных таджикских диалектов очень часто невозможно справиться и с самым могольским языком. Правда, что на месте исследований дело оказалось гораздо проще, так как я выучил гератский диалект, и за все время моих исследований я пользовался им как вспомогательным языком в общении с моими учителями, а не персидским языком Персии. В действительности я только после моего возвращения на родину заметил, что о таджикских диалектах в Афганистане все еще не имеются в нашем распоряжении нужные вспомогательные средства. Так я решился после долгих колебаний опубликовать и мои записки, несмотря на то, что они представляют собой результат случайного и не систематического собирания. Однако я строго следил за тем, чтобы никогда не полагаться на свою память. Поэтому позже я не пополнял своего материала и публикую лишь то, что записано мною и в такой форме, в какой я записал этот материал на месте.

Внешние условия моих иранистических исследований в достаточной мере объясняют и то, что в этой области я, к сожалению, не собирал текстов, а исключительно материал лексикографического характера.

В ходе моих исследований вскоре выяснилось, что аймаки по языку ничего общего не имеют с моголами. *Aimaq* или *čâr aimaq* «четыре аймака» по мнению информаторов Ramstedt'a состоит из племен *ǰamšīdī*, *hazara*, *firuzkūī* и *tɛi̯manī*. По моим сведениям хазара не причисляют к аймакам, а *ǰamšīdī* живут на персидской территории, следовательно они не упоминаются. Мой материал заимствован из языков племен *firuzkūī*, *tɛi̯manī*, что же касается материала последнего племени, то он представлен в двух вариантах, а именно по территории *Zɛi̯ əuyân* и *Gōr*.[26]

Нет сомнения в том, что исследованный мною язык аймаков является таджикским диалектом, который значительно отличается, например, от гератского, но с точки зрения словарного состава не имеет ничего бросающегося в глаза. Правда, что можно в нем найти тюркские элементы, и кое-

[26] Аймаков прежде многие относили к монгольскому населению Афганистана. Последний раз эта гипотеза возникла в сязи с населением *tɛi̯mani*, относящимся к «четырем аймакам» (см. 15-ую сноску). На основании моих исследований я должен отвергнуть и эту гипотезу.

где даже несколько монгольских слов, однако, все это характерно для подавляющего большинства таджикских диалектов в Афганистане, так что значительная часть этих тюркских и монгольских слов общеизвестна и в гератском языке.

А что касается хазара, то можно установить уже при поверхностном исследовании, что они тоже не говорят на каком-то монгольском диалекте, а говорят на таджикском.[27] Несмотря на это, за все мое пребывание в Афганистане я постоянно занимался словарным составом хазара.

Дело в том, что моим поваром был молодой хазара из племени Дай зенги, который, хотя прекрасно знал гератский диалект, все-таки уже в начале моей работы в отношении конкретных предметов и инструментов вместо обычных местных названий, употреблял название хазара. Таким образом он в своей речи употреблял такие слова, монгольский характер которых был сразу заметен, или в другом отношении значительно отличался от названий, употребляемых обыкновенно в таджикском диалекте.

Начиная с этого я планомерно увеличивал свой словарный материал хазара, ограничиваясь, конечно, только словами, имеющими редкую или отличительную звуковую форму. Наконец, объем моего сборника увеличился больше чем на 1000 слов, охватывая язык следующих племен хазара : *Bēsut, J̌âγurī, Dâikundī, Dâizangī, Orazγân, Turkmân-hazara, Γazničī.*[28]

В словарном составе хазара самыми бросающимися в глаза элементами несомненно являются монгольские элементы. Большая часть из них такова, что они даже моголу неизвестны ; встречаются среди них даже такие, которые в настоящее время не нахожу ни в одном из окружающих таджикских диалектов. Вот для иллюстрации несколько слов хазара монгольского происхождения : *âluγa* Dz «молот», *âl^{o}γa* B, T ~ монг. *aluqa; qâdur* Dz «серп» ~ монг. *qaduγur*, орд. *χaʊū̲r ; bēlɛi̯* B, Dz, T «кожанные перчатки» ~ монг. *begelei*, чаг. بِيلَى (P d C), калм. *bēlē ; buryasu* B «(белая) ивина» ~ монг.

[27] Из новой литературы относительно хазара достойны внимания : Э. Г. Гафферберг, Формы брака и свадебные обряды у джемшидови хезарэ : Советская Этнография 1936 — E. Bacon, An inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan : Southwestern Journal of Anthropology VII (1951), 230—247.

[28] Теория, которая считает, что хазара разделяются на две части (Дай-кунди и Дай-зенги) является ошибочной. (См. упом. труд G. Jarring, 79 ; правописание *Dai-Sengi*, в английском также никак нельзя одобрить.) По труду H. W. Bellew, The Races of Afghanistan, Being a Brief Account of the Principal Nations Inhabiting that Country (Calcutta 1850), 114—115, хазара вначале состояли из десяти групп. Из них автор перечисляет следующие живущие и в середине прошлого столетия в том месте : *Jághurí, Bihsúd, Dáhi Zangi, Dáhi Kundi, Gaur, Dáhi Rawád, Dáhi Chopán, Dáhyá*. При своих исследованиях из этих племенных названий я встретился только с *Dáhi Chopán*, которое я сам слышал в форме *Dai-Čoppân*. Однако мне не удалось встретиться с таким хазара, который принадлежал бы к этому племени, следовательно таких слов в моем сборнике нет.

buryasun; čeiǰi Dz «грудь», *čējin* B, T, *čēǰi* Dj ~ монг. *čegeǰi*, орд. *tš'ēnʒi; γuja* B, Dz, O, T «ляжка» ~ монг. *γuya; sùdri* B, Dz, T «изморозь», *šùdri* Dj, G, O~монг. *sigüderi*, калм. *šūdr̥*, орд. *sūver*. С точки зрения дальнейших исследований эти элементы имеют особое значение, и можно было бы сделать на основании этого еще более серьезные выводы, если было бы доказано, что хазара, или их значительная часть на самом деле принадлежали к монгольским народам.

Наличие монгольских слов в каком-нибудь языке Афганистана в этом отношении ничего не говорит; такие элементы обильно попадали в словарный состав языков Афганистана, как следы прежнего монгольского завоевания. Однако большинство этих монгольских слов является принадлежащим к международному словарному запасу, и хотя их происхождения ясно, часто нельзя установить, у которого народа заимствовано данное слово. Возьмем следующий случай: хаз. B, T *ǰauǰi* «удила»; мог. MA *ǰūǰai* (это слово неизвестно в афганистанском могольском); монг. *ǰaγuǰai, ǰuuǰai* < *ǰaγu-* «кусать, жалить»; орд. *džu̯ʒžā; хал. ʒu̯ʒā*; чаг. MA *ǰūǰai;* тюрк., кирг. *jojay* (B e l l e w); вахи *ǰauǰi;* бур. *ǰauǰi* (насчет двух последних см. B e n v e n i s t e : Journ. As. 1948, 179). Без того, чтобы затронуть вопрос о языках, у которых непосредственно заимствованы перечисленные слова (мы не стремились к полноте), с точки зрения фонетики они ясно показывают на две группы. Более интересной является несомненно группа, которую представляют языки хазара, вахи Памира и бурушаский, ибо эта группа в конечном счете сохранила специфический афганистанский вариант монгольского слова.

Естественно, нельзя определить точное происхождение каждого, имеющегося и в хазара слова международного словарного фонда. Эти слова оказывают помощь при решении многочисленных, до сих пор еще не выясненных проблем. В качестве примера сошлюсь на два таких слова, эквиваленты которых находятся еще в тюркском словаре XI века Махмӯд ал-Ḳāшгарӣ, не считая, однако, их тюркское происхождение безусловно оправданным.

Хаз. B, Dj, O, T *kēzlik* «нож» (сомнительно, относится ли сюда с этимологической точки зрения: хаз. Dz *kiljik* «то же самое»); Ḳāшг. *käzlik* «kleines Messer, wie es die Frauen am Mantel tragen» (B r o c k e l m a n n, 107); Абӯ Хайййān *käzlik* (C a f e r o ğ l u, 48); чаг. *kezlik* «маленький карманный ножик» (P а д л. II, 1180, P d C 459); кирг. *kizdik* (P а д л., там же); осм. *kizlik* «небольшой ножик, перочинный ножик, крывое лезвие клинка» (P а д л. II, 1391), *gizlik* «a small sheath-knife; an eastern pen-knife; *gezlik* «a clasp knife, also a kind of sabre» (R e d h o u s e, 1544); пер. *kizlik* «a knife, penknife, scarper, clasp-knife, razor; the curved point of a sword» (S t e i n g., 1027), *gizlik* «a small long-handled knife; a sort of penknife with a crooked point and narrow at the other end, chiefly brought from Egypt» (S t e i n g., 1088), *kazlak, kizlik, gazlak, gizlik* «a long-handled

knife, a knife-poniard» (Haïm II, 632, 714); перс. *gezlek*, *gezlik*, *kezlek* «небольшой ножик» (Миллер, 423); тдж. *gizlak* «маленький нож с длинной ручкой для подчистки написанного чернилами; складной нож» (Павловский I, 120); тадж. *gazlak* «перочинный нож, ножичек» (Рахими — Успенская, 95).

Хаз. B, Dj, Dz, T *ögrȧ* «грубая мука, приготовленная из нее пища (по другому названию *dalda*)»: Қāшг. *ögrä* «Fadennudel, Nudeln, Suppe» (гласный в первом слоге по известным соображениям я читаю как *ö*; Brockelmann, не узнавая тождество слова, два раза встречающегося в его словаре, дает формы *ökrä* и *ügrä*; Besim Atalay единообразно читает как *ügre*); уйг. *ögrä*, «Brei» TTT VII, 26; (Rachmati читает слова как *ügrä*, но Gabain, Alttürk. Gramm., 323, уже правильно дает форму *ögrä*); чаг. *ögrä* (MA, 151, значение его тождественно с значением монгольского слова *ečkeksen budān*); саг., койб., кач. *ügrä* «бульон, суп из мелкой крупы, жидкая каша» (Радл. I, 1813; в этих диалектах *ü* в начале слова по правилу соответствует прежнему тюркскому *ö*, см. саг., койб., кач. *ügrän-* «учиться» < *ögrän-*); миш., симб., туб., шор., *ürä* «жидкая каша»; туб., шор.: «кашица из мелкой крупы на молоке» (Радл. I, 1826); перс. *ugrā*, «gruel, pottage» (Steing., 90, считает слово оригинальным); тадж. *ūgro* «лапша, вермишель» (Рахими — Успенская, 402); афг. *ūgrá* «кушанье из масла, риса и зелени» (Зудин, 49); хинд. *ogrā* и *oghrā* «a mixed mess, a dish like *khičri*, gruel, pottage» (Platts, 106, по его мнению слово происходит из языка хинди).

В словарном составе хазаре мы встречаем и такие элементы, которые, хотя по происхождению иранские, но все же не относятся к собственному (дуалектному) таджикскому словарному составу. Таким является, например, хаз. B *allâša* «подбородок», которое не засвидетельствовано персидским литературным языком, а встречается в бадахшанском таджикском диалекте в форме *alauša*, можно сопоставить с ним следующие памирские данные: сгл. *alaš̱ē*, *alašɛ*, *alā̊ša*; ишк. *alaχša*, *alāša*; вахи *alaša*, *aγlaχ̊ā̊*, *ala(χ)šā*. Приведенные иранские данные Jacobsohn, между прочим, связывал и с данными угро-финских языков.[29]

Хотя и в небольшом количестве, но все-таки встречаются в хазара и такие слова, как *oqra* B, Dz, T «глаз», более точное происхождение или родство которых в настоящее время невозможно установить. Часть словарного состава, относящаяся к этому пласту, может содержать в себе и такие элементы, которые заимствованы у исчезнувших языков Афганистана или других территорий.

[29] H. Jacobsohn, Arier und Ugrofinnen (Göttingen 1922), 218. Ср. G. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II (Oslo 1938), 380; I, 233, 387 (данные языков пар., ор, шгн, паш.). См. H. Sköld, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen (Lund 1936), 141, n° 99 *(šd)*.

Мой словарный материал, по таджикским диалектам Афганистана, собран преимущественно в Герате и Кабуле. Эти два названия представляют скорее только общую информацию, нежели точное определение диалектной территории; при исследовании я не ограничивался Гератом и Кабулом, я учитывал также и данные близкой окрестности, но следил за тем, чтобы данные, взятые из далеких районов, или не поддающиеся в достаточной мере проверке, не попадали в собираемый мною материал. Следует упомянуть, что мои кабульские данные, не тождественны с теми, о которых пишет Bogdanov в упомянутой монографии. Ведь Bogdanov подчеркивает, что его целью является описание литературного таджикского языка Кабула, и он оставляет в стороне все, о чем можно установить, что носит диалектный характер. А я, наоборот свое внимание в Кабула обратил преимущественно не на литературной язык, а на материал диалектного, разговорного характера.[30]

В третьей и последней части моей книги собираюсь разработать выпустить и собранный мною тюркский материал, за исключением, как я уже об этом упомянул, части, касающийся Кӯхӣ-Маймэнэ.

Самая значительная часть моего тюркского материала относится к узбекскому языку, точнее его диалектам кыпчакского типа. Основная часть моих записей относится к языку племени *qoŋrât* а, гораздо меньшая часть

[30] В исследованных таджикских диалектах Афганистана в большом количестве находим слова, заимствованные из тюркских и монгольских языков (меня интересовали главным образом последние), которые могут оказать серьезную помощь не только с точки зрения исследования законов скрещивания языков, но могут помочь и в решении некоторых невыясненных проблем. Bogdanov, Stray notes 117 записал слово литературного таджикского языка Кабула *uγur* «mortar»; я его слыхал в Кабуле в форме *oγor*. Morgenstierne, Frontier Languages I, 232, из языка парачи приводит форму *ōγur*. К этим следует присоединить: хазара *oγor* Т «деревянная ступка»; *oγur* В «то же» (собственная запись); джаг. اوغور «mortier de bois» (PdC 68) правильно следует читать как *oγur*, ср. джаг., вост. тюрк. *oγur* (Радл. I, 1011); тадж. *ūgūr* «ступа» (Бертельс, Русск.-тадж. 740). Morgenstierne считает его по происхождению персидским. Bogdanov сомневается в этом, однако не может объяснить его происхождение. Это слово по происхождению является несомненно монгольским, ср. монг. *oγur*, *oγuur* «mortier, vase à piler, moulin à pilons» (Kow. I, 366), калм. *ūr*, хал., орд. *ūr*, бур. *ur*, *ur*. Следовательно звук *-γ-* в положении между гласными в большой части нынешних диалектов исчез, в определенных диалектах средне-монгольского языка он должен был еще существовать, о чем свидетельствует, кроме приведенных тюркских и иранских данных, маньчж. *oγo* «то же». В средне-монгольском это слово имеет еще одну специфическую форму: *a'ur* (Сокровенное Сказание монголов, Хуа-и и-юй), восходящее к более ранней форме *aγur* и, действительно, этот вариант встречается и в литературном монгольском языке (ср. Kow. I, 37). Интересно, что и этот последний вариант вошел в тюркские языки, ср. сарт. *aγïr* (Наливкин, 258). О монгольском слове см. Б. Я. Владимирцов, Сравнительная грамматика монгольского языка и халхаского наречия (Ленинград 1929), 231, 247.

к диалектам племен *qataγan*, *dörmän*, *laqai*.[31] И в этом случае своей главной задачей я считал исследование словарного состава, так что стихотворные и прозаические тексты я собирал лишь попутно.

Существенные звуковые особенности, являющиеся характерными для кыпчакского типа, встречаются во всех четырех диалектах, а именно: начальное *j-* в противоположность общетюркскому *j-*, переход *-γ (-g-)*, находящегося в конце слова или слога, в *-ų (-ū)*, озвончение *-k- (-q-)* и *-p-* в положении между гласными (последнее явление здесь тоже не является общим, подобно как и в большинстве кыпчакских языков). Вот несколько примеров: Qr, Qt, D, L *jürāk* «сердце» (Кāшг. *yürāk)*; Qr, Qt, D, L *jaq* «челюсть» (K *yangaq*, *yaγaq)*; Qr, Qt *jəl* «год» (K *yïl)*; Qr, Qt, L *taų* «гора» (K *taγ)*; Qr, Qt *jaų* «жир, масло» (K *yaγ)*; Qr, L *azū* «коренной зуб» (K *azïγ)*; Qr, Qt *ajū* «медведь» (K *aδïγ)*; Qr, Qt *aččə* «горький» (K *ačïγ)*; Qr, D, L *jaųrən* «лопатка», Qt *jaųrun* (K *yaγrïn)*; Qr *ēgin* «зерно» (K *äkin)*; Qr, Qt *joγarə* «вверх» (K *yoqarï)*; Qr, Qt *jəγəl-* «сломаться» (K *yïqïl-)*; Qr, D, L *qaβaq* «ресница» (K *qapaq*, Brockelmann читает неправильно *qabaq)*; Qr, D *tōβä* «темя» (K *töpä)*.

В отдельных группах данных кроме общих сходств можно заметить небольшие диалектные отличия, как например, Qr, *jambəz*, «пах» L *jaməz*, D *jämbəδ* (K *yamïz)*.

С точки зрения словарного состава также находим целый ряд интересных случаев. Вообще под иранским фонетизмом часто скрывается целый ряд древнетюркских слов; впрочем словарный состав исследованных узбекских диалектов кыпчакского типа из близких тюркских языков настойчиво припоминает киргизский язык.

Из более редко встречающихся слов упомянем здесь следующие: *jaųγan* «вегетарианец» (K *yavγan aš* «Suppe ohne Fleisch»); *jųŋurčqa* «люцерна» (K *yurïnča*, *yurïnčya;* это очень интересное слово, заслуживающее специальной монографии)[32]; *ēšəl-* «стряхивать с себя (песок)» (K *äšil-)*; *mūnä-*

[31] Эти племена в упомянутом труде G. Jarring'a на основании прежней литературы упоминаются в форме: *Koungrad*, *Qungrad*, *Qungrat*, *Qongrat*, *Qataghan*, *Qattaghan Kattaghan*, *Durmen*, *Lokai*. Из них племени *qongrat* и *dorman* известными по трудам тюркских историографов и по поэтическим произведениям, ср. Vámbéry, Das Türkenvolk, стр. 348—349. *Qataγan* является, собственно говоря, географическим названием, а *Laqai* названием небольшой племенной единицы, которое за исключением узбекского племенного списка Логофета в других источниках едва ли встречается. Поэтому большое значение имеет появившаяся в последнее время прекрасная монография: Б. Х. Кармышева, К вопросу о происхождении Локайцев: Советская Этнография 1952 (4), 11—29, которая обстоятельно объясняет связи локаицев, живущих на территории Таджикской ССР с их соседями, живущими в Афганистане.

[32] B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica (Chicago 1919), 214—215 в связи с иными названиями люцерны лишь коротко занимается несколькими, принадлежащими сюда данными, однако без выяснения происхождения слова.

«тесать (дерево)» (К *münä-* «an den Rändern beschneiden»); *pəlâk* «фитиль, трут (в светильнике)» (К *bälik*, монг. *bilta); ümgän* «передняя часть шеи» (К *ümgän* «Halsvene») и т. д.

Новые материалы по неизвестным до сих пор тюркским диалектам кыпчакского типа, несомненно помогают объяснению и старых кыпчакских языков. Итак, между прочим, разъяснению некоторых проблем половецкого словарного состава, имеющего большое значение с точки зрения венгерского языка, содействуют данные узбекского языка в Афганистане, хотя, нам хорошо известно, что узбекская ветвь не принадлежит к самым близким родственникам половецкого языка. Примерами могут послужить: *erinčäk* «ленивый, бездейственный» (СС *erinček* «faul, Faulheit»), *bijä* «кобыла» (СС *bej* «Stute»), *bezgäk* «озноб» (СС *bezgek* «das kalte Fieber»), *büi* «тарантул» (СС *böv* «Spinne») и т. д.

Сложные проблемы другого характера вызывает следующее: узбек. Qr *očar, ǫočar* «ярмарка, базар». Это слово употребляется и самостоятельно, и в выражении *bâzâr očar* «то же самое». Я его записал не только в конгратском диалекте, но и в парханачи, а именно в форме *učar*. Данное слово известно и в тюркских языках, имеется в кумыкском языке, где оно произносится как *učar* (J. N é m e t h: KSz, XII, 152), в джагатайском языке اوجار (P d C 47), что читается также как *učar* (P а д л. I, 1723, «рынок»), причем упомянутое слово из тюркских языков перешло и в монгольский, в той же самой форме *(učar*, согласно неизданному истамбульскому глоссарию монгольского языка, 156*b*). Данное тюркское слово этимологически связано с новоперсидским *bāzār* и со средне-персидским словом *vāčār*. (Отсюда происходит, хотя и непосредственно и венгерское слово *vásár* [= *vāšār*]). В правильности данной этимологии едва ли можно сомневаться, и, что важнее всего, этимология данного слова опять обращает наше внимание на старые заимствования в тюркских языках из средне-персидского языка. Уже несколько раз затрагивали этот вопрос, но успокаивающего результата мы еще не достигли; нашим иранистам и тюркологам стоило бы снова заняться невыясненными до сих пор в должной мере вопросами.[33]

К туркийскому (по терминологии Н. А. Баскакова — карлукскому) типу узбекского языка относится мой упомянутый материал по языку племени кӯхӣ-маймэнэ, а также немногочисленные записи по языкам племен *Parχanači, Qarlâq Dārâna-qarlâq*. Упомянутый тип языка сохранил оригинальное начальное *j-*, а также *-γ (-g)* в конце слога и слова, изменившееся

[33] О существующих до сих пор исследованиях по древним иранским элементам в тюркских языках имеется ценная критика, написанная тюркологом J. N é m e t h, Probleme der türkischen Urzeit: Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica V (Budapest 1942—1947), 89. До сих пор при исследовании не отделяли с надлежащей заботой предполагаемые индо-иранские заимствования от иранских и вообще не уделяли внимания хронологии заимствований.

впоследствии в *-q (-k)*. Да и не всегда легко провести границу между узбекскими диалектами, туркийского типа и туркийскими диалектами. В этом отношении особенно сомнительно положение *qarlə̂q;* повидимому правильным следует считать соображение, по которому карлуков следует совершенно отделить от узбеков (см. J a r r i n g, упом. труд, 72). Следует отметить, что ни карлуки не считают себя узбеками, ни узбеки не причисляют их к своим племенам.[34]

Между отдельными узбексикини диалектами строгих границ нет ; особенно в диалектах узбеков, непосредственно общающихся друг с другом, встречаем с точки зрения диалекта чужие элементы. Тем более удивительно, что, вопреки этому, люди, говорящие на узбекском и туркменском языках, делают резкое отличие между этими языками. Не один из моих узбекских учителей постоянно обращал мое внимание на то, что спрашиваемое слово у них звучит так и так, а туркмены для выражения тех же понятий «неправильно» употребляют совершенно другое слово. С таким отношением я встретился и у туркмен ; в обоих случаях мы имеем дело с сознательностью, которая связана со специфическим (узбекским или туркменским) соображением правильного употребления языка.[35]

Это явление нельзя считать пустым курьезом или чем-то таким, что является характерным только для современного состояния в развити упомянутых языков. Наоборот, следы этого мы находим уже в далеком прошлом : в кыпчакско-арабских (персидских) словарях XIII—XIV вв. во многих случаях наряду с кыпчакским словом находим соответствующий огузский или туркменский вариант. Эта параллельность или противоположность в тех же словах выступает и ныне в словарном составе современного узбекского языка кыпчакского типа и современного туркменского языка.[36]

Мой материал по огузскому языку является слишком скромным. Необходимое количество слов и несколько песен я записал на языке туркменских племен *Aqča, Naχorlə̂* и *Qə̂zə̂l ajaq.* Несколько большего объема

[34] О карлуках Афганистана на основании имеющейся литературы см. G. J a r r i n g упом. труд 71—73. Слышанное мною *Dărəna* по всей вероятности связано с известным названием поселка *Deraim.*

[35] Н. А. Б а с к а к о в, ук. соч., стр. 125, при классификации тюркских языков учитывает — очень правильно — также и эти различия, сказывавшиеся еще с давних времен в словарном составе кыпчакских и огузских языков.

[36] Таковыми являются, например, в лейденском кыпгакском словаре неизвестного автора (M. T h. H o u t s m a, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, Leiden 1894): кыпчакское (= к.) *quyaš* «день» ~ трукменское (=т) *günäš ;* к. *kärtmä* «груша» ~ т. *armut ;* к. *kökän* «терн» ~ т. *alu ;* к. *borla* «вино» ~ т. *yüzüm ;* к. *qočqar* «баран» ~ т. *qoč ;* к. *äčki* «коза» ~ т. *kääi* (Houtsma и в этом случае в кыпчакско-немецкой части не обозначает диалектного различия ни при одном слове, здесь только арабская часть дает правильную информацию) ; к. *čïγït* сыр»» т. *bänir ;* к. *kindik* «пуп» — т. *göbäk* и т. д.

являются записи, сделанные среди кызылбашей *(qəzəlbaš)*, точнее авшаров *(aʊšar)*[37].

С лингвистической точки зрения внимания заслуживает главным образом последний диалект.

В своем небольшом отчете я попытался рассказать о том, что войдет в подготовляемую мной к печати книгу из моих лингвистических исследований в Афганистане, а кроме того, я попытался при помощи нескольких примеров, которые мне казались характерными, иллюстрировать характер моей работы; я стремился также найти нити, связывающие собранный мною материал с проблемами более близких и более далеких территорий.

Я должен подчеркнуть однако и тут, что мне самому вполне ясны пределы и недостатки моего начинания. Но мне кажется, что в этой широко разветвленной области языкознания, по которой в большинстве случаев еще не проведена подготовительная работа, стоит взять на себя почти что неизбежимые ошибки пионерской работы.

Мой материал даже в своей окончательной форме не дает полной и окончательной картины ни одного из рассмотренных языков; задачей дальнейших исследований является дополнение и в некоторых случаях исправление этого материала. Однако, собранный мною материал, в его настоящей неполной форме, дает возможность постановки некоторых принципиальных вопросов. Изложением этих вопросов я теперь не занимался, не только потому, что они выходили бы за пределы моего доклада, но и потому, что каждый из этих вопросов заслуживает отдельной монографии.

L. Ligeti

RECHERCHES SUR LES DIALECTES MONGOLS ET TURCS DE L'AFGHANISTAN.

L'auteur de cet article a effectué, en 1936 et 1937, des recherches linguistiques en Afghanistan, sous les auspices de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie. Son but était de savoir si l'on parlait encore en Afghanistan, la langue moghole, depuis longtemps en voie d'extinction. Dans le cas d'une réponse affirmative, il s'agissait pour lui de rassembler le plus de matériaux possible, dans la mesure où le permettaient les circonstances. Il fallait en outre arriver à savoir quelle langue parlent les Hazaras et les Aimak qu'on avait rangés dans le même groupe que les Moghols avec lesquels on les avait même confondus. Par contre, s'ils ne parlent pas moghol, ce qui était d'ailleurs à supposer, existe-t-il dans leur langue actuelle des éléments d'origine mongole. Il s'agissait, par ailleurs, autant que le permettaient le temps et les circonstances, de réunir, à titre de documentation, des matériaux concernant les langues et les dialectes turcs de l'Afghanistan, qui sont assez peu connus.

[37] Основную литературу по поселению афганистанских кызылбашей см. в упомянутом труде G. Jarring'a, стр. 76—78.

Le texte qui précède est la traduction russe d'une conférence que l'auteur fit à l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie, en annonçant la publication prochaine des matériaux linguistiques qu'il avait rapportés d'Afghanistan. Ce matériel linguistique comprend trois parties :

1. Les résultats d'une enquête linguistique ayant trait à la langue moghole. Cette enquête touchait également aux dialectes visiblement différenciés des tribus Marda et Mangoute ; l'auteur a réussi, ici et là, à réunir quelques données concernant les sous-dialectes rattachés aux deux dialectes en question. Il a pu établir également qu'en dehors de ces deux dialectes, on devait tenir compte de plusieurs autres dialectes moghols. En raison des difficultés auxquelles l'auteur s'est heurté au cours de ses recherches, il a été impossible de rassembler des matériaux linguistiques concernant d'autres dialectes. Il a été en effet impossible de se faire une idée d'ensemble complète de tous les dialectes moghols, des limites dialectales, et en général du nombre d'individus parlant le moghol. Actuellement, la langue moghole témoigne d'une forte influence iranienne, mais elle devait déjà présenter ce caractère il y a plus de cent ans, ainsi qu'on peut le présumer des notes publiées par R. Leech concernant la langue moghole. Les Moghols de nos jours sont bilingues : à côté de leur propre langue ils parlent indifféremment le dialecte tadjik local. Ce bilinguisme est un phénomène général parmi les hommes ; parmi les femmes, beaucoup également savent le tadjik. Le moghol est la langue que l'on parle de préférence chez soi, dans sa famille ; on s'en sert rarement devant les étrangers, ou alors lorsqu'on ne veut pas que d'autres comprennent une chose confidentielle que l'on a à se dire. Pour en revenir aux matériaux linguistiques moghol, l'auteur a rassemblé plus de 4000 mots, puis des phrases plus ou moins longues destinées à servir d'exemples, et à montrer le sens et l'emploi de certains mots. En outre il a été rassemblé également des textes moghols, en dialecte marda. Ce recueil de textes est malheureusement très réduit. En dépit des recherches les plus assidues, il n'a pas été possible de trouver parmi les Moghols, des chanteurs ou des conteurs populaires. S'il s'en trouve malgré tout, ils constituent des cas tout à fait isolés. Le fait est d'autant plus frappant qu'en Afghanistan on trouve à foison des chanteurs et des conteurs professionnels, tadjiks, afghans, uzbeks etc. Lorsque nous étions à la recherche de conteurs ou de chanteurs populaires moghols, les Moghols se sont toujours refusés à satisfaire à notre demande, avec le prétexte qu'on n'a pas l'habitude de conter des légendes en moghol, et au lieu de cela, ils essayaient continuellement de nous persuader d'écouter des conteurs et des chanteurs tadjiks ou afghans. Ce dépérissement du folklore moghol peut sans nul doute être expliqué par le bilinguisme des Moghols. Cependant l'auteur réussit à se procurer un recueil de vers autographes d'un poète moghol, mort jeune, *Qâdər*, dans lequel on a pu relever, à côté de ses poésies écrites en persan et en arabe, quelques poèmes en moghol.

2. Matériaux folkloriques uzbek. La source en est un conteur unique ; ce matériel comprend plusieurs *dastân*, contés en prose, sous une forme vivante et colorée, le tout constituant un volume de quelque 300 pages. Ce recueil est un exemple de ce dialecte, rattaché à la langue uzbek, que parle la tribu *Kūhī*, dans le voisinage de *Maïmene*. Ce dialecte fait partie des dialectes uzbek iranisés qui ne relèvent pas du type kiptchak. Ce deuxième groupe du matériel linguistique rassemblé en Afghanistan comporte, outre les textes uzbek, les traductions de ceux-ci, un court résumé grammatical, et un répertoire de mots plus étendu, qui groupe non seulement les mots qu'on rencontre dans les textes, mais aussi des mots recueillis indépendamment de ces textes.

3. Des renseignements d'une valeur générale concernant les recherches linguistiques faites par l'auteur en Afghanistan ; dans cette partie se trouvent également groupés des relevés linguistiques de moindre importance, que l'auteur a constitués au cours

de son voyage et que, par manque de temps et de circonstances adéquates, il n'a pas été en mesure d'élargir comme il aurait convenu.

Voici rapidement les questions à traiter dans cette partie : Les Moghols n'acceptent pas l'appellation d'Aïmak. La vieille appellation *čâr aiṃâq* «les quatre Aïmak» ne se rencontre plus du tout parmi les appellations actuellement vivantes en Afghanistan. Parmi les quatre tribus qui étaient censées appartenir à ce groupe *(J̌amšīdī, Hazara, Firūzkūī, Tɛiṃanī)* la tribu *J̌amšīdī*, depuis assez longtemps déjà, vit en territoire persan, et n'a pratiquement aucun contact avec les Aïmak d'Afghanistan, et aucune mention n'est faite d'une ancienne communauté qui aurait existé entre eux. En ce qui concerne les Hazara, tous mes informateurs les excluaient d'une façon formelle, des Aïmak. Par contre, ils sont unanimes à considérer comme Aïmak, les tribus *Firūzkūī* et *Tɛiṃanī*, qui de nos jours encore vivent d'une vie nomade. Il se peut qu'à ce dernier titre, on dénomme éventuellement Aïmak également, certaines tribus tadjik et afghans, ce qui ne change rien au fait que les Moghols ne sont pas des Aïmak, et surtout pas certainement, du point de vue linguistique. Les nomades des tribus *Firūzkūī* et *Tɛiṃanī* parlent, sans contestation possible, un dialecte tadjik et tadjik seulement. Leur vocabulaire ne comporte rien de particulier, et si on y rencontre quelques éléments turcs, voire parfois un élément mongol, on ne peut pour autant en déduire qu'ils aient été de langue turque ou mongole, parce que ces mêmes éléments turcs ou mongols caractérisent généralement la majorité des dialectes tadjiks de l'Afghanistan. A partir de l'enquête qu'il a effectuée, l'auteur a l'intention de donner un bref échantillon du vocabulaire des tribus *Firūzkūī* et *Tɛiṃanī*. En ce qui concerne la tribu *Tɛiṃanī*, l'auteur a mis à contribution le dialecte de ceux qui habitent à *Zɛi̯ ɔuγân* et *Γōr*. Pour ce qui est des Hazara, d'après ce qui ressort d'un certain nombre de textes historiques, c'est une opinion assez généralement admise que les Hazara, ou tout au moins une bonne partie d'entre eux, doivent être considérés comme les descendants des anciens Mongols. Véritablement, de nos jours encore, le nombre des Hazara qui présentent des traits d'anthropologie mongols, est étonnant. Par contre il ne fait aucun doute que les Hazara actuels ignorent la langue mongole ; toutes les tribus hazara connues de l'auteur parlent un dialecte tadjik. L'étude de ces dialectes étant du ressort des iranisants, l'auteur n'avait pas à l'origine l'intention de s'en occuper. C'est bien plutôt le hazard qui l'a conduit à se rendre compte du fait que le vocabulaire des dialectes hazara méritait, d'un autre point de vue également, une attention particulière. En effet, on rencontre tout une série de mots d'origine mongole dans le hazara, qui sont inconnus non seulement des dialectes tadjik environnants, mais du moghol d'Afghanistan même. Mais ce qui est plus curieux encore, c'est qu'il se trouve dans le hazara des mots rares, mêmes s'ils sont peu nombreux, comme, par exemple, *oqra* «oeil», qu'il serait difficile d'expliquer à l'aide d'une des langues parlées actuellement en Afghanistan. Tout ceci a conduit l'auteur à noter, dès qu'ils se présentaient à lui, tous les éléments du vocabulaire des Hazara, qui pour une raison ou pour une autre, offraient un caractère intéressant. Le résultat de cette enquête, dont on ne peut dire d'aucune façon qu'elle ait été systématique, mais qui s'est poursuivie tout le long du séjour d'étude de l'auteur en Afghanistan, a été un intéressant petit glossaire comprenant plus de 1000 mots. Dans les recherches de cet ordre, a été pris en considération le vocabulaire des tribus hazara suivantes : *Bēsut, J̌âγurī, Daiḳundī, Daiẓangī Orazγân, Turkman-hazara, Γazničī*. L'influence que l'iranien a exercée sur la langue moghole, du point de vue du vocabulaire, du système phonétique etc., est si considérable qu'on ne peut approcher cette langue par l'intermédiaire des seules langues et dialectes mongols. Il est indispensable, pour cette étude, d'avoir une certaine connaissance des dialectes tadjik de la région. Malheureusement, en ce qui concerne les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan, nos connaissances ne peuvent être con-

sidérées, aujourd'hui encore, comme satisfaisantes, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit des régions où l'on parle également le moghol. C'est bien pourquoi l'auteur s'est vu contraint de consacrer une attention accrue à la question ; en outre, au cours de ce voyage en Afghanistan, il a fallu apprendre pratiquement le tadjik de Hérat, cette langue constituant une langue de véhicule. Ici encore, l'auteur a reporté l'essentiel de son attention sur le vocabulaire, et le résultat de cette étude a été la mise au point d'un petit glossaire tadjik, où, en dehors du dialecte de Hérat, la langue parlée de Kaboul a été également prise en considération. Parmi les langues turques, c'est d'abord et surtout l'uzbek qui a fait l'objet d'une étude particulière. A côté du dialecte de *Kūhī*, relevant de cette langue et dont il a déjà été question, la plus grande attention a été accordée au *qoŋrât*, qui fait partie des dialectes de type kiptchak de l'uzbek, de même que le *Parχanači*, le *Qarlâq* ou encore le *Dārâna-qarlâq*, que l'auteur a également étudiés, quoique seulement en passant. Il est à remarquer que, contrairement à ce qu'il en est des *Parχanači*, on ne range pas parmi les tribus uzbek, les *Qarlâq*. En ce qui concerne les dialectes turkmènes, l'auteur n'a recueilli qu'un matériel linguistique modeste ayant trait aux dialectes des tribus *Aqča*, *Nâχorlə*, et *Qəzâl ayaq*, ainsi qu'un glossaire assez mince et quelques chants. Le recueil, constitué à partir de la langue des *Qəzâl baš*, ou plus exactement des *Aųšar*, vivant près de Kaboul, est plus volumineux.

Des matériaux recueillis au cours de notre voyage de recherches en Afghanistan nous avons l'intention de publier en premier lieu ceux qui appartiennent au troisième groupe, sous le titre «Une mission linguistique en Afghanistan».

LE LEXIQUE MOGHOL DE R. LEECH

Par
LOUIS LIGETI

Le premier travail doté d'une valeur linguistique sur la langue des Moghols de l'Afghanistan remonte à plus de cent ans et a été publié par L. Leech en 1838.[1] Ce bref compte rendu renferme, outre une introduction sommaire, quelque 200 mots et 29 phrases-échantillons. Selon Leech les Moghols, nommés par lui Moghals, sont l'un des «Quatre Aïmaks», vivant à *Baghrán*, et à *Mai-igán*.

Leech n'ignorait pas que le moghal décrit par lui appartenait aux langues mongoles ; en tout cas, c'est ce que semble prouver la petite anecdote sur la langue moghole qu'il a jugé bon de reproduire dans son introduction. Un jour, le roi de Perse fit appeler un Moghal Aïmak, pour s'informer de la structure de sa langue. Or, le roi fut tellement indigné de la dissonance du moghal qu'il condamna à mort sur-le-champ l'homme qui parlait cette affreuse langue. Avant l'exécution du malheureux, le roi lui posa une dernière question : comment nomme-t-on en moghal le «visage»? Le condamné à mort répondit : *nùr* [= *nūr*]. En persan, ce mot signifie «lumière», et ainsi l'heureuse réponse ou plutôt question, sauva le prestige de la langue moghale et la tête du condamné. Le mot *nùr* «visage» mis en cause dans l'anecdote est réellement un mot moghol et répond régulièrement au mongol *niγur ;* cf. *infra* p. 139.

Néanmoins c'est C. v. d. Gabelentz qui prouva scientifiquement la parenté de la langue moghole décrite pour la première fois par Leech. Selon lui, le moghol est un des dialectes de la langue mongole et se rapproche le plus du mongol de l'ouest ; les différences qui le séparent de ces derniers seraient dues à l'influence persane.[2]

Malheureusement, Gabelentz qui, en 1868, avait signalé à l'attention des linguistes l'ouvrage déjà oublié et d'ailleurs difficilement accessible

[1] R. Leech, *Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky and the Panjabi languages, with Vocabularies of the Baraky, the Pashi, the Laghmani, the Cashgari, the Teerhai, and the Deer Dialects*, dans *Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. VII, Part II (Calcutta 1838), pp. 780—787. La partie de l'article qui nous intéresse est intitulée : *A Vocabulary of the Language of the Moghal Aimaks*, pp. 785—787.

[2] H. C. von der Gabelentz, *Ueber die Sprache der Hazâras und Aimaks*, dans le *ZDMG* XX. (1866), pp. 326—335. Cf. encore Prof. Fleisher, *Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen, ibid.*, pp. 612—613.

de Leech, ne s'appuyait pas sur l'article paru dans le *J A S B*, mais sur l'une de ses variantes, publiée par la Société Géographique de Bombay.[3] Cette variante, Gabelentz la considérait comme le tirage à part du texte publié dans le *J A S B;* mais il en est tout autrement. Bien que les deux variantes contiennent en substance le même texte, on ne peut pas parler d'une simple reproduction, d'un tirage à part. Et ceci non seulement parce que l'édition de Bombay contient un mot que l'«original» ne connaît pas *(bo,e* «mère»), mais, avant tout, parce que l'orthographe de l'édition de Bombay est absolument différente de celle de l'édition de Calcutta. Les divergences de ce genre des deux éditions peuvent être résumées par ce qui suit :

Calcutta	Bombay	valeur réelle
à, Á	a	$\bar{a}$ (*a* long)
î, ì, Í	ee	$\bar{\imath}$ (*i* long)
ù, Ú	oo	$\bar{u}$ (*u* long)
gh, *Gh*	gh	γ
kh, *Kh*	kh	χ.

Ces différences, on le voit bien, sont généralement d'ordre technique ; elles suffisent à elles seules à repousser la supposition d'une simple reproduction technique. En un point pourtant, nous pouvons faire une nouvelle constatation : l'édition de Bombay omet tout simplement la transcription du $\bar{a}$ long, à l'opposé de celle de Calcutta qui s'efforce toujours soigneusement de l'indiquer *(à, Á)*. Bien entendu, cette circonstance réduit déjà sérieusement la valeur de la variante de Bombay. Mais en plus de ce qu'on vient de dire, l'édition de Bombay possède encore un autre privilège peu louable. La variante de Calcutta n'est pas exempte elle non plus de coquilles, mais quant à celle de Bombay, les fautes de cette espèce y pullulent. Dans cette dernière édition elles atteignent souvent un tel degré que'elles empêchent presque totalement de reconnaître les mots moghols déformés. Le fait que Gabelentz se méprend dans quelques cas sur le sens des mots en anglais ne fait qu'augmenter le trouble. Comme j'ai déjà parlé plus haut de ces questions, il serait superflu que je me répète ; cf. *supra*, pp. 103—104. D'autre part, dans l'édition ci-après du lexique et des phrases, je me suis efforcé d'indiquer et de corriger toutes les fautes d'impression ou équivoques antérieures.

Dans ces conditions, il ne paraîtra sans doute pas surprenant que les matériaux moghols de Leech publiés par Gabelentz à la base de la variante de Bombay n'aient guère inspiré confiance. Il va de soi que, lorsque G. J.

[3] *Vocabularies of seven languages, spoken in the Countries west of the Indus*, by Lieutenant Leech of the Bombay Engineers ; *with remarks on the origin of the Afghans*. Les sept langues sont les suivantes : le baraki, le pashaï, le laghmani, la langue des montagnards du Deer, le tirhaï et le moghal aïmak, donc exactement les sept langues qui figurent dans l'article original sus-mentionné du *JASB*.

Ramstedt publia en 1905 les résultats de ses recherches sur la langue des Moghols d'Afghanistan,[4] lesquelles malheureusement n'avaient duré que quelques jours, les mongolisants jugèrent que, désormais, il était inutile de prendre en considération l'ancien recueil de Leech, qui paraissait primitif et désuet.

Néanmoins, toute compréhensible que soit cette attitude négative, elle ne peut être approuvée absolument.

Il est certain que cent ans ne représentent pas une époque bien longue dans l'histoire d'une langue, elle suffit cependant dans certains cas à fournir des renseignements sur les principales tendances de son évolution. Sans doute la maigre matière de Leech ne pourrait guère nous permettre d'en déduire des conclusions de grande envergure quant à l'évolution de la langue moghole. Pourtant le peu qu'elle nous donne prouve suffisamment, que, entre autres, l'influence iranienne exercée sur la langue moghole ne date certainement pas d'hier. En tout cas il est intéressant de constater que, en ce qui concerne l'influence iranienne, la langue moghole d'il y a cent ans présentait une parfaite similitude avec celle d'aujourd'hui.

Du point de vue du vocabulaire moghol, les matériaux publiés par Leech présentent également un certain intérêt. Il n'est pas difficile d'admettre que Ramstedt avait emporté pour son voyage le lexique de Leech, ou plus exactement la réédition commentée qui en fut faite par Gabelentz ; naturellement c'est ce que j'ai fait moi-même. Malgré cela, le lexique de Ramstedt omet plus d'un mot qui figurent chez Leech ; tels sont : *kùrî* «pierre», *kejà* «quand?», *gesal* «ventre» (pour ce dernier, Ramstedt n'a trouvé que la variante *gesan*), etc. Mais je dois dire la même chose de mon lexique, encore inédit, et qui a pourtant été fait dans des conditions relativement plus favorables que celui de Ramstedt. Pour ma part, j'ai évidemment tout essayé pour repérer dans un dialecte moghol quelconque les mots énigmatiques de Leech. Dans certains cas je n'ai plus réussi malgré tous mes efforts ; c'est ainsi que je n'ai plus retrouvé les mots *chighàn* «rice», *nakà* «shoes», *turuksan* «brother», etc. Tout ceci peut avoir, bien entendu, des raisons d'ordre chronologique. Comme on le sait, le vocabulaire est la partie de la langue qui reflète les changements le plus facilement et le plus vite. Au cours des cent dernières années, certains mots du vocabulaire moghol ont pu disparaître et ont même certainement disparu pour céder leur place à des éléments lexicaux plus récents. De toute manière, ceci n'est que l'une des explications possibles des choses. L'autre fait qu'on doit prendre en considération en ce cas, c'est que les matériaux de

[4] G. J. Ramstedt, *Mogholica. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan*, dans *JSFOu* XXIII 4 (1905), pp. IV, 60. Pour le compte-rendu de ses recherches sur la langue moghole, voir le *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Exploration historique, archéologique, linguistique et ethnographique de l'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, publié par le Comité Russe (St. Pbg. 1904, № 3), pp. 11—12.

langue moghole de Leech, de Ramstedt, ainsi que les miens proviennent non seulement d'époques différentes mais encore de différentes parties du domaine de la langue moghole.

Comme il a été dit par ailleurs, selon Leech la langue moghole était parlée à son époque à deux endroits différents de l'Afghanistan ; bien sûr, cela veut dire tout simplement que lui, d'après ses informations, n'avait connaissance que de deux centres de ce genre, qui étaient les suivants :

1° *Baghrán*, dépendent de Kandahar ; la forme *Baghian* publiée par Gabelentz d'après l'édition de Bombay est une faute d'impression évidente. En effet, il existe un village bien connu, du nom de *Baghran*, au nord-ouest de Kandahar, à l'est de la rivière de *Baghran* (nommée encore *Masa*). Au sud du village de *Baghran* les cartes indiquent un village nommé *Bidak*, qui doit correspondre à *Bedak*, rappelé par Morgenstierne parmi les villages de langue moghole.[5]

2° *Mai igán*, dépendant de Hérat ; Gabelentz, toujours d'après l'édition de Bombay, reproduit ce nom sous la forme *Marigan*.

Leech lui-même ne nous fait pas savoir avec précision si les matériaux linguistiques recueillis par lui proviennent de ces deux endroits et s'il a fait fusionner le tout, ou bien, si ces matériaux ne proviennent que de l'un d'eux, duquel il s'agit.

On sait que Ramstedt a préparé ses notes sur la langue moghole à Merv, du 30 octobre au 3 novembre 1903. De ses deux informateurs l'aîné, *Rustam*, tomba malade dès le premier soir, et à partir de ce moment Ramstedt ne put travailler qu'avec l'autre, *Abdillâ*, jusqu'à ce que lui-même, ayant contracté le malaria, fut obligé de mettre fin à ses travaux. La plus grande partie des matériaux moghols de Ramstedt proviennent donc d'*Abdillâ*.

C'est aussi lui probablement qui a fourni l'information selon laquelle leur terre natale est Ghori-chohar, village situé en deçà de Kandahar et au delà du Farrah-rud (*nuntuq-moni γūrī-šōhār. nuntuq-toni qana bi? Kandārī ǰilöüdüni, ǰararūtī qoinɛini bɛina* ; Ramstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 13). Il est donc évident que les deux Moghols, ou tout au moins *Abdillâ*, l'informateur principal de Ramstedt sur la langue moghole, sont originaires de Ghor ou de Ghorat où habitent, selon mes informations, nombre de tribus de langue moghole.

Les matériaux de langue moghole que j'ai recueillis moi-même en Afghanistan, bien qu'ils reflètent deux dialectes assez nettement differenciés, proviennent tous des villages de langue moghole de la province de Hérat. Pour l'énumeration plus détaillée de ces dialectes, voir plus loin la liste des abréviations.

Derrière ces différences géographiques, il n'est past difficile de découvrir certains critères des différences de dialectes. Cette divergence dialectale se

[5] G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, p. 6.

manifeste dans certains faits de la géographie linguistique touchant tant le fond mongol proprement dit du vocabulaire (cf. s. v. *gesal* «ventre») que les emprunts du même vocabulaire faits aux langues étrangères environnantes. (Ainsi on peut rappeler que dans certains dialectes moghols, on ne trouve pas de mots empruntés à l'afghan, tandis que dans d'autres il y en a, comme, par exemple, dans celui de Ramstedt ; cf. *afija* < **awija* «70» ~ afg. *awiā*, voir G. Morgenstierne, *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1927, p. 13).

Évidemment, les différences dialectales se présentent avant tout dans le domaine de la phonétique. Pour le moment, nous nous contenterons de n'en mentionner que deux.

1° Dans les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan, le traitement de la diphtongue *au*, indépendamment de ce que cette dernière est secondaire ou non, est le suivant : *au* ~ *ou* ~ *əu* (dans la notation peu exacte de Ramstedt *əu* se présente sous la forme *öu̯*). Le même traitement de la diphtongue *au* se retrouve dans les dialectes moghols, aussi bien dans les mots d'origine iranienne que moghole. En voici quelques examples (pour les abréviations, voir la liste des abréviations).

	L	R	Mr	M
pers. *nau* «récent»	*nou*	*nöu*	*nau*	*nəu*
mong. *aγula* «montagne»	*oula*	—	*aula*	*əula*
mong. *saγu-* «s'asseoir»	*sou*	*söu̯na*	*sauna*	*səuna*
mong. *hawul-* «se presser» ...	—	*öu̯lu̯nȧ* «il court»	*auluna*	*əuluna*
mong. *ǰaγu-* «mordre»	—	*ǰöu̯na*	*ǰauna*	*ǰəuna*
mong. *daγun* «voix»	—	*döu̯n*	*daun*	*dəun.*

2° Dans certaines positions phonétiques, l'affriquée *č* peut aboutir à une fricative *š* (particulièrement devant une consonne). Pour le moment, je n'en connais d'exemples certains que dans des mots mongols originaux.

	L	R	Mr	M
mong. *ači-* «porter, emporter»	*achichanna*	*aštunȧ*	*ačituna*	*aštuna*
mong. *öčigen söni* «la nuit dernière»	*uchkan sonî*	*u̯čkōn sȯ̀ni*, *u̯škōn sȯ̀ni*	*u̯čkân sȯni*	*sȯ̀ni*
mong. *öčigen edür* «hier»	*uchkodar*	*u̯čkōn u̯dȯ̀r*, *u̯škōn u̯dȯ̀r*	*u̯čkân ȯdur*	*u̯škậ u̯dur*
mong. *ülü čida-* «ne pas pouvoir»	—	*laštana*	*u̯la čidana*	*laštana*

Dans ces conditions j'ai jugé utile d'attirer à nouveau l'attention des mongolisants sur le recueil moghol de Leech. En effet, avec une critique judicieuse, les notes de Leech peuvent être utilisées dans nos recherches sur le moghol d'Afghanistan. Le fait n'est pas sans exemple : la publication incontestablement vieillie de O. Ivanovski reste à ce même titre un instrument de travail indispensable dans les recherches sur le dahour de la Mandchourie du Nord (par ailleurs ce dernier travail demeure toujours notre seule source sur les dialectes de Merghen et d'Aïgoun).

Bien entendu, je n'ai pas pu me contenter de la simple reproduction des anciens matériaux de Leech. Là où c'était possible, j'ai indiqué parallèlement les données de Ramstedt et les miennes, ainsi que les autres mots mongols, tadjik, turcs, etc. les plus indispensables.

En dehors du lexique, il m'a paru utile de rééditer aussi les phrases-échantillons. Pour l'édition du lexique et des phrases, je me réclame du texte paru dans le *JASB*, mais en même temps j'ai indiqué, entre crochets, les formes de la variante de Bombay chaque fois qu'elle présente une différence quelconque par rapport à l'original. Là où toutes les deux variantes se sont avérées incorrectes, je les ai corrigées en faisant précéder les formes corrigées d'une astérisque. Pour terminer, je donnerai quelques brèves remarques grammaticales. C'est dans cette partie que j'ai essayé de résumer les particularités grammaticales essentielles que présentent les matériaux moghols de Leech.

Le lexique

Le lexique suivant comprend tous les mots du lexique proprement dit de Leech et, en outre, tous les mots extraits de ses phrases-échantillons. Pour en faciliter l'emploi, le tout est rangé par ordre alphabétique. En énumérant quelques données parallèles destinées à éclaircir l'origine des mots moghols, je n'ai pas visé à être exhaustif et je me suis borné au strict minimum. Les sources sont indiquées en abrégé. Il va sans dire que la liste ci-après ne contient pas la bibliographie complète de la question.

Abréviations

Mongol :

mog. R	moghol, d'après G. J. Ramstedt, *Mogholica. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan: JSFOu* XXIII : (1905), pp. IV, 60 ;
mog. Mr	moghol, dialecte marda, d'après l'auteur ;
mog. MS	moghol, dialecte marda, sous-dialecte parlé à *Šâβit* et à *Arzânabâd*, d'après l'auteur ;
mog. M	moghol, dialecte mangout, d'après l'auteur ;
mog. Z	moghol, dialecte mangout, sous-dialecte parlé à *Zɛi-moγol*, d'après l'auteur;

mog. Gab. H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, *Ueber die Sprache der Hazâras und Aimak: ZDMG* XX (1868), pp. 326—335 ;

mgr. monguor ; A. de Smedt—A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental. III^e partie. Dictionnaire monguor-français.* Pei-p'ing 1933 ;

šrg. širingol ; Г. Н. Потанин, Тангутско-тибетская окрайна Китая и центральная Монголия. Ст. Пбг. 1893, II, pp. 410 et suiv. ;

st. san-tch'ouan, d'après G. N. Potanin, *op. cit.;*

st. R san-tch'ouan ; W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892.* Washington 1894, pp. 377 et suiv. ;

šy. šera yögur, d'après G. N. Potanin, *op. cit;*.

šy. M šera yögur ; C. G. E. Mannerheim, *A visit to the Sarö and Shera Yöghurs: JSFOu* XXVIII : 2 (1911), pp. 61—70 ;

dah. dahour, dialectes de Merghen et d'Aïgoun, d'après А. О. Ивановский, Mandjurica I. Образцы солонского и дахурского языков. Ст. Пбг. 1894 ;

dah. H dahour, dialecte de Hailar ; Дагурское наречие. Ленинград 1930 ;

dah. Ts dahour, dialecte de Tsitsikar, d'après l'auteur ;

dah. é. ma. dahour en écriture mandchoue, d'après un vocabulaire dahouro-mandchou en écriture mandchoue (cf. *Über die Sprache der Daguren*, dans *Asia Major* X, 1934, pp. 1—32, 183—220) et d'après les textes dahours en écriture mandchoue rapportés par l'auteur de Tsitsikar (cf. Mong. 86, 87, 88 du Fonds Mongol à la bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie) ;

oïr. oïrat littéraire ; А. Позднеев, Калмыцко-русский словарь. Ст. Пбг. 1911 ;

kalm. kalmouck ; G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch.* Helsinki 1935 ;

bour. bouriat ; К. М. Черемисов, Бурят-монгольский словарь. Москва 1951 ;

khal. khalkha ; А. Р. Ринчинэ, Краткий Монгольско-русский словарь. Москва 1947 ;

ord. ordos ; A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, I—III. Peking 1942—1944 ;

AL *a*, *p* vocabulaire mongolo-arabe (*a*) et mongolo-persan (*p*) d'un auteur anonyme, d'après un manuscrit de Leïde ; *Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift*, dans Изв. Ак. Наук СРРР 1927, pp. 1009—1040, 1251—1274 ; 1928, pp. 55—80 ;

IM (M) vocabulaire mongolo-arabe d'Ibn Muhannā ; П. Мелиоранский, Араб филолог о монгольском языке, dans Зап. Вост. Отд. Русск. Арх. Общества, т. XV, Ст. Пбг. 1904, pp. 75—171 ;

IM (I) même vocabulaire, d'après un autre manuscrit, assez médiocre, d'Istanboul ; le texte en écriture arabe est cité d'après l'édition de Qïlïslï Rif'at, publiée en 1921, intitulée كتاب حلية الانسان و حلبة اللسان ; la transcription est celle publiée dans l'édition du Muqaddimat al-adab, sous le titre : Список монгольских слов из глоссарии Ибн-Муханны по изданию Муаллима Риф'ата (Истамбул 1921), cf. Мукаддимат ал-адаб, pp. 432—451 ;

MA vocabulaire mongolo-arabe, traduction mongole du Muqaddimat al-adab de Zamaḫšarī ; Монгольский словарь Мукаддимат ал-адаб. Москва—Ленинград I—II 1938, III 1939 ;

V I vocabulaire mongol, d'après un vocabulaire tettraglotte d'Istanboul, inédit;

RD mots mongols dans Rašīdu-'d-Dīn ;

Qaz mots mongols dans Ḥamdullāh Qazwīnı ; P. Pelliot, *Les formes turques et*

	mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du Nuzhatu-'l-ḳulub, dans *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* VI (1931), pp. 555—580 ;
EČ	mots mongols dans *Evliyā Čelebi* ; P. Pelliot, *Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des Ḳaitaḳ du Daghestan*, dans *Journ. As.* 1927 I, pp. 279—294 ;
Kir	liste de mots mongols de l'Arménien Kirakos ; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 87—88 ;
AG	liste de mots mongols d'un auteur Géorgien anonyme ; Б. Я. Владимирцов, Анонимный грузинский историк XIV века о монгольском языке, dans Изв. Русск. Ак. Наук 1917, pp. 1487—1501 ;
'Ph	textes mongols en écriture 'phags-pa ;
HS	Histoire secrète des Mongols ; cf. E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Leipzig 1939 ;
Hy	vocabulaire sino-mongol du Bureau des Interprètes, d'après le *Houa yi yi yu* de 1389 ; cf. M. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*. Wroclaw 1949 ; E Haenisch, *Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1952 ;
mong.	mongol littéraire ; J. É. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* I—III, Kasan 1844—1849. О. Ковалевский, Монгольско-русско-французский словарь I—III, Казань 1844—1849.

Turc :

uzb. KM	uzbek, dialecte de Kūhī-Maimane, d'après l'auteur ;
uzb. Qr	uzbek, dialecte des Qongrât, d'après l'auteur ;
uzb. Qt	uzbek, dialecte des Qataɣan, d'après l'auteur ;
uzb. A	uzbek, dialecte d'Andkhouï ; G. Jarring, *Uzbek texts from Afghan Turkestan, with glossary*. Lund—Leipzig 1938 ;
uzb. Reš	uzbek ; В. Решетов, Краткий узбекско-русский словарь, Ташкент 1935 ;
sarte	dialecte uzbek de Namangan ; В. Наливкин — М. Наливкина, Русско-сартовский и сартовско-русский словарь, Казань 1884 ;
kirg. Ju	kirghiz ; К. К. Юдахин, Киргизско-русский словарь, Москва 1940 ;
osm.	osmanli ; H. C. Hony, *A Turkish-English dictionary*. Oxford 1947 ;
tchag.	tchaghataï ; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*, Paris 1870 ;
tchag. Ma	tchaghataï, d'après le *Muqaddimat al-adab* ;
Kāš	C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz, nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarīs Dīvān luɣāt at-turk. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* I, Budapest—Leipzig 1928 ;
turc R	dialectes turcs, d'après В. В. Радлов, Опыт словаря тюркских наречий. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, I—IV, Ст. Пбг. 1893—1911.

Iranien et autres :

haz. Dz	hazara, tribu Daizàngī, d'après l'auteur ;
haz. Dk	hazara, tribu Daikundī, d'après l'auteur ;
haz. B	hazara, tribu Bēsut, d'après l'auteur ;
haz. Dj	hazara, tribu Jâɣurī, d'après l'auteur ;
haz. T	hazara, tribu Tùrkman-hazara, d'après l'auteur ;
aïm. F	aïmak, tribu Firuzkūyī, d'après l'auteur ;
aïm. T	aïmak, tribu Taimànī, d'après l'auteur ;

tdj. H tadjik de Hérat, d'après l'auteur ;

tdj. K tadjik littéraire de Kabul ; L. Bogdanov, *Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian*, dans *Journ. and Proceed. As. Soc. of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. XXVI (1930), No 1, pp. 1—123 ;

tdj. Bd tadjik de Badakhchan ; D. R. L. Lorimer, *The phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti dialects of Modern Persian, with vocabulaires.* Prize Publication Fund, R. As. Soc., vol. VI. London 1922 ;

tdj. tadjik ; Таджикско-русский словарь, под редакцией М. В. Рахими и Л. В. Успенской, главный редактор член-корреспондент Академии Наук СССР Е. Э. Бертельс. Академия Наук Таджикской ССР, Институт языка и литературы, Москва 1954 ;

pers. Me persan de Méched ; H. Massé, *Contes en persan populaire, recueillis et traduits*, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, pp. 71—157 ;

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achichanna [*achikanna*] «stole (à la rigeur, «il a emporté»)» 29°, 29° (Gab. 30°) (< **ačit-ča-na*) ~ mog. R *aštunâ* «bringt, holt», Mr *ačituna* «porter, emporter», M *aštuna* | mong. *ači-*

-agaga «qu'il soit», dans *beyagaga* 27° ~ mog. Mr, M *ayayа* «qu'il soit, qu'il reste» (= pers. *bāšad*) | mong. *a-*

agar- [*agar*] «if» 21° ~ mog. Mr, M *agar* «si» ; tdj. H *agar*, pers. Me *agār* (p. 101) | pers. اگر *agar*

áhin [*ahin*] «iron» ~ mog. R *ōān* «Eisenbeschlag (am Karrenrad)», Mr *âhin* «fer», M *âhan, âjɛn* «id.» ; haz. Dz *âjin*, tdj. K *āhin* (p. 59, sur le problème de la voyelle en deuxième syllabe, voir *ibid.*), tdj. *ōhan* ; pers. Me *ahăn* (p. 82, V), pers. CC *ahin* «ferrum» (p. 26), *ayn* (p. 84) | pers. آهن *āhan*, آیین *āyan*

àmdun [*amduna*] «alive» 15°, *ámdun* [*amdan*] 16° ~ mog. R *amdun* «lebendig, im Leben», Mr *amudun* «vivant, vif», M *âmudu* «vivant, vif ; aiguichant, vive comme la poudre (en parlant d'une femme)» ; IM آمِدُو *amidu* (M),

اَمیدو *amidu* (I) ; MA امیدو *amidu* ; tchag. امیدون *amidun* «vivant» ; HS *amidu, amidui* | mong. *amidu, amidui* «vivant, qui est en vie, vif»

anàr [*anar*] «pomegranate» ∼ mog. *anōr* «Granatapfel», Mr, M *anâr* «grenade» uzb. KM *anâr*, Qr *ânar ;* sarte *anar ;* tdj. Bd *anar ;* afg. *anār ;* hind. *anār* | pers. انار *anār*

angùr [*angoor*] «grapes» ∼ mog. R *aŋgŭr* «Weintraube», Mr, M *aŋgur* «grappe de raisin» ; tdj. H *aŋgur ;* tdj. *angur ;* afg. *angūr* | pers. انگور *angūr*

áp [*ap*] «take up» ∼ mog. R *afuna* «aufnehmen, wegnehmen», Mr *âbuna* «enlever, ôter ; obtenir», M *âfuna ;* AL *a* ابا aba (lire, *abba* ou *appa?*); IM آپّا *appa* (M), ابَبا et اُبَبا (sic) *ababa* (I); MA ابوبه *abuba ;* V I ابومو *abumu* | mong. *ab-*

arpa «barley» ∼ mog.R *arfɛi, arfā* «Gerste», Mr *arpa* «orge», M *arfa ;* MA آربَی et آربی *arbai*, V I آرْپَهَ *arpa ;* uzb. KM, Qr, Qt *arpa ;* sarte *arpa ;* Kāš *arpa ;* mong. *arbai ;* le mot moghol est d'origine turque, cf. turc R *arpa, arba* (I, 333, 335) ; pour les équivalences éventuelles en indo-européen, voir Morgenstierne, *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, p. 11

àwàza [*awaza*] «a report» 28° ∼ mog. R *awōza* «Gerücht, Lärm», Mr, M *awâza* «rumeur, voix» ; tdj. *ōwōz* «слух, молва, слава» ; afg. *āwāza* «fame, report, rumour», «слух, молва ; разговор» (Z) ; hind. *āwāza* «report, rumour, fame, reputation» | pers. آوازه *āwāza*

bàbà [(*bala*) *baba*] «father», p. 785, 15°, *bàbà* [*baba*] 15° ∼ mog. R *bōbō* «Vater», Mr *bâwa* «père, papa», M *bawâ* «id.» ; haz. Dk *bâba* «papa», B, T *bâba* «grand'père» ; tdj. *bōbō* «дед, дедушка ; прадед ; предок»; uzb. Qr *bâβa* «oncle paternel ; grand'mère» ; sarte *baba* «дед» ; afg. *bābā* «a term of endearment : Father! sire! sir! child!», «отец (при обращении к старику); дедушка» (Z) ; hind. (h.) *bābā* «father ; sir ; grandfather»; osm. *baba* «father ; forfather ; venerable man» | pers. بابا *bābā* «a father ; a grandfather»

bad «bad» ∼ mog. M *bad, bat* «mauvais, méchant» ; tdj. *bad ;* afg. *bad* | pers. بد *bad*

barîna [*bareena*] «il prend» 22°, Gab. 23° ∼ mog. R *bariŋa* «nimmt (in die Hand) ; greift», Mr, M *barina* «prendre en main, saisir, tenir en main»| mong. *bari-* «id.»; cf. *barre*

barish «rain» 20° ∼ mog. R *bōriš* «Regen», Mr, M *bâriš* «pluie», M *bârân, bârâ* «id.»; haz. B, T *bârân*, Dz *bârō*, Dj. *bârū ;* aïm. T *bâroš*, F *bârân ;* tdj. Bd *bărăn ;* tdj. *bōriš, bōrōn* | pers. بارش *bāriš*, باران *bārān*

barre «catch»; cf. *barîna*

bas «enough» ∼ mog. M *bas* «assez ; suffisant»; uzb. KM *bas ;* uzb. A *bas ;* sarte *bas* | pers. بس *bas*

bàzàr [*bazar*] «the bazar» 4° ∼ mog. R *bozōr* «Bazar», Mr, M *bâzâr* «id.»; uzb. KM, Qr *bâzâr ;* uzb. A *ba:za:r, baza:r ;* uzb. Reš *bazar ;* kirg. Ju *bazar ;* tdj. H *bâzâr, bazâr ;* tdj. *bōzōr ;* afg. *bāzār* | pers. بازار *bāzār*

be[1] «I» ~ mog. R *bi* «ich», Mr, M *bī*, *bi* «je, moi» | mong. *bi*

be[2] «is» 9°, 12°, 14°, 15°, 16°, *be* [*-he*] 10°, *be* [deest] 13°, *be-* [*lee-*] 16° ~ mog. R *bi*, *βi*, *bɛ*, *βɛ* «ist», Mr, M *bi*, *be*, *bī*, *bē*; AL *a* بی *bī*; V I بِی lire : بِی *bei* | mong. *bui* (lire *büi*) < *bü-* «être»

bechî [*bechee*] «you are» (à la rigueur, «tu es»), dans *chî — bechî*, cf. mog. R *či jema kėnȧ-či* «was wirst du tun» (p. 14), Mr. *či orčina-či* «tu vas?»; voir *be*[2] et *chî*[1]

begà [*bega*] «far spent (à la rigueur, «trop tard»)» 25° ~ mog. R *bīγō* «spät ; abends» (p. 11 ; l'emploi du *γ*, dans cette notation, ne peut être justifié), Mr, M *bēgâ* «le soir ; trop tard»; tdj. K *bīgāh*, *bēgāh* «in the evening, eventide» (Bogdanov, *op. cit.*, p. 65, a raison d'insister sur l'acception spéciale du mot en tdj.) ; tdj. *bēgōh* «1. вечер, вечернее время ; 2. вечером»; afg. *bēgā* «the evening», «вчера ночью» (Z) | pers. بیگاه *bīgāh* «unseasonnable ; delay ; evening», بیگه *bīga(h)* «ill-timed ; delay ; evening»; pers. H *bīgāh*, *bīga* «unseasonable, untimely, ill-timed»; pers. M بی‌گاه *ḅī-gāh* «не во-время, не ко времени ; поздно»; pers. بگاه *bagāh* «in time ; morning ; the dawn»; cf. *gà*

betar «you have» 2°; cf. *be*[2] et *tar* «you»

bey (à la rigueur, *be)* «ne pas, non pas» 27°; cf. *bî* «ne»

bî [*bee*] «is» 1°; cf. *be*[2]

bî, dans **bî uîwla*, *bî nîwla* [*bee wewla*] «don't cry» ~ mog. R *bi* «lat. *ne*», Mr, M *bi* «non pas, ne pas, ne (particule prohibitive)»; mgr. *вī* | mong. *buu* (lire *bü)*; cf. *bey*

bîda [*beeda*] «I» (à la rigueur, «nous», mais ici il sert en effet à exprimer «moi, je», en une sorte de *pluralis modestiae)* 26° ~ mog. R *bidȧ*, *bidȧt* «wir», Mr, M *bida* «nous»; mgr. *вида;* dah. H, Ts *в'ȧд;* kalm. *bid*[a]*;* khal. *bid;* ord. *вида;* bour. *bide;* IM بیدا *bida* (I) ; MA بیدا *bida;* V I بِدا *bida;* HS, Hy *bida* | mong. *bida*, *bide*

**bidanasa*, *´*bidanasai* «with me» 19° ~ Mr, M *bidanâsa* «de nous (abl. de *bida)*»; MA *bidanāsa* | mong. *bidan-ača*

bidandu [*bisando*] «(to) me» 4° ~ MA بیداندور *bidandur*, بیداندو *bidandu;*, V I بِدَاندُر *bidandur* | mong. *bidan-dur*

bila «(there) was» 28°, *bîla* [*beela-*] 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. R *bilȧ* «(es war)», Mr, M *bilȧ;* kalm. *bilɛ̄;* MA بیلا *bilē;* HS, Hy *büle'e*, *büle'äi*, *bülegäi* | mong. *bülüge*

bizù [*bizoo*] «monkey»; ce mot provient, très probablement, de la langue des Moghols de Baghran | afgh. *bizū;* cf. mog. Mr, MS, M *bûzna* «singe»; tdj. *būzina;* hind. *bozna*, *buzina* | pers. بوزنه *būzina*

[*bo,e*] «mère» ~ mog. R *bùā̄*, *bùwē̄*, *bùȧ* «Mutter», Mr *bùwȧ*, M *bùȧ* «mère, maman»

boz «rise» 25° ~ mog. R *bosuna* «steigt auf», Mr *bâsuna*, *bosuna*, M *bosuna* «s'élever, monter, se lever»; AL *a* بُوسْبا *bosba;* IM بُوصبا *bosba* (M),

بوص با et بوصبا *bosba* (I) ; MA بوسبه *bosba* ; V I بوش, lire بوس *bos* | mong. *bos-* ; cf. *buz*

brinj [*bring*] «brass» ~ uzb. Qr *bᵃrinǰ* «cuivre jaune, laiton»; tdj. *birinǰ* ; pers. CC *brinç* (p. 84) ; osm. *pirinç* | pers. (ar) ; برنج *birinǰ*

bughdai [*bughdai*] «wheat» ~ mog. R *buydɛi* «Weizen» (*bīdā* est un autre mot, cf. kazak R IV, 1780 *bīdai*), Mr *buydâi*, Mr, M *buydɛi* «froment»; IM بوغدا *buyda*[*i*] (I), MA بوغداى *buydai*, V I بغداى *buydai* ; tous ces mots remontent à la forme turque, cf. uzb. KM *buydâi*, Qt *buydai*, Qr *būdai* ; uzb. Reš *buydaj* ; sarte *buydai* ; kirg. Ju *būdaj* ; osm. *buğday* ; Kāš *boydai*, *bodyai* (Barsyan) ; cf. encore Z. Gombocz, dans *MSFOu* XXX, 55, s. v. *búza* et Gombocz—Melich, *Lexicon critico-etymologicum linguae Hungaricae (Magyar Etymologiai Szótár)*, I (Budapest 1914—1930), 585 ; quant aux formes mongoles, en voici les plus importantes : kalm. *būdā*, *būdā̆* ; khal. *būdaj* ; ord. *вӯɒдӑ̄*, *вуӭɒдӑ̄* ; mgr. *вӯɒi* ; Hy *bu'udai* | turc *buydai* ; mong. *buyudai*

bulja «turned» («il est devenu») 18° ~ mog. R *boluna* «wird ; ist möglich ; wird reif», Mr, M *boluna* (< *bolǰa* «être, devenir ; mûrir ; être cuit à point»; AL *a* بُلْبَا *bolba* «wurde»; IM بُولبَا (M), بُلْبَا *bolba* «стал» (I) ; MA بولبه هون *bolba hon* «год прошел»; V I بُلْبه سُونى *söni bolba* «il se fit nuit»; IM بُلچى *bolči*, lire *bolǰi* «вареный» (I); MA بولبه جيميش *bolba ǰimiš* «виноград созрел»; V I بُلْبَه ايدان *idēn* (sic!) *bolba* «l'aliment est cuit à point» | mong. *bol-* ; cf. *burja*

burghàja [*burghaja*] «cooked» ~ mog. R *bolyanà* «lasst werden ; macht reif, fertig ; kocht», Mr, M *bolyana* «faire devenir ; cuir, bouillir»; AL *a* بُولْغبا *bolyaba* ; IM بُلغبَا *bolyaba* (M), بُلغُبا *bolyoba* «кипел»; MA بولغاقسان *bolyaysan* ; V I بَلغاقسان (sic!) *bolyaysan* «cuit»; mgr. *baliça-*, *boliça-*, *borço-* | mong. *bolya-*

burja «est devenu» 25°; cf. *bulja*

buz «rise», p. 786 ; cf. *boz*

buz «goat» ~ mog. R *buz* «Ziege», Mr, M *buz* «chèvre»; tdj. *buz* ; afgh. *bza*, *bōza* | pers. بز *buz*

chaghàn [*chagn*] «white», p. 786 ; *chaghàn* [*changan*] «grey» (lire «blanc») 18° ~ mogh. R (p. 15), *čayōn* «weiss» Mr, M *čayân*, M *čayą̂* «blanc»; mgr. *t's'içān*, šrg. *čikan*, st. *chékan* ; dah. *čiyán* (Iv.), H, Ts *t'ṣ̌ʿiyą̂*, écr. ma. *čiyan* ; AL *a* چاقان *čaqān*, *p* چَقَانْ *čaqān* ; IM چغان *čayān* (M), جَغَن *čayān*, à la rigueur *čayan* (I) ; MA جاغان *čayān*, جيغان *čiyān*, جاقان *čaqān*, جيقان *čiqān* ; V I چَغَانْ *čayān* ; tchag. چاغان *čayan* ou plutôt *čayān* ; 'Ph *čaqān* (Kiu yong kouan, Est, ligne 6) ; HS *čaqa'an*, HS, Hy *čaqan*, lire *čaqān* | mong. *čayan*, *čayayan*

chah «well (Gab. «gut, wohl»)» ~ mog. Mr *čā* «gouffre, précipice ; puits», M *čā̆*, *ča* «puits»; tdj. *čōh* «колодец, глубокая яма ; шурф»; afg. *čāh* «a pit, a well» | pers. چاه *čāh* «a well, pit ; a prison, dungeon ; a snare»

chakin «ear» ~ mog. R *čèkin*, *čikin* «Ohr», Mr, *čiqən*, *čèqən* «oreille», M *čiqqə̂in*, *čiqqə̂*; AL *a* چِكِين *čikin*, *p* چِكِن *čikin* (c'est en effet la leçon probable, l'orthographe suggère *čekin*); IM چكِن *čikin* (M), چكن et چُكِن (orthographes altérées), lire *čikin* (I); MA جيقين *čiqin*; V I چكِين *čigin*, corriger probablement en *čikin*; tchag. چكين *čikin* «oreille, dans la language des Kalmouks» | mong. *čikin*

chi[1] [*chee*] «thou» p. 786, *-chî* [*chee*] 21° ~ mog. R *či* «du», Mr, M *či* «tu, toi» | mong. *či*; cf. *chî*[2]

chî[2] [*-chee*] «your (,,ton, tien'')» 1° ~ mog. R *bōbō-či* «dein Vater» (p. 60) | mong. *či*, *činu*; cf. *chî*[1] et *bechî*

chighàn [*chigan*] «rice»

chînà [*cheena*] «wolf» ~ mog. R *činō* «Wolf», Mr, M *činâ* «loup»; AL *p* چَنَا et *a* چنا *canā*; IM چَنَا *čanā* (M), چنا *čanā* (corr. en *činā?*) (I); MA چينا *činā*; RD چينه *čina* (éd. Berezin, texte persan I, p. 250; cf. les noms *Gendü-čina* et *Ölükčin čina*); Qaz, EČ چينه (sic) *čina*; tchag. چنه *čina* «loup ou louve»; Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou *čina* (P. Pelliot—L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* I, Leiden 1951, pp. 37, 131—135); Hy, en écriture ouigouro-mongole, *čina* (d'autorité douteuse); Subhāṣitaratnanidhi, stance 52*c*, *čin-a* (éd. Ligeti, partie I, p. 17); oïr. *činō*, kalm. *tšon*^{o}; khal. *čono*; bour. *šono*; ord. *tšᶜino*, *tšᶜono*; HS, Hy *čino* | mong. *činu-a*

daisunn [*dai-sum-*] «tether» 29° ~ mog. R *deisun* «Strick», Mr, M *dɛisun*, «corde, attache», M *dɛisų*; IM دَيصُون *daisun*, lire *deisün* (M); MA ديصون *dēsün* (év. *deisün*); V I دَيسُون *dēsün*; mgr. *diēsę*; dah. Ts *dɛ̨s*; Hy *de'esün* | mong. *degesün* (> ma. *deisun*)

**dapsung*, *dapsuny* [*dapsung*] «salt» ~ mog. R *dabsan*, *dabsun* «Salz», Mr, M *dapsun* «sel», M *dâpsų*; MA دابوسون *dabusun*; tchag. ابوسون *dabusun* | mong. *dabusun* (> ma. *dabsun*)

darakht «tree» ~ mog. *daršt* «Baum», Mr *daraχt* «arbre», M *dèraχt*, *dᵊraχt*; uzb. KM *daraχ*, Qr *daraq*, Qt *dàraχt*; uzb. A *daraχt*, *daraχ*; sarte *daraχt*; uzb. Reš *daraχt*; tdj. Bd *daraχt*; tdj. *daraχt*; afg. *draχta* | pers. درخت *diraχt*

deh «village» ~ mog. M *dē* «village»; tdj. *deh* | pers. ده *dih*, ديه *dīh*

dorban [*darban*] «four» ~ mog. R *dùrbōn* «vier», Mr, M *dùrban*, *dùrba* «quatre» | mong. *dörben*

dunda «in» p. 786, *dundadù* [*dundadoo*] «between» 27°, *dundànijî* [*dundanyee*] «parmi» 28° ~ mog. R *dunda* «zwischen», Mr *dunda* «au milieu, dans»; IM دُندَا *dunda*, دُنّدَا *dumda* (M), دُندَا (sic) *dunda*, دُمرا (sic) *dumda* (I); MA دوندە *dunda*, دندادو *dundadu*, دندانى *dundanī*; mgr. *dunda*; dah. Ts *dɒandᵒ*; oïr. *dunda*; kalm. *dundᵒ*; khal. *dund*, *dundad*; bour. *dunda*; ord. *dɯnda*; 'Ph *dunda* (Kiu yong kouan, Est, ligne 1); la trans-

cription des Yuan et des Ming ne permet pas de distinguer entre les deux leçons *dumda* et *dunda* | mong. *dumda*, *dumdadu*

ebat «pain» ~ mog. Mr *ebatun* «douleur, peine»; cf. le mot suivant

ebatunna [*ebatanna*] «pains (me)» 8° ~ mog. R *ebâtuna* «tut weh ; kränkelt», Mr *ebatuna* «faire mal, souffrir», M *eβatuna ;* IM ابدُبَا *ebedübe* (M), ابدُوبا *ebedübe* «был огорчен»; MA ايبەدوكسان *ebedüksen*, ايبتبه *ebetbe* | mong. *ebed-*

ekada [*ekeda*] «many» ~ mog. R *ėkâdâ* «sehr, viel», *ikâdâ* «in grossem Masse, viel», Mr *ėkada* «beaucoup, beaucoup de», M *jėkada*, *ėkada* | mong. *yekede*

ekin «head» ~ mog. R *ekin* «Kopf», Mr *ėkin*, *ikin* «tête», M *ikin ;* mgr. *χeci* «source, commencement»; dah. I *χeki* «tête», Ts *χęk'ĭ* «id.», H *ęk'ĭ*, é. m. *eki (AM* X, 16) ; AL *p.* هَيْكن *heikin* (lire plutôt *hekin) ;* MA هيكين *hekin ;* HS *heki*, *eki*, *ekin ;* Hy *heki ;* cf. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 209 | mong. *ekin*

eljigàn [*eljigan*] «ass» p. 785, *eljigan-* [*elegan-*] 29°, *eljigan-* [*elgigan-*] 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. R *eljigōn* «Esel», Mr, M *èljigân* «âne», M *èljiγ̂ ;* AL *p* ايلجگَانْ *eljigen ;* IM ايلجكا *eljige* (M), اُولجكا (sic) *eljige* (I), MA ايلجيكان *eljigen ;* tchag. ايلجيكان corr. en ايلجيكان *eljigen* | mong. *eljigen*

ena «he» 16° ~ mog. R *enà*, Mr, M *ėna* «ce, celui, lui»; AL *a* ايْنَا *ene ;* IM انا *ene* (M), اِنا et انا (sic) *ene ;* MA اينه *ene ;* V I اَينه (sic) *ene ;* 'Ph *ėne* (à la rigueur, *enä*) | mong. *ene*

**enaka*, *enakai* «now» p. 786, *enaka* [*enuka*] 26° ~ mog. Mr *ėnaka* «maintenant, actuellement», M *jėnakka* «id.»

farrah «Farrah (nom d'une ville au sud de Hérat)» 14° ~ mog. M *fara*, *φara* | pers. فراه *farāh*

gà [*ga*] «early» 7° ~ mog. Mr, M *gâ* «l'aube, le point du jour, de bon matin» | pers. گاه *gāh* «time»; cf. *begà*

gesal «belly» ~ mog. M, Z *gesal* «ventre»; Bodhicaryāvatāra V, 65*c*, IX, 58*c*, IX, 79*c* *gesel*, traduisant tib. *rgyu-lto* et *naṅ-khrol* «bowels, entrails, intestines» (B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Bodhicaryāvatāra : Bibl. Buddhica* XXVIII, Leningrad 1929, pp. 49, 139, 143 ; F. Weller, *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes*, Berlin 1950, pp. 27, 71, 73) ; un autre groupe des dialectes moghols présente une variante du même mot : mog. R *gesân* «Magen» ~ oïr. *gesen*, *gesün ;* kalm. *gesn̥ ;* AL *p* كيسُوسُونْ *gesüsün ;* *a* كِسَاسُونْ *gesesün ;* IM كَسَسُون *gesesün* (M, la leçon *kesesün*, proposée par M ne doit pas être retenue), كَسُسون *gesüsün* (I) ; *gesal* et *gesan* sont à rapprocher du mong. *gedesün*, *gedüsün* (MA كيتاسون *getesün) ;* certains dialectes moghols, dans la même acception, ont un autre terme : mog. Mr *gužan* «ventre», cf. mong. *güjige* (> ma. *guweǰixe)*

gesù [*gasoo*] «hair» ~ tdj. *gesu* «коса, локон»; afg. *gīsū* «a side-lock, a ringlet, a curl»; hind. *gesū*, *gīsū* «a ringlet, curl, side-lock ; the hair of a woman's head, the whole hair when gathered up, twisted, and fastened on the top

or back of the head» | pers. گیسو *gesū*, *gīsū* «a ringlet of hair, a forelock, a sidelock, curl»

girr «house» p. 785, *gîrtuna* [*geertuna*] «à la maison» 26° ~ mog. R *ger* «Zelt, Haus», Mr, M *gèr* «maison, chambre, tente» | mong. *ger*

**guîlga*, *guîlya* [*geuelga*] «run» ~ mog. R *gūīna* «läuft», Mr *gùjana* «courir», M *gùjina* > Mr, M *gùjilyana* «courir ; courir ensemble» | mong. *güi-(güyi-)*, *güyü-*

ghadana «out» ~ mog. R *γadana* «aussen, ausser», M *γadana* «dehors, au dehors, en dehors» | mong. *γadana*

gha*jar* [*ghajar*] «plain» ~ mog. R *γaǰar* «Erde, Land», Mr *γažar* «terre, pays», M, Z *γaǰar* «id.»; AL *p* قَنجِر *qaǰar ;* IM قَنجَر *qaǰar* (M), قنجر *qaǰar* (I) ; MA غاجار *γaǰar*, قاجار *qaǰar ;* HS, Hy *qaǰar* | mong. *γaǰar*

gh*am* [*deest*] «taxe» 22° (Gab. 23°)

gh*àr* [*ghar*] «fire» ~ mog. R *γōl* «Feuer, Flamme», Mr, M *γâl*, M *γal ;* AL *p* قَال *qal ;* IM قال *qal* (M), قَل *qal* (I); MA قال *qal*, غال *γal ;* V I قَال *qal ;* mgr. *ɢar ;* HS, Hy *qal ;* Yi yu *gar* (74a) | mong. *γal*

gh*ar* «hand» p. 785, gh*ar* [*ghar*] 8° ~ mog. R *γar*, *qar* «Hand», Mr, M *γar* «main»; AL *a* قَار *qar*, *p* قَار *qar ;* IM قَار *qar* (M), قار *qar* (I) ; MA غار *γar*, قار *qar ;* V I قَار *qar ;* HS, Hy *qar* | mong. *γar*

ghimsu [*ghimsu*] «nail» ~ mog. R *qimsun* «Nagel (auf dem Finger)»; Mr, M *qəmsun* «ongle», M *qəmsu̯ ;* IM قمرصن (sic) *qimusun* (I) ; MA قيموسون *qimusun*, قيموسو *qimusu* | mong. *kimusun*

gh*orban* [*ghorban*] «three» p. 786, *ghorban* [*ghorban-*] 16° ~ mog. R *γurbōn* «drei» (p. 60), Mr, M *γorban*, M *γorbâni* | mong. *γurban*

gh*urul* [*ghurul*] «flour» ~ mog. R *γulur* «Mehl», Mr *γurəl* «farine», M *γulur ;* tdj. H *γulur ;* haz. Dz *γulur ;* aïm. F *γulur ;* AL *p* غُولِر *γulir ;* IM قُلِير *qulir* (M), قُلير *qulir* (I) ; MA غوليير *γulir ;* V I قولِيرْ *qulir* | mong. *γúlir*, *γuril*

kh*àgîna* [*khageena*] «egg» ~ mog. Mr, M *χɛigina* «omelette, oeufs brouillés»; haz. Dz, Dj *χâigina* «oeuf»; aïm. T *χâigona*, *χɛigona* «omelette»; tdj. H *χâigina* «id.»; afg. *χāgīna* «fried eggs, a kind of dish made from eggs, an omelet»; osm. *kaygana* «omelet» > serbo-croate *kàjgana* > hongrois (dial.) *gajgonya*, cf. Gombocz—Melich, *Lexicon critico-etymologicum* II, 809 | pers. خاگینه *χâgīna* «a fried egg, omelet», خایگینه *χāygīna* «id.»

kh*àm* [*kham*] «raw» ~ mog. R *χōm* «unreif», M *χâm*, *χâ̤* «cru ; non-dressé (cheval)»; uzb. Qr *χâm ;* tdj. *χōm* | pers. خام *χām*

kh*anà* [*khana*] «where»; cf. *kana*

kh*àtun* [*khatun*] «woman» ~ mog. R *χot*, *χotun* «Weib», Mr, M *χâtun* «femme», M *χâtu̯ ;* MA خاتون *χatun* «женщина»; uzb. KM *χâtĭn*, Qr *χâtən*, Qt *χātən ;* tchag. خاتون *χatun* «dame de haut parage» (PdC), «femme» (MA) ; pers. خاتون *χātūn* «a lady, a matron» (Steingass), «a lady, a noble lady a matron ; a queen» (Haïm) ; cf. mong. *qatun* «reine, princesse ; grande

dame ; épouse»; turc *qatun* «id.»; les forme mogholes ne se ramènent pas directement au mongol, mais elles s'expliquent par les variantes iraniennes

*kh*i*rga*, kh*i*r*ja* [*khirga*] «hut» ~ mog. Mr, M *χèrgâ* «tente»; tdj. *χirgōh* «палатка, шатер» | pers. خرگاه *χargāh*

kh*i*s*mat* [*-khismat*] «service» 26° ~ mog. Mr, M *χèzmat* «service»; tdj. *χizmat;* afg. *χidmat* (Z) | pers. (ar.) خزمة *χizmat*, خدمة *χidmat*

khisht [*khist*] «brick» ~ mog. R *χišt* «Ziegel ; Stein», M *χèšt* «brique, torchis, bauge»; uzb. KM *χèšt*, *χišt;* tdj. *χišt;* afg. *χəṣta* | pers. خشت *χišt*

kh*làs ugai* [*khlas ugei*] «employed (à la rigueur, «si tu n'as pas le temps, si tu n'es pas libre»)» 21° ~ mog. R *χalōs* «Ende, zu Ende», Mr, M *χalâs* «libération, liberté ; fin ; fini, terminé»; tdj. *χalōs* «избавление ; освобожденный ; свободный, вольный» ; afg. *χlās* «free, liberated, redeemed, done, finished out», «свободный ; отпущенный, освобожденный» (Z) | pers. (ar.) خلاص *χalāṣ* «liberation, release, deliverance ; redemption ; liberty ; health»

kh*wàr* [*khwar*] «sister» ~ mog. M *χoar* «soeur», haz. B, Dz, T *χoar;* tdj. H *χoar;* tdj. Bd *χō.er;* tdj. K *χuār;* pers. CC *koar* «solor (= soror)» (p. 97) ; tdj. *χōhar* | pers. خواهر *χwāhar*

khùb [*khoob*] «good» ~ mog. R *χob* «gut», M *χōb*, *χōp* «bon» | pers خوب *χūb*

hàcharà [*-la-chara*] «bring» 4° ~ mog. R *ačaruna* «holt», Mr, M *ačaruna* «apporter»; MA اجرابه *ačaraba*, اجيرابه *ačiraba* | mong. *ačara-*, *ačira-*

hàlà [*kala*] «kill» ~ mog. R *olanà* «töten», Mr *âlâna* «tuer», M *âlana;* HS, Hy *ala-* | mong. *ala-*

Halîm Jan [*Haleem Jan*] «nom d'homme (le nom du gouverneur de la province de Hérat au temps de Leech)»

hàn [*han*] «yes» ~ hind. *hān* «yes, aye ; indeed, verily» | pers. هان *hān* «truly, yes»

horchî [*korchee*] «go» 4° ~ mog. R *orčinà* «geht weg, entfernt sich», Mr, M *orčina* «aller, s'en aller»; MA هورجيبه *horčiba* «пошел», اورجيبه *orčiba* «id.»; cf. *orchî*, *-ur-chî-nantar*, *warcha-ena*

hug «heat» (lire «beat», Gab. a correctement «schlag») ~ mog. R *ùggùnà* «schlägt», Mr, M *ògguna* «battre»; MA اوكبه *ügibe* (p. 396) ; šy. M *hokpé* «to beat, hit» (p. 68)

ída [*eeda*] «eat» ~ mog. R *idànà* «isst, trinkt», Mr, M *idana* «manger»; MA ايدابه *idebe* | mong. *ide-*

îkina [*eeknia*], dans *barish îkina* «il pleut» 20°; cf. mog. M *bâriš kèna* «il pleut»

**inda*, *inda-i* «here» 3°, *índar* [*eendar*] p. 786 ~ mog. R *èndà* «hier», Mr, M *inda*, *ènda* «ici» | mong. *ende*

indasa «from this» 10°, 14° ~ mog. R *endāsa* «von hier», Mr *indāsa* «d'ici», M *indasa* | mong. *endeče*

-inî [*-mee*] «son, sien» 12°, *-inî* [*imee*] 14° ~ mog. R *ini*, *ni* «sein» (p. 60). Mr M *ini*, *ni* «son, sien»; MA *inu*, *ni* (pp. 79—80) | mong. *inu*

inodar [*modar*] «to-day» p. 786, **inodr*, *modar* [*inode*] 20° ~ mog. Mr *ènа òdur* «aujourd'hui», M *ènùdur*; AL *a* اُودُوْر اينا *ene ödür*; MA اودور اينه *ene ödür*; V I اُودُوْر اينَا *ene ödür* | mong. *ene ödür*

into «how» 22° (Gab. 23) ~ mog. Mr *èntau* «comment?, ainsi», M *intəu*

ira [*eera*] «come» p. 786, *îra* [*eera*] 3°, *-îran* [*eeran*] «il vient», *îra-labda* [*eera-labda-*] «we came» 26° ~ mog. R *irànà* «kommt», Mr, M *irana* «venir»; MA ايرابه *irebe* | mong. *ire-*

**jaola*, *javla* [*jaola*] «before»

jolàn [*jolan*] «six (lire »sept«)» ~ mog. Mr *dâlân* «sept» (pen usité); les Moghols, déjà au temps de Leech ne devaient connaître les noms de nombre mongols que jusqu'à cinq; toutefois, les noms six et sept sont intervertis encore que *jolàn* soit estropié sous l'influence de *jurghan;* AL *a* دُلان, *p* دولان *dolān;* IM دُولان *dolān*, (M), دولان *dolān* (I); MA دولان *dolān;* V I دَوْلاَنْ (sic) *dolān;* mgr. *ɒolōn;* dah. Ts *ɒolō:* HS, Hy *dolu'an;* Yi yu *dolō* (68*b*) | mong. *doluγan*

jurghan [*jurghan*] «seven» (lire «six») ~ mog. Mr *ǰuryân* «six» (peu usité); AL *p* جِرغَانْ *ǰiryān*, *a* جُرغان *ǰuryān;* IM جُرغَان *ǰuryān* (M), جرغان (sic, I) *ǰurγān;* MA جيرغان *ǰiryan*, جيرغوان *ǰiryu'ān;* V I جُرغُوَان *ǰuryu-wan;* HS *ǰirqo'an;* HS, Hy *ǰirwa'an* | mong. *ǰirγuγan*

kabr «nose» ~ mog. R *qabar* «Nase», Mr, M *qabar*, M *qaβar* «nez» | mong. *qabar*, *qamar*

Cabùl [*kabul*] «Cabul» 10° ~ mog. Mr, M *kâbul* | pers. كابل *Kābul*

**kajar*, *kagar* [*kajar*]; cf. gh*ajar*

kala «chin» (Gab. «Kette») ~ haz. Dj, Dz, T *kalla* «menton»; tdj. K (dial.) *kalla* «id.»; uzb. KM, Qt *kalla* «tête» | pers. كله *kala* «the face or cheek», *kalla* «the head»

kana [*kano-*] «where?» 6° ~ mog. R *qana* «wo, wohin», Mr, M *qana* «où?»; AL *a* قَانَهْ *qāna;* IM قَنَا *qana* (M), قبا (sic) *qana* (I); MA قانه *qāna;* V I قَانَه *qāna* | mong. *qamiγ-a;* cf. kh*ana*

kàrà [*kara*] «black» ~ mog. R *qarō*, «schwarz», Mr, M *qarâ* «noir»; IM قَرَا *qara* (M), قَرا *qara* (I); MA قرا *qara* | mong. *qara;* turc *qara*

kàshuda-janta [*kaskuda-janta*] «you are angry» 19° ~ mog. R *qōšidana* «zürnt», Mr, M *qâšudana* «être fâché» | mong. *yasiγuda-*

kata «cief» 12° ~ mog. R *qatɛi* «gross, hoch; Herr, Fürst», M *katta* «grand»; haz. Dz, T *kaṭa* «grand», Dj *kiṭa;* tdj. H *katta;* uzb. KM, Qr, Qt *katta;* sarte *katta*, *kata;* uzb. A *katta* «big, great, huge, grand»; tdj. K *katta* «thick, coarse»; afg. *γaṭ*, *γaṭṭa*, *kaṭṭa* «1. большой, громадный, крупный, обширный; 2. великий; 3. тучный, полный, дородный; 4. знатный; 5. авторитетный; 6. могущественный» (Z); hind. *kattā* «well-knit, able-bodied, stout, strong, sturdy»

katkai- [*kathai-*] «cutting» («couteau») 29° ~ mog. R *qitqɛi* «Messer», Mr *qətγâi* «couteau», M *qətqɛi;* AL *p* كِيْتُوغَا *kituγa;* IM كَتّغَا *ketγa* (M, lire *kitγa*), كتغا *kituγa* (I); MA قيتوغه *qituγa*, قوتوغه *qutuγa;* V I قُدُوغه *quduγa*, كِيدُقه *kiduqa;* HS *kituqai* | mong. *kituγa, qutuγa, qutaγa*

kedù [*kedoo*] «how many?» 2°, 13°, *-kedù* [*kedo*] 9°, 23°, *kedùr* [*kedo*] 10°, *kedù* [*keedo*] 14° ~ mog. R *kedú* «wie viel», Mr *keddú*, M *kedū*, *kedú* | mong. *kedü, kedüi*

kejà [*keja*] «when?» ~ mog. Mr *keža* «quand?», M *keja;* MA كيجه *keje*, كيجييه *kejiyē;* HS *keji'e* | mong. *kejiy-e*

kela «speach» p. 786, *kelan* [*kalan*] «tongue» p. 785 ~ mog. R *kelán* «Zunge», Mr, M *kelan* «langue, parole, mot», M *kela*, MS *kela;* AL *a* كلان *kelen*, *p* كِيلان *kelen;* IM كَلاَن *kelen* (M), كلن *kelen* (I); MA كيلان *kelen;* V I كَيْلان (sic) *kèlen;* mgr. *k'ilie* | mong. *kelen*

ki[1] [*-ki*] «that» 24°, 26°, *-kî* [*-kee*] 16°, *ki* 20°, 25°, *ka* [*ki*] 28° ~ mog. R *ki*, *kė* «dass», Mr, M *ki*, *kė;* *kē* (emphatique) «que» | pers. كه *ki*

-ki[2] [*-kee*] «faire» 21°, *ke* [*ke-*] 24°, *kîtunî* [*ketona*] 26° ~ mog. R *kėná*, *kiná* «faire», Mr *kėna*, *kina*, M *kina* | mong. *ki-;* cf. *raikî*

kilghàsun [*kilgasoon*] «wool» ~ mog. R *qilγasun* «Haar (dickes)», Mr *qəlγâsun* «cheveux, poil; lainage; laine, toison», M *qolγâsun, qolγasų;* MA قيلغاسون *qilγasun* «конский волос»; HS *kilqasun* «poil de la queue (du cheval)»| mong. *kilγasun* «crin, crinière; corde (instrument)»

kîmat [*keemat*] «price» 13° ~ mog. R *qīmat* «Preis, Bezahlung», Mr, M *qəmmat* «prix»; uzb. KM, Qr, Qt *qəmmat;* sarte *qīmbat;* afg. *qəymat* «цена, стоимость» | pers. (ar.) قيمة *qīmat* et قيمت *qīmat*

kira «hire» 14° ~ mog. Mr, M *kėrâ* «louage, prix de louage, gages»; sarte *kira* | pers. (ar.) كرا *kirā*

kocharpà [*kocharba*] «I have . . . left» 11° ~ mog. R *očaruna* (> *očarfa*, perf.) «bleibt übrig», Mr, M *očaruna* (Mr *očarpa*, M *očarfa)* «rester, rester en arrière»; MA قوجاربه *očarba;* V I قوجَرْ *očar;* HS *očor-* | mong. *očora-, očara-*

koinà [*koma*] «after» ~ mog. R *qoina* «hinter, hinten, nach», Mr *qoina* «derrière, après, à la suite de», M *qəuna* | mong. *qoyin-a*

kokà [*koka*] «green» ~ mog. R *kúkə* «blau, grün», Mr, M, MS *kòka* «bleu, vert» | mong. *köke*

konghàn [*konghan*] «light (Gab. „Licht")» ~ mog. R *kúngōn* «leicht», M *kúŋgân, kúŋgą̄* «facile; léger; inconsidéré, insouciant, frivole»; IM كونكان (sic) *köngen* (M), كُنكَن *köngen* (I); MA كونكان *köngen;* V I كُونِكَانْ (sic) *köngen;* mgr. *k'uoŋɑuän* | mong. *könggen*

kor [*koe*] «breeches tie» ~ MA قور *qur* «пояс»; tchag. قور *qur* «ceinture»; turc Kāš *qur* «Leibgurt»; turc de l'Orkh., ouig., com. CC, tar., alt., tél., léb., chor, sag., kirg., koïb., osm. *qur* «id.» (R II, 916)

koun [*kuon*] «boy», **koun*, *kaun* [*koub*] 3° ~ mog. R *köün* «Kind ; Sohn ; Knabe», Mr, M *kəun* «fils, garçon», M *kəu ;* AL *p* كاون *keün ;* IM كَوُن *kewün* (M), كون *kün* (I, ici encore je lirais plutôt *keün*, *kewün) ;* MA كونى ايكه *küni eke (keüni eke?)*, ايكاين كاووت *ekeyin ke'üt* (plutôt : *ekeyin kewüt) ;* V I كَاوُن *kewün ;* HS, Hy *kö'ün* | cf. mong. *keüken*, *köbegün*

koyàr [*koyar*] «two» 11°, *koyar* p. 786 ~ mog. R *qoyōr* «zwei», Mr *qojâr* «deux», *qəjjâr*, M *qəjâr*, *qâjjâr ;* AL *a*, *p* قُيَار *qoyar*, *a* قويَر *qoyar ;* IM قُوْيَر *qoyar* (M), قويَر *qoyar* (I) ; MA قويار *qoyar ;* V I قُوْيَر *qoyar* | mong. *qoyar*

kudal «deceit» 27° ~ mog. R *qudōl* «Lüge, Unwahrheit», Mr, M *qudâl* «mensonge» ; IM قُدال *qudal* (I) ; MA قودال *qudal* | mong. *qudal*

kujunn [*kujunu*] «neck» ~ mog. R *kŭǰŭn* «Hals», Mr *kŭžŭn* «cou», M *kŭǰŭn*, *kŭǰŭ ;* AL *a* كجاون *küǰeün*, *p.* كُجُونْ (sic) *küǰūn ;* IM كُجُنْ (sic) *küǰün* (M), كُجُن (sic) *küǰün* (I) ; MA كوجون *küǰūn*, كوجوون *küǰü'ūn* (plutôt: *küǰüwün) ;* V I كُوجُون (sic) *küǰūn ;* HS *güǰü'ün* | mong. *küǰügün*

kul [*kull*] «food (lire. foot)» ~ mog. R *köl* «fuss», Mr, M *kŏl* «pied» | mong. *köl*

kulaghai [*kulaghai*] «a thief» 29°, *kulaghai* 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. R *qulaγɛi* «Dieb», Mr *qulâγài* «voleur, bandit», M *qulaγɛi ;* haz. B, Dz *qulaγɛi*, T *qulγài ;* aïm. T, F *qulaγɛi ;* MA قولاغاى *qulaγai* | mong. *qulaγai* (> ma. *χôlχa)*

kulba [*kulpa*] «plough» ~ haz. B, Dz, T *qulba* «charrue» tdj. K *qulba* «a plough» | pers. قلبه *qulba* «a plough» (selon L. Bogdanov, *JASB* N.S. XXVI, 104, malgré Steingass, le mot signifierait en persan non pas une charrue, mais «a furrow (made by the plough)» ; en effet, B. V. Miller, dans son dictionnaire persan-russe, p. 384, tient ce mot pour rare) ; afg. *qulba* «плуг» (Z) ; hind. *qulba* «a plough»

kùrî [*koree*] «stone» ~ mog. Mr, M, MS *kŭri* «pierre» ; IM كُرِى *küri* (M), كُوِى *güri* (I, lire *küri) ;* MA كورى *güri*, (rangé sous la lettre *k ;* ici encore il faut lire *küri) ;* V I كُرِى *küri*. C'est un mot intéressant qui n'a pas survécu dans le vocabulaire courant des dialectes actuels. Dans les recoupements connus jusqu'ici on a lu *g*, à l'initiale, mais le témoignage des mots cités à l'appui de cette leçon est peu probant. Le mot kalm. *gür* «Erz, metallhaltiger Stein» des contes kalmouk est rare et d'origine trop incertaine pour qu'on puisse en tirer des conclusions rassurantes en ce qui concerne la leçon de l'initiale. Ord. *gŭrŭ*, dans *gŭrŭ χara tš'ilŭ*, retrouvé dans un conte, est sûrement à rattacher à *küri*, *kürü* «pierre», mais il ne dit pas grand'chose non plus, car dans ce dialecte l'initiale *g- (g-)* est souvent d'apparition secondaire. Il en est de même de HS où nous avons *gürü* «pierre» ; or, cette forme, avec *gür-* «arriver», *güčün* «force», *gürdün* «roue», etc., en face de mong. *kür-*, *küčün*, *kürdün*, doit représenter une pronociation dialectale de l'époque des Ming. La leçon correcte du mot est assurée en écriture 'phags-pa, dans l'inscription de

Kiu-yong kouan (Ouest, ligne 5) où on lit *čila'un kürüs*. Ici, de même que dans un passage de la lettre d'*Aryun* adressée à Philippe le Bel *(eldeb önggetü kürüs*, cf. Wl. Kotwicz, Поправки к разбору монгольских писем персидских иль-ханов, dans Зап. Колл. Вост. I, 343—344 et *En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perse: RO* XVI, 376), *kürü* doit avoir le sens de «pierre précieuse». L'initiale *k-* est aussi attestée en écriture oïrate, cf. *kür čilūn* «дикий большой камень» (Pozdneev, *op. cit.*, 297*b*), *χabtaγai kürü* «Steinplatte» (B. Jülg, *Die Märchen des Siddhi-kûr*, Leipzig 1866, 182*b*). Cf. encore *ǰögelen qabtaγai kürü (Sidintü kegür-ün čadig*, éd. Pékin, f. 12*a* ; dans le même passage, l'édition d'Oulanbator porte seulement *ǰögelen čilaγun: Siditü kegür-ün üliger*, p. 19), *sorinčan kürü* «aimant» *(Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, 2*d*, éd. Ligeti, p. 3 ; tib. *khab-len rdo)*, *kürü* «pierre» *(op. cit.*, 248*b*, p. 70); *aγui qabtaγai kürü* (tib. *yaṅs-pa'i rdo-leb ; Bodhicaryāvatāra*, éd. Vladimircov, p. 111 : VIII, 86*b*) ; *ǰimis-tü modun ba: aγula kiged kürüs (Pañcarakṣā* I, f. 11*b* ; cf. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire*, p. 59); sur l'interprétation du mot, cf. tib. *rdo-la gor-ma* = mong. *čilaγun-i kürü*, dans *Li-ši'i gur-khaṅ*, xyl., f. 24*a*

la «not» ~ mog. R *la, lü, lɛ* «nein, nicht», Mr *ùla, ùl* «non, non pas», M *la, lɛ ;* IM اُولَا *üle* (M), اُولا *üle* (I) ; MA اوله *üle*, اولو *ülü ;* V I اوله *üle ;* mgr., šy. *li ;* HS, Hy *ülü* | mong. *ülü*

lang «lame» ~ mog. R *laŋ* «hinkend», Mr *laŋ*, M *laŋg*, *laŋ*^{k} «boiteux»; tdj. *lang* pers. لنگ *lang*

lo- «no, not» 5°; cf. *la*

malghai «cap» p. 786, *malghai* [*malgar*] 5° ~ mog. R *malγɛi* «Mütze», Mr *malγài* «chapeau», M, MS *malγɛi ;* haz. Dz *malγɛi ;* IM مَغَلَه *mayala* (I) ; MA مقلای *maqalai ;* mgr. *marça ;* st. *marka ;* šy.M *malaχé ;* HS *maqalai ;* sur le mot khalkha etc., voir Б. Я. Владимирцов, Сравн. грамм., p. 296 | mong. *malaγai*

mànî «my» 11°, *mànî* [*manee*] 12°, 17°, *manî* [*manee*] 18°, 27°, *mànî* [*inanee*] 29° | mong. *manu*

mehmàn [*inchman*] «guest» 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. Mr *mēmān* «hôte, convive, invité», M *mɛimân ;* uzb. Qr *mēhmân*, KM *mē^{i}mân ;* uzb. A *mehma:n, mihma:n, mihman* «guest, stranger»; tdj. *mehmōn ;* afg. *mihmān* (Z) | pers. مهمان *mihmān*

**menî, mence* [*menee*] «my» 8° ~ mog. R *mini, mi* (p. 60), Mr *-mni, mini* | mong. *minu*

modun «wood» ~ mog. R *modun* «Holz», Mr, M *modun* «bois, planche, canne», M *modu̯ ;* MS *mâdun* | mong. *modun*

mor «road» p. 786, *mor* [*mor-*] 10°, 23° ~ mog. R *mûr* «Weg», *mör* (p. 20), Mr, M *mȯr* «chemin, route» | mong. *mör*

morin «horse, mare» p. 785, *morin-* [*morn-*] 13°, *morn-* [*mom-*] 14° ~ mog. R *morin* «Pferd», Mr, M *morin* «cheval» | mong. *morin*

Muhammad Shah [*Mohammed Shah*] 28° «nom d'homme»

murg «fowl» ~ mog. R *murγ* «Vogel, Henne»; tdj. *murγ* | pers. مرغ *murγ* «a bird, fowl»

nakà [*naka*] «shoes»

nakchîr [*nakcher*] «deer» ~ mog. Mr, M *naχčīr*, *naχčir* «bouquetin»; tdj. *naχčir* | pers. نخچیر *naχčīr* «a wild-beast ; a mountain-goat»

nàm [*nam-*] «name» 1° ~ mog. R *nōm* «Name», M *nâm ;* tdj. *nōm* | pers. نام *nām*

nàràn [*naran*] «warmth» ~ mog. R *naran* «Sonne», Mr *naran* «soleil», M *narâ ;* AL *p* ناران *naran*, *a* نَرانْ *naran ;* IM ناران *naran* (M), نَرَنْ *naran* (I) ; MA ناران *naran ;* V I نارَان *naran* | mong. *naran*

nazar, dans **nazar-tu-min iran*, *nazar tumî nîran* [*nazar too-mee neeran*] «il me semble, dans mon opinion» 20° ~ mog. R *nazartu-min irâná* «es dünkt mich, ich glaube», M *nazartumi irana* «je crois, il me semble»; cf. pers. بنظر آمدن *ba naẓar āmadan* «to seem ; appear ; look» (Haïm) | pers. (ar.) نظر *naẓr*

nikka «one» p. 786, *nikka* [*nika*] 23°, *nika* [*nikka*] 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. R *nikân* «eins», Mr *nikan*, *nika*, M *nikka*, *nika ;* dah. Ts *nę̀ʿk ;* MS, Hy *nikän*, *niken*, *nike* | mong. *nigen*

nîra [*neera*] «name» p. 785, *nîra* [*nera*] 12° ~ mog. R *nèrâ* «Name», Mr, M *nèra* «nom» | mong. *ner-e*

nokai «dog» ~ mog. R *noqɛi* «Hund», Mr *noqâi* «chien», M *noqqɛi ;* AL *p* نُوقَایْ *noqai*, *a* نُقَایْ *noqai ;* IM نُوقَای *noqai* (M), نُغَی *noγai* (I) ; MA نوقای *noqai ;* V I نُوقَایُ (sic) *noqai ;* Qaz, EČ نوقا *noqā* (cf. *qaqā* ~ *γaqai) ;* Kir *nokha ;* AG *noχai ;* HS *noqai* | mong. *noqai*

**nou*, *non* [*now*] 5° «new» ~ mog. R *nöù* «neu ; neulich», Mr *nau*, M *nəu* «neuf, récent»; tdj. *nav* | pers. نو *nav*

nuddun «eye» ~ mog. R *nùdùn* «Auge», Mr *nùdùn* «oeil», M *nùdù̱*, *nùddù* | mong. *nidün*

nukhra [*nukhra*] «silver» ~ mog. Mr, M *noqra* «argent»; uzb. KM *noqra ;* pers. CC *nocra* «argentum» (p. 84) ; tdj. *nuqra* | pers. نقره *nuqra*

nuntar [*unutar*] «sleep» ~ mog. R *nuntana* «schläft», Mr, M *nuntâna* «dormir»; IM اُنْطَبَا *untaba* et نُنْطَبَا *nuntaba* (M), مونطبا *muntaba* (I, sic ; je me demande si cette graphie qui est certainement fausse, ne doit pas être corrigeé en نونطبا *nuntaba*, plutôt qu'en *untaba ?) ;* MA اونتابه *untaba* | mong. *unta-*, *umta-*

nùr [*noor*] «face» ~ mog. R *nūr* «Gesicht, Antlitz», Mr, M *nūr* «visage, face»; AL *p* نَاوُر *nawur*, *a* نُورْ *nūr ;* IM نیور *ni'ūr* (M), نُیُور (sic) *ni'ūr* (I) ; MA نیور *ni'ūr ;* V I بُیورْ (sic) *ni'ūr ;* HS, Hy *ni'ur* | mong. *niγur*

oda «above» ~ mog. R *öàdà* «aufwärts ; mehr», Mr *ŏda* «en haut, en amont, vers le haut», M *u̯ŏda ;* HS *ö'ede ;* kalm. *ŏdᵒ ;* ord. *ŏɒö* | mong. *ögede*

odur [*odwe*] «day» p. 785, *odur* [*odwi*] 25°, **odurtor*, *odurton* [*adurton*] 23° ~ mog. R *ùdùr* «Tag», Mr *ôdur* «jour», M *ùdùr;* HS, Hy *üdür;* mgr. *uᴅur*, *ᴅur;* kalm. *ödṛ;* ord. *ùᴅùr;* tchag. اودور *ödür* (ou *üdür)* | mong. *edür*

ogai «not» p. 786, *ogai*, dans *ámdun ogai* [*amdan ogai*] 16°; cf. *ugai*

okuja [*oknya*] «he died» 16°; cf. *ukuba*

orchî [*orchee*] «go» p. 786, *orchî-nanta* [*-ochee-nanta*] «you go» 23°; cf. *horchî*, *-ur-chî-nantar*, *warcha-ena*

ordà, dans *ordà mànî* [*orda manee*] «chez moi» 11° ~ mog. Mr, M *urdâ* «devant, chez, auprès», M *urdâmi iraba* «il est venu chez moi»; kalm. *χānā̈ urᵊdᴅ* «vor dem Chane» | mong. *urida* «avant, devant, en avant, auparavant, dorénavant ; autrefois, jadis»

oulà [*oula*] «hill» ~ mog. Mr *aula* «montagne», M *əula;* AL *p* آولا *aula;* IM آولا *aula* (M), آولا *a'ūla* (I) ; MA اُولا *a'ūla* (plutôt : *awula*) ; tchag. اُولا *awula* «montagne élevée»; mgr. *ula;* dah. Ts *au̯lă;* kalm. *ūlᴰ*, *ūlᵘ;* ord. *ū̲la;* HS, Hy *a'ula* | mong. *aγula*

ould [*oula*] «blind»

pyàz [*pyaz*] «onion» ~ mog. R *piōz* «Zwiebel», Mr *pi̯âz* «oignon»; uzb. KM, Qr *pi̯âz;* tdj. *pi̯jōz;* osm. *piyaz* «stew with onion» | pers. پیاز *piyāz*

rai, dans *raikî* [*raikee*] «send» 21° ~ mog. R *rei-kénà* «senden, schicken», Mr *rài kina* «envoyer», M *rei kina ;* tdj. K راهی کردن *rāy kardan* «to send»; tdj. *rōhī kardan (namudan)* «посылать, отправлять, направлять» ; afg. رهی کول *raī kavəl* «отправлять, направлять, посылать» | cf. pers. راهی شدن *rāhī šudan* «to go, to travel»

rukhsat [*rukhsat*], dans *r. kîtunî* [*r. ketona*] «give me leave» 26° ~ mog. Mr, M *roχsat kina* «laisser partir, permettre de s'en aller»; sarte *ruχsat* «отпуск»; afg. *ruχsat kavəl* «отпускать ; позволять, разрешать, допускать»; tdj. K *ruχsat* (vulg. *rusχat)* «leave» | pers. رخصة کردن *ruχṣat kardan* «to dismiss, suffer to depart»

rupe [*rupee*] «rupee» 11° | hind.-angl.

saghal [*saghal*] «beard» p. 785, 18° ~ mog. R, Mr, M *saγal* «barbe»; uzb. Qr, Qt *saqal*, KM *saqqâl;* AL *a* سَقَلْ *saqal;* IM سَقَل *saqal* (M), صقل *saqal* (I) ; MA سقال *saqal;* V I سَقَّلْ *saqal;* mgr. *saq̇ar;* dah. Ts *sʿaγăl* | mong. *saγal*, turc Kāš *saqal;* ma. *salu*

saghligh [*saghligh*] «sheep» ~ mog. M *sâγloγ;* uzb. Qr *sa̯luq* «femelle du mouton», KM «bélier»; uzb. A *sa̯yluq qoj* «ewe»; sarte *sa̯ylïq* | turc Kāš *sa̯ylïγ* «Milchschafe»

sàl [*sal*] «année» 9°, *sal* [*-sal*] 16° ~ mog. R *sōl* «Jahr», M *sâl;* tdj. *sōl* | pers. سال *sāl*

sàmàn [*saman*] «grass» ~ mog. R *samōn* «Futter», Mr *saman* «foin, fauche ; paille», M *samân*, *sam̲ā;* uzb. KM *samân* «paille»; sarte *saman* «солома пшеничная и ячменная, мелко издробленная и разматая»; tchag. *saman*

«paille ; pers. صمان *ṣamān* «straw» < turc | turc Kāš (čigil) *saman* «Stroh»; cf. Radlov IV, 432

sîr [*seer*] «leek» ~ mog. R *sīr* «Knoblauch», M *sīr*, *sir* «ail»; uzb. KM *sir*; pers. CC *sir* «aleu(m) (= allium)» (p. 107) | pers. سیر *sīr*

**sou*, *son* «sit» ~ mog. R *söüna* «sitzt», Mr *sauna*, M *səuna* «il est assis»; AL *a* سَوْبا *sauba*; IM صَوبَا *sauba* (M), صُوبا *sūba* (I); MA ساوبه *sa'ūba*; V I سَاو *sau*; HS, Hy *sa'u-* | mong. *sayu-*

sonî [*soonee*] «night» p. 785, *sonî* [*sonee*], dans *uchkan sonî* ~ mog. R *süni* «Nacht», Mr *sȯni*, M *sùni*; Kir *soini*; mgr. *soni*; dah. Ts *sùnĭ*; kalm. *sȫ*, *sȫn*; khal. *šȯnȯ*; bour. *hùni*; HS *sȫni* | mong. *söni*

sùn [*soon*] «milk» 4°, *sunu* p. 785 ~ mog. R *sùn* «Milch», Mr, M *sùn* «lait», M *sụ̀*; HS *sün* | mong. *sün*, *üsün*

surab «lead» ~ mog. R *surup* «Blei», Mr *surəp*, M *surup*; pers. CC *seref* «plumbum»; afg. *srəp*, *surup*, cf. Morgenstierne, *An etym. voc. of Pashto*, p. 70 | pers. سرب *surb*

shahar «city» ~ mog. R *šār* «Stadt», Mr *šahar*, *šȧr* «ville»; uzb. Qr *šȧhȧr*, Qt *šār*, KM *šahar*; uzb. A *šɛhɛr*, *šɛhr* «town»; sarte *šaar*, *šahr* | pers. شهر *šahr*

shewa «below» ~ mog. M *šeβa*, *šewa* «à bas, en bas, par en bas, vers le bas», M *šewa kina* «descendre de cheval»; haz. Dj, Dz, T *šeβa kardan* «descendre de cheval», B *šēβa k.* «id.»; afg. *šīwa kavəl* «to make slide, to make slip, to slide down; to slope, to incline (as the bank of a river, etc.)»; cf. pers. شیب *šīb (šeb)* «a descent, declivity ; the lower part, base, foundation», شیو *šīv* «id.»

shîra [*sheera*] «yellow» ~ mog. R *širȧ* «gelb», Mr, M *širȧ̂* «jaune»; IM شیرا *šira* (I) ; MA شیره *šira*; HS *šira* | mong. *sir-a*

shuddun [*suddun*] «tooth» ~ mog. R *sùdùn* «Zahn», Mr, M *sùdùn* «dent», M *sùddụ̀ sùddù*; AL *a* سِدوُنْ *sidün*, *p* شِیْدُون *šidün*; IM شِدوُن *šidün* (M), سِدن *sidün* (I) ; MA شیدون *šidün*, سیدون *sidün*; V I سِدُوْنْ *sidün*; HS *südü*, *šidü* | mong. *sidün*

ta «to» 10° ~ mog. R *tā* «bis, nach», Mr, M *tâ* «jusqu'à» | pers. تا *tā*

tábun [*tabun*] «five» ~ mog. R *tabun* «fünf» (p. 60), Mr, M *tâbun*, M *tâbụ̄* «cinq»; AL *p* تابُون *tabun*, *a* تابون *tabun*; IM طابُون *tabun* (M), طابون *tabun* (I) ; MA تابون *tabun*; V I تَابُوْنْ *tabun* | mong. *tabun*

talî [*talee*] «put» ~ mog. R *talinȧ* «legt», Mr, M *talina* «mettre, poser»; IM طلبه *taliba* (I, la correction en *talbiba* ne va pas de soi) ; MA تالبیبه *talbiba*; HS *talbi-*; mgr. *t'ē-*, *t'ī-*; dah. H *t'ab'-*, *t'al'wĭ-*, *t'aw'ĭ-*; kalm. *täw-*; khal. *t'ȧw-*; ord. *t'ȧwi-*, *t'awi-*; bour. *tabi-*; dah. *talebé*, *tálǰi* (Iv), Ts *t'ȧl-*, *t'ȧlĭ-* | mong. *talbi-*

tànî [*tanee*] «your» 13°, *tànî* [*-tanî*] 15°, *-tànî* [*-tanee*] 22° (Gab. 23°), *-tanî* [*-tanee*] 26°, *tam* [*tani*] 9° | mong. *tanu*

**tanînantar, tanî-nantar* [*tanee-nantar*] «do you know» 17° ~ mog. Mr, M *tânina* «connaître, reconnaître»; MA تانيبه *taniba* | mong. *tani-*

-tar «you» 17° ~ mog. R *to, tot, tod* «ihr», Mr *tâ*, M *tâ, to* | mong. *ta*

tarakh «courds» ~ mog. R *tarōγ* «sauere Milch», Mr, M *tarâγ* «lait caillé», M *tarâχ;* AL *p* تُرَاق *toraq;* IM طَرَاغ *taraγ* (M), طراغ *taraγ* (I) MA تراق *taraq;* V I تَرَاق *taraq;* mgr. *t'araq̣;* šy. *tarak;* kalm. *tarᵛᴅq̣;* HS *taraq;* tchag. توراق *toraq* | mong. *taraγ*

te «he» p. 786 ~ mog. R *tė* «der, jener», Mr *tē* «lui, il», M *te;* mgr. *t'ie* «celui-là, cela, il»; st. *ti;* golong *t'e;* cf. Ramstedt, *Über mongolische Pronomina*, dans *JSFOu* XXIII : 3, pp. 10—12 | mong. *tere*

tenî [*-tenee*] «gén. de *te*» 29° (Gab. 30°) ~ mog. R *tenni*, Mr, M *tennī, tenni;* cf. le précédent

teman «camel» ~ mog. Mr, M *temân* «chameau», M *temą̂;* AL *p* تمانْ *teme'en;* IM تَمَه *teme* (M, I) ; MA تيمان *temēn* et تمن *temen;* Qaz, EČ تمكن *temegen* (je lirais plutôt *temgen);* mgr. *t'imiēn;* šy. M *temin* (p. 69) ; dah. Ts *t'ęmę̄;* kalm. *temēn;* HS *teme'en* | mong. *temegen*

tilla «gold» ~ mog. Mr, M *tėlâ* «or»; uzb. Qr *təlla, tâlla;* KM *tillâ* | pers. تله *tilla*

tîndar [*teendar*] «there» ~ mog. R *tėndȧ* «dort, dorthin», Mr, M *tinda* «là, là-bas», M *tėnda;* AL *a* تَنْدَا *tende;* IM تَنْدَه *tende* (M), تَندا *tende* (I) ; MA تنده *tende;* V I تَنْدَه *tende* | mong. *tende*

tosùn [*tosoon*] «clarified butter» ~ mog. R *tusun* «Fett, Speck, Öl», Mr, M *tosun* «beurre, graisse ; lard ; huile», Mr *tâsun;* tchag. توسون *tosun* «huile, beurre» | mong. *tosun*

**tughul, sughul* [*tughal*] «a calf» ~ mog. R *tuγul* «Kalb», Mr, M *tuγul* «veau»; IM طُغُل *tuγul* (I) ; MA توغول *tuγul;* HS *tuqul;* kalm. *tuγᵘˡ* | mong. *tuγul*

turuksan «brother» p. 785, 2°, 21°, *turuksun* [*turuksar*] 17°; cf. mog. R *tùrànȧ* «wird geboren», Mr, M *tòrana* «naître» | mong. *törü-*

uchkàn soni [*uchkan sonee*] «yesternight» 29° ~ mog. R *ùčkōn* «gestrig», *ùčkōn sùni* «in der Nacht», *ùškōn sùni* «die vergangene Nacht» (dans un texte, p. 9), Mr *ùčkân sòni* «la nuit dernière, la nuit passée», M *ùšką̂ sùni;* V I هُوچْكَنْ سُونى *höčken söni;* mgr. *tś'igu soni* «la nuit d'hier, la nuit passée»; cf. HS *öčigän, öčigen* | mong. *öčigen*

uchkodar [*uckodar*] «yesterday» ~ mog. R *ùčkōn ùdùr* «gestern», *ùškōn ùdùr* (p. 9), Mr *učkân òdur* «hier», M *ùšką̂ ùdùr;* AL *a* هچكن *hečegen* (lire *höčken);* MA اودور اوجوكه *öčüge ödür;* V I هُوچْكَنْ اُودُوْر *höčken ödür;* HS *öčigän üdür;* Yi yu *höčkendür* (f. 69*b*) ; mgr. *tś'igu, tś'iguᴅur;* dah. é. ma. *xečige udur* (*AM* X, 23) «avant-hier»; kalm. *ötsgl̥dr̥, ütsgl̥dr̥, ütsgl̥dūr, üsgl̥dr̥;* ord. *ùtš'ùgùᴅùr, tš'ùgùᴅùr, tš'ùgᴅùr;* khal. *òcògdòr;* bour. *usegelder* | mong. *öčügedür*

ugai [*ugei*] «no, not» 21° ~ mog. R *ùgɛi* «ohne ; nein», Mr, M *ùgei* «non ; sans», MS *gɛi ;* Mr *ùgâi* | mong. *ügei ;* cf. *ogai*

**uîwla*, dans *bi nîwla* [*bee wewla*] «don't cry» ~ mog. R *uīlanà* «weint», Mr, M *ujilana* «pleurer» | mong. *uyila-*

ukubà [*ukuba*] «dead» p. 785, *ùkujanna* [*oakin-jana*] «was dead» 28° ~ mog. R *ùkünà* «stirbt, verlischt», Mr, M *ùküna* «mourir» | mong. *ükü-*

ukarr [*ukan*] «a bull» ~ mog. R *ùkàr* «Ochs, Rindvieh», Mr, M *ùkar* «boeuf»; AL *p* هُوكَر *hüker ;* IM اكّز *ükküz* (M), اُكز *üküz* (lire *öküz) ;* MA اوكر *üker ;* V I هُوكَر *hüker* «(l'année du) boeuf»; RD, Qaz, EČ هوكر *hüker ;* AG *ukʿur ;* Kir *akar*, *okʿar ;* mgr. *fucuor ;* šy. M *ŏkurr* (p. 63) ; dah. *ukur* (Iv.), Ts *χùcŭr*, H *ùkʿŭr ;* HS *hüker ;* Hy *hüger ;* cf. P. Pelliot : *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 240, Z. Gombocz : *MSFOu* XXX, 111 | mong. *üker*

ukpang «bread» ~ mog. R *ùftàŋ* «Brot», Mr *ôkᵊmaŋ* «pain», M *ùftaŋ*, *ùftaŋᵏ ;* IM اَتمَك *etmek* (M), اتمك *etmek* (I) ; MA اوتماك *ötmek* (? *ütmek) ;* V I اُوتُومَه *ötüme* (? *ütüme) ;* Kir *othmak ;* Hy *ütmek* (en écriture ouigouro-mongole *ütem-e* et *ütm-e) ;* mgr. *sɒimie* «pain, beignet»; šrg. *itimi ;* kalm. *ödməg ;* mong. *edemeg*, *ödmeg ;* turc Kāš *ätmäk ;* com., krm., osm., kar. L *ätmäk* (R) ; osm., krm. *äkmäk* (ibid.) ; kas., tob., bachk. *ikmäk* (ibid.) ; alt., tél. *ötpök* (ibid.) ; tchag., voc. sino-ouig. *ötmäk* (ibid.). Les formes mogholes s'expliquent de la façon suivante : 1° **ütmek* > **ükmek* > **ükmeng* > **ükpeng ;* 2° **ütmek* > **ütpek* > **ütpeng* > **üpteng* > **üfteng*

ulan «red» ~ mog. R *ulōn* «rot», Mr, M *ulân* «rouge», M *ulâ̤* «rouge ; or»; IM هُلام (sic) *hulān ;* MA هولاَن *hula'ān*, هولان *hulān ;* pour les autres recoupements, anciens et modernes, voir Pelliot, *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 223—224

**umasunin-chi*, *u-masunichî* [*-w-masuninchi*] «you wear» 5°; *úmaz* [*omaz*] «put on» p. 786 ~ mog. R *ömùsùnà* «zieht an», Mr, M *ùmùsuna* «mettre, endosser, se vêtir, s'habiller, porter», Mr *ùmàsùna ;* AL *a* اومسبا *ömüsbe ;* MA اموسبه *ömüsbe ;* V I اِيمُوسْبَه *emüsbe ;* HS *emüs- ;* kalm. *ömös-* | mong. *emüs-*

umur «âge» 9° ~ mog. M *umur*, *umr* «âge» | pers. (ar.) عمر *ʿumr*, *ʿumur* «life, life-time, age»

unda «butter-milk» ~ mog. R *undō* «Getränk, Trunk», Mr, M *undân*, M *undâ̤* «babeurre, petit lait» ; AL *p* امداان *umda'ān ;* MA اوندااَن *unda'ān ;* V I اومداَان (sic) *umda'ān ;* HS *undan* «boisson»; kalm. *umdn̥*, *undɒ*, *undn̥* «Getränk»; ord. *unɒa* «boisson»; khal. *und* «напиток, питие»; bour. *unda(n)* | mong. *umdaγan*, *unda* «boisson, breuvage»

undun «trousers» ~ mog. R *ùndùn* «Hosen», Mr, M *ùndùn* «pantalon large», MA اومودون *ömüdün ;* tchag. اومودون *ümüdün* «caleçon, pantalon large, اُومُورُون *umurun* «pantalon, chalvar», leçon de J. Thury *(A «Behdset-*

ül-lugat» czímű csatagáj szótár, Budapest 1903, p. 35) pour le même terme dans le *Bahǰatu-'l-luġat* est à corriger en اُمُودُون *ümüdün*, ce dernier dictionnaire fait la distinction entre *o* (*ö*) et *u* (*ü*); khal. *ȯmd(ȯn);* ord. *ömöɒ̈* | mong. *ömüdün*

unnù [*nunoo*] «mount» p. 786, *unusunna* [*unusuma*] 24° ~ mog. R *uninȧ* «reitet», Mr, M *unina* «monter»; MA اونوبه *unuba* | mong. *unu-*

-ur-chì-nantar [*-ur-che-nautar*] «you are going» 6°; cf. *orchî*, *horchî*, *warcha-ena*

**úrdù*, *úndù* [*oordoo-*] «camp» 28° ~ mog. R *ordō* «Haus, Hof; Schloss», Mr *ordo*, *urdu* «camp militaire ; armée, troupes», M *urdu* «armée, troupes»; haz. Dz *urdu* «armée»; tchag. اوردو *ordu* «campement royal ; camp»; pers. CC *ordu* «curia» (p. 90 ; coman *orda* id.) ; pers. اردو *ordū* «a court, palace, camp»; c'est un mot voyageur typique et, en moghol, c'est seulment *ordō* (*ordâ* pour nous) qui reflète la forme régulière qu'on doit attendre dans cette langue | mong. *ordu*, *ordo*

ussun «water» ~ mog. R *usun* «Wasser», Mr, M *usun* «eau», M *usu̯* | mong. *usun*

walka «country», dans *walkasa* 22° (Gab. 23°) ~ tchag. اولكه et اولكا *ülke* «province, ville, pays, fief»; osm. *ülke* «country, province» | pers. اولكه *ūlkā*, اولكه *ūlka* «a country, kingdom, region, الكا *ulkā* et الكه *ulka* «a province, dominion, possession»

warcha-ena [*warchi-ena*] «let us go» 25°, *warchya* [*-warchya*] «to go» 26°; cf. *horchî*, *orchî*, *-ur-chî-nantar*

wataga [*watage*] «bear» ~ mog. M *u̯ȯtaga* «vieillard; ours»; AL *a* اُوْنَكَا *ötege*, *p* اُوْتْكَا *ötke;* IM وطكا (sic), la correction en *ötege* ne s'impose pas, la leçon *wetege* est tout aussi bien possible (I) ; par ailleurs c'est cette dernière leçon qui a été adoptée par M ; MA اوتاكه *ötege;* V I اُوتُوكَه *ötöge ;* Qaz, EČ اوتكا *ötege* (ou *ötke);* Kir *aiťku;* tchag. اوتكه *ötege* (ou *ötke);* kalm. *ötᵒgə*, *ötkᵒ* «alter Mann, Greis ; Bär»| mong. *ötegü*

watar «quick» ~ mog. Mr, M *u̯ȯtar*, *ȯtar* «vite, promptement»; MA اوتر *öter;* HS *ötör*, *öter* | mong. *ödter*, *öter*

wînà [*weena*] «cow» ~ mog. R *ûinȧ*, *ûⁱnā* (p. 52) «Kuh», Mr *ûinan* «vache»; MA اونايان *üneyēn;* mgr. *uniē;* dah. Ts *ûnę̄;* kalm. *ünē*, *ünēn;* cf. Z. Gombocz, dans *MSFOu* XXX, 136, s. v. *ünő* | mong. *üniyen*, *üniy-e*

wokin «girl» ~ mog. R *ukin* «Tochter, Mädchen», Mr, M *ȯkin*, *u̯ȯkin* «fille, jeune fille», M *u̯ȯkį;* AL *a* اُوْكِنْ *ökin;* IM اُكُن (sic) *ökin* (M), اوكِن *ögin* (I) ; MA اوكين *ökin;* V I اُوكُنْ *ögin;* mgr. *fuɒ́zün*, *śɒ́zün;* šrg. *učin*, *χučin;* dah. Ts *ûgǐ;* kalm. *okn̥;* khal. *oχin;* ord. *oᵏχin;* bour. *uχi(n);* HS *ökin* (*? okin*) | mong. *ökin*, *okin*

yama «what?» 1° ~ mog. R *jèma*, *jem* «was», Mr *jèma*, *èma* «quoi? que? quel? ; quelque chose», M *jama;* MA يامه *yama;* V I يَامَا *yama;* mgr. *yäma* «quelque chose, quelconque»; golong *yamā;* cf. Ramstedt, dans *JSFOu* XXIII: 3, pp. 15—17 | mong. *yaγuma;* cf. *yema*

**yamgajî, yam-gajî* [*tam-gajee*] «why?» 19° ~ cf. mog. Mr *jàma gala* «pourquoi, comment?», M *jàmaji, jemaji* «pourquoi?»; mgr. *yämaciɨźi* «comment?»| mong. *yaγuma kemeǰü*

yamal «saddle» p. 785, 24° ~ mog. R *emōl* «Sattel», Mr *jàmâl* «selle»; AL *p* ايْمال *emēl;* IM اَمَل *emel* (M, I); MA ايمل *emel;* V I يَمَايِلْ (sic) *yeme'el* (ou *eme'el);* mgr. *imier;* šrg. *imel;* dah. Ts *ɐmɐ̄l;* HS *eme'el;* kalm. *emēl;* ord. *emēl* | mong. *emegel*

**yatkajanna, yattrajanne* [*yatkajanna*] «cut» 29° ~ mog. R *etqànà* «schneidet ab», Mr, M *jètkana, ètkana* «couper»; AL *a* هتجكبا *hečkebe;* IM هِتْكَبَا *hitkebe* (M), اَطُلبه (sic) *hitkebe* (restitution fort hypothétique); MA هيتجككسان *hečkeksen;* HS, Hy *etke-;* mgr. *ɔice-;* kalm. *išk?-;* ord. *es$^{k^c}$χe-;* khal. *esge-;* bour. *esχe-* | mong. *eske-*

yema «why?» 5°; cf. *yama*

yemagaja «why?» 5°; cf. **yamgajî*

zardak «carrot» ~ mog. M *zardak* «carotte»; tdj. K *zardak* «id.» (voir les remarques de M. Bogdanov, *op. cit.*, p. 122), tdj. H *zardak;* sarte *zardak* | pers. زردك *zardak* «carrot»

Les phrases

Nous présentons les phrases sous chacune des deux variantes : en première place celle de Calcutta, en deuxième celle de Bombay (la dernière est mise entre crochets). Après chacune des phrases, nous indiquons sous sa forme originale la traduction anglaise de Leech, étonnamment bien réussie. Leech avait à sa disposition, sans aucun doute, un fort bon interprète, et lui-même devait connaître parfaitement les dialectes locaux (tadjik) ; dans quelques cas, j'ai signalé et corrigé quelques inexactitudes sans grande importance.

Il paraît évident que Leech ne connaissait ni ne parlait la langue moghole. C'est ce qui explique qu'il a mal séparé certains mots ou syllabes, ou les a mal rattachés à d'autres. Bien entendu, il est facile de corriger ces fautes ; le texte corrigé est indiqué en dernière place, à la fin de chaque phrase. Maintes fois, les raisons de ce phénomène sont bien curieuses. Dans le moghol, l'accent ne tombe pas sur la syllabe initiale, comme dans la plupart des langues mongoles ; cette langue se conforme totalement aux règles d'accentuation des langues tadjik environnantes. Ainsi, il est intéressant de faire remarquer que Leech prend souvent la syllabe accentuée d'un mot pour la syllabe initiale d'un autre mot qu'il sépare de la partie précédente, et rattache à la première syllabe atone du mot suivant. Par exemple: *tani nantar* (17°) pour *tanina·ntar*,

orchi nanta (23°) pour *orchina·nta*, *orchi ena* pour *orchie·na* (Mr, M *orčija·na*) *ira labda* (26°) pour *irala·bda*, etc.

Une autre observation intéressante est que Leech, n'étant pas gêné dans ses notations par la connaissance antérieure de la langue mongole, s'efforçait de noter exactement ce qu'il entendait. C'est ce qui explique que, par exemple, lorsqu'un mot terminé par une voyelle était suivi d'un mot commençant par une voyelle, et que le sujet parlant prononçait les deux mots en une seule unité, Leech notait en plus un *i (y)* inorganique, tel qu'il était prononcé dans la realité. Ainsi: *indai ira* (3°) pour *inda (-i-) ira*, *beyagaga* (27°) pour *be (-y-) agaga*, etc.

C'est nous qui avons numéroté les phrases, en nous appuyant pour ce faire sur l'édition de Calcutta. Notre numérotage ne s'accorde pas tout à fait avec celui de Gabelentz qui a pris pour modèle le texte de Bombay ; là encore, nous signalons les divergences.

1° *Nàm chî yama bî* [*Namchee yama bee*] «What is your name?»
Nàm-chî yama bî.

2° *Kedù turuksan betar* [*Kedoo turuksan betar*] «How many brothers have you?»
Kedù turuksan be-tar.

3° *Kaun indai îra* [*Koun indai eera*] «Come here, boy»
Koun inda-i-îra.

4° *Bàzàr tù horchî sùn hàcharà bidandù* [*Bazar too korchee soonla chara bisando*] «Go to the bazar and bring me some milk»
Bàzàr-tù horchî sùn hàcharà bidandù.

5° *Mal*ghai *non yemagaja lon masuninchî* [*Malgar now yemagaja low masuninchee*] «Why don't you wear a new cap?»
*Mal*ghai*-i-nou yemagaja lo-umasunin-chî.*

6° *Kanaur chî nantar* [*Kanour che nautar*] «Where are you going?»
Kana urchînan-tar.

7° *Gà buz* [*Ga buz*] «Rise early»
Gà buz.

8° Ghar *mence ebatunna* [*Ghar menee ebatanna*] «My hand pains me»
Ghar *menee (=menî) ebatunna.*

9° *Umur tamkedù sàl be* [*Umur tani kedo sal be*] «How old are you?»
Umur-tani kedù sàl be.

10° *Indasa ta Cabùl kedùr mor be* [*Indasa ta kabul kedor morhe*]
«How far is Cabùl from this?»
Indasa ta kabùl kedùr mor be.

11° *Ordà mànî koyàr rupe kocharpà* [*Orda manee koyar rupee kocharba*]
«I have two rupees left»
Ordà-mànî koyàr rupee kocharpà.

12° *Katai-mànî nîrainî Halîm Jan be* [*Katai manee neramee Haleem Jan be*] «Halîm Jan is the name of my chief»
Kata-i-mànî nîra-inî Halîm Jan be.

13° *Morinî tànî kîmatnî kedù be* [*Mornee tanee keematnee kedoo*] «What is the price of your horse?»
Morin-î-tànî kîmat-nî kedù be.

14° *Indasa tà farrah mornî kirainî kedù be* [*Indasa ta Farrah momee kiraimee keedo be*] «What is the hire of a horse from this to Farrah?»
Indasa tà Farrah morn-î kira-inî kedù be.

15° *Bàbà tànî àmdun be* [*Babatanee amduna be*] «Is your father alive?»
Bàbà-tànî àmdun be.

16° *Ámdun ogai be ena ghorbàn sal bekî okujà* [*Amdan ogai be ena ghorbansal leekee oknya*] «He is not alive, he died 3 years ago»
Ámdun ogai be, ena ghorbàn *sàl be kî okujà.*

17° *Turuksan mànî tanî nantar* [*Turuksar manee tanee nantar*] «Do you know my brother?»
Turuksan-mànî tanînan-tar.

18° *Chaghàn bulja saghal manî* [*Changan bulja saghal manee*] «Your beard (lire : «ma barbe») turned grey (lire : «blanche»)»
Chaghàn bulja saghal-manî.

19° *Bidanasai yam gaji kàshuda janta* [*Bidanasai tam gajee kaskuda janta*] «Why are you angry with me?»
Bidanasa-i-yamgajî kàshudajanta.

20° *Nazar tùmî nîran ki modr barish îkina* [*Nazar toomee neeran ki inode barish eeknia*] «It looks as if would rain to-day»
Nazar-tù-mîn îran ki inodr barish-î-kina.

21° *Agarchî* khlàs *ugai bechî turuksan raikî* [*Agar chee khlas ugei bechee turuksan raikee*] «If you are employed send your brother»
Agar chî khlàs *ugei be-chî turuksan rai kî.*

22° *Walka satànî* gham *into barîna* [(Gab. 23°) *Walka satanee into bareena*] «How are you taxed in your country?»
Walka-sa-tànî gham *into barîna.*

23° *Nikka odurton kedù mor orchî nanta* [(Gab. 22°) *Nika adurton kedo morochee nanta*] «How far can you go a day?»
Nikka odur-tor kedù mor orchînan-ta.

24° *Mornî yamal ke ki unusunna* [*Morni yamal keki unusuma*] «Saddle the horse that I may take a ride»
Morn-î yamal ke kî unusunna.

25° *Odur begà burja boz ki warchi ena* [*Odwi bega burja boz ki warchi ena*] «The day is far spent rise and let us go»
Odur begà burja boz ki warchiena.

26° *Bîda îra labda* kh*ismat tortanî enaka ru*kh*sat kîtùnî ki warchya gîrtuna* [*Beeda eera labdakhismat lootanee enuka rukhsat ketona kiwarch ya geertuna*] «I came to wait on you, now give me leave to go home»
Bîda îrala-bda kh*ismat-tor-tìnî, enaka ru*kh*sat kîtuni ki warchya gîr-tuna.*

27° *Dundadù manî kudal beyagaga* [*Dundadoo manee kudal beyagaga*] «Let there be no deceit between you and me»
Dundadù-mànî kudal be-y-agaga.

28° *Úndùî dundànijî àwàza bila ka Muhammad Shah ùkujanna* [*Oordooee dundanyee awaza bila ki Mohammed Shah oakin jana*] «There was a report in the camp that Muhammad Shah was dead»
Urdùî dundànyi àwàza bila ki Muhammad Shah ùkujanna.

29° *Eljiganîn mànî uchkàn sonî kula*gh*ai achichanna ; daisunni katkair yatrajanne* (Gab. 30°) *nikka mehmàn bîla tenî eljiganîn kulaghai achichanna* [*Eleganee inanee uchkan sonee kulaghai achikanna dai sumee kathair yatkajanna* (Gab. 30°) *Nika inchman beelatenee elgiganeen kulaghai achichana*] «Yesternight a thief stole an ass of mine by cutting his tether ; the thief also stole an ass of a guest of mine»
*Eljigan-în-mànî uchkàn-sonî kula*gh*ai achichanna ; daisunn-i katkair yatkajanna ; nikka mehmàn bîla tenî eljigan-în kula*gh*ai achichanna.*

Notes de grammaire

Dans les brèves notes qui suiveront, je n'ai aucunement l'intention de donner une vue d'ensemble, si succincte fût-elle, du système grammatical tout entier de la langue moghole d'Afghanistan. Ce n'est pas non plus ce que je me propose de faire quant aux matériaux fournis par Leech. En somme, je tiens à insister, dans ce domaine, sur certains faits absolument nécessaires tant à l'intelligence qu'à l'appréciation exacte des notes de Leech. Il va sans dire que dans ce qui suit je devrai traiter même des questions de moindre importance ou, parfois, voire même des faits déjà connus. Il n'en reste pas moins que d'autres questions paraîtront d'une importance indiscutable du point de vue de l'histoire de l'évolution de la langue mongole. Je me propose de les traiter avec plus de détails plus tard dans mon travail consacré au moghol d'Afghanistan ; néanmoins, il m'a semblé inévitable dès à présent de signaler quelques-unes de ces remarques.

Phonétique

Le système de transcription de Leech correspond au niveau de l'époque, autrement dit ce système n'est pas linguistique, mais philologique. De là son insuffisance : non seulement les phonèmes, mais même les variantes

phonétiquement importantes ne sont pas notés avec la précision requise ; il est donc impossible de parler, sous ces conditions, de la représentation phonétique exacte des sons.

D'ailleurs, l e s v o y e l l e s du moghol, dans la transcription de Leech, sont les suivantes :

a) brèves : *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*,

b) longues : *à*, *Á* ; *î*, *í* ; *ù*, *Ú*.

Cependant les notes de Leech ne présentent guère de difficulté véritable que dans les cas où les problèmes qui se posent dans l'explication du phonétisme de la langue moghole sont restés irrésolus de nos jours, même après l'excellent travail de Ramstedt.

C'est dans le domaine du vocalisme que l'influence iranienne sur la langue moghole est le plus évidente ; en effet, c'est là que le mongolisant rencontre le plus de difficultés. Pour le moment, je me contenterai de n'en signaler que quelques-unes.

Dans les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan, ou tout au moins dans ceux que j'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier et que parlaient également les Moghols eux-mêmes de mon entourage (puisque c'est dans ce dialecte qu'a eu lieu l'enquête linguistique que j'ai menée chez eux), un phénomène fort caratéristique est la corrélation *a* : *â*.

Dans le tadjik de l'Afghanistan, tout comme dans le moghol, l'*a* est une voyelle ouverte, illabiale, qui alterne avec l'*ȧ* un peu plus ouvert, mais n'atteint jamais le degré d'aperture de l'*ä* prononcé à Téhéran. Le tadjik d'Afghanistan connaît aussi la variante longue du même son, l'*ā* long illabial, qui peut alterner avec l'*ā̇* (issu le plus souvent d'un *-ah-* primitif). Régulièrement, c'est pourtant l'*ā* labial long qui s'oppose à l'*a* illabial bref. La prononciation labiale de la voyelle *ā* longue, dans le persan de Téhéran, est de rigueur. Aussi dans la transcription conventionnelle ce son est-il représenté par *ā*, et ce n'est que le système de transcription russe qui emploie à sa place un *ō* (système adopté d'ailleurs par G. J. Ramstedt). D'après mes observations, dans les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan l'*ā* long est généralement un peu moins labialisé que dans le persan de Téhéran ; il est vrai que la prononciation labiale plus accentuée de l'*ā* long est encore soulignée par l'*ä* figurant souvent dans le même mot. L'*ā* labial long de l'Afghanistan, que je désigne par *â* dans mon système de transcription, peut alterner cependant, souvent dans un même mot et dans la langue d'un seul et même sujet parlant, avec *å* fortement labialisé, même avec *ō*, d'autre part avec *ȧ* labial bref ou avec un *o* bref.

Dans leur système vocalique les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan ont, en même temps, un *e* fermé, qui peut alterner avec un *è* légèrement plus formé et même avec *i*.

Or, dans les mots moghols on retrouve ces mêmes sons avec leurs variantes. En ce qui concerne les nuances, évidemment Leech nous laisse souvent

en panne, mais pour l'essentiel on peut compter sur lui si l'on considère que son *a* désigne un *a* illabial, l'*à* une voyelle labiale longue, l'*e* un *e* fermé et l'*i* une de ses variantes. Il convient cependant de remarquer que, chez lui, l'*î* ne marque pas toujours la longueur mais souvent l'accent, comme par exemple dans les mots *barîna*, *khagîna*, etc. ; en tout cas, il me semble que les erreurs de cet ordre ne sont pas étrangères même aux auteurs des lexiques moghols en écriture arabe.

Mais indépendamment des problèmes de la transcription, une question fort importante se pose. Comment se fait-il que, dans le moghol de l'Afghanistan les mots mongols proprement dits se présentent chez Leech sous des formes aussi singulières que *ebatunna*, *ekada*, *gesal*, *îra*, *kejì*, *kela*, etc. et qu'en substance Ramstedt et moi-même ayons entendu des formes semblables? Comment se peut-il que, dans les mots moghols, la voyelle *e* ne se présente que dans la syllabe initiale, et que dans les autres on rencontre toujours à sa place un son *a* plus ou moins illabial? La solution de ce problème ne réside assurément pas dans la seule influence de l'iranien, bien que ce dernier y joue également un certain rôle.

La raison de ce phénomène aberrant est à chercher, à mon avis, dans le mongol. Le phonétisme actuel de la langue moghole ne peut être compris qu'en supposant que, dans la langue des Moghols d'Afghanistan, avant même que l'influence iranienne se soit exercée sur elle, l'*e* fermé n'était connu qu'en syllabe initiale ; plus exactement, cette langue ne devait posséder, dès cette époque, dans les syllabes non-initiales qu'une voyelle *e* plus ou moins ouvert. Cette thèse peut paraître surprenante, mais une série de faits militent en sa faveur.

Il est notoire que l'écriture 'phags-pa possède deux signes pour le son *e*. L'un est *e*, qui fut créé d'après le signe tibétain *i*, l'autre *ä* qui est l'une des variantes du signe tibétain *ya*. La valeur de chacun des deux signes, dans ce sens, est bien assurée par les transcriptions du chinois en écriture 'phags-pa datant de l'époque des Yuan. Or, dans les textes mongols en écriture 'phags-pa l'*e* ne figure que dans la syllabe initiale, dans les autres il ne revient que comme second élément d'une diphtongue (dans ce cas, sa valeur n'est d'ailleurs pas exactement *e*). Dans les textes mongols en écriture 'phags-pa les mots tels que *enä*, *eǰän*, *ebäčin*, etc. sont très fréquents (dans un autre système de transcription : *ène*, *èǰen*, *èbečin*).

P. Pelliot a rendu uniformément, dans les mots mongols, tous les *e* des transcriptions chinoises des Yuan et des Ming par des *e* ouverts *(ä)*. Il est indéniable que le procédé de Pelliot est en soi schématique et moi-même, comme les mongolisants en général, je ne puis l'admettre entièrement. Cependant, en substance, l'idée de Pelliot était juste, et il avait bien raison lorsqu'il admettait l'*e* ouvert *(ä)* dans le mongol des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles ; évidemment il serait impossible d'entrer ici dans les détails de la question.

Mais il y a plus. Les auteurs des lexiques mongols en écriture arabe, du moins certains d'entre eux, allèguent un système vocalique analogue à celui que le moghol actuel nous présente. En effet, les orthographes telles que ايِنَه nous imposent les leçons *ine* ou *enä*. C'est d'ailleurs la raison pour laquelle je me suis efforcé d'enregistrer soigneusement, dans le commentaire du lexique de Leech, l'orthographe originale des lexiques mongols en écriture arabe ; ni là, ni dans d'autres cas, je n'ai déduit volontairement toutes les conclusions qui résultent de ces orthographes.

Tout ceci bien pesé, l'interprétation du vocalisme moghol actuel s'offre sans difficulté : dans la syllabe initiale, le moghol a maintenu l'*e* fermé même après l'influence iranienne, tandis que dans les autres syllabes il a substitué tant l'*e* ouvert *(ä)* que l'*e* fermé par un *a* ouvert, adaptation inévitable, puisque, dans ces positions phonétiques, ce phonétisme iranien ignorait absolument aussi bien l'*e* fermé que l'*ä* ouvert.

C'est de la même manière que s'explique un autre phénomène encore plus frappant du phonétisme moghol. Dans les syllabes non-initiales on trouve, à la place de l'*ē* primitif, un *â* labial long *(ă̄)* ; par exemple, dans le lexique de Leech, le mot *kejà*. Dans cet exemple, l'antécédent moghol immédiat devait être *kejă̄ (kejă̄)*, mais comme le phonétisme iranien ignore le *ă̄ (ă̄)*, la substitution par *â* était à tout point de vue régulière dans ce mot comme dans les autres du même genre.

On s'attendrait ainsi à trouver une voyelle longue dans la seconde syllabe du mot *teman* «chameau», dans la liste de Leech. En effet, la voyelle longue *â* est assurée par la transcription de Ramstedt ainsi que par la mienne, cependant Leech offre un *a* bref. Il se peut que, chez Leech, l'*a* bref ne soit, dans ce cas, qu'une simple erreur, mais je m'abstiendrais pourtant d'une correction automatique, car le lexique mongol d'Ibn Muhannā, aussi bien dans le manuscrit d'Istanboul que dans celui utilisé par P. Melioranskij, offre l'orthographe تَمَه, orthographe qui suggère, une fois de plus, la voyelle brève dans la seconde syllabe. En effet, dans ce cas et dans bien d'autres, il faut compter avec l'abrègement sporadique des voyelles longues d'origine étymologique.

Par contre, dans la syllabe non-initiale d'un grand nombre de mots moghols on est en présence d'une voyelle longue qui paraît secondaire. Ces cas doivent être soigneusement examinés pour voir comment et pourquoi s'est formée cette longueur secondaire. Parmi ces mots, je souligenerais dès maintenant ceux du type *eljigân* «âne». En effet, il n'est guère douteux que la longueur de la voyelle s'explique par le fait que, dans le suffixe nominal *-γan (-gen)*, très fréquent dans les noms d'animaux, la voyelle est longue depuis une époque très ancienne, bien que cette longueur n'existe plus dans la majorité des dialectes actuels ; cf. А. Бобровников, Грамматика монгольско-калмыцкого языка, Казань 1849, p. 62; А. Д. Руднев, Лекции по грамматике монгольского письменного языка, читанные в 1903—1903

академическом году, Ст. Пбг. 1905, pp. 27, 58; Б. Я. Владимирцов, Сравнительная грамматика, Ленинград 1929, pp. 224—226. Je reviendrai à ce problème ailleurs.

A propos du vocalisme, il convient de faire encore quelques remarques sur une autre question importante. Les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan ne connaissent ni la voyelle *ö*, ni l'*ü*; les mêmes voyelles sont d'ailleurs inconnus aussi dans le moghol d'Afghanistan. Selon l'avis de Ramstedt, il est vrai, on devrait compter avec un système *ö : ü*, donc avec le même que dans l'ordos ; cette hypothèse est cependant inacceptable. L'existence de la voyelle *ö*, telle que Ramstedt le suggère dans des mots d'origine iranienne et mongole est une supposition tout simplement erronée. Si, pour effectuer ses recherches, Ramstedt n'avait pas eu que cinq jours à sa disposition, il aurait certainement corrigé lui-même ces fautes ainsi que d'autres erreurs phonétiques. En tout cas, on doit considérer comme des erreurs des transcriptions linguistiques telles que *öüγüšt* «Fleischsuppe» pour *əügüšt* (pers. *āb-i gušt)*, *öügōn* pour *əuγân (awγān, afγān)*, *köl* «Fuss» pour *kȯl*, etc.

En effet, dans les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan et dans le moghol, on trouve exclusivement des voyelles *ü* et *ȯ*. Mais ce qui est singulier, surtout pour un mongolisant, c'est que ces mêmes voyelles peuvent alterner sans plus avec *ü* et *ȯ*. Ainsi donc, le fait que Leech n'ait pas jugé indispensable de noter l'*ü* ni l'*ȯ* et peut-être qu'il n'ait pas même entendu ces variantes n'a, en fin de compte, rien de surprenant.

De toute manière, du point de vue mongol, la question n'est pas dépourvue d'intérêt. Comme on le sait, dans la plupart des dialectes mongols actuels on prononce *o* et *u* au lieu des *ö* et *ü* plus anciens. A quelle date peut bien remonter ce phénomène? Certains mongolisants sont d'avis, sur l'autorité des transcriptions chinoises, qu'il faut compter avec cet état de choses dès les XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, mais, réflexion faite, on ne saurait partager cette opinion. Sous ce rapport, le témoignage des transcriptions chinoises est parfaitement indifférent, puisqu'elles n'indiquent pas les voyelles *ö* et *ü* non seulement dans les mots mongols mais dans les mots ouigours non plus, alors que, dans ces derniers le problème de l'*ȯ* et de l'*ü* ne se pose même pas. Il est vrai que l'interprétation phonétique du signe *ö* : *ü* de l'écriture ouigouro-mongole peut donner lieu à certains doutes, du moins à partir d'une certaine époque, mais des doutes de ce genre sont absolument exclus en ce qui concerne les signes *ö* et *ü* de l'écriture 'phags-pa. A ce sujet, le témoignage du moghol est également indifférent. A mon avis, l'état actuel s'est formé sous l'influence iranienne et les voyelles *ȯ* et *ü* dans le moghol aussi remontent à *ö* et à *ü*.

Enfin, dans les matériaux publiés par Leech, on doit encore signaler un cas d'une portée générale. Le fait est que, dans le moghol, les voyelles *o (ō)* et *ö (ȫ)*, parfois *u* et *ü* de la seconde syllabe des autres dialectes se

trouvent représentées régulièrement par *a (â)*. Chez Leech, on ne trouve que deux mots de cette catégorie : *chinà* «loup» (mong. *činō)*, *kocharpà* «rester» (mong. *qočor-)* ; c'est ici qu'il faut ranger encore le mot *moghal (moγol*, mong. *mongγol)* qui ne figure d'ailleurs pas dans son lexique. (Sous ce rapport, *turuksan* «frère» et *urdu* «camps» sont des exceptions qui s'expliquent assez facilement).

A ce sujet, Ramstedt nous a fourni des matériaux beaucoup plus amples dont il suffira, pour le moment, de tirer les mots suivants: *kȯ̂kà* «Zitze» *(kökö*, mong. *kökü)*, *kȯ̂kanà* «saugt» *(kökö-*, mong. *kökü-)*, *oranà* «geht ein» *(oro-*, mong. *oru-)*, *kùtâlči* «Arbeiter, Diener» *(kötölči*, mong. *kötölči)*, *tùrànà* «wird geboren» *(törö-*, mong. *törü-)*, *ûlâsùnà* «ist hungrig» *(ölös-*, mong. *ölüs-)*, *ùtâgū* «Greis, alter Mann» *(ötögü*, mong. *ötügü)*, *dùranà* «verkauft» (le mot est rare en mongol, cf. toutefois MA دوراجى آبوبه [p. 396] *düreǰi abuba* «купил», dah. Ts *ɒ̀ŭrŭ-*, *ɒ̀ur-* «vendre», dah. Iv. [p. 47] *durubé* «продавал»); *ebâsun* «Gras, Heu» (mong. *ebüsün)* ; *serânà* «erwacht, schläft nicht ein» (mong. *serü-)*, etc. Cette liste, dont nous avons exclu les cas qui demandent à être discutés, pourrait encore se poursuivre pendant longtemps. (Évidemment, c'est par le même traitement que s'explique le problème de *nöker* ~ *nökör*, *nökür*, discuté par M. J. Németh, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* III, 1953, pp. 11—18.)

Sporadiquement, ces phénomènes ne sont pas inconnus même de certains dialectes mongols, mais, dans cette mesure, ils caractérisent en premier lieu le moghol d'Afghanistan. L'apparition de l'*a* de la seconde syllabe en moghol n'est pourtant pas de date récente, elle remonte aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles. Toutefois, elle est abondamment attestée dès les vocabulaires mongols en écriture arabe (cf. surtout le *MA*, pp. 39—41) ; ceci est, entre autres, l'un des faits linguistiques qui montrent que les vocabulaires mongols en écriture arabe se rattachent étroitement, quant à la langue, au moghol d'Afghanistan. Autrement dit, sous certains rapports, la langue mongole de ces lexiques représente une phase antérieure des dialectes moghols, y compris évidemment certains dialectes déjà disparus.

L e s c o n s o n n e s du moghol figurant dans la transcription de Leech sont les suivantes :

a) Explosives, sourdes : *k*, *t*, *p*, sonores : *g*, *d*, *b*.

b) Affriquées, sourde : *ch*, sonore : *j*.

c) Fricatives, sourdes : *kh*, *f*, *s*, *sh*, sonores : *gh*, *y*, *z*.

d) Nasales : *ng*, *n*, *m*.

e) Latérales : *l*, *r*.

Cette transcription, cette fois encore, n'est qu'une approximation assez grossière, il serait donc inutile d'insister sur les nuances possibles à attribuer à chacun de ces signes.

Depuis les recherches de Ramstedt, il est notoire que, dans le système de Leech, le *k* représente en réalité deux sons différents, le *q* et le *k*. De même,

aujourd'hui tout le monde est d'accord sur le fait que les initiales mogholes *q-* et *k-* reflètent au fond l'ancien traitement du mongol des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles.

Par contre, on a moins insisté sur le fait que, dans le moghol (et dans une grande partie des dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan) le *q* et le *k* sont loin d'être différenciés aussi nettement que par exemple dans les langues turques. En ceci, un rôle important doit être attribué au fait que, sous l'influence iranienne, le vocalisme moghol est «neutre», c'est-à-dire qu'il ne reflète plus la caractéristique essentielle de la langue mongole qui exige que, dans un mot, les voyelles appartiennent toutes soit à la série palatale soit à la série vélaire ; aussi, dans ce système, seul l'*i* est-il «neutre».

En effet, c'est ainsi que s'explique que, en moghol, dans certaine position phonétique, il est particulièrement malaisé de saisir par l'ouïe la différence entre *q* et *k*. Évidemment, il ne peut être question de ce que les deux consonnes alternent l'une avec l'autre. Toujours est-il qu'il faut absolument considérer comme erronées les formes proposées par Ramstedt, comme par exemple : *baqōr* «Nützen, Hülfe» pour *bakōr*, *diqōn* «Kaufladen» pour *dikōn*, *qam* «wenig» pour *kam*, *qōwul* «Kābul» pour *kōwul*, *maqam* «fest, stark» pour *makam (mahkam, mākam) ; tirqamōn* «Regenbogen» pour *tirkamōn*, *masqa* «etwas Essbares» pour *maska* (voir *supra*, p. 105—106), *duŋqaǰaq* «?ein Tier» pour *dum-kaǰak* «scorpion», etc. et même parmi les mots moghols proprement dits ceux du type *etqana* «schneidet ab» pour *etkana*.

A ces difficultés peuvent bien souvent s'en associer d'autres. A l'initiale, pour ne considérer ici que cette position phonétique, la consonne *q-* peut répondre à une ancienne occlusive sonore postérieure *g-* aussi bien dans le moghol que dans les vocabulaires mongols en écriture arabe. Or, cette ancienne initiale occlusive sonore postérieure *g-* ne s'est pas conservée dans le moghol actuel, mais elle a abouti à une sourde faible *(g̱-)* qui, à son tour, apparaît assez rarement à l'état pur, mais en alternant tantôt avec *q-*, tantôt avec la fricative sonore *γ-*. Ajoutons que, après la dissolution de l'harmonie vocalique en moghol, la dissolution de l'ancienne harmonie consonantique mongole a commencé à opérer ; c'est ainsi qu'on peut comprendre que, par exemple, les anciens suffixes verbaux déverbatifs *-lγa-*, *-lge-* et *-γda-*, *-gde-* s'ajoutent au verbe exclusivement sous les formes *-lγa-* et *-γda-*, indépendamment de ce que ce dernier appartienne à la série palatable ou à la série vélaire.

Selon Ramstedt le signe *-s*, un des signes du pluriel, se présente en moghol sous la forme *-z*. Cependant, les matériaux publiés par Leech nous montrent que la sonorisation de *-s* n'est pas une caratéristique exclusive du pluriel ; il s'agit simplement de ce que la consonne *-s*, en position finale absolue, se présente sous la forme *z*. C'est en cela que réside l'explication, chez Leech, des formes de l'impératif telles que *boz (buz)* «rise!» et *úmaz* «put on!».

Toutefois la même tendance de l'évolution ne s'opère pas en sens inverse, et la notation de *s-* dans *subōnaγ* est une simple faute, aussi l'interprétation du mot par «Hals» est-elle inadmissible ; en réalité il s'agit du mot «uvule» qui répond par ailleurs parfaitement à l'interprétation moghole *(qōlɛini biχni)* qu'en ont donnée les informateurs de Ramstedt. Le mot doit être transcrit, dans le système de Ramstedt, par *zubōnaγ*, ce qui répond tout régulièrement, par un intermédiaire tadjik, au persan زبانك *zabānak* «the uvula» (Haïm, I, p. 1000).

Encore une dernière remarque sur le consonantisme mongol. On sait que la *h-* initiale mongole des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles est complètement amuïe dans le moghol actuel. Or, le lexique de Leech nous offre deux mots, *horchî* «go» et *hug* «beat» qui sont fort intéressants, car ils portent une initiale consonantique, attestée aussi dans d'autres sources. Il est à peu près certain que jadis le moghol, lui aussi, devait porter l'initiale *h-* et que l'amuïssement de cette initiale s'est révolu pendant les derniers siècles, sans doute sous l'influence iranienne. En effet, l'initiale *h-*, dans les mots d'origine iranienne des dialectes tadjik d'Afghanistan paraît depuis longtemps fort instable.

Morphologie

Le lexique et les quelques phrases publiés par Leech, ne peuvent fournir, par la nature des choses, des matériaux particulièrement riches sur les questions de la morphologie du moghol. Voici l'essentiel du peu qu'on peut y glaner.

L e n o m.

Sur le nominatif il n'y a pas de remarque spéciale à formuler. Le génitif et l'accusatif se forment au moyen du suffixe *i*, *î* : *katai* (12°), *mornî* (3°, 14°, 24°), *daisunnî* (29°) ; cf. *eljiganîn* (29°).

Le datif-locatif se forme à l'aide des suffixes *-dù*, *-tù*, ou encore, *-tor* : *bàzàr-tù* (4°), *nazar-tù* (20°), *dunda-dù* (27°), *bidan-dù* (4°), *odur-tor* (23°), kh*ismat-tor* (26°) ; suivi de la désinence pronominale réfléchie : *gîr-tuna* (26°).

Le suffixe de l'ablatif est *-asa (-sa) : bidan-asa* (19°), *walka-sa* (22°), *inda-sa* (10°).

L'instrumental n'est représenté que par un seul exemple : *katkair* (29°).

Les désinences pronominales personnelles non réfléchies sont: 1ère p. du sg. *-min*, 3^{e} p. du sg. *-inî*, 1ère p. du. pl. *-manî*, 2^{e} p. du pl. *-tanî*.

L e v e r b e.

Impératif, suffixe zéro : *îra*, *îda*, *buz*, *barre*, *bî uîwla*, *áp*, *úmaz*, *orchî*. *sou*, *hug*, *hàlà*, *guilga*, *talî*, *unnù*, *hàcharà*.

Bénédictif: suffixe *-tu*, suivi de la désinence pronominale *-nî* : *kîtunî* (26°).

Concessif, suffixe *-ga* : *beyagaga* (27°).

Optatif, suffixe *-sun*, suivi du suffixe *-na : unusunna* (24°).

Volontatif, suffixe *-ya* qui peut être suivi du suffixe *-na* : *warchya* (26°) ; *warchi-ena* (25°).

Présent inachevé, suffixes *-n*, *-na*, *-nan*, qui peuvent être suivis de désinences pronominales : *îran* (20°), *ebatunna* (8°), *îkina* (20°), *barîna* (22°), *orchînanta* (23°), *urchînantar* (6°), *tanînantar* (17°).

Présent achevé, suffixes *-la* qui peut être suivi de la désinence pronominale : *bila* (28°, 29° Gab. 30°), *îralabda* (26°).

Prétérit inachevé, suffixe *-ja*, qui peut être suivi du suffixe *-na* ; *okujà* (16°), *bulja* (18°), *burja* (25°), *ùkujanna* (28°) suivi de la désinence pronominale : *kàshudajanta* (19°).

Prétérit achevé, suffixe *-pà* : *kocharpà* (11°).

Syntaxe

Au point de vue mongol c'est la construction du syntagme possessif qui vaut d'être signalée : *mornî kirainî* (14°), *morinî tànî kîmatni* (13°), *katai-manî nîrainî* (12°). La même construction est bien connue dès l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* : *J̌amuqa-yin ede üges inu, qubi-yu'an inu deletčü, qoyar-un tusa-yin anu tula*, etc., cf. E. Haenisch, *Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, dans *Studia Orientalia* XIV : 2, pp. 15—16.

L'influence iranienne exercée sur la syntaxe moghole se fait sentir considérablement même dans le maigre échantillon de Leech.

Un des faits les plus caractéristiques de l'influence iranienne est incontestablement la présence des «verbes composés» dans le moghol. Ces locutions verbales, composées d'un élément nominal, le plus souvent d'un substantif ou d'un adjectif, et d'un de ces verbes dits auxiliaires dont le nombre ne dépasse guère la quinzaine, font fonction de simples verbes en persan. Cf. D. C. Phillot, *Higher Persian Grammar*, Calcutta 1919, pp. 274—284 ; S. Telegdi, *Nature et fonction des périphrases verbales dites «verbes composés» en persan*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* I, 1950—1951, pp. 315—338. Dans les dialectes tadjik de l'Afghanistan, l'emploi des «verbe composés» est beaucoup plus répandu que dans le persan classique, bien plus, ces dialectes offrent toute une série de «périphrases verbales» que les grammairiens du persan classique ne manquent pas de refuser comme de purs barbarismes. Sur cette dernière question, voir D. C. Phillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 279—280 et L. Bogdanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 et suiv.

En moghol, les verbes composés, empruntés évidemment aux locutions verbales «vulgaires» des dialectes tadjik, maintiennent inchangé le premier élément de la locution en tadjik, et donnent la traduction moghole du second élément, c'est-à-dire du verbe «auxiliaire». Dans ces calques linguistiques, les «verbes auxiliaires» moghols les plus fréquents sont les suivants : *kèna*,

kina (kardan), *ôguna (dâdan)*, *irana (âmadan)*, *idana (χordan)*, *ċgguna (zadan)*, *tâtâna (kašīdan)*.

C'est parmi les «verbes composés» qu'il faut ranger, dans les matériaux publiés par Leech, *raikî* (21°), *rukhsat kîtunî* (26°) et, éventuellement, *barish îkina* (20°).

G. J. Ramstedt, aussi bien dans son vocabulaire que dans ses textes, nous fournit un nombre considérable de verbes composés moghols. Malheureusement, ce grand mongolisant, peu versé dans la dialectologie tadjik, ne s'est pas rendu compte du rôle important que les verbes composés pouvaient jouer en moghol, bien souvent il n'a même pas reconnu les membres constituants de ces composés. A titre d'exemple, voici quelques-uns des verbes composés recueillis par Ramstedt : *χarōb kèna* «schadet, zerstört, verwüstet» (tdj. *χarâb kardan)*, *čōrdas-kena* «fällt an (der Hund)» (tdj. *čâr-dast kardan*, mot à mot «faire quatre-pattes»), *dèröû kena* «erntet» (tdj. *dèrəu kardan)*, *göürōn kina* «treibt die Ochsen», p. 10 «wendet (die Erde) um» (le sens exact du mot est «labourer»; tdj. *gəurâni kardan)* ; *azō-gona* «schreit (der Hahn)» (tdj. *azâ dâdan)*, *raŋ ogûna* «färbt» (tdj. *rang dâdan)*, *taqō gona* «wedelt (mit dem Schwanze)» (tdj. *takâ dâdan)* ; *nuχušidana* «krank werden» (tdj. *nâχoš χordan)*, *taqoidana* «wedelt, flattert hin und her» (tdj. *takâ χordan)*, *čarχ idânâ* «geht ringsum, hin und her» (tdj. *čarχ χordan)* ; *bandirânâ* «wird gebunden, verfängt sich» (tdj. *bant âmadan)* ; *jāχuγ-gonâ*, *jaχ-ûggûnâ* (?) «friert» (tdj. *jaχ zadan)*, *sōzyonâ* «spielt, musiziert» (tdj. *sâz zadan)*, etc.

Parmi les iranismes du moghol, il convient de signaler, chez Leech, l'expression *malghai nou* «a new cap» (5°), cette construction à *iẓāfat*, sans être générale, est bien connue de nos jours dans le moghol d'Afghanistan. Les expressions de ce genre sont toutefois construites, d'après mes observations, avec un adjectif emprunté au tadjik.

Les expressions *indasa ta Cabùl* (10°) et *indasa tà farrah* (14°) sont également calquées sur le tadjik (cf. tdj. *az inǰâ tî Kâbul)*. L'emploi de *tâ* «jusque» ne se circonscrit pas toutefois au seul tadjik; il est bien connu, dans la même fonction, de toute une série de dialectes turcs iranisés ; cf., par exemple, K. Menges, *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan aus dem Nachlass von N. Th. Katanov*, dans *SPAW* 1933, p. 1289 (tirage à part, p. 119).

Pour finir, on constatera l'emploi presque général de la conjonction *kî*, *ka* (pers. ک *ki)*, dans la construction des propositions subordonnées, cf. 4°, 16°, 24°, 25°, 26°, 28°. Cette fois encore, l'emploi de la conjonction *ki* «que» est assez général dans certains dialectes turcs iranisés, ainsi, entre autres, dans l'uzbek de Kūhī-Maïmane.

Л. Лигети

МОГОЛЬСКИЙ ГЛОССАРИЙ R. LEECH'A

О языке моголов Афганистана первые записки, которые можно назвать научными, были опубликованы Leech'ем – конечно по довольно примитивным приемам эпохи. Правда, Leech'у было ясно, что описанный им впервые язык принадлежит к монгольским языкам, однако, научное выяснение этого вопроса было дано C. Gabelentz'ем. Gabelentz который в 1868 году обратил внимание на забытый и без того трудно доступный материал Leech'a, опирался на кишащий опечатками отдельный «оттиск». Данные этого «оттиска» не внушают большого доверия, да и к тому же, когда G. J. Ramstedt в 1905 году опубликовал результаты своих, к сожалению, лишь нескольководневных исследований о языке моголов Афганистана, никто больше не считал нужным обратиться к собранному Leech'ем материалу. Такое отношение к вопросу, однако, не было обосновано. Сто лет в истории языка, разумеется, недолгое время, однако достаточно для того, чтобы служить руководителем при изучении важнейших направлений развития. В то же время, этот больше чем столетний материал оказывает помощь в правильной оценке известных явлений нынешнего положения языка, в том числе иранизации могольского языка. Что же касается запаса слов могольского языка, то этот материал заслуживает внимания и с этой точки зрения. Можно установить, что Ramstedt взял с собой глоссарий Leech'a, вернее его издание по Gabelentz'у. Так же поступил, разумеется, и я. Несмотря на это, в глоссарии Ramstedt'a отсутствует немало слов, находящихся в глоссарии Leech'a. То же самое следует сказать о моем — неопубликованном до сих пор — глоссарии, который, однако, был составлен при несравненно более благоприятных условиях, чем Ramstedt'a. Разумеется, со своей стороны я сделал все, чтобы выяснить энигматические слова Leech'a. Тот факт, что это в некоторых случаях мне не удалось, должен быть приписан кроме хронологических причин и другим обстоятельствам : диалект, описанный Leech'ем, не тождественен ни описанному Ramstedt'ом диалекту, ни исследованным мною. При таких условиях мне кажется полезным снова обратить внимание монголистов на сборник Leech'a. Записками его — при соответствующей критике — можно пользоваться при исследованиях, относящихся к могольскому языку Афганистана, так же как и полезным и сегодня материалом О. Ивановского при исследовании дагурского языка Северной Маньчжурии. Я, конечно, не мог удовлетвориться простым воспроизведением старого материала Leech'a. Там, где было возможно, я привел параллельные данные Ramstedt'a и мои собственные, наравне с необходимыми другими монгольскими, таджикскими и т. п. словами. С целью более удобного пользования глоссарием я привел слова Leech'a в алфавитном порядке, включая и те слова, которые встречаются в его могольских предложениях : поэтому-то считал нужным опубликовать также и могольские предложения Leech'a. В каждом отдельном случае я привожу форму слова, первоначально правильно сообщенную Leech'ем, потом в квадратных скобках следует взятая из «оттиска» форма, в большинстве случаев сильно искаженная, которой Gabelentz пользовался в своей работе. В заключение дано несколько грамматических примечаний, которые опираются на могольский материал Leech'a.

A PROPOS DU PAPIER-MONNAIE MONGOL

Par
RINTCHEN (Oulanbator)

Les témoignages du 元史 *Yuan-che*, de Marco Polo et d'autres sources relatives à l'histoire des Mongols montrent qu'à l'époque de Yuan, les Mongols usaient du papier-monnaie. Grâce aux découvertes faites par l'expédition scientifique de P. K. Kozlov à Khara khoto (mo. *Qara qota)* au commencement du XX^{e} siècle, nous possédons quelques spécimens du papier-monnaie mongol.

Le mongolisant polonais M. W. Kotwicz n'ayant pas déchiffré, dans son petit article à propos de ces assignats[1], les inscriptions en écriture *'phags-pa* se trouvant sur le papier-monnaie de Khara khoto, je me permets de donner ici la lecture des légendes en *'phags-pa* de deux assignats, dont les photocopies m'ont été obligeamment procurées par le Musée de l'Ermitage de Leningrad. Je joins à mon article la reproduction de ces copies photographiques.

L'un de ces assignats est de l' époque 中統 *Tchong-t'ong* et vaut un 貫 *kouan* ou mille caches. La légende en écriture *'phags-pa* dans le coin gauche de la moitié supérieure de l'assignat est la transcription des caractères chinois du coin droit : *ǰuŋ t'uŋ yu̯en bav*, et dans le coin droit *ǰeu lu t'uŋ heiŋ* correspond aux caractères chinois du coin gauche ; ainsi les deux systèmes d'écriture suivent chacun son propre mode d'écriture — l'un de droite à gauche et l'autre de gauche à droite.

Sur l'autre assignat de l'époque 至元 *Tche-yuan*, dont la valeur est de deux *kouan* ou de deux mille caches, nous avons dans le coin gauche la transcription des caractères chinois en écriture *'phags-pa*, qu'il faut lire *ǰi yu̯en bav č'av* et dans le coin droit *ǰeu lu t'uŋ heiŋ* sans leurs correspondants en caractères chinois.

Après la chute de la dynastie Yuan et le bannissement des Mongols dans leurs steppes, nous n'avons aucune mention concernant l'usage du papier-monnaie parmi les Mongols. Mais les vielles traditions ont survécu

[1] В л. К о т в и ч, Из находок П. К. Козлова в г. Харахото. Образцы ассигнаций Юаньской династии в Китае : Известия ИРГО XLV (1904), 474–477.

à l'Empire Mongol et avec l'accumulation des richesses dans les trésoreries de monastères bouddhistes en Mongolie du Nord, les monastères ont commencé à émettre du papier-monnaie, ce qui leur était, sans doute, très profitable.

Les assignats en question avaient cours dans tout le khochoun (mo. *qosiγun)* ou fief, si le monastère responsable de l'émission était situé sur les terres d'un seigneur féodal et si le monastère appartenait à un théocrate dont les serfs étaient nommés, d'une façon hypocrite, *šabi* «les disciples».

Ordinairement le monastère concluait un accord avec la maison de commerce chinoise, située sur le territoire du fief, concernant le remboursement à la fin de l'année de tous les assignats acquis par la firme ; la valeur représentée par ces assignats était suffisante pour que le monastère et la maison de commerce fussent en mesure de régler au moyen de ces assignats tous les comptes avec les arats (mo. *arad)* du khochoun ou les chabis du théocrate.

L'autorité de l'église bouddhiste consacrait ces assignats aux yeux des gens simples et l'on croyait qu'ils portaient bonheur.

J'ai réussi à trouver quelques spécimens de papier-monnaie du Grand Trésorier d'Ourga, c'est à dire du Trésor du monastère d'Ourga.

Les assignats en question ont été imprimés par un procédé xylographique sur le papier chinois *moɹtun čayasun* (chinois : 毛頭 *mao-t'eou)* et portent en haut l'inscription *Küriyen-ü yeke sang-un temdeg* «signe du Grand Trésor d'Ourga» et en bas l'un d'eux porte l'indice du numéro et la date d'émission :

qoyar mingγan dörben ǰaγun γuč'in ǰirγuduγur toγan-du
neyilegüljü ögkü γurban ǰaγun ǰoγusu
usun takiy-a ǰil-ün quluγan-a sarayin sineyin γurban-a,

c'est à dire «Trois cents caches dont on doit s'acquitter contre le [billet portant le numéro] deux mille quatre cent trente-six. Le troisième jour du mois du Rat de l'an de la Poule d'eau (1873).»

L'inscription est encadrée d'un ornement symbolisant la richesse et l'abondance. Le numéro de l'assignat, le nom de l'année et le jour du mois sont écrits au pinceau. Sur les mots indiquant le numéro le cachet du trésorier a apposé deux empreintes rouges symbolisant l'abondance : quatre grains d'orge formant un carré au centre d'une fleur. Ce signe ⊛ était employé jusqu'en 1924 comme marque des troupeaux de chevaux du *J̌ebcundamba qutuγtu.*

On pliait le papier-monnaie à l'endroit où il devait porter le nom de l'année et on écrivait ce nom de façon à ce que la moitié des lettres restât dans le livre d'émission pour servir à la vérification de l'assignat. On apposait

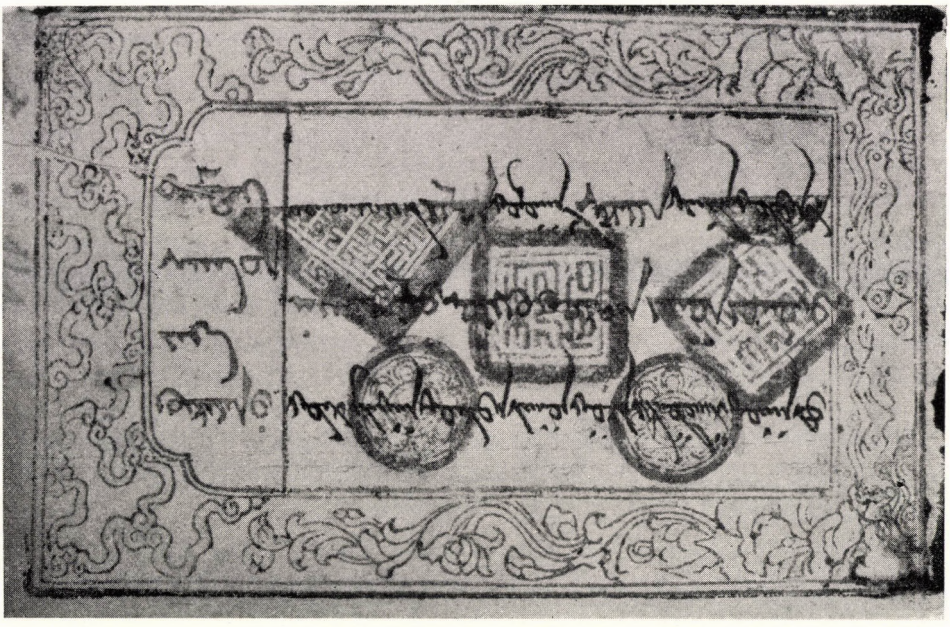


Fig. 1

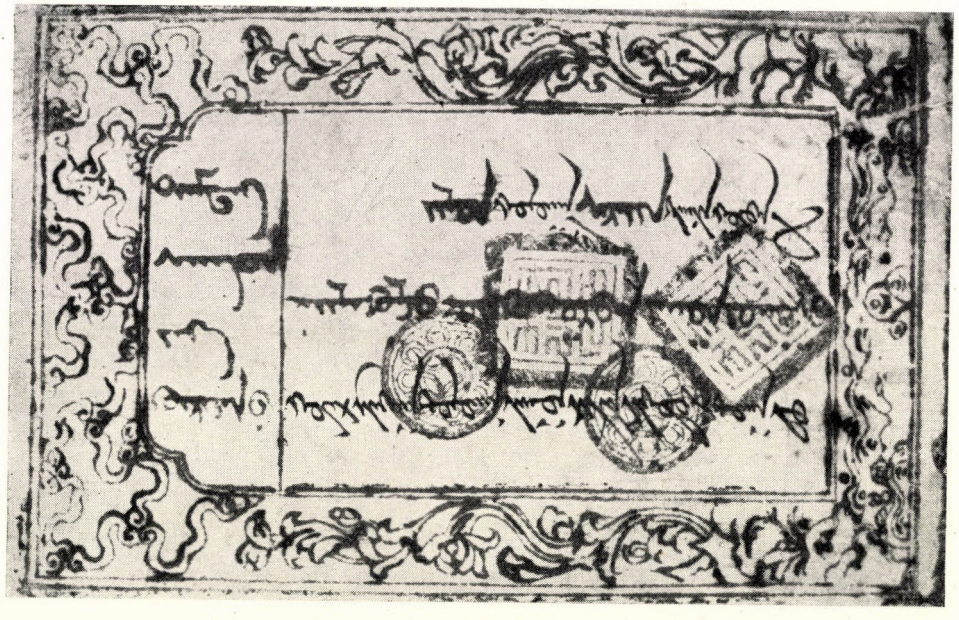


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

de la même manière les cachets sur les mots désignant l'année et le jour, et cela afin de documenter le numéro de l' assignat sur le livre d'émission. Sans cela le papier-monnaie n'était pas valable.

Sur l'autre exemplaire de papier-monnaie qui a été préparé pour l'émission on voit la même date — «le troisième jour du mois du Rat», mais il manque le nom de l'année et les empreintes de cachets sur ces indices.

On dit que l'émission du papier-monnaie était strictement réglée pour garantir le Trésor des conséquences d'une émission excessive.

Aucun explorateur mongol ou européen ne porte, de nos jours, attention au papier-monnaie des monastères bouddhistes de la Mongolie du Nord. Par moyen de cette brève communication j'avais l'intention de faire remarquer que, malgré la perte des archives des monastères responsables de l'émission, on pourrait encore recueillir quelques informations complémentaires sur cette question et trouver des spécimens de papier-monnaie.

Ринчен

О БУМАЖНЫХ ДЕНЬГАХ У МОНГОЛОВ

Юань-ши, Марко Поло и другие источники по истории монголов говорят о бумажных деньгах, выпускавшихся монголами Юаньской эпохи. Находки П. К. Козлова в Хара хото дали нам образцы монгольских ассигнаций XIII века. Автор статьи дает чтение монгольских надписей письмом пагпа на этих ассигнациях, представляющих транскрипцию китайских иероглифов: *ǰuŋ tʿuŋ yu̯en bav* и *ˇeu lu tʿuŋ heiŋ* на ассигнате достоинством в 1000 чохов и *ǰi yu̯en bav čʿav* и *ǰeu lu tʿuŋ heiŋ* на ассигнате достоинством в 2 000 чохов.

Автор рассказывает также о бумажных деньгах, выпускавшихся буддийскими монастырями Северной Монголии, и описывает ассигнаты достоинством в 300 чохов, выпущенные в 1873 г монастырской казной *Küriyen-ü yeke sang-un temdeg*.

ZWEI PARALLELEN ZUR GEHEIMEN GESCHICHTE DER MONGOLEN

Von
PAVEL POUCHA (Praha)

Dass die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen — *Mongol-un nïguča tobčïyan*[1] — eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die älteste Geschichte der Mongolen bis zum Anfange des XIII. Jahrhunderts darstellt, dürfte seit der Herausgabe dieses Werkes durch HAENISCH, KOZIN und PELLIOT bekannt sein. Dass MNT aber auch als Literaturdenkmal von hohem literarischen Werte ist, wird je weiter man in diesem Sinne da nachforscht, desto klarer.[2]

Nicht nur der Stil dieses Werkes erinnert an chinesische, tibetische und sanskritische Werke ähnlichen Inhalts, da auch hier Prosa mit poetischen Partien durchsetzt ist.[3]

An manchen Stellen hat der Verfasser auch sagenhafte Stoffe verarbeitet und für seine Zwecke zurechtgemacht — besonders am Anfange des Werkes, wo er, wie der alttschechische Chronist Kosmas sagen würde, *e senum fabulosa narratione* schöpft.

Und auch sonst ist MNT ein Kunstwerk. Dass die Alliteration das Hauptmerkmal sowohl der alten als auch der neuen mongolischen Poesie[4] ist, ist bekannt.[5] In MNT ist davon ausgiebig Gebrauch gemacht worden.[6]

[1] Weiter nur MNT.

[2] Zur Literatur vgl. meinen Aufsatz «Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan» in Asiatica. Festschrift Fiedrich Weller zum 65. Geburtstag (Leipzig 1954, 442—452).

[3] Es besteht freilich die Frage, ob der erste Anblick nicht täuscht. Denn in MNT ist der Gang der prosaischen Erzählung zwar durch poetische Stellen unterbrochen, aber diese poetischen Stücke scheinen nicht von demselben Verfasser — wohl dem Tataren Šigi-Qutuqu — zu stammen, sondern sind, wenigstens zum grössten Teile, anderweitigen Ursprungs: es sind Sprichwörter, Lieder, Lobgedichte, Fragmente epischer Dichtungen u. ä., also nicht dasselbe, was gewöhnlich in chinesischen Romanen und tibetischen Werken zu finden ist.

[4] Und auch der alttürkischen und mandschuischen Poesie.

[5] In Bezug auf das ältere Mongolisch vgl. *B. Laufer*, Skizze einer mongolischen Literaturgeschichte: Keleti Szemle VIII (1907), S. 241, in Bezug auf die neuere mongolische Poesie vgl. А. Позднеев, Образцы народной литературы монгольских племенъ. Выпускъ первый. С.—П. 1880, S. 319—346.

[6] Die poetisch gebrauchte Alliteration des Mongolischen ist nur ein besonderer Fall einer in den altaischen Sprachen heimischen Spracherscheinung — der Redupli-

Aber in MNT wird die Alliteration auch in Prosa häufig angewendet,[7] ferner die Figura etymologica, die der Verfasser des MNT sehr oft auch zur Erklärung der schon ihm nicht mehr etymologisch verständlichen Namen altmongolischer Stämme zu gebrauchen wusste.

Schon diese Angaben könnten als Beweis dessen genügen, dass es sich bei MNT um ein Kunstwerk ersten Ranges handelt. Doch findet man, wenn man sich mit MNT näher beschäftigt, noch weitere literarhistorisch bemerkenswerte Stellen. Ich möchte hier auf zwei weitere solche Stellen aufmerksam machen.[8]

Bei einem so kriegerischen Steppenvolke, wie es die Mongolen waren, versteht es sich von selbst, dass man in MNT sehr viele Angaben über Kriegsführung und was dazu gehört findet.[9] Nicht ganz selbstverständlich ist aber eine solche Stelle wie MNT § 170 bzw. 195, wo J̌amuqa, der Widersacher Tschingis Chans, dem Ong-qan der Käräit, bzw. dem Tayang-qan der Naïman die herannahenden Mongolen so schildert, dass es nicht nur an den homerischen *κατάλογος τῶν νεῶν* (Ilias II 484 ff.), sondern, und zwar noch stärker, an den Anfang der Bhagavadgītā I 3—10 bzw. 25—27 erinnert, wo wir lesen :

3. *paśyaitāṃ pāṇḍuputrāṇām ācārya mahatīṃ camūm*
   vyūḍhāṃ drupadaputreṇa tava śiṣyeṇa dhīmatā...
7. *asmākaṃ tu viśiṣṭā ye tān nibodha dvijottama*
   nāyakā mama sainyasya saṃjñārthaṃ tān bravīmi te...
10. *aparyāptaṃ tad asmākam balaṃ bhīṣmābhirakṣitaṃ*
    paryāptaṃ tv idam etāṣāṃ balaṃ bhīmābhirakṣitam...

«(3.) Schau hin dort, o Lehrer, und sieh der Pāṇḍusöhne grosses Heer, geordnet von Drupadas Sohne, von deinem kundigen Schüler... (7.) Doch Unserer auch die Besten merke, du der Zweimalgeborenen Trefflichster! Die Anführer meines Heeres nun nenne ich dir, dass du sie weisst... (10.) Doch unhinreichend unsres ist, das von Bhīṣma geführte Heer! Hinreichend aber ist jenes, das von Bhīma geführte Heer!» usw.

Die Situation ist fast die gleiche an beiden Stellen. Ong-qan und Tayang-qan sind in § 170 bzw. 195 die Fragenden, J̌amuqa der Unterweisende, vgl. : *Tämüǰin kö'ün-tür qatqulduqun mätüs kät büi kä'än asaɣču'u* «Welche sind die Leute bei Sohn Tämüǰin, die zu kämpfen verstehen, fragte er», bzw. *Tädä ya'ut olon qonït čïno hüldäǰü qoton-tur gürtälä hüldäǰü irägü mätü ädä ya'ut*

kation, die sowohl für das Mongolische als auch für das Alttürkische und das Mandschusche ihre Geltung hat. Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz «Mongolische Miszellen» in dem Leydener Central Asiatic Journal I (1955) und die daselbst angeführten Literaturangaben.

[7] Nähere Angaben ebda (Anm. 6).

[8] In Asiatica (s. hier Anm. 2) habe ich die Parallelen zu den Stellen des MNT behandelt, wo es sich um das dem verjagten Čilädü geschenkte Hemd der Frau Hö'älün, die Sage von der Zwietracht der Söhne der Schönen Alan u. a. handelt.

[9] Zusammengestellt findet man das betreffende Material in meiner Abhandlung «Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal».

haran täyin hüldäǰü ayïsaï kä'än asaqba «Wie sind jene? Was für Leute sind das, die da so angehetzt kommen, wie wenn der Wolf die Schafe scheucht und bis an die Hürde treibt, fragte er.» J̌amuqa beschreibt dann in Versen, die einem Kriegsliede entnommen zu sein scheinen, die kriegerischen Eigenschaften der Uru'ut und Mangqut, und Ong-qan richtet sich nach diesen Worten und ändert seine Schlachtordnung.

Diese erste Stelle MNT § 170 könnte für etwas Natürliches, der Erinnerung an die bestandenen Kämpfe Entsprechendes und ihr Entnommenes gehalten werden, wenn man fast dasselbe in MNT § 195 nicht wiederfände.

Das nochmalige Vorkommen derselben Situation und die sehr ähnliche Schilderung lässt vermuten, dass es sich an beiden diesen Stellen nicht so sehr um Schilderung von wirklichen Begebenheiten handelt, als um Schilderungen, deren literarisch-stilistischer Wert im Vordergrunde steht. Denn fünfmal fragt Tayang-qan und fünfmal antwortet ihm J̌amuqa, und die Antwort J̌amuqas ist eine solche, dass sie die Wirkung nie verfehlt (ebenso wie im Zwiegespräche Ong-qans und J̌amuqas in MNT § 170) und Tayang-qan sein Heer, dessen Stellung man sich an einem Hügelabhange vorstellen muss, immer mehr zurückziehen lässt. Diese andere Stelle des MNT ist auch poetischer gestaltet als die zuerst erwähnte, wie es schon die hier angewendeten Gleichnisse zeigen, nämlich a) das Gleichnis von dem die Schafe bis an die Hürde treibenden Wolf, b) von den um die Stuten am Morgen, nachdem sie ihren Müttern die Milch gesogen haben, herumrennenden Füllen, und c) vom gefrässigen Falken.

Vergleicht man dann diese beiden Stellen mit den oben erwähnten Stellen der Bhagavadgītā des Mahābhārata, so sieht man, dass das Äussere der beiden Situationen, derjenigen des MNT und der Bhagavadgītā, zueinander passt. Auch in der Bhagavadītā gibt es einen, der die Frage stellt — hier wie dort ist es der eigentliche Befehlshaber — es ist Arjuna — und einen, der ihn über die augenblickliche Situation auf dem Kampffelde aufklärt, kurz vorher, da es zwar noch nicht zum Kampfe gekommen ist, da aber die Anführer der feindlichen Heere einander gegenüberstehend die Kräfte zum bevorstehenden Kampfe messen — Arjunas Wagenlenker Krsna. Und auch auf indischer Seite sind die diesseitigen Streitkräfte (s. Vers 10) nicht hinreichend, die Kräfte des Gegners aber denjenigen des Antwort Heischenden überlegen wie in MNT.

Es wird also wohl nicht sehr gewagt sein, wenn man aus dem Vergleich der beiden Stellen des MNT untereinander, sowie dieser Stellen des MNT mit der erwähnten Stelle der Bhagavadgītā den Schluss zu ziehen wagt, dass es sich an diesen Stellen des MNT um einen, wenn auch entfernten Widerhall der indischen Erzählung vom grossen Kampf handelt, der in dem berühmten Abschnitt des Mahābhārata geschildert wird. Somit kann man annehmen, dass indische Erzählungen nach der Mongolei noch früher gelangt sind, als

es eine Bearbeitung des indischen Erzählungsgutes gab, wie es z. B. in Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, Śukasaptati, Pañcatantra, Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśatikā auf indischer Seite vorliegt und im Šidedü kegür und der Sammlung Ardschi Bordschi bearbeitet zu finden ist.[10]

Eine andere Stelle des MNT führt uns aber noch weiter ins Altertum, diesmal nicht nach Südasien, sondern nach Westasien, bzw. nach Griechenland und dem Lande der Skythen.

In MNT § 199 ist die Rede Tschingis Chans angeführt, die er hielt, als er Sübä'ätäi auf den Heereszug gegen Westen sandte. Diese Stelle ist, wenngleich die Alliteration hier nicht ganz durchgeführt ist, poetisch gehoben und muss einem epischen Gedichte entnommen sein, das über den Feldzug gegen Westen berichtete. Tschingis Chan sagt u. a. folgendes :

Tädän-i ji'ürtü boljų nisčų
tänggäri-tür qaru'asu
či Sübä'ätäi
šingqor boljų nisčų
ülü'ü barï'ujïyï
tarbaqan boljų
kïmusu'ar-ïyan maltajų
qajar-tur oro'asu
čalïr boljų
čokïju ärijų
ülü'ü güyïčägü či
jïqasun boljų
Tänggis-dalaï-tur oro'asu či

«Wenn sie (die Feinde im Westen) wie *geflügelte Wesen* zum *Himmel* aufsteigen wollten, wirst du, Sübä'ätäi, sie nicht als Falke im Fluge ergreifen? Wenn sie wie *Murmeltiere*, mit ihren Klauen grabend, in die *Erde* eindringen wollen, wirst du sie nicht als Spaten nachbohrend verfolgen? Wenn sie wie *Fische* in das *Tänggis-Meer* eingehen wollen, wirst du sie nicht als weitmaschiges Netz oder Schleppnetz herausfischen?»

Man beachte da sowohl die Dreiteilung des führenden Gedankens — Verfolgung des Feindes in der Luft (Himmel), auf der Erde, im Wasser, Feind als Vogel, Murmeltier oder Fisch, der ihn verfolgende Sübä'ätäi als Falke, Spaten oder Netz — als auch die Situation, um die es sich handelt : Verfolgung des, wie man auf mongolischer Seite voraussetzte, vor den Mongolen zurückweichenden Feindes.

Dieselbe Dreiteilung und dieselbe Situation findet man aber in Herodot IV 131—132, wo es sich um Skythen und Perser handelt : *οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλέες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἔπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὀρνιθά τε*

[10] B. Jülg hat in «Mongolische Märchen. Erzählung aus der Sammlung Ardschi Bordschi. Ein Seitenstück zum Gottesgericht in Tristan und Isolde» (Innsbruck, 1867), darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass es zwischen der von ihm dort veröffentlichten mongolischen Erzählung und Tristan und Isolde und auch dem von *Božena Němcová* erzählten Märchen «Tajemný pás» (Sebrané spisy V—VI, Národní báchorky a pověsti) eine täuschende Ähnlichkeit gibt.

καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ ὀϊστοὺς πέντε ...«Die Könige der Skythen, als sie das bemerkten, schickten an Dareios einen Gesandten, der ihm als Geschenk einen *Vogel*, eine *Maus* und einen *Frosch* und fünf Pfeile brachte...» Dareios meinte, dass diese Geschenke ein Zeichen dessen sind, dass sich die Skythen ihm ergeben. Aber Gobryas, der die Sitten und Bräuche, wohl auch die Symbolik der Nomadenvölker kannte, erklärte es anders, dass nämlich diese Gaben sagen wollen: *ἢν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀνάπτησθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢ μύες [γενόμενοι] κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι [γενόμενοι] ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσετε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων (βαλλόμενοι)*: «Wenn ihr nicht zu *Vögeln* geworden in den *Himmel* hinaufflieget, o Perser, oder als *Mäuse* euch nicht in die *Erde* verkriechet oder als *Frösche* in *Sümpfe* nicht versinket, werdet ihr nicht zurückkehren in eure Heimat, da wir euch mit diesen Pfeilen niederstrecken werden».

Wie in MNT ist der führende Gedanke dieser Stelle die Verfolgung des Feindes. Dieser Gedanke setzt ebenso wie die mongolische Stelle voraus, dass der Feind als Vogel in die Luft aufsteigen, als Maus (mong. *tarbaqan* «Murmeltier» ist im allgemeinen genommen auch eine Maus) in die Erde sich verkriechen oder als ein Wassertier (bei den Skythen, Persern und Griechen ist es ein Frosch, da es sich um Sümpfe der Maeotis handelt, bei der Erwähnung des mythischen Tänggis-dalaï kann es nur ein Fisch sein, man erinnere sich u. a. aber auch der Fischfang und Jagd treibenden *hoyïn-irgän* «Waldleute») im Wasser (Sumpfwasser) versinken könnte. Die mongolische Stelle spricht um so deutlicher, da sie auch die Mittel erwähnt, die dazu dienen würden, um den entfliehenden Feind einzufangen; es sind der Falke, der Spaten und das Netz, freilich ist das nur poetisch gedacht.

Diese zwei Stellen bilden also eine vollkommene Parallele zueinander. Nur gibt es in diesem Falle mehrere Möglichkeiten, diese Parallele zu erklären, denn sowohl Skythen als auch Mongolen sind Nomaden. In MNT kommen, wie ich anderswo gezeigt habe,[11] Stellen vor, die auf uraltem literarischen Wandergute fussen. In diesem Falle ist also eine zweifache Erklärung dieser Stelle möglich. Entweder handelt es sich da um Nomadensymbolik, die im VI. Jahrhundert vor u. Z. dieselbe war wie im XIII. Jahrhundert u. Z. — gleiche Situationen rufen gleiche oder ähnliche Wirkungen hervor — oder sind wir da, wie oben in dem dort erwähnten Falle, auf eine weitere literarische Anwendung eines alten Sagengutes gestossen.[12]

[11] Vgl. die obigen Anmerkungen.

[12] Doz. K. Czeglédy macht mich in seinem Briefe vom 7. IV. 1955 darauf aufmerksam, das dieses Motiv auch bei Menandros vorkommt, wo Silzibulos, der Türkenchan, von den Avaren sagt, dass sie «weder Vögel sind, damit sie fliegend gen Himmel dem Schwert der Türken entkommen können, noch Fische, damit sie sich in den Tiefen des Meeres verbergen können ... sie irren auf der Erde umher ... (Exerpta de Sententiis, ed Boissevain, p. 18) und von den Uarchoniten:« ... sie werden fliehen und sich in die Tiefen der Erde verkriechen, sie werden von den

Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, obwohl in der fernen Mongolei entstanden, weist, wie wir sehen, viele Stellen auf, die, richtig verstanden, dieses litararisches Werk in den Gang der Weltgeschichte der Literatur einreihen. Sie ist also kein vereinzeltes, einzigartig und isoliert dastehendes Erzeugnis der mongolischen Kultur, sondern ein vollwertiges literarisches Werk wie andere ihrer Zeit.

Hufen unserer Pferde zerstampft . . .» (Excerpta de Legationibus, ed. de Boer, pp. 205—206). Diese Parallelen, insbesondere die erste, sind schon dadurch wertvoll, dass sie die Zeitspanne zwischen Herodot und MNT zu überbrücken helfen. Es wird sich bei diesem Motiv wohl eher um Nomadensymbolik handeln, die in das Werk Herodots Eingang gefunden hat, als um Wandergut. (Korrekturnachtrag.) — Koll. D. Fokos-Fuchs verweist mich darauf, dass die wogulische Volksdichtung ein dem hier behandelten ebenfalls naheverwandtes Motiv kennt (Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény [Sammlung wogulischer Volksdichtung] II, S. 56,71 u. 448). Dort ist von der Möglichkeit die Rede, dass der Verfolgte sich der Rache des Feindes dadurch entziehen könnte, dass er sich unter die Erde oder in den Himmel flüchten («хоть-бы в землю полезешь, из земли тебя вырою; если на небо полезешь, железным когтем тебя достану») oder aber in Gestalt einer Tauchente (белая гагара) im Wasser Zuflucht suchen wollte. Bemerkt sei, dass Munkácsi (ebd. S. 448) dieses Motiv der wogulischen Epik ebenfalls mit der obenerwähnten Stelle bei Menandros in Zusammenhang bringt. [Korrekturnachtrag.]

П. Поуха

ДВЕ ПАРАЛЛЕЛИ В »СОКРОВЕННОМ СКАЗАНИИ МОНГОЛОВ«

Обсуждаются §§ 170, 195 и 199 »Сокровенного сказания монголов«. Автор указывает, что они являются важными литературно-историческими отрывками, из которых первые два (§§ 170 и 195) стоят в тесной связи. В обоих местах описывается наступающее иноземное войско, о котором Джамука (Jamuqa) говорит хану Онг (Ong-qan) и хану Таянг (Tayang-qan) такими словами, что он вызывает в них ужас перед монголами. Подобное описание мы находим также и в Бхагаватгите I, 3—10 и 25—27. Сравнение обоих мест ССМ показывает, что дело идет о стилистическом приеме для подчеркивания воинственности монголов, с одной стороны, и трусливости кереитов (Käräit) и наиманов (Naïman) с другой, а не об описании фактов. Следовательно, это место можно истолковать как отдаленный отклик схожего места Бхагаватгиты, причем Джамука соответствует вожатому колесницы Кришне (Krsna), ханы же Онг и Таянг—Арджуне (Arǰuna). Из этой индийской параллели можно сделать вывод, что индийские темы рассказов были известны монголам еще до монгольской обработки индийской литературы рассказов, встречаемой в Сиддхикюре (Šidedü-kegür) и в Ардши-Бордши (Ardschi-Bordschi).

В § 199 ССМ рассказывается и излагается в трех иносказаниях, между прочим, и то, как Сюбе'этей ба'атур (Sübä'ätäi-ba'atur) должен преследовать отступающих перед ним врагов в тех случаях, если они захотят подняться к небу как птицы, закопаться в землю как хурки, или же скрыться в воде как рыбы. Мы находим точную параллель этому месту, его содержанию, замыслу и стилистическим средствам выражения у Геродота IV, 131—132, где отступающие перед Дареем скифы посылают царю птицу, мышь, лягушку и пять стрел, что толкуется для царя Гобриасом (Gobryas) таким же образом, как и толкует его Чингисхан в СММ. Эту параллель следует рассматривать либо как общеизвестную символику кочевников, относящуюся как к IV столетию до н. э., как и к XIII столетию н. э. и употреблявшуюся и в то и в другое время, либо как литературного обработка древнего легендарного материала.

MAǰAR(AT), MAD(A)SARÏ, *MATZAPOI*

(Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen)

Von
PAVEL POUCHA (Praha)

Es wird angenommen, dass in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen (weiter MNT) der Name der *Ungarn*, bzw. des damaligen ungarischen Reiches zweimal vorkommt. Es handelt sich um die §§ 262, 270, die zueinander in enger Parallelbeziehung stehen, wie ihr Vergleich untereinander zeigt (die gleichen Stellen *kursiv* gesetzt) :

§ 262

basa Sübä'ätäi-ba'atur-ï
ümäkši Qanglïn Kïbča'ut
Baǰïgït Orusut Maǰarat
Asut Sasut Särkäsüt Käšimir
Bolar Käräl änä harban nikän
ayïmaq qarïn *irgän-tür gürtä-*
lä Idil Jayaq usutan mürät kätülün
Kiva Mänkärmän balaqasun-tur
gürtälä Sübä'ätäi-ba'atur-ï
ayala'ulba . . .

§ 270

basa urïda *Sübä'ätäi-*
ba'atur-ï Kanglïn Kïb-
ča'ut Baǰïgït Orusut
Sasut Maǰar Käšimir Särgäsüt
Bulqar Käräl irgän-tür
gürtälä Adil Jayaq usutan
mürät kätülün Mäkät *Män-*
kärmän Käyibä täri'ütän
balaqat-tur ayalaqsan
. . . .

Da es sich nur um Namen handelt und der übrige mongolische Text unwichtig ist, ist eine Übersetzung hier nicht nötig. Zu den einzelnen Namen ist noch zu bemerken : *Käräl* ist in § 262 korrigiert aus *Raral*, das keinen Sinn zu geben scheint, mit Rüksicht auf § 270, und lässt sich als Schreibfehler erklären, der seine Ursache in der Schrift der uigurisch geschriebenen Vorlage hat — dies wäre ein Beweis dafür, dass die Urschrift des MNT uigurisch geschrieben war —; da aber auch mit *Käräl* nichts weiter anzufangen ist, erklärt man es aus dem magy. *király(i)* «König, königlich» und deutet es in Beziehung auf *Maǰar*, *Maǰarat*, da in der chinesisch geschriebenen Biographie des Sübä'-ätäi-ba'atur diese Wörter nebeneinander stehen, also *Maǰar käräl*, d h. *Magyar király* «Ungarischer König» anstatt *Magyar királyság*. Aber es stehen im Text des MNT diese beiden Wörter voneinander durch andere Namen

getrennt und das ist eine unüberbrückbare Schwierigkeit, mit der man sich weiter beschäftigen muss. *Kiva Mänkärmän* in § 262 korrigiert man aus *Kivamän Kärmän* mit Rücksicht auf § 270, wo *Mäkätmän Kärmän* steht, worin man *Mäkät* = *Mzcheta* erkennt, so dass *Mänkärmän* übrigbleibt, das freilich auch unerklärt ist. *Sasut* in § 270 anstatt *Säsüt*, mit Rücksicht auf § 262 und auf den Zusammenhang mit *Saxin* bei Plano Carpini usw. *Bulqar*, in § 270 anstatt des dort stehenden *Buqar* mit Rücksicht auf § 262 *Bolar* und den Namen der *Bulgaren*, den es wiedergibt.

Wenn man diese beiden Stellen einer Kritik unterzieht, so findet man folgendes: *a)* der Anfang dieser Völkerliste verläuft so, dass die Völker, die den Mongolen geographisch näher standen, so hintereinander gereiht sind, wie sie die Mongolen vorfanden, also *Qanglïn* = *Kanglïn*, *Kïbča'ut*, *Bajïgït* (die Baschkiren), *Orusut* (die Russen), d. h. in der Richtung von Osten nach Westen, *b) Maǰar*, bzw. Plur. *Maǰarat* ist immer in der nächsten Nähe von *Asut* (Osseten im Kaukasus) und *Sasut* (die Saxin am unteren Lauf der Wolga); es folgen dann die *Särkäsüt* (die Tscherkessen im Kaukasus) und *c)* auf beiden Stellen gleich *Käšimir*, *Bulqar (Bolar)*, *Käräl*. Den Namen *Käšimir* erklärt man als *Kaschmir*, was aber, mit Rücksicht darauf, dass es sich nicht um Indien handelt, nicht gut in diese Völkerliste passt.

Man darf auch die Datierung dieser Stelle nicht ausser Acht lassen. Denn § 262 ist dadurch datiert, dass er zwischen zwei Paragraphen steht, wo die Jahreszahl angegeben ist: § 257 gibt die Jahreszahl 1219, § 265 sodann 1226, in § 264 lesen wir *Sarta'ul irgän-tür dolo'an hot yabuǰu* «sieben Jahre hatte er mit den Mohammedanern zu tun». Der Mongoleneinfall in Mitteleuropa fällt erst in die Jahre 1241—1242.[1] Wenn es sich also nicht um eine spätere Redaktion dieser Stelle handelt, kann in MNT meines Erachtens im gegebenen Zeitraume kaum vom Königreich Ungarn die Rede sein. Darüber aber, dass es sich nicht um das Ungartum in Ungarn handelt, belehrt auch unser Text, denn da steht *Maǰar*, *Maǰarat* immer gleich neben *Asut*, *Sasut*, *Särkäsüt*, d. h. in der Nachbarschaft von Alanen, Saxin und Tscherkessen angeführt. *Käšimir*, das dann folgt, passt nicht gut zum Text. Es kann also nicht Kaschmir gemeint sein. Man erwartet da einen Namen, der die Polen oder Litauer bezeichnen würde. Auch hier ist gewiss eine Korrektur angebracht. Das Wort erinnert an den polnischen Namen Kasimir. Die Stelle und ihre Erklärung bleibt aber fraglich. Aber *Maǰar*, *Maǰarat* muss die Magyaren im Kaukasus lokalisieren, wenn der Name, wie man sieht, nicht die in Ungarn befindlichen Magyaren bezeichnen kann, denn die Völkerliste zählt die einzelnen Völker so auf, wie die Mongolen diese auf ihrem Heereszuge gegen Westen

[1] Vgl. G. Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241—1242 (Innsbruck 1893).

antrafen. Darauf zeigt auch der letzte Name *Käräl*, der, — da er im Zusammenhang mit *Bolar*, *Bulqar* steht, womit nur die Wolgabulgaren gemeint sein können, — nicht zu *Maǰar* gehören kann, da er auch von diesem Namen getrennt steht, sondern ein anderes Volk, m. E. die *Karelier* bedeuten muss, was sowohl onomastisch, als auch geographisch in unseren Text passt.

Nun hat man die Hypothese aufgestellt, dass es im Kaukasus tatsächlich noch zur Zeit des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos Magyaren gab — ein Überrest derjenigen, die sich nach Pannonien begeben hatten —, denn der kaiserliche Geschichtschreiber hat in seinem Werke De administrando imperio Kap. 38 vermerkt, dass die Ungarn in ihrer Urheimat nicht Türken hiessen (so nennt sie auch er), sondern «aus irgendeinem Grunde *Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι* genannt werden», eine Benennung, die man einerseits aus dem Armenischen als *sev-orgik'* »schwarze Ogri« *(Ugri černii* bei Nestor)[2] erklärt, andererseits aus dem Namen eines Volkes ableitet, das *Sïvïr*, *Šaber*, *Saber*, *Saper*, *Šabar* u. ä. heisst.[3] Auch berichtet Konstantinos weiter, dass auch die heutigen Ungarn noch ihre Gesandten zu den *Σάβαρτοι* schicken, die sie im Auge behalten und von diesen Antworten überbringen, woraus er schliesst, dass die beiden Völker zu seiner Zeit noch sehr vom Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit erfüllt waren.

Anders verhält sich die Sache bei MNT § 261, wo man liest: *Basa Hindus irgän Baqtat irgän qoyar-un ǰa'ura Aru Maru Madasarï* (oder *Matasarï* zu lesen?) *irgän-ü Abtu balaqasun-tur Dörbätäi Dörbäi-doqšïn-ï ayala'ulba* «Weiter sandte er Dörbäi-doqšïn von den Dörbät gegen die Stadt Abtu bei den Völkern Aru, Maru und Madasarï (Matasarï) zwischen den Völkern Hindus und Baqtat.» Was *Abtu* ist, ist bisher unbekannt, mit *Aru* ist wohl *Herat* gemeint, und *Maru* = *Merv*. Für *Madasarï (Matasarï)* bietet sich, — im Zusammenhang mit dem oben gesagten und wenn man es als *Madsarï (Matsarï)* liest, was ohne weiteres gut möglich ist — eine Erklärung, da es dem griechisch geschriebenen und neugriechisch ausgesprochenen Namen der *Ματζάροι* gleicht, die bei Theophylaktos als im *φρούριον τῶν Ματζάρων* in der südwestlichen Ecke von Armenien des VI. Jahrhunderts wohnend angeführt werden[4] und deren Name auch in dem beim Armenier Orbelian erwähnten

[2] Vgl. J. Thúry, A magyaroknak «szavarti asfali» neve: Századok XXX (1897), S. 392.

[3] Vgl. A. Patkanov, A szabirok nemzetsége: Ethnographia XII (1900), 337—344, 385—389 bzw. S. Patkanoff, Über das Volk der Sabiren: Keleti Szemle I (1900), 258—277. Für ihre ursprünglichen Sitze hält er die südliche Hälfte des Tobolskischen Kreises am mittleren Irtysch. Diese Lage könnte zur Annahme führen, dass dieser Name mit *Šibir* in Zusammenhang steht.

[4] Vgl. E. Darkó, Zur Frage der urmagyarischen und urbulgarischen Beziehungen: Kőrösi Csoma Archivum I (1921), S. 300.

Madsaraga-dzor «Tal der Madsara» vorkommt;[5] dieser aus Armenien überlieferte Name birgt den Namen der Magyaren in sich. Die Benennung *Madsaraga-dzor* ist mit der Benennung *Savordiac-dzor* identisch. Nach Prokopios beginnen die Wohnstätten der Saviren am Oberufer des Rhion und breiten sich auf die Quellgegenden der Flüsse Rhion, Kuban und Terek aus. Nach Moses von Chorene reichen sie bis zum Fluss Atil = Wolga, was wieder zu der Angabe stimmt, die sich aus den §§ 262 und 270 des MNT erschliessen lässt.

Die Angabe des MNT, «zwischen den Völkern Hindus (Indien) und Baqtat» ist zwar sehr allgemein und daher eigentlich nichtssagend, wenn aber die Gleichung *Mad(a)sari* = *Maǰar(at)* = *Ματζάροι* (sprich *Matsari:* die Mongolen nahmen doch ihre Benennungen der fremden Völker vom Hörensagen, nicht aus schriftlichen Quellen) aufrechterhalten werden kann, was m. E. gut möglich ist, da *a)* sowohl der Zeitraum, als auch *b)* die Lage und endlich *c)* historische Gründe dafür sprechen, hat sie doch etwas für sich: *Baqtat* liegt tatsächlich dieser am Kaukasus liegenden Gegend nahe. Somit erklärt sich auch die hier besprochene Frage. Es wird dadurch nämlich auch die Richtigkeit der Gleichung *Magyar* (mongolisch *Maǰar, Maǰarat, Mad(a)sarï)* = *Ματζάροι* = *Madsaraga-dzor* = *Savordiac-dzor* bewiesen und nicht nur eine schwierige Stelle des MNT erklärt, sondern auch die Richtigkeit der Annahme, dass das Ungartum mit den am Kaukasus zurückgebliebenen Saviren zusammenhängt.

[5] *Madsaraga-dzor* ist in der Geschichte des armenischen Prinzen und Erzbischofs Orbelian erwähnt, vgl. M. I. Saint-Martin, Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie. II. Paris 1818, S. 161, bei G. Fehér, Bulgarisch-ungarische Beziehungen in den V.—XI. Jahrhunderten (Pécs 1921) = Keleti Szemle XIX/2 (1921), S. 60. Nach Thúry a. a. O. S. 324 hat diese Benennung den Sinn «Bezirk der Magyaren» und gleicht dem Ausdruck *Savordiac-dzor*, wodurch nach Fehér a. a. O. S. 166, Anm. 133, die Identität *Savordik'* = *Ungar* bestätigt wird. Fehér führt freilich gleich auch Hübschmann an, der in seinen «Altarmenischen Ortsnamen» (Idg. Forschungen XVI [1904], S. 448) *Mačarakajor* von arm. *mačarak* «Käse» ableitet und die Bedeutung «Käsetal» annimt, was m. E. nur eine volksetymologische Erklärung des Namens des in einer andersprachigen Umgebung aufgegangenen Volkes seitens der Armenier sein kann. Über die Frage der *Sevordik'* *Σάβαρτοι*~*Σαβείροι* und das Urungartum vgl. weiteres bei Fehér a. a. O. S. 46 ff. Neuere Literatur zur Frage findet sich bei K. Czeglédy, Keleten maradt magyar töredékek», S. 173 ff. in A magyarság őstörténete, red. von L. Ligeti (Budapest 1943), und besonders die Erklärung der Volksnamen *Sabartoi* und *Madzar* bei Németh Gy., A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása (Budapest 1930), S. 315 ff. und 322 ff. Diese letzten zwei Hinweise verdanke ich Koll. G. Uray.

П. Поуха

MAǰAR(AT) MAD(A)SARÏ, *MATZAPOI*

Автор старается правильно истолковать значение названия *Maǰar*, мн. ч. *Maǰarat*, встречаемого в §§ 262 и 270 »Сокровенного сказания монголов«, а также и названия *Mad|t(a)sarï* в § 261 там же. Ввиду того, что в параллельных друг другу §§ 262 и 270 название *Majar, Maǰarat* выступает в связи с *Acym Cacym* и что речь идет о монгольских походах 1219—1226 годов, следовательно не о вторжении монголов в Среднюю Европу в 1241—1242 годах, то тут не может быть речи о проживавших на территории Венгрии мадьярах, а имеются в виду оставшиеся на Кавказе до завоевания Венгрии мадьяры именуемые также Саварти. Эти Саварти в греческих источниках (Теофилактос Симокатта) упоминаются и под названием *Matsaroi*. Если читать это старогреческое название по-новогречески как *Matsarï*, то это греческое название совпадает с приведенным в § 261 ССМ, но до сих пор не выясненным названием народа *Matsarï* (по буквам: *Madasarï*). Это созвучье, а также хронологические данные, исторические соображения и географическое положение этого народа говорят за то, что соответствия *Maǰar(at)* = *Mad|t(a)sarï* = *Ματζάροι* = *Magyar* состоятельны. Этим выясняется несколько затруднительных мест в ССМ, и поддерживается правильность предположения, что венгры, проживающие в Венгрии, и оставшиеся на Кавказе савиры, саварты общего происхождения, о чем говорил еще Константин Порфирогенет.

DUPLICATION, GEMINATION AND TRIPLICATION IN TIBETAN

By
G. URAY

In the present paper we have set ourselves the task to study a hitherto scarcely investigated though often recurring phenomenon of the Tibetan language. This phenomenon consists in the integral or partial repetition of a word or a word stem in either identical or modified phonetic form without any other word (word stem) or morpheme being interpolated between the repeated parts. In the Tibetan language the forms obtained by repitition of the kind described above can be divided into different types which we wish to review in the following order, using the following terminology[1] :

I. Stem duplication denotes the type when only the stem of the word is repeated and the form remains unchanged, e. g. *thib-thib*[2] 'very dark,

[1] In linguistic works the process of repetition and the forms obtained by it are current under different denominations such as duplication, word duplication, reduplication, gemination, iteration, repetition, *Reimwort(bildung)* etc. No uniformity can be discovered in the use of these denominations, identical types or repetition being often given different names and vice versa (cf. J. Gonda, *The Functions of Word Duplication in Indonesian Languages: Lingua* II [1949—1950], p. 171 and note 5a). In this paper the term «repetition» will be applied to denominate all those forms in which a word or word stem is repeated in one way or another. We shall adopt only a few of the other denominations and use them to denote a definite type with each.

[2] In this paper the data of the classical language and those of the dialects are dealt with together. The usual abbreviation Cl. T. (Classical Tibetan) is used only in such cases when an etymological enumeration contains both classical and dialectal instances. Before every Cl. T. repetition form we refer in brackets to the text where according to the dictionaries of Jäschke and Das and other authors the form occurs, or whence I myself have taken it. For this purpose we use the abbreviations of Jäschke and Das (see Jäschke, *Dict.*, pp. XXI—XXII and Das, *Dict.*, pp. XXVII—XXXII) as well as the following ones : BCA = the Tibetan version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* according to F. Weller, *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes*, Berlin 1950 and F. Weller, *Tibetisch-sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Berlin 1952 ; Fr*Add* = data taken from A. H. Francke, *Addenda* to Jäschke, *Tibetan Grammar*[3], Berlin 1929, pp. 121—122 ; 'Jbl. = *'Jaṅs-blun*, edition of I. J. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor* I, StPbg.—Leipzig 1843 (as against the abbreviation «Dzl.» which denotes data taken by Jäschke's *Dictionary* from the *'Jaṅs-blun)* ; Klb. = *Klu-'bum bsdus-pa'i sñiṅ-po* ed. by B. Laufer : *MSFOu* XI (1898) ; MD = the Tibetan version of the *Meghadūta*,

dense': *thib(s)-po* 'dark, dense, obscure'; (Ńag.) *'khyog-'khyog* 'tortuous, bent, crooked' : (')*khyog-po* 'crooked, bent' (cf. Schiefner : *Mél. As.* I, p. 360 ; Jäschke, *Grammar*, p. 25 note ; Lalou, *Manuel*, § 48 : 2).

II. Word duplication denotes the type when the word is repeated together with its suffix or occasionally with its inflectional ending, e. g. (S. g.) *phyi-ma phyi-ma* 'each following one, every one consecutive in series' : *phyi-ma* 'later, subsequent, following' ; CT (Bell) *ge-ru ge-ru* 'older and older' in *ge-ru ge-ru dro-wa* 'to grow old' ~ Cl. T. *rgad-pa* 'old' + *-ru* inflectional ending of terminative.

III. Stem gemination with alternating vowels denotes the type when the suffix of the word is dropped and the stem is repeated with a different

data according to H. Beck, *Beiträge zur tibetischen Grammatik, Lexicographie, Stilistik und Metrik: APAW* 1908, Anh. II. ; SRN = the Tibetan version of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* ed. of L. Ligeti, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol* I, Budapest 1948 : *BOH* VI_1.

The dialectal data are denoted with the following abbreviations : B = Balti according to A. F. C. Read, *Balti Grammar*, London 1934 ; colloq. (Jä.) = «colloquial» (as a matter of fact WT) data in Jäschke, *Dict.*; colloq. (Das) =«colloquial» (as a matter of fact CT) data in Das, *Dict.*; CT (Bell) = Central Tibetan, according to C. A. Bell, *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*,[1] Calcutta 1905 ; CT (Jä.) = Central Tibetan, according to Jäschke, *Dict.* ; D = a dialect from North-West Yün-nan, according to Desgodins, *Mots principaux des langues de certains tribus, qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang-kiang, du Lou-tse-kiang et Irrawady :* B. Soc. Geogr. VI[e] série, V (1873), pp. 144—150 ; Ld (Fr) = Ladakhī, according to Francke, *Sketch of Ladakhi Grammar : JASB* LXX (1901), Part 1, Extra № 2; Ld (Jä.) = Ladakhī according to Jäschke, *Dict.* ; Ng = dialect of An-shun-kuan, North-West Ssŭ-ch'uan, according to D'Ollone—De Fleurelle—Lepage—De Boyve, *Langues des peuples non chinois de la Chine*, Paris 1912, Vocab. № 40 ; P = Purik, according to T. G. Bailey, *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*, London 1920 ; P(LSI) = Purik, according to *Linguistic Survey of India*, ed. G. A. Grierson, Vol. III, Part I, Calcutta 1909, p. 42—50 ; Sz = data from various dialects of Ch'ing-hai and Hsi-kang, according to *Die Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien*, 1877—1880, Wien 1898, III, pp. 420—426 ; T = dialect of Ta-chien-lu, Eastern Hsi-kang, according to D'Ollone, etc., *op. cit.*, Vocab. № 37 ; Tsk. (Oll.) = dialect of Tzŭ-ku, North-West Yün-nan, according to D'Ollone etc., *op. cit.*, Vocab. № 36 ; Tsk. (Or.) =; dialect of Tsŭ-ku, according to H. d'Orléans, *From Tonkin to India*, London 1898; vulg. (Jä.) = «vulgar» (as a matter of fact WT) data in Jäschke, *Dict.* ; vulg. (Das) = «vulgar» (as a matter of fact CT) data in Das, *Dict.* ; WT = «Western Tibetan», according to Jäschke, *Dict.* We have a few sporadic data from other dialects as well. In these cases we give the full name of the dialect with «Jä.» or «Das» in brackets to indicate that the form quoted is taken from Jäschke's or Das' dictionary respectively. As to the transcription of dialectal data see Uray, *Kelet-Tibet nyelvjárásainak osztályozása ; The Classification of the Dialects of Eastern Tibet*, Budapest 1949, pp. 3—4 and p. 8, note 3.

My friends L. Deme, I. Fónagy, J. Kelemen and J. Tompa were kind enough to discuss with me some fundamental questions concerning semantics and terminology touched upon in this paper thus considerably contributing to their elucidation. My interpretations of the data taken from the Sanskrit version of the BCA have been checked by my colleague J. Vekerdi. The interpretation of the mongol data was made by my wife K. U-Kőhalmi. I herewith express my thanks for their help.

vocalism, e. g. (Zam.) *khrag-khrug* 'confused, being in promiscuous state' : *'khrug-pa* 'to be in commotion, be disturbed' ; (Lex., Situ) *ldab-ldib* 'idle talk, tittle-tattle' : *ldib-pa* 'not clear, unintelligible' (cf. Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 360—361 ; Jäschke, *loc. laud.;* Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 48 : 3).

IV. Word gemination with alternating vowels denotes the type when the word together with its suffix is repeated with a different vocalism. This type includes only words with the suffix *-e*, e. g. *ya-ṅe-ye-ṅe* 'doing anything uncertainly' : *(g-)yeṅ-ba* 'to disturb the mind' (cf. Schiefner, *loc. laud.;* Jäschke, *loc. laud.;* Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 48 : 6).

V. Gemination with alternating initials denotes the type when the members of the repetition show different initial consonants or when the initial consonant of one of the members is missing, e. g. *čar-mar* 'always, continually' : *čar* 'at once, on a sudden, continually, always' ; *a-na-ma-na* 'having a striking likeness'.

VI. Triplication occurs in onomatopoetic words only : *'u-ru-ru* 'a whizzing sound' : *'ur* 'noise, din, clashing, cracking, roar of tempest' ; Ld. (Jä.) *tiṅ-ti-liṅ* 'snipe'.[3]

[3] Beside the above types other forms of repetition may also be found in the Tibetan language. Such forms are :

a) The repetition of the word or its stem when the members are connected either by the co-ordinate conjunction *kyaṅ/yaṅ/'aṅ* or by the sociative co-ordinate-case ending *-daṅ*, e. g. : *mjes-kyaṅ-mjes* 'very beautiful' ; *lo-daṅ lo* 'yearly'.

b) The co-ordination of the affirmative and the negative forms of the word (word stem), e. g. : *čhos-daṅ čhos-med* 'the doctrine and the non-doctrine' ; (Glr) *'dra-mi-'dra* 'like and unlike' ; equality, likeness, similarity' ; (Mil.) *gya-ma-gyu* 'quiet, calm, gently flowing along'.

c) The connection of a derivative with the suffix *-e* and its stem word, e. g. : (Mil.) *šigs-se šigs* 'rocking' ; *mal-le-mul* 'eating without properly masticating one's food like an old man who has no teeth' .

d) Repetition formations when a word is in a subordinate connection now with another word an another time with the antonym or the synonym of the latter, e. g. : (Tar.) *phar-slob-chur-slob* 'who are mutually scholars one of other' ; (Mil.) *ǰe-čhuṅ-ǰe-ñuṅ* 'less and less'.

e) Such twofold adverbial complements as consist of the ablative and the terminative of the same word, e. g. : (BCA V83b) *goṅ-nas goṅ-du* 'higher and higher, more and more' ; *žag-nas žag-tu* 'from day to day'.

f) Subordinate connections either of different members of the same family of words or of different grammatical forms of one and the same word (partly figurae etymologicae), e. g. : ('Jbl 186_{13}) *phuṅ-po spuṅs-nas* 'zu Haufen aufgehäuft' ; *čhibs-la 'čhib-pa* 'riding on a horse, to get on horse-back '; *mčhog-gi mčhog* 'the most excellent, the best of best'.

g) The repetition of conjunctions, adverbs or occasionally of other words in parallel word groups or parallel sentences, e. g. : *res...res* 'at one time ... at another' ; *yaṅ...yaṅ* 'both ... and'.

I. Stem duplication

1. The definition of stem duplication as given above stresses only the characteristic features of this type : the suffix of the reduplicated word disappears, that is, the stem alone is repeated and the phonetic form of both parts is identical. This description is, however, incomplete and needs further specification.

The basis when duplicated loses its suffix according to the rules concerning the shortening of constituents in compounds, that is to say what is repeated is not always the original stem form but — in case of modification by a suffix — the modified stem form : CT (Bell) *p'e-p'e* 'calf' ~ Cl. T. *be'u* 'id.' : *ba* 'cow'. Newertheless, unlike the stress in compounds, the stress in stem duplications (according to WT, CT and other, dialectal data of Jäschke) falls upon the second member in general, e. g. : WT *hol-hól* 'soft, loose, light, as the soil in spring' : WT *hol táṅ-ċe* 'to break up, to loosen (the soil)' ; CT (Jä.) *t'er-t'ér* 'flat' ~ Cl. T. *ther* 'bald, bare'.[4]

There are words in which the phonetic form of both parts differ but this difference is to be ascribed to nothing else but the difference of their phonetic position. Such words should be considered stem duplications in spite of the difference in the phonetic form of the parts. Thus at the end of the second part of the form B *waχ-waχs-i-k'a* 'punctually' (: B *waχ* 'time', cf. Burushaski *wʌxt*, *wʌqt*, Ormuri, Parachi, Shugni, Sanglechi *waxt*, Pashto [Зудин-Бертельс]

h) Constructions occurring in Ladakhī and in «Western Tibetan» when in order to stress or emphasize the predicate the sentence is turned into a dependent nominal clause closing with the mere stem form of the verb and with an intensifying particle after which the verb is repeated in its finite verb form as the main clause predicate, e. g. : Ld. (Fr.) *khyer da khyers* 'it is really taken away' (for detailed description see Francke, *Sketch*, p. 34).

i) The constructions in Balti when the simultaneousness or consecutiveness of the actions expressed in two sentences is indicated by starting the second sentence with the corresponding participial form of the verb figuring as predicate in the first sentence, e. g. : *. . .babs, babse na k'oṅ nayo-iṅ žuks* '. . . came down . . and entered into a boat'. (Read, *op. cit.*, pp. 66—67).

In all these cases the point is the repetition of not the same word or same grammatical form, or again the non-immediate connection between the repeated parts. That is why these types of repetition do not fall within the proper scope of our paper. Of these we shall deal only with such instances that are connected with the problems of duplication, gemination and triplication and to such an extent as will be necessary.

[4] Jäschke marks the stresses in the transliteration of even Cl. T. data, though their value is merely hypothetical because he presumably has mechanically transplanted into Cl. T. the stress rules inferred from dialectal data : e. g. he marks the stress even in words taken from other dictionaries. Beside the dialects Jäschke has also considered the stress in verses (cf. *Dict.*, p. 541, the entry *la-la)* but even this does not furnish enough proof for metrical stress may differ from the phonetical one (cf. J. Vekerdi, *Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody* : *Acta Orient. Hung.* II [1952], p. 231).

ваxm < Tajik Lit. *вақт*, Persian *vaqt* < Arabian *waqt* 'id.') there is an *-s* only because before case-endings and suffixes with an initial vowel the B *-χ* always changes into *-χs*. In words of Tibetan origin the B *-χ* goes back to **-gs* and the **-s* has been preserved before vowels. It has become general even in *-χ* stems of alien origin in consequence of phonetic analogy. The forms of the type CT (Bell) *dok`-do* 'piece (round in shape)' (~ Cl. T. *rdog-po* 'piece') to be found in Central Tibetan *-k`* stems are also to be considered stem duplications. This is connected with the fluctuation or loss of the CT *-k`* as shown, among others, by the following doublets: CT (Bell) *yuk`-yuk`* *č`e-pa/yuk`-yu* *č`e-pa/yu-yu* *č`e-pa* 'to brandish, shake, swing, wag' : CT (Bell) *yuk`-pa* 'to throw' ~ Cl. T. *dbyug-pa* 'to throw, cast, fling, swing, brandish' ; CT *k`uk`-k`u/k`u-k`u* 'crooked (with one bend), curved' ~ Cl. T. *gug-pa* 'bent'. Also the forms D *ka-kar*, Tsk (Oll.) *keker*, (Or.) *ke-ker*, T *ke-ka* 'blanc' (~ Cl. T. *dkar-po* 'id.') and D *ma-mar*, Tsk (Oll.) *me-mer*, (Or.) *memer*, T *mo-ma* (~ Cl. T. *dmar-po* 'id.'), as well as the Sz *nuňo* (= ? *ňuňo)* 'blau' (~ Cl. T. *sňo-* 'blue, green') can be considered stem duplications despite the *-ø—r* final stem alternation and the alternating vowels in them. Indeed, in the Tibetan dialects of Southwest China, more exactly, in the dialect described by Desgodins, the Tsŭ-ku and Ta-chien-lu dialects as well as in one of the dialects represented in the vocabulary compiled by Széchenyi the names of colours, except for the above, show stem duplication : Sz *kaka* 'weiss' ~ Cl. T. *dkar-po* 'id.' ; D *na-na*, Tsk (Oll.) *na-na* 'noir' ~ Cl. T. *nag-po* 'id.'; T *ňoňo* 'bleu' ~ Cl. T. *sňo-* 'blue, green'. Consequently the *-ø—r* final stem alternation in D and Tsk as well as the alternation of vowels in T and Sz are merely local phonetic phenomena which involve certain sounds and phonetical positions only. This analogy accounts for D *po-pön* 'frère' (<**po-pon* < **pon-pon* ~ Cl. T. *spun* 'id.') also. We can regard as stem duplications all other repetition forms with alternating consonants at the end of the stem in which the repeated parts have identical vowels, e. g. : P (LSI, p. 49, line 8—9) *ko-kol* 'sorry' ~ Cl. T. *dkol-pa* 'struck by calamity', *'khol-ba*, pf. *bkol* 'to be insensible, be asleep'; CT (Bell) *ńi-ńiň-la* 'lady, housewife, wife of well-to-do villager' ~ Cl. T. *sňiň* 'the heart' (CT *-la* ~ Cl. T. *lags* or *legs* is a frequently occurring second part of honorific titles); CT (Bell) *go-gor* 'round' ~ Cl. T. (Med., Ya-sel.) *gor-gor* 'id.', (Ňag.) *sgor-sgor* 'id.': Cl. T. *sgor-mo* 'id.'. Phonetic considerations according to wihich a final consonant[4a] of an unstressed first syllable easily disappears

[4a] It is evident from R. K. Sprigg's investigations that the presence or absence of stem-ending *-g-*, *-b-*, *-r-* before consonants in inflected verbal forms in the Lhasa dialect depends on speech-tempo *(Verbal phrases in Lhasa Tibetan : BSOAS* XVI [1954], pp. 323—328, cf. also p. 146). The fluctuations of stem-ending consonants before consonants in CT stem duplications (and stem geminations) as recorded by Bell and Jäschke may, in all probability, be accounted for in the same way.

before a consonant, on the one hand, and the fact that the function of the repetition in these cases corresponds to the function of the stem duplication (cf. § I, 6 and 7), on the other hand, allow for the qualification of the above instances as stem duplications. The «prefix» *hl-* in the second part of the word B *pil-hlpil* 'active' of unknown etymology is also presumably of phonetic origin.[5]

The combination of stem duplication and compounds is subject to special rules and involves a number of problems.

Jäschke, *Grammar*, § 21 and Francke, *Sketch*, pp. 19—20 have already pointed out that in compound numerals the distributive duplication (see § I, 3) involves the last part only, e. g. : *sum-ču-rca-gñis-gñis* 'each time thirty two' : *sum-ču-rca-gñis* 'thirty two' ; Ld. (Fr.) *p'ed-aṅ-drug-drug* '5 $^1/_2$ each'. Considering, however, the character of the distributive numerals in Ladakhī, this rule requires a more accurate drafting. If multiple compound numerals are duplicated in which the last constituent of a co-ordinate compound consists of a subordinate compound denoting any ten above 20, any hundred above 200 etc., then this latter subordinate compound is duplicated in its entirety as, for instance, Ld. (Fr.) *gya-daṅ-ńišu-ńišu* '120 each' ; Ld. (Fr.) *p'ed-aṅ-ńibgya-ńibgya* '150 each'. Unfortunately, we have no data attesting the duplicated form of subordinate compounds denoting any ten above 20 or any hundred above 200 and not entering into any further compound as its element. That is why no all-round rule can be set up. Does the duplication apply in co-ordinate compounds to the posterior constituent only, whereas subordinate compounds are always duplicated as a whole? Or again, does the rule of duplication always apply to the posterior constituent alone and affects in the above instances two constituents only because, viewed from the entirety of the numeral, these two constituents should be regarded as a unit forming the posterior constituent of the compound?

Nor have we any undisputable data to decide whether or not only the posterior constituent of compounds is duplicated in parts of speech other than numerals : namely, combined forms consisting of a simple stem and a subsequent duplicated stem should be regarded in their minority as compounds of a simple word and of a word with stem duplication. For instance, the word CT (Bell) *č'a-t'ruṅ-t'ruṅ* 'crane' should be regarded as such because the word CT *č'a* ~ Cl. T. *bya* often figures as an anterior element in bird-names of foreign origin, in onomatopoetic or rare bird-names, whereas the word CT (Bell) *-t'ruṅ-t'ruṅ/truṅ-truṅ* (in *truṅ-truṅ ka-mo* 'stork') ~ Cl. T. *khruṅ-khruṅ* 'crane, gus cinerea ; stork'/*kruṅ-kruṅ-* (in [K. du. *kha* 302] *kruṅ-kruṅ-sgra-*

[5] We can mention here the «prefix alternation» of the word *'grags-grags/grags-'grags* 'very bright' too, which is apparently due to the usual uncertainty in the use of ' in spelling. Consequently, in this case we are faced with a pure orthographic problem and not with the phonetic difference of the repeated parts. (Cf. also note 17.)

čan 'n. of a country filled with the cry of storks or cranes') occurs in duplicated form only. In the case of the majority of such forms consisting of a simple stem and of a subsequent duplicated stem it cannot be decided whether we have to do with the stem duplication of only the second constituent of the compound or with a compound consisting of a simple word and a word with stem duplication, e. g.: (Pth.) *mdaṅs-sal-sal* 'lighted up brilliantly, well lighted': *mdaṅs* 'brightness, lustre, splendour' + *gsal-ba* 'bright, light, pure; to be clear, bright'; (Rdsa) *'dar-žum-žum* 'tremulous, quaking with fear': *'dar-ba* 'to tremble' + *žum-pa* 'cowardly, timid'; *sems-bloṅ-bloṅ-po* 'a depressed heart': *sems* 'soul' + *bloṅ-pa* 'a dull person, thick-head, unintelligent'.

Combined forms, other than distributive numerals and those not consisting of a simple stem and of a subsequent duplicated stem, are represented only by examples in which the duplicated form has become a constituent of a compound.

Stem duplications occur as constituents of both subordinate and co-ordinate compounds. The subordinate compounds are, as a rule, attributive compounds. The attributive constituent sometimes stands last, e. g.: (K. d. *ja* 214) *srin-bu-kva-kva* 'maggot worm, generally infesting the mouth of the rectum': *srin-bu* 'insect, worm, vermin' + *kva-kva* = Cl. T. *ko-ko* 'excrement' ~ WT *ka-ka* 'id.'. In general, however, the attributive constituent stands first, e. g.: *ri-bo-khruṅ-khruṅ* 'mountain crane or else, the bustard': *ri-bo* 'mountain, hill' + *khruṅ-khruṅ* 'crane, stork'; Ld. (Jä.) *šib-ši-lú-lu* 'a hip, the fruit of the dog-rose' (the anterior constituent has not been found outside compounds, the posterior constituent corresponds to Cl. T. *lu-lu* 'the fruit of some thorny shrubs'). Among the compounds belonging to this type especially frequent are those in which the anterior constituent is an onomatopoetic duplication, the posterior being a substantive denoting a sound, e. g.: (Pth.) *ṅar-ṅar-'khun-sgra* 'a hoarse groaning': (Thgy.) *ṅar-ṅar-po* 'hoarse, husky' + (Pth.) *'khun-sgra* 'groaning'; (Mṅon., cf. Das, p. 1154) *mar-mar-sgra* 'a kind of war cry': *sgra* 'a sound, noise, voice'. Beside the attributive compounds we have found a subjective («objective») compound. Here, too, the first part is an onomatopoetic duplication and the second part is a verbal stem denoting a sound and playing the role of a nomen verbale: (Mṅon.) *ku-ku-sgrogs* 'a grey species of duck', litt. «that cries ku-ku»: *sgrog-pa* 'to call, call out'. We have only two examples for stem duplication figuring as a constituent of a co-ordinate compound and in both instances stem duplication is combined with stem duplication: (Pth.) *šigs-šigs-yom-yom* 'waving': *šigs-se* 'rocking, relaxed', *šig-ge-ba* 'trembling, wavering' + (Pth.) *yom-yom* swinging, tottering', *yom-pa* 'to swing, totter'; WT *to-to-liṅ-liṅ* 'an adv. denoting a swinging motion': WT *liṅ-liṅ čó-če* 'to dangle, hang dangling' ~, Cl. T. *lin-ne* 'dangling, waving' (we have not found any other occurrences of the anterior constituent *to-to* which is, probably, an onomatopoetic word).

One of the characteristics of Tibetan compounds is that the constituent words shorten, that is, lose their suffix, moreover, compound words frequently lose their second element if they form a constituent of another compound. In stem duplications this tendency becomes operative rather seldom, and when it does so, it affects in the main only such stem duplications in which the duplicated form does not stand in correlation with a simple form (onomatopoetic words, loanwords, words of unknown origin), e. g. : Cl. T. *pu-šud /phu-šud/ phu-gšud* 'hoopoe' (cf. also WT *p'ug-šub-še-le* 'id.'[6]) ~ CT (Bell) *pu-pu-k'u-šü* 'id.' ; *cha-khaṅ* 'place where cha-cha are kept', *phyag-cha* 'respectful term for cha-cha' : (Pth.) *cha-cha* 'little images of Buddha, and conical figures, moulded of clay and used at sacrifices' < Skr. **sacchāya* = *sad* 'gut, heilig' + *chāya* 'Abbild' (cf. G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* I, Roma 1932, pp. 54—55 ; differently Laufer, *Loan Words in Tibetan: T'oung Pao* XVII [1916], p. 453, № 29) ; *si-skad* 'whistling, whistle', *si-sgra* 'id.', *si-brda* 'whistle, as call or sign', *si-glu* 'a whistled tune' : *si-si* 'the sound of whistling through the teeth'. We have only one example for the shortening of a stem-duplicated form the corresponding simple form of which exists : B *čat bya* 'to shorten' : B *čat-čat* 'short', litt. «greatly cut» : B *čadpa* 'to cut' ~ Cl. T. *gčod-pa*, pf. *bčad* 'id.'. Unfortunately, we are not in the position to analyse the reasons why it is only occasionally that stem duplications shorten in compounds. On the one hand, the available data are insufficient for the elucidation of this problem, on the other, the character and origin of the shortenings in compounds are not sufficiently clarified as yet.

Stem-duplicated forms frequently take on suffixes, stereotyped posterior constituents of compounds and case-endings functioning as suffixes. In a few cases we find the stereotyped posterior constituent of compounds *-lta, -ltar: 'jigs-'jigs-lta* 'dreadful' (~ Skr. *bhairava*, BCA II44a), 'name of a great king of the Rakṣasa' (K. g. *tha* 114, see Das, *Dict.*, p. 1291) : *'jigs-pa* 'to be afraid' ; ('Jbl 20_{13}) *rcog-rcog-ltar*, ('Jbl 21_6) *bcog-bcog-pa-ltar* 'in a soiled manner': *bcog-pa*, *(b)rcog(s)-pa* 'unclean, dirty, nasty'. Stem-duplicated forms are added the suffixes *-pa/-ba*, *-ma* and *-po/-bo* more frequently. Such derivatives are, as a rule, adjectives (cf. Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 48 : 5) and less frequently nouns, e. g. : (Thgr.) *phyam-phyam-pa* 'glittering' (cf. [Glr.] *lčam-me-ba* 'shining, dazzling') ; *mjes-mjes-pa* 'luxe, splendeur, magnificence' (~ mong. *qolčirγa*[*n*], Kowalewski, *Dict. mongole-russe-français*, p. 933) : *mjes-mjes* 'id.' : *mjes-pa* 'fine, charming'; (Tar.) *bden-bden-ma* 'in which there is much truth' : *bden-bden* 'very true indeed, certainly' : *bden-pa* 'true, truth' ; WT *siṅ-siṅ-po* 'thin' : WT *siṅs-po*

[6] Jäschke puts an interrogation mark between the WT form and the meaning. It appears from his usage that the mark of interrogation in this place means that the «spelling» of the dialectal form in question, that is, its form in the classical language cannot be ascertained. Thus the mark of interrogation does not affect the authenticity of the dialectal data.

'id.' ~ Cl. T. *(b)seṅ-po* 'id.'. Frequent are the adverbs of manner formed with adverbial case-endings *-la* and *-tu/-du/-su/-r(u)* functioning as suffixes : *maṅ-maṅ-du* 'in great quantity or in large number' : *maṅ-po* 'much, many' ; WT *coṅ-cóṅ-la* 'straight' (cf. Cl. T. *bsoṅ-po* 'straight, honest'). Such case-endings functioning as suffixes are added to the stem duplications sometimes indirectly, that is to its adjectival derivative formed with the suffix *-pa/-ba* or *-po/-bo*, e. g. : *seṅ-seṅ-por* 'very thin' : *(b)seṅ-po* 'thin'. A secondary formation with the suffix *-r* from a derivative with *-pu* (cf. Uray : *Acta Orient. Hung.* II [1952] pp. 199—200) of a stem-duplication is (Pth.) *cog-cog-pur* 'squatting, crouching, cowering' : *cog-pu* 'the posture of cowering, squatting, crouching' (cf. *'jog-pa* 'to fold the fist', *'jog-pa*, pf. *bcogs* 'to heap together, jumble, throw disorderly together', *sog-pa* 'to gather, heap up'. — Or else, is the form *cog-cog-pu* a form obtained by the duplication of the stem of the word *cog-pu* having retained the suffix *-pu* in the second part?).

Sometimes general morphological criteria are insufficient to distinguish between stem duplication and word duplication. This applies, first of all, to those cases when the basis of a duplication is a monosyllable without any suffix, e. g. : *sṅa-sṅa* 'very early' : *sṅa* 'early, soon, before' ; *drug-drug* 'each time six, six for each' : *drug* 'six'. Nevertheless auxiliary criteria enable us to establish that such duplications are stem duplications. According to stress-marked dialectal data only one of the parts is stressed in these duplications : colloq. (Jä.) *čig-číg* 'one at a time, separately only, alone'[7] ~ Cl. T. *gčig-gčig* 'id.' : *gčig* 'one' ; colloq. (Jä.) *sú-su* 'who? [in plural]' ~ Cl. T. *su* 'who?'. Distributives derived from monosyllabic numerals are stem duplications. This is confirmed by the fact that disributives derived from polysyllabic numerals, as we have pointed out above, are formed by duplicating the posterior constituent, and this is by no means identical with word duplication.

It is more difficult to tell the character of the duplication in forms where both constituents of either a subordinate compound or a fully assimilated compound are duplicated, e. g.: (Mil.) *je-ñe-je-ñe* 'nearer and nearer' : *je* 'more and more, gradually more' + *ñe-ba* 'near' ; (BCA IV46a) *ñon-moṅs-ñon-moṅs* (~ Skr. *kleśāḥ...varākāḥ)* 'terrible misery' : *ñon-moṅs* 'misery, trouble; misery of sin'. In these instances as we have seen (p. 182), it cannot be said at present whether in stem duplications of subordinate compounds the duplication affects both constituents or the posterior element only. No definite answer can be obtained from the function of the duplication in these forms

[7] According to Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 144 the duplication colloq. *čig-číg* 'one at a time, separately, only' differs from the word colloq. *číg-čig* 'a certain, someone' precisely inasmuch as in the former the stress falls upon the posterior element whereas in the latter it is on the anterior element. The latter, according to Jäschke, is no duplication but is the equivalent of the Cl. T. *gčig-čig* 'id.', conseqeuntly — as far as its origin is concerned — it is a compound formed with the numeral *gčig* and the «indefinite article» *čig*.

either, because the function denoting gradation and increase expressed in them can be traced in both stem duplications and word duplications (§ I, 3, 5 and II, 2).

The character of duplication is ambiguous also in those cases when both syllables of a disyllabic onomatopoetic element are repeated: CT (Bell) *tok-co-tok-co* in *tok-co-tok-co t'uṅ-wa* 'to sip'.

2. In the differenciation and development of the functions of stem duplication an important role is played by the parts of speech to which the bases and duplicated forms belong. Consequently it is necessary to deal with some problems relating to the parts of speech and originating in stem duplication before we start analysing the functions of stem duplication.

In connection with the suffix *-e* I have already pointed out that owing to the syntagmatic division of the sentence and to its regrouping the words with the suffix *-e* can assume both adjectival and adverbial functions without undergoing any formal change (*Acta Orient. Hung.* III [1953], pp. 232—233 § 2*a*). These two categories cannot be distinctly told apart in the unsuffixed forms of stem duplication. Thus, for instance, in the phrase *gtam šob-šob smra-ba* quoted by Das, *Dict.*, p. 1246 the stem duplication *šob-šob* (cf. [*g*]*šob* 'fib, falsehood, lie') can be interpreted as the attribute of the noun *gtam* 'talk, speech', that is, as an adjective, and in this case the phrase assumes the following meaning: 'to make a false speech'. The form *šob-šob* can, however, be interpreted also as an adverbial complement to the verb *smra-ba* 'to speak, talk', that is as an adverb, and in this case the translation is this: 'to make a speech falsely'. The following sentence displays similar features: *čhar-pa 'thor-'thor 'bab-pa 'dug* 'the rain comes drizzling down' (this is the translation by Das, *Dict.*, p. 609) or else 'drizzling rain comes down'. The frequent use of the suffixes *-pa*/*-ba*, *-po*/*-bo* or *-la*, *-tu*/*-du*/*-su*/*-r*(*u*) appended to stem duplications (pp. 184—185) also warrants the fact that in stem duplications the adjectival and adverbial categories have coincided in form because in cases where it was indispensable stem duplications with different functions were distinguished from one another by adding suffixes (or case-endings functioning as suffixes) to them. Hence, adjectives and adverbs will be dealt with together.

Stem duplication is a repetition of a word, and according to its basic functions it denotes the iterated, various, indistinct, multiple or emphatic manifestation of a thing, an idea, a quantity, a property, a circumstance, a process expressed in the basis (§ I, 3—6). If follows that the duplicated form belongs to the same part of speech as the basis, that is, duplication does not involve conversion, i. e. change in the parts of speech. This rule governs all denominative duplications; the number of exceptions is comparatively small, they can be accounted for as being the direct conversions of certain duplicated forms or of certain bases. The question of parts of speech shows a different aspect in the case of duplicating verbal stems. All the duplicated

forms of verbal stems in the dialects and most of them in the classical language are adjective-adverbs. Finite verbs formed with stem duplication are rather exceptional and are met with in the classical language only. Hence, stem duplication in the case of verbal stems seems to result in conversion.

A characteristic feature of Tibetan word formation is that the suffix of the basis vanishes in compounds or secondary formations, hence, very often we have no criteria to tell which member of the word family should be taken for the basis of the derivative in question. Even the meaning of the derivative is sometimes insufficient to decide the question. It is especially difficult to establish whether the finite verb form or the nomen verbale form of a verbal stem is to be regarded as the basis of a given derivative bacause in compounds or secondary formations the suffix of the nomen verbale *-pa/-ba* disappears (cf. *Acta Orient. Hung. II.* [1952], pp. 201—202 ; III [1953], pp. 238—239). The aforesaid apply to stem duplications as well. Thus, for instance, as far as its form is concerned, the stem duplication *rñam-rñam* 'threateningly' can equally be regarded either as a stem duplication of the nomen verbale *rñam-pa* 'raging at' or as a stem duplication obtained from the finite verb *rñam(-mo)* 'it rages at, it is furious'. If, however, we consider the rule according to which the duplicated forms belong to the same part of speech as the basis, the question is clear : the form *rñam-rñam* 'threateningly' goes back to the nomen verbale *rñam-pa* as to its basis. Hence, the «deverbative» stem duplication involved no conversion: forms obtained from finite verbs by stem duplication are finite verbs and forms obtained from nomina verbalia are nomina verbalia identical in form with the finite verbs obtained by stem duplication :

rñam(-mo) 'it rages at' ⟷ **rñam-rñam(-mo)* 'it threatens'
↑ ↑
rñam-pa 'raging at' ⟷ *rñam-rñam* 'threatening(ly)'.

The development of the periphrastic verb system in the modern dialects, however, had its effect on the grammatical character of «deverbative» stem duplications too. In dialects the duplicated finite verb is unknown (cf. Sprigg, *op. cit.*, pp. 137—138 §§ A5) and processes of frequency, divergence, indistinctness, duration and intensity are expressed not by the finite verb but by way of verbal periphrasis in which the first member is the duplicated stem of a verb denoting in its non-duplicated form a single, unidirectional, distinct action of general content and general intensity, e. g. : B *cal-cal bya* 'to search' : B *calba* 'to seek, search' ~ Cl. T. '*chol-ba*, pf. *bcal/bcol* 'id.' ; CT (Bell) *yu(k')-yu(k') č'e-pa* 'to brandish, shake, swing, wag' : CT (Bell) *yuk'-pa* 'to throw' ~ Cl. T. *dbyug-pa* 'to throw, cast, fling, swing, brandish'. Deverbative stem duplications forming the anterior constituent of such verbal periphrases can be regarded as verbal adjective-adverbs because unduplicated deverbative anterior constituents of verbal

periphrases assume the form of nomen verbale or adverbium verbale.[8] Naturally, such a verbal adjective-adverb may not only constitute a part of verbal periphrases, but may also figure independently in adjectival or adverbial function or else with or without adverbial case-ending as the predicate of a nominal subordinate clause (pp. 194—195). The absence of a duplicated finite verb form, however, alters the place in the linguistic system of the form obtained by the duplication of the verb stem, the former four-member correlation is replaced by a three-member correlation :

yuk`- 'it is thrown'

yuk`-*pa* 'thrown' ⟷ *yuk*`-*yuk*` 'shaken'

Considering the development of the periphrastic verb system it cannot, indeed, be denied that by stem duplication adjective-adverbs (verbal adjective-adverbs) are formed from verbs. This situation could have, of course, developed in the dialects only, yet the classical language, based on the old verbal system, also adopted a large number of elements which had developed in the periphrastic verbal system of the dialects : verbal periphrases with duplicated anterior constituent are frequent and the major part of deverbative forms are adjectiva-adverbia.

3. Stem duplication often designates the repeated occurrence of things, quantities, qualities or circumstances denoted by the basis.

The duplication of nouns conveys the idea of the repeated occurrence of one of the things, living beings, phenomena designated by the basis, or else, the idea of the juxtaposition or consecutiveness of several individuals of the things etc. designated by the basis : (Ma.) *bar-bar-du*, *bar-bar-la* 'at intervals, from times to times' : *bar* 'intermediate space, interstice, interval' ; *hub-hub byed-pa* 'to gulp' (it also means 'to drink in large draughts',in this case the duplication has an augmentative character, cf. p. 193) : *hub* 'a gulp, a draught'.

In the case the stem word is a noun used for denoting a unit of measure, the stem duplication has a distributive character conveying the idea of the iteration of the unit : (Dzl.) *šas-šas-su* 'piece by piece' (in *šas-šas-su mgo-ba* 'to distribute among') : *šas* 'part'. A noun is repeated only if the person or thing denoted by it and considered as a quantitative unit is iterated singly or in variable quantity. If, however, the person or thing in question is iterated more than once and in invariant quantity (or, as a rule, even singly), the duplication affects the numeral figuring as the attribute of the noun, that is, a

[8] Beside deverbative stem duplications denominative ones may also figure as anterior members in verbal periphrases. Such denominative stem duplications belong to the same word class as did their basic words : they are either substantives or adjective-adverbs.

distributive numeral is used[9]: *ra lṅa-lṅa* 'five goats each time'. The duplicated form of *gčig* 'one' is used rather seldom as the distributive form of «one». Instead of this the duplicated form of the indefinite pronoun *re* 'single, single one, some, each' is used in the classical language as a rule, and in the majority of the dialects on every occasion as the distributive form of 'one' (Bell, *op. cit., Gramm.* pp. 65—66 ; Francke, *Sketch*, pp. 19—20 ; Read, *op. cit.*, p. 26). We find stem duplications of distributive character also in certain pronouns with substantival and pronominal function. In the classical language, in Ladakhī and Balti reflexive pronouns are duplicated so as to give them a distributive meaning : Cl. T. (Glr., Lt., Gram.) *raṅ-raṅ* 'each...himself, each... his' ~ Ld. (Fr.) *raṅ-raṅ* 'id.' : Cl. T. *raṅ* 'self' ; B *so-so-so-so* 'each one, each one his one' : B *so-so* 'one, self'. Such duplicated reflexive pronouns — as it was pointed out by Francke, *Sketch*, p. 22 — occur, as a rule, in correlation with the distributive numeral *re-re* (cf. also Francke, *Addenda*, p. 130 and Read, *op. cit.*, pp. 13—14). Questions referring to distributive numerals are expressed by the duplicated form of interogative numeral pronoun *du* 'how many?, how much?', that is, by *du-du* 'how much each time?, how many each time?'.

The stem duplication of verbs expresses the reiteration, frequency, the customary recurrence or the brokenness of a single process denoted by the basic verb. The frequentative forms thus obtained— of course only in the classical language — are partly verbs, e. g. : *dmyug-dmyug-pa* 'to show repeatedly, to boast' : *dmyug-pa* 'to show' (cf. Csoma, *op. cit.*, § 166 ; Schmidt, *Grammatik*, § 155 ; Foucaux, *op. cit.*, § 88 ; Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 117 : 5). Most of them are adjective adverbs and stand mainly as anterior constituents of verbal periphrases denoting iterated action as, e. g. : *ñil-ñil byed-pa* 'to trickle down, fall in drops (of tears, etc.)' : *ñil-ba* 'to run down, flow down' ; (H̱brom.) *bteg-bteg byed-pa* 'to haul upwards' : *'deg(s)-pa*, pf. *bteg(s)* 'to lift, raise, hold up' ; (BCA VIII76d) *bab-bab byuṅ* 'they usually went' : *'bab-pa*, pf. *bab(s)* 'to move downward, to get' ; WT *zum-zúm čó-če*, CT (Jä.) *zum-zúm ǰé[1]-pa* 'to wink'[10] ~ Cl. T. *'jum-pa* 'to close, shut (the eyes, mouth)' ; CT (Bell) *še-še taṅ-wa* 'to rinse' ~ Cl. T. *bšal-ba* 'to wash'. We find even deverbative adjective-adverbs used independently, e. g.: *skyor-skyor* 'again and again, repeatedly' : *skyor-ba* 'to repeat' ; *loṅ-loṅ* 'uprising in waves, bulging out' : *loṅ-ba/laṅ-ba* 'to rise, get up'. The nomen concretum Ld. (Jä.) *bid-bid* 'mouth-

[9] The formation of distributive numerals is one of the functions of stem duplication that was described long ago, cf. Csoma, *Grammar*, § 107 : 6 ; Schmidt, *Grammatik*, § 95 : 6 ; Foucaux, *Grammaire* § 43 ; Jäschke, *Grammar*[3], § 21.

[10] Though Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 466 does not indicate the WT, respectively CT origin of these forms, the auxiliary verb *čó-če* in the first instance and the phonetic form of the auxiliary in the second clearly show the dialects they belong to.

piece of a hautboy, hautboy reed' (~ Cl. T. *'bud-pa* 'to blow'; cf. note 6) has derived by direct conversion from a frequentative deverbal adjective-adverb.

The reiteration of a process can be expressed not only by duplicating the verbal stem but also by placing before the verb the duplicated adverb *yaṅ-yaṅ* 'again and again', e. g. : in the BCA IX164a-b the Tibetan translator rendered Skr. *snātvā snātvā*, an absolutive with frequentative duplication, by using the phrase *yaṅ-yaṅ khrus byas-te* and not by duplicating the stem of the verb. As it is, the word *yaṅ-yaṅ* is the duplicated form of the adverb *yaṅ*, consequently the stem duplication denotes the iteration of the circumstance designated by the stem word. This very function of stem duplication can be observed also in the case of ('Jbl. 172_{13}) *phyi-phyir* 'following each other, one after the other' : *phyir* 'back, behind'.

Stem duplication denoting the iteration of a circumstance or a property is used even in such cases when the property or circumstance is being iterated in a gradually increasing degree. Stem duplication can be transferred also to cases when there is no physical interruption between the subsequent degress of the gradually increasing property or circumstance (gradation) because this is replaced by the mental discontinuity separating the different degrees of the property or cirtumstance. Some examples : (Pth.) *ña(-yi)s mtho-mtho byas-pas dma'-dma' byuṅ* 'the higher and higher I rose, the deeper and deeper I sank' (quoted by Jäschke, *Dict.*, pp. 242, 421, translation corrected by myself) ; (Fr*Add) drag-drag, hrag-hrag* 'harder and harder' : *drag-pa* 'strong, vehement, violent', *hrag-pa* 'hard'. Duplications (stem or word duplications? cf. pp. 185—186) denoting gradation of adjective-adverbs composed with the adverbial anterior member *ǰe* 'more and more' are especially frequent : (Mil.) *ǰe-čhuṅ-ǰe-čhuṅ-la* 'less and less' : *čhuṅ-ba* 'little, small' ; *ǰe-mtho-ǰe-mtho* 'higher and higher' : *mtho-ba* 'high, elevated'.[11]

4. The stem duplication may express the diversity or indistinctness of things, persons, processes etc. denoted by the basis. There is a close connection between the functions of stem duplication conveying the idea of iteration and the idea of diversity and indistinctness.

In the noun and the numeral categories, and in the corresponding pronouns we have seen that stem duplication regards the individuals or quantities denoted by the basis, on the basis of their common features, as iteration of one and the same thing or quantity. Stem duplication, however, is used even in cases when one or more undetermined, indistinct individuals of the

[11] Duplication denoting repeated process was occasionally transferred also to verbs in order to express gradation as shown by the interpretation of the form *gčes-gčes-pa* to be found in Das, *Dict.*, p. 389 : 'to show more and more affection for one, to love very much'. This English interpretation, however, is based on the interpretation *byams-po byams-po byed-pa* of an unspecified lexicon, and not on texts, thus allowing other explanations too.

things iterated are implicated. Hence stem duplication may be used to express indistinctness, indefiniteness. This kind of stem duplication forms indefinite adverbs and pronouns from nominal and pronominal bases : *skabs-skabs-su* 'now and then, under certain circumstances, sometimes' : *skabs* 'time, opportunity' ; *dus-dus-su* 'sometimes, now and then' : *dus* 'time' ; CT (Bell) *c'am-c'am* 'now and then, occasionally, often, sometimes'[12] ~ Cl. T. *mchams* 'intermediate space, interstice' | (MD) *de-de* 'manche, allerlei' : *de* 'that' (Beck, *op. cit.*, § 26) ; Cl. T. (Dzl.), B, CT (Bell) *re-re* 'every, every one, each ; several' : *re* 'single, some, something' ; CT (Bell) *k'a-k'e* (< **ga-ga* + *-s* instrumental case-ending) 'something' (in negative sentences only, with the meaning 'nothing') ~ Cl. T. *ga* 'who, which, what' ; Ld. (Fr.) *su-su* 'some, several (out of a certain number) ; who (of you)?' : Ld. (Fr.) *su* 'id.'. In the word *ku-ku, sku-sku* 'enigma, riddle, puzzling question' : *sku* 'body' the stem duplication possibly also denotes indistinctness (cf. *gzugs-bu* 'simile, metaphor': *gzugs* 'figure, form, shape, body' = Skr. *rūpaka* : *rūpa*).

By coming into prominence and by the abstraction of differences between the iterated individuals of the things denoted by the stem word, stem duplication may also express diversity. Sometimes beside the idea of diversity the idea of iteration can still be felt as, for instance, in the following stem-duplicated substantives : *phyogs-phyogs-su* 'to the different quarters' (in *phyogs-phyogs-su 'grams-pa* 'to scatter to the different quarters') : *phyogs* 'direction, quarter' ; B *mal-mal-la* 'to different places, asunder' (in *mal-mal-la skyur-ba* 'to scatter') : B *mal* 'place' ~ Cl. T. *mal* 'id.'. Such substantives can turn into adjective-adverbs by direct conversion : Ld. (Jä.) *dum-dúm* 'being in scattered pieces' (in *yul dum-dúm* or *groṅ dum-dúm* 'several scattered farms, hamlets or villages, which have together a common name', litt. «village being in scattered pieces») ~ Cl. T. *dum* 'piece'. Substantives formed by stem duplication denoting diversity occur as anterior member of verbal periphrases denoting a movement of diverse, alternating direction : (BCA VIII 52c) *žal-žal byas* 'to soil, to smudge all over' (~ Skr. *saṁlipta* 'id.') : *žal(-ba), žal-la* 'clay, lime-flour, cement of flour, plastering'. In other instances the idea of iteration is relegated to the background. In our examples these duplicated forms are always adjective-adverbs, their basis being either a substantive, a numeral or a numeral pronoun : *šoṅ-šoṅ* 'rough, rugged' : *(g)šoṅ(s)* 'pit, hole, cavity, excavation, valley' ; (Hbrom.) *rmaṅ-rmaṅ* 'different' : *rmaṅ* 'ground, base, foundation' ; (Hbrom.) *gži-gži* 'different' : *gži* 'ground, basis, foundation, root' ; (Dzl etc.) *so-so* 'distinct, separate, singly, individually' :

[12] The form CT (Bell) *c'am-c'am* is, no doubt, formed from a substantive but is used as an adverb without case-ending. This is possible because according to Tibetan grammar, a substantive of time can be used as an adverb of time without any adverbial case-ending. (Jäschke, *Grammar*, § 49*a* — not quite correctly — calls this phenomenon «acc. temporalis».)

so 'place' (cf. W. Simon, *Certain Tibetan Suffixes and their Combinations: HJAS* V [1940], p. 386) | (SRN VIII16b) *gñis-gñis* 'each of both separately'[13] : *gñis* 'two' | *ya-ya* 'differing, diverse', *ya-ya-ba* 'diversity' : *ya* 'one of two things that belong together, one of two opponents'.

Verb stem duplication designating an iterated process can be applied to cases when the movement is repeated in different or opposite directions, hence also to processes in which the change of direction is not accompanied by the interruption and recommencement of the process or of which the direction, the content are indistinct. Among the forms obtained by this kind of stem duplication we have not, so far, found any verbs but only adjective-adverbs. Some of them are the anterior constituents of verbal periphrases : *cig-cig byed-pa* 'to quarrel, to be at variance' (its immediate basis is unknown, but cf. *chig-pa* 'anger, indignation', *gcigs-la 'bebs-pa* 'to subdue, force') ; B *rdaв-rdaв bya* 'to fight' : B *rdaва* 'kill'. Others are independent adjective-adverbs : *'bal-'bal* 'shaggy'[14] : *'bal-ba* 'to arrange, to dress the hair' ; B *hltaв-hltaв* 'flexible, pliable', litt. «folding this and that way» : B *hltaва* 'to fold' ~ Cl. T. *ltab-pa* 'to fold up'. Adjective-adverbs formed with this kind of stem duplication may turn into substantive through direct conversion : *chem-chem* 'a patched cloth' : *'chem-pa* 'to sew'.

In the category of adjective-adverbs we have found no data to illustrate the duplication of the diversity-indistinctness type.

5. Stem duplication may also express the multiplicity of homogeneous things, of their extent, of the average degree of a property, of the average intensity or space of time of a process. This function of duplication is also connected with its iterative function : the cogitative process abstracts the idea of multiplicity from iterated things, properties, circumstances and processes. Hence, stem duplication originally expressing iteration is used even in cases when no iteration of things, properties, circumstances or processes is involved.

In the category of nouns (substantives, substantival pronouns, adjectives used as substantives) stem duplication may denote the plural or the collective. Such cases, however, are unfrequent and not always doubtless. Examples : colloq. (Jä.) *sú-su* 'what persons' ~ Cl. T. *su* 'who?' (but cf.

[13] This is the context : *bya-ba 'ga'-žig sgrub-na yaṅ | skyon-daṅ yon-tan gñis-gñis sam* (ed. by W. L. Campbell, *Die Sprüche von Sakya: OZ* XII [1925], p. 179, verse 363 : *°bsam)* 'before carrying out something, both its defects and virtues should be examined separately'. The Mongolian version disregards the duplication *gñis-gñis: aliba üyile-yi bütügekü bolbasu : urida gem erdem qoyar-i onuydaqui* 'before carrying out something, its defects and virtues should be examined' the word *qoyar* being used as conjuction corresponding to *-daṅ*.

[14] In Das, *Dict.*, p. 918 this word has the form *'bal-'bol* with reference to Schmidt's dictionary where, however, just as in Jäschke's dictionary we find *'bal-'bal*.

Francke, *Sketch*, p. 23 and above § I, 4, p. 191) ; CT (Jä.) *źim-źím* 'sweet-meats, confectionery' ~ Cl. T. *žim-po* 'well-tasted, sweet-scented'. A noun in plural formed by stem duplication is the anterior constituent of the verbal periphrasis *žal-žal bya-žiṅ* 'en faisant des scarifications' correctly interpreted as such by Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 116 : 2*b*. The stem duplication forming the plural of nouns was occasionally transferred to the postposition belonging to the noun : *naṅ-naṅ-nas*, *naṅ-nɑṅ-gi* 'among' (=«out of several») : *naṅ-nas*, *naṅ-gi* 'out, thereout' (= «out of one» ; the simple postposition, however, also may mean 'among').

Stem duplication can be used to form substantives designating the multiplicity of the common size of a thing, or the intensified degree of a phenomenon, denoted by the basis : colloq. (Jä.) *dog-dóg* 'a large piece' ~ Cl. T. *rdog-po* 'piece'; WT *k'am-k'ám čo-dug* 'he has a desire, a longing for': WT *k'am* 'appetite'.

Stem duplication in adjectives and adverbs refers to an increased degree of a property or circumstance (cf. Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 360), e. g. : (Jig.) *'ther-'ther* 'well polished' : *'ther-po* 'smooth and glossy' ; *phar-phar-la* 'indirectly, later on, eventually' : *phar*, *phar-la* 'farther, away, beyond' ; *myur-myur-ba* 'very quickly' : *myur-ba* 'quick, swift, speedy' ; (Mil.) *zim-zim*, *ziṅ-ziṅ* 'very fine, hair-shaped' : *zim-bu* 'fine, thin, slender'. In a few cases the basis is a subsantive and the stem duplication is an adjective-adverb, or vice versa, e. g. : *ṙham-ṙham* 'with dazzling, splendour' : *ṙham-pa* 'splendour, magnificence, majesty'. In such cases it is difficult to tell whether the conversion took place in the basis or in the duplicated form and, consequently, whether we should consider it as an augmentative stem duplication of the substantive or as a stem duplication of increase of the adjective.

Stem duplication increasing a property or a circumstance is applicable even in cases when we want to express the highest degree, the fulness of the property or circumstance in question, e. g. : *ltem-ltem* 'so full that it runs over' : *ltem-pa*, *ltem-po* 'full' ; *thaṅ-thaṅ* 'strained to the utmost' : *thaṅ-po* 'enduring, able to stand fatigue ; strong, firm' ; CT (Jä.) *rog-róg* 'jet-black' : CT (Jä.) *róg-po* 'black'. This function of stem duplication is operative also in pronouns, numerals and substantives : *de-de* 'exactly that' (as a rule, it is used parallel to the stem duplication of an interrogative-relative pronoun, cf. note 29 and p. 219) : *de* 'that' | *gčig-gčig* 'of the same kind, not different ; separately, alone, by one's self, only, solely' ~ B *čik-či* 'alone', P *čik-čik* 'alone', Ld. (Fr.) *čig-čig* 'only, alone, single', colloq. (Jä.) *čig-čig* 'of the same kind, not different ; separately, alone etc.' : Cl. T. *gčig* 'one, same' ~ B *čik* 'one', P *čik* 'id.', Ld. (Fr.) *čig* 'id.' | *šar-šar* 'straightways, directly' : *šar-ma* 'strip' ; *waχ-waχs-i-k'a* 'punctually' : B *waχ* 'time'. In these instances, however, the function of stem duplication indicating fulness did not develop within the categories of numerals, pronouns and substantives but

was transferred to them from adjective-adverbs. This becomes evident if we consider that the word *de* is a pronoun used as an adjective, that the word *gčig* can be employed both as a numeral and as an adjective, and that the stem-duplicated substantives in question take adverbial case-endings or stand as adjective-adverbs. On the other hand, a duplication expressing the degree of a thing higher than the average could hardly adopt the function of fulness.

With verbs we have to distinguish two kinds of stem duplication indicating multiplicity : the durative stem duplication expressing a prolonged, multiplicate duration of a process or a state and the intensifying stem duplication indicating a multiplicate, higher intensity than the average or again a full intensity. Durative and intensifying stem duplications as the deverbative type of the function expressing multiplicity is closely connected with the corresponding type of the function expressing iteration, that is, with the frequentative duplication ; because the iterated process or state lasts longer than the average and is in its entirety more intensive than the single process. That is why find duplicated forms such as *za-za-ba* which beside its frequentative meaning 'to eat often' has an intensified meaning too 'to be a glutton' (: *za-ba* 'to eat'). Similarly the verbal periphrasis WT *hur-húr čó-če* has a frequentative meaning 'to exert one's self' and an intensified one 'to strive' (~ Cl. T. *hur-ba* 'to be active, be quick').

Forms obtained by durative stem duplication are partly verbs like (Tar.) *ñug-ñug-pa* 'to stand out, project' : *ñug-pa* 'to protrude, stretch out' ; *'jag-'jag-pa* 'to trickle constantly' : *'jag-pa* 'to trickle', and partly adjective-adverbs. Durative adjective-adverbs may occur as an anterior member of verbal periphrases such as *duń-duń byed-pa* 'to yearn' : *gduń-pa* 'to desire, long for', but may also adopt proper adjectival or adverbial functions : CT (Bell) *č'u-gyuk'-gyu* 'fluently' ~ Cl. T. *rgyug-pa* 'to run, go, be current' (as to the anterior member CT *č'u* 'water' cf. Cl. T. *chu-rgyun* 'the streaming, continual flowing, current [often figuratively]'). Adjective-adverbs obtained by durative stem duplication, however, are used mainly in verbal adverb function sometimes with an adverbial case-ending, sometimes without any case-ending.

One of the types of stem-duplicated durative adjective-adverbs used as verbal adverbs was registered in «Western Tibetan» and Central Tibetan by Jäschke, *Grammar*, p. 58 and *Dict.*, p. 540 and in Ladakhī by Francke, *Sketch*, p. 34 : stem-duplicated durative adjective-adverbs with the flexional ending *-la*, and in Ladakhī also without any case-ending, produce subordinate nominal time-clauses indicating that the action expressed in the main clause was performed within the duration of the action expressed in the subordinate clause, e. g. : WT. *ñā ša tub-tú b-la k'yód-dī šiń k' y o ń* ~ CT *ñā ša tub-tú b-la k'yö[1]-kyī šiń kur-šog* 'while I am cutting the meat into pieces, b r i n g you (some) wood' ; Ld (Fr.) *k'arzoññi yač'ula l t a-*

l t a č'ubii ldamč'u yaṅ b u d 'w h i l s t l o o k i n g at the glacier-water of the Khardong pass, the pond-water even of Chubi (a village) i s l o s t (a proverb)'. This use of durative stem duplication can be found in the classical language as well. In the *'Jaṅs-blun* the stem-duplicated deverbative adjective-adverbs with the suffix *-pa'-ba* take up the case-ending *-las* to form the type of subordinate clauses we are dealing with, e. g. : (248_{10-12}) *de'i che rgyal-po dpuṅ-rnam bži-daṅ bčas-te | chal-gyi naṅ-du rcer s o ṅ - s o ṅ - b a - l a s | ri-dvags-daṅ p h r a d -de ri-dvags-kyi phyi-bžin r g y u g s - r g y u g s - p a - l a s | rgyal-po gčig-pu 'khor-daṅ bral-te chal stug-por p h y i n -nas* 'W h i l e the king with his four armies w a s g o i n g to the woods to amuse himself, he m e t an animal of game and w h i l e f o l l o w i n g the game, the king, alone, detached from his escort, g o t into a thick forest' ; (219_{17}) *de-nas bya-ñaṅ-pa kun-tu 'phur-žiṅ c h o l - c h o l - b a - l a s | skyed-mos-chal de-na rgyal-bu'i skad g r a g s - nas* 'w h i l e the duck flying everywhere w a s l o o k i n g [for him], the voice of the royal prince w a s h e a r d in the park' ; (220_3) *bu-mo skyed-mos-chal-du 'čhag-čiṅ s o ṅ - s o ṅ - b a - l a s rgyal-bu Dge-don 'dug-pa-daṅ p h r a d -nas* 'w h i l e the girl w a s w a l k i n g in the park, she m e t the prince Kalyāṇaṃkara who was staying there' (see also 'Jbl 187_{1-2}, 216_{11-12}, $_{13-14}$, $_{14-15}$).[15] In this type of complex sentences we can also find a verbal periphrasis with duplicated anterior member : (A.) *de'i dus-na spyan-čhab š o r - š o r 'j o g A-ti-ša či noṅs ž u s -pas* 'then w h i l e his tears w e r e r u n n i n g, he a s k e d : «Atiśa, what's wrong?»' (Das, *Dict.*, p. 744).

Another type of use of stem-duplicated durative adjective-adverbs as verbal adverbs was recorded by Francke, *Sketch*, p. 35 from the Ladakhī dialect. In this case the durative adjective-adverb obtained from the present tense stem of the verb, by appending the postposition Ld. *c'ugpa* 'until, wait until', becomes the predicate of a subordinate nominal time-clause denoting an action of protracted duration before the completion of which the action expressed in the main clause may not come to an end, e. g. : Ld. (Fr.) *yulla h l e b - h l e b c' a g p a začes ma t' o b* 'we r e c e i v e d no food u n t i l we a r r i v e d in the village'.

Some adjective-adverbs with stem duplication conveying higher or full intensity of the process : *sgreṅ-sgreṅ* 'firm and well fixed' : *sgreṅ-ba* 'to lift, raise, erect' ; *ldir-ldir* 'full to the brim, eaten to the full' : *ldir-ba* 'to be distended, inflated' ; (A.) *sbuṅ-sbuṅ* 'many in one place, a heap' (its immediate basis is unknown but cf. *spuṅ-ba* 'to heap, accumulate, fill up', *phuṅ-po* 'a piled up hill or peak', etc.) ; (SRN IV10a) *zad-zad* 'totally consumed, entirely'

[15] In the above quotations taken from the *'Jaṅs-blun* we could not follow Schmidt's translation which is correct as a whole, but does not convey the syntactical function of durative stem duplication.

(~ mong. *baratala* 'jusqu'à la fin, jusqu'à l'épuisement, jusqu'au bout, tout') : *'jad-pa* pf. *zad* 'to be consumed, spent' ; etc. Intensifying stem duplications with *-pa/-ba* suffix are nomina verbalia in the following phrases : *byed-pa byas-byas-pa* 'one who has accomplished that which was to be done' (: *byed-pa*, pf. *byas* 'to make, do, act, perform' ; Das, *Dict.*, p. 892) ; ('Jbl. 84_{12}) *bdag 'di-ltar sdug-sdug-pa'i lus* 'the body of mine who am suffering so much' (: *sdug-pa* 'to be oppressed, afflicted, grieved'). Deverbative intensifying stem duplications as nouns : *gzi-gzir-ba* 'a stinging pain in the chest' : *gzir-ba* 'to suffer' WT *ner-nér* 'sediment, settlings, dregs', litt. «something entirely sunk» ~; Cl. T. *ner-ba* 'to sink, fall gradually'. Their substantival character can be accounted for by considering the suffix *-ba* in the first instance, and by direct conversion in the latter.

Stem duplications expressing fulness and intensity may be used to intensify syntactic relation. In Balti, the likeness of two things is expressed with the adjective-adverb B *coχ(po)* (~ WT *c'óg[s]-se*, Cl. T. *mchogs)* 'like, similar', but in case of «exact similitude» the duplicated forms B *coχ-coχ* or B *dra-dra* (: B *dra* 'level, right, correct' ~ Cl. T. *'dra* 'similar, equal') are used (Read, *op. cit.*, pp. 22—23). Duplication is frequent in denoting the fulness of a negation. In this case duplication affects the very word the negation of the predicate in the sentence refers to : (Mil.nt) *rtab-rtab-la ra mi 'dren* 'I cannot help you with such speed.' If full negation occurs in one of the clauses of a complex opposite sentence, duplication will affect not one of the members of the negative clause but the adequate part of the affirmative clause : *zab-zab byas kyaṅ zab-mo raṅ mi dug* 'obgleich es für sehr tief erklärt wird, hat es dennoch keine Tiefe' (quoted by Schmidt, *Wörterbuch*, p. 503 ; also Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 486). Stem duplication is also used to denote, to emphasize the fulness of prohibition and demand. In such cases duplication is found, as a rule, in the verb (the anterior constituent of a verbal periphrasis) : *'dug-'dug phral-ba min* 'stay, stay! don't be in a hurry' ; *phu-phu mi bya* 'do not blow wind with the mouth'.[16] However also other parts of the sentence may undergo duplication to emphasize command : WT *l̓jab-l̓jáb-ba bor* 'lay or put it down flat' (cf. WT *l̓jab* 'flat').

6. Duplication may express emotion, mainly strong emotion, emphasis. The emotional-emphatic value of duplication, however, occurs mostly as a concomitant of the function of multiplicity, that is, not independently : the multiplicity or higher intensity of a phenomenon, expressed by stem duplication, raises as a rule strong emotions. This is obvious, for both thoughts

[16] In the prohibitive phrases *čag-čag mi bya* 'do not crunch so' and (Zam.) *cug-cug mi bya* 'do not smack' the stem duplication can hardly be regarded as a means of emphasizing the prohibition. It is of an onomatopoetic character (cf. § 8).

and emotions are the reflections of reality (cf. Е. М. Галкина-Федорук, Слово и понятие в свете учения классиков марксизма-ленинизма : Вестн. Моск. Унив. VI [1951], № 9, pp. 113—115). Hence, duplication designating multiplicity may become the means of expression first of an emotion associated with thought content and later of a «pure» emotion. For want of preliminary stylistic investigations and due to the absence of the registration of stylistic values in dictionaries we, naturally, cannot undertake a systematic study of the emotional-emphatic functions of stem duplications in the present paper. Yet we wish to mention a few cases or types the emphatic vaule of which is clear without stylistic investigation.

The high degree of a property or the intensity of an action may surpass the necessary or the desirable and thus reach exaggeratedness. Hence in stem duplications the idea of multiplicity may be associated with the emotional aspect of exaggeratedness : *lhug-lhug* 'to loose' (in *gos lhug-lhug gyon-pa* 'loosely dressed so that some parts of the body may be seen, to remain naked'): *lhug-pa* 'loose, diffuse'. We have a pejorative emotional aspect in the intensitive duplications *mnad-mnad* 'Falschheit, Doppelzungigkeit, Verleumdung' and WT *nad-nád čó-kʿan* 'one doing damage maliciously' (cf. Cl. T. *snad-pa* 'to hurt, harm, injure', *gnod-pa* 'id.'). Stem duplication in words expressing approval not only denotes increase but also has an emphatic character : *legs-legs-so* 'excellent! capital!' : *legs-so* 'very well! well done' ; B *ya-ya* 'yes! (I understand)', CT (Jä.) *yá-ya* 'yes! (in speaking to inferiors)' ~ Cl. T. *g-ya'-ya* 'id.'.[17]

The purely emotional (emphatic) use of stem duplication is clear in duplicated interjections. Interjections, we understand, are such parts of the vocabulary which denote nothing but merely express emotions (emphasis). So they do in objective forms common to the members of the community speaking the same language. This accounts for the fact that stem duplication as the conventional form of expressing increase has been adopted to express increased emotion (emphasis), the more so, that stem duplication in its function designating multiplicity was presumably often accompanied by an emphatic charge. In the case of some duplicated interjections we can trace the simple basis too, in others, however, we find duplicated forms only : *kye-kye* 'o! holla!' : *kye* 'id.' ; *ho-ho* 'interjection of admiration'. Stem duplication especially affects a peculiar type of Tibetan interjections which comprises a considerable part of them. These interjections are the compounds of the interjection *a*[18] and of the substantive or adjective denoting the pheno-

[17] The prefix *g-* is, presumably, no Old Tibetan traditional phonetic form but serves to denote in spelling the emphatic intonation of the modern *yá-ya* and the lengthening of its vowel.

menon which has called forth the emotion, e. g. : *a-mchar* 'oh dear! what a wonder!': *mchar-ba* 'fair, fine, beautiful ; wondrous, wonderful, marvelous'. Beside such compound interjections we usually find even duplicated forms in which, according to the rules governing the stem duplication of compounds (above p. 182), only the second member is duplicated : (Khrid.) *a-čhu-čhu* 'interj. expressive of pain from cold' : *a-čhu* 'id.' : *čhu* 'water' ; *a-na-na* 'interj. expressive of grief' : *a-na* 'id.' : *na-ba* 'illness, sickness' ; *a-cha-cha* 'interj. expressing discomfort occasioned by heat' : *a-cha* 'id.' : *cha-ba* 'heat' (cf. also *a-ca*[*-ma*] 'interj. expressive of pain by touching hot objects') ; Cl. T. (Mil.) *a-la-la* 'interj. expressive of joyful surprise : aye, ah, that is capital!' : Cl. T. *a-la*, *al-la* 'id.' : Cl. T. respectf. *lags-pa* 'to be', (Fr*Add.* p. 115) 'to be good', *legs-pa* 'good' (cf. CT [Bell] *la-so* 'all right, very well', *la-si* 'yes'). These stem-duplicated compound interjections have, to a certain degree, become an independent type. Through the working of analogy they made non-compound stem-duplicated interjections adopt the anterior member *a-* : *a-ha-ha* 'interj. expressing joy, pleasure, satisfaction' : (Mil.) *ha-ha*, *ha'-ha'* 'the natural sound of laughter': *ha* 'the sound of laughter'. The analogy of the rhythm of the *a-čhu-čhu* type may account for the absence of **-g* in the following case, though we can ascribe it to dialectal origin as well : Cl. T. *a-kha-kha* 'exclamation expressive of contempt and detestation' ~ CT *a-k'a-k'a* 'oh! alas!' : Cl. T. *a-khag* 'exclamation expressive of contempt and detestation' ; also adj. 'not fair, ugly' : Cl. T. *khag-po* 'bad, spoiled, rotten, difficult, hard'.

Stem duplications in phrases expressing respect and politeness can also be mentioned in connection with the emotional function of stem duplication. These types always denote multiplicity or are of emotional-emphatic value. In their use we find, after all, the reflection of the higher or distinguished social standing of the addressee, the reflection of objective social conditions. Therefore, these stem duplications, even if they represent different variants of the duplication denoting multiplicity or of the emotional-emphatic duplication, belong to the same stylistic layer. The form (Mil.) *mkhyen-mkhyen* 'please, pray' used when asking for something (for further use see Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 55) is, for instance, an intensitive duplication derived from the verb *mkhyen-pa* 'to know, understand'. On the other hand, in the correlation CT (Bell) honorific *la-la-si* 'yes' : not honorific *la-si* 'yes' duplication serves to designate the emphasized character of the affirmation expressing in this

[18] A detailed study of the Tibetan interjection *a* and its compounds is that of B. Laufer, *The prefix* a- *in the Indo-Chinese Languages: JRAS* 1915, pp. 757—780. — The interjection *a* here dealt with must be distinguished from the Cl. T. *a* < Skr *a* 'a mystical exclamation'.

way the unconditional obeyance to the higher ranking person. In honorific titles and in words denoting dignities it expresses respect : P (LSI) *čō-čō* 'lady' (basis unknown) ; WT *ga-gá* 'a title of honour : the old gentleman, the old squire' ~ Cl. T. *rga-ba* 'to be old, aged' ; Ld. (Jä.) *no-nó* 'title of young nobleman', Spiti (Jä.) *no-nó* 'title of the highest magistrate of the country': WT *no* 'a man's younger brother' ~ Cl. T. *nu-bo* 'id.'.

7. It has already been pointed out by Jäschke that in Tibetan the adjective has no definite formal criterion «but the vulgar language has a predilection for certain forms of adjectives», and he mentions stem duplication among these forms (*Grammar*[3], p. 25 note ; cf. also Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 48 : 2 and 5). Francke extended Jäschke's conclusions to adverbs as well (*Addenda*, pp. 121—122). Our data enable us to define more exactly the phenomenon described by Jäschke and Francke.

In the Tibetan language a considerable number of stem-duplicated forms have the same meaning as their bases or, if the stem duplication and the basis do not belong to the same part of speech, we can find a certain difference in their meaning which, however, never exceeds the degree of difference which exists between the parts of speech they belong to. (For the sake of brevity, in our following considerations we shall deal with both phenomena together under the heading of lack of semantic difference between the basis and the stem-duplicated form.) The majority of this kind of stem duplications may be observed in a few definite semantic groups of words.

In the case of verbal stems denoting iterated process, movement, state (or, such as are composed of iterated momentums) we often find stem duplications with the same meaning as that of the basis, e. g. : *gul-gul* 'a quaking, shaken' : *'gul-ba* 'to move, quake, shake' ; (Pth.) *byil-byil byed-pa* 'to stroke' : *byil-ba* 'id.' ; (A.) *sub-sub byas-pas* 'having rubbed out': *sub-pa* 'to blot out, erase' ; Ld. (Jä.) *tar-tár čó-če* 'to smooth (wrinkles or folds in cloth, paper, etc.)'~ Cl. T. (*b*)*star-ba* 'to sweep, clean, polish'. In Central Tibetan words of this semantic category practically always occur in duplicated forms : CT (Bell) *truk`-truk` č`e-pa* 'to shake' ~ Cl. T. *dkrug-pa* 'to stir, stir up, agitate' ; CT (Bell) *p`ik`-p`i* 'jelly', (Jä.) *p`ig-p`ig* 'a kind of jelly' ~ Cl. T. *'phrig-pa* 'to flutter, throb, pulsate'[19] ; CT (Bell) *t`re-t`re tań-wa* 'to scrape' ~ Cl. T. *'brad-pa/'drad-pa* 'id.' ; CT (Bell) *še-še* 'rebuke, reprimand', *še-še tań-wa* 'to rebuke, reprimand, blame' ~ Cl. T. *gše-ba* 'to abuse, revile'. Some verbs expressing indistinct movement of different or alte nating direction or else a curved movement and their stem-duplicated forms have the same meaning, e. g. : *kum-kum* 'crooked, shriveled' (but also as an intensitive 'very contracted') : *kum-pa* 'crooked', *skum-pa* 'to contract, draw in' (cf.

[19] As to the unfrequent equivalents CT *p`-* ~ Cl. T. *phr-* cf. G. Roerich, *Modern Tibetan Phonetics : JPASB* XXVII (1931), p. 304 and Uray, *Kelet-Tibet*, p. 13.

'gum-pa 'to bend, curve') ; *khyug-khyug-byed* 'zig-zag (of a flash of lightning)' : *'khyug-pa*, pf. *khyug* 'to dart or sweep rapidly along (frq. used of flash of lightning, etc.)' ; (Khrid.) *'gre-ldog-ldog byed-* 'roll on the ground' : (Glr.) *'gre-ldog byed-pa*/(Pth.) *'gre-log byed-pa* 'id.' : *'gre-ba* 'to roll one's self' + *ldog-pa*, pf. *log* 'to come back, return'. We can refer to this same semantic group the colloq. (Das) «*čhag-čhag*»[20] 'anything broken' ~ Cl. T. *'čhag-pa* 'to break, be broken' too for the parts of a broken thing come apart in different directions. Duplication in both semantic groups obviously serves to co-ordinate meaning and form : words denoting repeated movement or diverging movement have been united into one and the same category disregarding whether the idea of iteration or divergence was inherent in the basis or whether it has been assumed by stem duplication only. As stem duplications obtained in this way from verbs are adjective-adverbs, it has become necessary to make duplication effective even with adjectival stems belonging to the corresponding semantic group. That is the reason why we find duplications without any distinction in meaning in the case of adjectives denoting crookedness, uncertainty, dirtiness, confusednes in spite of the fact that in adjectival stems no duplication denoting diversity, indistinctness could be traced (see above, p. 192) : (Tar.) *ñog-ñog-po* 'confused (story)' : *ñog-pa* 'soiled, dirtied, muddy' ; WT *yon-yón čo-dug* 'is unsteady, swings to and fro (of bridge)' ~ Cl. T. *yon-po* 'crooked'.

Rather often there is no difference in meaning between the basis and the duplicated form in words referring to certainty, exactness, order, fulness : (Lex.) *tig-tig* 'certain, sure' : *tig* 'id.' ; B *cir-cir* 'order' (in *cir-cir-i-k'a yaqpa* 'to put in order') ~ colloq. (Jä.) *c'ir* 'order, course'. The Central Tibetan words having the meaning 'sure, correct, precise, accurate' are always duplicated, e. g. : CT (Bell) *t'rik'-t'rik'*/*t'rik'-t'ri* 'sure, correct, precise, accurate' ~ Cl. T. *khrigs* 'arranged in proper order' ; CT (Bell) *tak'-tak'* 'entirely, to the brim' (in *tak'-tak' luk'-pa* 'to fill to the brim') ~ Cl. T. *dag-gis* 'quite', *dag-pa* 'pure' ; CT (Bell) *š'ip'-š'ip'* 'minute' ~ Cl. T. *žib-pa* 'accurate, exact, strict' ; etc. Duplicated forms with the same meaning as that of the basis often occur also among words referring to roundness, rotundity, rotation, e. g. : ('Jbl. 63_{17}, 64_{15}) *khor-khor-yug* 'Umfang' : *khor-yug* 'id.' ; *'boň-'boň* 'round' : *'boň-ba* 'roundness, rotundity' ; CT (Jä.) *kor-kór* 'roundish, globular', (Bell) *kor-kor* 'circular' ~ Cl. T. (Wai. s̱ň.) *kor-kor byas* 'was wound round' : Cl. T. *skor-ba* 'to surround, move round a thing'. The same identity of meanings can be observed also with words denoting flatness, smothness, straightness, directness, transition, e. g. : (A.) *kroň-kroň* 'standing, posing still and erect' :

[20] The phonetic form of the word is uncertain because Das gives the word only in Tibetan letters without indication of its pronounciation though marking it as a colloquial form.

kroṅ 'erect, standing' (cf. also *khroṅ-ṅe* 'upright, erect', *'greṅ-ba* 'to stand') ; WT *kyer-kyér-la* 'erect, upright' (in *kyer-kyér-la dad-ċe* 'to stand') ~ Cl. T. *kye-re* 'erect, upright', *ker-ba* 'to rise, lift up' ; B *leʙ-leʙ* 'flat', colloq. (Jä.) *leb-léb* 'id.', CT (Bell) *lep`-lep`* 'id.' ~ Cl. T. *leb-mo* 'id.' ; colloq. (Jä.) *ṭ'ed-ṭ'éd-la* 'crossways, in a cross direction' ~ Cl. T. *phred-du* 'id.', *phred* 'cross, transvers, athwart'. Bases and their duplicated forms frequently have the same meaning even if they refer to brightness, cleanness and if they denote colour, e. g. : *khrol-khrol* 'bright, shining', (Glr.) *khrol-khrol byed-pa* 'to stare at' : *khrol-po* 'sparkling, glistening, dazzling' ; B *saṅ-saṅ* 'clear, light, distinct', P *săṅ-săṅ* 'clean' ~ Cl. T. *saṅ-ba* 'to cleanse, make clean' | *skya-skya* 'pale white, grey' : *skya-ba* 'id.' ; *mog-mog(-po)* 'dark coloured' : *mog-pa* 'id.' ; Cl. T. (Nag.) *khra-khra* 'party colour' ~ CT (Jä.) *ṭ'a-ṭ'á* 'piebald' : Cl. T. *khra-bo* 'piebald, two-coloured'. In dialects spoken in South-West China — as we have seen above (p. 181) — stem duplication appears in primary colours, moreover, in the dialect recorded by Desgodins, primary colours are denominated only by stem duplication. Also in words denoting smallness the difference between the meanings of basis and duplication may be absent, e. g. : *hrob-hrob* 'gravel, gravelly, in bits' : *hrob* 'grit, bits' ; T *čoṅ-čoṅ-žɛ* 'petit' ~ Cl. T. *čhuṅ-ba* 'id.' (but Cl. T. [Khrid.] *čhuṅ-čhuṅ* 'very little'!), and, what is more, in Central Tibetan adjective-adverbs meaning 'small, little, short' always show duplicated forms : CT (Bell) *ṅuṅ-ṅuṅ* 'a little, few, scanty', *ṅuṅ-ṅuṅ s`o-wa* 'to reduce' ~ Cl. T. *ṅuṅ-ba* 'little, a few' ; CT (Bell) *t'uṅ-t'uṅ* 'short' ~ Cl. T. *thuṅ-ba* 'id.', etc. (cf. Bell, *op. cit.*, *Gram.* p. 82). The absence of difference in meaning of bases and their duplicated forms can be observed in words expressing multitude, accumulation ; hardness, rigidity and softness, looseness, thinness, swollenness ; speed and slowness, laziness ; completion, etc. also. In all these instances such properties, circumstances, states or things are involved which differ from the average which are increased (directness ; brightness ; smallness and multiplicity ; softness and stiffness ; slowness and speed) or which more or less possess the idea of completeness (certainty, exactness, fulness ; roundness ; «pure» or primary colours ; completion). For these reasons, stem duplications of words expressing such properties should be regarded as duplications denoting multiplicity and their generalization within these semantic groups be also looked upon more or less as the co-ordination of meaning and linguistic form.[21] In addition to this, however, we must remember that the things, properties, processes and states, denoted by the words in question, due to their being different from the common, to their having a character of extremity

[21] In the case of the above mentioned word meaning 'piebald, two-coloured' we are, probably, faced not with the generalization of the duplication denoting multiplicity but with that of the one denoting diversity.

and fulness, produce as a rule an emotional effect and consequently in the generalization of the duplication a considerable part must have been played by the emotional-emphatic value of stem duplication.[22]

The generalization of duplication embraces not only single isolated semantic groups but, as we have seen, a considerable part of the word stock. Therefore, generalization was bound to take place under the mutual influence of semantic groups on each other. One of the means of this mutual influence was the analogical effect the antonyms and synonyms had exerted on one another. Thus, for instance, the duplication in the word B *k'ut-k'ut* 'short' can be accounted for by the analogical effect of synonyms. In the Balti dialect this word does not belong to a semantic group within which generalization has taken place, for words with the meaning 'small, little' have not been duplicated in the Balti. The meaning 'short' of the word B *k'ut-k'ut*, that is, of the word stem *k'ut* (> Burushaski *khu·ṭ* 'id.', Wakhi *ku·t*, *kuṭ* 'id.', cf. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo—Leipzig etc. 1938, III, p. 535) is nothing but a back formation from the compound B *k'ut-lam/lam-k'ut* 'short cut (road)' litt. «side-road» (~ Cl. T. *khud-ma* 'side, edge', *khud-du* 'aside, apart' + Cl. T., B *lam* 'road'), and the duplication should be ascribed to the analogical effect of the word B *čat-čat* 'short', litt. «greatly cut» (: B *čadpa* 'to cut' ~ Cl. T. *gčod-pa*, pf. *bčad* 'id.'). No doubt, however, that thus there has come about a smaller semantic group which is characterized by duplication as far as its form is concerned. In the case of word denoting roundness, beside duplication denoting fulness, frequentative duplication must also have played a part in the generalization of stem duplication, for this semantic group comprises also words referring to iterated rotation, e. g. : the adjective-adverb CT (Bell) *ri-ri* 'globular' occurs also in the verbal periphrasis CT (Bell) *ri-ri č'e-pa* 'to wag' (cf. Cl. T. *ril-ba*, *ril-po* 'round, globular', *'gril-ba* 'to be turned round', etc.).

[22] Thus, for instance, adjective-adverbs meaning 'certain, exact' with emphatic stem duplication are frequently used as modifiers : *bden-bden* 'very true indeed! certainly' : *bden-pa* 'true, sincere' ; WT *ḍig-ḍig* 'to be sure! quite so! of course!' ~ Cl. T. *'grig-pa* 'to suit, agree, be right'. Emotional duplication can be observed even in names of colour. Adjectives meaning 'dark, bright, sparkling', which can be combined with names of colour to denote the fulness, of the latter and at the same time to express emotion, are usually emphasized by way of stem duplication, e. g. : *nag-tiṅ-tiṅ* 'intensely black, jet black' : (A.) *nag-tiṅ* 'id.' : *nag-po* 'black' + *gtiṅ* 'depth' (cf. also Ld. [Jä.], Tsang [Jä.] *tiṅ-tíṅ* 'clean, well-swept') ; *smug-tiṅ-tiṅ* 'deep purple' : *smug-po* 'purple brown, dark bay' | *dkar-čhem-čhem* 'sparkling white' : *dkar-čhem-me* 'id.' : *dkar-po* 'white' (for the posterior member cf. *čem-me-ba* 'bright, shining', etc.) ; etc. (cf. Das, *Dict.*, pp. 516, 730. — Following evidently grammars written in Tibetan, Das includes these adjectives added to names of colour among the group of *chig-grogs*es, i. e. auxiliary words).

The generalization of duplication in the semantic groups dealt with served to co-ordinate meaning with form and thereby strengthened such functions of stem duplication as denoting iteration, diversity, indistinctness and multiplicity because it has united words expressing iteration, diversity and multiplicity into a more or less identical formal category. At the same time, however, analogy resting on the meaning could extend stem duplication even to cases in which no iteration, diversity, indistinctness or multiplicity can be discerned. Moreover, the possibility of denoting an increase in the meaning of adjective-adverbs by stem duplication has been reduced. Hence, we can ascertain that generalization has weakened the original functions of duplication, that of modifying and that of differenciating the meaning. Due to the generalization of duplication even the correlation between the simple and duplicated members of word families has undergone a considerable change.

The place of generalized stem duplications within the family of words can be investigated only in the dialects since in the classical language the system of word families in the artificially conserved Old-Tibetan stage is disturbed by forms originating in dialectal systems of later stages. Another reason for not investigating this problem on the basis of the classical language r sides in the presumption that the generalized forms, or at least their majority are later formations[23] and have made their way into classical language from the dialects only later. This is borne out, among others, by the fact that in the classical language we have but a single verb formed with generalized stem duplication *(rtab-rtab-pa* 'to be confused, be in hurry' : *rtab-pa* 'id.') whereas verbal periphrases with generalized stem duplication are to be found in abundance in the classical language as well.

The substitution of the simple words by stem-duplicated forms is, of course, the result of prolonged development during which the two forms, for a certain time, are used with identical meaning. Thus e. g. in the dialects spoken in South-West China, except the dialect described by Desgodins, simple forms

[23] R. Shafer, *East Himalayish: BSOAS* XV (1953), p. 373 tries to establish connection between the word family Cl. T. *'khor* 'circle, circumference', *'khor-ba* 'to turn round', and the word WT *kyir-kyir* 'round, circular, disk', on the one hand, and the words Bahing *k^{c}or* 'fence', Dumi *k^{c}o-k^{c}or'-* 'round', Khaling *k^{c}a-k^{c}ar-* 'id.', and the words Bahing *k^{c}ir-k^{c}ir* 'round', Thulung *k^{c}i-ker-* 'id.', Sangpang *k^{c}i-k^{c}ir-* 'id.', on the other, as a common Tibeto-Himalayish inheritance. In these East Himalayish words we find the same generalized duplication as in the words B *k^{c}or-k^{c}or* 'circle' and WT *kyir-kyir* 'round'. The Tibetan and the East-Himalayish duplication seems to be the result of a parallel separate development since in Cl. T. the word family *'khor* is represented, as a rule, by members displaying simple form. But even if the generalization of duplication in the words with the meaning 'round' proved to be an ancestral Tibeto-Himalayish phenomenon, this by itself would not be an evidence of the ancestral origin of the l a r g e s c a l e generalization as observed in Tibetan.

are often met with together with their duplicated forms having the same meaning. At the primary stage of generalization the simple and the duplicated forms may have only one common meaning whereas their other meanings are different, e. g. : B *hrpat-hrpat bya* 'to dispute' : B *hrpat-pa* 'id.' : 'to argue' (~ Cl. T. *rbad-pa* 'to set on, incite, excite, instigate, animate'); B *sked-skede* 'abundant' : *skede* 'id.' : 'more, mainly, extra, excessive, often' (~ Cl. T. *skyed-pa* 'to cause to germinate or grow'). In the majority of the cases, however, beside the forms obtained by generalized stem duplication we find no simple word with the same meaning in the same dialect. (This may be due, in certain cases, to the insufficiency of data to be found in the dictionaries, yet on the whole the number of such cases is so high that we can hardly impute the lack of examples to the defectiveness of recording.)

We have noticed that stem duplication has been generalized mostly in verbal, adjectival and adverbial bases and in these cases — be the basis a verb or an adjective-adverb — generalized stem duplication produces only adjective-adverbs (or from these substantives by way of direct conversion). Hence, generalization may give rise to correlations in which stem duplication has no other function than to distinguish and delimit parts of speech : WT *ril-ril* 'round, globular ; a round object' : WT *(š)ril-če* 'to wind round'. Such instances, however, only occur sporadically and due to the insufficience of the material at our disposal we cannot tell to what extent such correlations have developed in the dialects as a consequence of the generalization of stem duplication. We presume that this phenomenon is rare and is of a transitory character because the simple verbs of the semantic groups referred to above generally tend to be ousted by verbal periphrases having a stem-duplicated anterior member. No doubt, however, that stem duplication draws a rather distinct line of demarcation between verbs and adjective-adverbs since in the periphrastic verb system there is no place for duplicated verbs (finite verbs). On the other hand, in the case of substantives and adjective-adverbs stem duplication plays a considerably less important role in their morphological distinction since we have a large number of substantives with stem duplication, even with generalized stem duplication. We have not succeeded in finding in the dialects correlations «without difference in meaning» between stem-duplicated adjective-adverbs and simple substantives. Nevertheless it can be established that among stem duplications adjective-adverbs prevail in number over the substantives.

Consequently, the generalization of stem duplication within certain semantic groups created the germs of a tendency towards conveying to stem duplication a character of delimiting the parts of speech. This tendency, however, can hardly be considered fully established because, on the one hand, it is counteracted by direct conversion between substantives and adjec-

tives and, on the other, the basic function of duplication, such as denoting iteration, divergence, indistinctness and expressing emotions, is practically intact or, at the very most, only slightly weakened. Another feature of stem duplication must also be borne in mind : it has not been generalized to the same extent and in the same semantic groups in all parts of the Tibetan-speaking area, hence generalization might be less extensive within one dialect than is shown by our material complied from different dialects. No doubt, however, that in Jäschke's «Western Tibetan» as well as in Central Tibetan the generalization of stem duplication is rather extensive.

8. Stem duplication often occurs even in onomatopoetic words. Stem duplication in such cases[21] has a function, different by nature, from those hitherto dealt with.

Let us examine the following phrases : (Wdn.) *rna-ba'i bu-ga bkag-pa'i che 'ur-'ur žes-pa'i sgra* 'the sound 'ur-'ur in the ears produced by stopping them' (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 500, the translation is modified by myself) ; (Glr.) *he-he zer bgad-pas* 'she laughed [saying] : he-he'. In these phrases the duplicated onomatopoetic word only reproduces, «qoutes» — so to say — the acoustic phenomenon in question, it refers to the latter with its phonetic form. Thus the onomatopoetic word replaces or completes the word denoting the acoustic phenomenon. It does not, however, immediately integrate with the sentence but is treated as a quotation being incorporated in, and, at the same time, separated from, the proper sentence by the words *zer* 'saying' or *žes-pa* 'so he said'.

Such reproducing, «quoting» words also come within the scope of the social communicative function of the language and are subject to the inner laws determinated by this function. This is evidenced by the fact that the reproduction takes place within the limits of the range of sounds and the phonetic laws of the language, on the one hand (the reproducing activity of sound imitators falls outside he scope of language), and by the fact, on the other hand, that such words cannot be used outside the sphere of their conventional usage not even if the acoustical phenomenon and the onomatopoesis are coinciding sounds. Onomatopoeses in such «purely» reproducing function, naturally, do not denote any definite concept, do not belong to any part of speech but are akin to modifiers and interjections. The indistinctness of the concept which the majority of the onomatopoetic words denote and the indefiniteness

[24] Considerations of principle relating to the problems dealt with in the present § I,8 apply also to onomatopoetic words displaying other forms of repetition. Our examples will, however, be selected exclusively from stem-duplicated forms. Therefore we shall have to content ourselves with a rather limited number of examples. These, however, can easily be completed with instances quoted in §§ III,4 and 6 ; IV,2 ; V,1 ; VI,1 and 2 of our paper.

of their place among the parts of speech is reflected also in the dictionaries inasmuch as, in a considerable number of cases, they offer either fairlylong descriptions put there to avoid reference to any part of speech or simply offer such interpretation as «sound given by such and such a thing or creature», even in cases when the examples do not indicate substantival use. No doubt, however, that a considerable number, if not the majority, of onomatopoeia have become words denoting a concept and belonging to one of the parts of speech.

A number of onomatopoetic words, among them the stem duplications, are obviously substantives denoting the animal, instrument or another thing that produces the sound reflected in the phonetic form or denoting the sound itself: Cl. T. *rci-rci* 'mouse' ~ CT (Jä.) *ci-cí*, (Bell) *ci-ci* 'mouse' (cf. Cl. T. *rcig-rcig* 'squeaking of the mouse', *rcig-ge* 'mouse'); *pi-pi* 'flute'; B *šal-šal* 'shallow'.

With the development of the periphrastic verb system duplicated onomatopoetic words cannot be verbs, though very frequent are such verbal periphrases in which the anterior constituent is a duplicated onomatopoetic word, the posterior constituent carrying the verbal function being one of the auxiliaries used in verbal periphrases or a verb denoting a sound. In this latter type onomatopoesis still appears in the form of a «quotation» though the concept it denotes has already been formed. Some examples are: *ceg-ceg byed-pa/ceg-ceg zer-ba* 'to rustle, to make a noise like dry hay or dry leaves'; (Rdsa.) *sug-sug rgod* 'laughing loudly'; WT (Jä.) *tag-tág čó-če, t'ag-t'ág čó-če* 'to knock' / *tag-tág zer* 'there is a knock' ~ CT (Bell) *tak'-tak'* 'a rap', *tak'-ta(k')* *tań-wa* 'to rap, tap'; CT (Bell) *trok'-tro tań-wa* 'to rattle'.

It is less easy to tell to what degree the place of an onomatopoetic adjective-adverb among the parts of speech has been consolidated because an onomatopoetic word will occupy the same place in the sequence of words in any case, either as a pure «quotation» or in the function of an adjective-adverb. The sentence (A.) *'phyi-dguń čhu-la skya-ba čab-čab byuń*, for instance, in Das, *Dict.*, p. 851 has the interpretation 'late at night there was the č a b - č a b s o u n d o f t h e o a r s on the water' though the interpretation 'strokes with the oars' is not excluded either (cf. [Hbrom.] *phyag čab-čab mjad-nas* 'patting'; Das, *Dict.*, p. 379). We can find no sharp limit in any other respect between an onomatopoesis used as «pure quotation» and that denoting a definite concept. The above form *'ur-'ur*, for instance, taken from a passage of Wdn. obviously has the function of a «pure quotation» whereas in another passage taken from the same work it is used evidently as an adjective in a secondarily derived form: *'ur-'ur-po-yi sgra* 'humming noise (in the ears)'.

Onomatopoetic words in which the concept referred to has assumed a definite shape do not differ in any respect from the non-onomatopoetic

words as far as their denoting function is concerned. This fact, however, has not eliminated the coincidence of the acoustical phenomenon with the phonetic form denoting it. The coincidence in this case is, however, not to serve for the more accurate communication of a thought with the help of its phonetic form but for evoking emotions associated with the perception of the acoustical phenomenon in questions by reproducing it. This onomatopoetic words, the stem-duplicated onomatopoeses among them, have become a specific means of the language for expressing emotions. This statement of ours, based upon other languages and on considerations of principle, is corroborated by the statement of the only student of Tibetan stylistics, H. Beck, who writes «zu den Ausdrucksmitteln des poetischen Stils gehört... der Gebrauch lautmalender Worte» *(op. cit.*, § 57).

The formation of the idea denoted by words reproducing acoustic phenomena opens the way to semantic changes too. Thus, for instance, the word *krig-krig*, beside its meaning 'to make the sound ṭig-ṭig ; to beat with the hand or feet' denoting an acoustic phenomenon, has another meaning 'to press with the hand or feet'[25] which is no more in connection with the acoustic phenomenon. In many cases the word does not denote an acoustic phenomenon any more yet the connection between the character of the phonetic form reproducing an acoustic phenomenon, and the meaning of the word can still be clearly discerned. Thus the phonetic form of the word *ñob-ñob* 'weak, feeble-minded' obviously imitates the lamentation of a pusillanimous person or of a valetudinarian, that of the word WT «*mnyó-mnyo-ċan*» [= *ńó-ńo-ċan* ; cf. note 20] 'fondling, petting' is the imitation of some coddling baby-talk, and that of the onomatopoetic word in (Mil.) *žuń-žuń byed-pa* 'to nod or bow repeatedly (of pigeon)' reproduces cooing. Probably the laugh of a person being tickled is reproduced in *ga-ga-chil* 'tickling', (K. du. *ča* 228) *ga-ga-chil byed-pa* 'to tickle'. Words of onomatopoetic character — stem duplicated forms as well — may be used to denote phenomena unrelated to acoustic phenomena, mainly luminous phenomena and emotions. This is done, as a rule, under the influence of the similar rhythm of, or the similar emotion evoked by, the latter. The often mentioned word *'ur-'ur* 'humming noise', for instance, in the phrase (Pth.) *bag-dro 'ur-'ur* «seems to describe the feeling of a genial warmth pervading the body» (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 500 ; — cf. *bag-ma* 'bridge' + *dro-ba* 'warmth'). Words of probably onomatopoetic character referring to luminous phenomena are : (BCA IX12b) *čhil-čhil* ~ Skr. *accham(iti)* 'klar, durchsichtig, blank, rein' ~ Mong. *čim-čim* (neither the Tibetan nor the Monogolian word could be found in any other place ; but cf. Cl. T. [Lex.] *čhal-čhil* 'wavering, fluctuating'); CT (Jä.) *mig c'im-*

[25] The verbal interpretation of the word probably goes back to a verbal periphrasis.

c'im dug [«*dug*»] 'the eye is dazzled' ~ WT *mig zim-zím č'a-dug* 'the eyes are dazzled by a glaring light' (cf. B *zam-zim* 'bright').

In the instances dealt with (in the present § I, 8) duplication, no doubt, has its share, and an essential one too, in the reproducing function of the onomatopoetic word : it imitates the identically or more or less identically repeated elements of the acoustical or other phenomenon to be reproduced. The substantial role played by stem duplication in reproduction accounts for the fact that stem duplication can form onomatopoeses from non-onomatopoetic words : (MD, Mil.) *lhuṅ-lhuṅ* 'bezeichnet das Rauschen der Stromschnellen' (the same form in the meaning [M̲ṅon] 'waterfall, cascade' given by Das, *Dict.*, p. 1339 may be regarded as a frequentative duplication): *ltuṅ-ba*, pf. *lhuṅ* 'to fall, fall down'. *Ṅaṅ-ṅaṅ zer-pa* 'to cackle' : *ṅaṅ-pa* 'goose' can also probably be regarded as a correlation of this kind.[26] Hence, we can conclude that, besides its function denoting iteration, diversity-indistinctness, multiplicity and its emotional-emphatic function, stem duplication has also a reproductive function and that in this quality stem duplication is a means of word formation in a specific category of emotional expression, that is, in the onomatopoetic vocabulary of the language.

9. In the preceding paragraphs we have reviewed the functions of stem duplication. We are well aware of the fact that all forms of stem duplication cannot be accounted for by these functions because a certain number of stem-duplicated words occur independently and — sometimes perhaps only for the lack of our knowledge of facts — cannot be qualified as onomatopoeses either.[27] In a few such cases it can be established for certain or in all likelihood that the duplicated form has come from child or nursery language, from summons to animals or has been borrowed from another language. In some other instances, however, at the present state of our knowledge we can offer no explanation of duplications.

A number of child and nursery words have an onomatopoetic and a prompting character : *kva-kva* 'excrement' (in [K. d. *ja*] *srin-bu kva-kva*

[26] The following folk-etymology also shows that duplication has a character enabling it to produce onomatopoetic words : (K. d. *ra* 343) *lho-phyogs-kyi gliṅ 'di-ñid dbyibs-gru-gsum | šiṅ kalpa-bri-kṣa-ste dpag-gsam-gyi šiṅ-gi lo-ma čhu-la lhuṅ-ba'i che jam-jam žes-pa'i sgra 'don-pas Jam-bu'i gliṅ žes brǰod* 'this southern continent is triangular in shape ; and is called Jam-bu'i-gliṅ from the jam-jam sound made by the falling from heaven of leaves of the Kalpadruma wishing-three into the river Ganges' (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1048) ; this, however, is presumably a translation of an Indian «etymology».

[27] Besides these, we have a very small number of cases in which we cannot explain the semantic connection or difference in parts of speech between the duplicated form and the corresponding simple form if both are extant : *'jud-'jud-pa* 'to put i n t o' : *'jud-pa* 'to put, lead, insert' ; (Liç.) *yob-yob* 'the foot' : *yob/'ob* 'stirrup' ; *šal-šal-ba* 'to harrow' (an incorrect lexicographic back formation from **šal-šal byed-pa*?) : *šal-ba* 'a harrow'.

'maggot worm, generally infesting the mouth of the rectum'), *ko-ko* 'id.' ~ WT *ka-ka* 'excrement (nursery word)', Tsang (Jä.) *k'yag-žu-ko-kó* 'mud caused by a thaw, snow-water' (cf. Cl. T. *khyag[s]-pa* 'frost, ice' + *žu-ba* 'to melt, digest'); Cl. T. (Pth.) *phum-phum* 'posterior, anus' ~ Sikkhim (Jä.) *p'rum-p'rúm* 'id.' ; B *čhu-čhu* 'breast' ; WT *pí-pi* 'nipple, teat'. Duplicated kinship terms may also be supposed to have come from child or nursery language, though a considerable number of them have a stem of other origin: (Dzl., Glr., K. du. *ka*) *ma-ma* 'children's nurse, midwife' ; *smo-smo* 'mother's mother' ; Cl. T. (Glr., Dag.) *jo-jo* 'elder brother' ~ CT (Jä.) *jo-jó* 'id.', (Bell) *č'o-č'o* 'id.' : Cl. T. *jo-bo* 'lord, master' ~ C. T. (Jä.) *jó-bo, á-jo* 'the elder brother' ; B *nono* 'baby (suckling)' : B *pho-no* 'younger brother' ~ Cl. T. *nu-bo* 'id.'. In a few instances the stem-duplicated form may even have a diminutive-hypocoristic character though this should be ascribed rather to the meaning of the basis and to the affective value of child or nursery words than to the stem duplication itself because stem duplications in Tibetan have not been found to have a diminutive function. In kinship terms stem duplications may also have a honorific character or one of courtesy. This is the case with words denoting elder relatives or those in the ascending line. This is borne out by the fact that the use of duplicated kinship terms, at the time of the disintegration of the clan system, could be extended to denote social standing outside the family as a reverential title : *ne-ne-mo* 'aunt ; address of courtesy to a respectable woman' : *a-ne* 'aunt' ; WT, CT (Jä.) *me-mé* 'grandfather, forefather, ancestor ; reverential name given to a man of more advanced age' ~ Cl. T. *mes-po* 'grandfather, forefather, ancestor' (cf. § I, 6).

The word (Mṅon) *che-che* 'goat' may be regarded as coming from summons to animals.

Among duplicated forms loan words are frequent, e. g. : *ka-ka, kā-ka* 'crow ; the cry of the crow' < Skr. *kāka* 'id.' (onomatop); (Stg., K. d. *za*) *ru-ru* 'a kind of deer' < Skr. *ruru* 'id.' ; (Wdṅ.) *ha-la-ha-la* 'a certain poison, poison in general' < Skr. *hālahala, hālāhala, hālahāla* 'id.' | *mog-mog* (= colloq. *mo-mo*) 'meat-pie, meat-balls in a cover of pastry ; pastry puff' < Chin. *mo-mo* 'steamed bread in small loaves' (Laufer, *Loan Words*, p. 521, № 272). As the final *-š* is unknown in Tibetan the word B *kiš-kiš* 'trouble' is presumably also a loan word. In some loan words there was no original duplication, they have become duplicated only by their being adapted to the phonetic forms of Tibetan words, e. g. : Cl. T. (A.) *ci-ci, ce-ce, ce-ci*, Old Tibetan *či-c'e*, Kunawar *ce-ce* 'a kind of millet grown in China' < Chin. *chi-tzŭ* 'a variety of millet' (Laufer, *Loan Words*, pp. 501—502, № 207).

Duplicated forms in which, for lack of extant basis, we have not succeeded in establishing the function or origin of duplication belong to the most various semantic groups. The majority of such duplications are to be found in the following groups : *a)* words denoting animals (some of them are presumably

onomatopoetic): *drud-drud* 'pelican'; *byiṅ-byiṅ thu-lu* 'a species of small beetle'; (S., Lex., Zam.) *šaṅ-šaṅ* 'crane', *šaṅ-šaṅ-te'u* 'pheasant or partridge'; *b)* Words denoting plants: *čhu-čhu* 'rhubarb' (in compounds we only have the shortened form *čhu-*, e. g. *čhu-rca* 'id.'); *'o-ma zi-zi* 'the seeds of Arbus pecatorius'; (A.) *šaṅ-šaṅ* 'name of a flower'; P (Jä.) *p'ag-p'ág* 'codonopsis ovata'; etc. *c)* Words denoting parts of the body: Cl. T. *sko-sko*, *kos-sko*, *kos-ko*, *ko-ko* 'chin' ~ B *kosko* 'id.'; WT *ṭu-ṭú* 'windpipe'. *d)* Words denoting illnesses :[28] (Pth.) *tre-tre-ho* 'a dangerous disease of the stomach or a serious symptom of it'. *e)* Substantives meaning 'decoration, garland': (Wdn.) *dom-dom* 'ornamental fringes hanging down from the neck of a horse'; *choṅ-choṅ* 'a kind of ornament'. *f)* In onomastics: *skyi-skyi-na-ga* / *skyi-nag* 'n. of a pasture land in province Tsang'; *rcaṅ-rcaṅ* 'name of a sa-bdag monster'; *zaṅ-zaṅ* 'name of a place in Lhobrag'. *g)* Among stem-duplicated forms with an indefinite function and having no etymon adjective-adverbs and anterior constituents of verbal periphrases are represented in the greatest number: (Lex.) *ltar-ltar-po* 'of a liquid nature, as an embryo first in the womb'; B *ran-ran* 'absurd'; WT *dal-dál* 'flat'; CT (Bell) *č'am-č'am č'e-pa* 'to ramble'; etc. Considering that these are mainly dialectal words, we may assume that their duplicated form in most of the cases is the result of the generalization of stem duplication (I, 7 §).

Here we wish to comment briefly on stem duplication in a considerable number of numerals denoting units above one million. Schiefner *(Über die*

[28] The origin of the duplication is clear in the word *ci-ci jo-ba*, *ci-ci jo-la* 'cancer'. Jäschke imputes to it an alleged Nepalese origin but it has another explanation. In Kowalewski, *Dict.*, p. 928 this word figures in the form *ci-ci jol* as the equivalent of the Mong. *quluγana ebedčin* 'cancer, tumeur maligne, squirreuse'. The Tibetan word and the Mongolian word are correlated as loan translations: Mong. *quluγana* 'souris' = Cl. T. *rci-rci*, CT (Bell, Jä.) *ci-ci* 'mouse' + Mong. *ebedčin* 'maladie, mal, infirmité' = Cl. T. *jol* : *mjol-bu* 'grief, dejection'. The use of the word 'mouse' in denoting tumours can be accounted for either by an assimilative semantic change or, perhaps, by a popular belief, both of them based on the similarity of form. An exact equivalent exists in Hungarian where the word *egér* 'mouse' in the dialects has the following meaning too: 'tumour on the neck, on the parotid region or in the throat of an animal due to thirst; a kind of tumour: a protrusion on the small of the back of cattle' (Szinnyei J., *Magyar tájszótár* [= Hungarian Dialect Dictionary], Budapest 1893—1901, I, col. 456; Gombocz Z.—Melich J., *Magyar etymologiai szótár* [= Hungarian Etymological Dictionary], Budapest 1914—1944, I, col. 1485—1486). We may also mention the use in Indo-European languages of the word **mūs* 'mouse' and its derivatives meaning 'muscle' though this comes not from a purely formal similarity but from the similarity of the movement of the biceps and of the way the mouse runs about (H. Günther: *Z. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* XLV [1913], p. 197; cf. A. Walde—J. B. Hofman, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[3], Heidelberg 1938—1953, II, pp. 132—133). It is undecided which of the two words is the original and which is the translation, the Mongolian or the Tibetan one.

hohen Zahlen der Buddhisten: Mél. As. IV, pp. 643—644) calls them «Klangwörter», that is, qualifies them as being of onomatopoetic character. This is hardly acceptable because the concepts of higher numbers contain no such elements as would be suitable for acoustical «reproduction». We are inclined to find the origin of such duplications in the function denoting multiplicity (§ I, 5) as shown by (Ya-sel. 56) *thud-thud* 'n. of a number': *'thud-pa* 'to add on, make longer' (its Sanskrit equivalent according to Schiefner, *op. cit.*, is *samarya* 'Menge, Masse ; eine best. hohe Zahl'). In stem duplications denoting higher numerals the function of uncertainty-indistinctness (§ I,4) might also be considered as the originating factor because high numerals can be abstracted also from words denoting indistinct phenomena, darkness as shown by high numerals in other languages (e. g. : Tokhar. A *tmāṁ*, B *tumane* '10,000' ~ O. Ch. Sl. *tьma* 'Dunkelheit ; Myriade, Unmenge', parallels from the Semitic languages and the Malagasy, v. D. Baumgartl, *Bemerkungen zu hohen Zahlwörtern: Z. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* LXX [1952—1953], pp. 241—246), as well as in Tibetan itself *(dkrigs-pa* 'darkened, obscured, dim ; 100,000 billion or 1,000 billion'). Duplicated high numerals could then be formed arbitrarily even without basis following the pattern of high numerals formed by duplication denoting multiplicity or — occasionally — uncertainty-indistinctness. The more so that among high numerals we cannot omit to reckon with arbitrary formations, for a considerable number of the Sanskrit high numerals are also arbitrary formations. A definite answer to the question of duplications in higher numerals, however, could be given only in case the whole Tibetan and Sanskrit nomenclature of higher numerals were analysed which is beyond the scope of the present paper.

10. As to their form stem duplications have undoubtedly the character of compounds for when duplicated the word shortens just as it does in compounds. It must, however, be clarified whether stem duplications, as regards the semantic correlation of their parts, are to be considered compounds or not, and if so, what type of compounds. As the interrelations between the constituents of compounds are analysed on the basis of the corresponding syntagmatic relations, it is advisable to analyse the correlation between the parts of duplication parallel with the corresponding syntactic or possibly compound-like repetition formations.

Two, possibly three repetition formations can be compared with duplication indicating iteration and diversity. One of these types is the co-ordinate relation of a substantive, pronoun or adverb by means of the sociative-co-ordinate case-ending *-dań*, e. g.: (Tar.) *khyim-dań khyim-na* 'house to house ; each in his house': *khyim* 'house, home'; Cl. T. *žag-dań žag* 'every day' ~ WT *žag-dań žag* 'id.' : Cl. T. *žag(-pa)* 'a day' ~ WT *žág-po, žág-ma* 'id.' ; (BCA VIII18b—c) *gaṅ-dań gaṅ-la . . . de-dań de* ~ Skr. *yatra yatra . . . tat tad* 'where-

ever... there always' :[29] *gaṅ* 'who, which, whoever, whichever, whatever' + *de* 'that'; ('Jbl. 17_2) *či-daṅ či* 'whatsoever': *či* 'which, what, whatsoever'. In such cases repetition formations enumerate iterated phenomena as juxtaposed things. Nevertheless they differ from other enumerating compounds inasmuch as they indicate the juxtaposition of only two members irrespective of the quantity of iteration, thus representing a higher degree of abstraction than co-ordinations offering full enumeration. Another repetition formation which can be compared with duplication denoting iteration and diversity-indistinctness is represented by the twofold adverbial phrases composed of the ablative and the terminative of the same word. This kind of repetition can be met with in substantives, adverbs and pronouns : *žag-nas žag-tu* 'from day to day': *žag* 'a day'; (BCA V83b) *goṅ-nas goṅ-du* ~ Skr. *uttarotaratah* 'immer höher und höher, immer mehr und mehr, in stetiger Folge' : *goṅ* 'the above'; (Dzl.) *yaṅ-nas yaṅ-du* 'again and again' : (Tar.) *yaṅ-daṅ yaṅ-du* 'id.', (Mil., BCA IX164a—b) *yaṅ-yaṅ* 'id.' : *yaṅ* 'again' ; ('Jbl 54_{13}) *gaṅ-nas gaṅ-du* 'wherever' (Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, II, p. 67_7 translates it incorrectly by 'von woher und wohin') : *gaṅ* 'who, which, etc.'. In such twofold adverbial phrases the iterated thing or circumstance indicates the starting point and the end of the action expressed in the predicate. Thus the members of iteration are connected only with the predicate, the interconnection between themselves is secondary and has rather a co-ordinating than a subordinating character. Even in this type we may discover the abstraction of iteration : the exact number of iteration is disregarded. Stem duplication denoting diversity-indistinctness in verbs is susceptible to be compared with formations of the type *lhabs-se lhabs* 'beständig hin und her flattern od. flimmern' inasmuch as these formations can really be interpreted as co-ordinate verbal syntagmas. Their verbal character is, however, not beyond all doubt.[30]

[29] In such correlative pairs of pronouns sometimes the case-ending *-daṅ* is to be found in only one of the two whereas in the other we find stem duplication : (BCA II36b—c) *gaṅ-daṅ gaṅ...de-de* ~ Skr. *yad yad... tat tad.* There are even cases when one of the two correlative pronouns shows a simple form : (BCA VIII139b—c) *či...de-daṅ de* ~ Skr. *yad yad...tat tad.* The asymmetry is obviously due to metrical reasons.

[30] Besides the verbal interpretation of *lhabs-se lhabs* by Schmidt (cf. *lhab-lhab-pa* 'id.', *lhab-lhub* 'wide, flowing, waving') the verbal value of this type is corroborated by the fact that in the only known text-example of this type, in the Klb, such forms figure always in predicative function : (7b 3—4, 7b 6—7, 8a 1—2, etc.) *ba-dmar glaṅ-dmar di-ri-ri | ṅaṅ-ṅur maṅ-po lčoṅ(s)-se lčoṅ | rma-bya spu-sdug lhab(s)-se lhab | rol-mo sil-sñan si-li-li* 'Rotkuh, Rotstier murmeln leise, Schwärmen Gänse, schwärmen Enten, Flattern federstolze Pfauen, Tönt die Cymbel ihre Weise' ; (9b 1—3) *klu mgo-maṅ-po kyu-ru-ru | sbrul mgo-maṅ-po roṅ-se roṅ | g-yu-mcho ṡnon-mo lam-se lam* 'Sieh, wie sich der Vielkopfnâga windet, Und wie Vielkopfschlange hin- und herwogt, Und der blaue See von Türkis schimmert' (cf. also Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 72). On the other hand Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 558 interprets (Mil.) *šigs-se šigs* as 'rocking', i. e. regards it as a nominal form (cf.

The duplication denoting multiplicity, or more exactly the duplication denoting increase of adjectives and their emotional-emphatic duplication, is comparable with co-ordinate compounded adjectives formed with the repetition of the adjectival stem and with the interpolation of the conjunction *kyaṅ / yaṅ / 'aṅ* («Fernkomposita») such as, for instance, *čhe'aṅ-čhe* 'very great': *čhe(-ba)* 'great' ; *thuṅ-yaṅ-thuṅ* 'very short': *thuṅ-ba* 'short' (Csoma, *Grammar*, § 102 ; Schmidt, *Grammatik*, § 90 ; Foucaux, *Grammaire*, § 38). As regards their form theyare shortened compounds corresponding to co-ordinate phrases with repetition of the type *khyim-daṅ khyim(-na) (-daṅ* is replaced here by the conjunction *kyaṅ / yaṅ / 'aṅ* because *-daṅ* cannot be used in co-ordinate compound forms with adjectives). The type dealt

šigs-se 'rocking, relaxed', *šig-ge-ba* 'trembling, tottering', *bšig-pa* 'to destroy'), whereas Francke, *Addenda*, p. 121 includes the form *liṅ-se-liṅ*, interpreted as 'dangling,' among adjectives and adverbs «with reiteration» (cf. *liṅ-ṅe* 'dangling, waving', *ldiṅ-ba* 'to float, be swimming'). Unfortunately, both Jäschke and Francke quote their data without referring to their contexts, and so we cannot check the correctness of their interpretation. The verbal interpretation is supported as a matter of fact by one single example only and we must not forget that nominal clauses (sentences) are not unknown in Tibetan. This problem cannot be definitely settled for the time being. No doubt, however, that the form of the formations speaks in favour of a co-ordination of verbs with themselves, composed by means of the verbal adverb suffix *-e* and denoting movement iterated in different directions. (The function of the suffix *-e* to form verbal adverbs can be traced only in Baltic and Purik, and in the latter it is used in co-ordinate nominal clauses too. Nevertheless, this suffix is in the first place a deverbative one to form adjective-adverbs in the classical language and also in the other dialects, consequently its original function to form verbal adverbs is highly probable; cf. Uray: *Acta Orient. Hung.* III [1952], p. 243.)

Comments on the interpretation and etymology of some repetition and triplicated forms appearing in the two verses quoted from the Klb. : *a) lčoṅ(s)-se lčoṅ*, according to Laufer means 'schwärmen' and is — according to him — related to the verb *lčog(s)-pa* 'to be agitated, shake, tremble' (p. 72). On our part we would suggest the interpretation 'to cackle about' (cf. *gčoṅ-skad* 'cry of sorrow', *čoṅ-ba* 'to raise [wailings]', *čho-ṅe[s]* 'lamentation'). *b) kyu-ru-ru* according to Laufer means 'windet'. If this interpretation is correct, this word is a derivative of the stem **k(h)yu-r* : **gyu-r* 'bend' and is akin to the verbs *'gyur-ba* 'to change' and *sgyur-ba* 'to turn, alter, transform change'. Further members of this word family are : *'gyu-ba* 'to move quickly to and fro, e. g. as lightning', *'khyu-ba* 'to run', *dkyu-ba* 'to run a race' ; *rgyug-pa* 'to run, make haste', *'khyug-pa* 'to run, to dart or sweep rapidly along (used of a flash of lightning)' ; cf. S. N. Wolfenden, *Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin and Chinese: JRAS* 1937, p. 627. According to this the original meaning of the stem **k(h)yu-* : **gyu-* is 'to dart in a zigzag line, wind'. Nevertheless it is possible that the word imitates the hissing of the snake and in this case it is akin to the onomatopoeia *kyur-kyur* 'twittering, the cry of small bird'. *c) roṅ-se roṅ* 'hin- und herwogt'. This meaning is clearly shown by the context. The word is related to the word *roṅ* 'narrow passage, defile, cleft in a hill, valley'. *d) lam-se lam* 'schimmert', cf. (Mil.) *khra-lam-me* 'glittering in many colours', cf. also *Acta Orient. Hung.* III (1953), p. 235, note 7.

with here shows a higher degree of abstraction because from the iteration of properties it abstracts the idea of multiplicity. The augmentative, gradational or intensifying duplication in substantives, adjectives and verbs can be compared also with the figurae etymologicae having augmentative, gradational and intensifying functions and displaying the character of subordinate phrases because they have abstracted the idea of «multiplicity» from a kind of subordinate construction.[31]

[31] Figurae etymologicae are called such variants of repetition formations uniting different words within the same family or different grammatical forms of the same word into subordinate relation which are used to express a concept affected by augmentation, gradation or intensification or to lend an emotional colour to a concept. The most frequent types of figura etymologica in Tibetan are the following :

a) The anterior constituent is the inherent subject («object») of the verb or nomen verbale following same : *dbyen 'byed-pa* 'to make a difference, to discriminate' : *dbyen-pa* 'difference, dissension' + *'byed-pa* 'to separate, keep asunder, place apart, open' ; Cl. T. *gad-mo dgod* (∼ Skr. *hasati)* 'he utters a laugh', *gad-mo bgad-soṅ* 'he has laughed' ∼ CT (Bell) *ge-mo ge-pa* 'to laugh' : Cl. T. *gad-mo* 'a laughing, laughter' ∼ CT *ge-mo* 'id.' + Cl. T. *dgod-pa* 'to laugh', *bgad-pa* 'id.'; *žo bžo-ba* 'to milk milk': *žo* 'milk' + *bžo-ba* 'to milk', *'jo-ba*, pf. *bžos* 'id.' (cf. Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 117 : 4). Those cases, however, when the substantive, etymologically related to the predicate, is an external subject, cannot be regarded as figurae etymologicae : Cl. T. *thags 'thag-mkhan* 'weaver' : *dar 'thag-mkhan* 'a silk weaver' ∼ CT (Bell) *t'a t'ak'-pa* 'to weave' ; Cl. T. *khur 'khur-pa-po* 'one who carries a burden' : *khur* 'burden, load for men' + *'khur-ba* 'to carry' ∼ B *k'ur k'urba* 'to transport' : *k'ur* 'baggage' + *k'urba* 'carry'. The figurae etymologicae of the type internal subject + predicate come from the constructions of the type external subject + predicate and the subject being etymologically related to the predicate was originally used to indicate that the usual subject of the process is involved and not another kind of subject. This was the basis for abstracting the intensifying and other functions of the figura etymologica.

b) The instrumental case of a substantive or a nomen verbale is used to intensify the verb or participle deriving from the same stem : (Lex.) *mchan-mas mchon-pa* 'to represent a thing by a sign or mark', litt. «to mark with a mark» : *mchan(-ma)* 'sign, mark, token, badge' + *mchon-pa* 'to illustrate' ; (Mṅon.) *sñiṅ myos-pas myo-'dug* 'being deranged, demented' : *myos* 'excitement, loss of control, sensual intoxication' + *(s)myo-ba* 'to be insane, mad'. With negation: (Lex.) *lhad-kyis ma slad* 'not marred by any defect': *slad* 'interpolation ; defect' + *lhad-pa* 'to corrupt, spoil, vitiate ; to mix'. The formation of the figurae etymologicae of this type can be accounted for as those explained in paragraph *a)*, that is, by supposing that they have originated from a construction denoting an «external» means. The substantive in instrumental, belonging to the same word family as the verb, denotes such external means and has no intensifying function, for instance, in the following phrase: (D. R.) *bag-čhags dri-ma ljan-ljin k h r u s - k y i s b k r u - b a'i phyir* 'for w a s h i n g o f f b y c o n s e c r a t e d w a t e r the defilement and the mucus of lust'.

c) A substantive in dative, locative or terminative is used intensifyingly as an adverb of place belonging to the verb or participle having the same stem : *rmi-lam-na rmis-pa* 'dreamed in a dream' : *rmi-lam* 'dream' + *rmi-ba*, pf. *rmis* 'to dream' ; (Ñag.) *rten-la brten* 'firm in a support', litt. «supported by a support» : *rten* 'a hold, support' +

The above comparison goes to show that stem duplications denoting iteration and diversity-indistinctness can be regarded only as co-ordinate compounds. Nevertheless, in compounds denoting certain variations of multiplicity a parallel can be drawn between stem duplication and subordinate phrases with repetition. In spite of this stem duplication denoting any kind of multiplicity should be qualified as a co-ordinate compound because the function of multiplicity has clear semantic relations with the function of iteration which is evidenced in many cases by transitory forms. Even the origin of stem duplication itself must probably be ascribed to enumerative co-ordination : duplication takes its origin in the enumeration of things observed simultaneously or successively and designated with a common word on the basis of similar properties and has become a special type of compounds to denote iteration. Later the iterative function of duplications partly assumed different shades (distributive, frequentative) according to the meaning of the basis or to the part of speech it belonged to and partly split into new functions by way of further abstraction or the adhesion of emotional elements. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that certain figurae etymologicae turned into stem duplications by being shortened in compounds (e. g.: B *dra-na-dra* : B *dra-dra*, see note 31, point *d)*, though in these cases the originally subordinate relation between the constituents became co-ordinate. This is the reason why forms in which a word is repeated without the relation between

rten-pa, pf. *brten* 'to keep, hold, adhere to, lean on'. The phrase *čhibs-la 'čhib-pa* 'riding on a horse, to get on horseback', (Situ) *čhibs-la bčibs* 'rode on a horse': resp. *čhibs(-pa)* 'horse' + *'čhib(s)-pa*, pf. *bčibs* 'to mount a horse or carriage' is probably no figura etymologica. The development of the emphasis-gradation value of adverbial figurae etymologicae should be explained as in point *a)*.

d) Closely akin to the adverbial figurae etymologicae is the comparison of adjectives with themselves which is used to express fullness or the superlative. We find this in Balti : B *dra-na-dra* 'exactly the same' : *B dra-dra* 'id.' : B *dra* 'level, right, correct' ; B *coχ-na-coχ* 'exact, the same': B *coχ-coχ* 'id.': B *coχ(po)* 'like'. The origin of the value denoting fullness, superlative is clearly shown in the construction itself : the fullness of a property, its superlative has been compared to the average expressed in the basis.

e) The genitive of a substantive or an adjective figures as the attribute of the same substantive or adjective, denoting thus the superlative : *don-gyi don* 'real import': *don* 'the sense or signification of anything ; reason, purpose, profit' ; *bla-ma'i bla-ma* 'the superior of the superior : *bla-ma* 'the higher, upper, superior'. Originally this type obviously involved only substantives and indicated a genitive relation in which things or persons possessing similar properties belong to things or persons with similar properties but possessed in a higher degree ('the king of kings'). This construction was used on the one hand, to have the superlative abstracted from it and on the other, it was extended to adjectives.

From among these different types of figura etymologica mainly the types *d)* and *e)* and, possibly, those instances within the type *a)* can be compared with stem duplication, in which the subject-noun and the verb show up an identical stem.

the parts being clearly co-ordinate cannot be regarded as stem duplications, as, for instance, B *stoň-stoň* «1000 × 1000» = 'million'. A further criterium for its not being a stem duplication is that *stoň-stoň* is a member of the following sequence : B *stoň-čik* '1,000' : *stoň-ñīs* '2,000' : *stoň-χsum* '3,000', etc. Even elliptical, i. e. semantically shortened compounds created by the stabilization of word groups like *gčig-gis gčig, gčig-la gčig*, etc. denoting the reciprocity of the action as, for instance, the reciprocal pronoun B *čik-čik*[32] cannot be qualified as duplications because the relation of the constituents is not co-ordinate here either. There is even less reason to take for duplication a subordinate compound consisting of such homonymous stems as (Med.) *kʿa-kʿa* 'bitter mouth, bitter taste' : *kʿa-ba* 'bitter' + *kha* 'mouth'.

Besides its functions denoting iteration, diversity, indistinctness, multiplicity and expressing emotions, stem duplication also has a reproducing-onomatopoetic function which, as we have seen, is rooted in onomatopoeia itself. These two types of stem duplication of different origin, however, are not strictly detached from one another. For instance, even onomatopoetic words can be subjected to stem duplication with the functions denoting iteration, diversity, indistinctness, multiplicity or with emotional-emphatic function. An unambiguous example of this is the onomatopoetic interjection WT *kʿrog-kʿrog* 'plump!, the sound caused by something falling heavily on the ground'. Considering that in this case only one sound is involved, the stem duplication indicates only the intensity of the acoustic phenomenon and has, at the same time, an emphatic value. We have to reckon also with the possibility that onomatopoetic words reproducing similar phenomena with similar sounds are united in word families and that within them there can be formed correlations in which simple onomatopoetic words r e p r o d u c i n g a simple sound are confronted with duplicated forms r e p r o d u c i n g iterated sounds. If we consider that in the majority of onomatopoetic words the corresponding concept or idea has already taken a definite shape, we can state that under the influence of stem duplications denoting iteration the above mentioned words can, a t t h e s a m e t i m e, be related to each other according to the correlation between the simple and duplicated forms d e n o t i n g a single resp. repeated sound (e. g. : *'ur-'ur* 'the humming' : *'ur* 'noise, din, clashing, cracking, roar'). On the other hand, in non-onomatopoetic words

[32] The evolution of the reciprocal pronoun through the formation of the elliptical, i. e. semantically shortened compounds has not yet been completed in the Balti. These forms can be regarded as real compounds and reciprocal pronouns only in those cases when the sentence has another subject because then the case-ending is appended to the posterior member only : *kʿundaň čik-čik-i-bariň tam ma čiks* 'they did not agree with one another'. When there is no other subject in the sentence, both members are inflected separately (cf. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

formed by stem duplication denoting iteration, etc. we have to remember that the phonetic repetition produced by stem duplication might correspond with the rhythm of the phenomenon in mind and the duplication might obtain a secondary imitative character. Finally, special attention must be paid to the fact that in the case onomatopoetic words are repeated without any change in the constituents we find only duplicated forms even if the phenomenon to be reproduced is iterated more than twice. When accounting for this, we have to reckon, besides certain rhythmical limits, first of all with the influence of duplications denoting iteration, etc. Consequently, despite their different origin and their special function duplications in onomatopoetic words, considering their grammatical character, are co-ordinate compounds just as much as duplications denoting iteration, diversity-indistinctness, multiplicity and expressing emotion or emphasis.

II. Word duplication

1. The characteristic feature of word duplication is that the suffix (or stereotyped posterior constituent of compounds) does not vanish but is retained in both parts. In the treatment of flectional endings or of adverbial case-endings functioning as adverbial suffixes, however, there appears to be less homogeneity. In a number of cases such endings are present in both parts, in others only the suffix (the stereotyped posterior constituent of compounds) is repeated whereas the case-ending functioning as a suffix presents itself appended to the second part only. In the first instance a simple adverb formed with an inflectional ending functioning as a suffix must, obviously, be taken as the basis of word duplication, whereas in the latter case we are faced with an adverb derived from a word-duplicated adjective, respectively with an adverbial form of a word-duplicated substantive.

In dialectal data with stress-marks both parts of word duplications are stressed, e. g. : WT *máṅ-ṅa máṅ-ṅa* 'little more (every day)' : WT *maṅ-ṅa* 'much, many' ~ Cl. T. *maṅ-ba*. In Central Tibetan there seems to be a difference between the two parts in intonation for the word duplication expressing gradation is described by Bell as «repeating the adjective once in a raised tone of voice» (Bell, *op. cit.*, *Gramm.* p. 82).

2. The functions of word duplication are not so variegated as those of stem duplication. The function denoting diversity and the onomatopoetic-reproductive function are absent. The sphere of use of word duplication is also rather restricted among the different parts of speech : it is frequent in adjectives and adverbs but is seldom met with in substantives and nomina verbalia.

With adjectives and adverbs duplication may denote the iteration of the property or the circumstance, sometimes even in a distributive sense :

(SRN VIII6b) *ñuṅ-ṅu ñuṅ-ṅus* 'little by little' ~ Mong. *üčügüken üčügüken-e* 'id.' : *ñun-ṅu* 'little, few' ; (S. g.) *phyi-ma phyi-ma* 'each following one, every one consecutive in a series'[33] : *phyi-ma* 'later, subsequent, following' ; *rim-gyis rim-gyis* 'gradually, by degrees' : *rim-gyis* 'by degrees' : *rim-pa* 'order, series' ; Ld. (Jä.) *ré-mos ré-mos* 'by degrees, gradually' : Ld. (Jä.) *ré-mos* 'turns, alternation' ~ Cl. T. *re(s)-mos* 'turn, series' ; CT (Bell) *k'a-le k'a-le* 'gradually, slowly' : CT (Bell) *k'a-le* 'gently', (Jä.) *g'á-le* 'slowly, softly, gently'.[34] This function denoting iteration can be applied also to word duplications to express gradation of a circumstance : *phra-ru-phra-ru* 'thinner and thinner, finer and finer' : *phra, 'phra-ba* 'fine, thin' ; Cl. T. (N̂ag.) *čher čher soṅ* 'it has grown larger and larger' ~ CT (Bell) *č'e-ru č'e-ru dro-wa* 'to grow' : Cl. T. *če-ru* adv. of *če(-ba)* 'great, large' ; CT honorif. (Bell) *dre-ru dre-ru p'e-pa* 'to grow old' ~ Cl. T. *bgre-ba* 'to grow old' (cf. also the duplications denoting gradation of compound adjective-adverbs with the adverbial anterior constituent *je* 'more and more, gradually more'. It is difficult to decide definitely whether these duplications are stem or word duplications, pp. 185—186 and 190).

Whereas word duplication expressing gradation seems to cover adverbs only, word duplication expressing multiplicity, increase was used only with adjectives. The increased degree of circumstances is indicated only by appending secondary suffixes (inflectional endings) to adjectives formed by word duplication expressing increase. Hence word duplication expressing increase can clearly be told apart in its form from the word duplication expressing gradation : *maṅ-po maṅ-po* 'abundant' : *maṅ-po* 'much, many' ; *myur-ba myur-ba* 'sehr schnell od. geschwind' : *myur-ba* 'quick, swift, speedy' ; CT (Bell) *č'em-po č'em-po* 'very great' : CT (Bell) *č'em-po* 'great' ~ Cl. T. *čhen-po* 'id.' (cf. Bell, *loc. laud.*). The increasing function of word duplication renders possible the formation of augmentative substantives by word duplication : (N̂ag.) *phye-ma phye-mar bdar-ba* 'to grind to fine powder' : *phye-ma* 'powder, dust'. The word duplication of modifiers expressing affirmation has both an increasing and an emphatic character : *legs-so legs-so* 'excellent! capital!' : *legs-so* 'very well! well done!' ; *yag-po yag-po* 'well, well!' : *yag-po* 'good'. Also the word duplication in the phrase CT (Jä.) *míg ṭ'ol-lé ṭ'ol-lé tá-wa* 'to stare at' seems to have an increasing-emotional character (cf. Cl. T. [Glr.] *khrol-khrol byed-pa* 'id.' : *khrol-khrol* 'bright, shining' : *khrol-po* 'sparkling, glistening, dazzling').

[33] The word duplication *phyi-bžin phyi-bžin* and the stem duplication *rǰes-rǰes-su* which figure in Das, *Dict.*, p. 835 as synonyms without any English translation, taken from the lexicon *Mṅon-brǰod mkhas-pa'i rna-rgyan*, are likely to have the same meaning.

[34] Also the word (Mil.) *cher cher* (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1031 incorrectly *cher chir)* is to be regarded as a word duplication expressing iteration provided its meaning 'many times, repeatedly' (which Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 451 takes for probable) is correct (cf. Cl. T. *che* 'time' + *r* terminative case-ending [adverbial suffix], vulg. [Jä.] *c'er* 'time').

Word duplication in nomina verbalia which can be traced in the western dialects only has a durative character and serves to form time clauses. In Ladakhī, the word-duplicated «gerundive» ending in *-in* can be used as the predicate of a nominal subordinate clause which expresses an action lasting longer than, or as long as, the action of the main clause and performed simultaneously with the latter : Ld. (Fr.) *gučo taňin taňin dugsoň* 'they remained here, making noise (all the time)' (cf. Francke, *Sketch*, p. 29 and 34 ; cf. also above pp. 194—195). In Balti the «conjunctive participle» with the suffix *-e* is used to figure as the predicate of nominal clauses denoting durative action in the past (Read, *op. cit.*, p. 51). Unfortunately, Read does not give a detailed account of the syntactical use of such duplication. The single example given by him does not entitle us to draw any conclusions from it.[35]

We find word duplication in correlative pronouns : (BCA VIII174, SRN II8a) *ǰi-lta ǰi-ltar...de-lta de-ltar* (~ Skr. *yathā yathā...tathā tathā*, Mong. *yambar yambar-iyar...tere tere kü yasuγar)*. Word duplications in these cases, however, should be regarded as loan translations of the duplication in Sanskrit correlative pronouns, the more so that all correlative pronouns in Tibetan are the translations of the Sanskrit correlative pronouns. Similarly to the duplicated Sanskrit correlative pronouns, the above mentioned duplicated Tibetan forms can also be used both as pairs of relative indefinite-general pronouns ('in whatever manner ... in any case') and for intensifying correlation ('even as ... so').

3. The retention of suffixes and the accent bear evidence of the fact that word duplication is the syntagmatic co-ordination of adjectives or adverbs with themselves without the use of flexional endings or conjunctions. This is the reason why word duplications cannot become constituents of compounds or produce secondary formations except with the adverbial suffix *-r* which has more or less the character of a flexional ending. At the same time, the fact that word duplication as a unit can be the basis of secondary formations (namely that in forming adverbs from word-duplicated adjectives only to the second part of the duplication can be appended the terminative case-ending functioning as a suffix) proves that they have amalgamated into com-

[35] We cannot ascertain the grammatical value of the form Cl. T. *ha-ba ha-ba* (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1326 records it incorrectly as *ha-pa ha-pa)* and, consequently the character of the duplication in it cannot be decided either. Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 595 offers a verbal interpretation : 'to breathe out steam or vapour', but this is obviously inexact because the nomen verbale suffix used in dictionaries to indicate the verb is appended always to the end of the verb form and is not repeated in duplications. This form may be regarded as a word duplication of a nomen verbale or rather of a noun with the suffix *-pa/ba* in which duplication either denotes iteration or has an onomatopoetic-reproductive character (cf. *ha* 'breath', *ha debs-pa* 'to breathe'), though it might also be considered a reproductive duplication of a disyllabic onomatopoetic element (cf. p. 186).

pounds. That is why we find word duplications among substantives, too, though otherwise these latter should present themselves as co-ordinate phrases connected by the sociative case-ending *-daṅ*.

Word duplications must have appeared in a relatively late period of development of the Tibetan language. This is supported, on the one hand, by the presence of suffixes and by the Central Tibetan data, more exactly those of the dialect recorded by Bell, on the other. According to these data the increasing function of stem duplication had become generalized whereas word duplication still possessed its increasing function. If, in addition to this, we consider that, as a consequence of the generalization of stem duplication, stem-duplicated forms without any, or with a restricted value of increase appeared in large numbers in the category of adjective-adverbs, on the one hand, and that word duplication is practically restricted to such categories as adjectives and adverbs, on the other hand, we are not likely to be very much in the wrong in stating that the impetus for the evolution and the diffusion of word duplication was created by the necessity of replacing the categories of stem duplication which had been weakened by generalization

III. Stem gemination with alternating vowels

1. Among the types of repetition dealt with in this paper stem gemination with alternating vowels is next in frequency to stem duplication. Disregarding those cases when the suffix of the repeated parts is dropped, we place among stem geminations even those instances when unsuffixed monosyllabic words are geminated as well as those very few cases in which a disyllabic onomatopoetic element, a disyllabic loan word or a stem duplication is geminated with alternating vowels (cf. pp. 185—186).

In the majority of stem geminations with alternating vowels the vowel of the first part is *-a-* and that of the second is any other vowel (cf. Schiefner, *loc. laud.)*. In the case of stems with an other vowel than *-a-* the second part naturally retains the original vowel and that of the first part changes into *-a-*: *chaṅ-chiṅ* 'copse, thicket, wild place, horrible and awful' (cf. *'jiṅ-pa'* bristly, rugged, shaggy', *'jiṅs-pa* 'to fight, quarrel'); WT *sam-sùm* 'a low voice, softly' ~ Cl. T. *(b)sum-pa* 'to close, shut, draw together, bind or tie together; smile'; *glan-glen* 'dumb': *glen-pa* 'stupid'; *lčaṅ-lčoṅ* 'a craggy place, broken eroded country' : *lčoṅs* 'an uneven place'. If the original stem vowel is *-a-*, this is conserved in the first part, whereas in the second we find a different vowel, mostly *-o-* or *-u-* : *ldam-ldum* 'idle, mean, pitiful, sorry' : *ldam-pa* 'idle, slothful'; *rjab-rjob* 'mire, marl' : *rjab* 'mud, mire'. We have a single example for a stem duplication being geminated with this kind of vowel alternation : (Fr *Add) saṅ-saṅ-siṅ-siṅ* 'rubbing' : *saṅ-ba* 'to cleanse, te remove

(dirt), to do away'. In stress-marked dialectal data stem gemination, like stem duplication, is found to be end-stressed: Ld. *ldam-ldém* 'dubious, uncertain (used of things)' ~ Cl. T. *ldem-pa* 'inconstant, unstable; to move up and down, tremble'; colloq. (Jä.) *ya-yó* 'crooked, wry' ~ Cl. T. *yo-ba* oblique, awry, crooked'. In both stem duplications and stem geminations with alternating vowels we sometimes find that the final consonant of the first part, owing obviously to its phonetic position, disappears or fluctuates[36]: (Rdsa) *tha-thor* 'a few here and there' / (Mnon.) *thar-thor* 'scatteredly, not together': *'thor-ba* 'to be strewn, scattered, dispersed'; *ča-čus* / *čas-čus* 'distorted, awry': *gčud-pa*, pf. *gčus* 'to turn, turn round, twist'. In two of our instances the initial aspirated voiceless consonant in the first part is replaced in the second by a non-aspirated one: (A.) *chab-cub* 'dusk' / *chab-chub byed-pa* 'to be disturbed, agitated': *'chub-pa* 'to whirl'; *čhal-čol* 'idle talk' / *čal-čol* 'id.': *čal* 'noise'. We have to mention, however, that the form *čhal-čol* is obviously erroneous. It is to be found in Das, *Dict.*, p. 380 with a reference to Jäschke's Dictionary as a source where we have *čal-čol*. Consequently, the form *chab-cub* cannot be accepted without reservation, though the fluctuation of aspiration, especially in the second syllable is not without example in Tibetan (cf. also note 37 below).

In a very few number of cases the relation of vowels is the contrary to the one hitherto dealt with. We have *-a-* in the second part, whereas the first part has some other vowel, *-o-* as a rule. In treating the stem duplications we have seen that in the Ta-chien-lu dialect and in one of the dialects recorded by Széchenyi such forms with a «reversed» alternation of vowels are the phonetic variants of stem duplications (see above p. 181). In contrast to this the «reversed» alternation of vowels in Balti has a morphological function as against stem duplication: B *kʿor-kʿar-la* 'about', *kʿorkʿari* 'surroundings': B *kʿor-kʿor* 'circle'. Gemination with reversed alternation of vowels is shown in this dialect also by the word B *pʿrupra* / *pʿru-pʿra*[37] 'children': B *pʿru* 'child' as well as by the form B *hiliṅ-halaṅ* 'tumult' obtained by the gemination of a disyllabic onomatopoetic element B *hiliṅ* 'noise, row' ~ Cl. T. *hi-liṅ* 'id.' (cf. also Burushaski *hiliŋ* 'id.', Lorimer, *op. cit.*, III, p. 534). In all probability the «reversed» alternation of vowels in the word WT *tʿo-tʿá* 'dissatisfaction, grumbling' (~ Cl. T. *khro-ba* 'anger, wrath; angry') is not due to the phonetic modification of stem duplication either, for «Western

[36] Cf. pp. 181—182. — In onomatopoetic geminations with alternating vowels the change in the final consonant can also be ascribed to reproduction. This is possibly the case in the word Ld. (Jä.) *ča-čír* 'lark'.

[37] The alternation of aspiration and nonaspiration in the initial consonant of the second part may also be a misprint. In this case, however, the non-aspirated form seems to be authentic (Read, *op. cit.*, p. 5: *-pra* occurs twice; p. 92: *-pʿra* occurs once).

Tibetan» is related to Balti and also because it could be given no phonetic reason. We find gemination with reversed alternation of vowels also in the word (A.) *gzob-gzab-pa* 'very nice' (cf. *gzab-pa* 'clean, careful', *bzab-pa* 'fine') as well as in the word (A.) *ji-li-jva-la* 'cancer, or plague, or a fearful kind of burning leprosy' which goes back to the Sanskrit *jvala* 'flammend, Flamme' and perhaps even its geminated form could be traced back to Middle- or New-Indo-Aryan.

Stem gemination with alternating vowels in which none of the vowels is *-a-* is represented — besides a few proper names (e. g.: *gu-ge* 'n. of a province in the southwestern part of Tibet') and the word Sz. *nuńo* (= *ʔńuńo)* 'blau' which should be interpreted as a phonetic variant of stem duplication (see p. 181) — by only two examples : (Dzl., Glr., Mil., Ld.-Glr.) *le-lo* 'indolence, laziness, tardiness' (of onomatopoetic origin) ; (Sorig.) *zi-zer* 'confused, troubled, not clear, obscure' : *gzir-ba* 'to be troubled, be harassed, suffer'. The latter may be a misspelling or an incorrect reading (cf. note 34) instead of **zi-zir*. (Cf. Schiefner: *Mél. As.* I, p. 361).

Stem geminations with alternating vowels, like stem duplications, may become constituents of compounds and take up suffixes (stereotyped posterior constituents of compounds, inflexional endings functioning as suffixes), e. g. : (Mil.) *čal-čol-gtam* 'idle talk, nonsence' : *čal-čol* 'id.' ; *rań-roń-čan* 'rough, craggy, uneven' : *roń* 'defile, cleft in a hill, also a valley' ; (A.) *sab-sob-min* 'not incomplete, in good order' : *sab-sob* 'something rotten, putrified, defective' : *(g)sob* 'null, void, hollow'. A characteristic feature of stem shortening is that, in geminations of the kind we are dealing with, it is the first part, the one with the vowel *-a-*, that is shortened, e. g. : *ban-bun* 'a little, a bit' : *ban-čhuń* 'id.', *ban-čhe* 'in moderate quantity' (basis unknown). We have no examples to tell whether the whole compound or only one of its constituents can be affected by gemination with alternating vowels. We can discover no difference between stem duplication and stem gemination with alternating vowels in respect of the parts of speech : from substantives by stem gemination we obtain substantives and from bases such as adjectives, adverbs or verbs we get adjective-adverbs (or verbal adjective-adverbs) ; nevertheless between substantives and adjective-adverbs direct conversion is, naturally, possible in this type of stem gemination too. We have only one example for proper verbs obtained by stem gemination : *lań-liń-ba* 'to be in confused whirling motion' : *ldiń-ba* < **'liń-ba* 'to float, be swimming'. If we now add that stem geminations and stem duplications display identical characteristics in respect of accentuation too, we have to conclude that the morphological features of stem gemination with alternating vowels and those of stem duplication are identical.

2. As a rule, stem gemination with alternating vowels denotes that the thing, property, circumstance, process or state designated by the basis is

iterated at random in different places and directions, in a different manner and at different times. Stem gemination has such functions in substantives : (Yig.) *phaṅ-phuṅ* 'piece by piece ; patched', (Yig.) *phaṅ-phuṅ-du* 'in patches' : *phuṅ-po* 'heap, mass' ; *šaṅ-šoṅ* 'a craggy, rocky country, rough ground', *gšaṅ-gšoṅ* 'rough, rugged places or tracts' : *šoṅ(s)*, *(g)šoṅs* 'mountain-ridge, pit, excavation, valley'. A special mention must be made of the adjectivum possessoris *šaṅ-šoṅ-čan* 'uneven, craggy, rough' obtained from the last mentioned stem gemination by adding the suffix *-čan* to it because the geminated substantives denoting things iterated at random in different places can be found independently very seldom, whereas their derivatives with the suffix *čan* or with the stereotyped posterior constituent of compounds *-med(-pa)* functioning as a privative suffix are more frequent : *ra-ri-med-pa* 'neither high nor low' : *ri(-bo)* 'mountain, hill' ; B *ṭaqṭiq-čan* 'spotted' : B *ṭik* 'spot'. Stem gemination in the above mentioned verb (see p. 222) and in the following deverbative adjective-adverbs denotes the iteration in different directions, the change in direction, the confusedness and unevenness of the process or state expressed in the basis : *'bag-'bog* 'uneven': *'bog(s)-pa* 'to sink down' ; (S.) *sag-sig* (= Skr. *calācala* 'sich hinundher bewegend, beweglich, wackelnd, locker, unbeständig'[38]) : *sig-pa* 'to jerk, hitch up', *bsig-pa* 'to shake, winnow, fan' ; Ld. (Jä.) *šar-šur* 'furrowed, having small elevations and hollows' ~ Cl. T. *šur-ba* 'to cut off'. Such adjective-adverbs can, naturally, be turned into substantives by direct conversion : WT *ldag-ldog* 'a pap prepared of rcam-pa and čhaṅ', lit. «which is licked by fits and starts»: *ldag-pa* 'to lick'. From verbs (nomina verbalia) in the meaning of which the homogeneity of the state or process or their uniform direction is emphasized the stem gemination with alternating vowels produces adjective-adverbs denoting a state or process contrary to the meaning of the basis : *bčam-bčom* 'medley, hodge-podge' : *'čham-pa*, pf. *bčam* 'to accord, agree'. The stem gemination of the adverb *phan(-la)* 'towards, until, there' in the phrase *phan-phun-du 'gyur-ba* 'to disagree, not to be in accord or agreement' also serves to denote diversity.[39]

In the word (Fr *Add.) lda-ldo* 'both sides' gemination indicates the opposite, polar position of two things within the scope of the meaning of the basis Ld. (Jä.) *ldo* 'side' ~ Cl. T. *glo* 'id.' The iteration in opposite directions may account for the gemination Ld. (Jä.) *ra-rés* 'by turns' too (cf. Cl. T. *res*

[38] Skr. *calācala* given by a Tibeto-Sanskrit lexicon as the equivalent of *sag-sig* is translated by Das, *Dict.*, p. 1264 as 'moving and resting'. The Sanskrit word does, indeed, have this meaning but the well known functions of gemination do not permit the transference of this meaning to the Tibetan gemination interpreted with *calācala*.

[39] If the meaning of the word (Mil.) *ñag-ñug* 'various, of different kind' given and marked by Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 185 as uncertain proved correct, this word, too, should be regarded as a stem gemination with alternating vowels, denoting diversity (cf. *ñag-ma* 'single').

'change, turn, time'). Taking into account these examples we can state that stem gemination denoting diversity is used also to express local antinomy or alternation.

The iteration of a movement in different directions and at different times, the change in its direction, its confusedness are often connected with the uncertainty of the process. Therefore, in deverbative geminations with alternating vowels the function denoting the iteration of a movement or state in different directions may be completed with the idea of indistinctness and, what is more, after abstraction it can denote uncertainty alone. This is the case in (Rdsa) *'ab-'ub* 'not definite, nothing conclusive, not in shape' : *'ub-pa* 'to sweep or rake together with one's hands'. It may be observed in the adjective-adverb category as well that gemination indicates the indistinctness, the restricted degree of a property or a circumstance : *čhaṅ-čhuṅ* 'some few, miscellaneous, a little' : *čhuṅ-ba* 'little, small' ; *than-thun* 'a little' *thun-* 'little, small' (in *thun-chegs* = *phran-chegs* 'small, insignificant') ; *nag-nog(-čan)* 'dirty, dingy, not clear' : *nog-pa, nag-pa, nag-po* 'black, dark'. A similar function of gemination can be observed even in substantival bases : *pan-pon* 'not considered perfect in dignity' : *dpon(-po)* 'chief, master, lord' ; B *t'aʙ-t'uʙ* 'dusk, twilight' : B *t'uʙ* 'darkness' ~ Cl. T. *thib(s)-po* 'dark'. In these instances, however, we can hardly suppose that the function of gemination of substantives, denoting similarity and non-fulness, takes its origin in the function denoting things iterated in a different manner, but it is highly probable that the special function evolved in the adjective-adverb category was transferred to substantives. This is evidenced partly by the fact that the words B *t'aʙ-t'uʙ* and *t'uʙ* are both nomina abstracta denoting properties and partly by the fact that the geminated form *pan-pon*, obtained from a substantive, itself is used as an adjective. As the indication of not the full degree of a property is a variation of the diminutive function, gemination with alternating vowels could be transferred also to substantives and invested with diminutive function : B *bazbis* 'baby (suckling)' ~ Cl. T. *byis-pa* 'child, little child, boy'.

A particular type of the function denoting diversity-indistinctness in stem geminations is the formations of collectives expressing the indistinct and general complexity of the different entities of the things denoted by the basis. The basis of stem-geminated collectives is generally a substantive : (Thgy.) *sṅa-sṅo* 'vegetables, greens' : *sṅo* 'plant, herb, vegetable, greens'; *chag-chig(s)* 'the larger and smaller joints of the arms and legs' : *chigs* 'joint, knuckle'. The word B *p'ru-p'ra* / *p'rupra* 'children' regarded by Read as a plural form, probably is, or originally was, a collective. (Besides this the word B *p'ru* has a regular plural B *p'ruṅ* < **p'ru-kun*. See Read, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 92.) Collectives can be obtained also by geminating adjectival stems. In this case their meaning will convey the idea of the 'totality of things possessing

a certain property' : *rñaṅ-rñiṅ* 'worn out clothes, rags' : *rñiṅ-pa* 'old, ancient (of things, i. e. clothes)'. The collective sometimes has an extensive character, it may denote the totality of things contained in the concept expressed by the basis as well as of things similar to them : (A.) *za-zi* 'food and other necessaries of life' : *za-ba* 'food, meat' ; (D. R.) *ras-ros* 'different kinds of furniture, utensiles, etc.' : *ras* 'cotton cloth'.

In some cases stem gemination has a pejorative value and, therefore, in bases of pejorative character it increases this value : (Dzl., BCA VI81c) *ṅan-ṅon* 'mean, pitiful, very bad' ~ Skr. (BCA) *itvara* 'niedrig, verachtet' : *ṅan-pa* 'bad, mean, miserable' ; *sab-sob* 'something rotten, putrified, incomplete, defective': *(g) sob* 'null, void, vain, hollow, without substance'. Besides these purely pejorative stem geminations there, presumably, are stem geminations in other words accompanied by a pejorative aspect because the entanglement, confusedness and indistinctness expressed in stem-geminated forms usually evokes unpleasant emotions. In diminutive stem geminations we can reckon also with a hypocoristic aspect. It is here that we mention the problem of the stem gemination (A.) *gzob-gzab-pa* 'very nice'. In this word stem gemination seems to have an intesifying function (cf. *gzab-pa* 'clean, clear, careful', *bzab-pa* 'fine, elegant', *gzob-pa* 'quick, sharp, clever'). Since, however, such function can be discerned in no other stem gemination with alternating vowels and because this function does not fit into the general framework of the semasiology of stem geminations with alternating vowels, we feel inclined to ascribe a hypocoristic or other kind of emotional function to the gemination in question.

3. The meaning of stem geminations with alternating vowels is often identical with that of the basis, or rather there is no semantic difference between them that would exceed the difference in the parts of speech. This is the case with words conveying the ideas of confusion, entanglement, mingling, crookedness, uncertainty, dimness, darkness, dirt, mental deficiency and falsehood, e. g.: *kham-khum* 'uneven, in ridges, high and low' : *khums-pa* 'crooked' ; (Thgy.) *khal-khol* 'stunned, insensible' : *'khol-ba* 'to become insensible, asleep' ; (Lexx.) *'jag-jog* 'mixed, mingled' : *'jog-pa* 'to jumble, throw disorderly together' ; *rjab-rjub* 'sham, emptiness, falsehood' : *rjub* 'deceit, imposture' ; *ra-ri* 'a term for fault, defilement and dirt' : *dri-ma* 'dirt, filth, excrement' ; colloq. (Das) *ṭʿa-ṭʿo-čan* 'a passionate or wrathful individual' ~ Cl. T. *khro-ba* 'anger, wrath'. In these words stem gemination does not add the aspect of diversity-indistinctness to the meaning of the basis but expresses only formally this aspect which is inherent in the meaning of the basis, thus co-ordinating meaning and form. In addition to this we must not forget that in such forms gemination may be of emotional (pejorative) origin as well.

The semantic and emotional generalization of stem gemination with alternating vowels can be compared with the similar generalization of stem

duplication. Whereas, however, generalization has brought about a tendency for stem duplication to become a general characteristic feature of certain parts of speech (see above pp. 204—205), our observations do not allow of the same statement in respect of stem gemination with alternating vowels, because among generalized stem geminations we find both substantives and adjective-adverbs in nearly equal number (Jäschke, *Grammar*, p. 25, note and Lalou *op. cit.*, § 48 : 3 mentions stem gemination with alternating vowels only as an adjectival form). Since, however, besides the periphrastical verbal system stem-geminated forms never figure as verba finita, stem gemination also marks a delimitation from the verb category.

4. Stem gemination with alternating vowels often represents an element of the reproductive function of onomatopoeia. The reproductive role of gemination can be observed, for instance, in the word (Fr*Add) kyal-kyil* 'murmuring (of a brook)' which reproduces rather accurately the babbling of the brook running among stones : one of the ripples splash against a stone and immediately afterwards we hear another splash. The sounds of the two wavelets give more or less the same acoustical impression but due to the difference in the distance or in the environment acting as a resonator we percieve differences in pitch and timbre This acoustic perception is created by the identity of the consonants and the diversity of the vowels of the two parts in *kyal-kyil*. Similarly the stem gemination in the word *čab-čob* 'the sound of tasting' has a closely reproductive character. Nevertheless, the congruence between the subsequent phases of the acoustic phenomenon and the two parts of the reproductive word is often less accurate. The geminated form refers rather to the rhythm of the sum total of perceptions : (Thgy., Mil., Pth., Glr., BCA [D] X14d, SRN IV2a) *ča-čo* 'noise (of many peoples, of aerial spirits, of sea), clamour, cries, chirping, twitter'. Stem gemination with alternating vowels reproducing the rhythm of the complexity of the acoustic perception is especially often met with in onomatopoetic words referring to nonsense, dull speech, talk at random or in words meaning 'stupid, stupidity', derived from the former by semantic changes : Cl. T. (Lex.) *ldab-ldob* 'dullness, indolence, hasty manner', *dob-dob smra-ba* 'to talk nonsense' ; B *mar-mur byase* 'uninterestedly'.[40] The transfer of a word imitating an acoustic phenomenon to a non-acoustic phenomenon took place in the case of (Lex.) *čhal-čhil* 'wavering, fluctuating'. All these instances go to show that in onomatopoetic words stem gemination with alternating vowels is the means of reproduction of acoustic (or other) phenomena iterated not exactly in the same manner or confusedly.

[40] According to Das, *Dict.*, p. 623 the original meaning of the word *kla-klo* 'barbarian' would be 'one of indistinct speech'. Should this very probable meaning prove correct, this word could also be regarded as an onomatopoeia.

5. Stem gemination with alternating vowels has no other function than denoting diversity-indistinctness-diminution, the pejorative function and the onomatopoetic-reproductive one. Nevertheless we have a large number of stem-geminated words in which the function of the geminated form is not clear because their basis is unknown and the words themselves cannot be regarded as an onomatopoeia either. The majority of the geminated forms with unknown basis denote entanglement, crookedness, mental deficiency, etc. This fact entitles us to suppose that in such cases we are faced with the function denoting diversity-indistinctness or with its generalization, e. g. : (D. R.) *ljan-ljin* 'defilement, filth, dirt, dust'; *gcaṅ-gcoṅ* 'awry'; *ra-ro* 'intoxication, drunkenness' ; Ld. (Jä.) *han-hón* 'very angry, much enraged, a stupid man' : ~Cl. T. *hon-hon* 'stupid, foolish'. Stem-geminated words with unknown basis are met with in the denomination of plants ([Lexx.] *ga-gon* 'melon; cucumber; barley' [from WT *gon* 'gourd, pumpkin'?] ; *rca-rce-šiṅ* 'Jasminum grandiflorum'), in words denoting ornaments (*skra sgra-sgri-čan* 'a skin or silk or cotton attached to the flowing locks of Tibetan woman' ; [Lex.] *lda-ldi* 'a kind of ornament of silk or cotton ; fringe or tassel') as well as in a few sporadic words ([S.] *bye-na nab-nub* 'javelin, measuring-rod'), in proper names and in names of peoples (*žaṅ-žuṅ* 'the ancient name of the province of Guge ; n. of an ancient people in Gu-ge').

Stem geminations with alternating vowels occur also in numerals above the million. On the whole the observations made in connection with the stem-duplicated high numerals (pp. 210—211) apply to these stem geminations too. Among them we find a clearly generalized gemination denoting indistinctness (uncertainty) in the word *thab-thib* 'n. of a large number' (cf. *thib*[*s*]*-po* 'dense, obscure, dark'). In certain high numerals gemination possibly indicates a collective.

We have stem gemination even in certain loan words. A number of these words have a geminated character as early as the original language, others became geminated in the course of their being adapted to the phonetic and morphologic system of the Tibetan language : Cl. T. *ka-ko-la* ~ Sikkim (Das) *ka-ko* 'cardamom' < Skr. *kakkola* 'id.' (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 1 ; Das, *Dict.*, p. 3) ; (K. d. *za.* 464) *ga-la-go-li-ka* 'n. of an insect' < Skr. *galagolika* 'id.' | *ba-bu* 'a soft shoe' < Pers. *pāpōš* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 363 ; Laufer, *Loan Words*, p. 480, № 133) | (Glr.) *kiṅ-kaṅ* 'a terrifying deity' < Chin. *chin-kang* (Laufer, *Loan Words*, p. 524, № 287).

Finally, it has to be mentioned that in some stem geminations with indisputable basis the function of gemination is not clear, that is, the interrelation of the basis and the geminated form is not typical : *rgan-rgon-gñis* 'both the old man and the old woman' : *rgan-pa* 'old man, elder' ; *thags-thogs* 'impediment' : *thogs-pa* 'to be impeded, delayed, strike against' ; *rlan-rlon* 'a liquid' : *rlon* 'moisture, humidity' ; *yab-yob-pa* 'to hide,

conceal' : *(g-)yab-pa* 'to lock up, to secure' ; (Stg.) *saṅ-seṅ* 'hiding place, chink, crevice' : *gsaṅ-ba* 'to do secretly, conceal ; secret, hidden'. Stem gemination may in these instances possess a pejorative value but this cannot be ascertained from the meanings given in dictionaries.

6. In reviewing the characteristic features of stem gemination with alternating vowels we have seen that stem gemination differs from stem duplication only in the alternation of vowels of the repeated parts. Considering that in the majority of stem geminations it is the second part that retains the original vowel whereas the vowel of the first part changes into *-a-*, the explanation according to which stem gemination would be a phonetic variant of stem duplication, that has developed under the influence of the stress and has become independent, seems to be self-evident. This explanation, however, involves serious difficulties. If we adopt it we cannot account for the fact that it is used only for denoting diversity, indistinctness-diminution and for onomatopoetic reproduction but it never expresses iteration and multiplicity.

We might suppose that stem geminations with alternating vowels have evolved from compounds of derivatives with different vowels (Umlaut) in the stem. This again does not hold because compounds of this kind are rather scarce and are the result of the amalgamation of the parts of figurae etymologicae and therefore have an increasing-intensifying character (see note 31), e. g. : (BCA VI119d) *lan-lon* ~ Skr. *niṣkṛti* 'Wiedergutmachung, Vergeltung, Sühne' : *lan ldon-pa*, *lan glon-pa* 'to reply, give answer ; to repay' : *lan*, 'answer, reply ; times ; re-' + *ldon-pa*, *glon-pa* 'to give or pay back, return, answer'. We can conclude that due to semantic differences stem geminations cannot derive from compounds of words etymologically related to each other.

As regards their meaning, closest to gemination, that is, to its infrequent variant denoting antinomy (see pp. 223—224), are the compounds consisting of words with indentical consonants but different vowels and with opposite meanings : (Dzl., Suraṅ. 123) *thog-thag* / *thag-thog* 'during, as long as, throughout, quite' : *thog* 'roof, cover, top, head' + *thag-pa* 'creeping plant, root'.[41] Words of such form and with opposite meanings occur however, so seldom that

[41] Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 237 regards the form *thog-thag* / *thag-thog* as the augmentative of *thog(-tu)* 'up, up to, above, towards ; during, as long as, throughout, whilst'. As we have seen, stem gemination has no such function and, besides, the connection of the meaning of *thog(-tu)* 'during, as long as' etc., with its meaning 'up, up to, above, towards' and with the basis *thog* 'roof, cover, top, head' is not clear either. We think it would be more correct to qualify the adverb *thog-tu* 'during, as long as etc.' as a shortened form of the compound *thog-thag*. — We can mention here the word (Jig.) *rca-rce* given by Das, *Dict.*, p. 1008 without interpretation but indicated as being the «abbr. of *rca-ba* ['root, origin'] and *rce-mo* ['point, top, peak, summit']».

their compounds are not suitable to explain the development of an independent morphological type.[42]

It follows from the above that stem gemination with alternating vowels cannot be traced back to any type of compound whatsoever. Thus nothing more is left than the possibility of an onomatopoetic origin. This explanation involves no semantic difficulties because the stem-geminated form in its non-reproductive, grammaticalized function denotes the iteration in different ways, the indistinctness or diminished character of the phenomenon expressed by the basis whereas in onomatopoeia it is used to reproduce an acoustic or other kind of phenomenon reiterated in different ways, confused or indistinct. Hence, there is no doubt that between the two functions of stem gemination there exists some parallelism in content but further investigations are needed to find out whether the reproductive function can or can not change into the function used to modify the meaning of the basis, to contrast and to distinguish concepts.

We have already pointed out in another context (§ I, 8) that onomatopoetic words have no other role than by the phonetic reproduction of the acoustic or other phenomenon in question to complete or render more exact the expression of a thought, although these words themselves, as a rule, denote concepts. Since onomatopoetic words can exert their reproductive function only within the phonetic stock and morphological possibilities of the language, they very often must have similar forms. If such words of similar phonetic form denote acoustic or other phenomena conceptually related to one another, they form onomatopoetic word families. It can be proved that in such onomatopoetic word families there have evolved correlations between simple words reproducing (and at the same time also denoting) a single acoustic phenomenon and stem duplications reproducing (and denoting) a more or less identically iterated indistinct acoustic phenomenon, on the one hand, and stem geminations reproducing (and denoting) a confused, entangled, indistinct acoustic phenomenon, on the other, e. g.: *čal* 'noise' : *čal-čal*, 'id.' : *čal-čol* 'idle talk, nonsense'; WT *lab-ló(b) gyáb-će* 'to speak indistinctly, to mumble' : WT *lab gyáb-će* 'to talk, chat' ~ Cl. T. *lab-pa* 'to speak, talk, tell'. Following this pattern, non-onomatopoetic words could also form such correlations as *loṅ-ba* 'to rise, get up, step forth' : *loṅ-loṅ* 'uprising in waves, bulging out' : *laṅ-loṅ* 'languid, irregularly assembling or coming'; *'thor-ba* 'to be strewn, scattered' : *'thor-'thor* 'drizzling (rain)' : (M̲non, R̲dsa) *tha(r)-thor* 'scatteredly, not together, a few here and there'. We can conclude that

[42] Sometimes gemination-like forms are produced even by words of similar form which are neither related to each other etymologically, nor have they opposite meanings. Semantically, however, they are far from stem geminations : (Yal-sel.) *ban-bon* 'Buddhist priest and Bon priest' : *ban-d(h)e* 'a Buddhist priest' + *bon-po* 'a follower of the Bon'; (R̲tsii) *thaṅ-thuṅ* 'inferior, unimportant' : *thaṅ* 'price, value' + *thuṅ-ba* 'short, low in size'.

stem gemination with alternating vowels is of onomatopoetic origin and its function denoting diversity-indistinctness is the result of a gradual abstraction of the purely reproductive function present in onomatopoetic words.

7. Stem duplication and stem gemination undergo contamination in certain cases. This contamination is due partly to the fact that the function denoting diversity-indistinctness is common to both stem duplication and stem gemination, and partly to the emotional and onomatopoetic character of the words in question. Thus, for instance, the word Cl. T. *gziń-ba* 'bristly, rugged, shaggy' has the forms Cl. T. *zań-ziń* 'bristle-like, disarranged; stupefied' obtained by generalized stem gemination, and Cl. T. *ziń-ziń* 'id.' obtained by generalized stem duplication. In addition to these we find also Cl. T. *zań-zań* 'id.' ~ WT *zań-zań* 'muddled, tipsy'. There can be no doubt that this latter form, owing to its vowels, cannot be regarded as a derivative obtained from the basis *gziń-ba* by stem duplication, consequently, it must have been formed from the stem-geminated form *zań-ziń* on the analogy of stem-duplicated words expressing diversity-confusedness. The contamination of stem gemination and stem duplication can be discovered also in the derivatives of *yom-pa* 'to swing, totter, be unsteady' although here the generalization of stem duplication and of stem gemination is used to distinguish between the meanings of the basis. The meaning 'swinging' referring to identically recurring phases is expressed by the stem duplication (Pth.) *yom-yom* whereas the meaning referring to uncertainty of the basis is inherited by the stem gemination: (A.) *yam-yom* 'in an uncertain manner', (A.) *yam-yom-la* 'doing anything uncertainly, in doubt', *yam-yom byed-pa* 'to totter'. Here, too, we find a form (Thgr.) *yam-yam* 'tottering, not steady' which both in form and meaning illustrates the transformation of stem gemination into stem duplication. From among the other contaminations let us have one more example which will demonstrate not only the amalgamation of stem gemination and stem duplication but also their contamination with other words: *chom-pa* 'to doubt, hesitate': *chom-chom* 'doubt, hesitation': *cham-chom/cam-com* 'id.': *cham-cham* 'id.'. The relation between these forms is the same as between those enumerated above but we have an additional form *cham-chum* 'id.' the vowels of which show the influence of *chab-chub byed-pa* 'to be disturbed, agitated': *'chubs-pa*, pf. *chub* 'to whirl'.

The contamination of stem duplication and stem gemination testifies that they are not isolated from one another but influence each other. When investigating the origins of stem gemination we stated that the correlation of simple, stem-duplicated and stem-geminated forms had played an important role in abstracting from onomatopoeses the function of stem gemination to produce semantic changes. We can, however, also suppose that the interrelation of stem duplication and stem gemination played its part even in the development of the onomatopoetic stem-geminated form itself. Namely the

effect of stem duplication could assert itself in the fact that onomatopoetic stem geminations consist of two reiterated parts only, on the one hand, and that the stress lies on the posterior part, on the other. It is also probable that it was under the influence of the accent that the alternation of vowels in stem geminations became stabilized, notably that the vowel in the first part is always *-a-*, whereas that in the second is a different one with a higher position of the tongue. All these questions, however, need yet further investigation.

8. Stem gemination with alternating vowels can by no means be qualified affixation because it does not represent a relation between a basis and an independent morphem that can be appended to any stem. It is, however, less easy to decide whether stem geminations with alternating vowels can be placed among compounds or not. It is beyond any doubt that gemination consists of two stems as all compounds do, and not of a word stem and an affix. On the other hand, as a rule, only one of these stems is the stem of an independent word whereas the other one is merely a variant of the former and is not used as an independent word but only in geminations contrary to compounds which consist of stems of words used also independently. Beside this we must also take into account that between stem geminations with alternating vowels and stem duplications qualified as co-ordinate compounds there is a morphological and a certain degree of semantic parallelism and, furthermore, that stem gemination and stem duplication have a mutual influence upon one another. We can conclude from the aforesaid by stating that stem gemination should be regarded as a special kind of co-ordinate compound. The compound-like character of stem gemination manifests itself in those cases when the variant of the word stem, which originally figures only in gemination, becomes an independent word by back formation. This can be observed only in the onomatopoetic word family *čal* 'noise' : *čal-čal* 'id.' : *čal-čol* 'idle talk, nonsense' / (Tar.) *čhal-čhol* 'confusedly, pellmell' already referred to. The geminated member of the word family denotes, as we can see, not only a confused, muddled acoustic phenomenon but also the abstract concept 'confused(ly)' which through back formation produced the word *'čhal-ba* 'to be confused, to fluctuate mentally' displaying the original vowel, on the one hand, and the verb *'čhol-ba* 'to be thrown together confusedly' originally figuring only as a variant in gemination, on the other.

IV. Word gemination with alternating vowels

1. In word geminations with alternating vowels, that is, when words with an *-e* suffix are repeated together with the suffix and with an alternating vowel, the vowel in the stem of the first part is generally *-a-*, that of the second part being either *-i-*, *-u-*, *-e-*, or *-o-* in conformity with the rules that apply

to stem gemination. The suffix in the second part, naturally, remains *e-*, in the first part, however, as it has been pointed out already by Lalou, *op. cit.*, § 48 : 6, it may present itself in two different forms. Sometimes it remains *-e-*, sometimes it changes into *-a-*. These two types occur side by side only in the classical language, in the spoken language we find either *-e-* or *-a-* according to dialects. Forms retaining the original vowel *-e-* of the suffix in the first part are met with in the Central Tibetan linguistic area only : CT (Bell) *ha-p'e-ho-p'e*[43] *s'a-wa* 'to devour' ~ Cl. T. *hab-hab za-ba* 'to devour greedily' (according to Bell there exists also a form Cl. T. *hab-hob za-ba* 'to devour') : Cl. T. *hab* 'a mouthful' ; colloq. (Das) *t'ag-ge-t'ug-ge* 'a falling out, disagreement' ~ Cl. T. *'khrug-pa* 'to be in commotion, be disturbed, quarrel, fight' ; etc. Against this in «Western Tibetan» and in Ladakhī spoken to the west from Central Tibetan we have *-a-* also in the suffix of the first part of the gemination, e. g. : Ld. (Fr.) *šrabba-šribbe* 'mist', (Jä.) *šrab-ba-šrib-be* 'mist, dimness' ~ Cl. T. *rab-rib* 'id'. : Cl. T. *sgrib-pa* 'to darken, obscure' ; Ld. (Fr.) *kama-kume* 'rheumatism' ~ Cl. T. *skum-pa* 'to contract, draw in' (cf. *'gum-pa* 'to bend, curve, contract') ; WT *ša-ra-šo-ré* 'moist' (cf. Cl. T. *gšer-ba* 'id.', *gšor* 'water channel'). Only one single form interferes with this dialectal localization : CT (Jä. [!]) *t'a-ra-t'o-ré žag-pa* 'to scatter, to throw loosely about' (~ WT *t'a-ra-t'o-ré* 'wide asunder' : Cl. T. *'thor-ba* 'to be strewn, scattered'). As shown by the stress-marked items among the examples cited above, word geminations have only one accent which lies on the last syllable (in two cases the stress-mark is erroneous, resp. ambiguous, see note 46 and note 47).

In word geminations we find sporadically also the variant *-i* of the suffix *-e: tha-pi-thu-pi*[44] 'confusion, disorder' : *'thibs-pa* 'to grow dark or dim ; dark' ~ B *t'uʙ* 'darkness' ; *zar-ri-zir-ri* / *za-ri-zi-ri* 'confused, unconnected, not significant' : *gzir-ba* 'to be harassed, troubled'. The latter has also the variant *zi-ri-za-ri* 'confused, troubled, unimportant' which is the only example to show a «reversed» alternation in word gemination.[45]

As far as the retention of the suffix is concerned, word geminations display the same characteristic features as word duplications and in this respect they remind us of syntagmatic co-ordinate connections. Similarly to word duplications, word geminations cannot figure as constituents of

[43] As to the aspiration of the stem ending consonant, see: *Acta Orient, Hung.* III (1953), p. 242.

[44] As to the *-pi* instead of the **-bi* to be expected, see : *Acta Orient. Hung.* III (1953), p. 231.

[45] The gemination Ld. (Jä.) *rod-da-rod-dé* 'decrepit, sick' (~ Cl. T. *rod-pa, rod-po* 'unable to help one's self, stiff') should obviously be corrected *rad-da-rod-dé* because its vocalism is in flat contradiction to the rules governing alternation in geminations and cannot be justified by any other example.

further compounds either, and can be suffixed only by *-r* having the character partly of a flexional ending, partly of a suffix, e. g. : (Pth.) *cham-me-chom-mer* (in *phan-cun phyag-la cham-me-chom-mer lus-pa'i che* 'whilst both of them were uncertain as to saluting') : *cham-me-chom-me* 'doubtful, wavering, undecided' : *chom-pa* 'to doubt, hesitate'. Nevertheless, as the whole geminated form has but one wordstress, the lexical character of word geminations is thrown into much sharper relief than that of stem duplications accentuated in both parts separately.

2. In spite of the considerable morphological differences between stem and word geminations with alternating vowels, we find no fundamental difference in their functions, and if any, they concern the parts of speech. Whereas stem gemination can be formed from any part of speech, the basis of word geminations, in principle, is always an adjective-adverb (a verbal adjective-adverb) with the suffix *-e*, even if in the majority of the cases the immediate basis cannot be attested. Consequently, in word geminations we do not find the kind of differentiation of certain semantically modifying functions which appears in stem geminations of only substantival bases (e. g. : the different iteration of things, the diminution of a thing or person), nor can we discover the special function to form collectives which operates only with substantival bases or adjectival bases used as substantives. Besides these differences referring to the parts of speech, the function of word gemination differs from that of stem gemination inasmuch as the former has not been found to be used for denoting antimony which, however, occurs rather seldon even with the latter and probably cannot be regarded as an independent function. Nor do we find word gemination in numerals above one million.

The functional identity of word and stem geminations as well as the fact that the suffix *-e* has, in the first place, a role of converting one part of speech into another, in addition to which this suffix has practically nothing or very little to do with semantic modification (see Uray : *Acta Orient. Hung.* III [1953], pp. 238—240), and finally the fact that stem geminations, such as deverbative stem geminations, can also be adjective-adverbs, had as a result that the stem geminations and word geminations obtained from the same basis possess, as a rule, identical meaning even within the same dialect and have resulted in the possibility of substituting these two forms for one another even in the same phrase, e. g. : WT *ri-mo kyag(-ga)-kyog(-gé)* 'a flourish (in writing)'.

Word gemination may denote the iteration of a property or circumstance in a different way, in different places and directions, e. g. : (Mñon.) *tha(r)-re-tho(r)-re* 'scatteredly, not together' : *thor-re* 'id.' : *'thor-ba* 'to be strewn, scattered' ; (A.) *laṅ-ñe-loṅ-ñe/ laṅ-ña-loṅ-ñe* 'coming from different directions' : *laṅ-ba / loṅ-ba* 'to rise, get up, come forward, step forth' ; Ld.

(Jä.) *dag-ga-dog-gé*[46] 'broken in pieces' ~ Cl. T. *rdog-po* 'piece', *dog* 'bundle, clew, skein'; vulg. (Das) «*khrag-gi-khri-gi*» [= *ṭʿa-gi-ṭʿi-gi*; cf. note 20] 'moving and oscillating about' ~ Cl. T. *khrag-khrig* 'id.' : (Mil.) *khrig-khrig byed-pa* 'to shiver (with cold), to chatter (of teeth)'. In the following word the word gemination refers to the indistinctness of the property : colloq. (Das) «*čhaṅ-ṅe-čhuṅ-ṅe*» [= *čʿaṅ-ṅe-čʿuṅ-ṅe*; cf. note 20] 'some few, miscellaneous' ~ Cl. T. *chuṅ-ba* 'little, small'. In words referring to confusedness, entanglement, uncertainty, dirtiness we can observe the generalization of word gemination, e. g. : *ya-me-yo-me* 'doing anything uncertainly' : (Mil.) *yom-me-ba* 'swinging, tottering, trembling' (on the other hand, [Mil.] *yam-me-ba* 'softly' is probably a back formation from the geminated form, cf. pp. 230—231): *yom-pa* 'to swing, totter, tremble, be unsteady'; Ld. *maṇ-ṇa-muṇ-ne*[47], turbid, muddy, dingy, dim, dull' ~ Cl. T. *muṇ-pa* 'obscure, dark' ; colloq. (Das) *ṭʿa-le-ṭʿu-le* 'confused, dazzled, confounded' ~ Cl. T. *'khrul-ba* 'to be dislocated, sprained, distorted'. Evidently, the few word geminations with unknown basis, denoting confused, entangled, indistinct properties, have come into being as a result of the function of word gemination, denoting diversity and indistinctness or of its generalization, e. g. : WT *sa-ra-so-ré* (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1263 incorrectly *-ri*) 'coarse grained and fine grained mixed together' : WT *sar-sor* 'id.' (cf.? WT *sur-sur* 'coarse grained') ; WT *kyaṅ-ṅa-kyoṅ-ṅé* 'indolent, lazy, idle' : WT *kyaṅ-kyoṅ čo-če* 'to lounge, be idle'.

In a few cases word gemination has a pejorative emotional aspect. Thus instead of the word gemination CT (Bell) *kya-re-kyo-re* 'feeble, infirm, frail' (~ colloq. [Jä.] *kyar-ra-kyor-ré* 'weak, feeble' ~ Cl. T. *kyor* 'id.', *khyor-ba* 'to move totteringly, be dizzy . . . as if one went with a hungry belly and without strength') in honorifics the stem-duplicated form of the same basis is used : CT (Bell) hon. *ku-kyor-kyor* 'feeble, infirm, frail'. We can make a similar observation in the «Western Tibetan» equivalents of the word Cl. T. *hur-ba* 'to be quick, active', *hur-po* 'quick, hot, hasty, passionate'. Here the word gemination WT *ha-ra-hu-ré* 'impetuous, violent, rude, impudent' undoubtedly has a pejorative aspect as against the stem duplication in the anterior constituent of the verbal periphrasis WT *hur-húr čó-če* 'to exert one's self, strive'. The pejorative aspect, however, is not a necessary concomitant of word geminations with alternating vowels because word geminations occur also in honorific phrases : CT (Bell) hon. *ha-pʿe ho-pʿe šʿe-pa* 'to devour' : CT (Bell) not hon. *ha-pʿe ho-pʿe sʿa-wa* 'id.' ~ Cl. T. *hab-hab za-ba* 'to devour greedily' : *hab* 'a mouthful'.

[46] So in Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 247, but on p. 257 with the obviously erroneous stress-marking: *dág-ga-dog-gé*.

[47] Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 411 : «*maṇ*(*-ṇa*)*-múṇ*(*-ṇe*)». In this spelling the stress-mark obviously refers to the stem-geminated form and not to the word gemination.

We have word gemination also in a few onomatopoetic words : Cl. T. (A.) *ča-le-čo-le* 'irregularly' ~ WT *č'al-la-č'ol-lé* 'confusedly, pellmell' (cf. *čhal-čhol* 'id.' and the above mentioned related words) ; Cl. T. (Thgy.) *ña-ra-ño-re* 'weak, feeble, frail' ~ CT (Bell) *ńa-re-ńo-re* 'id.' ; *phyad-de-phyod-de* 'adv. descriptive of uncertainty of movement' (cf. Cl. T. *phyad-phyod* 'id.', *phyad-phyad* 'awkward gambols' ~ vulg. [Jä.] *p'ed-p'éd* 'id.').

3. The fundamental indentity of the functions of word gemination and stem gemination as well as the fact that both these forms of the same basis occur side by side with the same meaning leaves no doubt that the alternations of vowels present in both types of gemination, and governed by the same rules, are not independent from one another. This, however, does not involve that word gemination has been abstracted immediately from onomatopoeia as was the case with stem gemination. True enough, there exist onomatopoetic word geminations and the suffix *-e* shows up also in not-geminated onomatopoetic words, but this does not imply that the suffix *-e* is of onomatopoetic origin because when appended to simple onomatopoetic stems it indicates the part of speech the derivative thus belongs to just as well as when appended to non-onomatopoetic stems (*Acta Orient. Hung.* III [1953], p. 239, § 5f). And as for onomatopoetic word geminations, the parallel stem-geminated forms clearly indicate that, as a matter of fact, we are faced with a secondary phenomenon even if on occasion the suffix *-e* contributes, to a certain degree, to emphasizing the rhythm created by the alternation of vowels, and through this, to the reproductive function. Consequently, the alternation of vowels in word geminations should be regarded as a combination of the alternation of vowels evolved in stem geminations and of *-e* derivatives. How and when these two forms have combined is, for the lack of the necessary linguistic data, not yet possible to ascertain.

V. Geminations with alternating initials

1. Among geminations with alternating initials we can mention in the first place those onomatopoetic words in which the alternation of the initial consonant is not typical : Cl. T. (A.) *ča-re-ña-re* 'drippingly, little by little' (cf. Cl. T. *čhar-pa* 'rain', WT *ča-ra-rá/ či-ri-rí* 'the noise produced by the falling of rain in high wind') ; *tho-čo* 'jocular talk, nonsense-chatter', *tho-čo byed-pa* 'to speak nonsense', (D.R.) *tho-čho* '(?)speaking' (cf. *ča-čo* 'noise, clamour, cries, etc.', *ku-čo* 'clamour') ; *'čhog-thog* 'the sound of a falling article or thing'.[48] In these words the alternation of the initial reproduces the differences between the iteration-like elements of the acoustic perception. In addition we mention here the form WT *pa-yo-tó-yo* (in *srog-daṅ pa-yo-tó-yo taṅ-te soṅ*

[48] Possibly the onomatopoeia *khob-khrob* is a misspelling or incorrect reading (for **khrob-khrob*?).

'to risk one's life, to trifle with one's life') which probably has no onomatopoetic character but is a form similar to gemination with no typical alternation of initials.[49]

2. In the majority of geminations with alternating intitials we can observe a certain regularity : the initial consonant of the second part is always a labial one. Within these labial types of gemination we may distinguish further groups according to the relation of the initial in the first part and of that in the second : *a)* as against the voiceless palatal initial of the first part the second begins with an *m:* (Fr*Add)* *'čhol-ñog-mol-ñog* 'confusedly' : *'čhol-ba* 'to be thrown together confusedly' + *ñog-pa* 'soiled, dirtied, made unclean' ; *ča-ra-ma-ra* 'irrelevant, unconnected, raving' : *čar* 'at the same time ; -times ; at once, on a sudden' ; *čar-mar* 'always, continually' : *ča(r)-re* 'id.', *čar* 'at the same time ; -times ; at once, on a sudden'. *b)* The first part begins without any consonant, with '- or with *y-*, the second has an initial *m: a-la-ma-la* 'a shift, makeshift, surrogate' (from *mal* 'site, situation, place of a thing' or onomatopoetic?) ; *a-na-ma-na* 'having a striking likeness' (basis unknown); *'a-la-ma-la* 'confusedly, unconnected, irregular' (either related to [A]*'al-'ol* 'id.' or an Indo-Aryan loanword; cf. Eastern Literary Apabhraṁśa *ālamāla* 'id.', see M. Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, Paris 1928, pp. 145, 204, 221) ; *yes-mes*[50] 'Stammvater' : *mes-po* 'grandfather, forefather, ancestor, progenitor'. Also the CT (Bell)*a-ri-k'e-ri* 'kidney' might have been this type of gemination provided the geminated form was created in a period when the prefix *m-* was still pronounced (cf. Cl. T. *mkhal-ma* 'id.'). *c)* As against the voiceless initial «*ra-btags*» resp. the cacuminal consonant in the first part, the initial consonant of the second part is *-p-* or *-b-:* WT *t'a-wo-pí-wo* [correctly *ṭ'a-wo-pí-wo*] 'the streaked Indian tiger' or 'piebald, two coloured'[51] ~ Cl. T. *khra-bo* 'piebald, two coloured' ;

[49] The initial consonants of the two parts and the accent are similar to *pa-yo-tó-yo* in the Sikkim word (Jä.) *pal-la-tú-la* 'scales of a balance' which comes from the Hindustānī *pallatūla* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 323).

[50] In the word *yes-mes* the alternation might have been originally *ø—m-* and not *y—m-* : **yes-myes*. The equivalents of this word to be found in the archaic Ch'ing-hai dialects entitle us to suppose an Old Tibetan **myes* (cf. Uray, *Kelet-Tibet*, pp. 20—21; cf. also B. Laufer: *T'oung Pao* XV [1914], pp. 96—99; Thomas, *Nam*, London 1948, pp. 77).

[51] Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 48 : «*k'rá-bo*, perh. also *k'rá-mo* piebald, two-coloured, (not many-coloured, which is *bkrá-ba) ; rgya-stág-k'rá-bo* the streaked Indian tiger *Mil.* ; **t'a-t'a* C.* id.; **t'a-wo-pí-wo, t'a-si-pí-si* W.* id.» According to this the latter CT and WT data would mean 'the streaked Indian tiger'. The equivalents Cl. T. (Ñag.) *khra-khra* 'party-colour' ~ CT (Jä.) *t'a-t'a* [correctly *ṭ'a-ṭ'a*] and (Fr*Add.)* *khra-zig-bi-zig* 'many coloured' ~ WT *t'a-si-pí-si* allow of the conclusion that the abbreviation «id.» after the three dialectal data in Jäschke's manuscript originally referred to the interpretation «piebald, two-coloured» and the text «*rgya-stág-k'rá-bo* the streaked Indian tiger *Mil.*» was inserted later.

(Fr *Add.*) *khra-zig-bi-zig* 'many coloured' ~ WT *t'a-si-pí-si* [correctly *ṭ'a-si-pí-si*] 'the streaked Indian tiger' or 'piebald, two coloured'[52]: Cl. T. *khra-bo* 'piebald, two coloured' + **(g)zig* 'many coloured' (cf. Cl. T. *gzig* 'leopard', WT *zíg-po* 'neat, well dressed', Cl. T. resp. *gzigs-pa* 'to see, look'). These data show that in the labial type of gemination it is the first part that preserves the original initial whereas the initial of the second part changes into a labial consonant. If, however, the basis (stem) has a labial initial consonant, this is preserved in the second part whereas the initial of the first part gets modified. As far as it is possible to tell from such a small number of examples, it is the basis (stem) that determines the type of the alternation of the initial too.

Among geminations with alternating initial of the labial type stem gemination, that is, the repetition of the basis without the suffix is met with, as a matter of fact, in one instance only *(yes-mes)*, but in general the suffix, if any, is repeated and, what is more, monosyllabic bases often take up an inetymological final *-a-*. Consequently, geminations of this type are mostly disyllabic, which lends the gemination a rhythmical character. According to dialectal data, the accent (? main accent), lies on the first syllable of the second part,[53] and this accent, unusual in Tibetan (cf. Vekerdi, *op. cit.*, p. 228—229), just emphasizes the ceasura between the two parts and increases the rhythmical character of the duplication.[54]

From the scarce data at our disposal it is impossible to ascertain the function of geminations with alternating initials of labial type. Some of these word formations may be onomatopoetic, in others gemination perhaps denotes diversity, confusedness and indistinctness, though in the majority of words concerned the meaning of the basis itself carries these aspects. It is not impossible that these geminations have a purely emotional-stylistic value. Their function being unknown we, naturally, cannot set ourselves the task to investigate the origin[55] and the grammatical nature of this type. For this

[52] See previous note.

[53] We find the same kind of accent in the form *pa-yo-tó-yo* belonging to the word geminations with a non-typical alternation of the initial (see above, pp. 235—236).

[54] Perhaps it is with this rhythmical character, or, to be more exact, with the ceasura between the two parts that the labial initial consonant of the second part can be brought in line : in the ceasura the lips were closed (*p*, *b*) and possibly the nasal cavity opened at the same time (*m*). Nevertheless, in order to get a definite answer to this, we ought to have a clearer picture of the function and the history of geminations with alternating initials.

[55] We can make allowance also for the foreign origin of gemination with an initial of the labial type because similar geminations are met with even in such languages as had or may have had an influence on Tibetan (Indo-Aryan, Persian, Mongolian, Turkish). The fact that this kind of gemination occurs pretty seldom in Tibetan would support this supposition. It is, however, contradicted by the fact that among geminations with alternating initials of the labial type we have but one or perhaps two loan words :

reason we have another open question, namely that of the connection between the type of gemination dealt with and such compounds and phrases in which two words with opposite meanings, are co-ordinated with each other and the initial consonants of the two parts are arranged similarly to those in geminations with alternating initials of the labial type: *yar-mar* 'up and down' : *yar* 'up, upwards', *ya* 'above, up' + *mar* 'down, downward', *ma* 'below' ; (Fr*Add) če-ge-mo-daṅ ma-ge-mo* 'this and that', lit. «one and many, some and many» : *če-ge-mo* 'such a one' < **čhig-e-mo* (Uray : *Acta Orient. Hung.* III, pp. 231, 236) + *maṅ-ge-mo* 'solch einer' (Schiefner : *Mél. As.* I, p. 383) < **maṅ-ṅe-mo* <**maṅ-e-mo* (in the co-ordinate connection the *-ṅ-* disappeared probably on the analogy of the first part).

VI. Triplications

1· Triplication has two forms in Tibetan. In one of them the first syllable has an initial consonant and a final one, the second repeats the first without the final consonant, and in the third syllable the final consonant reappears whereas the initial one changes into *-l-* ; vowels are indetical in all three syllables *(-i-)*. This form is illustrated all in all by two onomatopoetic bird names: Ld. (Jä.) *tiṅ-ti-liṅ* 'snipe' ; Kunawur (Jä.) *big-bi-lig* 'quail'. The formal similarity of these two words should, in all probability, be ascribed to the acoustic similarity of the characteristic cry of these birds. As long as we cannot find this form in a larger number of words, it cannot be taken for a conventional onomatopoetic form.[56]

2· The other form of triplication which is really a conventional type presents itself in stems ending in *-r*, as a rule, and in those ending in *-l*, less frequently. For other stem finals we have only one example showing *-b*. The

ka-ra-bi-ra 'oleander, Nerium odorum' < Skr. *karavīra(ka)* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 2 ; Laufer, *Loan Words*, p. 468, № 81) and perhaps '*a-la-ma-la* (see p. 236), and their overwhelming majority is formed from the words of the Tibetan language. Furthermore, the possible hypothesis of the foreign origin of gemination with alternating initials of the labial type is at variance also with the fact that such formations can be found in languages belonging to different families of languages (e. g. : in Persian : W. Geiger—E. Kuhn *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I.2, p. 196 ; in Turkish: H. K. Дмитриев, О парных словосочетаниях в башкирском языке: Изв. АН СССР ОГН 1930, pp. 508—509; in Mongolian : Б. Х. Тодаева, Грамматика современного монгольского языка, Москва 1951, p. 75 ; in Hungarian : S. Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, Strassburg 1907, p. 266 ; in Khanti [Ostiak] and Udmurt [Votiak] : E. Levy, *Zur finnisch-ugrischen Wort und Satzverbindung*, Göttingen 1911, §§ 95—96, 104—114. — H. Schuchardt, *Szurum-burum : Ethnographia* XIII [1902], p. 94 was the first to draw attention to such parallel formations in the different languages). This goes to show that such formations may be created in different languages independently of one another.

[56] Among the loan words a similar form is displayed by *pi-pi-liṅ* 'piper longum' < Skr. *pippalī*.

first part is the stem itself without any modification, then the stem is repeated without the initial consonant and finally without both initial and final consonants. Any vowel may figure in the stem (though we have no example for *-e-*) and it remains unaltered in all three syllables. Example : the triplicated form of the onomatopoetic stem *čor-* (cf. [N̂ag.] *čor-čor* 'an onomatopoetic word expressive of effervescing', [N̂ag.] *čo-re* 'the čor-čor sound produced by straining fermented beer') is, as a matter of fact, **čor-or-o*. Since, however, the intervocalic consonants belong to the subsequent syllable, in syllabification we have [N̂ag.] *čo-ro-ro*. In stress-marked dialectal data such triplicated forms have the accent either on the first or on the last syllable : WT *zi-ri-rí* 'the humming of bees, the singing of a kettle' ~ Cl. T. *zi-ri-ri* 'droning of bees, the wind, etc.' (cf. ? *gsir-ba*, *bsir-ba* 'to whirl about') ; vulg. (Jä.) *nár-ra-ra* 'in a long row or file' ~ Cl. T. *nar-ma* 'continuous'. In the latter example the *r* to be found at the limit of the first and second syllables is geminated. A similar phonetic phenomenon can be found in two further triplications.

There can be no clear-cut decision as to what parts of speech the triplicated forms belong. In dictionaries we find indications referring to substantives, verbs and adjective-adverbs. In the sentences taken from dialects the triplicated forms occupy the place of the attribute, resp. of the adverbial complement : WT *č'ár-pa ča-ra-rá yoṅ-dug* 'it rains heavily, it is pouring' (WT *ča-ra-rá* / *či-ri-rí* 'the noise produced by the falling of rain in high wind' : WT *č'ár-pa* 'rain' ~ Cl. T. *čhar-pa* 'id.' : Cl. T. [A.] *ča-re ña-re* 'drippingly, little by little') ; CT (Jä.) *žim-žím ḍí-ma č'i-li-lí k'yer* 'sweet odours of cakes are meeting us' (~ Cl. T. [Mil.] *čhi-li-li* 'onomatopoetic word for snuffing up scents by the nose' : Cl. T. *mčhil-ma* 'spittle', *mčhil-lud* 'mucus'). Triplicated forms among adverbs are also given by Francke, *Sketch*, pp. 39—40. On the other hand, in those very few instances when a triplicated form is found incorporated in a sentence in the classical language, it always stands for the predicate. To give examples we refer to note 30 where two refrain-like verses are quoted from the Klb. and to the following sentence from Mil. taken from Jäschke : *me-tog dri-ma čhi-li-li* 'the perfumes of flowers are perceptible'. According to these instances triplications in the classical language could be regarded as verbs (this is Laufer's opinion, *Klu-'bum*, p. 107). The adjective-adverb character of the dialectal data would not contradict this statement, for following the development of the periphrastic verbal system triplications could in no way have remained verbs. Despite this, the triplicated forms in the classical language cannot be qualified as verbs without reservation because in our examples they can be interpreted as nominal predicates as well. Furthermore, we must not forget that owing to their being onomatopoetic words, their semantic content and the part of speech they belong to might be unsettled, fluctuating.

For the secondary formation of triplicated forms we have but one single example. Here the substantival suffix *-ce*, used in the western dialects, is appended to the triplicated stem : WT *ṭrol-lo-lo-cé* 'a tinkling of bells' : WT *ṭ'ol-la rag* 'to croak' ~ Cl. T. *'khrol-ba*, pf. and fut. *dkrol* 'to sound'.

Triplication is used, in the first place, for reproducing sounds : Cl. T (Thgr.) *ldi-ri-ri* 'rattling of thunder', (Klb. 7b3, 7b6, 8a1 etc., Glr.) *di-ri-ri* 'howling noise of the wind, the rattle of thunder ; to buzz, murmur ; to low (of cattle)' ~ CT (Jä. 290) *di-ri-ri* 'id.' : *ldir-ba* 'to rush, roar (of the wind), to roll (of the thunder), etc.' (cf. Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 82) ; (Klb. 7b4, 7b7, 8a2, etc.) *si-li-li* 'to sound (of a cymbal), the noise produced by the incessant downpour of rain' : (Lex., Zam., MD 30_1) *sil-sil* 'cymbal', *gsil-ba* 'to toll, sound, ring' (cf. Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ; Beckh, *op. cit.*, § 57). It appears from our examples that the gradual diminution of the parts of the triplications reproduces the rhythm of the rhythmically lessening intensity of the acoustic phenomenon. Due primarily to the reproductive character of rhythm triplication is used also for reproducing non-acoustic phenomena : (A.) *hu-ru-ru* 'to stare at with eyes fixed' : (R̲dsa.) *hur-hur* 'staring at out of wonder or surprise', (Mil., Glr.) *mig hu-ré 'dug* 'he stares, he goggles with wonder, horror, confusion'. In triplications reproducing both acoustic and non-acoustic phenomena we find that the triplicated form, as a rule, is not independent but is in correlation with other onomatopoetic words, thus forming families of words. This renders it possible to use triplication with other, non-onomatopoetic stems. In such cases, too, triplication has a reproductive function, it imitates the protraction of the phenomenon : vulg. (Jä.) *nár-ra-ra* 'in a long row or file' ~ Cl. T. *nar-ma* 'continuous, without interruption' ; Ld. (Fr.) *ǰababa* 'softly, lingering' (in *ǰababa bab č'ačes* 'to walk softly, lingering') ~ Cl. T. *'ǰab-ba* 'to sneak, slink, creep privily'.[57]

All in all, triplication is a linguistic form originating in onomatopoeia and made conventional, which creates from onomatopoetic and non-onomatopoetic words the kind of words that reproduce by their phonetic form the

[57] The meaning, that is, the sphere of use of comparatively many triplicated forms is uncertain, their reproductive character being, however, sometimes clear even in such cases : *a) ṅar-ra-ra* 'expression of extreme pain and suffering' is evidently reproductive but, is it a word reproducing the sound of an exclamation or a triplicated interjection «reproducing» an emotion? (Cf. ? *ṅa-ra* 'noise, sound', *ṅar-ba* 'hoarse'). *b)* Neither the triplicated form *šrarara* nor the verb *šrar-* etymologically related to it, both occurring in the phrase Ld. (Fr.) *šrarara šrarsoṅ* (*č'ačes*) 'to go straight on without delay', can be found in any other context. Consequently, we cannot define either the seperate meaning of these words or the semantic difference between them, or again the reproductive character of the triplicated form ; *c)* (Lex.) *ta-la-la* 'lamp, lantern' probably imitate the flickering of the flame of the lamp or the sound of the burning of the oil-lamp ; *d)* The reproductive character of (Klb. 9 b1) *kyu-ru-ru* is evident from the context though its meaning and consequently its etymology are uncertain (see note 30, par. 2, *b)*.

protraction or the lessening intensity of a phenomenon. The triplicated forms perform this their descriptive function, in the first place, by their rhythm, that is, by the gradual diminution of the number of consonants in their subsequent parts as well as by the identity of the vowels in all three syllables. The timbre of the initial consonants and of the vowels not being determined, triplication is enabled to perform the function of real word formation. It is undecided whether it is the form that determines the timbre of the final consonant or whether the fact that we find practically no other consonant than *-r-* or *-l-* is due only to the majority of onomatopoetic stems ending mostly in *-r* or *-l*. It seems probable that the timbre of the final was oringinally determined by the form and that this rule vacillates merely because triplication began to be applied to non-onomatopoetic stems as well. This process is presumably of recent origin, covering perhaps the western dialects only.

Triplication may be divided into three stems of which, however, one only may be employed as a simple word stem. The two other stems are variants of the former and do not appear independently but solely in triplications. Thus the relation between the constituents of a triplication is, in essence, identical with that of the constituent parts of a stem gemination (see p. 231), consequently triplication may be regarded as a special type of the co-ordinate repetition compounds of words.

Г. Ураи

УДВОЕНИЕ И ПОВТОР ОСНОВЫ И СЛОВА В ТИБЕТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В тибетском языке имеется много слов и синтагм, в которых слово или основа повторяются либо в тождественной, либо в модифицированной форме. Автором исследуется определенная группа этих формаций с повторением всего шесть типов, с точки зрения формы, а также их семантических и грамматических особенностей.

I. *Удвоение основы.* Сюда относятся те случаи, когда повторяется лишь основа слова, притом в совершенно тождественной форме (либо в форме, измененной лишь по фонетическим причинам), например: *thib-thib* 'очень темный, очень густой': *thib(s)-po* 'темный, густой'. При удвоении сложных слов — по крайней мере в некоторых случаях — повторяется лишь последний член данного сложного слова. Слова, образованные удвоением основы, могут стать членами сложного слова и получить суффиксы. Ударение обыкновенно падает на второй член слова, образовавшегося удвоением.

Каждое слово, принадлежащее к любой части речи, может быть таким образом удвоено, и полученные формы относятся вообще к той же категории частей речи, в которую входило простое слово. Однако, категории прилагательных и наречий сливаются, а от глаголов способом удвоения образуются сегодня лишь прилагательные-наречия. Эта функция удвоения основы, изменяющая принадлежность слова к той или иной части речи, создалась в связи с тем, что перифрастическая глагольная система стала преобладающей в разговорном языке (диалектах).

Удвоение основы указывает на то, что *а)* обозначаемый основным словом предмет, количество, качество, обстоятельство или процесс повторяется, или качество постепенно усиливается, *б)* входящие в объем понятия основного слова предметы и лица разнородны или неопределенны, обозначаемый же основным словом процесс изменчив в своем направлении и неопределен по своему характеру, *в)* предметы, входящие в понятие основного слова, численно многократны, объем же обозначаемого основным словом предмета и степень обозначаемого качества, длительность и интенсивность обозначаемого процесса многократны или полны. Функции означать разнородность-неопределенность и многократность-полность, развились из функции означать повторение, при помощи отвлечения, что доказывается различными переходными формами. Из упомянутых функций развились дальнейшие два типа способа употребления удвоения основы. *г)* Высокая степень качества или интенсивность действия обыкновенно вызывает сильные чувства, благодаря чему функции удвоения основы часто сопутствует известная степень чувства. Впоследствии удвоение основы стало средством выражения »чистого« чувства, в первую очередь, в междометиях, а затем и в выражениях вежливости и почета. *д)* Значение преобладающей части удвоений либо тождественно значению основного слова, либо отличается от него в мере, соответствующей различию между частями речи, к которым относится основное слово и удвоенная форма. Это явление выступает лишь в некоторых определенных семантических группах слов, а именно в тех словах, которые и в своей простой форме заключают в себе моменты повторения, моменты движения разного направления или же неопределенного движения, полности или повышенной степени качества. Здесь, следовательно, удвоение основы служит, очевидно, согласованию значения и формы: указывающие на тождественные моменты слова объединились по принципу формы в одну категорию, независимо от того содержались ли эти моменты в значении простой формы, или вошли они в значение слова путем удвоения основы. Общее распространение удвоения основы представляет собой новый этап развития и проникло в классический язык из разговорного языка (диалектов). Это общее распространение ослабило функцию удвоения, изменив и в нескольких других направлениях отношение между удвоенными и простыми формами и, в конечном результате, создало зародыши тенденции, могущей привести к тому, чтобы удвоение основы стало отличительным признаком прилагательных-наречий, морфологическим средством изменения частей речи.

Удвоение основы часто встречается и в подражательных (звукоподражательных и образных) словах и может служить даже для образования подражательных слов из неподражательных. В этих случаях удвоение основы участвует в репродуктивной функции слова и объясняется не одной из вышеупомянутых функций, а самым подражанием, несмотря на то, что репродуктивные и нерепродуктивные функции могут, до известной степени, смешиваться.

Несколько десятков форм с удвоенной основой нельзя ни сопоставить с соответствующим простым словом, ни объяснить репродуктивным удвоением. Эти слова большей частью взяты из языка детей и кормилиц или являются заимствованными словами. Часто встречается удвоение основы в числительных свыше миллиона. В этих случаях удвоение имеет функцию означать отчасти многократность, отчасти же неуверенность-неопределенность, однако, преобладающая их часть, вероятно, является результатом произвольного словообразования без основного слова по аналогии вышеупомянутых формаций.

На основе исследования морфологических свойств удвоений основы и семантических отношений между повторяющимися членами, автор считает обсуждаемую форму специальным типом парных слов и — за исключением репродуктивного удвоения основы — рассматривает их как происходящие от парных слов или сочинительных синтагм.

II. *Удвоение слова*. Так называет автор процесс, при котором слово удваивается вместе со своим суффиксом (или падежным окончанием, выступающим в качестве адвербиального суффикса), например: *phyi-ma phyi-ma* 'следующий друг за другом по очереди' : *phyi-ma* 'следующий, последующий' ; *phra-ru phra-ru* 'все тоньше, все красивее' : *phra* 'тонкий, прекрасный'. Каждый из членов сохраняет свое ударение. Удвоенные слова не могут стать членами сложных слов, и из суффиксов прибавляется к ним лишь адвербиальный суффикс (т. е. окончание терминатива) *-r*.

Круг применимости удвоения слов — как с точки зрения частей речи, так и с семасиологической точки зрения — гораздо уже, чем круг применимости удвоения основы: *а)* при прилагательных и наречиях оно указывает на повторение, при наречиях — на увеличение, — *б)* при прилагательных и существительных оно означает увеличение, в nomina verbalia же — продолжительность процесса, — *в)* в обоих членах же коррелятивных пар местоимений оно подчеркивает корреляцию или означает неопределенность-общность.

Морфологические особенности удвоений слов свидетельствуют о том, что первоначально они были сочинительными синтагматическими сочетаниями, однако некоторые их свойства указывают на то, что они превратились в сложные слова. Возникновение удвоений слов является результатом более нового развития и объясняется тем, что функция удвоения основы означать повторение и усиление — вследствие значительного расширения круга употребления этой формы — находится в стадии ослабевания, в коррелятивных же местоимениях удвоение слова возникло в результате калькирования подобных санскритских форм.

III. *Повтор основы с чередованием гласного*. В этой категории основа слова встречается то в первоначальной форме, то с измененным гласным. Как правило, в качестве гласного первой части выступает *-a-*, например: *glan-glen* 'немой, глупый' : *glen-pa* 'глупый, тупой'; *ldam-ldum* 'небрежный, худой, подлый': *ldum-pa* 'небрежный, ленивый'. Ударение падает обыкновенно на вторую часть. Повторы основ могут стать частями сложных слов и могут принимать суффиксы. Что же касается частей речи, повторы основ подчиняются тем же правилам, что и удвоения основ.

Повтор основы с чередованием гласного обыкновенно означает, что обозначенные основным словом предметы, свойства, обстоятельства или процессы повторяются различным образом, в разных направлениях, беспорядочно, что они неопределены, уменьшены или воспринимаются в уничижительно-эмоциональном порядке. Наблюдается и общее распространение повтора основы, именно в словах, обозначающих мутность, беспорядочность, кривизну, неуверенность, умственную отсталость и т. п. В числительных, обозначающих большие числа, повтор основы с чередованием гласного означает, с одной стороны, неуверенность, непостижимость, с другой же, по всей вероятности, является результатом произвольного словообразования. Такая форма встречается часто также и в подражательных словах. При этом повтор основы с чередованием гласного применяется для репродукции не вполне единообразно повторяющегося или беспорядочного акустического (или другого рода) явления. По мнению автора, и функция повтора основы, обозначать разнородность, беспорядочность, неопределенность, происходит из репродуктивной функции.

На основании анализа морфологических свойств повторов основ с чередованием гласного и исследования взаимоотношений между повторами основ с чередованием гласного и удвоениями основ, автор причисляет повтор основы к сочинительным сложным словам.

IV. *Повтор слова с чередованием гласного*. При этой форме, слово с суффиксом *-e* повторяется вместе со своим суффиксом и с изменением гласного в основе в одном из членов, а именно так, что гласный первой части будет всегда *-a-*. В первой части иногда

даже суффикс *-e* переходит в *-a*, в других случаях, однако, он сохраняет свой первоначальный звуковой облик. Первый тип принадлежит к переходной западной группе наречий, второй же — к центральной, причем в классическом языке можно проследить оба типа. Примеры: *ya-ñe-ye-ñe* 'делая что-нибудь неуверенно': *(g-)yeñ-ba* 'душевно волновать, смущать'; *ña-ra-ño-re* 'слабый, хрупкий' (подражательный). В отличие от удвоения основы, ударение падает лишь на суффикс второй части, в остальном же повтор слова с чередованием гласного обнаруживает морфологические свойства удвоения слова, следовательно, рассматривается как сочинительное сложное слово.

Непосредственным основным словом повтора слова с чередованием гласного следует считать всегда прилагательное-наречие с суффиксом *-e*, вследствие чего и повторные формы являются все без исключения прилагательными-наречиями. Благодаря этой связанности с определенной частью речи, круг применения повтора слова с чередованием гласного значительно уже, чем круг применения повтора основы, несмотря на то, что функции обеих форм на самом деле тождественны.

Повтор слова с чередованием гласного, вероятно, возник путем комбинации повтора основы с чередованием гласного и слов, образованных суффиксом *-e*, но каким образом и когда эта комбинация совершилась, установить нельзя из-за отсутствия данных по истории языка.

V. *Повтор слова (или основы) с чередованием начального звука.* В этом типе повторения повторяющиеся части начинаются с различных согласных или же начальный согласный отсутствует в одной из частей. Автор приводит тут сначала несколько подражательных слов — как *'čhog-thog* 'звук падающего предмета' — в которых нельзя обнаружить никакой закономерности соотношения между начальными согласными двух частей. Однако во многих словах можно наблюдать закономерность, а именно, что вторая часть всегда начинается с губного согласного и ударение падает на первый слог второй части. В пределах этого губного типа следует различать три подтипа: 1. *č(h)—m-*, например: *'čhol-ñog-mol-ñog* 'мутно': *'čhol-ba* 'валяется в беспорядке' + *ñog-pa* 'грязный, нечистый'; 2. *ø—m-*, *'—m-*: *'a-la-ma-la* 'мутный, спутанный, неправильный': *'al-'ol* 'то же'; 3. *khr(t^c)—b(p)-*, например: *khra-zig-bi-zig* 'пестрый': *khra-bo* 'то же'. + **(g)zig* 'то же'. Примеров губного типа повтора известно слишком незначительное количество, вследствие чего нельзя было исследовать ни функций, ни происхождения этой формы.

VI. *Тройной повтор основы.* Если не принимать во внимание тройной повтор в следующих звукоподражательных словах: ладахийское *tiñ-ti-liñ* 'бекас' и кунавурское *big-bi-lig* 'перепел', который едва ли может рассматриваться как конвенциональная языковая форма, то тройной повтор может быть определен следующим образом: сначала основа произносится целиком, затем повторяется без начального согласного, и, наконец, пропускается как начальный согласный, так и конечный, например: **čor-or-o* = *čo-ro-ro* 'звукоподражательное слово, указывающее на брожение': *čor-čor* 'то же', *čo-re* 'звук брожения пива'. Ударение падает либо на первую часть, либо на последнюю. Что касается принадлежности тройного повтора к той или иной части речи, здесь нельзя дать вполне однозначащего определения, однако функция его ясна: ритм форм тройного повтора воспроизводит постепенно понижающуюся интенсивность или растяженность продолжительного акустического (или другого рода) явления. Тройной повтор выступает не только в подражательных основах, но может образовать подражательные слова из неподражательных.

THE IRANIAN NAMES FROM THE NORTH COAST OF THE BLACK SEA

By

LADISLAV ZGUSTA (Praha)

The Iranian names from the Greek towns of the North Coast of the Black Sea are our most important source for the knowledge of the Iranian language of this region. Indeed, we could say that they are our only source, because all other material is incomparably scarce and obscure. Among the proper names, the names of persons known from the inscriptions of the towns constitute a group which, being additionally in great majority when compared with the other names, possesses in the first place the advantage that it can be treated with one method.

Therefore, I undertook an investigation of the names in question.[1] The analysis of the Iranian names led to some results which are of sufficient interest to be discussed here. It goes without saying that it is impossible here to produce all the available material : we must content ourselves with a representative set of examples.

It stands to reason that we have to be very careful in investigating such material as this. We have to examine the epigraphic documentation of every name to be sure that the reading of it is certain. We must be very careful in proposing an etymology of a name, because the etymologies of names are much more difficult than those of words ; the reason of this difficulty is to be seen in the fact that we do not know the «meaning» of a proper name a priori and cannot therefore be led by it : we have only the other side of etymology, i. e. the sounds.

At any rate, among the names known from the inscriptions of the Greek towns on the North Coast of the Black Sea, those with relatively certain etymologies are so numerous that they enable us to state the correspondences to the Old Iranian sounds.

[1] The study will be published in 1955 by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences under the title *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste. (Die ethnischen Verhältnisse, namentlich das Verhältnis der Skythen und Sarmaten, im Lichte der Namenforschung.)* The book naturally deals with all the pertinent names, not only the Iranian ones. It contains also a discussion of all opinions pronounced on this subject by various scholars.

These correspondences are sometimes of double nature, but it can be shown that they form a system. The correspondence of Av. *aē* and *ay* is in some cases *αι*, but in some cases *η* or *ε*. E. g. *Βαιορ-μαιος* : Av. *baēvar* 'ten thousand, many', Av. *māyā* 'happiness, luck, blessing'. But *Σηνηκας* : Av. *saēna-* 'bird of prey'; *Ξη-γοδ-ις* : Av. *xšaya-* 'ruler', Av. *gaoiδya-* 'cattle breeding' (adj.). A similar ambiguity can be observed in the correspondences of the other diphthongs (cf. the second part of the name *Ξη-γοδ-ις*).

The correspondence of Av. *p* is either *π* or *φ*. E. g. Av. *puθra-* 'son' : *Πουρθ-αιος*, but also *Φουρτ-ας*. A similar ambiguity can be observed also in the correspondences of other occlusives.

The correspondence of Av. *fri-* is sometimes *Φλι-*, but sometimes *Λι-*: Av.: **frīyamāna-* ~ *frya-* 'dear' : *Φλιμαν-ακος* but also *Λιμν-ακος*.

Difference as *αι* || *η* could perhaps be only graphic, because in Greek, *αι* was pronounced at a time *ē*. But such an assumption would be very difficult in the case of *φ* || *π* and quite impossible in the case of *φλι* || *λι*. Even more important is the fact that the differences are not casual : we see on one side phonologic features which resemble Old Iranian (diphthongs, occlusives), on the other side features which resemble Middle Iranian (monophthongs, spirants) and New Iranian, especially Ossete. Thus *Πουρθ-αιος* can be more easily compared with Av. *puθra-*, but *Φουρτ-ας* with Oss. *furt* 'son'. This being so, we have to accept the opinion that the differences aforesaid are a reflex of linguistic reality.

It can be observed, too, that these two sets of features do not overlap. In several dozens of names in which there are two correspondences which are ambiguous, we can see that both of them belong either to the older set or to the newer set. E. g. *Βαιορ-μαιος* has preserved both diphthongs, while *Ξη-γοδ-ις* has, on the contrary, two monophthongs. Only three examples seem to contradict, but they can be explained away without difficulty : e. g. in the name *Φιτο-φαρν-ακης* we should expect *-θ-*, not *-τ-*, but a dissimilation in the vicinity of two *φ*'s can be assumed with great probability.

This state of affairs indicates quite clearly that the linguistic features mentioned are distinctive (because they do not overlap) and so we must assume the existence of two different dialects, one of which was characterised by the older, the other by the newer set of features.

It can be shewn, too, that these two dialects did not diverge too much. The proof is supplied by the fact that there is a set of characteristics without any double nature which can be found in names that belong to both dialects. An instance of such common feature is the correspondence Av. *ri:* *λι*, which is observed both in the names with the older beginning *Φλι-* and in the names with the newer beginning *Λι-*. Indeed, these common features, which we

cannot enumerate here, are so numerous that we can assume that the two dialects formed one language.

The conclusion of all these observations and reasonings is that on the North Coast of the Black Sea both an older and a newer dialect of an Iranian language were spoken.

This result is based on correspondences which are quite certain, because every single correspondence can be observed in several names. The advantage of this fact is that the correspondences will remain even if it should be found necessary to modify a single etymology.

Beside these well-established sound features, we find a few correspondences which are quite isolated and cannot be connected with the other linguistic phenomena. Thus e. g. the name *Ινσαζ-αγος* : Av. *vīsaiti*, Oss. **insadz* 'twenty' shows correspondences *vi-* : I-, *-ti-* : *-ζ-*, which are quite uncommon ; in all other instances we find *vi-: vi-; -ti-: -ti-, -di-*.

Though these correspondences cannot yet be connected with the division of features described above — a circumstance to be expected when bearing in mind the scarcity of our material — yet it can be said that they never are in any sort of contradiction with the results reached above.

As the majority of these isolated correspondences is founded on one example only (as e. g. the name *Ινσαζαγος*), it is possible that some of them will be eliminated by better etymologies. But it is conceivable that some of them do represent further subdivisions of the two great dialects. Such a result could only be expected ; nothing but further finds of names, however, can throw more light on this problem.

It is our duty to try to see whether there si any accord between the results of our investigations and the facts established by history, or whether there is a contradiction.

An effort to establish any chronology from the inscriptions is quite fruitless. The absolute majority of them comes from the IInd and IIIrd century A. D. without any difference, whether there are «older» or «newer» names in the inscription in question. This fact cannot surprise us, because the vast majority of inscriptions in all regions, even in Greece, comes from the later periods.

Contrariwise to the chronology, an analysis of the geographical distribution of the names proves to be very fruitful. It can be observed that the names which belong to the older dialect are found in all the towns of the North Coast of the Black Sea. On the contrary, some 90% of the «newer» names are found exclusively in the Eastern towns, viz. Panticapaeum, Gorgippia, Phanagoria, Tanais. This fact compels us to consider the Eastern part of the region as a closed linguistic area, where the newer dialect was obviously superimposed on a part of an older and greater linguistic area represented by the fact that the «older» names are found everywhere.

This fact cannot be invalidated by the circumstance mentioned, viz. that the two types of names are found in the inscriptions promiscuously and irrespectively of the date of the inscription's provenance. We must take into consideration that names are always much more conservative than the appellatives, because they are more fixed by the official use ; besides that, in Greek towns the Iranian names were isolated from their own linguistic milieu and they could not develop along the lines of the dialect they belonged to.

Neither is there a necessary reason to assume that all the tribes who spoke the older dialect disappeared from the environs of the Eastern towns when the newer tribes came. Historical experience shows that some remnants of the older population prefer to remain in their seats even after the immigration of the newer tribes. Taking this into consideration there is no difficulty in the assumption that the towns were «supplied» with the older names even a long time after the arrival of the newer population.

Let us remark, in passing, that we could theoretically suggest that the newer dialect developed from the older one in a part of the region. But the assumption of an immigration is a priori much more probable because the history of the North Coast of the Black Sea shows constant migrations.

Not only that we can even identify the two dialects when we assume an immigration of the tribes who spoke the newer dialect. We know from Herodotus that the entire North Coast of the Black Sea up to the river Don was inhabited by the Scythians. Eastwards from Don there lived the Sarmatians who crossed the river in the IIIrd century B. C. and penetrated westward. After a period of fighting, the Sarmatian tribes came to inhabit the entire North Coast of the Black Sea ; this is approximately in the Ist cent. A. D. In the Ist cent. B. C., however, the Scythians maintain themselves in the Western part of the region where they have a strong state.

From these facts we can assume, I think, that the Scythians were able to cooperate with all the Greek towns of the region, whereas the Sarmatians had far more opportunity to penetrate into the Eastern towns than into the Western ones. Neither were the Western towns of the region as attractive as the Eastern ones, in the period in question, because they were far less rich.

In addition to these facts, we are in possession of a remark of Herodotus according to which the Sarmatians spoke Scythian but did so incorrectly (*σολοικίζοντες*).

When we bear in mind all this, the conclusion can hardly escape us, that the older dialect is Scythian and the newer one Sarmatian. They are branches of one language which, owing to the lack of a better term, may be called Scytho-sarmatian.

This identification is very probable in itself. We even possess a definite proof of its correctness. There are a few names which are known from literary sources and which therefore were not used in our considerations. They are

not numerous enough to be used themselves but they can help in checking our results. In several cases, we are informed whether the bearer of the name was a Scythian or a Sarmatian. We can then observe that the phonology of these names coincides exactly with the linguistic features identified as Scythian resp. Sarmatian. E. g. the Scythian name *Ἀρπο-ξαις* shows a diphthong (Av. *xšaya-)*, whereas the Sarmatian *Beorgus* has the monophthong *e* (Av. *baēvar-)*. Several such coincidences can be observed, but not a single contradiction to the rules exemplified above. This fact indicates that the identification given above may be considered as proved.

Л. Згуста

ИРАНСКИЕ ИМЕНА, УПОТРЕБЛЯЕМЫЕ НА СЕВЕРНОМ ПОБЕРЕЖЬЕ ЧЕРНОГО МОРЯ

При изучении иранских имен, употребляемых на северном побережье Черного моря, можно заметить в них несколько двоякие соотношений с древне-иранскими звуками. Они образуют известную систему, так как они походят либо на древне-иранские (в отношении дифтонгов и окллюзивов), либо на средне-иранские (в отношении монофтонгов и спирантов) и на ново-иранские, особенно осетинские.

Географическое расположение этих имен заставляет нас предполагать, что старые имена скифского происхождения, новые же — сарматского. Это предположение подтверждается историческими фактами и сопоставлениями с именами, известными из литературных источников.

SOME MORE CHINESE GLOSSES IN UIGHUR SCRIPT[1]

By

B. CSONGOR

In the present paper we wish to add some more data to our material published previously. These new glosses in Uighur script are taken from the work of 馮家昇 Feng Chia-sheng entitled 回鶻文寫本菩薩大唐三藏法師傳研究報告 *Hui-hu wen hsieh pen "P'u-sa Ta T'ang San-ts'ang fa-shih chuan" yen chiu pao kao*, (published in the 考古學專刊 *K'ao ku hsüeh chuan k'an* series, Peking 1953) which, dealing with the general problems concerning the origin and dating of the Uighur Hsüan-tsang biography, gives a list of the Chinese glosses of the whole text. This work, being a sign of the growing interest of Chinese scholars in the study of the relics of China's ancient neighbouring cultures can only be heartily welcomed. In addition to the remarkable comments of the author concerning the Uighur text, the Chinese glosses published in it are very valuable for the study of Middle Chinese (i. e. T'ang-time) phonology. As they corroborate in many respects our earlier statements, we want now to add them as a complementary material to the glosses previously dealt with.

The total sum of these newly added Chinese glosses in Uighur script amounts to something just over fifty. There are, in fact, more glosses to be found in Feng's paper but these are already contained in *ChGU*. As regards the new, additional material we had to observe the following restrictions :

1. We had to exclude from further study the following glosses of which the Chinese derivation is not convincing : *suw* is evidently a word of genuine Uighur-Turkish stock, its coincidence with Chinese 水 *shui* is merely accidental; the derivation of *yoog šastr* from 瑜伽師地論 (ACh *ịu g'ịa ṣi d'i luən)* is not convincing, the gloss must be of Sanscrit (Iranian?) origin.

2. Some other glosses seem to be assuredly of Chinese origin. Their Chinese equivalents, though, as given by Feng Chia-sheng, raise phonological difficulties. Two of them, *χung wu tsï* ~ 弘福寺 (ACh *γwəng pịuk zi)* and *wutu čing* ~ 佛圖澄 (ACh *b'ịuət d'uo d'ịəng)* are apparently of Ancient

[1] Cf. B. Csongor, *Chinese glosses in the Uighur script of the T'ang-period:* Acta Orient. Hung. II, pp. 73—121. Cited below as *ChGU*.

Mandarin origin on account of the absence of final *-k*, respectively *-t*. As the main stock of the Chinese glosses contained in the text is decidedly of MCh origin, the later origin of these two glosses mentioned above is in contradiction to the origin of the Uighur translation, as supposed either by Gabain or by Feng. Having, unfortunately, neither the Uighur translation, nor the Chinese text at hand, we could only abstain from any further comment on the topic.

The gloss *yüγ χua kung*, derived by Feng Chia-sheng from 玉華宮 (ACh *ngi̯wok γwa ki̯ung)* shows a totally irregular form, the palatal *ü* of *yüγ* being incompatible with the final velar *γ* in Uighur orthography. As a regular MCh counterpart, we should expect *güg* for ACh *ngi̯wok*. The derivation of *χao tay sï* from 皇太子 (ACh *γwâng d'âi tsi)* is also somewhat surprising : the correct MCh form would have been *χo*, or *χoo* in the first word. Neither can the gloss *taipaziki* 大般若經 (ACh *d'âi puât ńźi̯a kieng)*[2] be explained from MCh in a satisfactory manner.

3. In one case, we propose a different derivation of a gloss than given by Feng Chia-sheng : *tai ging tin* is equal, according to him, to 太極殿 (ACh d'*âi g'i̯ək d'ien)*. As Uighur *ging* can by no means be explained from ACh *g'i̯ək*, we propose on phonological grounds *tai ging tin (recte: ten*, cf. below) rather to be derived from 太興殿 (ACh *d'âi χi̯əng d'ien)*, the Sui-time name of this imperial apartment.[3]

Before undertaking the phonological examination of the material, we had to effect some corrections and emendations in the spelling of some glosses. Uighur script admits in many cases several readings of the same word[4] and it is necessary to give some glosses their correct reading before attempting to evaluate them as data for Chinese phonology, as the phonological explanations would be impossible without this. The following emendations are thus proposed, on the basis of the principles elucidated in *ChGU:*

Āleph:	*čau*	emended form	*čäu*	(趙	ACh *d'i̯äu)*
Yod:	*kin*	" "	*ken*	(乾	ACh *g'i̯än)*
	tin	" "	*ten*	(殿	ACh *d'ien)*
	siu	" "	*seu*	(蕭	ACh *sieu)*

[2] For the irregular spelling of 般若 , adopted in Buddhist transcriptions cf. the respective items in the *K'ang-hsi tzŭ tien.*

[3] We suppose that 太興殿 is a part of, or means 太興宮 ; the same for 太極殿 and 太極宮. According to the item 太極宮 of the *Chung kuo ku chin ti ming ta tz'ŭ tien*, the name 太極宮 was adopted from 705 only. As the biography of Hsüan-tsang may be dated as originating about 650 (the time 彥悰 *Yen-tsung* flourished), there is a chance that the Sui-time name survived into the early T'ang, although officially the term 西內 Hsi nei was adopted.

[4] Cf. *ChGU* p. 79 sqq.

Waw:	*χung*	"	"	*χong*	(恆	ACh *γəng)*
	qoγ	"	"	*quγ*	(穀	ACh *kuk)*
	tsao	"	"	*tsau*	(草	ACh *ts'âu)*
	tao	"	"	*tau*	(道	ACh *d'âu)*
	qoo	"	"	*qō*	(光	ACh *kwâng)*
	čoo	"	"	*čō*	(長	ACh *ď'i̯ang)*
	ün	"	"	*ön*	(遠	ACh *ji̯wɒn)*
	lon	"	"	*lun*	(倫	ACh *li̯uěn)*
	hui	"	"	*güi*	(魏	ACh *ngjwe̯i)*
	čuu	"	"	*čü*	(褚	ACh *ťi̯wo)*
	yuu	"	"	*yü*	(裕	ACh *i̯u)*
	kung	"	"	*küng*	(宮	ACh *ki̯ung)*
	lüyö	"	"	*lō*	(梁	ACh *li̯ang)*[5]
Kāph:	*kii*	emended form		*gii*	(義	ACh *ngji̯e)*
	hui	"	"	*güi*	(魏	ACh *ngjwe̯i)*
	ging	"	"	*hing*	(興	ACh *χi̯əng)*
	kün	"	"	*hün*[6]	(訓	ACh *χi̯uən)*
Šīn:	*san*	emended form		*šan*	(山	ACh *ṣan).*

We preferred to transcribe the letter *bēth* by *v* and *f* respectively rather than by *w* as adopted by Feng (cf. *ChGU* p. 84). Thus we write *vi* instead of *wi*, *fu* instead of *wu* (巫 ACh *pi̯u)*, *f(a)r* instead of *wr* (發 ACh *pi̯wɒt)*, etc. As for *twu* (杜 ACh *d'uo)*, we can explain it only by supposing a mistake in the deciphering : the *bēth* in this case represents perhaps a defectively written *waw* and the word should be read *tuo*.

In the case of *zim* (壬 ACh *ńźi̯əm)* and *zim* (任 ACh *ńźi̯əm)* it is more accurate to write *žim* in both cases.

In a single case no vowel is marked :

wr (發 ACh *pi̯wɒt)*. In our opinion, the word has to be read *f(a)r*, cf. *ChGU* p. 83.

Chinese Phonetics

The new glosses reflect the same MCh dialectal features as those presented in *ChGU*. In some cases they furnish a valuable corroboration of our previous statements.

[5] As the word is transcribed by Feng as *lüyö*, we assume that it was originally written *lwyw*, or *lwyyw*. Both forms are somewhat surprising ; we can explain them only in the manner above.

[6] We wrote *h* in these cases according to the system of transcription adopted by Gabain in her *Alttürkische Grammatik*. We must point out, however, that this time we do not want to attribute the *kāph* a laryngeal fricative character.

I. Initials

The new glosses, as a rule, show the same double correspondence of the ACh initials *kien*, *k'i* and *kün* (i. e. *q* and *k*) as our previous material. The ACh initials *hiao* and *hia* are also represented in the same manner as in the other MCh glosses in Uighur script. The voiceless character of the voiced ACh initials in them may be conjectured on the basis of the gloss *sui* (遂 ACh *zwi)*.

The data *gii* (義 ACh *ngjiẹ)* and *güi* (魏 ACh *ngjwẹi)* point to the oralization of ACh nasal initials. This oralization is, however, interfered with by the labiodental development of ACh labials before yodization + *u*, as shown by the correspondence *vu* ~ 武 ACh *mịu*. In *ChGU* p. 90, we have ventured the statement that oralization of labial initials has probably taken place in MCh dialects in varying measure. These differences in labiodental development were also due in all probability to chronological factors. As our present material obviously represents a homogeneous vocabulary, being contained in the same text which seems to be in turn a relatively old original translation of a Chinese work — regarding the relation of oralization and labiodental development in its dialect we may draw the conclusion that oralization has only taken place in it after labiodental development had happened, otherwise our gloss *vu* cited above would have occurred in the form *bu*.[7]

As regards the yodization of the initials, the new glosses show the same features in this respect as were stated in *ChGU* p. 86, i. e. the first and second categories may be regarded as "pure" while the third and the fourth as "yodized" ones, with some exceptions.

II. Finals

The loss of final *-ng* follows the same rules in the new material as established earlier, i. e. ACh *-ng* remains intact after ACh *-ə* (finals *-əng* and *-ịəng)* and *-u* (finals *-ung*, *-ịung*, *-uong)* while in other cases it vanished.[8]

The correspondence *χong* ~ 恢 ACh *χəng* is a new proof for the Chinese origin of *(pur)song* (僧 ACh *səng*, *ChGU* p. 78).

[7] Cf. the correspondence *ban* ~ 萬 Ach *mịwɒn ChGU* p. 90.

[8] (There are, however, two exceptions. The first, *ong* is contained in the gloss *ong vinhün* (王文訓) ACh *jịwang mịuən χịuən*). As *vin* and *hün* represent the same ACh final in two different ways, the derivation of the gloss may not be regarded as being above all suspicion. The second exceptional case, *čung* (鐘 ACh *tśịwong)* is not less enigmatical because the same ACh. final is also represented in *lü* (龍 ACh *lịwong)* this time without final *-ng*, in the self-same text as *čung*. Moreover *ChGU* enlisted an ACh homonym of our *čung* (鍾 ACh *tśịwong* ~ U *čung)* in the same form. We have perhaps to assume that *lü* is a borrowed word in Uighur while both *čung* are only foreign words, cf. *ChGU* p. 76.)

After the loss of final *-ng*, vowels in many cases became labialized, as mentioned already in *ChGU* p. 95 : *yo-* ~ 永 ACh *ji̯wɒng*, *čō* ~ 上 ACh *dʻi̯ang*, *lo* ~ 良 ACh *li̯ang*, *lō-* ~ 梁 ACh *li̯ang*, *qō* ~ 光 ACh *kwâng*. Some of these rounded vowels may also be assumed to be palatal : in addition to *lō*, *čō* and *yo- (hüi)* may also be read perhaps as *čö*, and respectively *yö*.

The curious correspondence *šögön* ~ 上元 ACh *źi̯ang ngi̯wɒn (ChGU* p. 96), finds its counterpart in the new glosses *lō* ~ 梁 ACh *li̯ang* and *ön* ~ 遠 ACh *ji̯wɒn*.

Quantitative differences in vowels may also be observed in the new material, similarly to those in *ChGU* p. 95—6: *lō* ~ 梁 ACh *li̯ang*, *čō* (or *čö*?) ~ 長 ACh *dʻi̯ang*, *qō* ~ 光 ACh *kwâng* in opposition to *lo* ~ 良 ACh *li̯ang*, etc. Furthermore *gii (gī?)* ~ 義 ACh *ngji̯ę* points to the existence of a long *ī* in some cases, while other words with a similar ending are written with a single yod only.

A very interesting problem is offered by the twofold — both palatal and velar — correspondences of the one and the same ACh final : *lō* ~ 梁 ACh *li̯ang*, but *lo* ~ 良 ACh *li̯ang*. (cf. *ChGU* p. 98—9). As the present material may be regarded as homogeneous, we have to assume that some ACh categories having been yodized at that time are in MCh subdivided into two parts, the one preserved its yodized character while the other has lost it. Or may we assume that there was no direct connection between ACh as reconstructed by Karlgren and MCh as preserved in our Uighur glosses (cf. *ChGU* p. 103)? Are we obliged perhaps to rely in MCh on a system of yodization of totally different origin and division than in ACh?

Conclusions

As all the new glosses dealt with above are incorporated in the same text, they may be regarded as being of common origin, we may assume consequently that they came from the same MCh dialect. The following conclusions may be drawn concerning their dialectal features :

1. Their dialect is a MCh, Kan-on type dialect (cf. *ChGU* p. 103) on account of the loss of final *-ng* and the oralization of ACh initial *ng-* into *g-*.

2. Their dialect is of relatively more recent date than that of the Kan-on proper as in our material labials have already undergone dentilabial development.

3. Their dialect does not belong to that akin to today's T'aiku, Wenshui, Kuihuach'eng dialects as the ACh finals *-jwe̯i*, *-jwi*, *-jwię* are represented in them by *-ü* while in our present material by *-üi ;* nor is it akin to that of today's Hinghien, as the present material represents ACh final *-i̯u* by *-ü*, *-u* while in Hinghien we find *-ui* (cf. *ChGU* p. 99).

4. The system of yodization is totally different from that of ACh.

LIST OF GLOSSES[9]

		ACh.	Uighur			ACh.	Uighur
1.	賈	*ka*	*qa*	29.	慶	*k'i̯ɒng*	*ki*
2.	婆	*b'uâ*	*pa*	30.	英	*·i̯ɒng*	*i*
3.	遲	*ď'i*	*či*	31.	興	*χi̯əng*	*hing*
4.	義	*ngjɨe̯*	*gii*[10]	32.	永	*jɨi̯wɒng*	*yo (yö?)*
5.	李	*lji*	*li*	33.	長	*ď'i̯ang*	*čō (čö?)*[12]
6.	魏	*ngjwe̯i*	*güi*	34.	良	*li̯ang*	*lo*
7.	徽	*χjwe̯i*	*hüi*	35.	梁	*li̯ang*	*lō*
8.	遂	*zwi*	*sui*	*36.	光	*kwâng*	*qō*
9.	泰	*t'âi*	*tai*	37.	王	*i̯wang*	*ong*[13]
*10.	銳	*i̯wäi*	*vi*	38.	道	*d'âu*	*tau*
11.	任	*ńźi̯əm*	*žim*	39.	草	*ts'âu*	*tsau*
12.	壬	*ńźi̯əm*	*žim*[11]	40.	趙	*ď'i̯äu*	*čäu*
13.	琳	*li̯əm*	*lim*	*41.	蕭	*sieu*	*seu*
14.	漢	*χân*	*χan*	42.	杜	*d'uo*	*tuo*
15.	安	*·ân*	*an*	43.	蒲	*b'uo*	*pu*
16.	山	*ṣan*	*šan*	44.	褚	*ťi̯wo*	*čü*
17.	乾	*g'i̯än*	*ken*	45.	書	*śi̯wo*	*šu*
18.	殷	*d'ien*	*ten*	46.	廬	*li̯wo*	*lu*
19.	遠	*jɨi̯wɒn*	*ön*	47.	裕	*i̯u*	*yü*
20.	信	*si̯ĕn*	*sin*	48.	甫	*pi̯u*	*fu*
21.	敦	*tuən*	*tun*	49.	武	*mi̯u*	*vu*
22.	倫	*li̯uĕn*	*lun*	50.	公	*kung*	*qung*[14]
23.	君	*ki̯uən*	*kün*	51.	同	*d'ung*	*tung*
24.	訓	*χi̯uən*	*hün*	52.	宮	*ki̯ung*	*küng*
25.	文	*mi̯uən*	*vin*	53.	鐘	*ťśi̯wong*	*čung*
26.	恆	*γəng*	*χong*	*54.	發	*pi̯wɒt*	*f(a)r*
27.	正	*ťśi̯äng*	*či*	*55.	尉	*·i̯wɒt*	*ür(ör?)*[15]
28.	令	*li̯äng*	*li*	56.	德	*tək*	*tüγ*
				*57.	穀	*kuk*	*quγ.*

[9] (The following items of the list given in the *ChGU* are also represented among the glosses published by Feng Chia-seng in the same form : 1, 8, 15, 18, 27, 71, 72, 88, 89, 92, 100, 139, 140/b, 161, 162. — Items in the present list marked by an asterisk denote ACh finals not represented in the list of the *ChGU.)*

[10] (Cf. N° 14. of *ChGU.*)

[11] (Cf. N° 60 of *ChGU.*)

[12] (Cf. N° 123 of *ChGU.*)

[13] (Cf. N° 128 of *ChGU.*)

[14] (Cf. N° 156 of *ChGU.*)

[15] (According to a *fan-ts'ie* of the 集韻 *Tsi-yün :* 於勿 *·uo* + *mi̯wɒt*).

Index of initials

k: 1, 23, 36, 50, 52, 57	*ťś, ţş:* 27, 53	*t':* 9
k': 29	*ťś', ţş':* — —	*d':* 18, 38, 42, 51
g': 17	*ďź', ḑž':* — —	*ts:* — —
ng: 4, 6	*ś, ş:* 16, 45	*ts':* 39
χ: 7, 14, 24, 31	*ź:* — —	*dz':* — —
γ: 26	*ńź:* 11, 12	*s:* 20, 41
·: 15, 30, 55	*n:* — —	*z:* 8
'': 10, 19, 32, 37, 47	*ń:* — —	*p:* 48, 54
t, ţ: 44	*l:* 5, 13, 22, 28, 34	*p':* — —
ť', ţ': — —	35, 46	*b':* 2, 43
ď', ḑ': 3, 33, 40	*t:* 21, 56	*m:* 25, 49

Б. Чонгор

НОВЫЕ КИТАЙСКИЕ ГЛОССЫ ИЗ ЭПОХИ ТАН'А В УЙГУРСКОЙ ТРАНСКРИПЦИИ

Настоящая статья примыкает к работе автора, появившейся во II-м томе *Acta Orient. Hung.* под заглавием «Китайские глоссы эпохи Тан'а в уйгурской транскрипции» (стр. 73—121), и является обработкой начерченных уйгурским шрифтом китайских глосс, приведенных в труде Фын Цзя-шэна, появившемся в серии Трактатов Археологического института Китайской Академии наук под заглавием Хой-ху вэнь се бэнь «Пу-са Да-Тан Сань-дзан фа ши чжуань» янь цзю бао гао. Относительно этих новых глосс можно установить, что они относятся к той же эпохе и к той же группе диалектов, что и обработанные в предшествующей статье. В пределах этого круга их диалект определяется тем, что выделение начальных дентолабиальных уже произошло, находящимся в конце слова древне-китайским *-jwi, -jwęi, -jwię* соответствует в этом диалекте *-ui (-üi)*, а не *-u (-ü)*, которые встречаются в одном из диалектов раньше обработанного материала. Новый материал доставил несколько новых данных о диалектальных аналогиях, наблюдавшихся доселе лишь спорадически, в том числе об удлинении в некоторых случаях гласного, попавшего на окончание слова вследствие исчезновения древне-китайского *-ng*, хотя и регулярность этого явления до сих пор не удалось констатировать.

EIN OPFERTEXT AUS UGARIT

(1929 N° 2)

Von
J. AISTLEITNER

Unter den zuerst veröffentlichten ugaritischen Texten aus Ras Schamra ist wohl der mit No. 2 bezeichnete Opferliedertext der bemerkenswerteste. Seine erste Probeübersetzung hat E. DHORME unternommen.[1] Aufsehen erregte dann die Übersetzung und Auffassung B. HROZNÝS.[2] Er sah im *nqmd* des Textes einen Griechen (Nikomedes), der an der Spitze jener mykenischen Minorität stand, die in Ugarit die einheimischen Semiten unterdrückte. Der Name *ỉmân* soll Joner, *ddmỉ* die aus der Gegend von Miletos eingewanderten Didymäer bezeichnen. Die Lieder wären Danklieder der Einheimischen gelegentlich der Vertreibung *nqmd*-s und der übrigen Fremdländer. HROZNÝ-s Auffassung blieb jedoch vereinzelt ; man wies darauf hin, dass die korrekte Wiedergabe des Namens der Jonier nicht *ỉmân*, sondern *ỉwn* hätte sein müssen.[3] G. DOSSIN[4] zeigte sodann, dass — wie teilweise schon R. WEILL (RHR CXV (1937), S. 177) sah — der Name *nqmd* die semitische Wz. *nqm* (sich rächen) enthalte und die Endung *-d* eine kontrahierte Form von ug. *hd* (akk. *Hadad)* darstelle. Spätere Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen des Textes stammen von J. A. MONTGOMERY,[5] H. L. GINSBERG[6] und C. H. GORDON.[7] In all diesen Übersetzungen ist der Sinn des schliessenden Teiles der Opferlieder im Ganzen zutreffend dargestellt ; der Kontext des Anfangs- und des Mittelteiles ist jedoch noch nicht befriedigend festgestellt worden. Folgende Erörterungen bezwecken die Feststellung eines solchen Kontextes, der die richtige Auffassung dieses wichtigen Textes ermöglicht.

[1] Première traduction des textes phéniciens de Ras Shamra RB XL (1931), SS. 32—56.

[2] Les Ioniens à Ras-Shamra : Archiv Orientální IV (1932), SS. 169—178.

[3] J. FRIEDRICH : AfO VIII/3 (1932), S. 239 ; SCHAEFFER, Ugaritica I. 101—02 ; MONTGOMERY : JAOS 1935, S. 165.

[4] Syria 1939, 169—76. — Vgl. noch CH. VIROLLEAUD : A propos du nom de *Nqmd* < *Nqm-(H)d:* Syria 1940, SS. 110—12.

[5] Ras Shamra Notes III in JAOS LV (1935), SS. 89—94.

[6] Kithbe Ugarit. 1936. SS. 90 u. folg.

[7] Ugaritic Literature (Roma 1949), SS. 109—11. Vgl. noch R. DUSSAUD : Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament. 1937, SS. 21. 27. 28.

Als Einleitung mögen einige Bemerkungen über die Gestalt des Textes stehen. Zur Grundlage dient der von VIROLLEAUD in 1929, also in einer Zeit veröffentlichte Text, da die ugaritischen Schriftzeichen noch nicht entziffert waren[1]. Einen überprüften Text bietet die Umschrift H. BAUERS.[2] Der Vergleich beider Veröffentlichungen zeigt besonders bezüglich des Worttrenners grosse Unterschiede. In VIROLLEAUDS Ausgabe, der auch GORDON folgt,[3] findet man 96 Worttrenner, wogegen BAUERS Ausgabe nur 33 solche aufweist. Dabei lässt sich leicht feststellen, dass der Tafelschreiber den Worttrenner sehr oft fehlerhaft setzte, also bezüglich der Orthographie ein Anfänger war, was auch bei der Erklärung der Texte berücksichtigt werden muss.

Die Tafel enthält, soweit sie erhalten ist, fünf Opfergesänge, die von einander horizontale Linien abgrenzen. Vom ersten Lied ist nur das Ende der beiden Schlusszeilen erhalten. Das zweite Lied bestand aus etwa 6 Zeilen. Die geringen Reste davon reichen hin um feststellen zu können, dass der Inhalt im Wesentlichen dem der folgenden Gesänge ähnlich war. Letztere haben aber einen etwas grösseren Umfang, beim dritten Lied 8, beim vierten und fünften Lied je 9—9 Zeilen. Die folgende Umschrift vereint die zu einem Wort gehörigen Zeichen ohne Rücksichtnahme der Anwesenheit oder des Fehlens des Worttrenners.

Umschrift des Textes

(1) [.....]*r(?)*
[.....]*rbn*
[.....]
[.....]*wnpỉ*
(5) [.....] *ỉ* | *ùgrt*
[.....] *ỉ*
[.....]
[.....]*m(?)*[.....]
[.....]*à(?)*[.. *ltkmn*.....*wšn*]*m hn -š*[4]
(10) [.....*wnp*]*ỉ* | [.....]
[...]*wn*[*pỉ*.....]*ù thṭ*[*in ùlp*.....]*ỉ*
ùlp ddmỉ ùl[*p ḫrỉ ùl*]*p ḫtỉ ù*[*lp àltỉ ùlp t*] *br*
ùlp ḫbtkn ùl[*p*] *md*[*llk*]*n ùlp* | *m*[.....]
ù thṭin | *bàpkn* | *ù b*[*q*]*tt np*[*škn bqṭt*]

[1] Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra : Syria X (1929), SS. 304—316, mit XX Tafeln.

[2] Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Shamra. Berlin 1936, SS. 2—4.

[3] Ugaritic Handbook II. Texts. Roma 1947, S. 1.

[4] In den Textausgaben ist das Zeilenende um eine Zeile abwärts verschoben.

(15) *tqṯṯn ù tḫṯin | ld[bḥm wlṯ' d[bḥn ndbḥ-]*
ḥ w | ṯ' nṯ'ỉ | ḥ w | nkt | n[k]t | ỉṯšỉ [lȧb bn ỉl]
ỉṯšỉ | ldr | bn ỉl | l | mpḫ | rt | bn | [ỉl ltkmn wšn]m hn š[1]

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w | šqrb | ṯr | mšrm šr [b]n | ùgrt | w[npỉ.....]
w npỉ | ỉmȧn w | npỉ trm[n w] npỉ | [gr ḥmṯt][2] *ùgr*
(20) *w npỉ | nqmd | ù šn | ỉ pkm | ùlp q[ṭš ùlp ddm]ỉ*
ùlp | ḫrỉ ùlp | ḫ[t]ỉ | ùlp | ȧltỉ | ù[lp tbr ùl]p
ḫbtkm | ùlp | m[dl]lkm | ùlp | [...]bl [ù šn]ỉ pkm
ù bȧpkm | ù b[qṭ]t | npškm | ù bqṭt | tqṯt
ù šnỉ pkm | ld[bḥ]m wl | ṯ' | dbḥn | ndbḥ | ḥ wṯ nṯ'ỉ-
(25) *ḥ w | nkt | nkt [ỉt]šỉ lȧb | bn | ỉl | ỉṯšỉ | ldr*
bn ỉl ltkmn [w] | šnm | hn ṯ(!)r

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wṯb | lmspr m[šr]m šr | bt | ùgrt | w np[ỉ] gr
ḥmṯt | ùgrt | [w npỉ] nṯt | ùšnỉ pkn | ùl[p] qṭš
ùlp | ddmỉ | ù[lp ḫ]rỉ(!) | ùlp | ḫtỉ | ùlp | ȧltỉ
(30) *ùlp | tbr | ùlp | [ḫbtkn ù]lp md | llkn ùlp qr*
lšnỉ | pkn | bȧ[pkn ù bq]ṭt npš | kn ù bqṭt
tqṯṯn ù šnỉ | [pkn ldbḥm] wlṯ' dbḥn
ndbḥ | ḥ wṯ' n[ṯ'ỉḥ wnkt nkt ỉt]šỉ lȧb b[n] ỉ [l]
ỉṯšỉ l[dr bn ỉl lm]pḫrt | bn ỉl
ltkm[n wšnm ḥ]n [ṯr]

Zum Verständnis des Textes führen besonders zwei Schlüsselstellen: der Ausdruck *ù šnỉ pkm*, bzw. *pkn* (ZZ. 20. 22. 24. 31. 32) und der Ausdruck in Z. 26, den man bisher *hn ʿr* gelesen hat.

Im ersten Ausdruck, sowie auch an anderen Stellen der Opferlieder variieren öfters die pronominalen Suffixe *-km* und *-kn;* man hat sie bisher meist auf männliche, bzw. weibliche Opferer bezogen und berief sich dabei auf *bn ugrt* (Z. 18), bzw. *bt ugrt*, welche Ausdrücke bedeuten sollen: 'Söhne', bzw. «Töchter von Ugarit». Der Plural von *bt*, 'Tochter' ist aber nicht *bt*, sondern *bnt* (V AB, B 2, Var. A.; II D, II 26. 31. 33. 36. 38; III K, III 5. 24; NK, 40; 89, 9). Vor dem Wort *bt* steht dann *mšrm šr* (ZZ. 18. 27), immer mit der maskulinen Pluralendung *-m*. Hieraus folgt, dass *bt ugrt* mit «das Haus Ugarit» zu übersetzen ist und dass es dem Ausdruck *bn ugrt*, «Söhne Ugarits», vollständig parallel steht. Der Ausdruck «das Haus Ugarit» ist ebenso, wie hb. *bēt Jisrael, bēt Jaʿaqōb* ein die Gesammtheit des betreffenden Volkes bezeichnendes Kollektivum und kann daher mit Plural konstruiert werden.

[2] Vgl. Virolleaud, La legende phén. de Danel, SS. 27—28.

Aber was bedeutet *ù šnỉ pkm(n)?* — *ù* ist sowohl hier, als auch an anderen Stellen der Lieder eine Interjektion, die mit hb. *'ōỉ*, akk. *ūa*: ach! wehe! oh! zu vergleichen wäre. In Z. 31 steht dafür die betheuernde Partikel *l*, 'wahrlich'; man könnte aber auch annehmen, dass ein Keil weggefallen ist, und auch hier *ù* zu lesen wäre. Was bedeutet dann *šnỉ pkm?* An einer parallelen Stelle liest man: *ù thṯin*, was zweifellos bedeutet: „Oh! Sie haben gesündigt!" Im Akkadischen bedeutet *šunnū pī (pā):* 'den Mund ändern', d. h. dem Gebote jemandes zugegenhandeln, sein Gebot übertreten. Vgl. DELITZSCH, HW unter II. *šanū:* anders sein o. werden. II. 1: ändern, II. 2: ändern, verkehren; MUSS-ARNOLDT unter *šanū* 3. Intensiv: ändern; unter den Beispielen: *pi-i dan-ni-te šu-a-tu u-ša-an-nu-u; ina pi-ka el-li ša la šu- un-nu-u.* Der Ausdruck *ù šnỉ pkm/n* ist also zu übersetzen: Oh! Sie übertraten euer Gebot.» Da nun die Söhne und das Haus Ugarits nichts zu gebieten hatten, kann es sich nur um ein Gebot der Götter bzw. der Göttinnen Ugarits handeln, wegen dessen Übertretung man klagt.

Auf Grund dieser Einsicht kann nun der Kontext der Lieder fast automatisch richtiggestellt werden. Beim Ausdruck *wnpỉ* handelt es sich wohl nicht so sehr um ein wirkliches Austreiben aus Ugarit usw., sondern um göttliche Reprobation, um ein »Ausgestosensein« aus der göttlichen Gnade und ihrem Schutz. Was ist aber die Sünde, die sich Ugarit, Niqmad und andere haben zu Schuld kommen lassen, und weswegen sie sich verstossen fühlen? Diese Sünde ist vorerst im Wort *ùlp* (ZZ. 12 usw.) ausgedrückt. Die bisherigen Übersetzungen fussten auf hb. *'allūf* II: 'Stammhaupt', und dachten dabei an die Könige der in den Liedern angeführten Fremdländer. Das Hebräische hat jedoch noch ein *'allūf* I: 'Freund, Vertrauter', wozu man arab. *'alifa':* 'jemand anhänglich, befreudet sein', vergleichen kann. Diese Bedeutung passt nun viel besser in den Kontext. Die Ursache des Zornes der Gottheiten ist das Bündnis ihres Volkes, der Ugariter mit Fremdvölkern, ihr sich Befreunden mit solchen Leuten, die die Tempel der Götter dem politischem Bunde zu trotz plünderten und die dort angehäuften Schätze in Beschlag nahmen, ja sogar vielleicht auch die Götterbilder wegschleppten *(ḫbtkn* Z. 13, *ḫbtkm* Z. 22), und so die Götter abwerfig behandelten *(mdllkn* ZZ. 13. 30, *mdllkm* Z. 22). Das öffentliche Bekenntnis dieser Sünde und die damit verbundenen Sühnopfer sind dazu bestimmt, den gerechten Zorn der Götter vom ugaritischen Staatswesen abzuwenden.

Der bisher mit *hn δ'r* umschriebene Ausdruck hat schon manche Verlegenheit bereitet. HROZNY gibt die Stelle mit: „(le?) voici, le prince (?)", zurück; GINSBERG setzt behutsam Punkte an seine Stelle. GORDON übersetzt: „lo the ass," und bemerkt dazu: »Wenn „Esel" richtig ist, so bezieht es sich auf das Tier, das mit Opfergaben belastet ist.« (S. 108.) GORDON hat insofern recht, dass es sich wirklich um ein Tier handelt, da aber das vorhergehende *hn* ein Demonstrativpronomen ist, — vgl. syr. *hana* und noch besser den hb.

Artikel *h* mit folgender Schärfung, die wohl auf Assimilation eines vorhergehenden *n* zurückgeht,[1] — ist nicht an ein Lasttier, sondern an ein Opfertier zu denken. Also ein Eselsopfer? Das wohl nicht, da in der einleitenden Zeile dieses Liedes *šqrb ṯr* steht (Z. 18). Hieraus folgt nun, das man auch am Ende des Liedes *ṯr* lesen muss. Das Zeichen für *ṯ* unterscheidet sich vom ʿ nur durch einen Keil; möglicherweise ist dieser Keilstrich irrtümlich weggeblieben oder verwischt worden. Der letzte Satz des Liedes ist daher zu übersetzen: »Es möge zur Wohnung der El-söhne, zu „*tkmn* und *snm*" emporsteigen dieses Stier(opfer).« Ebenso muss auch Z. 35 [*h*]*n* [*ṯr*] ergänzt werden, da inzwischen kein anderes Opfertier eingeführt wird.

Die nun vorgetragene Auffassung des Schlusssatzes des Opferliedes wird noch dadurch bekräftigt, dass am Ende des zweiten und des dritten Opferliedes ebenfalls ein das Opfertier anführender Passus steht. Es handelt sich aber hier nicht um einen Stier, sondern um: *hn š*, „dieses Schaf". Das vorherstehende *-m* ist wohl nichts anderes, als das Ende des Ausdruckes *ltkmn wšnm*.

Die Anordnung der Opferlieder ist daher die folgende: II: Lied zu einem Schafopfer an die Götter; III: Lied zu einem Schafopfer an die Göttinnen; IV: Lied zu einem Stieropfer an die Götter; V: Lied zu einem Stieropfer an die Göttinnen.

Vor den Opferliedern steht eine kurze kultische Anweisung. Das eigentliche Lied hebt mit *wnpẖ* an. Ein Kultlied kann aber nicht mit einem kopulativem *w*, also einer Konjunktion anheben; *w* ist daher vor diesem und vor den übrigen *npẖ* der Lieder eine Interjektion, die man mit syr. und jüd. aram. *wāẖ*, arab. *waẖ*, akk. *aẖ*: „ach! wehe! oh!" zusammenstellen wird. Der sem. Diphthong *aẖ* ist im Ugaritischen wohl zu *e* zusammengezogen, daher fehlt die Bezeichnung des *ẖ*. Auch in anderen ugaritischen Texten findet man diese Interjektion am Anfang der Rede, wobei aber die zugrunde liegende Stimmung nicht immer die des Leides ist. Arabisches *waẖ* hat ebenfalls neben der Bedeutung 'wehe!' auch die Bedeutungen: 'herrlich! bravo!' Leidvolle Grundstimmung hat im Ug. 54, 11: *w ỉd ỉlm / p!* („Ach! Die Hand der Götter lastet hier schwer!"), und mit *-n* erweitert in II AB, IV 50; V AB, E V 46: *wn | ỉn | bt | lbʿl km ỉlm* („Leider", pünktlicher: „Zu unserem Leidwesen hat Baal kein Haus wie die Götter!"). Freudigen Inhalt haben hingegen die Stellen I AB, III—IV 2—3: *w hm ḥẖ ảl*[*liẖn bʿl*] *w hm | iṯ | zbl | bʿl* [*l ảrṣ*] („Oh, siehe da! Es lebt A. B., Oh, siehe da! Es ist [wieder] vorhanden Baʿal, der Herr der Erde!", sowie IV AB, III 22: *w | ỉbr lbʿl* [*ẖl*]*d* („Oh! Es ist Baʿal ein Jungstier geboren!").

Im folgenden stehe eine Übersetzung des IV. Opferliedes. Die nachstehenden Bemerkungen berücksichtigen auch die übrigen Opferlieder.

[1] Näheres darüber AISTLEITNER: Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen. Berlin 1954. (Kürzung: UGU) (64) u. (66).

Viertes Opferlied

(18) Rubrik : Dann opfere man einen Stier. Das Haus Ugarit singt (dazu das folgende) Lied :

Lied : Wehe! Verstossen ist....

(19) Wehe! Verstossen ist *ỉmân*!
Wehe! Verstossen ist *ṯrmn!*
Wehe! Verstossen sind die [Inwohner der Mauern] von *ùgr!*

(20) Wehe! verstossen ist *nqmd!*
Ach! Übertreten haben euer Gebot
Die mit *q*[*ṯš*] sich Verbündenden,
Die mit den *ddmỉ* sich Verbündenden,

(21) Die mit den Hurritern sich Verbündenden
Die mit den Alaschiern sich Verbündenden,
[Die mit Subaru sich Verbün]denden,

(22) Die Bundesgenossen jener, die euch (die Götter) beraubten,
Die Bundesgenossen jener, die euch erniedrigten,
Die Bundesgenossen...
Ach! Sie übertraten euer Gebot,

(23) Ach! Zu euerm Zorn!
Ach! Zur Abscheu eurer Seele!
Ach! Zur Abscheu, die ihr eckelnd empfindet!

(24) Ach! Sie übertraten euer Gebot!
Ja wahrlich, die Opfer,
Ja wahrlich, unser Opfertier, das wir schlachten
Das Opfer, das wir darbringen,

(25) Das Schlachtopfer, das wir fällen,
Möge emporsteigen zum Vater der El-Söhne!

(26) Zur Wohnung der El-Söhne :
Zu *ṯkmn* und *šnm*
Möge emporsteigen dieses Stier(opfer)!

Bemerkungen

IV. 18. *mšrm*, vgl, hb. *mešōrerīm* 'Sänger' ; zur Form, UGU (117) — **19.** *gr*, vgl. hb. *gūr* 'wohnen' ; das V. Lied hat an dieser Stelle noch : *wnpỉ ntt* (Z. 28). Letzteres ist wohl der Name der Königin von Ugarit, vgl. Virolleaud : Les nouvelles tablettes de Ras Shamra : Syria XXVIII (1951) No. XXX : *a-na Ne-e-še-ti bēlti U-ga-r*[*i-it*]. — **20.** Die Staaten, mit welchen ein Bündnis verpönt ist, scheinen in den Liedern III—V die gleichen zu sein. Unbekannt ist die Lage von *ddm*, und des im V. Lied nachhinkenden

qr; bei *qṭš* wäre, da der Orthographie des Schreibers nicht recht zu trauen ist, die Möglichkeit zu erwägen, dass es sich um das *Qādeš* am Orontes handelt. **25.** *ldr bn il*, das V. Lied fügt hinzu: *lmphrt | bn il* „zum Versammlungsort der El-Söhne".

Die geschichtliche Lage

Aus den Opferliedern entnehmen wir, dass sich Ugarit unter einem König Niqmad mit fremden Völkern, unter denen die Hetiter die mächtigsten waren, verbündet hatte, aber später diese Bündnisse bitter bereut hat. Sie brachten dem ugaritischen Bundesstaat, zu dem auch *ỉmàn* und *trmn* gehörten, kaum etwas anderes, als Krieg, Verheerung, Plünderung der Tempel und der Wohnstätten. Noch nicht veröffentlichte Texte[1] erwähnen mehrere ugaritische Könige mit dem Namen Niqmad ; es ist aber kaum zu bezweifeln, dass der Niqmad der Opferlieder derselbe ist, der dem hetitischen Grosskönig Schuppiluliuma nach dem Zeugnis des Textes 106 (Ei.) Tributgeschenke überreichen liess.[2] Schuppiluliuma regierte etwa 40 Jahre und war Zeitgenosse der ägyptischen Könige Amenophis III und Amenophis IV. Das erste Vorgehen Schuppiluliumas gegen Syrien, und damit gegen Ugarit fällt noch in die Zeit des Pharaonen Amenophis III.[3] Aus dieser Zeit stammt der Brief eines ugaritischen Königs [....m]istu[....],[4] etwa gleich mit Ammištamri,[5] in welchem er vom Pharao Hilfe gegen den drohenden Einbruch des Königs von Hatti(?) bittet. Die in den Opferliedern vorausgesetzte Situation scheint aber eher auf den Anfang der Regierung Amenophis des IV. zu deuten. In dieser Zeit benützte der hetitische Grosskönig die Schwäche des durch religiösen Zwist gespalteten Ägyptens, sowie den Tod des ägyptenfreundlichen Mitannikönigs Tušratta, um den Mitannistaat, den Thronwirren beunruhigten, in volle Abhängigkeit zu bringen. Letzteren Staat finden wir in unserem Text in der Form *tbr* (wohl gleich mit Subaru = Mitanni) als Verbündeten der Hetiter erwähnt. Ein solches Verhältnis wäre für die Zeit des mit dem Pharao verschwägerten Tušratta kaum anzunehmen.

Ugarit gehörte lange Zeit zum ägyptischen Interessenkreis. Es lieferte Ägypten unter anderem das gesuchte Urkarinnuholz[6] und scheint durch diese Verbindung manche Vorteile genossen zu haben. Der Übergang Ugarits

[1] Vgl. darüber Weidner in AfO XVI 116.

[2] Vgl. Eissfeldt : Zu den Urkunden über den Tribut Niqmads usw. : A. Bertholet-Festschrift, SS. 147—57.

[3] Fr. Bilabel, Gesch. Vorderasiens. I. 142 ; L. Delaporte, Les Hittites, Paris 1936. SS. 80—83.

[4] Knudtzon No. 45.

[5] AfO XVI, S. 116

[6] Knudtzon No. 126.

in den Kreis der Hetiter-Vasallen wird kaum glatt abgelaufen sein. Einen Hinweis darauf kann man in einem Brief des Königs von Tyrus, Abimilki an Amenophis IV. sehen.[1] Es steht darin: „Und Ugarit, die Burg (?) des Königs, hat Feuer verzehrt; ihre Hälfte hat es verzehrt, und ihre (andere) Hälfte ist nicht da, und die Leute des Hatti-Heeres sind nicht da". SCHAEFFER[2] erklärt zwar die Stelle in dem Sinne, dass sich die Hetiter bei dieser Gelegenheit in der Gegend Ugarits überhaupt nicht gezeigt hätten; der Sinn der Stelle dürfte aber eher sein, dass die Hetiter, nachdem sie die Stadt zerstört und sie samt der königlichen Burg in Brand gesteckt hatten, sie nicht ständig besetzten, sondern nach der Plünderung weiter zogen. Die Spuren eines ausgedehnten Brandes haben auch die Ausgrabungen nachgewiesen.[3] Man darf wohl annehmen, dass das Vasallenverhältnis Ugarits zum Hattireich die Regierungszeit Niqmads überdauerte.[4] Es wird aber inzwischen auch Zeiten gegeben haben, in welchen sich der ugaritische Staat vom politischen Drucke Hattis frei fühlte. In solcher Zeit dürften die nun behandelten Opferlieder verfasst worden sein. Sowohl sie, als die mit ihnen verbundenen Sühnopfer haben als eine demonstrative religiöse Reaktion der vorher unterjochten ugaritischen Bevölkerung und ihres Fürsten gegen den Hattibund zu gelten.

Das religiöse Erlebnis

Der religiöse Grundaffekt, der in den Opferliedern zur Stimme kommt, ist das Gefühl der Zerknirschung und der Busse; der Grundgedanke ist eine pragmatische Auffassung, die in den Leiden und Verheerungen des Krieges eine göttliche Strafe sieht für unerlaubte Bündnisse mit solchen Völkern, die den Göttern Ugarits nicht die gehörige Achtung erweisen. Ein ähnlicher Gedankengang ist uns schon aus dem Alten Testament geläufig. Man erinnere sich z. B. an die Liste Dt. 7, 2. Israel soll sich mit den hier aufgezählten Völkern nicht verbinden; ja es soll sie ausrotten. Man lese dann Jes. 31, wo Jahve spricht: „(1) Hah! Wiederspenstige Söhne!... Einen Plan wollen sie ausführen, aber er ist nicht von mir, ein Bündniss wollen sie schliessen, aber nicht nach meinem Geist; so häufen sie Sünde auf Sünde. (2) Ja, sie machen sich auf, hinabzuziehen, ohne meinen Mund befragt zu haben (vgl. *šnį pkm!*), um zu flüchten in Pharaos Zuflucht, um sich zu bergen im Schatten Pharaos." Vgl. noch Jes. 31, 1 und die Missbilligung der

[1] Ib. No. 151, ZZ. 55 u. folg.

[2] Ugaritica I. 38.

[3] Syria 1938: S. 194; 1939: S. 288.

[4] Über den in Ugarit gefundenen Siegel der hetitischen Königs Musuli, etwa Mursilis II vgl. SCHAEFFER, Un sceau royal hittite découvert à Ras Shamra-Ugarit: Syria 1952, SS. 172—73.

Freundschaft mit dem König von Babel Jes. 39, und die Proteste des Propheten Jeremias gegen die mit Ägypten geschlossenen defensiven Bünde, um der babylonischen Expansion vorzubeugen. Die Propheten hatten sich dabei nicht so sehr durch politische Erwägungen, als durch religiöse Motive leiten lassen. Ihre Auffassung war: Jahve ist der Bundesgott; der mit ihm geschlossene Bund macht jeden anderen Bund überflüssig, da Jahve sein Volk beschützt, solange es Ihm treu anhängt. Sobald sich aber das Volk von ihrem Bundesherren abwendet, geht es dem Ruin entgegen; dann hilft kein Bündnis mit Fremdvölkern, ja es kann nur Schaden anrichten, da es ein Misstrauensvotum gegen den Herrn in sich birgt. Das einzig richtige Verhalten inmitten ausserpolitischen Schwierigkeiten sei das ruhige Abwarten und Vertrauen auf den Herrn. "Wenn ihr euch bekehrt und ruhig bleibt, sollt ihr gerettet werden; wenn ihr still seid und vertraut, werdet ihr Kraft erlangen." (Jes. 30, 15).

Der Ideengang, den wir nun bezüglich Ugarit feststellen konnten, ist eigentlich eine um ein halbes Jahrtausend ältere, polytheistische Fassung des innerhalb Israel auftretenden Grundgedankens. Auch Ugarit steht unter dem besonderen Schutz ihrer eigenen Götter, und diese erachten es für eine Sünde, wenn ihre Schützlinge ohne ihre Zustimmung, oder gegen ihre ausdrückliche Verwahrung sich mit Fremdvölkern verbinden. Der König Niqmad selbst, aus dessen Brief wir erfahren, dass er dem hetitischen König Lehensgaben überreichen liess, tritt hier samt seiner Gemahlin, sowohl in seinem, als auch in seines Volkes Namen als Pönitent auf, und sucht den Zorn der Götter durch reuevolles Geständnis und durch eine Reihe von Opfern zu besänftigen.

Aus dem abschliessenden Teil der Lieder kann überdies auf eine andere, religionsgeshichtlich noch wichtigere Auffassung gefolgert werden. Wenn die Darbringer der Opfer darum beten, dass ihre Opfer zum Vater der El-Kinder, das heisst zum Göttervater emporsteigen mögen, bezeugen sie ihre Auffassung, das ugaritische Pantheon sei eine Grossfamilie, deren Mitglieder unmittelbar oder mittelbar vom Hauptgott El abstammen.[1] Durch diese Auffassung ist die ugaritische Religion trotz ihres Polytheismus der Religion Israels näher gerückt, als irgendeine andere bekannte altorientalische Religion. Mehrerseits hat man die Ansicht verfochten, dass das ugaritische Pantheon auf zwei Kreise, dem El- und dem Dagonkreis zurückgehe; zu letzteren würden Ba'al und seine Schwester 'Anat gehören. Ba'als Kult wäre vom Norden her nach Ugarit gelangt. Allenfalls bietet die ugaritische religiöse Literatur der Zeit Niqmads keinen genügenden Stützpunkt für die Annahme eines ausserhalb des El-Kreises stehenden Dagonkreises. Dagon ist wohl ebenfalls einer der El-Söhne, sonst hätte man seinen Sohn, Ba'al nicht als Els Sohn (Sohn im weiteren Sinne, also Abkömmling) bezeichnet. Vgl. dazu II AB,

[1] Darüber eingehend O. Eissfeldt, El im ugaritischen Pantheon. Berlin 1951.

IV—V 52; V AB, E 43—44, sowie die Stellen, in welchen die Göttin ʿAnat als die Tochter Els bezeichnet wird, z. B. V AB, E 10. 35. Die nördliche Provenienz Baʿals dürfte schwer zu erweisen sein, da wir schon in den ältesten, aus dem weiten Süden entstammenden semitischen alphabetischen Inshriften auf der Sinai — Halbinsel den Namen einer Göttin Baʿalat antreffen.[1] Vom Norden stammt nicht die Gestalt Baʿals, wohl aber dessen Beiname *hd* (Hadd aus Hadad, akk, Adad); dies ist der Name eines Gewittergottes, dem man Baʿal später gleichsetzte. — Religionsgeschichtlich betrachtet ist freilich das ugaritische Pantheon nicht ganz einheitlich. Neben den eigentlichen ugaritischen Göttern finden wir auch solche hurritische, akkadischen, sumerischen Ursprungs. Diese wurden dann assimiliert und mit den einheimisichen Göttern gleichgesetzt, oder in die El-Genealogie eingegliedert.

Es ist auf den ersten Anblick nicht ganz klar, warum am Schluss der Lieder neben den El-Söhnen *tkmn* und *šnm*, die sonst im Mythus gar keine aktive Rolle spielen, besonders hervorgehoben werden. Diese Frage hat Eissfeldt (ZDMG, Bd. 99, SS. 29—42) eingehend untersucht. Der Zusammenhang der beiden Namen mit denen der kassitischen Gottheiten Šuqamuna und Šumalija wird als möglich erklärt, aber auch auf andere gleichfalls annehmbare Anschauungen hingewiesen, so auf diejenige Gordons, der an Gottesnamen von der Art *ktr whss* erinnert, die synonyme Bezeichnungen derselben Gottheit darstellen.[2]

Wenn man den Aufbau des Satzes: *ỉtšỉ l[dr bn ỉl lm]phrt bn ỉl ltkm[n wšnm h]n [tr]* (ZZ. 34—35) ins Auge fasst, lässt sich leicht feststellen, dass *tkmn* und *šnm* keine Gottheiten untergeordneten Ranges sein können, da sich dann nach *mphrt bn ỉl* ein platter Antiklimax ergeben würde. Alles weist darauf hin, dass die drei Ausdrücke *dr bn ỉl*, *mphrt bn ỉl* und *tkmn wšnm* dasselbe Objekt bezeichnen. Daraus folgt, dass *tkmn wsnm* der Namen der Wohnung, des Versammlungsortes der Götter ist. Dieser zusammengesetzte Namen ist eine synonyme Parallelstellung nach der Art von *ktr w hss* („der Geschickte und Kunstvolle"). Die Etymologie bestätigt diese Annahme vollständig. Das Wort *tkmn* enthält die semitisch Wz. *tkm*, die im Ug. bedeutet: 'Schulter, Oberteil eines Gebäudes', vgl. dazu hb. *šekém:* 'Schulter, Rücken, Landrücken', letzteres wohl die Grundbedeutung des bekannten Stadtnamens *Sichem;* die Endung *-n* ist ein Ortsnamen bildendes Affix,[3] daher *tkmn* eine Stätte die sich auf einer Höhe befindet. Das Wort *šnm* hängt aber zusammen mit arab. *sanām:* 'the highest part of the back, the highest part of anything' (Lane), *sanima:* 'hoch und hochbucklig sein, II. konvex formen, V. den

[1] Vgl. etwa W. F. Albright, The early alphabetic inscriptions from Sinai: BASOR No. 40 (1948) unter no. 347 a. 345. 349. 365.

[2] Ug. Handbook, S. 46.

[3] UGU (40 a).

Kamelbuckel ersteigen, eine Höhe besteigen' (WAHRMUND), sowie mit aeth. *senām, sanām:* 'Buckel, Höcker.' Der Versammlungsort der Götter befindet sich also auf einem hohem Rücken, auf einer Wölbung, zu welcher der Rauch des Brandopfers gerade emporsteigt, ist also mit dem höchsten Teil des Himmels, — vgl. den Himmel Anus-, identisch.[1] Diese Erklärung bietet zugleich den Schlüssel zum Verständnis des bekannten Attributs Els : *ảb šnm.* El ist der Vater, d. h. der Schöpfer des Himmelsgewölbes ; vgl. dazu den zweiten Schöpfungsfag der Gen. 1 : das Erschaffen des *raqīʿa.* Gegen diese Auffassung darf nicht eingewendet werden, dass nach mehreren ug. Texten *ṯkmn w šnm,* auch *ṯkmn* allein Opfer erhalten (1929, No. 1 u. 3). Der Himmel wird ja vielfach auch in anderen Religionen vergöttlicht, vgl. sum. AN und AN. ŠÁR, die ägypt, Himmelsgöttin Nut, griech.-sanskr. Uranos-Varuna, und bes. phön. Samemrumos-Hypsuranios des *Sanchunjaton.*[2] Nach dieser Auffassung würde die Übersetzung von ZZ. 34—35 lauten :

Zur Wohnung der El-Söhne,
Zum Versammlungsort der El-Söhne
Zum Hochragenden Ort, zum (Himmels)gewölbe
Möge emporsteigen dieses Stier (opfer)!

Kultisches. Da die besprochenen Opfer Teil eines Sühneritus waren, kann vorausgesetzt werden, dass sie, gleich dem hb. *āšām*-Opfer, — die Haut wohl nicht einberechnet —, ganz verbrannt wurden. Im Hb. heisst das Ganzopfer *ʿōlā(h),* d. h. 'das Aufsteigende'. Man ist nicht darüber einig, ob dieses Aufsteigen vom Aufsteigen des Opfers auf den Brandalter, oder vom Aufsteigen des Opfers vom Altar zum Himmel zu verstehen sei. Die ugaritischen Lieder, die vom Sicherheben der Opfer zum Versammlungsort der Götter, dem Himmel sprechen, geben der zweiten Ansicht den Vorzug.

Й. Айстлейтнер

ЖЕРТВЕННЫЙ ТЕКСТ ИЗ УГАРИТА

(1929 № 2.)

Вследствие отсутствия преобладающей части обсуждаемого текста, о содержании первой из пяти жертвенных песен нам ничего не известно. II-я и III-я песни обращаются

[1] Vgl. Jes. 14, 13: „Gen Himmel will ich steigen, oberhalb der Sterne Els erheben meinen Thron, und sitzen am Versammlungberg *(har mōʿēd),* im äussersten Norden".

[2] Vgl. EISSFELDT : Taautos und Sanchunjaton. Berlin 1952. S. 39. Eine etwas verschiedene, wohl bessere Aufassung der *ab šnm* — Stellen bringt ein folg. Aufsatz der Act. Or. Hung.

к богам или богиням в связи с жертвоприношением овец, IV-я же и V-я песни — в связи с жертвоприношением быка. Содержание песен почти тождественно. В качестве искупающих свою вину грешников выступают Угарит, подчиненные ему провинции, их царь Никмад, а также и царица. Их грех состоял в том, что они, на перекор воле богов, заключили союз с хеттами и другими инородцами. Эти народности разграбили святыни богов, и вследствие этого гнев богов обрушился на угаритян. Жертвы содействуют испрошению прощения богов. Их Благоухание пусть проникнет до места сбора детей богов, до высоты небосклона.

FRAGMENT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF ʿOBADYAH, THE NORMAN PROSELYTE

FROM THE KAUFMANN GENIZA

By
A. SCHEIBER

The first fragment of the «Scroll» written by the Norman proselytə. ʿObadyah, was discovered by E. N. Adler among the Geniza documents iu his possession,[1] but he was unable either to fix its age or to elucidate its historical background. Two further fragments were found subsequently by J. Mann in the Geniza Collection of the Cambridge University Library,[2] and recently S. D. Goitein discovered a fourth fragment in the same Library.[3] While the Adler fragment is unvocalised,[4] the Cambridge fragments are provided with vowels, and it would thus appear that the «Scroll» is extant in two different manuscripts, although both of them are written by the same hand.

The texts discovered by Mann disclose that ʿObadyah, a Norman of noble extraction, embraced Judaism in 1102 and visited Jewish communities in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. (Seven such communities are mentioned by name.)[5] He learned Hebrew and described his life and adventures in that tongue. The fragments of his «Scroll» so far discovered contain the most precise information, and the discovery of further fragments of such an important source for the history of this period has been awaited with great interest.

Goitein in fact expressed the hope that further fragments of the «Scroll» might come to light. He wrote : «In particular, there seem to exist good prospects that fragments may be found in such sections of the Cairo Geniza as have not yet been searched for this purpose.»[6] This hope has soon been ful-

[1] *REJ* LXIX (1919), pp. 129—134.

[2] *Ibid.*, LXXXIX (1930), pp. 245—259.

[3] *Journal of Jewish Studies* IV (1953), pp. 74—84; idem, *What would Jewish and general History benefit by a systematic publication of the documentary Geniza papers?: Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XXIII, New York 1954, pp. 36—37.

[4] See *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler*, Cambridge 1921, Facsimile No. 1.

[5] Goitein, *loc. cit.*, p. 84, n. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 74, n. 1.

filled, for I have recently found in the Kaufmann Geniza Collection in Budapest yet another fragment of ʿObadyah's «Scroll». The Budapest fragment consists of four pages and is provided with vowels like the Cambridge fragments. It seems to be an autograph, for several corrections were made in the text and on one occasion a long portion was supplemented in the margin. This can be proved otherwise also. The fragment of the Prayer-book taken by J. Mann from Cairo to Cincinnati is, according to the colophon, ʿObadyah's own handwriting (*REJ* LXXXIX [1930], p. 246.). Therefore, a collation of the two manuscripts is necessary.

Herbert C. Zafren was good enough to send me, on my request, the photostat of the fragment of Prayer-book in question from the Library of the Hebrew Union College (No. 8). The manuscript consists of one leaf. The title on p. 1/a is : צלוה לילה אלסבת. The text gives the Maʿarib of Saturday Night to the end of the first benediction : "אשר בלה [מ]עשו ביום השביעי" (Cf. Mann: *HUCA* II [1925], p. 312.). On p. 1/b is the colophon published by Mann:

עבדיה הגר הנרמנדם אשר בא בברית אלהי ישראל
בירח אילול שנת אתוג לישטרות הוא דתתסב
לבריאת עולם׃
הוא עבדיה הגר
כתב בידו

The writing and punctuation of the two pages fully coincide with the writing and punctuation of the «Scroll». As the fragments that have turned up hitherto are by one and the same hand, it can be inferred that the whole «Scroll» is the authograph of ʿObadyah.

The measurements of the manuscript are 15×23,5 cm. The pages are lined and contain nineteen lines each. The folios 1/*a* and 2/*b* are very badly preserved ; the ink has faded and words are rubbed out. I have succeeded, however, although with considerable difficulty, in deciphering the text almost completely. Examination of the manuscript by means of ultra-violet rays in the Institute of Forensic Medicine and the Museum of Stamps in Budapest unfortunately yielded no results.

The text of the Budapest fragment is not continuous. There is a gap of a few pages between folios 1/*b* and 2/*a*, but it is quite clear that it fits in and supplements the fragment discovered by Goitein. Folio 1/a of Goitein's fragment continues, though not directly, folio 1/b of the Budapest fragment, and folio 2/*a* of the latter supplies the continuation of 2/*b* of the former.

Folios 1/a-1/*b* of the Budapest fragment are of particular interest since the author there describes his descent. He was born in Oppido, in Southern

Italy.[6a] His father's name was De Ro or De Rochez[7] and his mother's, Maria. His twin brother was named Rogerius or Roger, and he himself Johannes or Guan.[8] His brother was a soldier, while he himself became a scholar.

When Johannes was yet a child an unusual event occurred. The Archbishop of Bari, Andreas, recognised the truth of the Torah, went to Constantinople, and there embraced Judaism.[9] At first he was persecuted by the Christians, who even had designs upon his life, but afterwards the persecutors themselves followed his example and were converted to the Jewish faith. Andreas finally went to Egypt, which was then ruled by the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir billāh (1036—1094),[10] and remained there until his death. The news of his conversion spread through Longobardia (North-Eastern Italy), Byzantium, and Rome, and caused consternation among Christian scholars.

The manuscript proceeds to describe in great detail and exactitude the geographical boundaries of Oppido, Johannes' birthplace. All the places mentioned are situated in Basilicata and can easily be identified with the help of an historical atlas.

Johannes seems to have been ordained a priest. In the first year of his priesthood he had a dream in which he saw himself officiating in the basilica of Oppido, when a figure appeared at his right hand near the altar and called him by his name. Here the manuscript breaks off. Goitein's fragment, folio 1/*a*, continues the story, telling how Johannes awoke from his dream, but there are obviously some lines still missing, in which the appeal addressed by the figure to Johannes was described.

A Hebrew letter in the Cambridge Geniza has been ascribed by Assaf to ʿObadyah, whom he considers to have been a priest before his conversion.[11] Goitein, too, regards ʿObadyah as the author of the letter,[12] and I agree fully with both scholars. The Budapest fragment confirms Assaf's conclusion: Johannes was a Catholic priest before he became a Jew.

[6a] For the historical background see Lothar Heinemann, *Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, I. Leipzig 1894; Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy* 1016—1154, New York and London 1912.

[7] J. L. Teicher: *Journal of Jewish Studies* V (1954), p. 36; *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* XX (1954), p. 364.

[8] Goitein has presumed correctly that, before his conversion to Judaism, ʿObadyah's name was Johannes *(ibid.*, p. 81).

[9] I have found the name of Andreas Archiepiscopus in the list of the bishops of Bari. He became Archbishop in 1062 and died in 1078 (Bonifacius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Ratisbonae 1873, p. 856). Cf. L. A. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* V. Mediolani 1724, pp. 152—153.

[10] J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt* I. Oxford 1920, p. 76; E. Strauss, תולדות היהודים במצרים וסוריה I. Jerusalem 1944, p. 30.

[11] S. Assaf, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History*, Jerusalem 1946, p. 143.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

It appears from the Budapest fragment that Mann's theory that ʿObadyah came from Normandy and bore a French name at his birth is not correct. But his surmise that the first part of the «Scroll» must have contained a description of ʿObadyah's life before his conversion to Judaism has been confirmed. Mann concludes the exposition of his theory : «Let us hope that the beginning and the end of ʿObadyah's Scroll will still turn up among the MSS. of the Geniza.»[13] It is gratifying that now at least the beginning has been found.

The late Professor A. Marx wrote a few years ago concerning ʿObadyah : «We do not know and cannot even guess what influences caused him to change the whole course of his life.»[14] It is evident now from the Budapest fragment that the conversion of the Archbishop Andreas was the first impulse that led Johannes towards Judaism. Jewish history knows nothing about Andreas' conversion. There are only two other instances of this kind reported : the conversion of Deacon Bodo of Alemannic descent in the ninth century[15] and that of the priest Wecelinus about 1012 in Germany.[16] Later — in 1136 — we read about Philip, the eunuch of Roger II : «sinagogas malignancium visitabat frequencius et eis oleum ad concinnandas luminaria et que erant necessaria ministrabat.»[17] The mass conversion of Christians in Constantinople is also entirely unknown. But the reliability of the information contained in ʿObadyah's «Scroll» about historical events which can be checked from other sources has been proved to be very great, and justifies acceptance of his account of the conversions.

Folios 2/*a*—2/*b* of the Budapest fragment narrate ʿObadyah's experiences in Adina, that is, Baghdad.[18] The servant (המישרת) brought him to the Synagogue, where he was supplied with food by the Jews. The head of the Academy, Isaac (that is Isaac b. Moses),[19] instructed him together with the orphaned children in the Hebrew script and language and taught him the Pentateuch and the Prophets. Evidently, the first station of his wandering was Baghdad, for it was only there that he started learning Hebrew.

[13] *Hattequfa* XXIV (1928), pp. 337, 339.

[14] *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XVI (1947), p. 199. Mann expressed a similar opinion *(loc. cit.*, p. 337).

[15] A. Cabaniss : *JQR* N. S. XLIII (1952—1953), pp. 313—328 ; B. Blumenkranz : *REJ* CXII (1953), pp. 35—42 ; *Theologische Zeitschrift* X (1954), p. 443.

[16] Assaf, *Op. cit.*, p. 144. The whole problem was recently discussed by C. Roth, *Personalities and Events in Jewish History*, Philadelphia 1953, pp. 149—151.

[17] R. Straus, *Die Juden im Königreich Sizilien unter Normannen und Staufern*, Heidelberg 1910, pp. 60, 98.

[18] Isaiah XLVII, 8. Cf. Mann : *REJ* LXXXIX (1930), p. 255.

[19] D. S. Sassoon, *A History of the Jews in Baghdad*, Letchworth 1949, pp. 60—61. The date of death of Isaac b. Moses is put by Sassoon after 1100. According to our data, it must be later.

The biographical details are followed in the manuscript by a survey of the history of the Jews in Baghdad. Before ʿObadyah's time, the Caliph of Baghdad, al-Muqtadī (1075—1094), ordered, through his deputy, Abū Shujāʿ,[20] that Jewish males should wear distinctive yellow badges on their headgear as well as special belts round their waists. Other sources confirm that, during al-Muqtadī's reign, the Jews had to wear honey-coloured belts[21] and yellow caps.[22] ʿObadyah adds further details. Every Jewish man had to wear a piece of lead on his neck, inscribed with the word *dhimmī*, an indication that the Jews were submitted to poll-tax.[23] Each Jewess had to wear two distinctive badges : shoes of different colours, one red and the other black. They also had to wear small brass bells round their necks or on their shoes, in order to announce their identity. Arabic authors confirm that during al-Muqtadī's reign Jewesses had to wear shoes of different colours, black and white,[24] or black and red.[25] A special body of Muslim «inspectors», both male and female, were appointed to supervise the execution of the order. They behaved cruelly towards the Jews, who were also frequently beaten in the streets.

The collection of the poll-tax is also described. The Jewish population was divided into three groups : the rich, who had to pay four and a half gold dinars ; the middle class, who paid two and a half ; and the poor, who paid one and a half. If a Jew died, his body was not allowed to be buried until his debts in taxes had been paid either from his property or (if there was nothing left) by other Jews. There was also the threat that the body of the deceased would be burned if the payment was not forthcoming. There are accounts of the poll-tax collections in other sources,[26] but not so detailed as here.

Finally, we give the Hebrew text accompanied with an English translation and notes. Punctuation is omitted, but the photocopy of the manuscript is presented in order to give an idea of ʿObadyah's system of punctuation.

[20] Goitein : *JQR* N. S. XLIII (1952—1953), pp. 63—64, 74.

[21] Goitein, *ibid.*, p. 64, n. 8.

[22] E. Strauss: *Études Orientales à la Mémoire de Paul Hirschler*, Budapest 1950, p. 79. Cf. A. S. Halkin: *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, pp. 107—109.

[23] I. Goldziher, היצאת על האיסלאם, Jerusalem 1951, pp. 34, 224; *Handwörterbuch des Islām*, Leiden 1941, p. 18. The technical term *ahl al-dhimma* (the protected people) was applied to non-Muslims whose faith was tolerated against their payment of the poll-tax.

[24] Goitein : *JQR* XLIII, p. 64, n. 8.

[25] E. Strauss, *loc. cit.*, p. 81.

[26] A. Harkavy: *Berliner-Festschrift*, Frankfurt a/M 1903, Hebrew section, pp. 36, 39 ; Goitein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71, 76.

[1a] ושמו אפידי : ויקח אשה ושמה מריא ותהר
מריא ותלד לדרו אישה שני בנים ביום אחד
את הראשון כחקת הנשים לבניהן ויקראו שמו
רוויריום הוא רגיר : ואת השני ר..... רא
ראשונה ובעצב רב ילדה אתו אמו ותקרא את
שמו יה[נם] הוא גואן : ויגדלו הנערים ויהי
רוויריום איש דורש חרב ומלחמות ויהנם א
איש דורש דעת ובינה בספרים : ויהי
בעת ההיא ואנדריאם ארכי אפיסכ[פ]ם הכהן
הגדול אשר במדינת באדי נתן האלהים א[ה]בת
תורת משה בלבבו : ויעזב ארצו וכהונת[ו] [וכ]ל
כבודו ויבא אל מדינת קסטנטיניא : וימ[ל]
[א]ת בשר ערלתו ו[יע]ברו עליו צרות ורעות
ויקם ויברח לנפשו מפני הערלים ויעשו כא[ש]ר
עשה ויבאו גם הם בברית אלהים חיים וילך
האיש אל מדינת מצרים וישב שם עד יום
מותו : ושם מלך מצרים בימים ה[הם היה]
אלמסתנצר : ושם משניהו ... אל ...
ותבוא ש[מועת] אנדריאם ארכי אפיסכפם
[1b] אל כל ארץ לנגוברדיא ואל הכמי יון ואל

[ו]הזדים עולים אחריו
ו[ואים את] מעש[ו]י,

1 אפידי] Oppido, זהו מקום מולדתו של יהנם (עי׳ להלן). 2 דרו] או דרוסם, שם אביו של יהנם (עי׳ להלן) 3 כחקת הנשים לבניהן] אולי הוא רוצה לרמז בזה על זכות הבכורה, או שמא על לידה קלה. 4 רא] יש כאן איותיות אחדות מהתבה הראשונה של השורה הבאה כדי למלא את הגיור. 6 ויגדלו] בר׳ כה,כז. 7 א] אות השלמה. 8 ובינה בספרים] דנ׳ ט, ב. 9 אנדריאם] נתמנה להגמון (Archiepiscopus) בבארי בשנת 1062 ומת בשנת 1078. עי׳ עליו בהקדמה. 12 וימל את בשר ערלתו] בר׳ יז, כג. 13 צרות ורעות] דב׳ לא, יז, כא. 14 ויקם ויברח] יונה א, ג. העילים] עי׳ מאגן ב REJ, במקום הנ״ל, עמ׳ 254; אסף במקוריות ומחקרים, עמ׳ 149. שומר את גרים] תה׳ קמו,ט. 15 ויבאו . . . בברית אלהים חיים] עי׳ מאגן, שם, עמ׳ 252, 246. 18 אלמסתנצר] al-Mustanṣir billāh (1036—1094), עי׳ עליו בהקדמה. 19 שמועת] עי׳ מאגן, שם, 254. 20 לנגוברדיא] כאן אישלוה דרומית — מזרחית. עי׳ מגילת אחימעץ. הוצ׳ ב. קלאר. ירושלים, תש״ד, עמ׳ קע״ג. יון] ביזנטיון.

חכמי רומא היא מקום כסא מלכות אדום
ויבושו חכמי היונים וכל חכמי אדום יכלמו חש
חש[ומעים] שמועתו : וישמע יהנם את דבריו
והוא עודנו נער בבית דרוכם אביו :
ואלה שמות המדינות אשר סביבות א[פ]ידי
מקום מולדת יהנם בן דרוכם : מפאת מערב
מדינת רומא ומדינת סלרנם ומדינת פתנין
ועיר פ[ט]רגלי ועיר אנס : ומפאת מזרח
מדינת בארי ומדינת מנתפלום ועיר גנצן
[ועי]ר בנץ : ומפאת צפון מדינת אגרנץ
ו[נה]ר ושמו ברדנו בין אפידי ובין אגרנץ :
ומפא[ת] תימן מדינת תולב ומדינת
... יברג ואפידי בתוכם : ויהי בשנה
הראשונה אשר נטמא בה יהנם תחלת טמאתו
מסרי לילה בבית דרוכם אביו : ויהי בשנה ההיא
חלם [יהנם] חלום והנה הוא מכהן בבמה הגדולה
אשר לאפד ... ים בני עמו : וירא והנה איש
עומד על ימינו נגד המזבח : ו[יאמר] אליו יהנם

[2a] הישיבה ויושב המשרת את עבדיה הגר בבית
אשר היהודים יתפללו בו ומזונות הביאו לו

21 אדום] עי׳ ש. קדוים במחקרים לזכרון ר׳ עמרם קאהוש, ניו־יורק, תרצ״ו, עמ׳ 380—385. 22 הש]
איתיות השלמה. 24 והוא עודנו נער] דבה״י ב, לד, ג. 27 סלרנם] Salerno. פתנין] Potenza.
28 פטרגלי] Pietragalla. אנס] Anzi. 29 בארי] Bari. מנתפלום] Montepeloso.
גנצן] Genzano. 30 בנץ] Banzi. אגרנץ] Acerenza. 31 ברדנו] Bradano. 32 תולב]
Tolve. 35 מסרי לילה] = משרי לילה = כומרים (עי׳ מאגן ב REJ במקום הנ״ל, עמ׳ 251, שורה 5 : ,,הסרים
אשר לאבי״). 37 לאפד . . . ים] אולי רוצה לומר אפידים (כלומר יושבי אפידי, שהם בני עירו), אולם הניקוד
מוזר הוא. 38 עומד על ימינו] זכר׳ ג, א.

ויהי אחרי כן ויצו יצחק ראש הישיבה להיות
עבדיה הגר עם הנערים התומים ללמדו תורת
משה ודברי הנביאים במכתב הא
האלהים ובלשון העבריים : טרם זאת נתן
מלך עדינה ושמו אלמקתדי ביד משנהו ושמו
אבישוגע שנוי על העבריים היוש
הושבים במדינת עדינה ויבקש פעמים רבות
לאבדם ואלהי ישראל הפיר עצתו ואף גם זאת
מחמתו הסתירם : ויתן עליהם אותות ברוקות
על ראש כל יהודי ויהודי : אחת על הראש וא
ואחרת על צואר וכמשקל כסף מן העופרת
תלוי על צואר כל יהודי ויהודי : ובעופרת כתוב
דמי כי היהודים למס : וגם אזור נתן במתני כל
יהודי ויהודי : ועל נשי היהודים נתן אבישוגע
שתי אותות : הסנדלים אשר לכל אשה ואשה
אחד אדום והשני שחור : ועל צואר אשה ואשה
או על סנדלה פעמון נחושת קטן להרים קול
לדעת ולהבדיל בין נשי העבריים ובין נשי הגוים [2b]
ויפקד על היהודים אנשים גויים אכזרים ועל
העבריות הפקיד נשים אכזריות מנשי הגוים
לעניותם בכל קללה וחרפה ובוז : והיו מ

3 יצחק] הוא יצחק בן משה. עי׳ עליו בהקדמה. 5 משה] בכ״י בא אחריו ״עבדו״ ונקוד עליו. הנביאים] בכ״י מעיקרא : ״נביא״ ונקוד עליו. הא] אותיות השלמה. 7 עדינה] היא שמה של בגדד עם״י יש׳ מז,ח. אלמקתדי] Al-Muqtadī (1075—1094). עי׳ עליו בהקדמה. משנהו ושמו] הוכפלו בכ״י. 8 אבישוגע] Abū Shujāʿ, עי׳ גרישין ב JQR, שירה חדשה, כרך XLIII, 1952—1953, עמ׳ 73 : ״אדם רע יקאל לה אבן אבו אלשנאע אדור יכין ישם ישעים ויקב״. היוש] איתיות השלמה. 10 הפיר עצתו] תה׳ לג, י. ואף גם זאת] ויק׳ כו, מד. 11 ברוקות] = צהובות ; בן – יהודה ב׳, עמ׳ 638 : ״ברקת : נון הוזוק כזהב״. 12 וא] אותיות השלמה. 13 וכמשקל כסף] זהו האות השני. 15 דמי] מלה ערבית (dhimmī) ופירושה בן חסות אצל המסלמים כלומר יהודי או נוצרי. 23 לעניותם] שמות א, יא. והחפה] אחריו בא בכ״י כשעות סופר : ״ובוז וה״ ונקוד עליו. קללה והחפה ובוז] יר׳ מכ, יח ; תה׳ קיש, כב. מ] אות השלמה.

מלעיגים בהם הגוים ועם הארץ המה ובניה[ם]
מכים את היהודים בכל חוצות מדינת עדינה :
וזאת חקת המס אשר יקחו עבדי מ
מלך עדינה מן היהודים בכל שנה ושנה : מכל
אחד ואחד יהודי מן העשירים ואשר בהם כח
ביותר יקחו ארבעה דרכמונים וחצי : ומן היהודים
הבינונים שני דרכמונים וחצי : ומן היהודים
העניים מאד דרכמון אחד וחצי : ואם ימות
יהודי ולא שלם המס וישאר עליו רב או מעט
ממנו לא יעזבו הגוים לקבור אותו עד אשר
יקחו אשר ישאר עליו מן המס : ואם אין למת
דבר יבקשו הגוים מן היהודים ויפדו את מתם
באשר ישאר עליו מן המס מממונם ואם לא
יבקשו הגוים לשרוף אותו באש : ועוד
זאת חקת הגוים אנשי עדינה לעשות ערי(?)

24 מלעיגים] עי׳ מאגן ב REJ, במקום הנ״ל, עמ׳ 254. 26 מ] אות השלמה. 36 ואם לא] כלומר, אם לא יכלו או לא יאבו היהודים לפדות את מתם

Translation*

[Folio 1/*a*]: And its name is Oppido. He married a woman called Maria. She became pregnant and bore to her husband De Ro two sons on the same day. The first was born in the normal way and was called Rogerius, that is, Roger. But the second. . . at first and his mother bore him with great pain, and called h'm Johannes, that is, Guan. The boys grew up, Rogerius plying the profession of arms and warfare, and Johannes devoting himself to the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom in books.

At that time, Andreas, the Archbishop, that is, the high priest, of the city of Bari, was stirred by God to the love of Moses' Torah. He left his country, his priestly office, and all his honours, and went to the city of Constantinople, where he was circumcised. He went through «evils and troubles» and finally fled to save his life from the Christians, who tried to kill him. But the Lord, God of Israel, saved him from their hands in cleanness. Blessed be His Name for ever, oh Lord, who protects the proselytes! The Gentiles followed after him, but they observed his deeds and did themselves what he had done and entered the covenant of the Living God. The man [Andreas] went to the city of Cairo and remained there until his death. The name of the King of Egypt at that time was al-Mustansir and that of his viceroy. . .

The story of the Archbishop spread [fol. 1/*b*] through the whole land of Longobardia, [and reached] all the sages of Greece [Byzantium] and Rome, which is the capital of Edom [Catholic Christianity]. The Greek and Roman sages [theologians] were covered with shame when they heard the story. Johannes heard the story of Andreas, when he was still a boy in his father De Rochez' house.

These are the names of the cities round Oppido, the birthplace of Johannes: To the West, the city of Rome, the city of Salerno, the city of Potenza, the town of Pietragalla, and the town of Anzi. To the East, the city of Bari, the city of Montepeloso, the town of Genzano, and the town of Banzi. To the North, the city of Acerenza and the river called Bradano, between Oppido and Acerenza. To the South, the city of Tolve and the city of. . ., and Oppido lies between the two.

In the year in which Johannes received his first orders from the «Princes of the Night» [Priests], in the house of his father De Rochez, in the same year he had a dream: He was officiating in the basilica. . . of his own people, when he saw a man standing at his right hand facing the altar, who called out to him: Johannes!

* Here J. L. Teicher's translation is used, but I have altered it in several passages. In the identification of the geographical names Director Philip Grünvald has kindly lent me a hand. I take this opportunity to say my thanks to both of them.

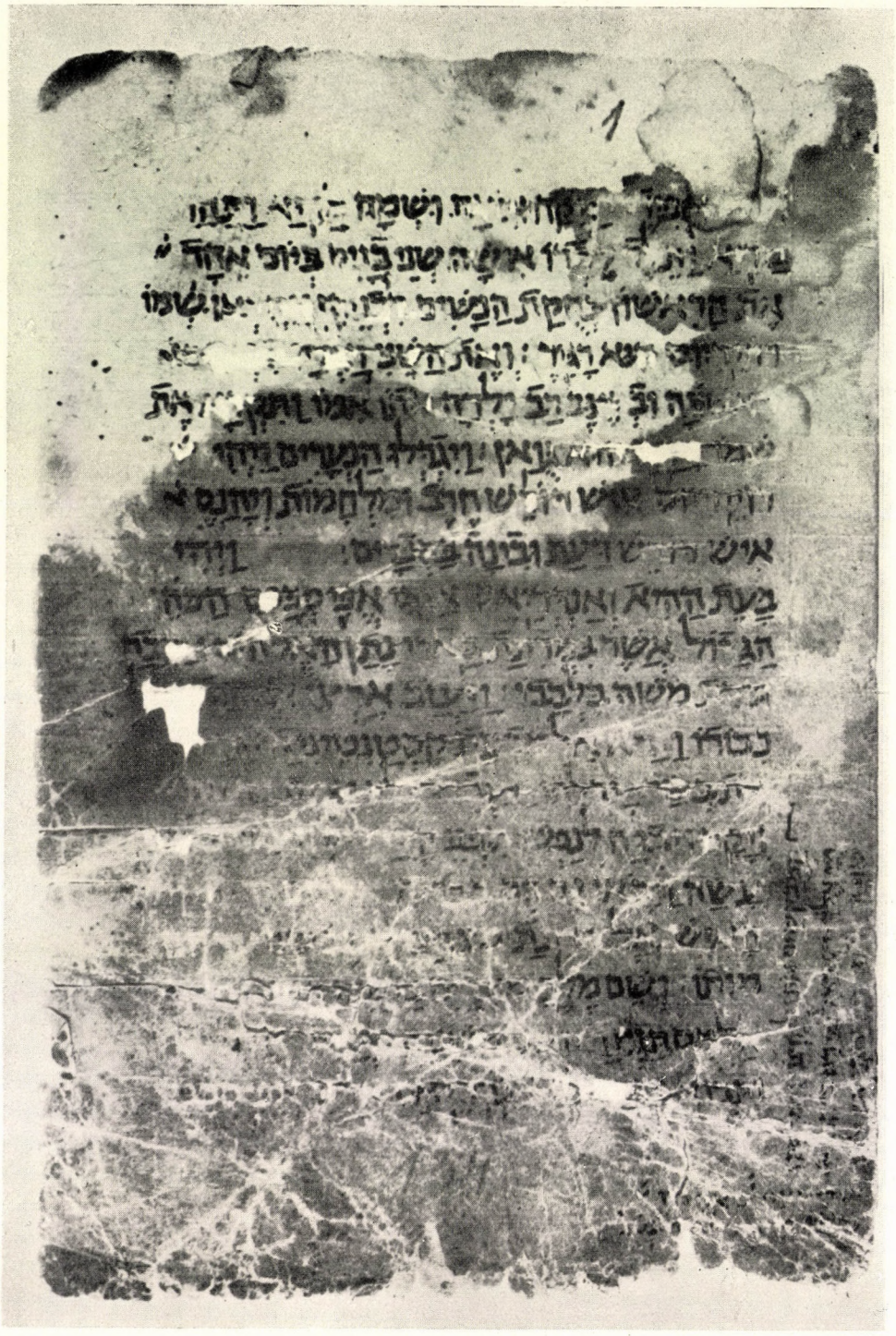
[Fol.2/*a*] Academy. The servant installed ʿObadyah, the Proselyte, in a house used by the Jews for prayers, and food was brought to him. Afterwards, Isaac, the head of the Academy, arranged that ʿObadyah should join the orphaned boys in order to be taught the law of Moses and the words of the prophets in the divine characters and the language of the Hebrews.

Before these events, the Caliph of Baghdad, of the name of al-Muqtadī, had given power to his vizier, Abū Shujāʿ, to introduce a change of policy in regard to the Jews of Baghdad and he had tried several times to destroy them. But the God of Israel had thwarted his intention (and) on this occasion also He hid them from his wrath. He (Abū Shujāʿ) imposed that each male Jew should wear a yellow badge on his headgear. This was one distinctive sign on the head and the other was on the neck — a piece of lead of the weight (size?) of a silver dinar (?) hanging round the neck of every Jew and inscribed with the word *dhimmī* to signify that the Jew had to pay poll-tax. Jews also had to wear girdles round their waists. Abū Shujāʿ further imposed two signs upon Jewish women. They had to wear a black and a red shoe, and each woman had to have a small brass bell on her neck or shoe, which would tinkle [fol. 2/*b*] and thus announce the separation of Jewish women from Gentile ones. He assigned cruel Muslim men to spy upon Jewish men and cruel Muslim women to spy upon Jewish women, in order to oppress them with all kinds of curses, humiliation, and contempt. The Gentile population used to mock at the Jews, and the mob and their children used to beat the Jews in all the streets of Baghdad.

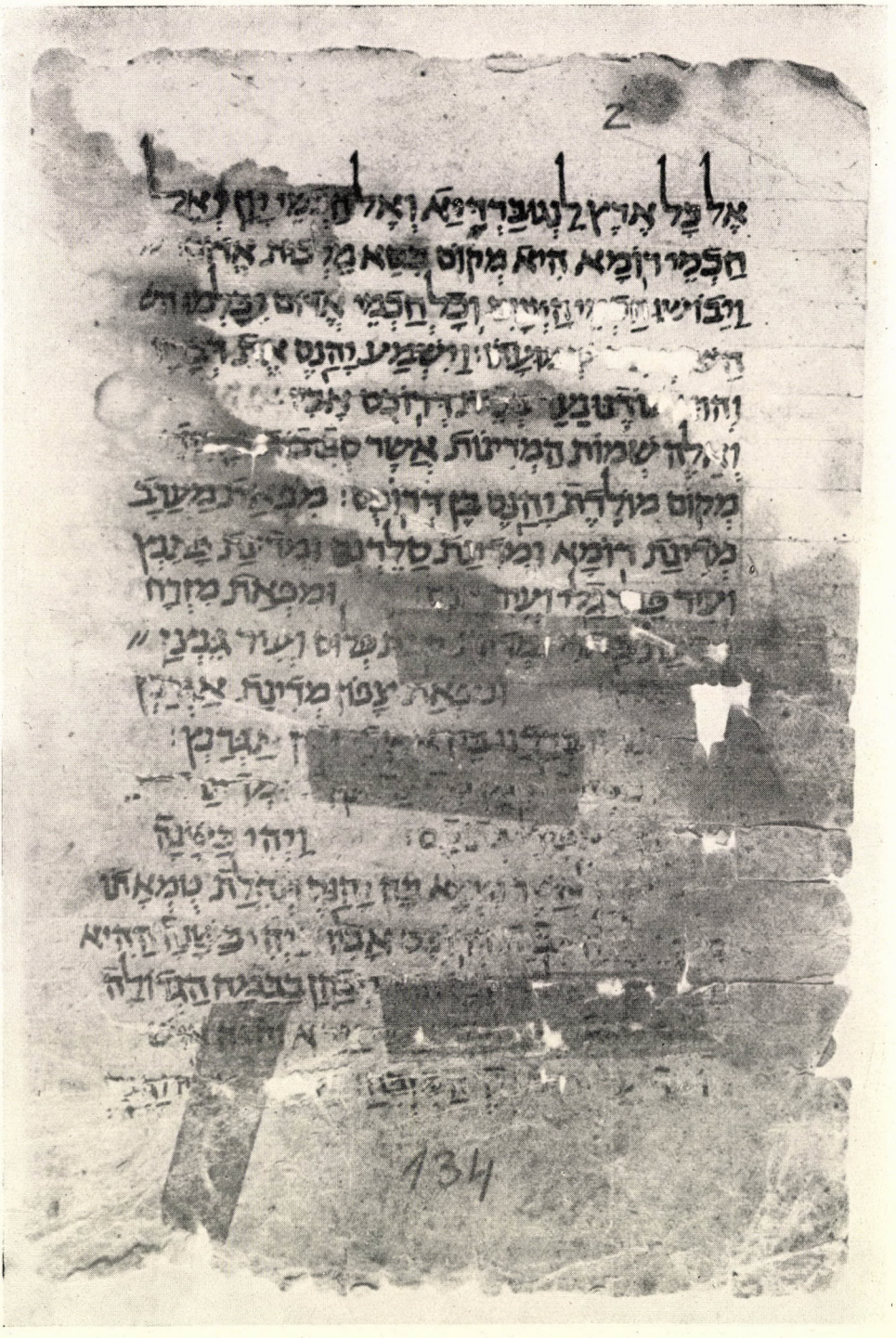
The law of the poll-tax, collected yearly by the Caliph's official from the Jews, was as follows : Every Jew belonging to the wealthy class had to pay four and a half dinars in gold ; a Jew of the middle class, two and a half ; and a Jew of the poorest, a dinar and a half. When a Jew died, who had not paid up the poll-tax to the full and was in debt for a small or a large amount, the Gentiles did not permit burial until the debt of the poll-tax was paid. If the deceased left nothing of value, the Gentiles demanded that other Jews should with their own money meet the debt owed by the deceased in poll-tax ; otherwise they demanded the body to be burnt. Another law of the Gentiles of Baghdad was to make. . .

*

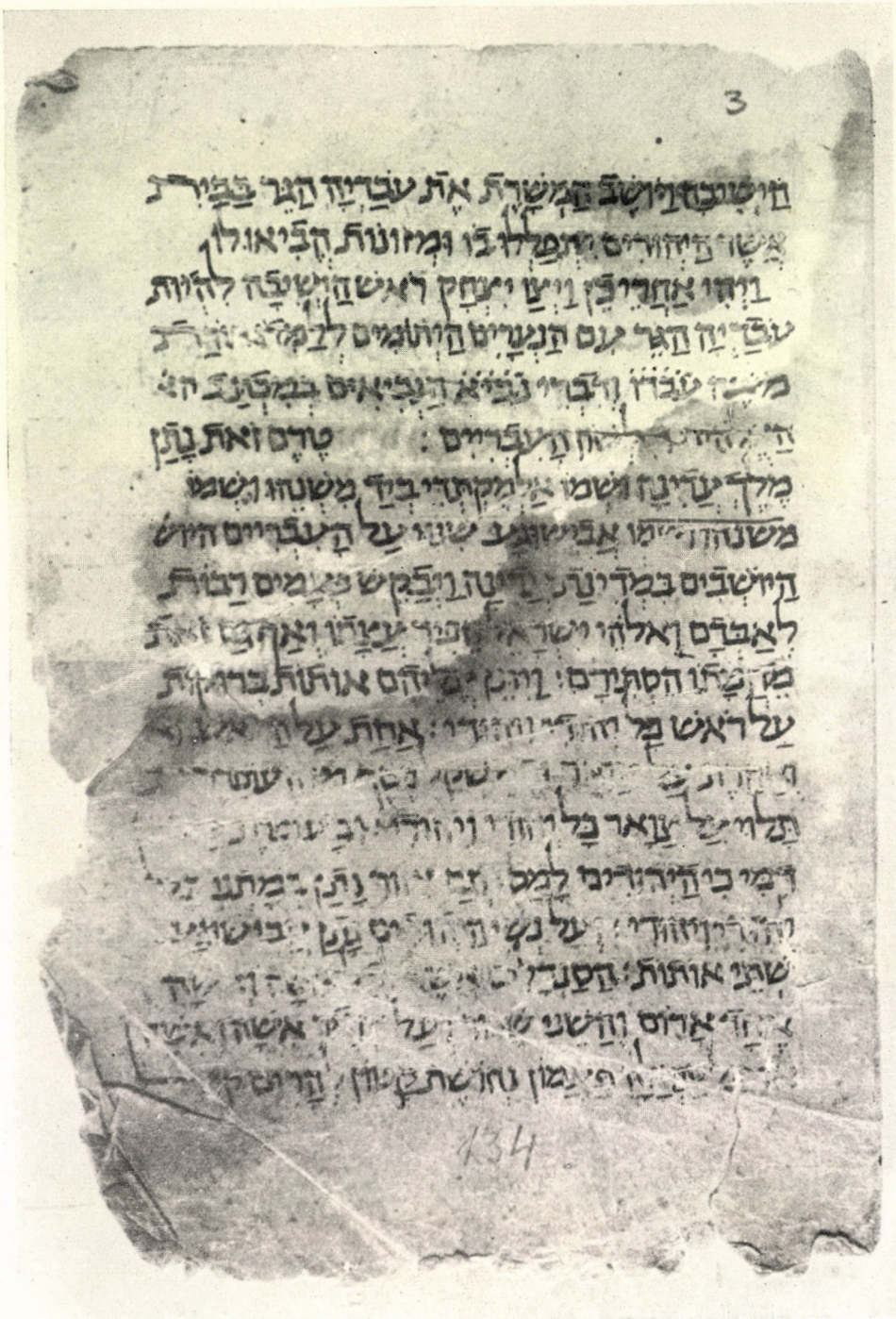
There remains now to express my thanks to Prof. L. Finkelstein for the photostats of the Adler Collection in New York and to Prof. J. L. Teicher for the facsimiles of Cambridge University Library.



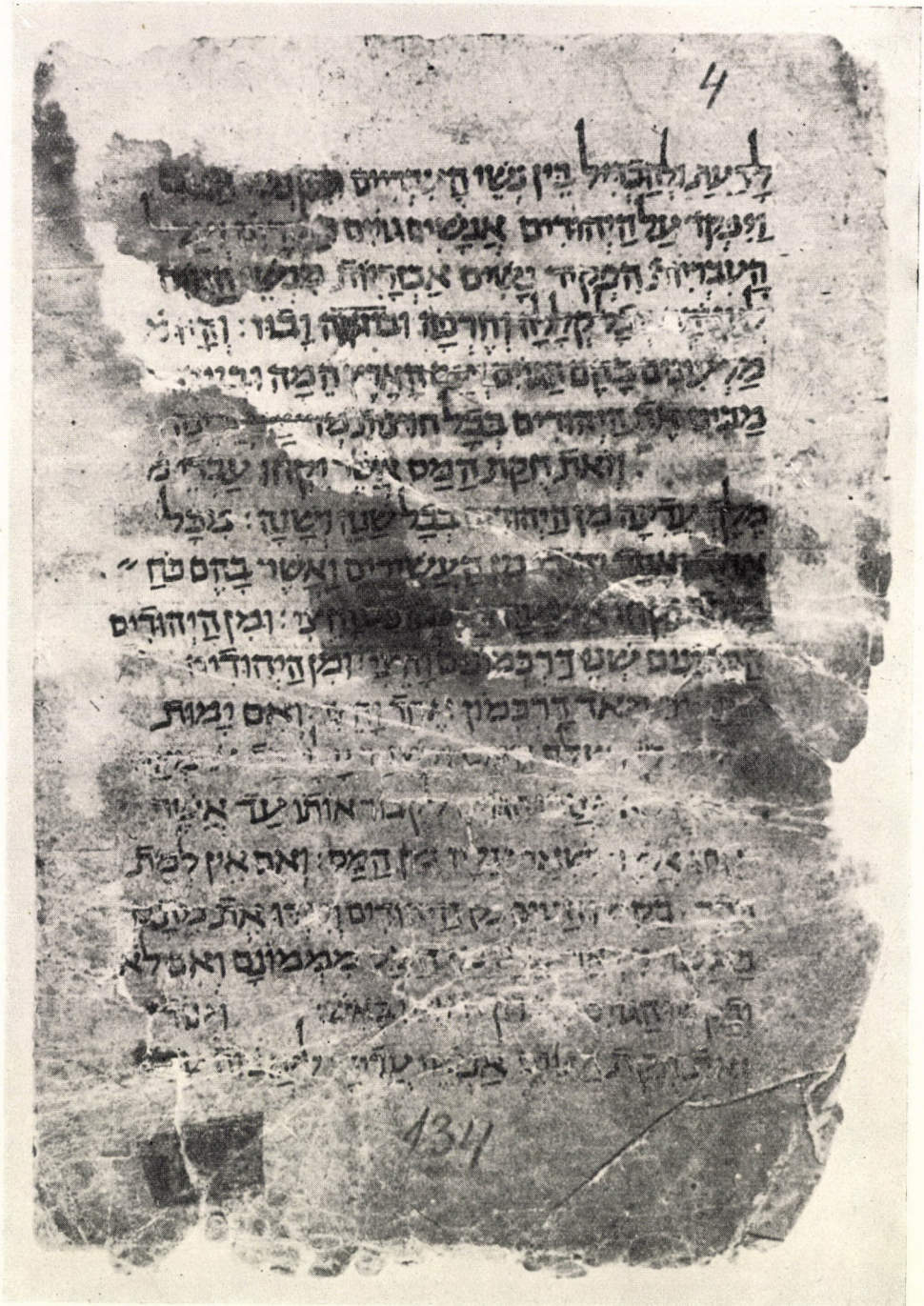
MS. Kaufmann p. 1a.



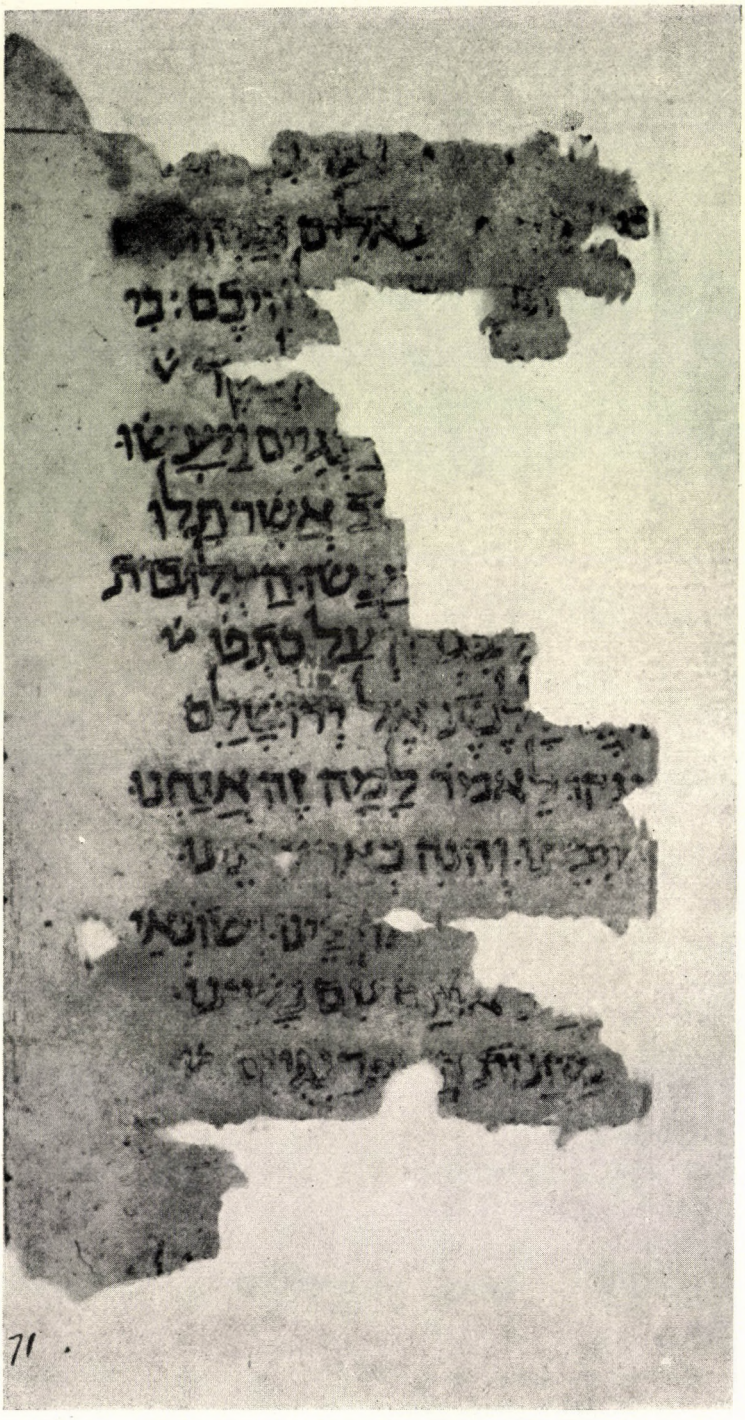
MS. Kaufmann p. 1b.



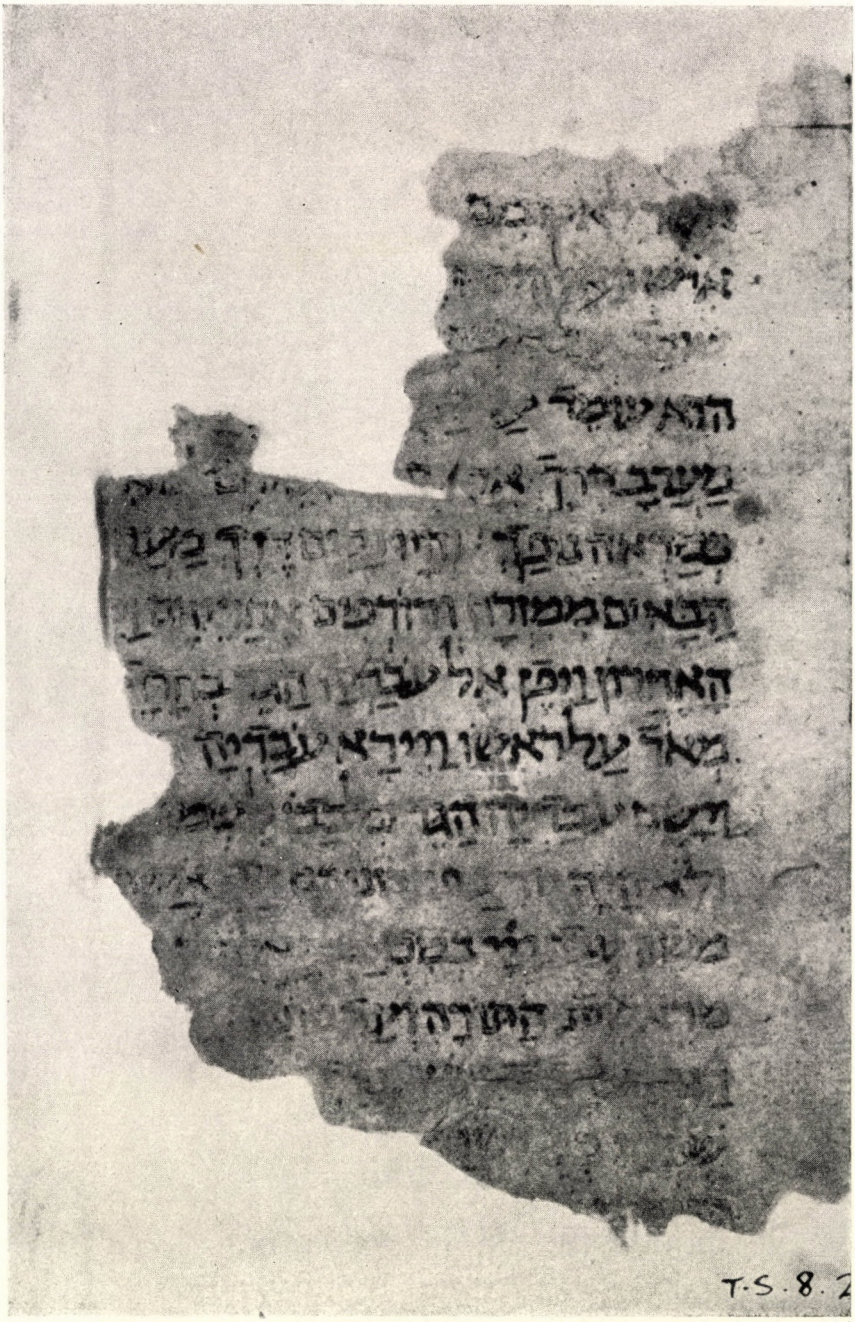
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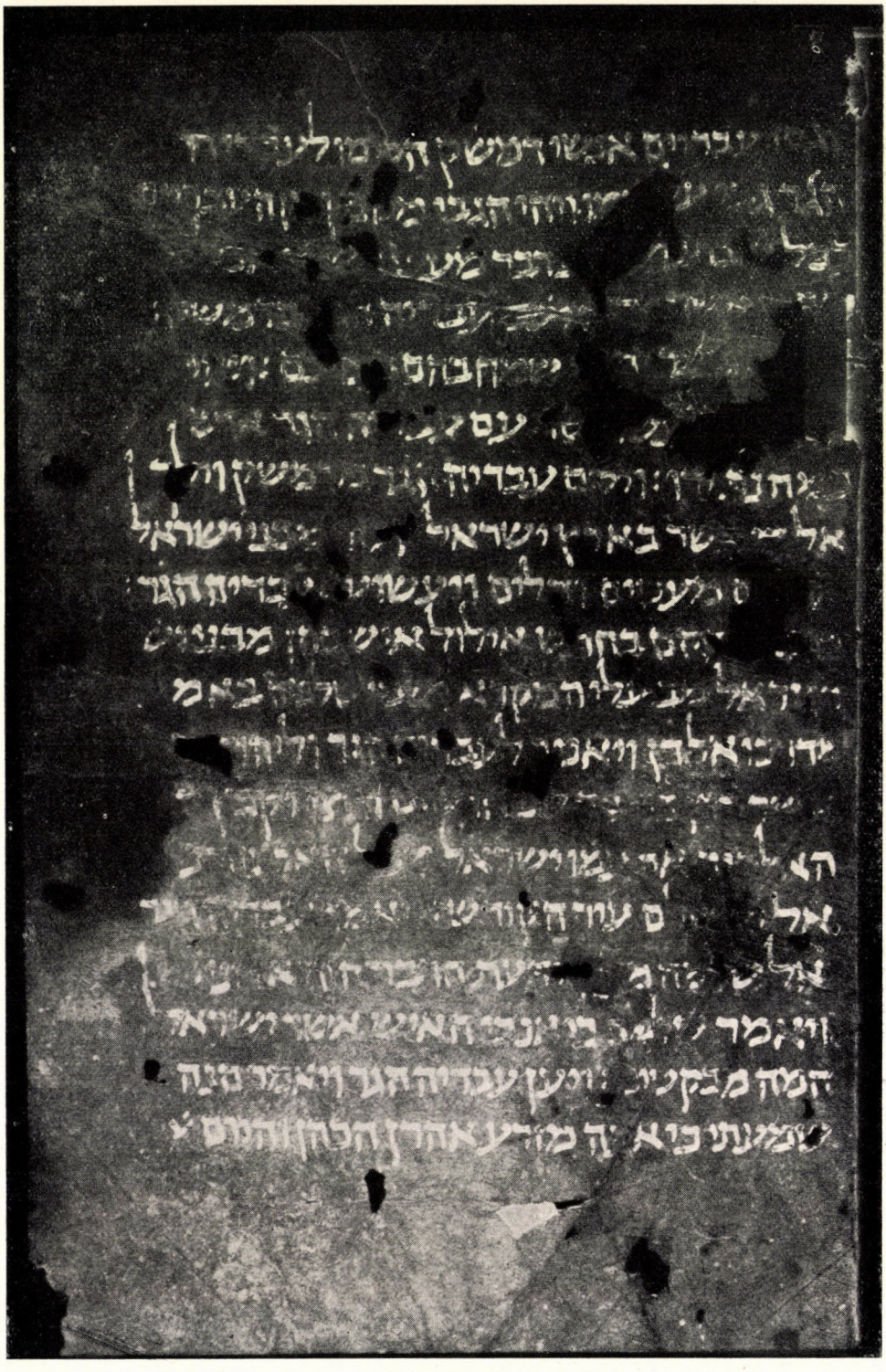
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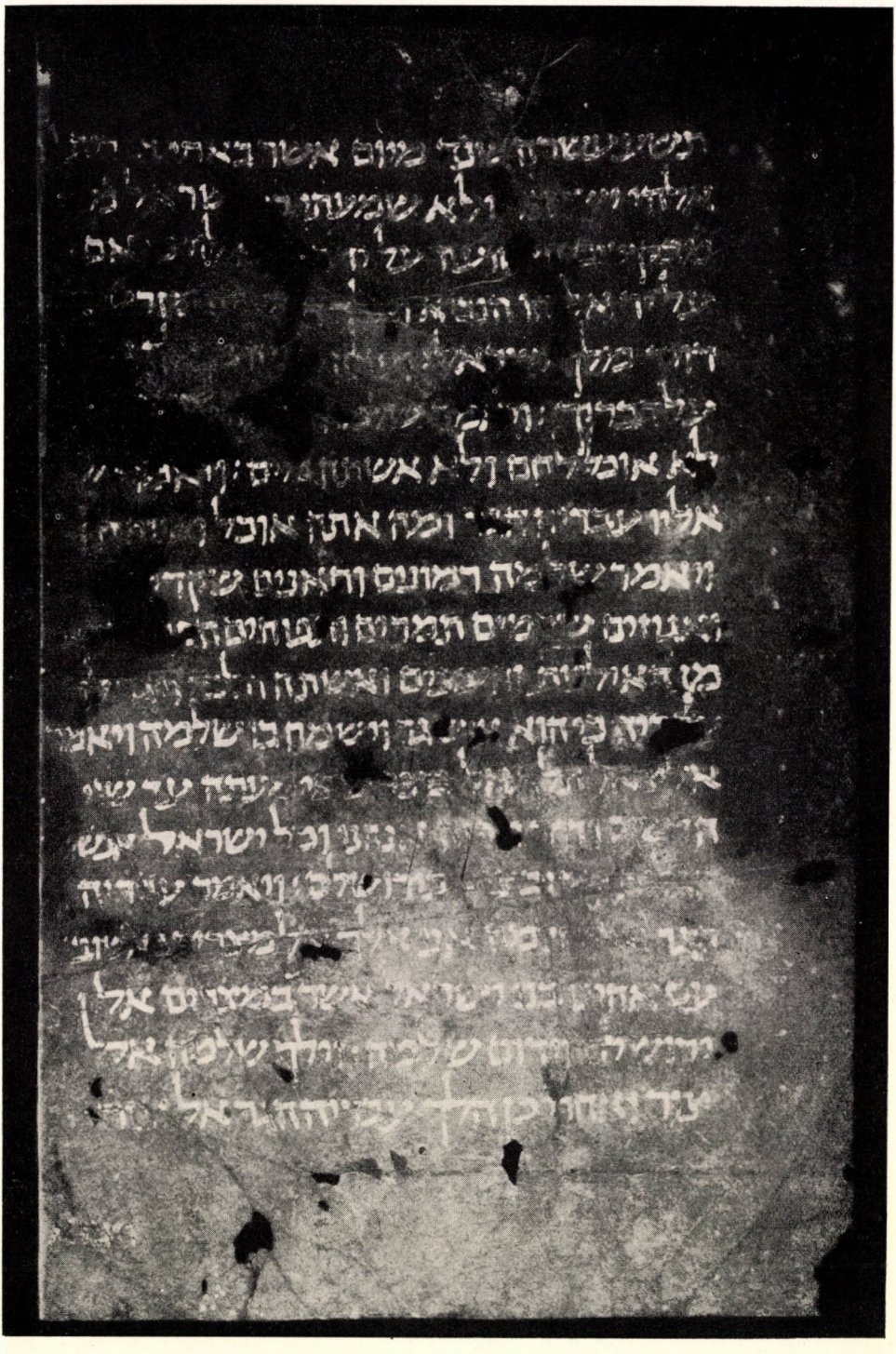
MS. Cambridge T.-S. 8. 271. p. 1b.



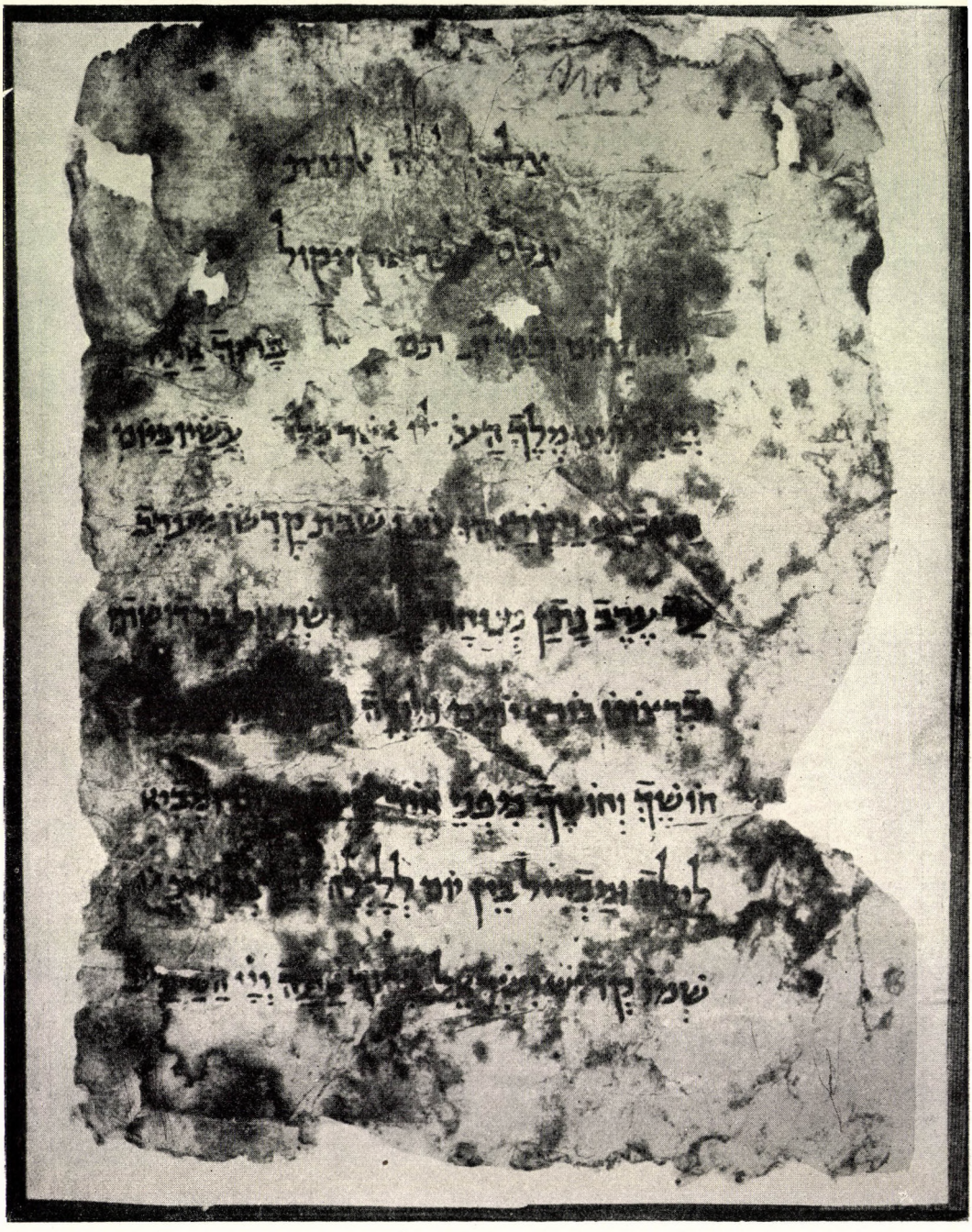
MS. Cambridge T.-S. 8. 271. p. 2a.



MS. Adler (New York) No. 4208. p. 156a.



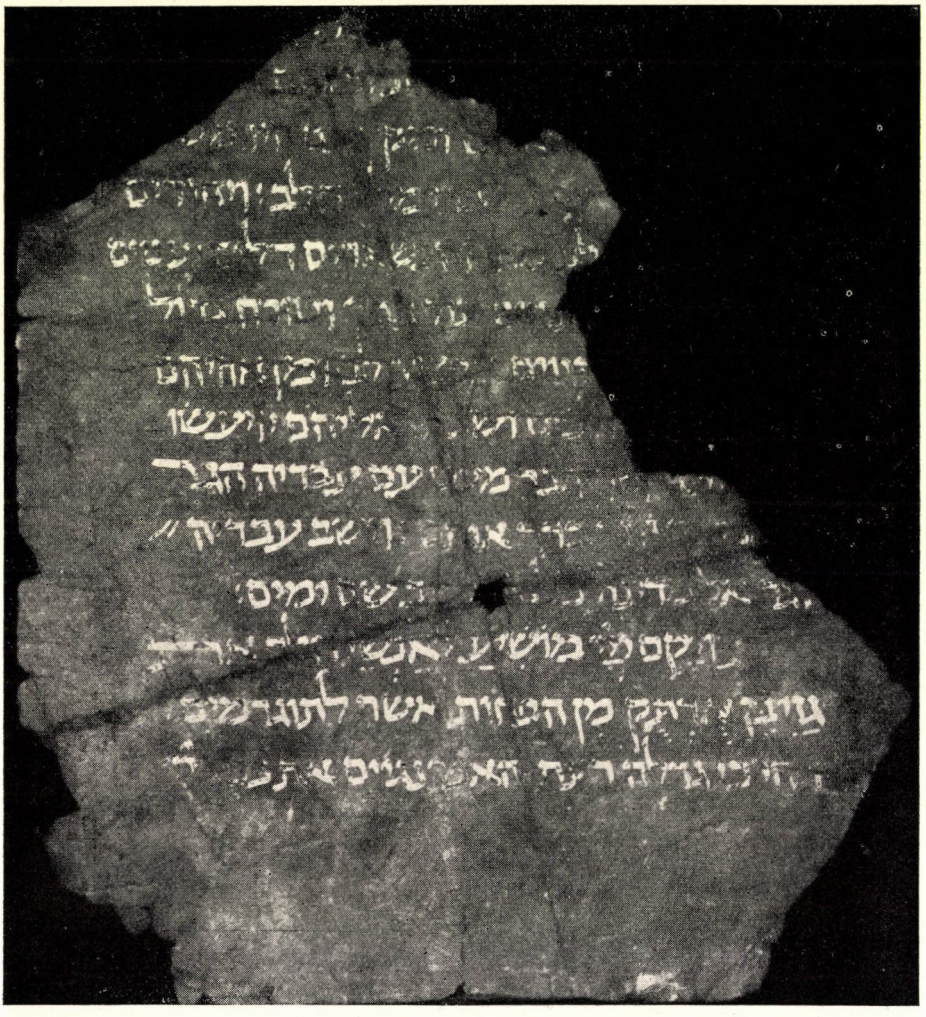
MS. Adler (New York) No. 4208. p. 156b.



MS. HUC. (Cincinnati) No. 8. p. 1a.



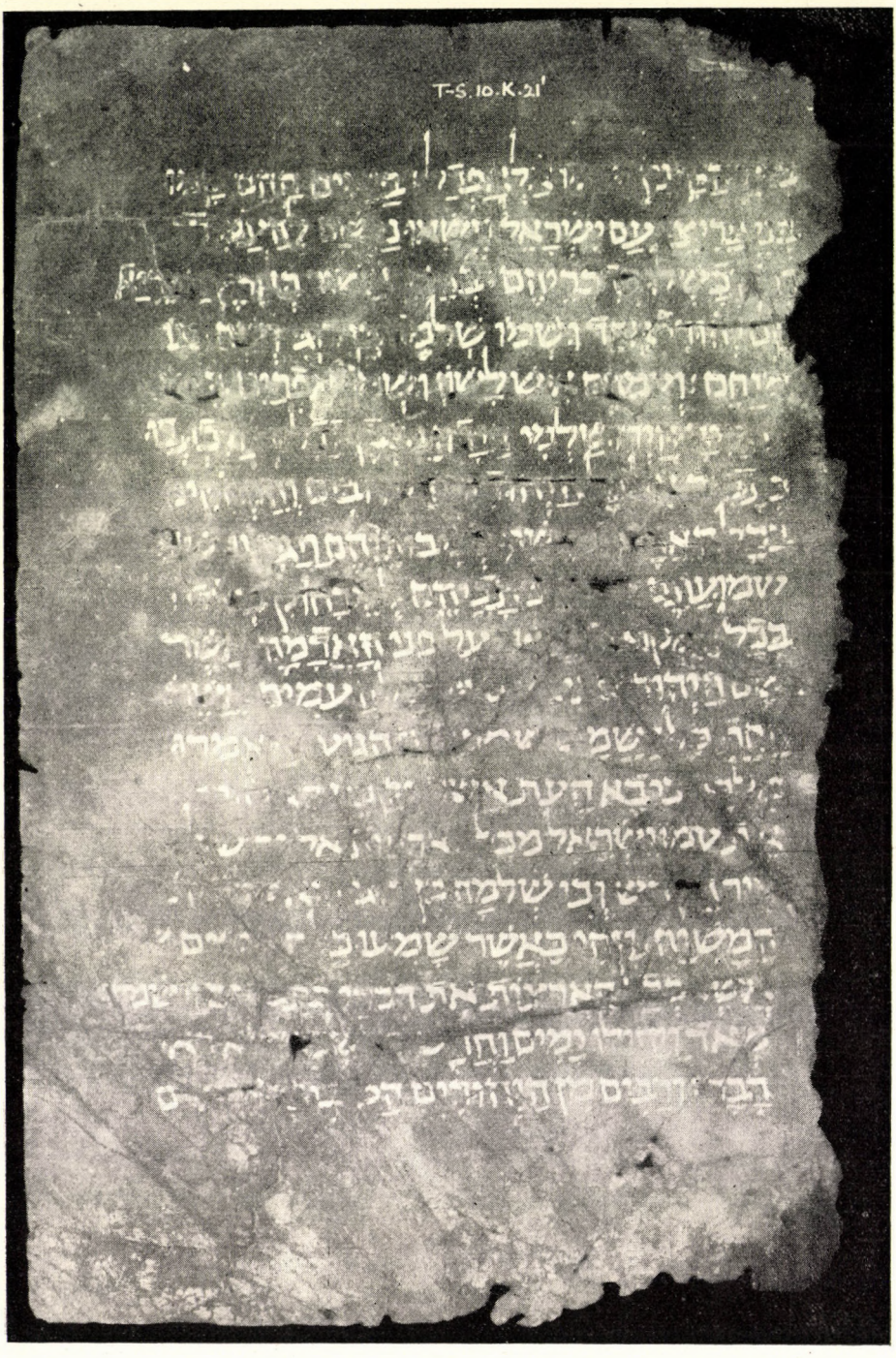
MS. HUC. (Cincinnati) No. 8. p. 1b.



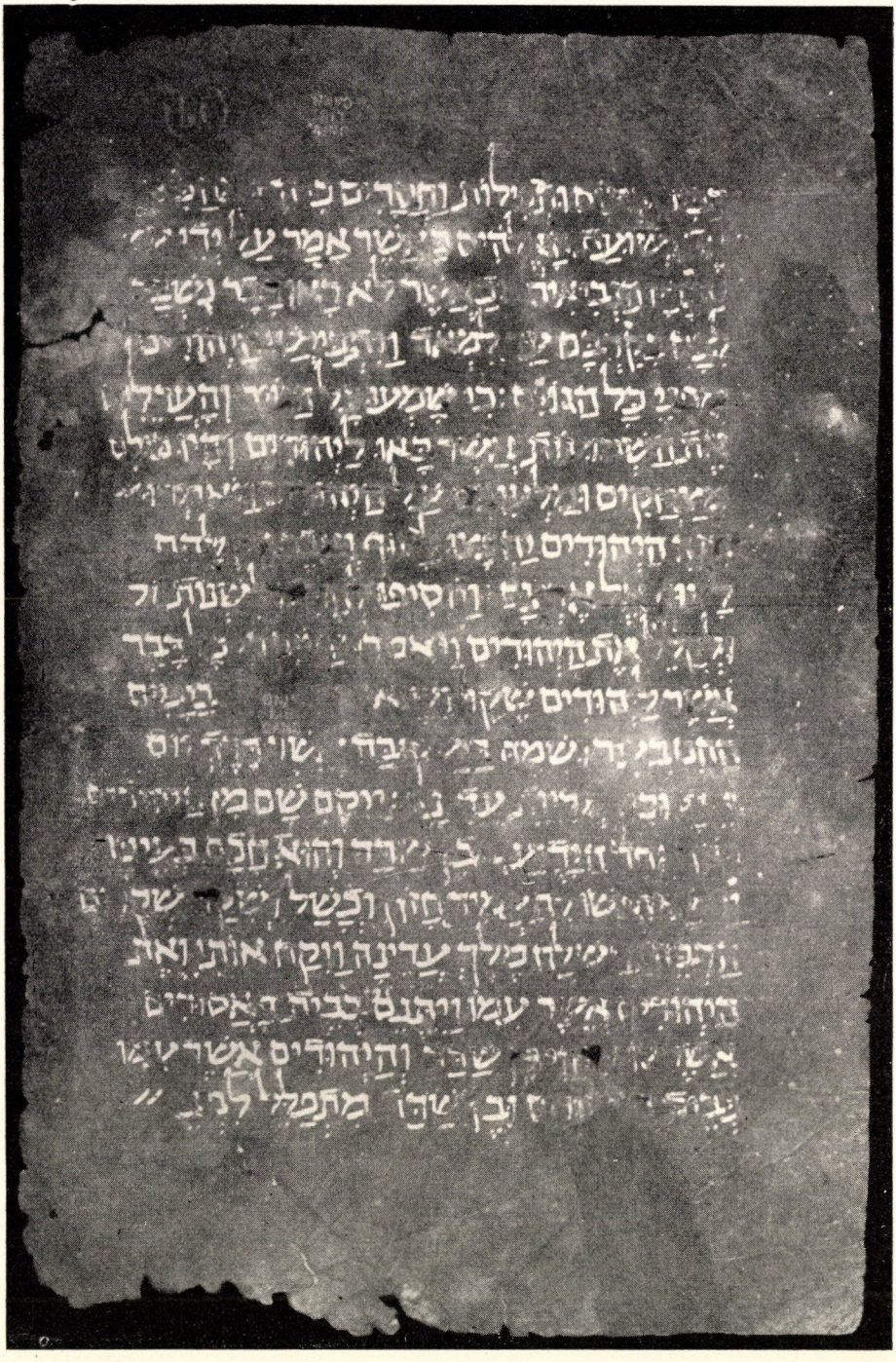
MS. Cambridge T.—S. Loan 31. p. 1a.



MS. Cambridge T.—S. Loan 31. p. 1b.



MS. Cambridge T.—S. 10. K. 21[1]. *p. 1a.*



MS. Cambridge T.—S. 10. K. 21¹. p. 1b.

А. Шейбер

ФРАГМЕНТ ХРОНИКИ НОРМАНСКОГО ПРОЗЕЛИТА ОБАДЬИ

Элькан Натан Адлер открыл первый отрывок хроники прозелита Обадьи. Этот фрагмент был в его владении среди гениз (REJ. LXIX. 1919, стр. 129—134). Он, однако, не мог еще установить возраст фрагмента и его исторические обстановки. Среди гениз в библиотеке кембриджского университета Й. Манн нашел два дальнейших фрагмента (REJ. LXXXIX. 1930, стр. 245—259), Ш. Д. Гоитейн там же — третий (Journal of Jewish Studies IV. 1953, стр. 74—84). Фрагмент, открытый Адлером, непунктирован, кембриджские же пунктированы. Значит, хроника сохранилась в двух рукописях, при том тождественного почерка.

Из исследований Манна нам известно, что Обадья, знатный человек норманского происхождения, в 1102 г. перешел в еврейскую веру, а затем обходил еврейские общины Сирии, Палестины, Египта и Мезопотамии. Изучив еврейский язык, он по-еврейски написал историю своей жизни, полной приключений. Ввиду того, что данные обнаруженных доселе отрывков точно соответствуют действительности, мы с большим интересом ожидали дальнейших открытий, как точных источников данной эпохи.

Автор настоящей статьи нашел среди будапештских гениз в собрании Кауфманна новый, четырехстраничный отрывок хрониеки прозлита Обадьи. Фрагмент пунктирован, как и кембриджские. Почерк, кажется, принадлежит автору, так как в некоторых местах текст им исправлен, а в одном месте имеется довольно длинное дополнение на полях.

Можно установить, что страница 1a Гоитейна непосредственно продолжает нашу страницу 1b, а где кончается страница 2b Гоитейна, там и продолжает рассказ наша страница 2a.

На страницах 1a—1b он говорит о своем происхождении. Значит, с этой точки зрения наш текст особенно интересен. Обадья родился в Южной Италии (Оппидо). При крещении получил имя Иоанна. Первым импульсом к переходу в иудейство послужило отступничество архиепископа г. Бари — Андрея. Под впечатлением этого события произошли в Константинополе многочисленные переходы в иудейство. Переход архиепископа и массовые переходы в иудейство в Константинополе были до сих пор неизвестными в еврейской истории. Мы узнаем также о том, что Иоанн до своего перехода в иудейство был христианским священником.

На страницах 2a—2b изложены приключения Обадьи в г. Багдад. Сообщаются важные данные о страданиях багдадских евреев, об их отличительных знаках, о податях, которые они платили во время багдадского калифа Аль-Муктади (1075—1094). Эти описания более подробны, чем известные доселе сообщения арабских авторов.

Обадья пишет превосходно. Его хронологические и географические данные соответствуют действительности. Он обладает сильным историческим чутьем. Обнаруженные части его хроники весьма ценны.

Автор считает важной задачей издать собрание найденных отрывков хроники Обадьи.

БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ И КРИТИКА
COMPTES-RENDUS
REVIEWS—BESPRECHUNGEN

R. A. D. Forrest, *The Chinese Language*. Faber and Faber, London 1948.

To write a book on any language and to introduce in it the characteristic features, the history and the most important current problems of research of the language in question is a serious task. If one might say so, all this is doubly true of the Chinese language, the serious study based on a modern, scientific foundation, the determining of the characteristics and the unearthing of the history and relationships of which were begun hardly a couple of decades ago. Although essential lines have been more or less clarified, in numerous fields — and let us add that it is not always in the least essential ones — controversies are still going on ; at the same time important periods in the history of the Chinese language have still not been worthily investigated. It is understandable, therefore, that the author's pioneering undertaking (he is the first to attempt to give a comprehensive view of the Chinese language) raises considerable interest. All the more so because the work, to judge from its arrangement, endeavours to present all the important topics and problems. The chapters dealing with writing and the methods of studying the ancient language are followed by chapters devoted to the general characteristics of the Chinese language, to the "related and contiguous languages", to certain periods in the development of the Chinese language, present-day dialects and the present Chinese language. The work is supplied with appendices and maps as well as bibliographies attached to the individual chapters.

The author states in his preface, that in the field of numerous questions he himself has had to assume responsibility "for much of the theoretical framework into which the facts have been fitted". In a comprehensive study of this nature the real value of the work is determined, of course, to a considerable extent, exactly by this "theoretical framework" into the logical and ordered whole of which the author is compelled to fit, in the nature of his work, the unearthed but more or less scattered data and partial results. The value of writing similar studies lies in this theoretical summarization, besides the fact that the work should serve as a handbook of specialized information for non-experts and beginners.

In this respect we must underline first of all the author's common sense with which he generally approaches his questions. We are thinking here primarily of the question of the general characteristics of the Chinese language, of its "development" as a vehicle of cultural expression, a question referred to on several occasions. The author very correctly avoids those exaggerating notions and mystificating concepts which are rather prevalent in certain sinological circles in connection with this question. At the same time, however, this common sense seems, at times, to lead him to neglect theoretical

questions. For instance, the chapter entitled "The General Description of the Chinese Language" does not fall into the error of unduly stressing the grammatical and structural differences between the Chinese language and other languages which undoubtedly exist, yet at the same time it does not exploit fully on a general linguistic level these differences which are very important from the standpoint of general linguistics and from the point of view of understanding the specific features of the Chinese language. To mention just one, the question of the parts of speech in the Chinese language should by all means have been dealt with more thoroughly, or at least the works of Maspero, Karlgren, Dragunov and others dealing with this problem should have been mentioned in the bibliography.

The chronology of the history of the Chinese language according to the author is : Proto-Chinese from the beginnings up to 500 B. C. ; Archaic Chinese from 500 B. C. to 600 A. D. ; Ancient Chinese from 600 A. D. to 1200 A. D., and Medieval and Modern Chinese from 1200 to our days. He mentions the fact that Maspero suggested another periodization but "the scheme has not found general favour. The terminology here adopted is so firmly established in the writings of Karlgren, Simon, and many other writers, in Chinese as well as in English, that it would be confusing to attempt an alteration" [p. 48].

As regards terminology Forrest is undoubtedly right, although Karlgren uses Middle instead of Medieval to designate the last period. The situation is different with the time-limits as given by Forrest. At the present stand of research into the history of the Chinese language, when "in the more frequent case, . . . we have a fairly detailed knowledge of it [i. e. the changes in the language] for one point of time and place only" [p. 48], the fixing of time-limits for the individual periods is, of course, to a certain extent a matter of opinion. The establishment of definite dates and time-limits, like the ones given by Forrest can hardly be found in works concerning Chinese phonology. At the same time, however, there are grave contradictions in Forrest's dates.

The designation of a Proto-Chinese period for the beginnings of the history of the Chinese language undoubtedly presents itself. It is incomprehensible, however, why this period, which, as shown by its name, has of necessity to deal with the emergence of the Chinese language, should include such important monuments of Chinese writing and literature as, for instance, the Book of Odes, the existence of which may by no means be regarded as evidence of a language in the process of formation, but of a very mature language which is also a fit medium of written poetry. What may have played a part in this was the fact that we have no direct sources of reference for the period of the emergence of the Chinese language, and the conclusions drawn from comparisons with related languages as well as from linguistic facts of later origin also yield a rather incomplete picture of this period of the Chinese language and some sort of "horror vacui" must have induced the author to assign source material for this period. It is true, of course, that the period of the Book of Odes [according to Karlgren, among others] is roughly 800—600 B. C. — but at the same time Karlgren puts the phonetic loan characters in the same period with the Book of Odes and concludes that they "reveal quite the same phonological categories (with a few exceptions to be discussed further on) as those of the Shi King ; they do not reveal the phonological categories of any other, or later, stage of the language" [B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, p. 4]. Yet Forrest designates the Book of Odes as a source for Proto-Chinese and the phonetic loan characters as a source for Archaic Chinese and does not say a word about the above conclusion fo Karlgren's.

It is a matter of detail that not many experts will concur with Forrest's opinion that "The oldest part of the *Shi-Ching*, the five *Festal Odes* of the Shang state printed

at the end of the collection, may well date from the time traditionally assigned for their composition" [p. 108], or that "The poems [of the *Shi-Ching*] do not belong to one century, but were composed at intervals through some eight hundred years before they were gathered together in the fifth century B. C...." [p. 107]. We are again obliged to refer to Karlgren, whose researches, in contradiction to the foregoing, indicate that the *Shi-Ching* language is far more homogeneous in time and space. The assertions of Chinese classical tradition, adopted by Forrest in the above form, are not borne out by the findings of linguistic history. It is, naturally, another question also raised by Karlgren that the individual poems could have originated in different periods and places, but possibly at some fairly early date their rhyming at least was unified, normalized.

We would add to the foregoing only that in his more recent works Karlgren does not even mention the Proto-Chinese period and places the upper limits of Archaic Chinese in the early Chou time i. e. the 12th century.

To avoid a misunderstanding : we do not take exception to the fact that the author did not accept the findings of Karlgren as mentioned above — that is his privilege — only to the fact that he does not even mention them.

We regard it as important, that when he deals with certain stages of the history of the Chinese language, the author consciously and closely links the history of the language with that of the Chinese people. The insufficient historical background given by the author is, naturally, not his fault ; he is not a historian. His endeavours in this respect, however, occasionally carry him to extremes. Once or twice he tries to establish quite immediate connections between changes in the language and historical events. We do not regard the following assertions, for example, as entirely convincing : "The semi-barbarian origin of the ruling house [i. e. of the Ch'in-dynasty] and the decline in social importance of the old aristocracy with the abolition of feudalism, are the probable occasions of a number of developments which the language underwent in this period" [p. 127], and further : "The Archaic Period was, to all appearances, one of more rapid and more fundamental changes than its predecessor" [ibid.]. Apart from the fact that general linguistics is not very well able yet to give the reason for changes in language, the above assertions would seem to suggest that the author identifies the Chinese language of this period with that of the aristocracy, that is, with the language of the written sources, and does not take into consideration the question of the vernacular of the illiterate peasant masses who made up the overwhelming majority of the population. The reason for this optical illusion is obvious ; from most stages of the history of the Chinese language we possess texts and sources of the literary language only and it is very doubtful if we shall ever know anything, for example, about the language of the peasantry in the Chou period — yet this question has to be raised. And this is closely linked with the question that the placing of certain sources of the history of the Chinese language in "language strata" ought to be determined within the respective periods — to our knowledge the historians of the Chinese language have never dealt with this problem yet.

The most general formulation of the above question is the question of the relationship of the *wen yen* and the *pai hua* in the various stages of the history of the Chinese language. Although the author refers in a few places to this question, he does not use it consistently as a point of view when discussing the individual periods, although we are already in possession of certain findings concerning the history of the *pai hua* [Maspero, Kao Ming-k'ai, etc.]. Throughout the work the concept of a "standard of speech" is made use of, which is very correct, and which implies the recognition of the fact that the Chinese language is made up of different layers. However, the author does not endeavour to define this rather general concept more closely in the various

instances, he does not mention how homogeneous this standard of speech could have been, what its range of influence was, what its sources were, etc.

Otherwise we regard it as important in the author's survey of the historical development of the Chinese language that on several occasions he states that the pronunciation of literary Chinese does not show an unbroken historical continuity, but was subjected to changes depending on the dialect spoken by the particular section of the ruling classes, which controlled the norms of the written language at the time. With the present state of research into Chinese phonology, this can, naturally, be but rarely verified with linguistic facts. It is a great merit of the author that in the case of the T'ang period of development he definitely points this out, in fact he connects the ruling dialect of the T'ang-period with certain present-day dialects. The writer of these lines has noted with pleasure that, independently of the author, he has come to approximately the same conclusion in this matter (cf. *Chinese Glosses in the Uighur Script of the T'ang-Period:* Acta Orient. Hung. II. 1), on the basis of the findings made by Prof. L. Ligeti. In presenting the Chinese language of the T'ang-period, however, in addition to the Tibetan transcriptions of the Chinese material, it would have been possible to use *pai hua* findings likewise derived from Tunhuang.

It is surprising that in the chapter on Ancient Chinese no mention is made of the question of yodization as hypothesized by Karlgren, which has been the subject of so much controversy since then. Yet this is one of the very important problems of Chinese phonology.

On pp. 110—111 the author deals with Tung Fan's theory, according to which on the basis of individual sections of the *Shi-Ching* and certain other old Chinese texts it would be possible to verify occasional survivals of old disyllabism in the historical period of the Chinese language. The author casts one part of this theory aside with justification, and in connection with the rest of it he does not assume a completely positive stand either. A more convincing handling of the problem would have been a reference to the pertinent sections of the series of articles by B. Karlgren entitled *Glosses on the Kuo feng* [*Siao ya, Ta ya and Sung*] *odes*, where on the basis of classical commentaries we find a more reasonable and acceptable interpretation of the undeniably problematical negative particles of certain sections of the *Shi-Ching*, than may be found in Tung Fan's theory. Similarly reference to, or quotation of, E. Erkes' article *Die Sprache des alten Ch'u*, [T'oung Pao XXVII (1930) pp. 1—11] would have been the most obvious way to prove that the language of Ch'u was not originally Chinese.

It is not quite understandable why in the comparisons with related languages the author occasionally quotes Ancient Chinese sounds in place of the likewise quite established, and here more proper Archaic Chinese sounds.

The 朋友 *p'eng yu* "friend" binom [pp. 27 and 59] according to the author is an example that in present-day Chinese there are combinations the members of which are no longer used separately or in other combinations. The example is not very fortunate, because in the present language the 友誼 *yu i* "friendship", 友好 *yu hao* "intimate friends", 友生 *yu sheng* "friend" binoms are also well known.

The value of the bibliographies appended to the chapters would have been enhanced had the bibliographic data been given more precisely ; in the case of articles we do not always find the titles of the respective periodicals in which the articles referred to have appeared.

The chapter on modern dialects presents a good summary on the basis of results up to now. We do not quite understand, however, the purpose of the Literary Extracts attached to Appendix I. Any reader, interested in general linguistics, but unfamiliar

with the Chinese language, will find these useless because of the writing — sinologists on the other hand know where to turn for reference to similar texts. It would have been much more illuminating if the author had expanded the material of Appendix III, added more specimens in phonetic script from the present-day dialects and the related languages, with grammatical analyses.

In the foregoing we have demanded very much of Forrest's book. One part of its shortcomings is generally a debt of sinology ; in other respects, however, apart from certain factual inaccuracies, the shortcomings stem from a not entirely consistent theoretical basis. The work is the first in its field, it is exactly its pioneering character which explains these, perhaps sometimes rather exaggerated, demands we have raised in connection with it. We trust that the reviews of this important book will result in a striving for a synthesis of the questions of the history of the Chinese language, and it was on the basis of this consideration that we have ventured to give our opinion.

B. Csongor

Ян Хин-шун. *Древнекитайский философ Лао-цзы и его учение.* Академия Наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1950. 160 стр.

Книга Ян Хин-шун содержит очерк автора о «Дао-дэ-цзине» Лао-цзы и новый перевод произведения Лао-цзы. После бесчисленных европейских переводов и толкований книга Ян хин-шун означает новый этап исследования учения Лао-цзы. В своем очерке он устанавливает, что философия Лао-цзы была первоначально материалистической философией, проникнутой диалектическими моментами. Основанная его последователями даосская секта не развивала, а искажала его учения, используя непоследовательность его материализма для философского обоснования мистического даосизма. Ян Хин-шун указывает, на то, что учения Лао-цзы вошли в историю китайской философии не только как искажения даосизма, но и как китайский философский материализм, построенный на материализме «Дао-дэ-цзина», — при том последнее явление имеет более существенное значение. Лао-цзы не основатель даосской секты, а создатель резко противящейся конфуцианству стихийной материалистической и стихийной диалектической философии, учение которого послужило впоследствии исходным пунктом для всего китайского материализма.

В доказательство своей оценки Ян Хин-шун анализирует, главным образом, учение Лао-цзы о дао, устанавливая следующие основные черты дао :

«1. Дао — это естественный путь самих вещей. Оно устраняет всякое божество или «небесную волю».

2. Дао существует вечно, как естественность вечно существующего материального мира. Оно бесконечно как во времени, так и в пространстве.

3. Дао — это сущность всех вещей, которая проявляется через свои атрибуты (дэ). Оно без вещей не существует.

4. Дао, как сущность представляет единство материальной основы мира ци и его естественного пути изменения.

5. Дао — это неумолимая необходимость материального мира, и его законам подчинены все существа. Оно сметает на своем пути все, что ему препятствует.

6. Основной закон дао состоит в том, что все вещи и явления находятся в постоянном движении и изменении, и в процессе изменения все они переходят в свою противоположность.

7. Все вещи и явления находятся во взаимосвязи, которая осуществляется через единое дао.

8. Дао — незримо, неосязаемо. Оно недоступно нашим органам чувств и познается в логическом мышлении (стр. 67.).»

По нашему мнению Ян Хин-шун продвинул вперед дело исследования истории философии древнего Китая в области толкования понятия дао Лао-цзы, и поэтому в дальнейшем мы дадим обобщение части его книги, написанной в доказательство материалистического характера понятия «дао».

Чтобы доказать, что дао является законом природы с материалистическим содержанием, Ян Хин-шун приводит из комментария Ван Би цитаты, относящиеся к 60 главе Дао-дэ-цзина. В главе 60 значится: «Если люди вступают в поднебесную путём дао, то духи умерших не творят чудеса. Духи умерших не только не будут творить чудеса, но они также перестанут вредить людям». Комментатор добавляет: «То, что дух не вредит (людям), означает естественность (вещей). Когда вещи следуют естественности, духу уже нечего (к ним) прибавлять. Когда дух ничего не прибавляет, дух перестает быть духом».

Глава 42. Дао дэ цзин следующим образом резюмирует космогонические представления Лао-цзы: «Дао рождает одно» (хаос), «одно рождает два» (частицы ян-ци и инь-ци), «два рождают три» (небо, земля и человек), «а три — все существа». Согласно Ян Хин-шун эта краткая космогоническая ссылка содержит в себе мысль о неотрывности закона (дао) от его материальной базы. По его мнению эта часть показывает, что дао является не только объективным законом природы, но и вместе с тем материальной субстанцией вещей, как это было определено и Глаголь евым в его формулировке дао «одновременно путь и путник».

Согласно автору, основой большинства идеалистических извращений данного произведения послужило следующее положение 10 главы: «В мире все вещи рождаются в бытии, бытие рождается в небытии». Автор отрицает, будто бы понятие «небытие» Лао-цзы тождественно с «ничто» Гегеля и убедительно доказывает, что Лао-цзы «небытие» никогда не означает чистое небытие, а всегда несуществование данной вещи и существование других вещей; но тем самым бытие означает существование данной вещи и несуществование других вещей. Цитата, взятая из 2 главы: «Бытие и небытие порождают друг друга, . . . предыдущее и последующее следуют друг за другом» — является доказательством того, что у Лао-цзы «небытие» представляет собой один из моментов самодвижения вещей. В других местах «Дао-дэ-цзина» слово «небытие» означает неосязаемость закона природы «дао».

С помощью целого ряда ясных формулировок Лао-цзы Ян Хин-шун наглядно показывает, что философия «Дао-дэ-цзина» проникнута и диалектическими взглядами. Лао-цзы познал взаимную связь и беспрерывное движение всех явлений мира, а также то обстоятельство, что в основе этого движения лежит противоречие. Однако, причиной движения он считает не борьбу противоположностей, а единство противоположностей — и тем самым метафизический метод приводит его к идеализму. В этом заключается источник его идеалистической (рационалистической) гносеологии, недооценивающей эмпирическое познание и практику и считающей единственным, приводящим к цели методом познания лишь один из моментов познания — логическое мышление. Однако, Ян Хин-шун резко выступает против новокантианских стремлений, направленных на отождествление теории познания Лао-цзы с агностицизмом Канта. Он доказывает цитатами, что у Лао-цзы нет пропасти между явлением и сущностью (дао) — как у Канта —, а наоборот, они составляют неразрывное единство, и сущность — в отличие от «вещи в себе» Канта — является познаваемой. «От одного глубочайшего к другому — дверь ко всему чудесному». (Глава 1.)

Кроме его рационалистической гносеологии другая непоследовательность его материализма заключается в том, что из двух сторон сущности : — материи и закона — он выдвигает закон, подчеркивая его значение за счет материи. Правда, в его системе не остается места ни для какого бога, но такае непоследовательно материалистическая концепция дао оказалась пригодной для восприятия мистических теорий построенной на ней даосской секты.

Однако, Ян Хин-шун указывает на то, что понятие дао у Лао-цзы обнимает самые общие взаимоотношения явлений, и непоследовательность его материализма находится в тесной связи с огромным шагом вперед, сделанным тем самым Лао-цзы в области логического мышления. У него дао не ограничивается ничем единичным, наоборот, оно содержит все единичное. Тем самым Лао-цзы пошел дальше представления первых греческих материалистов и занимает место рядом с Гераклитом, понятие «логос» которого ближе всего к его понятию «дао». Оба понятия означают вечно существующую необходимость, не сотворенную ни богом, ни человеком, согласно которой все на свете меняется, переходя из одного противоречия в другое. Однако, в области приближения к объективной диалектике изменений эти два философа значительно отличаются друг от друга : в то время, как Гераклит познал, что причиной движения и изменения является борьба противоположностей, Лао-цзы подчеркивает наоборот их единство. Но в другой области Лао-цзы идет дальше и Гераклита, в частности в оптимистическом характере своей философии, провозглашая неизбежность победы нового. «Мягкое преодолевлет твердое, слабые побеждают сильных». (Глава 36.) «Твердое и крепкое — это то, что погибает, а нежное и слабое есть то, что начинает жить». (Глава 76.)

Для социально-этического учения Лао-цзы характерны любовь к народу, бичевание общественного зла, осуждение войн. По его мнению причину зла надо искать в том, что люди нарушают закон «дао», что люди не следуют по естественному пути движения мира. Лечение зла нужно искать в сохранении народа, в его естественном, нетронутом состоянии — в сохранении древних деревенских общин. Здесь лучше всего видно, что учение Лао-цзы об единстве противоположностей и построенная на нем теория «недеяния» имеют объективно-социальные корни, ибо «недеяние» представляет собой жизненноважный интерес крестьянства, проживающего во все более разоряющихся, разлагающихся общинах, нищета которых усиливается вследствие «деяний» воюющих друг с другом князей, а также жаждующих прибыли торговцев.

Таким образом, все учение Лао-цзы является двухсторонним, но для нас сегодня важное значение имеет та сторона его учения, которая определяет его место в развитии китайской материалистической философии, а также в истории диалектики и логики. Благодаря своей принципиальной последовательности, своему научно-аналитическому методу, книга Ян Хин-шун является большим шагом вперед в области научной оценки «Дао дэ цзин» Лао-цзы и марксистского освещения истории древней китайской философии.

Ф. Текеи

В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Коллекция тибетских документов на дереве, собранная С. Е. Маловым*. Ученые записки Института востоковедения, Академия наук СССР, том VI (1953), стр. 167—175.

В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Тибетский документ на дереве из района озера Лоб-Нор*. Эпиграфика Востока, вып. VII (1953), стр. 70—76. + 1 табл.

В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Тибетские документы на дереве из района озера Лоб-Нор*, II. Эпиграфика Востока, вып. VIII (1953), стр. 77—85. + 1 табл.[1]

In June 1914, S. E. Malov, later corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, when collecting linguistic material among the Turkish population of East-Turkestan acquired a number of 8th century Tibetan documents on wood from the inhabitants of the village of Mīrān. The documents come from Mīrān fort, a place where previously Sir Aurel Stein unearthed a considerable number of similar documents on two occasions. At present the Malov collection is to be found in the archives of the Oriental Manuscript Section in Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Leningrad. The publication of these documents few in number but of considerable linguistical and historical value was started in the papers of V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatkovskij to be reviewed here.

In the УЗИВ vol. VI, pp. 167—175, the author reviews the collection as a whole. It consists of 57 numbered items (ТД 1—55, 56/а and 56/б), out of which 54 items bear inscriptions, one is a cube and two are fragments of wooden boards without inscriptions. Beside these numbered items a few small fragments bearing no inscriptions complete the collection (p. 170). The dimensions of the cube are $1.5 \times 1.5 \times 1.2$, they are marked on the faces with one to six spots (ТД 3 ; pp. 170—171). The documents and fragments with inscriptions fall into four groups according to their shape and contents : 1.) laths about 9×1.5 cm in size bearing one personal name. They were probably identity cards of soldiers (ТД 1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and the fragment of a lath of another size registered under ТД 2 possibly fall under this same group ; p. 171). — 2.) Laths of different size bearing the name and in some cases the rank of the addressee, the place of destination and sometimes the name of the sender. These laths were fastened to the laths bearing the text of the letter and were sealed with clay (ТД 5, 6, 15, 28 ; pp. 171—172). — 3.) Small sticks painted red on one side bearing a few incoherent words. Their destination is unknown (ТД 16, 20 ; fragment registered under ТД 21 of similar finish but containing coherent text is also mentioned here ; p. 172). — 4.) The rest of the documents with text is made up of letters or fragments of letters. These latter sometimes complete one another. Their contents are mostly of military or economic character, rarely of administrative ones. A number of letters are not decyphered as yet due to their fragmentary or damaged state (pp. 172—173). Having described the stock of the collection Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij discusses the linguistic and paleographic characteristics of the documents as well as the personal names, place-names and the denominations of dignitaries contained therein (pp. 173—175). Some documents whose critical edition and detailed discussion could be dispensed with are given in facsimile (6 "identity cards" and the cube : ТД 1—4, 10—12 ; p. 169).

From among the documents requiring a more exhaustive, critical edition and a detailed discussion four have been published by Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij up to now :

[1] These papers will be quoted УЗИВ or ЭВ respectively with reference to volume and page.

ТД 23 (ЭВ VII, pp. 70—76 + pl.), ТД 24 (ЭВ VIII, pp. 77—81 + fig. 1—2), ТД 15 (ЭВ VIII, pp. 81—82 + fig. 3), ТД 28[2] (ЭВ VIII, pp. 82—83 + fig. 4).

Document ТД 23 is a military report, document ТД 24 is an administrative memorandum while the other two constitute the upper laths with the addresses of letters consisting of several laths. The texts of these four documents are in *dbu-čan* script.

In the course of the last forty years a great number of Old Tibetan linguistic records have been published but, unfortunately, their majority entirely lacks facsimile or else linguistic commentaries are met with rather sporadically in nearly all of them. In consequence, the reading of the words is, in most cases, impossible to check and the translations have mostly remained unexplained though their originals, as a rule, raise serious problems of interpretation. Hence, every Tibetan philologist is pleased to welcome the publications of Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij compiled with excellent technique. In these publications every document has its facsimile, is printed in *dbu-čan* characters as well as in Roman typed transliteration. This is followed by the translation and by linguistic and material commentaries upon every word whose reading may raise problems or whose form, meaning or use differs from the classical language or from well-known Old Tibetan data. Historical information contained in the documents and the characteristics of the latter are summed up at the end of each paper. In this connection author discusses certain general questions concerning the Old Tibetan language, palaeography and diplomatics.

The translation of documents ТД 23, 15, and 28 is acceptable in its entirety; document ТД 24 is indecipherable only in one passage which, however, throws difficulties in the way of understanding the whole of the context and, consequently, the author himself does not consider the translation indisputable at every point (ЭВ VIII, p. 80, par. и). In general, the commentaries and summaries are exhaustive and thorough, the very valuable statements and noteworthy ideas exposed therein will contribute to the researches in Old Tibetan. From the linguistic point of view they constitute the first systematic treatment of Old Tibetan documents. It follows from the character of the documents published and from the Old Tibetan researches being in an initial stage that even in commentaries and summaries as exhaustive as those of Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij we come across several theses calling for amendments or disputable statements. In the first part of our comments in merito but without claiming completeness I wish to dwell upon such statements of the author as referring to a single word or form, then I make a few remarks on the interpretation of a passage and, finally, I intend to deal with certain comprehensive statements of the author.

The designation of a dignitary *nań-rǰe-p(h)o* occurring in a great number of Old-Tibetan documents was interpreted by A. H. Francke as 'Ministre of Inner Affairs' (in A. Stein, *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, III, p. 1461; likewise F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents* II, London 1951, pp. 313, 455). On the other hand Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij makes it evident that this dignitary denominates the governors of every country in East-Turkestan and, consequently, his translation for it is 'высший гражданский сановник; magistrate' (ЭВ VIII, p. 84, УЗИВ VI, p. 175). — Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij considers the form ТД 23b2 *brgyed* a variant form of the word *brgyad* 'eight' which becomes evident from the context, namely *brgyed* is the attribute to *bre* 'a measure for dry things as well fluids, about 4 pints' (ЭВ VII, pp. 71, 73, par. п). The correct

[2] This document is marked «ТД» 28 in ЭВ vol. VIII, p. 82, in note № 1 of p. 84 as well as in the inscription on the facsimile of the latter, whereas in УЗИВ VI, p. 171 and on two occasions in ЭВ VIII, p. 85 it is denoted with «ТД 18». I was unable to find out the correct figure even going through the errata, so I have arbitrarily chosen «ТД 28».

interpretation, however, is not followed by the explanation of the vocalism, although this is extremely valuable from the point of view of historical dialectology. It entitles us — in so far as it can be corroborated by further Old-Tibetan data — to trace the change **-ad* > *-ä(d), -e(d)* provable with dialectal forms of today right back to the 8th century.[3] — I feel rather uncertain about the correctness of attributing, without any hesitation, to the characters ТД 23a2  and ТД 24a2  the phonetic forms *yña* and *g-yra-du* respectively (ЭВ VII, pp. 71—72, 74—75, VIII, pp. 79—80), and of disregarding the possibility of a purely orthographic peculiarity, that is, of writing the end consonant under the radical (cf. Ligeti L., *Tibeti források Közép-Ázsia történetéhez* [= Tibetan Sources to the History of Central Asia] : *KCsA* I. Erg.-Bd. [1936], p. 95 ; F. W. Thomas, *The Tibetan Alphabet: Festschr. z. Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Akademie d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Berlin—Göttingen—Heidelberg 1951, p. 158, par.[5]). This question, naturally, needs detailed investigation. — It is an error to consider the form *rad-pa*, as contrasted with the form ТД 24a2 *rad-pha*, a classical form (ЭВ VIII, p. 80, par. ж, УЗИВ VI, p. 173), albeit this form has been registered by Jäschke from Western Tibetan dialects as corresponding to the Cl. T. *bgrad-pa* 'to open wide'.

The translation of the closing formula of ТД 23 made by the author does not dispel all doubt : [b2] . . . : *nob* : *čuṅu* [b3] *laso* | | *las* | 'От воинов в Малом Нобе ; From the soldiers in Little Nob' (ЭВ VII, p. 71). In my opinion, this interpretation is inconsistent with the punctuation of the text in two places : 1) Between the two characters of *laso* there is no *cheg* (that is double *cheg*, according to the punctuation used in the text), though text ТД 23 shows a very careful punctuation and to judge by the facsimile the absence of punctuation is beyond the shadow of a doubt. This goes to show that in this case we are faced with the ablative ending *las* + the sentence closing particle *'o*.[4] 2) The two *šad*s between *laso* and *las* and the 6 cm. space devid**i**ng the two *šad*s do not allow of the interpretation of the syllable *las* as an ablative case-ending of the O. T. word *so* 'soldier'. Taking all this into account the translation of *nob* : *čuṅu laso* would read 'from Little Nob'. In this case difficulties would arise in accounting for | *las* | but this does not seem hopeless either, because its position and punctuation can be compared to those of the word *žu-dag*, 'amendment, improvement, correction' as use at the end of Buddhist texts to testify that the text has been revised. Hence it can be inferred that we are confronted with the word *las* 'action, act, deed, work' used to denote the end of a letter. Our interpretation should, of course, be regarded as a hypothesis as long as we succeed in demonstrating analogous formulae for letter.

Former investigators also made allowance for the fact that dialects had existed in Old Tibetan as well, and that dialectal differences had to be registered also in the language of the documents, but up to now no more than a few uncertain statements have been made and a few Old Tibetan forms, picked out at random, have been confronted with modern dialectal forms. On the other hand Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij regards the problem of dialects one of the most important questions of Old Tibetan linguistic

[3] No other explanation for the vocalism of the form *brgyed* would be possible. Data taken from cognate languages show ST **-a-* (cf. for instance, Rangkas *dźyad*, Newārī *tśyā*, Written Burmese *hratś*, Archaic Chinese [Karlgren, *Gramm. Ser.* 281] **pwat ;* the vocalism *-e-* shows up in many cognate languages too but these forms are due to secondary development as well as in Tibetan ; see R. Shafer, *East Himalayish : BSOAS* XV [1953], p. 365 ; R. Shafer, *Newari and Sino-Tibetan : Stud. Ling.* VI. [1952], pp. 97 and 107). The assumption *-e-* being an *Umlaut* could not be motivated semantically.

[4] Constructions whose predicate is a noun with a case-ending taking up the sentence closing particle *-'o* are not unfamiliar, though occur seldom in Tibetan, e. g., *'Jaṅs-blun*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, vol. I, pp. 36_{1-5} : *bdag 'di-ltar ñams-thag-pa yaṅ 'dod-čhags-kyi phyir-ro* 'dass ich in dieser Weise leide und gequält bin, ist wegen meiner Lüste'.

research. He has succeeded in demonstrating an Old Tibetan dialectal phenomenon. In documents ТД 24 and 15 the initial consonant of certain endings and particles is consistently *-gy-* and *-d-* in such cases when, according to the «sandhi» rules prevailing in the classical language and in a considerable part of Old-Tibetan documents, we would expect it to be either *-ky-* resp. *-g-* or *-t-* : ТД 24a1 *mčid · gyis :*, a2 *rab : du:*, b1—2 *sa zigs : gyi :*, b2 *mcan : ma : žig : gyaṅ :*, ТД 15 *ña · gseṅ : gyi* (ЭВ VIII, pp. 78—82, 85), and ТД 24b1 *scald : de :* (not registered by the author).[5]

The dialectological view point thrust forward by the author thus proved right but in drawing final conclusions the observation of certain cautiousness is of importance. The great differences between the language of certain documents, for instance, in the opinion of the author, testify to the fact that they had been worded by people talking different dialects. Hence the author infers that the garrison of Mīrān fort had been made up of different Tibetan tribes (УЗИВ VI, pp. 173—174). This conjecture raises several difficulties. The differences between the documents may also be ascribed to the fact that those who drafted them did not equally master the written language and, therefore, the proportion of dialectal peculiarities and of the characteristics of the written language differs in the language of certain documents. At the same time, however, we must not neglect the eventual chronological differences and the fluctuations due to the changes going on either. Even if it proved true that the documents represent different dialects, it would not entitle us to draw a conclusion as to the composition of the garrison of Mīrān fort considering the fact that only one part of the documents unearthed at Mīrān fort had been worded on the spot whereas others had reached the fortress from other places. In connection with the dialectologic considerations (ЭВ vol. VII, p. 75) we wish to make one more remark. It is commonly known today that the publication by Waddel of the Lhasa inscriptions is based on a copy in which the copier had arbitrarily omitted the *da-drag* and introduced other linguistic «corrections» sometimes even bearing upon the content (J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanskrit-tibétain du X^e siècle*, Paris 1924, pp. 69—70 ; Pelliot : *T'oung Pao* XXIV, p. 73 ; Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 97, note 2 and p. 103; H. E. Richardson, *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa*, London 1952, p. 13). Therefore, the absence of the *da-drag* does not allow of dialectological induction on the basis of this edition.

Among the non-linguistic argumentations of Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij, in the first place, especially remarkable is his statement according to which the external diplomatical characteristics of the Tibetan documents written on wood are in keeping with those of the Chinese documents of the 1st century B. C. to the 4th century A. D. from Lou-lan which, again, as proved by Huang Wen-pi *(The Exploration around Lob Nor*, Peiping 1948), conserved in the Chinese colonies of East-Turkestan the traditions of Chinese documents written on bamboo-slats (ЭВ VIII, pp. 83—84).

In the light of what has been exposed above I consider the papers of Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij to be of a serious and valuable contribution to Old Tibetan research due both to the importance of the documents published and to the exemplary technique of text edition as well as to the author's statements of high value on linguistical, epigraphical and documentary problems, and we are looking forward to the publication of the rest of the documents with keen interest.

G. Uray

[5] Besides, this dialectal peculiarity — contrary to the statement of the author (ЭВ VIII, p. 85) — can be demonstrated even from ТД 23 : b1 *slad : gyis :*, b2 *khyed : gyi :*.

Mathias Hermanns, *Tibetische Dialekte von A mdo.* Anthropos, Vol. 47 (1952), No 1—2, pp. 193—202.

1. The Tibetan dialects spoken in the Province Ch'ing-hai (Amdo) are extremely important in both historical and dialectological respects. Therefore, it is with pleasure that we welcome M. Hermanns' study which despite its brevity is an important contribution to our knowledge of the dialects in Ch'ing-hai.

The introduction of the study (pp. 193—194) gives a short survey of the geography and the Tibetan population of Ch'ing-hai and points out that there is a sharp difference between the language of the agrarian Tibetans *(roṅ-skad)* and that of the nomadic Tibetans *('brog-skad)*. The first is generally characterized by the absence of prefixes and the disappearance of a considerable number of final consonants, whereas in the latter these prefixes and final consonants have mostly been conserved. Both *roṅ-skad* and *'brog-skad* can be subdivided into further dialects, but the groups speaking the different agrarian dialects can understand one another and we find no significant difference between the dialects spoken by the nomadic tribes either, except for the Go-log. (The Go-log, in my opinion, should not be regarded as a Tibetan dialect but only as a closely related language. See also Thomas, *Nam*, London 1948, pp. 88—89).

2. The bulk of the study (pp. 194—200) is devoted to the dialect spoken by the nomadic part of the dPa-ri tribe. Hermanns describes the phonetic characteristics of this dialect relying upon his own observations on the one hand, and on the basis of a Tibetan manuscript dealing with this dialect, on the other. Data taken from these two different sources are dealt with together and are not always kept apart. In certain cases he does, indeed, refer to the manuscript but in several other passages he omits to do so, though it is easy to reveal the traces of the script-phonetical conception of Tibetan grammars in them, as for instance : «Beide *a* sind Vokalträger. Das „kleine *'a*" ist ein geschlossenes *a* wie in Gabe . . . Steht beim „kleinem *'a*" der Vokal *o* oder *u* so wird ein Vorschlag von *w* oder *ch* gebildet . . . Das „grosse *a*" ist ein explosives, offenes *a* wie in Gast . . . Ist das „grosse *a*" Vokalträger, dann steht immer der reine Vokal» (p. 197). Fortunately, this extent of mixing up the two sources does not exclude in most of the cases the possibility of telling apart the data obtained by Hermanns' own observations and those taken from the manuscript. Since, however, Hermanns quotes only some parts of the manuscript and includes very few data collected by himself, we are, unfortunately, not in a position to investigate the material of the two sources separately and to confront systematically the results which we would obtain by this method. This is the more to be regretted as such confrontation could contribute to a more correct appraisal of the grammars written in Tibetan, moreover, in case of the manuscript being an ancient one, one would be enabled to study the history of the dialect (as to the origin of the manuscript there are, unfortunately, no comments in the study). Tibetan linguists would be greatly indebted to Mr. M. Hermanns if he prepared and published a critical edition of the manuscript in his possession dealing with the dPa-ri dialect. In addition to this, further *Feldarbeit* would be necessary to collect more material than contained in the study. This could be achieved by new on-the-spot collections because the majority of Hermanns' ethnographic and linguistic data are lost.

Hermanns' data collected by himself and published in this study of his are partly descriptions of sounds, partly words recorded to illustrate them. His phonetic observations are, in fact, exact even if his technical terms are sometimes not quite adequate. He, for instance, includes the so-called «ich-» and «ach-Laut» (*χ́* and *χ*) in the concept of aspiration : «*py* = *pch*, *spyañ ku*, Wolf, = *pchang-ku* (*ch* wird wie *ch* in ich ausgesprochen). *phy* = *phch* ; *ph*[*y*]*ogs*, Seite, = *phchoch (phch* ist stärker aspiriert als *pch)*» (p. 198 ; —

according to this «*pch*» = *pχ* would also be an aspirate!); the vowels *ä*, *ö* and *ü* he calls diphthongs (p. 200). The spelling of the dPa-ri words follows the German spelling which entails the disadvantage that identic letters are applied to sounds clearly distinguished in his phonetic description. The letter «*ch*», for instance, is used to denote the sounds *γ*, *χ*, and *χ́*: «Geht dem *ba* das Präfix *d* voran, dann wird es wie *chwa* gesprochen. B.: *dben pa*, Einsamkeit, = *chwäm pa*. Das *ch* ist weich gleich einem Zäpfchen *-r* . . . Im Gegensatz dazu lautet das als *chwa* gesprochene *dpa* wie *ch* in „ach"» (p. 196; for denoting *χ́* by «*ch*» see previous quotation). Here I should mention a few instances in which, I think, the spelling of the dialectal form has been distorted under the influence of the written form in the classical language. According to p. 197 the prefix '- («*a*») has no phonetic value, and no exceptions are mentioned to this rule, nevertheless on p. 195 we find dPa-ri «*a'ljich bkhar*» 'zerstören' — presumably under the influence of the Cl. T. '*jig-par*. I feel inclined to give the same reason for the form dPa-ri *rgyal-wo* 'König' (∼ Cl. T. *rgyal-po* 'id.' on p. 196) because according to p. 198 the equivalent of Cl. T. *gy* is dPa-ri «*tj*» (ɔ : *ʧ*) and because the phonetic description gives the impression that in the dPa-ri dialect neither *gy* (*gi̯*) nor *ǵ* is known. A few data contradict one another, e. g. on p. 196 where the dPa-ri equivalents of the Cl. T. *m* are dealt with we find the form dPa-ri «*mnyi*» 'Mensch'. Contrary to this when treating of vocalism (p. 200) Hermanns writes: «Die Vokale *e* und *i* werden manchmal verwechselt: *me*, Feuer, = *mi*; *mi*, Mensch, = *me*». (Would **mńe* "man" and **mńi* 'fire' be the real dPa-ri forms?)

Despite these insufficiencies which can usually be corrected, by collating the phonetic descriptions with the words recorded, Hermanns' report is very valuable because it is the first report on Ch'ing-hai Tibetan which keeps apart the words belonging to different dialects and which contains sufficient data to form a general conception of at least the main features of the phonetics of this dialect.[1] The dialect itself is of extreme interest. Here I want to call attention to only one of its specific features: to dPa-ri the final consonant clusters *-ld*, *-nd* are familiar, e. g.: *rold* 'seitlich', *šind* 'sehr

[1] The vocabularies of Prževalskij (in N. v Prschewalski, *Reisen in der Mongolei im Gebiet der Tanguten und der Wüsten Nordtibets*², Jena 1881, pp. 333—338), Széchenyi (*Összehasonlító szótár* in *Gróf Széchenyi Béla keletázsiai útjának tudományos eredménye, 1877—1880*, Budapest 1897, Vol. III, pp. 355—361 and *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* in *Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien, 1877—1880, nach dem im Jahre 1897 erschienenen ungarischen Originale*, Wien 1898, III. Bd., pp. 420—426) and Rockhill (*Peculiarities of the Amdowa and Panak'a Pronounciation* in his *The Land of the Lamas*, London 1891, pp. 362—367) mix up the data of the different dialects. Georges de Roerich refers to the origin of his data but the number of words recorded does not amount even to ten from each dialect (data from the Amdo and the Pa-nag dialects in his *Modern Tibetan Phonetics with Special Reference to the Dialect of Central Tibetan: JPASB* N. S. XXVII [1931], pp. 285—309).

D'Ollone's An-shun-kuan vocabulary (Voc. No 40 in D'Ollone—De Fleurel—Lepage—De Boyve, *Langues des peuples non chinois de la Chine*, Paris 1912) conveys a homogeneous material with abundant data but this dialect, being closely connected with those spoken in Ch'ing-hai, is not used within the borders of this province. The homogeneous data of Jäschke (*Dict.*, pp. XVI—XXI and *Über die Phonetik der tibetischen Sprache: Monatsber. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. W.* 1867, pp. 148—182) marked "Khams" represent a dialect which also shows close affinity with those of Ch'ing-hai, such as dPa-ri. For the time being the place where this „Khams" dialect is spoken cannot be ascertained though Hermanns advances noteworthy arguments to prove the Ch'ing-hai origin of Jäschke's data (the study being reviewed, p. 201; *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Wien 1949, p. 1).

viel' (p. 198).[2] The value of the report is enhanced by some delicate observations of the author such as the description of the influence exerted by the written form on the speech of a person well versed in the literary language : in the dPa-ri dialect the regular pronounciation is *go* 'Tür' and *goṅ* 'Ei' but in the speech of literate persons one may hear also such forms as *sgo*, resp. *sgoṅ* which correspond to the written forms (p. 199).

3. In the last part of his study Hermanns criticizes the classification I put forth in my paper *Kelet-Tibet nyelvjárásainak osztályozása ; The Classification of the Dialects of Eastern Tibetan*, Budapest 1949 (which I will refer to as *CDET*). He controverts, first of all, the adequacy of my sources concerning Ch'ing-hai, that is, of the vocabularies of Prževalskij and Széchenyi. The two vocabularies in question, as I stressed in my paper, leave much to be desired in phonetical respect and, what more, their material is heterogeneous which is still worse. Nevertheless, I believe, contrary to Hermanns' opinion, that for the time being in dialectological and historical research we cannot dispense with their data because they acquaint us with such dialectal phenomena of which we do not possess yet more exact recordings. In order to make a good use of the two vocabularies, their material must be ordered and systematized, the value and the origin of their data as well as their relation to other dialects clarified as far as possible. This was the point my classification, covering not only Széchenyi's and Prževalskij's vocabularies but the whole Eastern Tibetan material, was aiming at.

Hermanns disagrees with my classification not only for the above-mentioned reasons but also because in his opinion «die beiden Provinzen A mdo und Khams sind geographisch, völkisch und sprachlich scharf getrennt», consequently «auf Grund der geographischen, völkischen und sprachlichen Unterschiede» he deems it necessary to distinguish a North Eastern (Amdo) and a South Eastern (Khams) dialectal group (p. 201) which substantially differs from my classification.

Language and its laws are, naturally, inseparable from society, from the different spheres of social existence and its laws, but both language and other social phenomena have their own inner laws. Therefore, the connection of linguistic phenomena with other social phenomena can be accounted for only if we disclose the peculiarities, the inner laws of both language and other social phenomena. Consequently, in the classification of dialects we have to take the linguistic phenomena as our starting point. Only in this way shall we be enabled to reveal the correct relations between dialectal and ethnical distribution. If, on the other hand, we directly and a priori enforce ethnographical and geographical considerations in the classification of dialects, as is the case with Hermanns, then we put difficulties into the way of the disclosure of the specific feature of, and the preception of the real connections between, the different phenomena.

Besides his theoretical statement Hermanns gives no concrete data in support of his classification. The characteristics on the strength of which he makes a sharp linguistic difference between the agrarian and the nomadic Tibetan of Ch'ing-hai contradict the conception according to which the principal dialectal boundary should be laid between Hsi-kang (Khams) and Ch'ing-hai (Amdo). The two characteristic features of the agrarian dialects emphasized by Hermanns — the absence of prefixes and the disappearance of the final consonants — connect these dialects, in our opinion, not with the nomadic dialects of Ch'ing-hai but with those of Hsi-kang and Central Tibet, moreover, as we shall point out in detail (pp. 313—314), there can be no question of a homogeneous North Eastern dialectal type.

[2] These two examples, unfortunately, are too few to decide whether the dPa-ri *-d* is indeed the shortened terminative case-ending *-du* as stated by Hermanns, perhaps on the basis of the manuscript, or should we see the Old Tibetan *da-draŋ* in it.

4. Though I cannot agree with Hermanns' criticism and with the principle his classification is based upon, I myself find it necessary to rectify now in several essential aspects my classification as given in the *CDET*. The word equivalents and sound equivalents I have established still hold good, on the whole, but ought to be completed with data taken from sources I could not make use of when writing my paper,[3] in the first place, with the dPa-ri data since published by Hermanns. The insufficiency of the data, however, has led me to a conclusion, that is, to the establishment of a working hypothesis that has to be discarded on the strength of recent proofs. In order to tell apart Széchenyi's and Prževalskij's heterogeneous data I had to resort to the hypothesis that certain phonetic criteria are incident to one another not only in the Hsi-kang, Ssŭ-ch'uan and Yünnan dialects known from vocabularies from homogeneous material but also in the Ch'ing-hai dialects represented in Széchenyi's and Prževalskij's vocabularies. That was why I assumed that the equivalences Cl. T. *m(ö)* ~ Eastern Tibetan *m-* and the Cl. T. *zl* ~ Eastern Tibetan *(l)d-*, on the one hand, and the Cl. T. *m(ö)* ~ Eastern Tibetan *(m)ń* and the Cl. T. *zl* ~ Eastern Tibetan *(r)ʒ, (r)c*, on the other, go together *(CDET*, pp. 22—23). It is, however, evident from Hermanns' report that in Ch'ing-hai we have a dialect, the dPa-ri, in which the equivalence *mń* ~ Cl. T. *m(ö)* is combined with the equivalence *d* and *ʰl* ~ Cl. T. *zl* (the study being reviewed, pp. 196 and 199). Thus my working hypothesis which in the given circumstances was practicable and useful cannot be maintained, consequently the part based on this hypothesis in my classification, that is, my statements concerning the dialects of Ch'ing-hai should be considered erroneous.

I consider my classification inadequate not only with respect to the Ch'ing-hai dialects but, on the whole, from a methodological point of view as well. The seven criteria (the equivalents of Cl. T. *py, phy, by; kr, khr, gr; pr, phr, br; m(ö)* [< O. T. *my(ö)*] and of *zl* as well as the behaviour of prefixes) chosen to serve as bases for the classification were correctly selected because they all represent phonetic characteristics showing up identical equivalents in several dialects which, at the same time, are not identical all over the linguistic area.[4] In the mechanism of classification and in the application of these criteria, however, I did not pursue the right path. I have mechanically disconnected the problem of the «Relation of the dialects of Eastern Tibet to the other Tibetan dialects», that is, the question of classification of all Tibetan dialects *(CDET*,

[3] These are : 1) Roerich, *op. cit.* — 2) The above-mentioned vocabulary of Rockhill. When writing my *CDET* I had to be contented with my old and incomplete excerpts from this vocabulary, and since they contained mostly philosophical and religious terms I came to the conclusion that Rockhill's vocabulary was made up of local bookish reading-forms and therefore I did not include them in my paper (see *CDET*, p. 7). Meantime I succeeded in getting hold of Rockhill's work and could convince myself of the incorrectness of my former views (nevertheless, the data in the *Tibetan Syllabary, with Pronounciation of Lh'asa, Bat'ang and the Tsarong* in Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 368—370 should still be regarded as local bookish reading-forms). — 3) Wen Yu, *Phonetic changes of the Superadded and the Prefixed Letters in Eastern Tibetan Dialect: Studia Serica* V (1946). — 4) Wen Yu, *Studies in Tibetan phonetics, Sde-dge Dialect: Studia Serica* VII (1948), pp. 63—78. — 5) Prince Henri d'Orléans, *Tibetan Vocabulary, at Tseku, End of August [1896]* in his *From Tonkin to India*, London 1898, pp. 443—446, col. no. 25. — We have to exclude from Eastern Tibetan source-material H. R. Davies' «Yün-nan Tibetan or Ku-tsung» data *(Yün-nan, the Link between India and the Yangtze*, Cambridge 1909, Appendix I, pp. 1—4, col. 4) as long as it is not made clear whether it does contain a Tibetan dialect or not for, in my opinion, half or the two thirds of the data cannot be explained from Tibetan.

[4] It would be desirable to include as criteria the presence or absence of tone as well as the behaviour of the final consonants. This, however, is not yet possible for lack of sufficient material.

pp. 7—17), from the question of the «Inner division of the Eastern Tibetan dialectal group» *(CDET*, pp. 17—24) and in conformity with this I have set up two groups of criteria. On the one hand I used the dialectal equivalences of the sound-series Cl. T. *py, phy, by* and of the *ra-btags*es to establish the main groups of the Tibetan dialects and, on the other hand, applied the criteria such as the behaviour of the prefixes as well as the equivalents of the Cl. T. *m(ö)* and *zl* to subdivide the «Eastern-Tibetan» group. In dividing my criteria I was one-sided and took the Eastern Tibetan dialects for my starting point. Due to this fact, in establishing the principal dialectal groups, I considered only such criteria as to which the Eastern Tibetan dialects — except for Jäschke's «Khams» dialect (and for the dPa-ri) — displayed homogeneous equivalents. Furthermore, in my classification, I made no point of the fact — though I was aware of it *(CDET*, p. 25) — that the boundaries of the different dialectal phenomena intersect. Thus my classification was drily schematic, i. e. it did not objectively reflect the complicated interrelations of the dialects and did not illustrate adequately the different separating and unifying tendencies governing the division of the Tibetan dialects. Nevertheless, these are exactly the requirements of a correct classification of dialects. It follows from this that the dialectal groups should be delimited not on the basis of single criteria but on the strength of the entirety of several criteria covering the whole Tibetan linguistic area.

The sound equivalences put forth in the *CDET* — if completed with Rockhill's most important data and with the sound equivalences established in Hermanns' paper reviewed here and in Wen Yu's study of the Derge dialect — seem to be homogeneous enough[5] to authorize, without further phonetic investigation, a classification, based on correct principles, that would temporarily serve as an orientation in the material at our disposal concerning the Tibetan dialects. The confrontation and grouping of the above mentioned data yield the following picture :[6]

A.) *Western Archaic Group* (Balti and Purik) : 1) *py*, 2) *kr*, 3) *tr*, 4) *pr*, 5) *m*, 6) *lz*, *lʒ*, 7) prefixes are generally pronounced.

B.) *Western Transitional Dialects :*

a) *Sham dialect :* 1) *py*, 2) *tr*[6a], 4) *pr*[6a], 7) prefixes are generally pronounced.

b) *Ladakhī* (Leh and Rong dialect) : 1) *č*, 2) *tr/ṭ*, 3) *tr/ṭ*, 4) *tr/ṭ*, 5) *m*, 6) *ld*, 7) pefixes are generally pronounced.

C.) *Central Group*

a) *Central Sub-Group* (Lahulī[7], Nyamkat, Kāgate, Garhwal, Jaḍ, Spiti, Central Tibetan) : 1) *č/č*[7], 2) *tr/ṭ*[r]*/ṭ/ṭ*[7], 3) *tr/ṭ*[r]*/ṭ/ṭ*[7], 4) *tr/ṭ*[r]*/ṭ/ṭ*[7] (Kāgate *pr*?), 5) *m*, 6) *d/ḍ*[7], 7) prefixes have vanished altogether.

[5] From among the other sources concerning Eastern Tibetan not included in the *CDET* the words in Roerich, *op. cit.*, owing to their sporadicity, are not suitable for classification purposes. As to Orléans, *op. cit.*, it can be disregarded because in phonetical respect it conveys nothing new about the Tsŭ-ku dialect. The data of Wen Yu : *Stud. Ser.* V. are, unfortunately, not available to us.

[6] In our scheme the dialectal equivalences have the following order : the equivalents of 1) Cl. T. *py, phy, by*, 2) *kr, khr, gr*, 3) *dr*, 4) *pr, phr, br ;* 5) *m(ö)* [< O. T. *my(ö)*], 6) *zl*, 7) the behaviour of the prefixes. For perspicuity's sake in dialectal equivalences we take into account the place of formation only and disregard aspiration and voiced or voiceless character. Thus, for instance, *kr* stands to symbolize both *kr, kʿr, gr* and *gr*. Data from mixed vocabularies (Prževalskij, Széchenyi, Rockhill) were used only if from the point of view of our criteria they display dialectal features which are not attested elsewhere.

[6a] These are the correct equivalents as shown in the examples of the *CDET* on p. 11, but 2) *kr* and 4) *tr* on pp. 12 and 15 are incorrect. Cf. A. H. Francke, *A Language Map of West Tibet with Notes: JASB* LXXIII (1904), Pt. I, p. 363.

b) *Southern Sub-Group* (Dänjong-kä and Lhoke) : 1) *py*, 2) *ky*, 3) *ṭ*, 4) *ṭ*, 5) *m*, 6) *d*, 7) prefixes have vanished altogether.

D.) *South Eastern Group* (Dəsgodins' vocabulary, Dialects of Tsŭ-ku, Ta-chien-lu and Derge) : 1) *š*/*s̈*[8], 2) *čr*/*c̣*/*č*[9], 3) *čr*/*c̣*/*č*[9], 4) *čr*/*z̈*/*č*[9], 5) *m*[10], 6) *d*, 7) prefixes have vanished in general except for a few phonetic positions.[11]

E.) *North Eastern Dialects:*

a) *Dialects connected with the South Eastern Group:*

α) Dialect of An-shuen-kuan : 1) *š*, 2) *č*, 3) *č*, 4) *č*, 5) *ń*, 6) *c*, 7) prefixes are not pronounced. (Cf. also Ec. and Ed!)

β) A part of Prževalskij's, Széchenyi's and Rockhill's compilations : 1) *pś*[12], 4) *pč*. (Cf. also Ec!)

b) *Dialects connected with the Central Sub Group:* the «Khams» dialect recorded by Jäschke : 1) *č*, 2) *ṭ*, 3) *ṭ*, 4) *ṭ*, 5) *m*, 6) *ld*, 7) all prefixes are pronounced.

c) *dPa-ri dialect:* 1) *pχ*[13], 2) *tr*[14], 3) *dr*[14], 4) *ptr*[14], 5) *mń* [15], 6) *d*, *hl*[16], 7) prefixes are generally pronounced[17].

d) *One of the Ch'ing-hai dialects, recorded by Prževalskij:* 6) *rʒ*.

It appears from our scheme that in the central and South Western parts of the Tibetan linguistic area neologisms have developed in great numbers whereas in the Western and North Eastern, and, to a lesser degree, in the Southern marginal parts of this linguistic area archaisms have been conserved. The Central and South Western areas related by a considerable number of common neologisms which fact, however, does not prevent us from drawing a sharp boundary line between them. Neologisms that had cropped up on the Central and South Western territories made their way towards the Western, Southern and North Eastern archaic areas. In the West we can observe a gradual transition between the Central Group and the very archaic Balti and Purik dialects. In the South the number of archaisms conserved is rather small, and the dialects show very marked characteristics of the Central Group. In the North Eastern parts the different archaisms, and such neologisms as are characteristic of the Central Group, as well as neologisms that characterize the South Eastern Group have resulted in a complicated fabric of isoglosses to such an extent that there can be no question of a homogeneous North Eastern dialectal type — as Hermanns suggests. It is noteworthy that in several North Eastern and Western dialects a certain number of neologisms pointing towards the Central Group, resp., the South Eastern Group present themselves

[7] For Lahulī see G. Roerich, *Dialects of Tibet; the Tibetan Dialect of Lahul*, New-York—Naggar [1933] : *Tibetica* I, pp. 6, 8, 12—13, 19—20. Also 1) *pⁱ*, 2) *kr*, 4) *pr* are met with as archaized variants in the Lahulī folklore and in some words even in everyday use ; an occasional variant (a new tendency ?) is represented by 2—4) *čʳ* (ibid. pp. 4—6). — Lahulī can be included in the Central Group only as far as its phonetic characteristics are concerned whereas morphologically it is closely related to the Western Transitional Dialects and the Western Archaic Group.

[8] Wen Yu : *Stud. Ser.* VII, p. 65.

[9] Wen Yu : *Stud. Ser.* VII, p. 65 ; as an occasional variant we find also Derge *ṭ*.

[10] Wen Yu : *Stud. Ser.* VII, p. 64.

[11] Wen Yu : *Stud. Ser.* VII, pp. 64—67, 73.

[12] Rockhill *psyaṅ* ~ Cl. T. *'byaṅ* 'clean'.

[13] The paper being reviewed, p. 198.

[14] The paper being reviewed, p. 199.

[15] The paper being reviewed, p. 196 (but cf. p. 200 and in the recent review, p 309). We find similar data in Przevalskij's and Széchenyi's vocabularies *(CDET*, pp. 20—21, 22—24).

[16] The paper being reviewed, p. 199.

[17] The paper being reviewed, pp. 197 and 199.

in a more archaic form than in the Central, resp., the South Eastern Group themselves (Cl. T. *py* ~ Rockhill *pś*; Cl. T. *pr* ~ Rockhill, Széchenyi, Prževalskij *pč*; Cl. T. *lz* ~ Ladakhī *ld*, «Khams» *ld*). All this goes to show that formerly the influence of Central and South Eastern dialects had penetrated further West and North East than they had in a later period.

Finally I wish to stress once more the temporary character of my present classification the more so that from a considerable part of the Tibetan linguistic area we have no data whatsoever. The definite classification of the Tibetan dialects would require the collection of very expensive material on the spot.

G. Uray

P. Aalto, *A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature — Reprinted from Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr Sven Hedin — The Sino-Swedish Expedition — Publication 38* — Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm 1953. p. 69—108.

Cette oeuvre de l'auteur fait connaître les manuscrits, les xylographes et les imprimés mongols de la collection Hedin déposée au Statens Etnografiska Museum de Stockholm.

L'introduction nous apprend que la matière fut recueillie de 1893 à 1951 par les membres des expéditions Hedin. La collection se compose en grande partie d'oeuvres bouddhiques canoniques ou non-canoniques et, en outre, de quelques textes modernes et de caractère laïque traduits du chinois, du japonais ou du mandchou. Les oeuvres proviennent en grande partie de la Mongolie Intérieure, plusieurs sont sorties de l'imprimerie du monastère *Song-tchou-sseu* de Pékin et, comme l'attestent les colophons, la plus ancienne date de 1666 et la plus récente de 1947. L'auteur donne des renseignements précis sur la forme, l'étendue et les dimensions des ouvrages sus-mentionnés. Comme la matière publiée fait partie des produits de la littérature mongole de traduction, l'auteur a tâché, dans la mesure du possible, de donner les titres des oeuvres dans chacune des trois langues «saintes» : le mongol, le tibétian et le sanskrit, ce qui facilite l'identification des textes. L'index alphabétique figurant à la fin du catalogue est d'un bon service.

La collection contient un grand nombre de textes bilingues, des oeuvres tibétaines pourvues d'une traduction mongole complète ou partielle, ainsi par exemple *Bodhi mör* (H. 3527), *Tegüs čoγtu ökin tngri* (H. 1191 B), *Sayin mör-tür oruqu-yin ubadis* (H. 3222) etc.

Dans la collection, certains ouvrages figurent en plusieurs exemplaires : *Rasiyan-u jirüken*, *Gzuṅ sdus*, *Bodhi mör*, *Yamantaka*, *Čaγan lingqua-yin üliger* etc. La comparaison de ces oeuvres, le collationnement des textes provenant d'époques différentes et traduit par des auteurs différents enrichit de données nouvelles l'histoire de la littérature et de la langue littéraire mongoles.

Les colophons écrits en vers peuvent compter sur un intérêt tout particulier. Ainsi le colophon du manuscrit *Milaboγda-yin sudur* muni de la cote H. 1058 A :

qutuγtu milaraspa-yin ene silüg-üd-i
qočurli ügei nom-un daγurisqu-yin ene süsüg-üd-i
qotala olan amitan-a sonusqu-yin ene čimeg-üd-i
qadqulaγči manu niswanis-i sayitur ariltuγai (ene toγuǰu ber).

On trouve dans la collection des traductions qui sont déjà connues grâce à d'autres sources, mais qui facilitent la mise en oeuvre de la matière recueillie. Ainsi, par exemple, le *Sayitur nomladqui erdeniyin sang kemekü šastir* (29. 21. 140), variante torgoute-kalmouck du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, dont A. Bobrovnikov, dans sa grammaire, a déjà donné des specimens (А. Бобровников, Грамматика монгольско-калмыцкого языка. Казань-1849, pp. 44—45).

La littérature bouddhique populaire est représentée par des formules d'enchantement, des textes *tarni*, *(Badarangγui ušniša neretü tarni)*, des publications religieuses de courte haleine *(Ökin tngri-yin sudur, Yeke nigülesügči bütügel-ün arγa* etc.), des prières et des credos *(Itegel sudur)*.

La collection comprend encore quelques oeuvres de caractère astrologique, plus ou moins courtes et souvent illustrée (H. 5821—22, 5831, 5833—35, sans titre).

Les produits de la littérature médicale tibéto-mongole sont : le *Em-ün neres ba čidal ögülegsen debter*, le *Em-ün dörben ündüsün* (textes tibétain et mongol parallèles) et le *Rasiyan-u ǰirüken*.

Plusieurs textes traduits du chinois attendent encore d'être identifiés. Ces oeuvres sont pour la plupart d'origine laïque.

La matière du catalogue de M. Aalto, tout comme la majorité des produits de langue mongole littéraire, date de la seconde moitié du XVII^{e} siècle et du XVIII^{e}. Cela signifie qu'à cette époque la littérature mongole de traduction a été l'objet d'une nouvelle et forte impulsion, particulièrement dans la Mongolie Intérieure. Ceci est vrai, mais en examinant les textes de plus près nous trouvons en maints endroits des archaïsmes orthographiques.

Ainsi, nous avons *linqu-a* (H. 1130) au lieu du *lingqu-a*, orthographe régulière ; ce phénomène est encore plus apparent dans *čiγulγan-u linqu-a-i* (H. 72), ou la seule connaissance de l'orthographe classique suggèrerait plutôt la leçon incorrecte *liγad*, ainsi que le transcrit par ailleurs M. Aalto. Les phénomènes de ce genre prouvent que les grandes traductions des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles ne sont pas toutes contemporaines mais qu'elles datent d'une époque plus ancienne, antérieure à l'avènement des Mandchous ; ce sont donc les remaniements d'anciennes traductions dans lesquelles se sont introduits des mots anciens, des formes orthographiques ou des constructions grammaticales archaïqes. Citons à titre d'exemple *irege edügüi* (H. 1131), et bien d'autres constructions du même genre qu'on peut trouver dans les anciens textes de *Bodhicaryāvatāra* et de *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*.

Il serait intéressant d'examiner la matière de la collection Hedin du point de vue orthographique ; malheureusement les colophons publiés dans la transcription de l'auteur ne sont pas susceptibles de subir un tel examen, car son système de transcription ne peut donner une image fidèle de l'orthographe.

Nous devons mentionner que nous ne sommes pas entièrement d'accord avec la transcription de M. Aalto. Comme l'auteur le dit, il applique en général le système utilisé dans les derrièrs ouvrages de Ramstedt. Cependant, à notre avis, il n'est pas permis de renoncer, par exemple, à distinguer le *g* du *γ*, signes nettement différenciés dans l'écriture mongole. Ces deux signes révèlent souvent à elles seules si le mot appartient à la série palatale ou à la série vélaire ; ainsi nous pouvons constater que la leçon *takimlig* (H. 75 etc.) est hors de cause, car le signe *g*, à la fin du mot, ne permet que la leçon *tegimlig*, leçon seule correcte, appuyée aussi par l'ouigour. Ainsi le *γ* (signe graphique de l'occlusive et de spirante vélaires) et le *g* (signe de l'occlusive et de la spirante palatales) sans être deux phonèmes, dans orthographe mongole, sont des «graphèmes» qui se conforment strictement à la structure phonétique du mot, et en sont ainsi des signes distinctifs

importants de l'écriture ouigouro-mongole. Ceci est particulièrement important lorsqu'il s'agit de mots inconnus.

La transcription ž — employée par M. Aalto à la place du ǯ de Ramstedt — peut induire en erreur le lecteur, puisqu'il correspond à un son d'une valeur toute différente dans les textes tibétains parallèles.

Dans les textes transcrits, M. Aalto propose souvent des leçons qui, indépendamment de son système de transcription, sont inacceptables : *tegri* au lieu de *tngri ; tegün* au lieu de *tegüs* (p. e. H. 3532 : *tegün süsüg) ; qasigutan* (H. 72) au lieu de *yasiγudan ; ugugada* (H. 74—75) au lieu de *uγuγata ; nogai* (H. 76) au lieu de *noqai ; sidurqu* (H. 1058 D) au lieu de *siduryu ; gurbatugar* (H. 1068 A) au lieu de *γurbaduyar ; čigula* (H. 1130) au lieu de *čiqula ; edkü, degsi, bagadur, solongan a, ojina, ürgülči, žegüdgekü̈i* (H. 1131) au lieu de *edgü, tegsi, bayatur, solongγ-a, üyes, ürgülji, yegüdkekü̈i ; ordu, ažitu* (H. 1187) au lieu de *urtu, ačitu ; iladda (passim)* au lieu de *iledte ; dagalal* (H. 3310 B) au lieu de *tayalal ; orčigulan a* (H. 3513 a) au lieu de *orčiγuly-a ; gejid, kežijenggüjilen* (H. 3521) au lieu de *keyid, kečiyenggüyilen ; tebden* (H. 3544 b) au lieu de *dabtan ; ogtargui luga seče* (H. 3532) au lieu de *oγtaryui-luγa sača ; ürgülčide* (H. 5830), dans la ligne suivante *örgülčide*, au lieu de *ürgülǰide ; qataqatu* (H. 3544 c) et *gatan a* (15, 1, 697) au lieu de *γadaγadu* et *γadan-a ; üčügügen, garigulqui* (15, 1, 698) au lieu de *üčügüken* et *qariγulqui* etc., etc.

L'essence du catalogue se trouve dans les colophons. Dans les recherches relatives à la formation et à l'histoire de la langue littéraire mongole, la publication et la mise en oeuvre des colophons est une étape fort importante ; jusqu'à nos jours ce sont les colophons qui constituent la documentation et les guides les plus précieux dans ce domaine. C'est pourquoi le catalogue de M. Aalto qui, en nous faisant connaître la matière mongole de la collection Hedin, est d'une grande utilité et marque un pas nouveau dans les recherches des sources principales de la littérature mongole de traduction, de la langue littéraire mongole.

G. Kara

Монгольская Народная Республика. Сборник статей. Ответственный редактор : И. Я. Златкин. Москва, Изд. АН СССР, 1952. 399 стр., 1 карта (АН СССР Институт Востоковедения).

Настоящий сборник статей по своей форме не является ни пионерским трудом, ни первой попыткой по обработке вопросов, касающихся Монголии. За год до его публикации в Уланбаторе был издан подобный же сборник, под заглавием «30 лет Монгольской Народной Революции, 1921—1952 », в котором монгольские авторы рассматривают тридцатилетнее развитие страны с точки зрения политики, экономики и культуры. Девять статей настоящего сборника были написаны советскими историками и экономистами с целью ознакомить широкие слои публики с достижениями монгольского народа.

Для монголистов самым интересным является этюд Н. П. Шастины «История изучения Монгольской Народной Республики (Краткий очерк)». В Советском Союзе монголистика имеет старинные традиции. В возникновении этих традиций большую роль сыграли — помимо выдающихся русских ученых — значительная поддержка, которая была оказана исследователям тогдашними русскими органами, прежде всего Русским Географическим Обществом, а также и географическое расположение страны, являющееся весьма удобным с этой точки зрения.

Статья Шастины подразделяется на две части. В первой излагаются взаимные отношения монголов и русских, начиная от начала XVII столетия, когда первые русские

миссии посетили лагери кочующих близ границы русской империи монголов, и вкратце описывается деятельность русских монголистов, в том числе столь выдающихся как Бичурин, Ковалевский, Кафаров, Потанин, Гольстунский, Владимирцов и т. п. Вторая часть статьи охватывает период, истекший от ревлюции 1917 г. вплоть до времени, предыдущего опубликованию сочинения, с указанием тех лингвистических, филологических, географических, этнографических и других исследований, которые были проведены советскими монголистами вышеупомянутого периода. В выносках статьи приведена краткая, но весьма ценная библиография названных монголистов. При чтении этой статьи сильно чувствуется необходимость наличия или хоть попытки на составление труда, в котором была бы обработана история международной монголистики.

Остальные статьи сборника посвящены истории последних 30 лет, примерно с 1921 до 1951 г.

А. Т. Якимов, рассматривая 30-летнюю деятельность Монгольской Народной Революционной Партии, представляет нам ее организаторов и вождей, Сухэ Батора и Чойбалсана с описанием их борьбы за победу монгольской народной революции, за подъем монгольского народа.

Сельское хозяйство является самым важным фактором монгольской экономики. Его положение описывается в статье Ф. С. Цаплина. К этой статье, написанной очень наглядно, приложены многочисленные таблицы и статистические данные, которые освещают деятельность монгольских земледельческих и зооводческих колхозов при повседневном практическом применении результатов научных исследований в области сельского хозяйства. В других статьях трактуется о различных вопросах монгольской экономики. И. Г. Юрьев ознакомляет нас с положением государственной и кооперативной промышленности, Ф. С. Цаплин — с проблемами транспорта и связи а Н. Т. Варгин — с вопросами торговли и развития финансов.

С особенной же радостью мы встретили отчет И. Н. Устюжанинова о «Культуре монгольского народа». В нем — в соответствии с назначением сборника — вкратце просмотрены все проблемы, касающиеся музыкальной, художественной и культурной жизни в Монголии, причем нарисована и картина о развитии монгольской науки за последние 30 лет.

Мы убеждены — и это наше убеждение подкреплено опытом последних лет — что в каждой стране, рано или поздно, отечественные ученые приобретут решающее значение, как бы ни были значительны успехи, достигнутые зарубежными исследователями. В бывших колониальных или полуколониальных странах Востока вскоре после обретения независимости на наших глазах совершился процесс образования коллективов молодых и талантливых ученых, успехи которых не только достигли уровня прежних исследований, но во многих случаях даже и превысили их.

Научная жизнь Монголии едва ли превышает 30-летний период. Ее возникновение и развертывание вкратце описаны в статье Устюжанинова. Комитет Наук (ранее : Ученый Комитет) был образован непосредственно после революции 1921 г. Вначале он состоял из 13 членов, но с течением времени это число не без трудностей повысилось, и теперь в его работах принимает участие свыше 100 исследователей — в число которых входят члены и члены корреспонденты комитета, научные сотрудники и аспиранты. Комитет представляет монгольскую науку, и его деятельность заслуживает серьезного внимания всех заграничных монголистов.

Попутно с этим необходимо упомянуть и о Государственной Библиотеке, в которой имеется материал, состоящий из 150 тысяч очень ценных для монголистов томов.

Отрадно было узнать, что Комитет Наук приступил уже к опубликованию исторических и литературных памятников монгольского народа. Среди этих публикаций вышли из печати между прочим и «Алтан тобчи» и «Сокровенное сказание монголов».

Новые, но, к сожалению, малоизвестные нам сведения имеются в статье Г. И. Михайлова о современной монгольской художественной литературе. Целый ряд писателей и поэтов упоминается в статье с обильным перечислением их трудов и обработанных ими сюжетов. При чтении статьи получается впечатление, что среди современных публикаций монгольской художественной литературы находится немало произведений, которые — выросши из узких рамок местной известности — заслуживают интереса и заграничной публики.

Сборник статей дополнен ценным приложением, содержащим Конституцию Монгольской Народной Республики, созданную в 1940 году, программу и устав Монгольской Народной Революционной Партии, далее полный текст договоров, заключенных с Советским Союзом о дружбе и взаимопомощи, равно как и об экономическом и культурном сотрудничестве обеих стран.

Очень полезной является таблица, содержащая даты важнейших событий монгольской истории (1893—1952). К сборнику приложен и словарь, в котором объяснены монгольские слова и выражения, встречающиеся в тексте статей. Обильный и тщательно составленный иллюстративный материал, свидетельствует о заботливой работе редакции.

Й. Кун

Theodor Nöldekes Belegwörterbuch zur klassischen arabischen Sprache. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Jörg Kraemer, Two issues, Berlin 1952, 1954, Walter de Gruyter und Co. Pp. I—XXIV, 1—24 and 25—59. 4°.

It is a long-felt want in Arabic studies that the collections of words and phrases compiled by the great Arabists and inserted mostly into their copies of the current Arabic dictionaries are not available for the student. They can be justly supposed to contain very valuable additions to Arabic lexicography in etymology and semasiology. However, the publication of such lexicographical collections is a very arduous task requiring hard work and infinite patience. That is why they are the least known of the literary remains of the Orientalists.

The publication of the lexicographical material left by the famous German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke (1836—1930) had the object of filling in this gap as regards one of the most promiment German Arabists of the last generations but one. It was as early as 1930, shortly after the death of Th. Nöldeke, that, on the initiative of Professor E. Littmann, the compilation of Nöldeke's material of quotations started. The work went through different hands until 1948 when Jörg Kraemer was commissioned by the University Library of Tübingen to finish and publish it. He was assisted by several competent German scholars.

Most of the material of Nöldeke's quotations consists of insertions into his copy of G. W. Freytag's four-volume *Lexicon-arabico-latinum* (Halle 1830—37). For the second issue the «Freytag» of H. Reckendorf and the collections of A. A. Bevan were also available.

The scheme of the *Belegwörterbuch* closely follows that of Freytag's dictionary as far as the Arabic radicals are concerned. The Arabic lexicographical material is, however, not translated into Latin but into German and English. The number and extent of Nöldeke's insertions are evident from the fact that they comprise 59 pages, whereas the corresponding part in Freytag's dictionary, with a less number of lines, comprises 76 and a half pages. With the quotations the references to authors and works are precisely given, the list of them amounting to 17 pages (pp. VI—XXIII).

The two issues contain the letter *alif*. And the work has stopped at it. In the course of its printing a printed specimen of Professor August Fischer's long-awaited Arabic dictionary reached the editor from Cairo. A comparison of it with Nöldeke's «Freytag» has shown that the former contains practically all of Nöldeke's insertions and is more systematical and fuller of matter than the «Freytag» of Nöldeke. For this reason the editor and the publisher have agreed on discontinuing the *Belegwörterbuch* and publishing only the chapter containing the letter *alif*.

Even so they have rendered a valuable service to Arabic studies by editing, in a model getup, specimens from the lexicographical lore of the great master of Arabic philology, and pointing out the importance of lexicographical collections, not very showy in themselves, for the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary of Arabic.

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It is just for this reason that the publication of part of Th. Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch* has been received with especial interest in Hungary, where another famous copy of «Freytag» is kept. This is the «Freytag» of Ignace Goldziher (1850—1921).[1]

It is not out of place to refer here to the connections of Th. Nöldeke to I. Goldziher. They were good friends and mutually influenced one another in their respective research-works. Th. Nöldeke wrote 337 letters to I. Goldziher and received 200 letters from him — these being the largest items in the scientific correspondence of both these scholars. In Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch* we find references to two of Goldziher's chief works: the *Abhandlungen zur arabischen* Philologie (2 parts, Leiden 1896—99) and the *Muhammedanische Studien* (2 parts, Halle 1889—90).

It is interesting how Goldziher took possession of Freytag's dictionary. In 1868-69, at the age of 19, when he was an undergraduate of the University of Leipzig, he was commissioned by the Oriental booksellers List und Francke, the predecessors of O. Harrassowitz, to compile the descriptive catalogue of a collection of Arabic manuscripts bought by them just at that time. It was for this work that the young Goldziher was, at his own request, presented by the firm with a copy of Freytag's four-volume dictionary, a rarity even then.

Throughout his scholarly activity of half a century Goldziher was enlarging his «Freytag» with insertions until his death. The approximate periods of his insertions can be fixed by the different sorts of inks he used in the different stages of his life. Especially well discernible are his handwritten notes made with a fountain-pen he brought home from St. Louis, Mo., USA — where he lectured before the 1st International Congress of Art and Science in 1904 — and used, until his death, exclusively for insertions into his «Freytag».

Goldziher's insertions, like those of Nöldeke, consist of numerous excerpts from a wide range of classical Arabic authors. The authors' names or the titles of their works are either quoted full or are abbreviated, and are always followed by references to the volume, page, and line-number of the passages cited. The names and titles are written in Latin characters, whereas the quotations are always in Arabic characters. His remarks on or occasional translations of the words and phrases are always in German.

A comparison of the insertions of Nöldeke and Goldziher shows that — so far as the letter *alif* is concerned — they differ from one another in practically all the items.

[1] See the remarks in my papers *A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher*, JRAS, 1935, p. 154, and *Ignace Goldziher*, The Muslim World, 1951, p. 203, note 3.

Into many radicals Nöldeke's insertions are more numerous than Goldziher's. On the other hand, there is a number of items into which Goldziher's insertions are more numerous than Nöldeke's. These are the radicals *ibṭun*, *iblīsun* (which does not figure in Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch)*, *abun*, *ajara*, *akhara*, *akhun*, *akala*, *amma*, *amara*, *amala*, *amana*, *an* and *anna*, *āfa*, *āla*.

In order to show how the two «Freytags» differ in the use of the sources of the insertions, I here publish some of Goldziher's insertions.[2]

ابط Beim رفع اليد ين wird gewöhnlich sichtbar: زبيا من ابطيه *Aḥkām* 24 ; رفع يديه حيىراينا عفرتى ابفيه V : تابط سوءة التا بط ; *Hud.* 214 : 1 كانت ردية ابى هريرة التابط IS IV. I 58, 23.

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ائبليس ʿ*Antar* 7,6, 4,5 infr. نسد الا باليس ʿ*Antarroman* (Quatremère), p. 43, 12; ما ندرى من اين اقبل هذا الفارس ولا نعلم هومن الجن او من الا باليس ; صديق الا بليس Jāḳ. IV 885, 5, dasselbe wird auch Gāḥiẓ VI 52, 17 erwähnt.

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أب Pl. أَبَهَات, besonders im christl. Spracgebrauche, Or. Chr. V (1915) 318, 2. — To p. 6. 1,6 after لااب‌لك Nöldeke, *Muʿall.* 3, 35 ; *Or. Skizzen* 50, n. l. ; لابا لابيكِ *Aġānī* I 11, 3. — Ein islamischer Dichter zur Zeit des Sulejmān ibn ʿAbdalmalik sagt zu Gott: رب العباد مالنا ومالكا ✲ قد كيت تسفينا ✲ وما بدا لك ✲ انزل علينا الغيث لا ابا لك Jāḳ. I. 128, 16, s. zu أم Lammens, *Muʿāw.* 300. — *Mīzān* II 118 : Der Shāriḥ Baghdādī zu *Bānat Suʿād:* تقول العرب لا ابالك ولأب لكَ يستعمل فى التفجع والتعجب ويقال فى المدح والذم وربما قالوا لا اباك وهو بادر واما لا امّ لك فلا يقال الا فى‌الذم وحده دل على ذلك استقراء كلام العوب لاباك To 1, 7 : Erkl. *Mīzān* I 309. — P. 7, 1,5 : Nawawī ad Muslim I 123 : جواز قول الرجل الآخر بأ بى انت وأمّى [يعنى فى الحديث المذكوور] وفيه قال‌القا ضى عيا ض و قد كروهه بعض السلف وقال لا يفدى بمسلم والاحا ديث الصحيحة تدل على جواز سؤاد كان المفدى به مسلا أو كافراحيّا كان أو ميتا In the margin of p. 7, col. 2: Abū Temmām 420, 2 : ما الدمر انا ابن ابى بدر der Sohn eines Badr-Kämpfe(—)rs, Kindī (Gottheil) 24, 12. Mit Verba verbunden : وسله هل هوأبو فى فعله الآ أبو الحجب ياأبا بصلن وكان الطفيل ذا بطن *Muwaṭṭa* IV 187 oben : ياخذ و أبو يعطى Ibn Ḳajjim al-Ǧauzijja, *Iʿlām* I 55, 1. Below, under col. 1 : Ein muhammedanischer Theologe mit dem Titel أبو az-Zarḳāwī 41. — P. 8, on top: Sejf IV, 74, 15 sagt Meimūn : Wie sollte ich mich nicht auf den Faustkampf verstehen?: كيف أدريه وأنا كأمه وأبيه ibid. IV 65, 4 ; كيف لااعرف سببها و انا أمها وابوها ibid. XII, 62, 7 ; ʿUmāra 360, 7. Farazī 30, 59, 602 ; ولم سمعن أما ولا أبا *Aġ.* XX, 16, 14 ; ومالى منأم مناك ولا أب *Aġ.* VIII, 31, 4 ; كذبت أنت وأبوك وأمك Subkī I 224, 10 v. unt. 275, 5 v. unt. ; اتخذ الدنيا أبا و أما Baihaḳī 87, 2 ; اضحى السدى والندى وأما لهوأبا Abū Temmām 26, 12. — Ibn Muḳbil, *Trauergedicht auf ʿOthmān:* وملجأ صهروئين يلق به‌الحيا ✲ اذا جلفت كحل مو الام والاب Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa* 179 : وقال عبد الله بن الحر الجعفى فان تجف عنّى أو ترد لى اهانة ✲ أجد عنك فى العرض العريضة مذهبا — اتخذالدنيا أبا وأما Gāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin* 148, 4. ولاتحسبن الأرض بابا سندته ✲ على ولا المصرين أما وأبا Baihaḳī 628, 9. — Beispiele : *Muchaṣṣaṣ* 13, 173. — «Vater und Mutter» (vom Wohltäter) im Chinesischen D'Ollone, *Recherches sur lesMusulmans chinois* 74 (in der Todesklage von Seyyid Edyade), 99, 15. — ولاكوفة أمى ولا بصرة أبى Al-Fāḳihī 47 ult. ; Ṭab. II 772, 13. P. 9 أبويأخذ وأبو يعطى *Iʿlām* III 55, 1.

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اكل I : Der Prophet pflegte die Redenasrt zu gebrauchen : من هذا اكله الاسود Ibn Sa'd 8, 107, 17, oder الاسد 108, 6 (das ungarische «a fene egye meg!»). — I : 'beiszen,

[2] In my paper *Chess and Backgammon in ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān.* Études Orientales à la mémoire de Paul Hirschler, Budapest 1950, p. 107, note 16, I published Goldziher's insertions into the radical *shaṭranj.*

wagen' ʿ*Antar* II 133 'beiszt' ; وتاكله باسنانها مثل القرود ('klein an Zahl?') Ṭaifur 32, 3. — Al-Ṯaʿālibī chh 22 Naṣr ibn Aḥmed قال لوما لابى الطيب الطا هرى وكان يهجو نبى سليمان يا ابا الطيب حتى سالتنى : anonym : Rašīk, Tunis 174, 6 فلا تطعمن لحمى *Amṯāl* 123, 4 متى تاكل خبزك بلحوم الناس d. h. es ist lange Zeit seither vergangen. — *Aġānī* II 75, 21 : حدثنى بعض الاعراب حديثا ياكل الاحاديث عن اناس هلكوا * شرب الدمر عليهم وأكل d. h. eine sehr merkwürdige Geschichte, damit zu vergleichen ʿ*Ikd* I 119 — I : = غَلَبَ — سارسل بيتا ليس فى الشعر مثله * يقطع اعناق البيوت الشواردا *Muwaṭṭa* IV, p. 61 vor der Higǧra امرت بقرية تاكل القرى *Aġānī* V. 63, 10 : كان ابراهيم يأكل المغنين Vor dem Ḳurajsch friszt er in einem alten Gewand ; bei Azraḳī 65, 14 ; Damīrī II 29.2 اكلت مفاخرك المفاخر Mutanabbī I. 404 — * مكذا فى البلاد حتى قريش اكلا حتى يحضر اسحق ان يأ يكلوا به البلاد — Fāḳihī, 40 4. ولا للحوم صديقى اكولا — Hamaḏānī 353, 7, 1. ياكلون البلاد اكلا كميشا Abul-Maḥāsin III 79,22. — III : وكانوا تخالطون السلاطين ويؤاكلونهم *Fihrist* p. 69. — V : تأكل الاعادى vom Holz: morsch 'werden', Naḥrawālī 391, 11. — X: يستا كل بعلمه Ṭajfur 214, 9. To اكيل *Aġānī* XII 50, 6 u. ff. الموكلة Kosten des Hochzeitsmahls (Blād Bašāra), Mašriḳ X 952. To مأكلة : الرياسة و المأكلة sehr oft zusammen in هدايه الحوارى Ibn Ḳajjim al-Ǧauzijja, z. B. 21, 13, 15. Plur. ib. 25, 3 v. unt.

*

Even these few specimens show that the publication of Goldziher's insertions into his «Freytag» is, in addition to Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch*, highly necessary for a forthcoming comprehensive dictionary of classical Arabic, the more so because this copy of «Freytag» is the least known of the literary remains of the great Hungarian Orientalist.

Joseph Somogyi

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