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THE KHOTONS OF WESTERN MONGOLIA

BY

MAGDALENA TATÁR FOSSE

The name «Khoton» has several meanings in Central Asia,[1] one among them designates a population of 3,000 (according to the latest records) living in the Tarjalan Sumun of the Uvs Ajmag, the western part of the Mongolian People's Republic. In the summer of 1971, I had the opportunity of spending some time among the Khotons living in that area, and this article contains the material collected then.

[1] Its most wide-spread meaning is «Mohammedan, urbanized Turks». It was used in this content already at the time of the Dzungarian Khanate. Amursana mentioned in his war council the *xoton, xasag, bùrûd* names, N. Iššamc, *Mongolyn ard tûmnij 1755—1758 ony tusgaar togtnolyn zêvsêgt têmcêl* (*Amarsana, Čingunžav naryn boslogo*) : *Studia Historica* III/3 (Ulaanbaatar 1962), p. 45. Western, Moslem Turks are also referred to under the name Khoton by the *Iletgel šastir* (63rd booklet, p. 19), when mentioning that Čingüngǰab was trading with the Dzungarian Khotons. The word also retained this meaning later on, e.g. Mongols describe the 1826 uprising of the Kashgars resettled in the valley of the Ili also a Khoton uprising, C. Nasanbalžir, *Ar Mongoloos Manž Čin Ulsad zalguulž bajsan alba 1691—1911 on* (Ulaanbaatar 1964), p. 100. In Russian sources and literature its meaning is «settled, Mohammedan Turks living in Dzungaria or her sphere of interest», cf. I. Ja. Zlatkin, *Russkie arxivnye materialy ob Amursane* : *Filologija i istorija mongol'skix narodov. Pamjati akad. B. Ja. Vladimircova* (Moskva 1958), pp. 299, 303. Mongols of Alashan also describe the Kirghiz in their vicinity by this name, P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolija i Kam* I/2 (St. Petersburg 1906), p. 701. In the Manchu official language *Qoton ayimay* meant the Western part of the Mongols, a territory which was partly inhabited by the Turks, for instance, the entire name of the above mentioned historical work concerning the Western-Mongols is : *Mongyol qoton ayimay-un vang güng-ün iletgel šastir.* However, the *Xotun* clan name is known not only for the Khotons living in the Tarjalan Sumun but also for the Soyons, who live to the North and East of lake Xövsgöl, V. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* I (Leipzig 1884), p. 219. The name can also be found in some geographical names : *Xoton ovoo*, see Iššamc 1962, p. 86, *Xoton nuur* (lake), *Mongol'skaja Narodnaja Respublika* (Moskva 1966) map B/2. There is a *Xoton* common word in the Mongolian language which denominates camps or groups of families, that are often related to one another and primarily nomadize together, in this sense it was used with the Oirats alread at the time of the Dzungarian Khanate, see I. Ja. Zlatkin, *Istorija Džungarskogo xanstva (1635—1758)* (Moskva 1964), p. 420. The two words, although originating from a common root, have no immediate relationship with each other.

In the literature,[2] it is generally accepted that they are the descendants of Turkish prisoners-of-war, which also accords with their own traditions,[3] but the questions still remain: exactly when, in what conditions and what kind of ethnical group or groups arrived at this territory; where they finally changed their language into the Mongolian.

Their Turkish descent has remained extant among them. According to their traditions, seven of their predecessors settled here, the seven tribes consisted of their descendants, and every individual knows from which tribe he derives.[4] However, the seven tribal names differ among the individual collectors:[5]

Potanin 1876—77	Vladimircov 1911	Badamxatan 1958	Tatár Fosse 1971
Burut	ᵏXudaj-Verdi	Bůrd	Bůrůd
Yas	Šavă	Šava	Šawā
Ilbä	Nilvă	Xolťdog	Xolᵗdog
Aju-Kürmän	Šalbᵃk	Šalavaj	Šalbag
Udzjubuk (= Üdzübük?)	Özbök	Ogotor	Ogdăr
Kasyl	Xasan	Xasan∼ Xasnūd	Xasnūd
Juppar	Jös	Zòčgůůd∼ Xòčgůůd	Xoč (?)∼ Xočxeldᵊg

[2] The first to visit and provide a description of the Khotons was G. N. Potanin, cf. *Očerki Severo-Zapadnoj Mongolii*, vyp. II. (St. Petersburg 1881). The next collector was Vladimircov, his article appeared along with the material of Potanin, which had been prepared by Samojlovič: *Tureckij narodec xotony I.*, B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Novye dannyja o xotonax II.*, A. Samojlovič, *Xotonskija zapiski Potanina*: *ZVORAO* XXIII (1915), vyp. III—IV., pp. 265—290. The next summary was given by C. Žamcarano (Zhamtsarano) in *Khotons*: *The Muslims of Mongolia*: *The Mongolia Society Bulletin* VI/I (Bloomington 1967), pp. 11—14. Collections of Mongol scholars were reviewed by S. Badamxatan, *Uvs ajmgijn xoton naryn garlyg ovgijn ůldcêêr sudalsan nň*: *Šinžlêx Uxaan* No. 2 (Ulaanbaatar 1960), pp. 37—41.

[3] They consider themselves Turkish by origin, and firmly state that they are not related to Mongols. It is due to this belief that the author was welcomed as a «distant relative». According to Žamcarano (p. 12) they display Turkish anthropological properties, although up to the present time no anthropological surveys had been carried out among them.

[4] There is only one entry concerning the subdivisions, clans of the seven tribes, Potanin vyp. II, p. 162, viz. he had an informant who spoke about the origin of the Burut tribe's *Sarabaš* clan.

[5] Potanin, p. 16—17, Vladimircov, p. 267, Badamxatan, p. 37—38.

Aǰu-Kürmän and *ᵏXudaj-Verdi*[6] are apparently personal names, but the origin of *Yas*, *J̌uppar* and *Ilbä* is unknown.

Bürüd : This is the name of the Kirghiz among the Mongols,[7] but clans bearing the same name cannot only be found among the Kirghiz, but e.g. among the Teleuts, in the Altay,[8] among the Mongols at the Torgut, Mingat, Dörbed and Chakhar tribes.[9]

Šawā : Vladimircov (1915, p. 277) assumes that it originates from the Kirghiz *sapa* «opleuha». There might be some connection with the *Säbä* clan of the Shor tribe,[10] which lives along the Tom river in the Altay.

Xolïdog : Badamxatan's (1958, p. 38) supposition that it might be the Mongol equivalent of the Turkish *Ilbä* is not proved. Popular etymology explains it as a derivation of the Mongol *xolix* «to mix, to stir», *xolïmog* «mixture».

Šalbaq ~ Šalbaç : Vladimircov (1915, p. 277) derives it from *salbak* «open». Phonetically it is the exact equivalent of the *Cylpak* clan's name,[11] which belongs to the *Ong* wing's *Buyu* tribe of the Kirghiz.

[6] Potanin, vyp. II, pp. 44, 59, in his notes identifies Aǰu-Kürmän with Kozu-Kurpeš, a Kirghiz legendary hero. There are also patronymic, newly originated clan names with other Turkish people, even clans called *Xudajberdi* can be found, see R. G. Kuzeev, *Proiskoždenie baškirskogo naroda* (Moskva 1974), pp. 66, 80, 271, 301.

[7] Regarding the *Burut* name of the Kirghiz, see K. K. Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1965), p. 162a ; S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizy i ix ètnogenetičeskie i istoriko-kul'turnye svjazi* (Leningrad 1971), p. 19 ; *Istorija Kirgizii* T. I (Frunze 1963), p. 283, but this was never the name of the Kirghiz living along the Jenisej river, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 241. The Kirghiz never called themselves by this name, it only occurs in clan names, see *Istorija*, p. 229 ; G. E. Grumm-Gržimajlo, *Zapadnaja Mongolija i urjanxajskij kraj* T. II (Leningrad 1926), pp. 535—536.

[8] On the Buruts in the Altay see L. P. Potapov, *Ètničeskij sostav i proiskoždenie altajcev* (Leningrad 1969), pp. 23, 192 ; *Istorija*, p. 229 ; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 52. Regarding the Teleuts, see Radloff, T. I, p. 217. This ethnonym is mentioned among the Urjangkhajs, Tartars, Telengits, and Sagajs by Grumm-Gržimajlo, pp. 536—537. This is the name by which the sources mention the Kirghiz who escaped from Dzungaria in 1758 to the Kalmuks, cf. H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinem ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen* (Leipzig 1885), p. 563. This name was also used as a personal name, a man is known bearing *zajsan* rank from the Altay, who was named Burut (Potapov, p. 129).

[9] At the Torguts, Potanin, vyp. II, p. 43, at the Mingats and Dörbeds, K. V. Vjatkina, *Mongoly Mongol'skoj Narodnoj Respubliki* : *Vostočno-Aziatskij ètnografičeskij sbornik. Trudy Instituta ètnografii im. N. N. Mikluxo-Maklaja* N. S. T. LX (Moskva—Leningrad 1960), p. 239, regarding to Chakhars, Ž. Tömörcêrên, *Mongol xêlnij ügijn sangijn sudlal* (Ulaanbaatar 1974), p. 93, elsewhere in Inner-Mongolia, E. P. Lebedeva, *K voprosu o rodovom sostave mongolov* : *Filologija i istorija mongol'skix narodov. Pamjati akad. B. Ja. Vladimircova* (Moskva 1958), p. 220.

[10] Radloff, p. 214 ; Vámbéry, p. 93.

[11] Radloff, p. 232, and this can be related to the Kirghiz *čylpak* «gnoj, grjaz'» word, see Judaxin, p. 886.

Ogdăr: Badamxatan's (1958, p. 38) supposition, that it might be the Mongol equivalent of the Turkish *Özbök* is not proved. His *Ogotor* may have been derived from the analogy of the Mongol *ogotor* which also appears as a clan name, although similar clan names can also be found among the Kirghiz.[12] The *-dar* element of the name can be a Turkish affix standing for plurality.[13]

X̲asnūd: Vladimircov (1915, p. 277) considers it a derivation of an Arabic personal name. Clans with the same name live in the Bajanǫ̀lgij and Xovd Ajmags among the Kazaks. The Dörbed Xasxud can be regarded as a variant of the name. The Mongols also call the Kazaks living in Xǫ̀xčuluut and Xovd by this name.[14] Thus it may probably prove to be of Kazak origin.

J̌ös: Badamxatan (1958, p. 38) assumes it is equivalent to the *Zǫ̀čgùùd* ~ *Xùčgùùd* ~ *Xùščùùd* forms appearing in his collection, and derives them from the Kazak *J̌öš*, which would hint at the descent from the people of *J̌oči*. However, the forms with the different initial consonants are probably not to be connected. The *Xǫ̀čgùùd* name and its variants will be dealt with later. In the explanation of the name *J̌ös*, it should be taken into consideration that the name of the Kazak hordes was *J̌üs*. In Mongolia, the Durbeds living in the Xovd Ajmag also have a *Zǫ̀t* ~ *Zǫ̀d* clan,[15] but here too, we must reckon with a Kazak influence.

X̲oč ~ *X̲očxeldᵊg*: It may be related to the *Xǫ̀čgùùd* ~ *Xùščùùd* forms collected by Badamxatan. At present, this name can be related only with the

[12] The meaning of the Mongol word is «short, shorten, cut, torn off, i.e. tail, short-tail, tailless», see Cêvêl, 407b, Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 284a. As a clan name it was noted with the Úzùmčins: *oktor* (Vjatkina, p. 239), and with the Mjangados: *ogotor* (Sandag, *Mjangadyn garal ùùslijn asuudlaas*: *Studia Ethnographica* IV (1969) 1—5, pp. 81—103). One of the subdivisions of the Kirghiz Saruu tribe is also *ogotur* (Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p). 32. It is still an open question whether it can be related to the Uzbek-Kipchak *ogun* clan known from Fergana (*ogu-dar*). Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[13] This affix can also be found in clan names, e.g. *moŋoldor* at the Kirghiz (Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 26), *ondar* at the Tuvas (Potapov, p. 48).

[14] According to Badamxatan's notes most people belonged to this tribe, and a relationship to the Kazaks was kept strongly in their consciousness. On this and clans bearing similar names of Bajanǫ̀lgij in Xovd Ajmag, see Badamxatan, p. 39. It is possible that the tradition mentioned there concerns the Kazaks of Xǫ̀xčuluut, on whose *Xasik* clan name, see Radloff, T. I. p. 219. On a Dörbed clan, cf. Vjatkina, p. 239. The *k* ~ *x*, and the *n* sounds of the word's root preclude the possibility of any relationship to the *xaasuud* named clans of the Soyons, Tufas, and Darkhats living in the area of lake Xǫ̀vsgǫ̀l, who are considered to be of Samoyed origin, cf. Radloff, p. 219; Potanin, T. IV, p. 12; S. Badamxatan, *Xǫ̀vsgǫ̀lijn darxad jastan*: *Studia Ethnographica* T. III/1 (Ulaanbaatar 1965), pp. 59, 75. The form ending in *n* also occurs in Kazak, Uzbek names, cf. Radloff, T. I, pp. 225, 227.

[15] Concerning the name of the Kazak hordes, see Radloff, T. I, pp. 225—227, 236—237. On the Dörbed clan name, cf. Vjatkina, p. 238.

very wide-spread *Qušči* clans. In the Mongolian phonetic environment, a *Xoč* variant may correspond to a *košč* form.[16]

In view of all this, it seems to be apparent that the population designated by the Khoton collective name consists of several factions (*Jös, Bùrùd, Xasnūd*), which have their counterparts in other Mongolian-speaking clans with similar names, apparently of Turkish origin, living in western Mongolia. Although the origin of some of their tribal names is unknown, judging by certain ones, four main components seem emerge: 1. Kirghiz (*Bùrùd, Šalbag, Xoč* tribes); 2. Uzbek (*Özbök* ~ *Üdzübük*); 3. Kazak (*Xasnūd, Jös*); 4. Altaic (*Šawā*).[17]

This is reflected in their own legends of origin,[18] which reveal a northern and a southern migration. In the second half of the century, they had a surprisingly accurate recollection of most geographical names of the route they followed during their wanderings from the southern slopes of the Tarbagataj mountains to their present homeland.[19] Even one variant of the Kirghiz saga

[16] One clan of the left-wing of the Kirghiz, cf. *Istorija*, T. I, p. 227. Their dwelling place corresponds to the territory, that, at the time of the Dzungarian Khanate, had closely knit connections to the Mongols, see A. Hermann, *An Historical Atlas of China* (Amsterdam 1966), p. 50; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 26, 57—58, 60—61. This clan name also occurs with the Uzbeks too, *op. cit.*, p. 62, with the Turkmens, Kazaks, and Karanogays, S. M. Abramzon, *Êtničeskij sostav kirgizskogo naselenija severnoj Kirgizii* (Moskva 1960), pp. 10, 71. In this case the interesting *košč* form can be found in N. I. Grodekov, *Kirgizy i karakirgizy Syr-Darinskoj oblasti* T. I. (Tashkent 1889), p. 7, but there are data of a *košso* form, Kuzeev, p. 215, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 60, 62, also states that the tribe evolved in the Altay region, in a similar manner as Kuzeev pointed it out of that *košsy* clan lived at the Bashkirs, p. 215.

[17] Samojlovič, p. 280, claimed that there were Kirghiz, Eastern Turkestani, Sart, and probably Kazak components in the Khotons, and Vladimircov, p. 265, suggested that they spoke different, hardly identifiable Turkish languages; probably there were also Sarts and Kirghiz among them, who had formerly lived in the area of Kobdo.

[18] The legendary Küngker qan was considered by them to be their ancestor, according to the tradition described by Potanin, p. 16. According to Vladimircov, p. 268, they considered themselves relatives of the people of Küngker qan, i.e. according to p. 266, they came from his country, and this hints at the Western Mussulmans, in the opinion of the author. Nevertheless, *Küngker qan* is also known with regard to other peoples living in the vicinity of the Khotons. In Mongol beliefs he was one of the three kings ruling the world (Chinese, Russian, and *Xarym-Kùnkere qan*), living in the region of the *Ґurban tenggis* «Three Seas», who possessed a large number of elephants, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 99. Another Western-Mongolian informant stated that in the old times *Šambolen qan* and *Xünker qan* were the rulers, of whom the latter is still alive. His people ate a large quantity of fish, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 137. A Dörbed informant declared that he was the richest ruler, whose country had been visited by a subject to *Bošoγtu qan* (*Ґaldan Bošoγtu*? !), *Abdyl xoton* (!), Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 320—321. Up to the Darkhats he rules in the West and is very rich, *op. cit.*, p. 322. According to the Telengits he dies and rises again each month, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[19] On their wanderings, see Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 15—17. According to Vladimircov, p. 265, they could have lived formerly in the area of Kobdo.

of origin about the descent from 40 girls can be traced among them.[20] Only one of my informants of the *Šawā* tribe (!) referred to the Altaic origin, stating that the Khotons arrived from the north-west to their present homeland. One Altaic tradition is known as well, which says that the Khotons lived there previously, but moved away since they had no place for camel-breeding.[21]

Although no direct historical source exists concerning the settlement of the Khotons in Western Mongolia, reports in literature agree that it had to take place during the time of the Dzungarian Khanate. Dzungaria had several long-lasting, multilateral connections with the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Turks living in the Altay.[22] In solving this problem, two main facts have to

[20] The legend reported by Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 162, corresponds actually only in the following motifs with other Kirghiz variants of the legend, which were reported by Vámbéry, p. 262 : forty girls were expelled from the court by the king because they became pregnant, and they gave life to their children at the bank of a river. The Khoton variant seems to be more archaic. For other variants of this legend of forty girls and the princess, see Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 287—289. In one variant the pregnancy is ensued from the foam of the water, according to the Khotons of one river, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 287. However, in other Kirghiz myths of origin that differ from the one on the descent from forty girls, this motif also can be found, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 281—282, where the ancestress is also worshipped as a protector of Issyk-Kul, or p. 284, where an alien girl-slave's child becomes «Kirghiz» by the power of the water. According to the just cited source, it is frequent in the Kirghiz myths of origin that the ancestor of the tribe is actually an alien, and is not a by blood related descendant of the ancestress. In the Khoton legend one can also observe that only the son of the princess is born with the help of the water, while the children of the serving-maids are not relatives to the future ruler. Another similarity is that in the above mentioned legends the forty girls are not always able to feed their children, therefore they are fed by wild sheep or dog — ewe or bitch. In the Khoton variant, the princess is unable to feed her son, but here an old man gives the child a bent branch of a birchtree to suck, therefore is he called *Urgo modon êxitej*. The tribe-ancestor born by a tree-mother is known elsewhere in Western Mongolia too, e.g. with the Dörbeds, with the Urjangkhajs living in the Altay, cf. Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 161. According to the Khoton legend children of serving maids had stones as their fathers, which is also known in the Mongol traditions, namely the Mongols consider that they were stones which were brought to life, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 162, which shows that the tradition definitely expresses the fact that the people and her rulers were not related by blood.

[21] An Altaic legend, Potanin, Vyp. IV, p. 10, although it is possible that here the Khoton name is treated on a larger scale. However, the Kirghiz and Altaic ethnography, folklore, sagas of origin, tribal names, customs, and religious traditions are closely related to one another, and the Kirghiz also had an Altaic component, cf. S. M. Abramzon, *Ethnogenetic ties of the Kirghiz with the Altaic peoples*: *XXV. International Congress of Orientalists, Papers presented by the USSR delegation* (Moskva 1960), pp. 1—12, which makes the connections with the Altay in the case of the Khotons if not directly, indirectly probable. With regard to 17th century Altaic-Kirghiz relations, see Potapov, p. 102. One legend refers to the southward migration of the Kirghiz: Radloff, T. I, p. 217.

[22] Concerning the relations of Dzungaria and the neighbouring Turkish people ample material can be found in summarizing works, see Iššamc ; Zlatkin, *Istorija* : Radloff, T. I, pp. 166—172. Most of the available data, among them those provided by contem-

be considered: that the Khotons belonged to the *qosiγun* of the *J̌oriγtu qan*, and that they were forced to cultivate agriculture. Badamxatan, giving an earlier date than other scholars, puts their settlement between 1691—1715, while connecting it with the command of the Manchu-emperor from 1715, that ordered cultivation of agriculture. According to Manchu sources, however, Tümeds of Köke qota settled in the vicinity of Ulaangom, but it is worth noticing, that the official responsible for the settlement in the whole country bore the *Bürd gün* name.[23]

According to the supposition of Vladimircov (1915, p. 266) the Khotons had been led to their present home by *Čering Ubasi*, the ancestor of the *J̌oriγtu qan*s. According to Žamcarano,[24] *Čering Ubasi* attacked the *qasaγ čangtuus* who had launched an assault with marauding troops, and took them captive; later *Tngri tedkügsen qaγan* (Emperor Ch'ien-lung Kao-tsung) made the captives — who in the meantime had wandered to the Uvs lake — the serfs of the *J̌oriγtu qan*s, the descendants of *Čering Ubasi*, in 1778.

It is rather difficult to decide on whose side the invading troops stood, for in the rather confused historical situation, even *Čering Ubasi* with some other Dörbed noblemen deserted *Davaači*, the ruler of Dzungaria, in 1753—54, and submitted to the Manchus,[25] while Turkish troops called Khotons fought

porary travellers, are concerned with the relationship of the Kirghiz and the Mongols. All the Kirghiz in the neighbourhood of Krasnojarsk moved to resettle under the supremacy of Dzungaria, as J. G. Gmelin wrote in 1735, *Reise durch Sibirien* T. I, IV. T. (Göttingen 1751), p. 363. The Kirghiz living along the rivers Abakan and Čulim, fled to the Kalmuks in Dzungaria, because of the expansion and pestering of Russian colonists according to J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte von der Entdeckung Sibiriens bis auf die Eroberung dieses Landes durch die russische Waffen* . . . I. Teil, 1. Buch, 4. Hauptstück (St. Petersburg 1768), pp. 307—308. Yet Dzungaria not only received them, but fought with them and made them captives too. For instance, in the valley of the Ili, it is estimated that 8,000 Kashgari families were settled, Radloff, T. I, pp. 330—346. This settling and the extensive conquest of the Kirghiz and Kazaks occured under Čevang Rabdan, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 195—196. They conquered the Altaic people, and also the Tuvas too, who payed paid taxes to Dzungaria until the middle of the 18th century. Čevang Rabdan resettled Kirghiz of the Jenisej from the Minusinsk basin too. The same happened to the Teleuts. See Potapov, pp. 70, 92—123.

[23] Badamxatan, pp. 40—41. With regard to the command ordering agricultural cultivation, which in addition to the area of Ulaangom's referred to a number of other regions too, and on the settling of the Tumeds, see Nasanbalžir, pp. 112—114. Such settlements were carried out not only in Outer-Mongolia, but in many other places to provide better supplies for the army, e.g. the Kashgari settlements in the valley of the Ili begun by Dzungaria were continued by the Chinese, Radloff, T. I, p. 331.

[24] Žamcarano, p. 11.

[25] Regarding the change of sides of Čering Ubasi, see Iššamc, p. 20. After this he might have taken part in Amursana's battles against Dzungaria on the side of the Manchus, cf. pp. 21—24. The source Žamcarano refers to when putting the imperial donation at 1778 is not known to us, but we do know about an imperial order that was passed on

on both sides. The Kirghiz uprising against Dzungaria at the end of the 1740s — which was also joined by the Uzbeks — became increasingly stronger, and the leadership was in the hands of the *Quščі* tribe.[26] It is known that the Oirats, also during the uprising in 1754, took a large number of captives. If *Čering Ubasi* took them captive in 1754, and only after this he joined the Manchus, then it may have happened that he moved to the Uvs Lake together with his captives and together with *Amursana*.[27]

According to a third view, the Manchus took the participants of the Amursana-uprising captive, and together with others, e.g. the Torguts, they settled them in western Mongolia.[28]

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the 15th day of the 4th month of the 19th year of Tngri-yin tedkügsen qaγan's reign, that is in 1754, which ordained the *qosiγun, sumun* organization to be established at the Ölets, and granted the title *ded čiγulγan-un terigün* to Čering Ubasi, apparently because of his merits gained in the compaign, C. Sodnomdagva, *Manžijn zaxirgaand bajsan üeijn Ar Mongolyn zasag zaxirgaany zoxion bajguulalt (1691—1911)* (Ulaanbaatar 1961), p. 47. The same order is set by Iššamc, p. 34, at October 25, 1755, except that this was another order but with a similar content. Later on, Čering Ubasi stayed with the Manchus, and did not join in the further uprisings, as this is proved by a letter of Čingüngžab, which complained of the incursions on the Khalkhas by the «three Čerings», the Dörbed Čering (he gained office on the newly organized territory at the same time as Čering Ubasi), Čering Ubasi, and Čeringmöngke. However, this letter was dated after the spring of 1756, Iššamc, p. 54.

[26] *Istorija*, T. I, pp. 259—262, 266—269.

[27] The other possibility is that the invading troops were Kirghiz, Urjangkhajs, or other scattered groups, who according to a Mingat tradition having become tired of the 1755 fights in Dzungaria decided to move back to their previous residence, to the Altaj, from where they moved in 1703 to the Tien-shan region, together with Mingats and Teleuts. In 1756, they were reached by imperial troops and destroyed. The remnants, still kept proceeding northwards, where they became captives to Mongols, who settled them at a place called *Xemyčyk*. Some of them later moved over to Russian territories, Grumm-Gržimajlo, p. 536.

[28] Badamxatan, p. 37, quotes Bujančuulgan's opinion, which is to be found at a place inaccessible for me, *Dörben öled-ün teüke*: *Sine toli*, 1938 No. 2, p. 108. It is true that in the fighting of Amursana and Davaači, the Kirghiz took part on both sides, and were then taken captive in large numbers, Zlatkin, *Materialy*, p. 297, and since this happened after Amursana moved over to the region of Ulaangom, this possibility should not be excluded. Mongol sources also confirm this entry of Russian archives «Khotons» also took part in Amursana's 1755—56 uprising, Iššamc, pp. 31, 36. By the end of 1756, Amursana's relationship with the Khotons living in the valley of the Ili changed for the worse, because of Amursana's intent to requisition the live-stock and property of the Khotons before fleeing to the Kazaks. As a result of this, the Khoton troops who until then fought alongside Amursana, turned against him and defeated him, *op. cit.*, pp. 36—37. Therefore, with his hands forced in 1757, Amursana could not accept the advice of his councellors and to ask for help from the «Khotons, Kazaks, and Kirghiz», p. 45. On the other hand, not Khotons of the Ili valley, but Kazaks belonging to Ablaj's army fell into Manchu captivity following the battle of August 2, 1757, p. 40. Later on the Kazaks also withdrew their support from Amursana, and in 1757 Ablaj Khan even attemp-

There is no remembrance of their captivity in their traditions. They unanimously declared to all collectors, that they identified their seven tribes with seven persons who became the ancestors of the tribes. Their subordinated situation, the cultivation of land, and their nomadic life was described in detail by the collectors.[29]

According to my informants they settled first in *Altan Tēlᵢ*, in the valley of the Teelĭ river, because it possessed favourable conditions for agriculture, and had rich vegetation. According to their traditions, they had especially bad conditions under the rule of the *Zorigt ᵏxan Sodnomžamcᴬ*, who forced the Khotons to build a two-metre wide and three-metre high wall (castle, fort) on an area of ten hectares. Many people died during the work, and were set into the wall, at least according to legend.[30] After the cessation of the rule of the *J̌oriytu qans*, a *sumun* called Bayan Mandal or Bayan Čandman came into existence on their territory, whose name was changed from the 1930s to Altan Teelĭ, and later Tarjalan.

According to my informants they used to cultivate the following plants in the past times:[31] *arʊ̄* «barley», *cag̱ān tarā* «wheat», *zurg̱ādā* «corn, which

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ed to capture the defeated, escaping Amursana, p. 46. All these facts refute the possibility of any Khoton troops being with Amursana at the last time, and becoming Manchu captives. This is all the more improbable, since there is no trace in the *Iledkel šastir* of the Manchus ordering or permitting the settlement of large numbers of Khotons on the territory in question. On the other hand, no note would have had to be made of the settlement if this had occurred in the troublous times of the uprising during Čering Ubasi's power, because, when placing them under the supremacy of Čering Ubasi, the imperial ordain was appropriately enforced.

[29] Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 15, 16; Vyp. IV, p. 20; Vladimircov, pp. 267—269; Žamcarano, pp. 11—14; Badamxatan, p. 41.

[30] This probably is the legendary memory of the work they were forced to carry out; in order to build a residence for the *vang* (*qan*) they had to send 11 workers in turn, Žamcarano, p. 13.

[31] Cultivating agriculture for the purpose of supplying the army was urged in many places in Mongolia, e.g. in the regions of Uliastaj, Zavxan, Bulgan, Zag, Bajdrag, Orxon, Tamir, and Tuulĭ, cf. Iššamc, p. 47. Sowing was called *alban tarialan* «official, state sowing», the working persons *tariany cêrêg*, *tariačin cêrêg* «soldier of sowing, agricultural soldier», Nasanbalžir, pp. 106, 114. Such soldier-agriculturists were the Sibäs from Manchuria, who were resettled as frontier-guards in the valley of the Ili in the 18th century; in their system breeding animals was as significant as cultivating land, this was a typical nomadic agriculture, Radloff, T. II, pp. 347—350. Cultivation to support the army needed to be introduced into the valley of the Ili some time earlier. Already under the supremacy of Dzungarian Khans, captives of war from Kashgar began agricultural cultivation, Radloff, T. I, p. 331. According to one Chinese source, the method of Kirghiz cultivated agriculture in the 18th century corresponded to that of the Oirats', i.e. it was adjusted to a nomadic life. Chinese sources also report extensive sown areas in the region of Kashgar, from where the Oirats resettled those engaged in agriculture, *Istorija*, T. I, pp. 252—253. Mongols themselves pursued nomadic cultivation, see Potanin,

has a head of six sides», *χoǯgor* or *nücügen tarā*, which according to some is identical with a cereal called *kökö būdā*.[32] Animal husbandry played an important role in their life. They raised the same five kinds of cattle as the Mongols. They harvested no hay for the cattle in the past, but collected native-soda, which they used broken into pieces to feed the cattle. No fence or stable of wood (*χašā*), was formerly built for the cattle, but a wind-screen (*χotᵒ*) made of stone. Being nomadic in the winter they moved to wooded places, and in the spring and summer into the *gobi* (semi-waste territory). They never entered the winter-camp sites (*būcᴬ*) in the summer-period. Their yurts and equipment had no features different from the Dörbeds'. They used three kind of traps for hunting: *awag*, *χawag*, *čirag*, and a flint-gun, which they called *caᵏχar bū*. On the other hand, they had no spears called *žad*, no banners, and a horsetail was not used as a banner. Their banner of war in olden times was red, placed at the end of a long pole.

Their food, like everywhere else in Mongolia, mainly consisted of meat and dairy products, although they consumed flour made of cereals which they grew themselves, for instance in making *morĭnī čikᵊ*, or a cake called *bōrcog*. They consumed the usual meat meals. After gelding animals, they ate the testicles boiled in milk. They called this «eating the flesh of a living cattle» (*àmʲd malīn maχ idnē ter*). Birds' flesh was forbidden (*šuwū c'ērtē*). Kumiss was made not only of mare's milk, but also of cow, sheep, and goat milk, naming it *čigē* and *āĭriɑ*. They poured milk on the kumiss made of sheep milk, as well on curds, made of cow milk, and then consumed it. At Lunar New Year in the «White month» the eating of kumiss and meat was customary. Other dairy-products included: *tarăg* «sour milk», *šürmeg* «sour cheese», *gōk'ī* «cream of milk», and *bašlăg* «a kind of cheese».

The men dressed like the Dörbeds, they also wore the Dörbed *jŭděn maχᵃlaj*. The women wore the *dēl*, similarly to the Dörbeds, and still wear over it the characteristic, waist-deep garment already described in the last

pp. 29, 33, and where the land was not cultivated they gathered wild plants in the place of corn and vegetables, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Although the initiatives of this kind of cultivation are unknown, it is very likely that Turkish speaking people of the Dzungarian Khanate could have influenced the Mongols' knowledge in this sphere. According to a Russian source of 1731—1732, in Dzungaria the Oirats made «people of Bukhara», that is Eastern-Turkestani people, cultivate the valley of the Ili and elsewhere by irrigation. Later on these sown areas or plots were cultivated by the Oirats themselves, see Zlatkin, *Istorija*, pp. 361—363.

[32] Identification of the plants is almost impossible. With regard to the plants cultivated elsewhere, see Iššamc, p. 47; *Istorija*, T. I, p. 253. For assigning different plants in the same region with the same names, good examples can be found in Potanin's Ordos collection, *Tangutsko-Tibetskaja Okrajna Kitaja i Central'naja Mongolija* T. II. (St. Petersburg 1893), pp. 401, 403. The «bare», and «bold corn» might be some sort of «short wheat».

century, the *cegděg* (see Figs. 1, 2). The older women still wear the decoration called *čačibik*,[33] described by Potanin (1881, p. 15, see Figs. 3, 4), at the end of their plaits, which are bound together on their backs. The heads of the men and the little boys are often shaved, while among the latter sometimes the traditional haircut can still be observed, which I shall describe later.

Their games have similar counterparts in other Mongol regions. They also play the ankle-bone (*šagaj*) games, which are very wide-spread among the Mongols. They call the Khalkha game *xorloo*[34] the *k'ural*. They play it with 62 pieces of wood, on which they paint the 12 year's figures, animal images, men and other symbols. They «move» (*tàʷinā*) in groups (*χoršō*).

In the *šagaj χarwaχ* «shooting at ankle-bones» game, they shoot at ankle-bones, called *χaš*, from a distance of nine elbows in a sitting position with bullets made of wood, or stag-horn.[35]

The *bugᴬ* «stag» game is played with 18 stones, where one party chases with 16 stones, that is dogs, the other party, the two stags.[36]

In the *xucᴬ mörgŏldūlnē* «making rams combat» game two stones (*χadᴬ*) are placed on the ice, while two groups positioned at two different standpoints shoot stones at them. The number of shots is unlimited.

They also know another racing game. This is sliding down a hill sitting on a log. Victory depends on how skilfully and how fast the foot of the hill is reached.

Their giving of personal names follows the habits of the Mongols, although some names unknown to me occured among them, i.e. *Sīxᵊd*, or *Sīxd*, *ǯošᵢ*, both being a man's name. Names taken from nature or expressing a character has become current, such as *Urgămăl* «plant» (woman's name), *Čanga* «strong» (man's name); as well as Buddhist names, i.e. *Namsăraj*, *Damdin* (both man's name). Characteristic examples of popular names include: *Bürgěd* «eagle» (before three generations), *Dūdej* «little brother» and *Mūχaj* «ugly» protective

[33] Concerning their clothing, and hair-fashions, see Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 15—16, 104, 105; Vladimircov, p. 267.

[34] Description of the *xorlo* game, which is played with 60 pieces of wood by 4—6 persons, can be found in N. Namžildorž, *Mongolyn* (*xólógt*) *rogloom* (*dêd dêvtêr*) (Ulaanbaatar 1966), pp. 524—526. The game of the Dariganga children called *bajasgalan* is at least similar, probably the same, G. Sùxbaatar, *Darigangyn xùùxdijn togloom*: *Studia Folklorica* I/4 (Ulaanbaatar 1962), pp. 16—19.

[35] Potanin described the game in another region, Vyp. II, p. 118, Sùxbaatar, pp. 5—6.

[36] This game is also wide-spread in many variations. The variant described by Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 117—118, is played with 24 anklebones by two boys, of which one party has the 8 «dogs» and the 14 «men», and the other the 2 «stags». Of the variants described among the Darigangas the *mongol buga* is the nearest to the Khoton variant. This is played by 2 «stags» and 21—24 «boys» of «puppets», Sùxbaatar, pp. 12—13.

name for a man. They also make use of nicknames, i.e. *Xar Čanga* «black *Čanga*», or some individuals are not called by their personal name in everyday speech, e.g. *Dŭdejn ēžĭ* «*Dŭdej*'s mother». *Ókĭn darga* «chief *Ókĭn*» although everyone called a person by this name, according to one person it was not really his name, but his father's (?), however, the name is a protective one by character, meaning «girl».

The spread of Mongol influence was very considerably facilitated by the fact that there had already earlier been some among them who knew the Oirat alphabet.

In their religious world[37] they preserved elements of Islam and Shamanism, although their former *busurman* «Mussulman» name is already forgotten among them. They definitely object to Buddhism and lay stress on the fact that they do not believe in it. They have no recollections of fastings, prayers, or gods, and even those names of divinities noted by Vladimircov have disappeared. They remember, however, the amulet called *^{k}xumār*, which containing sacred texts is kept in a small satchel, and should be safeguarded under the pillow.

According to my informants, there had formerly been old persons called *muldā*,[38] who could read Arabic texts (books written with Arabic script). The last of them died in the 1960s. They were married, they were herdsmen just like the others and had no distictive features. In winter or summer, at any time they would go to the families and pray, whenever they were asked. On the other hand Khotons had no lamaist idols called *bur^{k}xan*, or Buddhist books. They had a Shaman (*bō*), but no *čoiǰi* (*čō^{i}ž*) lama celebrating folk-religious cults. They did not make pilgrimages to monasteries, or cultivate the *mörgŏl* (tumbling down with adoration) rite. The *muldā* passed his knowledge on to the children, but not in an organized way. While praying they held their hands before their chests with their palms obliquely up. They carried out no ritual ablution. Killing animals was not considered a vice. Sheep and other kinds of cattle — in contrast to the regular Mongolian habit — were killed simply by cutting their throat.

Their funeral customs are basically different from the Mongolians. The dead person is laid out at the western (man's) side of the yurt, the curtains of the bed are not removed, and the other people do not move out of the yurt — as required by the custom of the Mongolians — and throughout the night someone stays awake with the corpse. If the dead person was a man, a man had to wash him, if it was a woman, women were also among the washers.

[37] Regarding their religion, see Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 16, 18. Prayers collected by him were translated by Vámbéry, p. 102, and Samojlovič, p. 282. Samojlovič, pp. 278, 279—280, compares their religion, and religious world to those of their neighbouring people's, cf. Vladimircov, pp. 269—271.

[38] Concerning the amulet and Mollahs, see Potanin, Vyp. II, pp. 15, 17; Vladimircov, p. 270.

Those who stayed awake at night had to be relatives of the dead persons, as well as those who washed it. The corpse is laid on its right side with one hand under his face and the other placed on its sexual organ (by men only?). Some informants declared that the corpse was wrapped in a white sheet and placed in a coffin. Others claimed that it was wrapped in some kind of white textile (*bös*), and then placed into the dug-out hole. Before it was buried, several layers of felt were placed over it to protect it from the rain. No food-offerings or gifts were placed beside it, but a smoke-offering was placed on the grave, and the *muldā* was called to pray over it. Burial in the ground, as required by Islam, was not only strange to the Mongols living in their vicinity, but also the habit of burying their dead at the same place (in a cemetery), as one Khoton informant put it: *bönör untᵃldăg* «they used to make them sleep in groups». The Mongols in the vicinity stated that they buried their dead in one cemetery near Ulaangom only, but in the winter time when they stayed in the wooded places, it was not possible to take their dead down from the hills, therefore, they kept them in the wooden edifice beside the yurt, which stood on legs and was used to store food. The corpse was placed in a sitting position into a box (this probably refers to the coffin and the sideways position the dead were placed in). Until the spring, the corpse remained frozen, like the *borc* (dried preserved meat).[39]

The custom of circumcising young boys[40] also originated from Islam. Today only the older ones remember this habit, since during the last 30—40

[39] Potanin obtained details of their cemetery, Vyp. II, p. 18, Vladimircov's collection, p. 271, corresponds to my own, inasmuch as the mulda prayed over the dead, and that the dead were buried turned on their right side facing west in a separate cemetery. However, I was unable to find any facts concerning the kurgan, or *caca*, to be erected over the grave, or regarding the food-offering following a burial. Vjatkina, p. 243, also reports that the members of the clans used to be buried in one grave, and therefore it often occured that when moving away they had to trasport the corpses for a long time. This kind of burial was similar to that of the Kirghiz, who used to bury the members of the same family together into the same grave, according to tradition, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 323. It also occured among the Kirghiz that they could not bury their dead because of the winter frost, and so they stored them in the snow near where they lived until the spring, Vámbéry, p. 252. The Tartars of Minusinsk placed their dead, wrapped in silk or some other worthy material, into a casket, and then buried them in the ground, but accompanied by different customs from the Khotons, see Radloff, T. I, pp. 379—380. Although burial in the ground was also known in the Altay, it was accompanied by different customs, e.g. burying without any ceremony, in secret, Radloff, T. I, pp. 320—321, 337. The Buddhist custom of the Dörbeds has some similarity to the Khoton burial in the ground — which apparently is of Islamic origin — inasmuch as the Durbeds lay the corpse in the western part of the yurt on its right side, facing west, with its right hand under its head that also pointed to the north, and they also performed a smoke-offering beside the corpse, Vjatkina, pp. 255—256.

[40] The circumcising of the seven-year-old Kirghiz boys was carried out by the Mollah. The operation was followed by a big feast, see Vámbéry, p. 224. According to

years it was no longer practiced. Some stated that boys under 10, while others believed that boys between 3—5 had to be by all means circumcised, because if one was not circumcised the soul would not leave the body after death. The circumcision itself was denominated by the *nomd orūlnā* «lead into the faith» or *sūlgănā* «to seat» expressions. The boy was wrapped in his father's vest and laid on his father's bed, then the operation was carried out by the *xoton nomtoj kün* «man of the Khoton faith», that is the *muldā*, who meanwhile recited from memory a prayer in *tangad* or some other non-comprehensive (in Arabic or some Turkic, probably) language. After this they have a small banquet, while at this event an old man (the *muldā*?) gave a blessing.

Among the Shamanistic cults, the most significant are the water and river cults — and these are undoubtedly of Kirghiz origin. According to the saga about the 40 girls, concerning the origin of the Khotons, their ancestress was made pregnant by a blood-creek that sprang up beside a river, and later when her son was made a ruler, she was thrown into the water, which is the reason why the Khotons consider the water to be their relative.[41] They make offerings to their respested rivers, the Xarkirā and the Tēlĭ at the time of the springflood by killing a sheep and throwing its whole body, or just the head of it into the water. A reminiscence of human sacrifice might be suspected in the custom of men cutting their beards and throwing the hair into the water in accordance with this ceremony.[42] On the other hand, it must be a Mongol influence that they call the lord of the water *lus*, who became angry if one urinated into the water.

According to my informants, they made offerings to the earth,[43] and also to certain sacred places, such as the place called Xogd, and the mountain

Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 266, circumcision was carried out between the age of 3—7, mainly after completion of the 5th year, and it was followed by a feast and contests. The same custom among the Siberian Tartars was carried out on boys between the age of 6—14, and was again followed by feasts, Gmelin, T. I, 4. Teil, pp. 163—168.

[41] Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 162. Cf. note 20.

[42] Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 18, Žamcarano, p. 13. Similar offerings were also performed by the Kirghiz, at the time of draught they threw sheep into the upper course of the rivers. The blood was allowed to flow into the river, while the meat was consumed, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 294. Individual offerings were also performed on other occasions, *op. cit.*, p. 309, and from the 1890s there are also details of human sacrifices, which in the case of the Khotons was simly substituted by cutting their breads, see Ju. G. Petraš, *Materialy o perežitkax doislamskix kul'tov na juge Kirgizii*: *Filosofskie problemy ateizma* (Moskva 1963), p. 263.

[43] With regard to the mountains, rivers, and the *jer-suv*, see the collections of Vladimircov, pp. 269—270. Respect for the «earth and water» which was mentioned already in the Orxon inscriptions, was very wide-spread, and it was called by the Mongols *yaǰar usun*. They prayed to these gods and the lords of the Altay and Khangay in two prayers which were collected by Potanin, and which revealed Islamic influence. For the translation see Vámbéry, p. 102; Samojlovič, p. 282. This shamanistic cult is also known

called Xar Tolgoj. At these two places, they presented smoke-offerings by burning *arc*[A] «juniper», and then walked around the fire with their hands, palms obliquely up, before their chests. Although the mountain and sacred place cult is widespread among the Mongols, this kind of offering, keeping hands in this manner, is unknown to them. At the same time, the Mongolian custom of hanging the *darcags*,[44] banners or rags at sacred places, is not only discontinued, but is definitely objected to by them. They had also some sacred places that were protected by taboos.

Respect for the *genius loci* can also be observed when they move to a new place. At the new place, they put incense before the box in the newly set up yurt, and also outside to the west of the yurt, and where the sheep used to lie. Then they sprinkle brandy upwards in the yurt, and at the same places outside the yurt, where the incense had been put.

They had *obos*,[45] on which they threw stones when passing by, and murmured the well-known supplication, similarly to the Mongols:

Owān ikᵊŋ tanādā «Be the bulk of the *obo* with you,
Olzan ikᵊŋ manādā. Be the bulk of the quarry with us.»

They worshipped the heavens, fire, and *Cagān Öwgön*, the White Old Man. To the latter they even offered cattles (*setertej* or *setᵉrtē mal*),[46] which had to be of a white colour. They also offered cattles on various other occasions

among other Turkish peoples, for instance, it is known among the Kirghiz and people of the Altay as well, Radloff, T. I, p. 271; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 294. L. P. Potapov considers the cult of the mountains in the Altay to be of tribal origin, *Kul't gor na Altae*: *Sovetskaja Êtnografija*, 1946, No. 2. The congruences of the cults are regarded as confirmation of their common origin by Abramzon, *Ethnogenetic ties*, p. 8.

[44] They must have definitely taken over the use of these within a Mongol environment as a Buddhist custom, since in a similar way to other Siberian Turkish peoples the Kirghiz also hung pieces of rags, and banners at sacred places, on the branches of trees standing at mountain passes, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 302. They also hung small banners on the trees beside graves, Vámbéry, p. 252.

[45] The cult of the *obo* is known not only among the Mongols, but among some other Siberian peoples too, including the Kirghiz, though as an Islamic influence the respect for the spirits of the sacred places were sometimes transferred next to the Mohammedan *mazars*, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 302—305.

[46] The custom is also generally known among the Mongols. According to Vjatkina's information, p. 240, the devoting of camels was forbidden in other places. The custom is also known among several Turkish peoples. The Kirghiz devoted animals mostly in the case of illness, primarily sheep or goats, and rarely horses, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 305—307. There was a similar custom in Tuva, L. Ê. Karunovskaja, *Predstavlenija altajcev o vselennoj*: *Sovetskaja Êtnografija*, 1935, No. 4—5, p. 168; L. P. Potapov, *Očerki narodnogo byta tuvincev* (Moskva 1969), pp. 366—369, 370. This custom can also be found among the Kazaks, Č. Č. Valixanov, *Sobranie sočinenij*, T. I. (Alma-Ata 1961), p. 478.

(for instance at births). Any domestic animal (not only horses) could be offered up, except camels. Khotons mainly used sheep for *setertej*, and relatively seldom a horse, but if so, then it was mostly a yellow or black coloured one. The *setertej* cattles are marked with a red or golden ribbon bound into their mane. The carcase of the *setertej* animal was burnt, a custom which was unusual among the Mongols. But in the same time, the Khotons did not burn any other animal.

Before starting off on a hunting expedition, they pray to the Lords of the world, the *delkī*, with burnt incense and sprinkled tea upwards in front of the yurt in honour of the heavens and the *delkī*, while murmuring the following short prayer:

Altăn aŋ ikᵊ xᵃ̈jrildnā	«Golden game give us many,
Altăn delkēnd ʒalbirnā	To a golden world we pray,
Olztoj modtoj bolŏgtuɣaj !	Give us quarry, give us woods !»

According to another informant, before hunting they put cake on a plate, and standing in the middle at the western (man's) side of the yurt, they recited a short supplication. The breast (*ʒüld*) of the animal killed during hunting had to be cut out by the hunter from the frontside of the breast and taken home.[47]

In addition to the occasions mentioned already, libations were performed during milking, in the evening and morning, before starting off on a journay, and also at Lunar New Year. Before starting off on a journey they utter the following supplication at libation: *Áčin ʒamdā sajn jaw* ! «Travel well on your lucky way !»

On the first day of the White Month, the Lunar New Year, the following blessing is uttered:

Ámīn nasār urtᴬ bolɣoχ,	«Long-life giver,
Aχ dūgēr olon bolɣoχ,	Many brothers-relatives giver,
Mal köröngōr ikᵊ bolɣoχ,	Many cattle, possessions giver,
Šin on ɣarč χūčin on xärwā.	New Year has come, old year has gone.
Öws ōgōr ikᵊ bolɣoχ,	Grass, woods richly giver,
Mal tölōr olon bolɣoχ !	Cattle, increase of cattle plentifully giver !»

Most of the shamanistic cults mentioned earlier, such as those respecting the waters, mountains, places, lords of the world, the earth, heavens and fire

[47] It is a custom known in other regions that the *ʒüld* had to be removed by all means. This had to done by the bearer of the weapon, and it had to be placed at the Western (man's) side of the yurt, and only his family was allowed to eat from it, Vjatkina, p. 242.

are known among the Kirghiz and other Turkish people, so in these cases the influence of the Mongol cults did only superficially effect the Khoton beliefs and habits. This is proved by the corpus of the earlier collectors, where the cult of the water and the earth is much more archaic, e.g. at the time of Vladimircov's visit (1915, p. 170) the Khotons still knew, and used to denominate the respective master-spirits, the Turkish *jer-suw* «earth-water» expression, the equivalent of the Mongol *yaǰar usun*, which by 1971 had already faded away.

Their habit of celebrating the Lunar New Year and respecting the White Old Man can be to a greater extent considered as of Mongol origin. That they brought shamanistic traditions with them together with a superficial knowledge os Islam seems to be proved by the fact that while speaking of the Lamas and Buddhism, they have major aversions, which cannot by observed when they mention shamans, and actually the role of the *muldā* is often identical with that of a shaman.[48]

Their conception of the family and their habits related to the various events of family-life in most cases are identical with or at least to a large extent similar to that of the Western Mongols living in their vicinity. Although it is a rule that they cannot marry within the same tribe (*omŏg*).[49] They dislike making matches with the Mongols. They are monogamic, and do not remember any period of polygamy. Their wedding customs are as follows:

1. description: When suitors come to the parents, the girl is not permitted to remain at home. They seal the engagement, the girl's parent and the suitors exchange *χadăg*. The bride always moves to the home of the bridegroom and

[48] They performed prayers and blessings, even animal-offerings to the lords of places, respecting the *jer-suw*. This offering, during which they cut the head of the sheep and hung the skin at branches of trees, was probably very similar to the animal (horse, and goat, etc.) offerings that spread among the Mongols elsewhere, which were of shamanistic origin, and were performed to worship the spirits of places and waters, see M. Tatár, *Two Mongol Texts Concerning the Cult of the Mountains*: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XXX (1976), pp. 13—14. The *mulda* had a similarly important role in performing the sheep-offering to the *obo*, when libation was carried out with the blood of the sheep, and its head and bones were burnt, Vladimircov, pp. 270—271.

[49] Mongols prefer not to marry relatives, principally because the memory of their clans have in most cases faded away. They prefer to marry someone from a distant region, or from another administrative district. Where clans still exist, such as the Urjankhajs of Xovd, marrying within the same clan is forbidden, see Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax urjanxajcev*: *Studia Ethnographica* T. I/1 (Ulaanbaatar 1960), p. 11. Similarly, the Teleuts cannot marry within their own clan either, Radloff, T. I, p. 337. Other Turkish people, although Islam would allow it, also try to avoid marriages of close relatives, and consider the marriages of relatives closer than 7 or 8 grades impermissible, see Altynsarin, *Očerk obyčaev pri svatovstve i svad'be u kirgizov Orenburgskago vedomstva*: *Zapiski Orenburgskago otdela imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago obščestva* Vyp. I (Kazan 1870), p. 104; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 216.

not vice versa. On the day of the wedding, the bride performs a *mörgŏl* to the fire in her father-in-law's yurt, but does not bow down before the sun.[50] They bless the newly set up yurt for the married couple.

2. description : At the time of the engagement, the two families exchange *ẋadăg sambā*. The bride performs a *mörgŏl* (bowing down and offering) to the fireplace of her father-in-law, but she does not perform this to the sun. When the bride goes over to the bridegroom's family on the day of the wedding, the ceremony called *kösig tatnā* is performed : the bride is seated behind the curtain on the bed, which stands to the woman's side of the yurt, then the curtain before her face is loosen and removed and with this act she is ceremoniously given over to the family of the bridegroom. The blessing of the new yurt takes place on the day of the wedding.

3. description : The girl is not allowed to remain at home when the suitors come. The families do not give any *ẋadăg* to one another. After the bride is taken over to the parents of the bridegroom, she sends a *ẋadăg* with someone to the *burẋan* (!) who is standing already in her father-in-law's yurt. The reason for this is that although the bride is inside the yurt, she is not allowed to go beyond the area covered by the *erᵊg*, that is near to the honoured place in her father-in-law's yurt. The *erᵊg* is a piece of felt, actually the first after the door, and covers the yurt. There is no dog-feeding (observable in other regions of Western Mongolia).[51] The curtain is loosen and removed (*kösig tatnā*) from before the face of the bride, that is she is given over to the family of the bridegroom. There is a usual game at the wedding, namely to toss the head of the cattle, slaughtered for the ceremonial dinner, out through the smoke-releasing hatch of the yurt. The guests who are waiting for it outside catch it, and the relatives of the bride and bridegroom compete in catching it.

4. description : The girl is not allowed to remain at home when the suitors come. If there are two (or more) different suitors the girl is to choose her fiancé. At the engagement, it is customary to present an engagement gift (*süj*), which can be dress material or some other kind of gift. The engagement lasts two or three years, sometimes only one. The bridegroom has to supply the yurt for the marriage, while the bride supplies the ropes needed for the yurt, the bags and transport equipment, the household equipment and other equipment. On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom comes for the bride, escorted by other young people, who are called *dagūl* «attendance, escort», and a young man named *bagᴬ kürgᵊn* «little groom» who sits beside the bride-

[50] The custom of tumbling down or bowing before the sun can be found among the Ölets, Vjatkina, p. 221, the Baits, Vjatkina, pp. 213—214, and even among the Siberian Tartars, Vámbéry, p. 112.

[51] The bride fed the dog of the bridegroom's parents, or rather according to the Baits' custom she tied a *qadaγ* round its neck, Vjatkina, pp. 215, 218.

groom during the wedding dinner. The bride also has a girl sitting beside her, but this girl does not accompany the bride to the parents of the bridegroom. After arriving, the bridegroom had to offer *kŏrŏg* that is snuff to the family of the bride. Then there is a small dinner. The bride also sits at the dinner, but is covered with a veil, for she cannot show her face to anyone except her fiancé. After this they start off to the parents of the bridegroom. The bride sits before the bridegroom, on the same horse (*sundlăž jawnā*). After a while, someone takes the bride's horse by the halter. The bride is covered entirely with a white veil. The bridegroom leads the procession of wedding guests with all the bags and the dowry. The bride is escorted only by her mother to the bridegroom's family, where the wedding dinner is going to take place, and when they get near the yurt of the bridegroom's family, his relatives ride out and throw food, etc. on them. The relatives of the bride then begin to chase them, and if they manage to catch them, the relatives of the bridegroom are regarded as the losers in the game. Before the bride and her escort arrive, the granddaughter of the bridegroom's father on his daughter's side (the daughter of the bridegroom's sister) puts the door of the yurt to. The bride's attendant has to give her gifts or money, otherwise she will not let them in. Following this, the wedding feast starts and lasts until the evening. They have a contest in the evening : one man of the bride's and the bridegroom's relatives set out on horse, and try to take a shawl from one another both holding one side of it the whole time through (*alčūr tatnā*). The woman, who gives the bride and bridegroom advice (*bergĕn*) lay in the same bed with the young couple for the night. The next morning — formerly after three days — the ceremony of remowing the curtain (*kösig tatnā*) takes place. At this, the father of the bride must by all means be present, although he could not be present on the dinner the day before, by now he must arrive, and cannot be late. The father of the bride expresses his approval by placing dairy products (*cagān idē*) on the rope that covers the bed of the eastern or woman's side of the yurt, and behind which the bride is sitting, and utters the following blessing :[52]

[52] Similar idioms expressing richness and happiness can also be found in other texts, for example, the blessing uttered by the father to his daughter, or the father-in-law to his daughter-in-law, at Lunar New Year, or on the day of her wedding, are very similar, see M. Gaadamba—D. Cêrênsodnom, *Mongol ardyn aman zoxiolyn dêêž bičig*: *Studia Folklorica* T. V/1 (Ulaanbaatar 1967), p. 113. Similar phrases occur in eposes for the expression of happiness, see e.g. the epos entitled *Êrdênê Xavxan Sojoo* :

Buuršgŭj bujantaj.
Bumban cagaan örgöötêj.
Saaršgŭj santaj . . .
Xalx ardyn tuulĭ, Red. P. Xorloo (Ulaanbaatar 1967), p. 173.

Būšgùj bùjītē,	«With unabating luck,
Sāršgùj saŋtā̄,	And never-waning treasury,
Sansandā kürēd	Fulfilling your expectations,
Delgerž jaw !	Live prosperously !»

During this, the bridegroom's *bergĕn* sits at the upper, northern end of the curtain, and the bride's *bergĕn* at the lower, southern end. After the blessing the two *bergĕn*'s loosen the rope holding the curtain in front of the bride's face. The father puts some kind of gift, e.g. dress material on the curtain, and so do the others who are present. The mother of the bride also takes part in this ceremony. After the wedding, the *ekīn sū belĕg* «gift for the mother's milk» is presented to her, this is usually an animal or some other precious gift presented by the bridegroom's family.

As these elements and habits are also known among the Mongols,[53] only those are considered here, that are absent within the Khoton community,

[53] The wedding motifs can be contrasted to the customs of the neighbouring peoples in the following way :

1. Engagement customs :

a) At the engagement the two families exchanged *qadaγ*, as generally customary among the Mongols. The presenting was not always mutual, but it was required, from the suitors, cf. with the Dörbeds, Vjatkina, p. 219, with the Baits, pp. 212, 217, with the Ölets, p. 221, with the Khalkhas, p. 208, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 114, with the Urjangkhajs of Xovd, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 4.

b) In most cases the wedding gift was animals, e.g. with the Khalkhas, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 114 ; Vjatkina, p. 210, with the Ölets and Baits in addition to animals other goods, and also silk, Vjatkina, pp. 221, 212.

c) The engagement lasted for 1—3 years, just as with the Baits, Vjatkina, p. 212. During this time the dowry had to be prepared, the yurt from the bridegroom's family, the ropes and household equipment for it from the bride's family. There was a similar custom among the Dörbeds : the bridegroom had to provide the pots, and the bride the door of the yurt, in addition, Vjatkina, p. 220, the bride provided for the ropes and the felt-door among the Ölets, p. 222, there was a similar custom among the Baits, p. 213, among the Khalkhas in some places the bride had to provide also the hair-ropes and the felt-cover of the yurt's top hatch, p. 209, in other places a horse, harness, saddle, and the furniture of the yurt belonged to the bride's dowry, p. 210.

2. Farewell customs for the bride :

a) It was a general custom to arrange a farewell dinner at the bride's home, which is only slightly smaller in many places, than that arranged by the bridegroom's family. The bridegroom offered food and drink which he carried with him from his home, to all the members of the bride's family, and among the Khotons with snuff too, see the Dörbeds', Vjatkina, pp. 219, 220, the Ölets', p. 221, the Baits', p. 217, the Khalkhas', pp. 209, 210, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 115, the Urjangkhajs', Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 7. There were also similar ceremonies in the Altay, Radloff, T. I, p. 318.

b) The bride had to wear a veil at the farewell dinner, and could appear before her bridegroom only among the Khotons. She could not appear before her bridegroom or even remain at home among the Khalkhas, Vjatkina, p. 209, and among the Urjang-

khajs, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 7., among the Baits she had to leave the home, then after the bridegroom and his attendants had left she could return, but had to cover herself with a veil, Vjatkina, pp. 217—218. According to another Bait record, the bride was not allowed to remain at home when the engagement gift was presented, and when the bridegroom came for her, she sat behind a curtain, Vjatkina, p. 213 (cf. the Khoton bride's leaving home when the suitors arrived).

c) It occured that some persons had certain roles in the ceremonies, in addition to the general *bergens*, the attendants of the bridgeroom, the young boy accompanying the bridegroom, and the girl accompanying the bride. In other places the role of the young people, brothers and sisters escorting the bride was usually a pretense of carrying off the bride. Among the Baits, the representative of the bridegroom — who asked the parents for the yurt's ropes, and when leaving placed the bride on the horse, — was a youth of the same age as the bride, Vjatkina, p. 213; according to another record, the bridegroom accompanied by two of his friends took the food and presents to his future father-in-law, *op. cit.*, p. 217, and the bride was to be taken away after the ceremonial dinner by a boy of the same age, p. 218. Among the Ölets the bridegroom went together with a friend to his future father-in-law's yurt, for fire at a preparing rite for the wedding ceremony and along with the young couple at the ceremonial dinner held at the bridegroom's parents, there were the two *bergens* and one young man from each of the two families were present, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Among the Altaic people, two young boys went with the bridegroom for the bride, and later these two boys held a curtain in front of the bride during the wedding march, Radloff, T. I, p. 318.

3. The wedding march:

a) The bridegroom took the bride on his horse, later her horse was taken by the bridle. It is a generally known custom that the bride was taken by a relative or representative of the bridegroom or a friend of him of the same age as the bride, on his horse, see with the Dörbeds, Vjatkina, p. 220, with the Baits, pp. 213, 218, with the Ölets, p. 221, with the Khalkhas, pp. 210, 209, 211, according to another collection among the Khalkhas a relative took her on his horse while the *bergens* supported him from two sides, Potanin, Vyp. I, p. 116. Only among the Urjangkhajs is there a report of one of the suitors taking the bride on his horse, while the other held the horse by the bridle, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 8.

b) The face of the bride was covered during this procedure. It is also a very widely known custom, see the Baits, Vjatkina, pp. 213, 218, Ölets, p. 221, Khalkhas, pp. 209, 210, 211, Potanin, Vyp. I, p. 115. The face of the Kirghiz, Uzbek, or Kazak bride was covered during the wedding march with a veil, too, which was taken off by a young boy or man either immediately before entering the father-in-law's yurt, or immediately after entering, Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 235. The Shor wife was covered with a veil when she first visited the brother of her husband, N. P. Dyrenkova, *Perežitki materinskogo roda u altajskix tjurkov*: *Sovetskaja Êtnografija* 1937, No. 4, p. 43. In the Altay the two attendants of the bride held a curtain in front of her face which is fixed on two sticks, Radloff, T. I, p. 318; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 235. Among the Urjangkhajs of Xovd the custom was the same: two men carried the curtain of the bride's bed before her, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 8. The Mongol custom was for the bride to be placed behind a curtain in her father's yurt before the wedding march, she was covered with a veil, sent away from home, etc. (see point 2/b), then in the yurt of her father-in-law she was seated again behind the curtain of the bed (see point 4/f), so after all a simplification is imaginable where the curtain is substituted in the wedding march by a veil covering the face.

c) The bridegroom also leads the wedding march among the Baits, Vjatkina, p. 213, and the Khalkhas, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 116.

d) The bride was seen off by her mother, her father arrived only at the ceremony of removing the curtain. It is a generally wide spread custom that she was seen off by the mother, and not by the father, see the Ölets, Vjatkina, p. 222, Dörbeds, p. 220, Khalkhas, p. 210, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 116. Among the Baits the mother participated at the wedding dinner, she left only in the morning, while the father arrived for a visit after three days, when another ceremonial dinner was arranged in his honour, Vjatkina, p. 219. According to a Khalkha fact, the mother of the bride participated at the ceremonial dinner, and remained there for three days, while the father arrived only after the mother had left, p. 210.

e) The relatives of the bridegroom threw food on the approaching bride, whereupon they were chased by the bride's escort. A young man came out to meet them with the Dörbeds, he threw meat on the bride, and then ran away, Vjatkina, p. 220, among the Khalkhas, p. 209.

4. Ceremonies at the bridegroom's family :

a) The door is put to before the bride. In other places on these occasions answering songs, and tunes used to be sung, and the right to enter was redeemed by a gift, see the Dörbed song, Gaadamba-Cêrênsodnom, pp. 87—89.

b) The bride bowed before the fire. In other places it was a generally wide spread custom that she had to bow before the parents-in-law, the *burqans* etc., see the Baits, Vjatkina, p. 214, the Dörbeds, p. 220, the Khalkhas, pp. 210—211, similarly among the Kirghiz, Vámbéry, p. 249, the Kazaks ,Radloff, T. I, pp. 475, 478, Altaic people, p. 318, Urjangkhajs of Xovd, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 9, among the Shors when first visiting the brother of the husband, Dyrenkova, p. 43, among the Khalkhas *qaday* was the usual as a gift to *burqans*, handed over by someone on behalf of the bride to the mother-in-law, Vjatkina, p. 210, there was a similar custom among the Urjangkhajs, but there the bridegroom handed it over, Badamxatan, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

c) The wedding ceremony is held at the bridegroom's family, Dörbeds, Vjatkina, p. 219, Ölets, p. 221, Baits, p. 218, Khalkhas, pp. 210, Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 116. There are some places where the role of the host is played by young couple : see the Khalkhas, Vjatkina, p. 211, the Urjangkhajs, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 9, in the Altay, Radloff, T. I, p. 320.

d) Yurts were blessed with the blessing texts used throughout Mongolia, cf. Dörbeds, Vjatkina, p. 221, Baits, pp. 215—216, Khalkhas, Gaadamba-Cêrênsodnom, pp. 105—106, B. Ritchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol* I (Wiesbaden 1959), pp. 4—5.

e) In the evening the *bergen* joined the young couple in the same bed. It was a common custom in most places that the *bergens* supervised the consummation of the marriage. Among the Baits both *bergens* remained in the yurt of the young couple for the night, Vjatkina, p. 218. Among the Urjangkhajs of Xovd the 2 *bergens* stayed in with the young couple in the evening and put them in the same bed, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 10. Among the Khalkhas the two *bergens* slept in the same yurt with the young couple. Only these two *bergens* were allowed to enter the yurt of the newly married couple the first three days of the marriege. Potanin, Vyp. II, p. 116. According to another record the one who put the young couple was a man from among the bridegroom's relatives who was of the same age as the newly married couple, Vjatkina, p. 211.

f) The curtain was withdrawn before the face of the bride in the following morning. The removal of the curtain is a characteristic custom in Western Mongolia. Among the Baits, the curtain was pulled down by the bridegroom's father at the conclusion of the wedding. He uttered a blessing while removing the veil covering the bride's face off, Vjatkina, p. 219. Among the Dörbeds, the face of the bride was covered immediately

although observable in their vicinity. Even those elements, similar to those of the Mongols, can be found in the habits of Turkish clans (see footnotes), so it seems possible, that the Mongol influence mainly merely reinforced these customs or to some extent changed the old traditions. The habits suggest several already unconscious conceptions of the past. The fact that the bride has to perform an offering to the fireplace of her father-in-law's yurt, to the gods in the yurt, and that she was not allowed to approach the respected place in the yurt, and that they try to prevent her entering the yurt, expresses — in addition to due respect towards the father-in-law — that she was considered to be an alien, and that she had to obtain permission to belong to the family's fireplace. She was redeemed from her parents by a gift to her mother, but the final redeeming, according to patriarchal rights, took place in the presence of the father, after the consummation of the marriage. It is rather interesting, that the young couple who are preparing to get married keeps up the appearance that the bridegroom has not seen the bride before the wedding, although in nearly all cases they are acquainted well with each other (e.g. the girl is not permitted to remain at home when the suitors call, and she has to wear a veil at the wedding). An element that hints at the abduction of women can be considered in the habit of the bridegroom taking the bride before him on the horse (later on the bride's horse is taken by the halter, while she cannot see because of the veil that covers her face), or the other habit of the bridegroom's relatives «attacking» the wedding guests who bring the dowry. The two families face one another as opponents in the games that follow. The unity of the new family is expressed by the yurt built by the bridegroom's family and the ropes for it brought by the bride.

Their families live on patriarchal rights, but they still have reminiscences of a matriarchate in some of their customs. The father is head of the family,

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after she entered the yurt, then she was seated behind the curtain which was withdrawn by her father before the wedding, p. 220. Among the Urjangkhajs of Xovd, this ceremony was performed by the bride's mother three days after the wedding, Badamxatan, *O svadebnyx obrjadax*, p. 10. However, in most cases the bride was simply seated behind the curtain of the bed after her arrival at the yurt of her father-in-law, and no special ceremonies were carried out to remove it, or bless it, cf. among the Baits, Vjatkina, p. 214, among the Dörbeds, p. 219, among the Ölets, p. 222, and among the Khalkhas, p. 210. In the Altay, the curtain which was held before the face of the bride during the wedding march remained there until the newly married couple they entered their own new yurt, Radloff, T. I, p. 320, cf. points 2/b, 3/b.

g) The mother of the bride was presented with a gift. Among the Dörbeds the big gift was presented at the end of the wedding ceremony, in the evening, Vjatkina, p. 220, according to another record she received a horse before going over to the bridegroom's family, p. 220. The Khalkhas greeted her at the ceremonial dinner held at the bridegroom's family and presented her then, Gaadamba-Cêrênsodnom, pp. 89—90. It is very interesting that the Baits gave a present to the father who arrived three days after the wedding ceremony, but not to the mother of the bride, p. 219.

and the fire is inherited from father to son. In the yurt always the oldest one lights the fire, and if the mother is the oldest, even her grown-up son respects her as the head of the family, although in practice, of course, this is often only formal. In the morning, always the wife or a female member of the family opens (by drawing the felt-piece [*örkə*] back) the light-releasing hatch of the yurt, in a similar way to the habit everywhere else among the Mongols. Relatives of the paternal and maternal side were both equally respected, but orphans were brought up by the relatives of the father.

When only girls were born in a family, a boy was adopted so that the family fireplace would not die out. The year of birth of the man who was sent for the boy had to be appropriate concerning the twelve-year cycle (*žil ñ tārsaŋ*). The natural parents of the boy held a ceremonial dinner, while the envoy gave sweets or some other gift to the mother of the boy, then he took him over. On his departure, the natural parents gave him some kind of gift, and the adopting parents presented him with sweets, etc., when he arrived. A harnessed and saddled horse was shown to him, which later would be his. (Their own children received this about the age of five.)[54]

If a daughter was born in a family, the yurt holding pole, which on one end was two-forked, was pushed out at the eastern or woman's side of the top-hatch, while if a son was born, they pushed it out at the western or man's side of the top-hatch. The birth of a child was not followed by ritual washing, *ugālăg*, as it was with the Mongols. Depending on the number and colour of birthmarks (*meŋgə*)[55] on the infant, they used as many horses with that certain colour to *setertej* on the day of its birth. According to some they did not cut the hair of little children, according to others (however, confirmed by the majority) the way little boys wore their hair was identical to that customary with the Western Mongols.[56] Two tresses (or pony-tails) called *tewĕg* and *sewgĕr*

[54] The Khalkhas followed similar customs in the case of adoption. The adopting parents went to collect the child, who took the hand of the one whose birth-year was «appropriate», while the child was presented with a sheep, and the occasion was celebrated by a feast, Vjatkina, pp. 232—233.

[55] The number of birth-marks was considered to be important as these corresponded to the birth-year. The following words are included in an Eastern Khalkha answering song, sung at weddings: *mêngê žilij nĭ nijluulž*, «uniting their birthmarks and years». Later the bride was led around the yurt before the start of the wedding march by a «person whose birth-year and birth-marks are adequate», *žil mêngê taarsan xün*, Gaadamba-Cêrênsodnom, p. 87.

[56] With regard to, the custom of the Dörbeds, see Vjatkina, pp. 234—236, concerning the Khalkhas', see p. 244. Hair-cutting was also celebrated among other Turkish people. In the Altay a 7-year-old child's hair, — tresses that were bound together in front of its ears — were cut by the maternal uncle and at this event he presented the child with a horse, Potanin, Vyp. IV, p. 38. There was a similar custom among the Kirghiz, which can be regarded as confirmation of their relationship by Abramzon, *Ethnogenetic*

were left at both sides at the top of a boy's head, and sometimes also another one, called *gizig*^{ə} could be left at the back of his head. Some informants stated that these tresses were cut off at the age of three, within the scope of a feast, while others stated that this occured at the age of five. They safeguarded the cut tresses (*örlŏg*). If a relative was a soldier at this time and could not be at home, pieces of the boy's tresses were put away even for him (from all the three types). At that same time, the boy received his own riding horse, and his father showed him some sheep from the flock, that would be his from that time on.

In addition to the *bŭwē* word for getting children asleep that was well known to the Mongols, they used another one : *χāčildā*.

They had a number of other customs, and superstitions that were identical with those of the Mongols.

Hair, nail: Cut hair has to be put into a hole and then covered with earth, or at the top of a *χargᵃnᴬ* (*kirayana*) bush on clean soil. Hair that fell out when the hair was washed also has to be scratched into the ground. Clipping of nail[57] also has to be dug into the ground, because there would be fearful consequences if a cow ate them. (cf. fire.)

Encounter : If one has to walk around something, one has to walk according to the course of the sun. A person coming from the left has to be passed on the right, so that the feet meet at the right. If someone stepped on the foot of another, they had to hook their little fingers together and give them a pull.

Illness : If there is an ill person in the yurt, a rope has to be stretched out before the door (*gēg tatnā*) and a somewhat thinner one (*šiǯĭm*) drawn on this, while a piece of rag of different colour to the rope has to be tied on it. As far as they knew, Khalkhas in these cases either used to bind their door with ropes all around, but not entirely, so that they can enter the yurt, or a piece of wood is tied on the door of the cattles' fence (*χašā*).

Yurt : No other habit is connected with the light-releasing hatch-covering felt (*örk*^{ə}) than the one mentioned earlier. If someone is found at home, when he is asked where he is, the appropriate answer is : *Manā̄ ger dēr bäjnā*, «Here is our yurt above.» If one intended to carry a pack into the yurt, before entering it has to be put down for a moment outside the yurt. Concerning the felt-mattress (*dewsgĕr*), which is laid on the ground at night for sleeping on, there are two contradictory items of information. According to one informant it has to be laid out in the evening beginning from above, that is from the head (or north), and folded up in the morning beginning from below, that is from the feet (or south). Others stated that it has to be rolled up beginning from the head in the morning too, even in the case of death.

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ties, p. 7. The Tartars of Tobolsk and the surrounding area also celebrated the event of first shaving the heads of young boys, Gmelin, pp. 167—168.

[57] A similar habit was also known among the Khalkhas, Vjatkina, p. 241.

Dress: When someone wears a new attire (*dēl*) for the first time, his mother has to put on the belt and pull the clothes on the back. Several informants unanimously stated that no blessing is uttered at this occasion.

Fire: Garbage, dead animals (except the *setertej mal*) are not burnt. They do not spit into a fire, spittle has to be scraped into the ground.

Kettle: A lid has to be placed under a kettle put out to dry, so that no dust should get into it. A kettle placed on the ground has to be propped up (*kītē tàwʲnā*) on one side. The circle of soot left on the ground by a kettle has to be kicked away, because if this is not done, it means ill-luck for those who stepped into them.

Ground, grass: Drawings and writings on the ground have to be swept away, or their place has to be smoothed with the foot, cf. *kettle*. Grass must not be torn out, only withered grass can be collected if it is needed for the cattle.

Folk veterinary science, or quackery is known to them as *χarīn argᵠᴬ*. Within this, rational treatment and quacksalvery mingle.[58] If a horse's milt became ill (*delū öwčʲn*), the animal is stabbed on the back. Cows are stabbed in the paunch, and ulcers (*erwēkɛj*) of cattle are also pierced through. For feverish cattle they cook *arcᴬ* «red juniper». If the udder of a cow is inflamed, it is cured (*dom kīnē*) by the hand or dress of a twin-child.[59] The vessel to burn incense (*bojpor*), standing in front of the Buddha statues is not used for quackery, in contrast to the Mongolian customs, but a yellow water-dipping ladle (*šanagᵠᴬ*) is used for curing a cow's udder. First they struck the bottom of the ladle to the ground, then they struck the udder several times, while uttering the widespread magic words: *em dom, em dom*.

If some of the cattle became lost from the herd, in a similar way to the Mongols, they tried to trace the cattle by various magic predictions (*mergělnē*).

Riddles collected among the Khotons that refer to parts of the body, the yurt, furniture, all kinds of articles and the natural environment are also well-known among the Mongols without exception.

1. *Abdᵃrār neg cagān χursăg juw?* (*šüd*)[60]
   «A boχ of white lambskin, what is it? (Teeth).»
2. *T'ašūd kelkē t'ewš* (*čikᵊ*).[61]
   «A mute skillet on the slope (ear).»

[58] Cf. M. Tatár, *Quacksalbereien und Beschwörungswörter bei den Mongolen*: *Altaica Collecta* (Wiesbaden 1976) pp. 259—266.

[59] According to Vámbéry, p. 216, Turks of Central Asia also used the shirtlet of infants to cure grown-ups.

[60] Similar riddles are known from the Tùrgên Sumun of Uvs Ajmag, *Mongol ardyn tùmên onĭsogo T. I. Tùùv. C. Ólzijxutag* (Ulaanbaatar 1966), pp. 130, 2010.

[61] Similarly to *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 2121.

3. *Ūlīn cādūd uŋ kχar kümŭn* (*gezᵉgᵃ*)[62]
«On the other side of the hill a tall, (long) black man (plaited hair).»
4. *Ecgīn čiñ nüděn bultăž waěn.* (*Termīn üdēr*).[63]
«The eyes of your father goggle. (That part of the yurtwalls, where they are bound together).»
5. *Išginī öwŏr išē tīšē* (*Termīn tolgoj*).[64]
«The horns of the goat-kid are looking this way-that way (The top of the yurtwall).»
6. *Gerēr neg bār alčūr* (*Termīn zā*).[65]
«A yurt of figured shawl (The rhombus shapes opening at the touching of the yurt's laths).»
7. *Xar buxᴬ daxād xurdălž* (*Gerīn sūdᵃr*).[66]
«Black steer run together (The shadow of the yurt).»
8. *Oñsŏgīn ekēn oljū soljū*
Olsŏn kŭnī nüděn tag soxŏr (*cojž*).[67]
«The fore-part of the riddle is in confusion (in various directions),
The one who found it out, is completely blind-eyed. (Padlock)».
9. *Kökī čiñ išgⁱn*
Köŋnē čirēd gŭž. (*utᵃs, zū*).[68]
«Your suckling goat-kid (word-wordly: the goat-kid of your breast) runs so, that it is drawing his rope behind. (Needle, thread).»
10. *Mösᵒn dēr*
Möngᵒn cögcᵒ (*sarīn tujā*).[69]
«Silver cup on ice (moonshine)».
11. *Küzūgüj t'emē*
Künd kücügdŭdüggüj. (*zam*).[70]

[62] Similarly to *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 2177.

[63] A similar proverb was collected in Bulgan Sumun, Xovd Ajmag, *op. cit.*, p. 171, 2925.

[64] A similar proverb was collected in Sêvrêj Sumun, Ômnógovĭ Ajmag, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 2937.

[65] A similar proverb was collected in the Têš Sumun of Uvs Ajmag, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 2930. *Bār*: *vaar*, the name of a sort of decoration of the *qadaγ*, C. Gočoo, *Mongol êdijn dêêž xadag*: *Studia Ethnographica* T. I/2 (Ulaanbaatar 1961), p. 5.

[66] Similar proverbs were collected in Manxan Sumun, Xovd Ajmag, in Cagannuur Sumun, Sêlêngê Ajmag, in Ulaanbaatar, in Xógnó Sumun, Dornod Ajmag, *Tùmên onĭsogo*, pp. 42, 477—479, 481.

[67] A similar proverb can be found in Êrdênêbùrên Sumun, Xovd Ajmag, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 3317.

[68] Similar proverbs were collected in Darxan, Sêlêngê Ajmag, and Sajnšand, Dornogovĭ Ajmag, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 4007, 4009.

[69] Regarding similar proverbs, see *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 97, 98.

[70] Similar proverbs were collected in Zotol Sumun, Sùxbaatar Ajmag, in Xašaat Sumun, Arxangaj Ajmag, and in Bulgan Sumun, Dornod Ajmag, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 487, 488, 491, 494.

«Neckless camel
Not used to reach men. (Road).»

Most of the above mentioned proverbs are generally known, except the first and the sixth, which are known in the Uvs Ajmag only, and the eighth which is known only from the Xovd Ajmag.

The Khoton folk-songs that I collected belong to the so-called short-song genre and are scornful and joking in temper, which is the specific feature of Western Mongolian folk-songs. The Khotons also know and sing the so-called long-songs of the Dörbeds.

1. *Tüŋgīn tūlaj*

Tüŋgīn tūlajg noχoj bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym,
Termᵒg gürkīg ter miñ bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym.

Ūlīn tūlajg noχoj bosχō
Ē-ē χalnym,
Ujrχăn gürkīg ter miñ bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym.

Arīn tūlajg noχoj bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym,
Amrăg gürkīg ter miñ bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym.
Amrăg gürkīg ter miñ bosχō
Ē-ē χajnym, ē-ē χajnym!

Hare in the tall grass

«The hare in the tall grass is roused by the dog,
Oh my dearest,
My lonely heart is roused by her, who is mine,
Oh my dearest.»

«The hare in the mountains is roused by the dog,
Oh my dearest,
My gentle heart is roused by her, who is mine,
Oh my dearest.»

«The hiding hare is roused by the dog,
Oh my dearest,
My loving heart is roused by her, who is mine,
Oh my dearest,
My loving heart is roused by her, who is mine,
Oh my dearest, oh my dearest.»

2. *X̌očtŏn bajdlā*

Jamānī cŏkŏn gümken bajdlā l,
Jan^{a}ggùj jawd^{a}lā sald^{a}gīn bajdlā.

Xòñnī cŏkön gümken bajdlā l,
X̌ošūnī kellū x̣očtŏn bajdlā.

Temēnī cŏkŏn gümken bajdlā l,
Tesg^{a}lgùj jawd^{a}lā sald^{a}gīn bajdlā.

Adūnī cŏkŏn gümken bajdlā l,
Álgùj jawd^{a}lā sald^{a}gīn bajdlā.

Shaming situation

«If there are too few goats, they scatter,
If there is no love, they used to divorce.»

«If there are too few sheep, they scatter,
The gossip of the district used to be humiliating.»

«If there are too few camels, they scatter,
If there is no patience, they used to divorce.»

«If there are too few horses, they scatter,
If there is no compliance, they used to divorce.»



Fig. 1. Traditional woman's dress



Fig. 2. Traditional woman's dress clapped by two buttons, the *cegděg*



Fig. 3. Woman's hair-clip at the end of a tress, the *čačibik*



Fig. 4. Woman's hair-clip

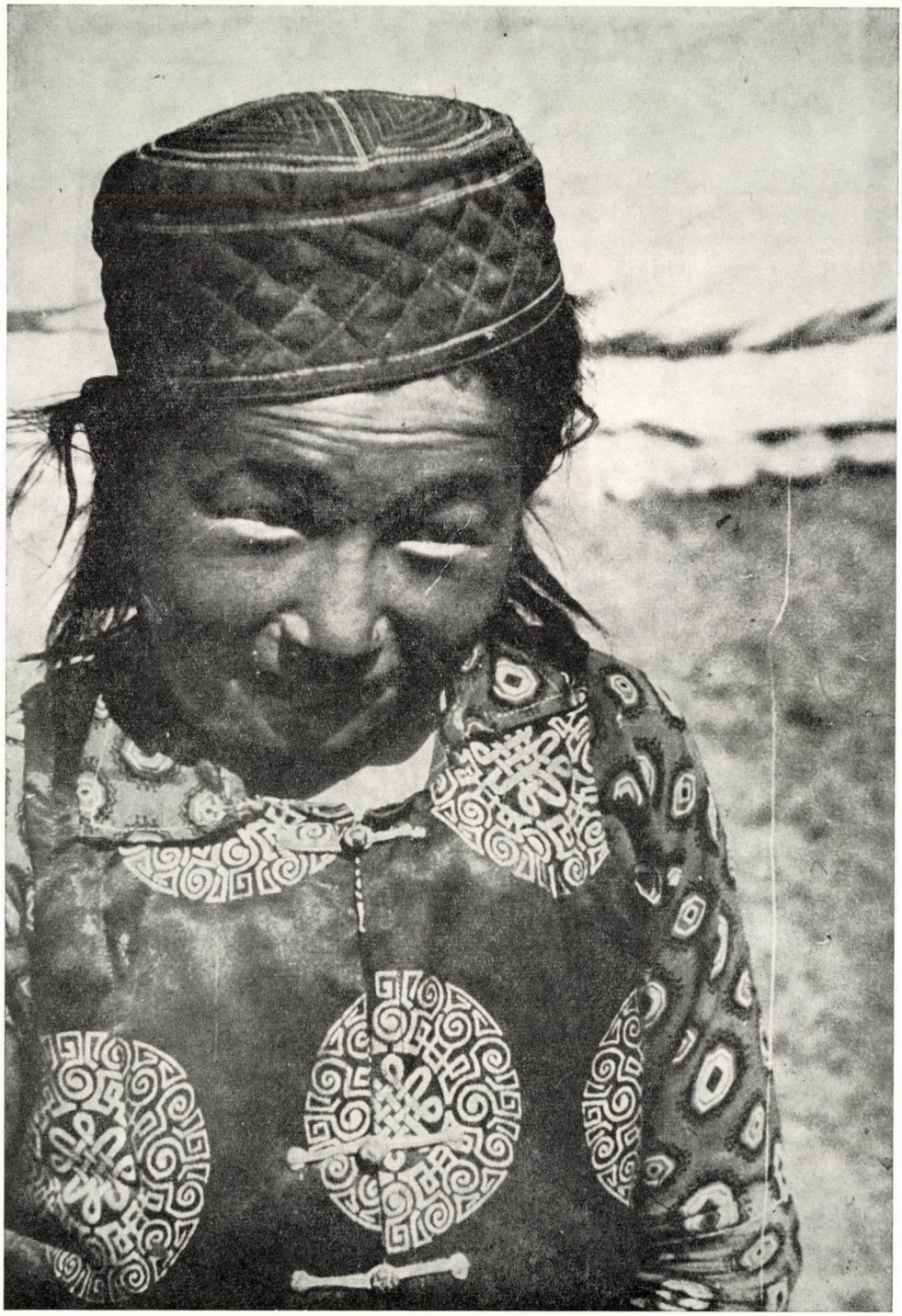


Fig. 5. Little girl wearing a Khoton cap



Fig. 6. Young Khoton women

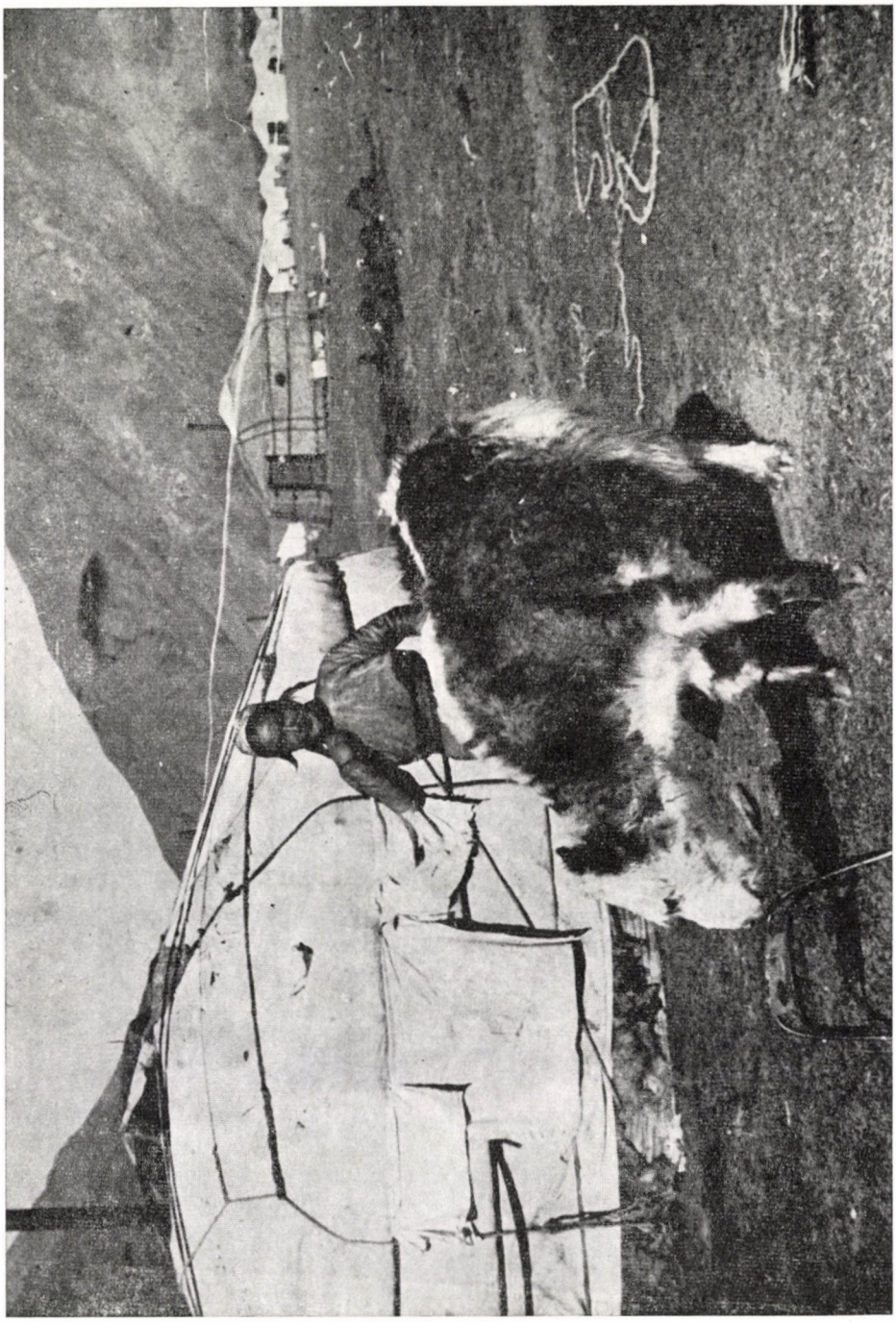


Fig. 7. Ail



Fig. 8. Decoration of horse-furniture

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TWO MONGOLIAN COLOPHONS TO THE SUVARṆAPRABHĀSOTTAMA-SŪTRA

BY

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The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* or *Altan Gerel* is one of the most popular books of Buddhism among the Mongols. This work was translated and printed several times in Mongolia. In the Tibetan Kanjur there are three versions of this sutra which differ mainly in the number of chapters. The longest version consists of 31 chapters, the middle one consists of 29, the shortest one consists of 21 chapters. The longest Tibetan version was translated from Chinese by Čhos-grub. The 29 chapter version contains a translation from Sanskrit by Ye-šes-sde. The 21 chapter version is possibly another translation from Sanskrit; the translator's name is missing in the Kanjur edition of Ulan Bator.[2]

As the Mongolian Kanjur was translated from the Tibetan Kanjur, all three versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* can be found in the Mongolian canon.[3]

The 31 chapter Mongolian version contains the translation made from Tibetan by Mati badra sagara (Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mcho?) in the early 17th century, during Ligdan's reign, with the aid of Kun-dga' 'od-zer, one of the editors of the Mongolian Kanjur.

The 29 chapter version was translated into Mongolian from Tibetan and Uigur by Šes-rab seṅ-ge at the beginning of the 14th century. Its colophon indicating the translator's name was not included in the Mongolian Kanjur, but the different copies of this version have short and long postscripts.

The third version exists in two Mongolian translations. That of the Mongolian Kanjur has much in common with Šes-rab seṅ-ge's version and thus it can be considered a variant of his 29 chapter version. An independent translation of this version was composed by the Jaya paṇḍita Nam-mkha' rgya-

[1] The first two (the 31 and the 29 chapter) versions belong to the Rgyud section, vol. 13, in the Kanjur; vol. 14 contains the third version.

[2] In this paper all the three Tibetan *Suv.* versions are quoted from the 1910 blockprint edition of Urga.

[3] L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé*, Budapest 1942, p. 55, No. 176, 177, 178.

mcho in the middle of the 16th century. This translation in Jaya paṇḍita's «clear letters» became very popular among the Western Mongols.

Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation of the second version, an important monument of 14th century Mongolian language and literature deserves investigation. In the study of this translation those variants which offer colophons are of peculiar interest. Two of them are quoted here. Colophon A is conserved in the MS I discovered in 1940 in the Ulan Bator temple of Janraiseg (Spyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokiteśvara). Colophon B was found in the MS No. 16858 of the Ulan Bator State Public Library of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Colophon A

Enedkeg-ün mergen paṇḍita Jinamitiri Današila qoyar-ača öčiǰü : Töbed-ün kelemüči bandi Yišisdi sini ǰasaγlaγsan ayalyus : Töbedčilen orčiγulǰu orosiγuluγsan : qutuγ-tu dege-dü Altan gerel-tü erke-tü ene nom-i : qoyina ayui yeke : ariγun Mongγolǰin ulus-a rasiyan boltuγai : kemen Esen Temür tayuda duradqan ügülegdeǰü : Šakyaliγ-ud-un toyin Širab Sengge Töbedčin Uyiγur-čin bičig-üd-eče Mongγolčilan orčiγulǰu : burqan bodistv kiged-ün neres-i : Mongγolǰin ayalyudur ülü nayiraqu-yin tulada : Uyiγud-un yosuγar Enedkegčilen orčiγuluγad basaber Enedkeg Töbed tel medegči Buni-a-širi sidü-lüge Enedkegčin Töbedčin Uyiγurčin ayalγu-tan bičig-üd-lüge toqiyalduγulǰu : ayalγu udqasi ülü enden orosiγulbai : : : : :

Oom suvasdi Sidam :

1. *ülemǰi nigülesküi sedkil-ün egülen-eče :*
   ükül ügei nom-un qura-yi oroγulǰu :
   orčilang-un čilger qalaγun-i sönegegči-de :
   oroi-bar-iγan [kündülen] mörgüǰü bürün : :
2. *ken tere [ene] badira kalab-un dotora : :*
   kedüi toγatan burqan-nuγud törüǰü :
   kem ügei ǰarliγ nom inu Mongγol irgen-dür :
   ker kürügsen siltaγan-i quriγan ügülesügei : :
3. *ali čaγ-tur ene saba yirtinčü bayiγuluγad :*
   ayui yeke dalay-yin dumda mingγan nabči-tu :
   altan öngge-tü linqu-a delgeregsen-i :
   ariγun oron-daqi tngri-ner üǰeǰü bürün : :
4. *sayitur delgeregsen altan linqu-yin belge inu :*
   saγar ügei ene kalab-tur mingγan toγatan :
   sayibar oduγsan burqan-nuγud törökü kemen :
   sayin kalab sayin kalab kemen ǰarlalduǰuqui : :

5. *ali tere čaγ-ača terigüleǰü bürün* :
amitan naiman tümen nasulaqui-dur kürtele :
altan kürdütü čakirvad qaγan töröǰü :
amitan-i arban buyantu mör-tü ǰoqiyaǰuqui : :
6. *tendeče amitan naiman tümen nasulaqui-ača*
terigüleǰü ǰaγun nasulaquyin urida :
tegüs tuγuluγsan Karkasundi terigülen Kanakamuni :
tegünčilen Kašib itegel töröǰü bürün : :
7. [*toγ-a tomsi ügei olan amitan-i* :
tonilqui qutuγ-tur ǰokiyaǰu dötüger-tür :
tuγuluγsan baγsi bidan-u Šigemüni :
töröbei amitan ǰaγun nasulaqui čaγ-tur :]
8. *qubitan amitan-u tayalal-i-yar inu* :
yurban ǰüil-iyer qoyar kölgen-i nomlaǰu :
qotola-yi qutuγ-tur ǰoqiyaǰu čoγčas-un (-iyan) :
qočorli ügei nirvan-dur orobai öbesüben : :
9. *öber-ün beyeber nomuqadqaqun-i daγusqaǰu* :
orobasu-bar tere boγda nirvan-dur :
ülgeldün merged töröǰü tegün-i ǰarliγ-i
uryumal naran-dur adali geyigülügsen-i : :
10. *erten-ü irüger-ün küčün-iyer bodistv-nar* :
erketü küčütü qaγan bolun töröǰü bürün :
eǰeleǰü öber-ün öber-ün ulus-taγan :
erdini šasin nom-i delgeregülǰem : :
11. *uduriγulsun nirvan bolǰu yurban mingγan* :
öbermiče basa ǰaγun on-u dotora :
uridu buyan-u küčün-iyer Jambudvib-un :
umaradu örgöl Onon neretü yaǰar-tur-i : :
12. *delekei dekin-i nigen törü-dür oroγulurun* :
tngri-ner-e üre sačuydaγsan-u uruγ-tur :
tengkel ügei buyan bilig-ün küčün yeke -tü :
Temüǰin nere-tü ere boγda törüǰü bürün : :
13. *činggir qada metü omurqaγčid-un* [*yekerkegčid-ün*] *terigün-i* :
čimeg-iyer bayulǰu inüken köl-dür-i :
čing-iyer taqiγuluγsan-u qoyina aldar nere inu :
Činggis qaγan kemen Jambudvib-dur čab bolǰuqui : :
14. *boγda tegün-ü čaγ-tur burqan-u nom-i* :
bükü Mongγol ulus-a ese aldarsiγulbasu :
burqan-u erdem-i sonusuγad mön degere-ber :
bursang quvaraγ-ud-i alban-ača yaryaǰuqui : :
15. *qutuγ-tu tegün-ü yudayar üy-e-dür inü* :
qubilγan böged törügsen-ü tula nere inü :

Qubilai kemen [qotala-yin] oroi degere ergügdeǰü
qoyina Sečen qayan kemen aldarsiǰuqui : :
16. *erdem bilig-iyer čimegdeǰü yirtinčü dekin-ü* :
egenegčin tusa-yi sedkiküi inü Esrü-e metü :
edüiken-ber ǰasaday ügei ünen ǰoriy inu :
erten-ü arsi-narun qayan metü : :
17. *bükü-yin tula boγda burqan-u nom-i* :
bügüde-eče degedü-yi ünen-iyer uqaǰu :
bodistv 'Pagspa blam-a-yi iregülǰü :
bürin-iyer burqan-u šasin-i sonosqaγulǰuqui : :
18. *urida ügei tulγurča Mongγol-un üsüg-i* :
uran-a sayitur ǰoqiyaγulǰu bayi boluγad :
ünen sayin tonilqui mör-i üǰegülügsen-iyer :
oroi-yin čimeg bolγan kündüleǰüküi : :
19. *oo teyin-ber bügesü burqan-u nom-i* :
oor Mongγol-iyar tuγulyaǰu ese boluγsan-iyar :
olan[-a] tuγulyan yadan-nügüd-iyen čü :
olangqin Uyiγurčin kelen-iyer sonosqan aǰuγui : :
20. *tegün-ü qoyina terigülegči tere qayan-u* :
delekei-yin eǰen bolγan erke ögdegsen :
dede köbegün-ü γudayar üy-e-dür inü :
tengsel ügei Qayisan neretü törüǰü bürün : :
21. *köbegün čaγ-ačaγan büged uridus-tur* :
kösigürkegsed-i külüg-iyer-iyen ülüdkeǰü :
gür ulus-un eǰen bolγaγdaǰu bürin-e :
Külüg qayan kemen aldarsigsan ken bügesü : :
22. *ünen-iyer uduriduγči ügülegčid-ün naran* :
učiraǰu Čoski odser neretü kelemüči-lüge :
üy-e qoyar-un arγa bilig-ün küčün-iyer :
oor Mongγol-un ayalγu-bar nom-i delgeregülǰem : :
23. *tengkel ügei tere boγda-yin degü inü* :
degedü Buyantu qayan-bar burqan-u nom-i
tegünčilen kü delgeregülkü-yin eǰen bolǰu :
tegün-eče-ber aγui-da delgeregülügsen aǰuγu : :
24. *tegün-ü qoyina nigen kedün qad-un čaγ-tur* :
tegünčilen nom-i orčiγulqui čolayidaǰu :
tendeče basa mön kü Külüg qayan-u :
tegünčilen γudayar üy-e-dür inü : :
25. *asuru üǰeskülenγ-tü you törülki inu* :
ariγun oron-daki tngri-yin kübegün metü :
amurlingγui küličenggüi nomuqan inu :
ariy-a Avalokita išvari bodistv metü : :

26. *tusatu bodi sedkil-i nasu turqaru* :
duran-ača ülü angqiǰirayuluγči bodistv :
Toγan Temür qaγan-i yeke suu-dur :
dulduyidču Esen Temür tayuta orčiγuluγsan ::
27. *ečige eke-de edügülǰü bi Qaradasi* :
ene bey-e-yi oluγsan-ača edüge :
eǰen qaγan-a soyurqaγdaǰu naran-iyar :
erketü burqan-u nomlaγsan nom ünen-iyer ::
28. *üčügüken busu ali tere buyan-u* :
ülemǰi gerel-tü gegegen naran-u
üčügülel ügei gerel-iyer amitan-u :
ülü nayiraqun qaranqus-i geyigülkü boltuγai ::
29. *tere-ber dotora ilangγuγ-a* :
tengkel ügei yeke ačitu ken bügesü :
delekei-yin eǰen qaγan qatun :
tegünčilen uruγ köbegüd-ün ::
30. *buruγu sedkil-ten bulqan daisun* :
buruγu uduriduγči ada todqur :
buyan busu nigül qilinče :
bügüde amurliǰu ügei boltuγai :
31. *qamuγ-i medegči-yin ǰarliγ inu* :
qamuγ-ača ai berke včir metü :
γani munggaγ oyitu minu metü :
qaγačaγulun čidaγdaqui busu-bar bolbasu ::
32. *uduridun sayin nomčin bičiǰü ese tögüsčü* :
ulam qočoruγsan Qaradaš čuqui bičigülǰü :
ülemǰi nigülesügčid-ün adistid-iyer :
učiraǰu ǰöb boluγsan buyan-iyar ::
33. *γayiqamsiγ burqan-u nere ken-i-ber* :
qarangqui nisvanis-a türdeǰü ese sonosdaγsan :
qararaǰu (?) bükü teyimü ulus irgen-dür :
qamuγ-ača nom-un naran uryuqu boltuγai ::
34. *γurban erdinis-i ünemlekü-yin tulada* :
qudal ügei ünen adistid kiged :
qotola tngri-ner-ün aman aldaγsan :
qoyina Čos irǰamso šabi :
35. *qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada Altan gerel sudur-i* :
qara üker ǰil-ün qabur-un ečüs sara-da :
qaγan sudur-i orčiγulun bičibe :
qamuγ amitan toniltuγai egüber ::
36. *Čoski ekilen ečige eke bügüdeger* :
čooraquγ-a qutuγ-i olǰu :

čoγčalaγsan nom-un adistid toγtaǰu :
čoγsimal nom-un ǰirüken aldarsin tögüstügei ::
man-gha-lam ::

The Tibetan translator, bande Ye-šes-sde, in consultation with the wise Indian panditas Jinamitra and Dānaśila, translated it (this book) into the newly perfectuated Tibetan idiom. Later the monk Šes-rab seṅ-ge of the Śākya (order) translated this powerful book (of) the holy and supreme Golden Light from the Tibetan und Uigur scriptures into Mongolian, on the request of Esen temür tayuta[4] who said : Let is be ambrosia for the pure (hearted) Mongolian people !

As the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas do not sound in Mongolian, he wrote them, according to the Uigur usage, in Indian form. Together with Bunia-širi sidü, a connoiseur of Sanskrit and Tibetan, he compared the Indian, the Tibetan and the Uigur texts, and thus he translated the meanings and the words faultlessly.

Oṃ svasti siddhaṃ [O, let it be prosperity !]

1. I bow my head (with reverence) before him,
   who lets fall the rain of the immortal teaching
   from the cloud of the great compassion,
   and who extinguishes the fire of the *saṃsāra.*
2. I will briefly tell how many Buddhas have been born
   in this auspicious era,
   and how their immense teaching and law
   reached the people of the Mongols.
3. When this material world was produced,
   a lotus flower of golden colour and of a thousand petals
   opened in the middle of the great ocean.
   When the gods of the Pure Realm saw it, they said :
4. «The properly opened golden lotus means
   that thousands of Tathāgatas will surely be born
   in this era» — and they exlaimed :
   «Auspicious era ! Auspicious era !»
5. In the period between this time and that
   when the living beings lived 80.000 years,

[4] Esen temür tayuta can also be a corrupted form from Esen temür tayiqu «empress Esen temür». It is improbable that the person in question was, as L. S. Pučkovskij thought, the translation (*Nekotorye voprosy naučnogo opisanija mongol'skich rukopisej* in *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, vol. II, Moskva—Leningrad 1941, p. 271. The final syllable *ta* can be interpreted as dative suffix.

Emperor Cakravartin who has a golden wheel was born.
He led the living beings onto the path of the ten virtues

6. In the period between the time when the living beings lived 80.000 years and
when they lived one hundred years,
three Samyaksaṃbuddhas were born : at first Krakucchaṇḍa, then Kanakamuni
and the protector Kaśyapa.

7. [They had led countless many living beings
onto the path of liberation
until the period when the living beings lived one hundred years
and when our teacher, Śākyamuni, the fourth (of these Buddhas) was born.][5]

8. On the request of people with (auspicious) fate
he propagated the two vehicles in three ways,
leading them all to happiness,
then he entered the complete nirvāṇa.

9. And although this divine being, accomplished (the work) of pacification,
himself entered the nirvāṇa,
wise men were born one after the other
who made this teaching shine like the rising sun.

10. By the force of ancient benedictions, Bodhisattvas
were reincarnated as mighty, vigourous emperors,
and they, each in the country under his own rule,
propagated the jewel-like teaching of the religion.

11. Three thousand and one hundred years past away
after then, that the leader entered the nirvāṇa
and then, by the force of the former virtues,
on the land named Onon[6] which is a northern part of Jambudvīpa,

12. (it is there where) the divine one named Temüǰin was born
from the race of those begot by the gods ;
he unified under one rule the peoples of the world,
he who has incomparable force of virtue and wisdom.

13. He let the haughty people, those like hard rocks, bow their head
as ornaments to his foot,
he let them worship (him) faithfully, then
his name, Chinggis Khan, became famous in Jambudvīpa.

[5] This stanza is taken from the colophon of the *Pañcarakṣā* (cf. *CSM*, vol. XIV, Ulan Bator 1959, p. 153). In the colophon of a printed version of this sūtra the first 22 stanzas are identical with those of this colophon. Some words given here in brackets are also taken from the *Pcr*.

[6] Onon : the region of the upper Onon where Temüǰin was born.

14. And though at the time of that divine one
the (teaching) did not extended in the whole Mongolian country,
just as he heard about Buddha's merit,
he exempted the monks.
15. In the third generation of that blessed one
there was born a reincarnation who, therefore,
was named Qubilai[7] and was honoured by all;
later he became famous as the Wise Emperor,
16. Ornamented by merits and wisdom,
he, like Brahma, always strived for the profit of those living on the world;
by his sincere ambition that had not any fault,
(he) was like to the King of the hermits,
17. He rightly understood that as for the benefit of all,
the divine Buddha's teaching is the most supreme one,
and therefore he invited 'Phags-pa lama, the Bodhisattva,
and so he let Buddha's religion be propagated.
18. He ('Phags-pa) masterly composed the new Mongolian script,
and having been the teacher, he showed
the real and proper path of liberation.
Therefore he was honoured like the jewel of a head.
19. Nevertheless (in that time) Buddha's teaching could not be
propagated in the genuine Mongolian (language)
and so it could not reach the crowd,
and through his companions he propagated (the teaching) mostly in Uigur.
20. Later, the third generation
of that first emperor's second son,
who gained might as the Lord of the world,
the incomparable Qayisan was born.
21. From his childhood, together with his brave (companions),[8]
he destroyed those who had resisted his ancestors.
Therefore, when he became the emperor of the whole empire,
his famous name was Külüg Qayan.
22. He met Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, the translator,
the sun of the preachers who lead on the right (way).
By the force of the ability and of the wisdom of (these) two (men),
the teaching was propagated in the genuine Mongolian language.

[7] According to this stanza the name Qubilai (derived from the word *qubil–*«to be changed, to reincarnate») means «prosperous fate, auspicious reincarnation».

[8] Cf. Turk. *külüg* «famous, outstanding»; in Chinggis's time the word was an epithet of army leaders.

23. The supreme Buyantu Qaγan, the younger brother
of that incomparable holy one, [teaching,
became, just as his brother, the sponsor of the promotion of Buddha's
and it was promoted more widely than (before).
24. After that, during the reign of several emperors,
the work of translating the teaching ceased,
(but) later, at (the time of) the third generation,
after that very emperor Külüg Qaγan,
25. (= 26.) (this book) was translated for Esen Temür Tayu
(and it was) supported by the great splendour of Toγon Temür Qaγan,
the Bodhisattva, who never let the profit-bearing thought
be separated from his mind.
26. (= 25.) By his innate extraordinary beauty
he was like the son(s) of god(s),
by this quietude, patience and mildness
he was like the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.
27. Now I, Qaradaš, being born (lit. : produced) by my parents,
gained this human body and,
enjoying the grace of the emperor, the sun-like ruler,
I (followed) the correct teaching taught by Buddha.
28. By the inexhaustible light
of the shining sun of great brightness
of that not little merit, [beings!
let (the teaching) enlighten the darkness without harmony of the living
29. (= 30.) Let all the wrong-minded, all rebels and enemies,
all those misleading, all evil obstacles,
all which are unvirtuous, all sins and vices
be neutralized and annihilated
30. (= 29.) for those who, among the (living beings), have
an incomparably great merit,
for the emperor, the lord of the world, and for the empress,
as well as for their family and for the princes.
31. The teaching of the All-Knowing One
is like the diamond, the hardest of everything.
And though it is not to be analyzed by somebody like me,
who am slow-thinking and weak-minded,
32. I, the rather backwarded Qaradaš čuqui, made it write
that which had not been completed by the previous excellent scholars;
(thus), by the force of the merit of that which having met the blessing
of the very merciful ones,
is properly done (in this translation),

33. may the Sun of the Law rise overall
among those peoples which live in darkness
and which, captured by the obscure casuality,
have not yet heard even the name of the miraculous Buddha!
34. The lately disciple, Čhos-rgya-mcho,
who, for the truth of the three Jewels (*triratna*),
did obtain the lieless, true blessing (*adiṣṭhita*)
and the row of all deities,
35. translated and wrote the Sūtra of Golden Light
(and finished), for all living being's sake,
in the last spring month of the Black Cow's year.
May all living beings be saved by this (merit)!
36. May Čoski[9] and the father and the mother and all obtain the full salvation!

May the blessing of the gathered Law be form
and may the brilliant Heart of Law be fully renowned and completed!
Maṃghalaṃ [(For) prosperity!]

It seems to me that this colophon consists of three parts. The first prosaic part precisely indicates Šes-rab seṅ-ge as the translator. This part is apparently entire by itself. The second, longer part, which is composed in verse, belongs to a certain Qaradaš. Perhaps he completed and corrected the Mongolian translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. The third and last part of the colophon is due to Čhos-rgya-mcho, another translator. According to these verses, the book was translated by him in a Black-Cow-year. Son of the grandson of the Altan Qaγan of the Tümed, Čhos-rgya-mcho was well versed both in Mongolian and Tibetan and is known as the Mongolian translator of several Tibetan works. In 1591 he published the quadrilingual version of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.[10] A colophon says that the Altan Qaγan of the Tümed ordered Bayaγud Baγatur, his grandson, to print the *Suv*.[11]

Presumably the grand-grandson Čhos-rgya-mcho simply revised and corrected Šes-rab seṅ-ge's old translation in the year of the Black Cow. If the date really concerns Čhos-rgya-mcho's activity, it corresponds to 1613. There is some doubt as to the possibility of a new translation due to Čhos-rgya-mcho. In Ulan Bator I read some thirty different manuscripts and blockprint versions

[9] Cf. *čhos-rje*, modern Mong. *čoiǰi*, Skr. *dharmarāja*, abbot in a monastery.

[10] Raghu Vira, *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti* in *Śatapiṭaka*, vol. 18; D. Cêrênsodnom, Č. Altangêrêl, *Turfany cugluulgyn TM-40* in *Studia Mongolica*, t. V, fasc. 2—7, Ulaanbaatar 1965, p. 156.

[11] W. Heissig, *Catalogue of Mongol books, manuscripts and xylographs*, Copenhagen 1971, p. XXI, pl. XIV.

of the *Suv.*, and all of them proved to be the copies of Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation. One seldom finds a printed copy of the third, shortest version of the Suv., also based on Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation.[12]

The third, 21 chapter version in Zaya Paṇḍita's Oirat translation and script (*todo üzüg*) is fairly common in Western Mongolia. The 31 chapter version can be found nowhere but in the Kanjur. If Čhos-rgya-mcho had in fact newly translated the work, his translation should have occurred to us.

Colophon B

Enedkeg-ün mergen baysi Jin[amitri kiged] Sila Indar-a bodi qoyar-ača : Töbed yeke kelemči ba[n]di Yešis-di sayitur bo[l-γayči sine] ǰasaylaγsan ayalyusiyar orčiγulǰu orosiγuluγsan-u qoyin-a Töbed[-ün kelen]-eče Mongγol-un kelemči Šakyaliγ-ud-un toyin Širab sengge neretü γurban sang [nom-un] udqas-i dotoraban oroγulǰu γurban sanvar-iyar γou-da čimegdegsen [Töbed-ün] mergen baysi nom kelelegči nom-iyar yabuγči Šakyaliγ-ud-un ayaγ-q-a tegimlig [Kunga] Irǰalbo gündang güüši-eče udqas-i bolγaǰu orosiγuluγad : : arban tabuduγar Sarasvadi ökin tngri-yin bölög-deki em-ün neres-i Töbed-dür-ber es-e orčiγulǰu : Enedkeg-ün ner-e-ber orosiγuluγsan-u tula Mongγol ner-e-yi olun yadaǰu [bürün] : Kitad-un nom-ud-i üǰeǰü Kitad-un nom-daki yosuγar : Enedkeg-ün ner-e-yin dergede : Kitad-un ner-e-yi Mongγolčilan üsüg-iyer bičiǰü : talbibai : basa qaγan-u šastir tngri-ner-ün erketü-yin [ǰayun öglige-tü] tanγariγ ner-e-tü [qoriduγar] bölög-tür : nigen silüg dayun-i Kitad-un nom-ača abču [oroγul]un Mongγolčilan orčiγulǰu orosiγulbai : : : :

«The great Tibetan translator, the Bande Ye-šes-sde translated [this book] into the [newly][13] corrected language [with the aid of] the wise Indian teachers Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi. Thereafter, the Śākya-monk Šes-rab seṅ-ge translated it from Tibetan into Mongolian. Concerning the content he enjoyed the instructions given by the [Tibetan] Śākya-monk [Kun-dga'] Rgyalpo Kun-ldan guuši, who excellently absorbed the meanings of the Three Treasuries [i.e. the *Tripiṭaka*] and who, beautifully adorned with the three vows (*saṃvara*), explained and followed the Dharma. (Šes-rab seṅ-ge) discovered that the names of medicinal plants given in chapter 15 'On the Goddess Sarasvatī, were not translated into Tibetan but given in Sanskrit form. It was difficult to find adequate Mongolian names and this is why he, studying the Chinese books, wrote the Chinese names in Mongolian script below the Sanskrit ones, according to the tradition of the Chinese boosk. Besides, in chapter [20]

[12] I have obtained a copy of such an edition. The leaves of this blockprint have the size 47 × 11 cm, 121 f., 35 lines on each side. No Chinese pagination or marginal marks.

[13] Additions in my translation are given according to the copy belonging to Mrs. Tserenpel, Ulan Bator.

entitled 'The Gods' Oath', he took one strophe from the Chinese book and translated it into Mongolian» (Ch. 19, f. 9a).

I suppose that colophon B is in fact a copy of the colophon written by Šes-rab seṅ-ge himself, while the foregoing prosaic part of colophon A was composed later on the basis of colophon B.

Colophon B shows that Šes-rab seṅ-ge translated this text of *Suv.* from Tibetan into Mongolian, but added the lacking passages according to one of the Chinese versions. I do not touch on the names of plants here, as they were already discussed in Professor Aalto's paper,[14] but I will try to control the information given in colophon B which says that Šes-rab seṅ-ge also used a Chinese version.

Version A was, as mentioned earlier, translated from Chinese into Tibetan by Čhos-grub, however, in the Kanjur there is no information on the date of this translation. Possibly Šes-rab seṅ-ge was not acquainted with the Tibetan text of version A. When the Tibetan versions A and B were compared, I discovered some additional passages in version A. Ch. 20 (Gods' Oath) of version A contains a stanza which is not attested in the version B. This Tibetan stanza translated by Čhos-grub from Chinese sounds as follows:

sṅon-gyi las-kyi mthu-yis ni /
lhar-skyes rgyal-por gyur-ba yin /
gal-te mi naṅ gnas gyur-nas /
dbaṅ sdud mi-yi bdag-po byed /

«By the force of the former deeds
he who was born as a god became a ruler.
If he is born to live among the human beings
he will gather them under his rule and will be their ruler.»
(Ch. 20, f. 127b.)

Šes-rab seṅ-ge translated the Chinese stanza into Mongolian in the following words:

urida üiledügsen buyan-u küčün-iyer :
tngri-ner-tür töröǰü qayan boluyu :
ker-ber kümün-ü dotor-a töröbesü-ber :
kümün-ü eǰen bolun törömüi : :

«By the force of the formerly exercised virtues,
he who was born among the gods, will be an emperor.
If he is born among the human beings,
he will be the ruler of the men.» (Ch. 20, f. 14b.)

[14] P. Aalto, *Notes on the Altan gerel* in *Studia Orientalia* XIV: 6, Helsinki 1950.

The two stanzas have a similar content. Neither of them is attested in the Tibetan version B on which Šes-rab seṅ-ge's Mongolian translation was based. Hence it is clear that he took this stanza from the Chinese version and this is what he mentions in his postscript.

In addition it is noteworthy that Šes-rab seṅ-ge, when preparing his translation, amended the less logical or corrupt passages of the Tibetan text with the aid of the Chinese version. E.g. Ch. 26 explains how Buddha offered his body to the hungry tigress and how the two princes, his elder brothers in that life, talked after the death of the youngest prince: *Sñiṅ-stobs čhen-po med-par gyur-pas bdag-čag-la pha-ma-dag-gis ǰi-ltar lto-ba ster-par 'gyur* «How will our parents give us food after that (our younger brother) Great Spiritual Power is lost?» (Ch. 26 f. 285a). In a tragic situation like that in the given story, a conversation about meals seems to be illogical. In all probability, *lto* «food» of the quoted Tibetan passage is to be read *lta* «to see». In the translation (version C) of the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita we read a similar strange sentence like that of the Tibetan: «the parents will not give us food» (Ch. 18, f. 56).

The same passage in the Tibetan version A is as follows: *gal-te pha-mas dris gyur-na ' bdag-čag lan ni ǰi-skad* «If father and mother ask us, what shall we answer» (ch. 26, f. 149b). Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation of the same: *Maqa-satva ügei boluγsan-iyar bide qoyar : ečige eke yügen kerken kiǰü üǰey-e kemen.* «Mahāsattva being lost, how shall we look our parents in the face?» (Ch. 26, f. 8a).

In this passage, Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation seriously differs from versions B and C, but is almost identical with version A. This fact affirms the information given in colophon B according to which Šes-rab seṅ-ge completed his translation with the aid of a Chinese version.

It seems, however, that Šes-rab seṅ-ge was also not consequent in correcting his text, and in some passages he also gave a word by word and therefore less understandable rendering of the Tibetan original.

In Ch. 20 («The Gods' Oath») of version B, after the sentence «If the kings do not fine the criminals, the criminals will destroy the country» we read in Tibetan the following words: *laṅ-čhen dbaṅ-pos rjiṅ-bu bžin* «like the vigorous elephant with the pool» (Ch. 20, f. 263b). Šes-rab seṅ-ge's version *ǰaγan lingqu-a-tu naγurčilan* «like a great elephant and the lake with lotuses» (Ch. 20, f. 15a). The expression is somewhat obscure. In fact variant A gives *laṅ-pos padma'i rjiṅ brjis 'dra* «like elephants' treading the lake of the lotuses» (Ch. 20, f. 128a). Instead of this full and clear expression our translator followed the abridged variant.

Again, in Ch. 26 («On the Tigress») of version A we read: *stag-mo stogs* [=*ltogs*]*-pa des byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'i lkog-ma-nas khrag zag-pa mthoṅ daṅ khrag bldags-te ša ma-lus-par zos-pas rus-pa 'ba'-žig lus-par byas-so.* «That hungry tigress, seeing that the prince's throat was blooding, licked the blood and ate

the meat without remains, only the bones were left» (Ch. 26, f. 149a). It corresponds in version B to *stag-mo des byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'i lus khrag-gis spags-pa-la bltas-nas | yud cam-gyis ša daṅ khrag med-par rus-pa cam-žig lus-par byas-so.* «Having seen the blood on the bodhisattva's body, the tigress consumed instantly the meat and the blood, and left but the bones» (Ch. 26, f. 284b). The variant in version A where the tigress first licked[15] the blood, then ate the meat, seems to be more logical. In version B *bltas* «seen» is probably a corruption for *bldags* «licked». Šes-rab seṅ-ge, however, did not adopted the more comprehensible Chinese version, but he translated the passage according to version B as follows: *tere ölügčin bars bodisatva-un bey-e čisun-iyar büteǰü büküi-yi üǰeǰü bürün : qorumqan ǰayura miqa čisun ügei yasun-u tedüiken-i ülegülbei* : «The tigress saw that the bodhisattva's body was covered with blood, and instantly left but bones without meat and blood.» (Ch. 26, f. 76).

In version B, in the same chapter on the tigress, we find another instructive passage: *thi-ba'i phru-gu sdug-pa gsum žig rñed-pa-las čcig ni khras khyer* «I found three beautiful little pigeons, but one of them was taken away by a hawk». (Ch. 26, f. 285b.) Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation: *yurban üǰesküleng-tü kebegen kögörǰigen-ü ǰulǰayan-i oluγsan-ača nigen-i sibaγun-a bariγdaγsan* «I found three beautiful little pigeons, but a bird took one of them away.» (Ch. 26, f. 8b). «Bird» instead of «hawk» is, of course, inexact. Possibly Šes-rab seṅ-ge translated «the bird hawk», and the first word *qarčaγa* «hawk» might have been omitted by the later scribes.

Another interesting case is that of Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation of Tibetan *'bras*. The Tibetan word in question is ambiguous: it means «grain» as well as «tumour». The same chapter of version B contains the following expression: *'bras 'dra-ba-yi srid-pa brgya-ldan* «having hundreds of sufferings such as tumour and the like» (Ch. 26, f. 284a). Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation: *küčügün-dür adali olan ǰaγun ǰobalang-tu* «having hundreds of pains like *küčügün* «mice» (Ch. 26. f. 6b). The question is why Tibetan *'bras* that certainly means here «tumour» is rendered by Mongolian *küčügün* «mouse». Written in Uigur script the latter word has almost the same form as *küǰügün* «neck» which has obviously nothing to do with the quoted expression. The word *küčügün* is not attested in our dictionaries, but among the descendants of the Olyonuds in the province of Gobi-Altai in the MPR there lives the compound *quluγana küčügüne* meaning «(different species of) mice», the second word being synonymous to the first. According to Š. Gaadamba, *küčügüne* is an archaic word for «mouse».[16] Lharams-pa Bstan-dar's Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary *Zla-ba'i 'od* (1838) trans-

[15] In another version of this tale, in the *'Jaṅs-blun*, it is that «the tigress licked the blood» (I. J. Schmidt, *Der Weise und Thor*, St. Petersburg 1845, p. 20).

[16] Š. Gaadamba, *Ardyn aman zochiolyn učir: Studia folclorica*, t. IX, fasc. 1, Ulaanbaatar 1975, p. 13.

[17] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 110.

lates Tib. *mje nad* «cancer; leprosity» by Mong. *quluyana yara* i.e. «mousy ulcer». Tib. *mje* «cancer, leprosity» in Ch. 3 «On the Transitoriness of Life» in *Rin-čhen spuṅs-pa'i 'grel-pa* «A Commentary to the Heaven of Jewels» is rendered by Mong. *küčügün ebečin* «mousy disease». The tale makes it clear that those suffering from this disease were expelled to a secluded place.[18] So we can suppose that both Mongolian expressions *küčügün ebečin* and *quluyana ebečin* have the same meaning «leprosity» or «epidemic ulcer». According to a traditional explanation of this «mousy disease», the ulcer gnaws the body which becomes full of holes like those of a mouse which have several entrances and exits communicating. What about Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation of Tib. *'bras* by Mong. *küčügün* «mouse», its original version might have had the compound term *küčügün yara*, the second being omitted by later scribes or printers. If not, then *küčügün* may be considered an abbreviation for the full compound.

To summarize, it has to be emphasized that Šes-rab seṅ-ge's translation is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of Mongolian literature. Its style essentially differs from that of the later literal translations of canonical works.

[18] C. Damdinsürên, D. Cênd, *Mongolyn uran zochiolyn tojm*, vol. II, Ulaanbaatar 1976, p. 514.

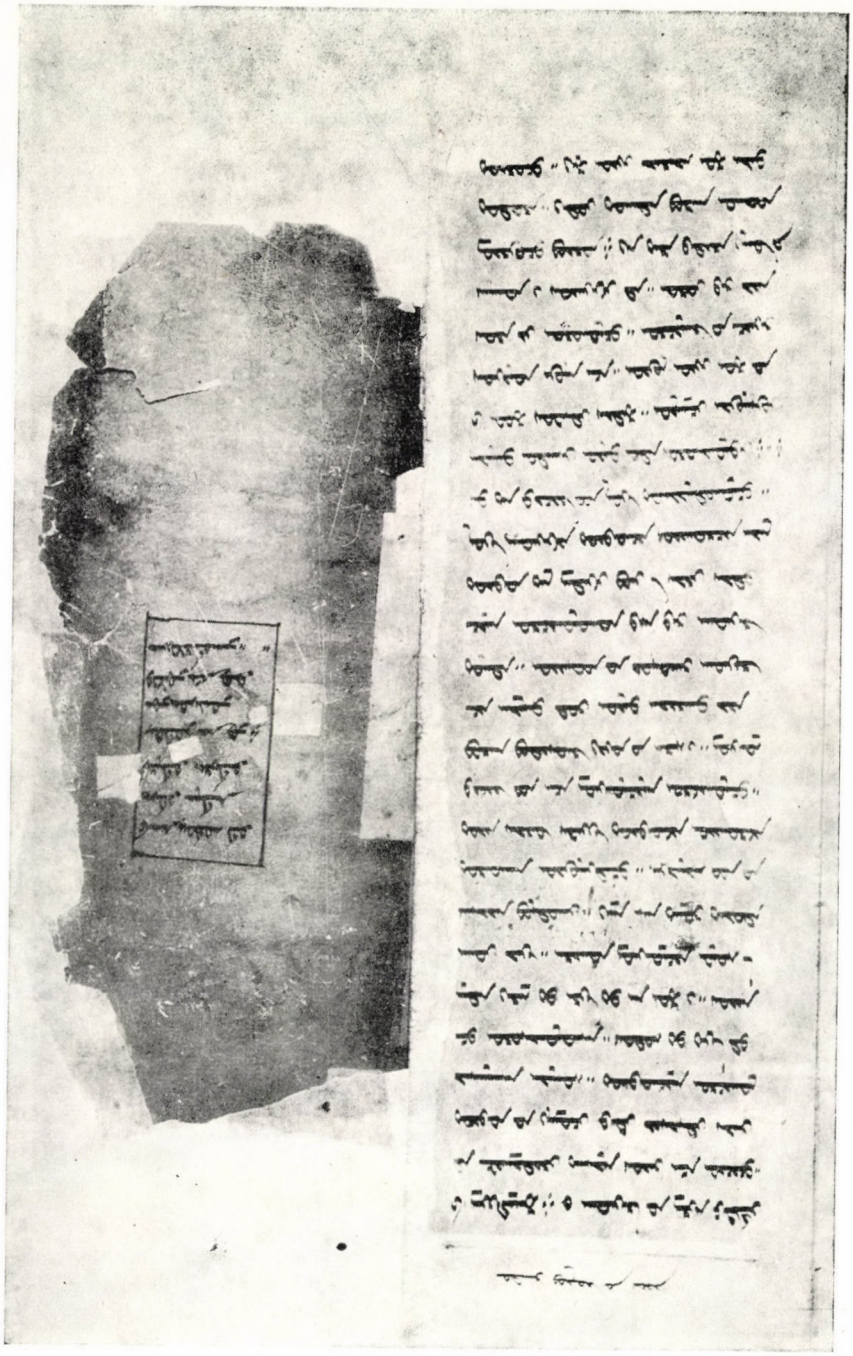


Fig. 1. MS Damdinsüren, title and III, f 30a.

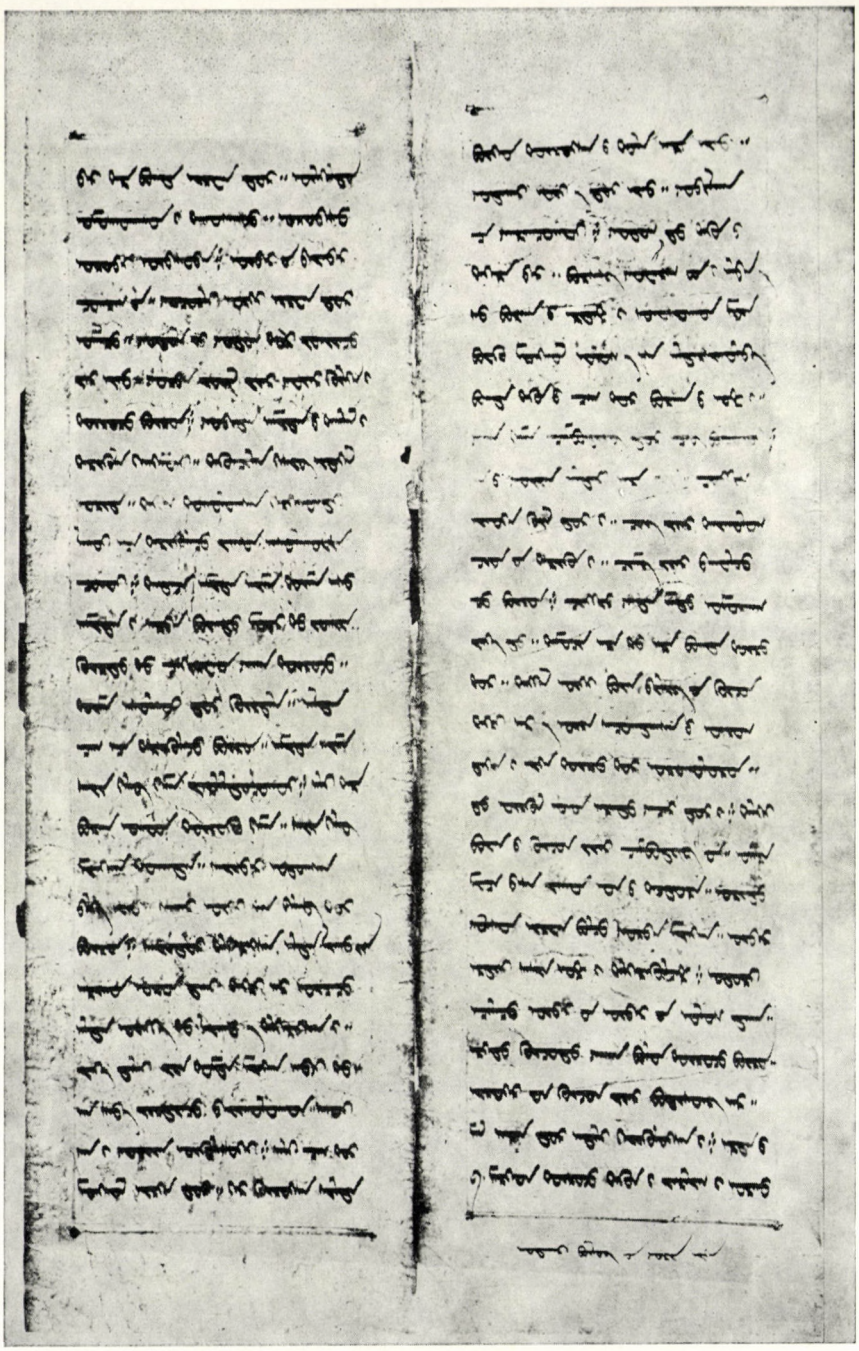


Fig. 2. MS Damdinsüren, III, ff. 30b—31a.

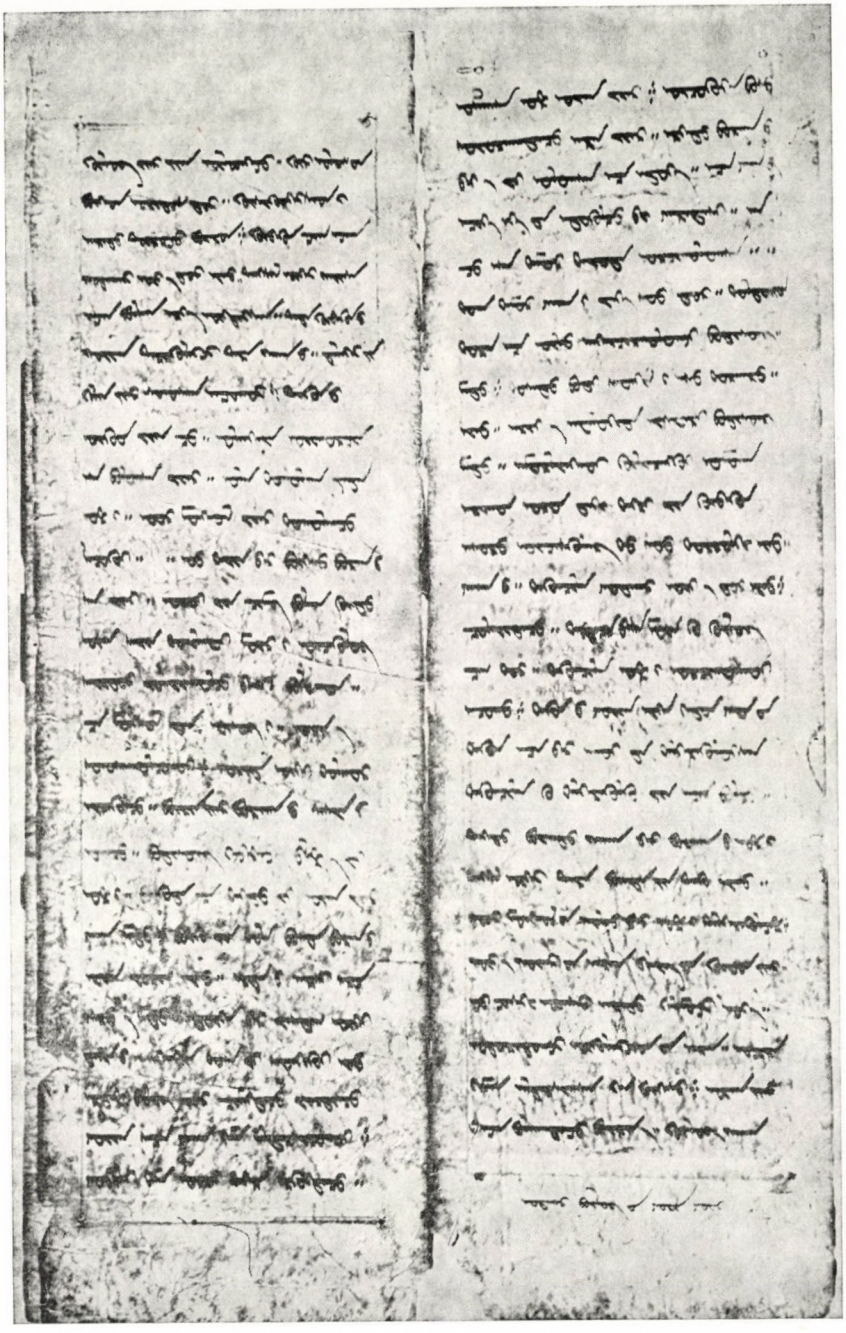


Fig. 3. MS Damdinsüren, III, ff. 31b–32a.

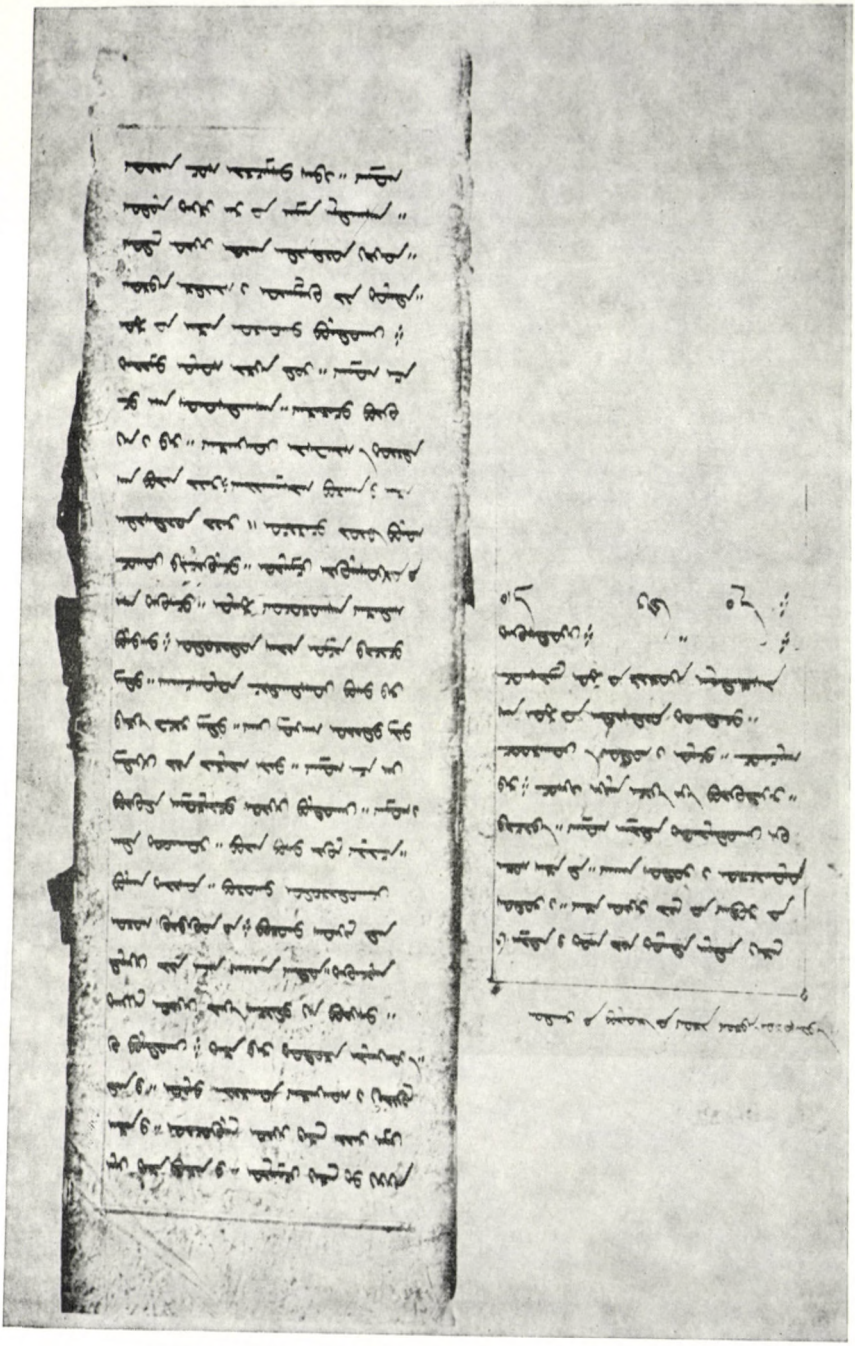


Fig. 4. MS Damdinsüren, III. ff. 32b–33a.



Fig. 5. MS Ulan Bator State Public Library, No. 16 858, the colophon.

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QARADAS

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE TO PROFESSOR DAMDINSÜREN'S TWO MONGOLIAN COLOPHONS

BY

G. KARA

It was twenty years ago that Professor Damdinsüren published his *Jayun bilig*, a large anthology of Mongolian writing as vol. 14 in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* founded by the late Professor Rinchen. From this anthology we learnt about MS Damdinsüren, the oldest known version of Šes-rab seṅ-ge's Mongolian translation of the 31 chapter *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* containing one of the most important and largest monuments of Middle Mongolian language and cultural history. As an evidence of Tibeto-Mongolian, Mongolian-Uigur and Sino-Mongolian Buddhist literary relations it offers us a wide variety of problems. The Mongolian text recalls the first half of the 14th century, and the MS was perhaps copied in the 17th century. Its lengthy colophon written in alliterative verses seems to be a compilation of earlier and later elements dating back partly to Šes-rab seṅ-ge's time, and partly to the Buddhist renaissance of the Mongols during their attempts to restore the Empire in the late 16th and the early 17th century. This is suggested not only by the miscellaneousness of the colophon (cf., *e.g.*, the stanzas 32 and 34 according to which Qaradaš (during or after Toγan Temür's reign?) completed the translation left incomplete by the previous scholars, Šes-rab seṅ-ge and Puṇyaśrī, while Čhos rgya-mcho, «the later disciple» is also mentioned as the translator in the later verses of the same postscript), but also by the fact that several stanzes of it which relate the history of Buddhist teaching during the reign of Činggis, Qubilai Sečen, Qayišan Külüg, Buyantu and Toγan Temür also occur *e.g.* at the end of one of the Mongolian translations of the *Pañcarakṣā*. In spite of the presumably and relatively late date (Altan qaγan's time?) of this colophon in the given form, the language of both the sūtra and its colophon is rich in Middle Mongolian peculiarities with regard to the grammar, vocabulary, style and the orthography.

In the hope of an edition which will make the full text of this rich monument available for further research, I should like to touch on some minor details of this wondrously wandering colophon and of the passages quoted by Professor Damdinsüren.

1. *Qaradaš, Qaradaši* in *ečige eke-de edügülǰü bi Qaradaši* III 22a23 and *ulam qočoruγsan Qaradaš* III 22b16 *čuqui bičigülǰü* : almost the same as the first of these passages occurs in the colophon of an 18th century blockprint version of Šes-rab seṅ-ge's *Pañcarakṣā* quoted in Professor Heissig's *Blockdrucke* and by Professor Poppe in *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (Wiesbaden 1967), p. 18 : *ečige eke-deče edügülǰü bi qaradaγ-i*, the last word being a misprint for *Qaradaš-i*, i.e. *Qaradaš(i)*, or, if read in Uigur, better *Qarataš* «Black Stone» or «Strong Stone», a personal name like *Alptaš* «Brave Stone» (Radloff's *Uig. Sprachdenkmäler*, 36 ; DTS), *Bägtaš* «Lord Stone» (*USp.*, 115), *Tämürtaš* «Iron Stone» (*Yüan shih*, 140, cf. B. Ögel, *Sino-Turcica*, pp. 150—256), *Ür̈üngtaš* «Bright Stone» or «White Stone» (L. Hambis, *Le ch. CVIII du Yuan-che*, p. 137, etc.), *Taštämür* «Stone Iron» (*op. cit.*, p. 138), *Taš toyin* «Reverend Stone» (*op. cit.*, p. 38), further, for the first component of the name see e.g. *Qar-a dodoγ* and *Qar-a yiučing* in the Mongolian part of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1360 (cf. F. W. Cleaves : *HJAS* 15 and L. Ligeti, *Indices verborum* II, Budapest 1972, p. 43) etc. The final *i* is due to the Turkish final *š*, usually unpronounceable in Middle Mongolian (but cf. Hua-Yi Yi-yü *qaš, qoš, miš, ǰemiš* etc.). It seems improbable to have a corrupt form like Rašīdu'd-Dīn's *Qarantās* in *Q. baxši* who is said to be a lama of Kashmir living in the court of Emperor Temür (see Ju. P. Verchovskij, B. I. Pankratov and J. P. Petruševskij, *Rašid-ad-din. Sbornik letopisej* II, Moskva—Leningrad 1960, p. 196) and who certainly bears the same Indian name *Karuṇadāsa* as the famous Uigur scholar, Karunadas (in Chinese transcription 迦魯納荅思 *Chia-lu-na-ta-szŭ*) of the *Yüan shih*, 134 (see Ögel, *op. cit.*, pp. 124—126), otherwise one of the Uigur translators of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (in Uigur *Nama sangit nom ärdini*), see P. Zieme, *Zur buddhistischen Stabreimdichtung der alten Uiguren* : *AOH* XXIX (1975), p. 199, n. 54 : *ačari kši Karunadaz sidu*, i.e. with the same Chinese title 司徒 *szŭ-t'u* as Šes-rab seṅ-ge's companion Puṇyaśrī in the postscript to a *Pañcarakṣā* edition, cf. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds*, pp. 12—14, Kara—Zieme, *Berliner Turfantexte* VII (Berlin 1976), p. 13.

2. In one of the two passages quoted above, the name Qaradaš is followed by the word *čuqui*, presumably identical with *čiqui*, an Uigur rendering of the Chinese military rank 指揮(使) *chih-hui* (*shih*), «commissaire impérial chargé de commander» of the T'ang, cf. R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, traduits de la Nouvelle histoire des T'ang* II (Leyde 1948), pp. 569, 870 etc. and Morohashi T., *Dai kan wa jiten* V, No. 12034 : 19 (with the short description of the devaluation of this title and rank from an army commander of the T'ang to a police officer of the Ch'ing. Further see Sino-Mongolian *ǰihui* (E. Haenisch, *Sino-mongolische Dokumente*, Berlin 1952, p. 60 : «Grenzkommandant», ibid. *ǰihui tungǰi* «Militärprefekt», early Ming titles), with personal name : *Qara ǰihui* (*op. cit.*, p. 25), in Uigur script : *Olan ui čiqui tungči Ür̈ile*,

duu čiqui Šilde etc. (L. Ligeti, *Preklasszikus emlékek 2. XIII—XIV. század és a XVII. század eleje* in *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* IV, Budapest 1965, pp. 66, 67 etc., Sino-Mongolian documents of the Bureau of Translation of the Ming). *Čiqui* is the Uigur written and spoken form with the usual non-aspirated initial which substitutes both the Old Mandarin aspirated *č* and *ǰ* as well as all Sanskrit oral palatals, while *ǰihui* respresents a possible Middle Mongolian pronunciation.

3. *Esen temür tayuda duradqan ügülegdeǰü* : the same Esen Temür with the varying title *tayu, tiyu, diba* etc. or without occurs as patron in the postscript of the *Twelve Deeds* and of the *Pañcarakṣā*, both translated by Šes-rab seṅ-ge. For other possibilities of interpreting the title of this enigmatic person see Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds*, pp. 14—17, where it is compared with Chinese *ta-fu* and Tib. *sde-pa* resp. Otherwise, as for Professor Heissig's translation of the words *Esen temür diba-tan* (see *Blockdrucke*, pp. 17, 82), were this form not an erroneous reading, it could have been correct like *či Aǰaširi-tan* «you, A., and the others (with you)», *ǰihui Darmaširi-tan* «the *chih-hui* D. and the others» etc. in the *HY* (see L. Ligeti, *Index verborum* III, p. 221, s.v. *tan* ; cf. modern Mongolian *-nar* after enumerations of personal names and *-tan* in forms like *noyan-tan, gegen-ten* «His Lordship (and his suite)», «His Holiness (and his suite)». All three interpretations of Mong. *tayu* etc. ∼ Chin. *ta-fu* or *t'ai-hou* or Tib. *sde-pa* meet some difficulties. It is the first which is the most probable. The Middle Mongolian transcription of Chin. *ta-fu* (Old Mandarin *tai*^{o}) which is usually *tai-vu* according to the Yüan time Uigur system could have been contracted, one of the two *yods* (practically $Y = V$) being omitted. For Mong. *tayu* < Chin. *t'ai-hou* one must suppose the elision of two graphemes (Q and Y) from Middle Mong. *tai qiu*, the regular old orthography of the Chinese word in question. Mong. *diba* for Tib. *sde-pa* seems to be somewhat modern, as the earlier Uigur and Mongolian transcriptions of Tibetan terms often conserve the double initials, e.g. *istonpa* < Tib. *ston-pa*. Anyhow, this Esen Temür, male or female, official or empress, undoubtedly was Šes-rab seṅ-ge's patron in translating the three large works : the *Pañcarakṣā*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, and the *Lalitavistara*.

4. In the linguistically rather archaic chapter of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and the hungry tigress Mong. *sibaγun* «bird» translates Tib. *khra* «hawk» instead of Mong. *qarčaγai* «hawk, falcon» of other versions. In fact «falcon» is a very old (although probably secondary) meaning of *sibaγun*, see Khitan *šawā* «falcon» and *šawāǰi* «falconer» in the *Liao shih* (L. Ligeti : *AOH* XVII, 1964, p. 288, with Middle Mongolian forms meaning the same according the *Secret History*, the *HY*, the *Yi-yü*, and the *Lu-lung-sai-lio*, and with Dagur parallels ; cf. further Haenisch's *Wörterbuch* to the *Secret History*, p. 139 ; St.

Kałużyński, *Dagurisches Wörterverzeichnis*: *RO* XXXIII, p. 134, Dagur in Muromski's record: *šowō* «Habicht» etc., and the Cyrillic Dagur ABC *Aaki, Xux xot* 1957, p. 12, *šogoo* «hawk»). Semantically to be compared with Turkish *quš* «bird», *ürüng quš* etc. «bird of prey», see Clauson, *ED*, p. 670 and 388; *DTS*, p. 471, s.v. *quš* «bird; a hunting hawk», and p. 115, s.v. *boz quš* «falcon».

5. Another archaic word written *kwyčwkwn* in the same 26th chapter and denoting ulcerous diseases corresponds elsewhere to Mong. *quluyana ebedčin*, lit. «mouse-disease»; this is why Professor Damdinsüren, also quoting an interesting oral tradition of diagnosis, interprets the term in question on the basis of another archaic and dialectal word, *küčügüne, küčügene* and *xücgen* (with dental nasal; Gobi-Altai Khalkha) meaning a sort of mouse. However the two words, the one which means «ulcer» and the like, and the other signifying a rodent, are to be distinguished. To begin with the latter, *küčügene* is attested in the *Secret History* (cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*: «Maus», § 111; one of the few words censerving initial *k* before *ü*; to be compared with *küčügür* «Feldmaus», § 89); it belongs to the names of animals and plants with the diminutive suffix *-γana, -γuna, -gene, -güne* like *quluγana, qulaγuna* etc. (cf. *-qïna, -qïya* etc. in the Turkish languages). The other word is to be read *güǰügün* or *göǰügün*. This form occurs in the *Twelve Deeds*, IX, 62a (cf. Ligeti, *Index verborum* V, Budapest 1974, p. 199; Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds*, p. 65, *güǰigün*, read *güǰügün*; commentary on p. 108); we find *güǰüwün* or *güǰü'ün* in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* in Arabic script (ed. Poppe, pp. 189, 226, 389, corrected in *The Twelve Deeds, loc. cit.*) and *geǰi'ün* in the *HY* in Chinese transcription (see M. Lewicki, *Vocabulaire-Index*, Wrocław 1959, p. 36, «abcès, pustule»; Lewicki's comparison with Mong. *kiǰig* «fever; contagious disease» < Turk. *käzig* is improbable). The form *güǰigün* exists in the Middle Mongolian *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, 112d (*mayui güǰigün-eče ayu-* «to fear the bad leprosy»), 112c (*mayui güǰigüten* «those with a bad leprosy» or, simply, «lepers»), 162c (*quluγun-a güǰigün-i*, Acc., «a bad sore; anthrax»), see Ligeti, *Index verborum* IV (Budapest 1973), p. 128, and J. E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels* (*UAS* vol. 92, Bloomington 1969), pp. 322 and 328, quoting *MA* and *HY*. Finally, returning to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, we read in the Budapest MS of Yon-tan bzaṅ-po's version, Book XV, Ch. 26, f. 4b, as follows: *güǰügün-ṭür adali* : *olan tusa ügei ǰobalang-tu* «with many merciless pains like (that of the) ulcer» (see Kara, *Mongol Nyelvemléktár*, vol. XIV, p. 182; the same passage in the Peking Mongolian blockprint of 1659/1721, *Suv.*, X, 6a22: *güǰügün-dür adali olan* etc.). For a possible etymology see Mong. *güdü-* in *güdüyi-*, Kalm. *gödī-* = *göbdī-* «eine kleine Unebenheit sein od. haben . . .» (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 137), *güdā-* «uskorjatj; vooduševljatj», *güdū* «razgar» (Munin Bembe, *Xalimg-Ors tolï*, Moskva 1977, p. 148) and *göwdī-* «delatjsja vypuklym» (*op. cit.*, p. 146), Khalkha *güdī-* «delatjsja vypuklym» (Luvsandendev, 129), Ordos *güdᵘī-* «être

convexe, être bombé» (Mostaert, *Dict.*, 274), *göbdī-* «être voûté, être arqué» (*op. cit.*, p. 268), cf. Mong. *γadayi-* and *γaǰi-*, Ordos *gadā-* and *gaǰi-* «se tordre, se courber» (*op. cit.*, pp. 284., 286); as to the derivation, see Ordos *gùdùrū* «bombé; bombement, convexité, renflement; éminence, hauteur» and *göbdörū* «éminence, hauteur, asperités . . .» as well as *bömbū*, male or female anthroponym, «round» < *bömbī-* «être sphérique, être convexe» (*op. cit.*, pp. 274, 268, 87), Kalm. *göd^{ö}gɣ* «sich ein wenig erhebend, uneben, hügelig», syn. to *göbd^{ö}gɣ*, *ged^{e}gɣ*, *küd^{ü}gɣ* (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 137), *göbd^{ö}gɣ* «etwas ansteigend, nicht eben (von der Oberfläche); Finne, Warze (auf der Haut)» and *göbdɣrūn*, *göbdɣrūsn* «Finne, Warze . . .» (*ibid.*; Munin Bembe, p. 146; *göwdrūn* «pryščik, pupyryšek»), Buryat *gùberū* «šram, rubec, sled (ot režuščego, koljuščego ili rubjaščego oružija)» (Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russk.*, 163), Khalkha *gөwdrū* «pryščik, pupyryšek» (Luvsandendev, 122) etc. Probably another flexion and derivation of the same onomatopoeic root *gsds* gave birth to Mong. *güǰegen* «stomach (of a ruminant), etc.», *gedesün* «intestines» (cf. also *gesel*), Ordos *gùtē* «la pomme d'Adam; goitre» < *gùt^{u}ī-* «être prominent (ventre)» (Mostaert, *Dict.*, 178, 280), cf. also *getū* «espèce d'ulcère qui se développe sur la langue; goitre; tumeur enkystée, loup» ~ Mong. *ketegüü* (*op. cit.*, p. 263), Khalkha *xetū* «puzyrj» (Luvsndendev, 594); Tuva *kö'dā*, *kö'dägä* «mjagkij narost na tele v vide šarika» (Tenišev, 256) < Mong. **gütege*. But this is already too far from Qaradaš's Golden Light, the edition of which will be a major event in the field of Mongolian philology and Central Asian Buddhist studies.

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PHASES OF TURCO—HUNGARIAN WARFARE BEFORE THE BATTLE OF MOHÁCS (1365—1526)

BY

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Although the Turco—Hungarian struggle prior to Mohács influenced — expressively from the start and fatally later — the international situation, the demographic, ethnical, economic, military and social conditions of the Hungarian kingdom, Hungarian historiography has as yet done very little pains to probe into the whole struggle, considering its development and inner connections. Detailed research in Hungary has always highlighted some historic points, chiefly the wars of János Hunyadi and Matthias Hunyadi, and the fall of Hungary. The authors of the last century Hungarian historical syntheses[1] or of the «military chronicles»,[2] containing an inventory-like list of war events, conscientiously endeavoured to refer also to the secondary military events, but they could not elucidate anything but the material provided by micro-research. It is therefore obvious that the description of the Turco—Hungarian antagonism is indistinct and fragmentary in these syntheses. The same reasons account for the shortcomings of a work written by the Austrian Kupelwieser that constitutes the first and last attempt to delineate the struggle as a whole.[3] Consequently, the defensive fights of Hungary influencing the fate of the Balkans have not been assigned their appropriate place in the literature of world history dealing colourfully and diversely with the Ottoman conquests. However, it would be correct to say that the abundance of Hungarian documentary material barely used in this respect could offer a refreshing

[1] L. Szalay, *Magyarország' története* II—III, Leipzig 1852—53; M. Horváth, *Magyarország történelme*, II—III. 2nd ed., Pest, 1871—72; A Pór—Gy. Schönherr, *Az Anjou-ház és örökösei* (*1301—1439*), Budapest 1895, and V. Fraknói, *A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora* (*1440—1526*), Budapest 1896 (*Magyar nemzet története* III—IV, ed. S. Szilágyi)

[2] J. Rónai Horváth, *Magyar hadi krónika. A magyar nemzet ezeréves küzdelmeinek katonai története. I. A honfoglalástól a mohácsi vészig.* Budapest 1895; J. Bánlaky-Breit, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, Budapest, 1940.

[3] L. Kupelwieser, *Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen bis zur Schlacht bei Mohács, 1526*, 2nd ed., Vienna 1899. (We drew on its rich supply of data for every period after 1389. No mention on it further.) Cf. Gy. Székely, *La Hongrie et la domination ottomane* (*XV^e—XVII^e siècles*): *Studia Turco-Hungarica* II, Budapest 1975, pp. 7—38.

supplement in a situation where the much-analyzed Turkish, Southern Slavic and Italian chronicles and documentary resources give no further resources for research.

Allowing for a modicum of uncertainty, the case historical survey of the Turco—Hungarian struggle could now be drawn upon from the works of the most diverse subject-matter, but usually lacking a military historical approach. Relying on this scattered case historical raw material, the present study endeavours to reveal the turning-points of the warfare, to describe its stages and to analyze its primary consequences.

During the investigation, the conclusion was arrived at that the methods used in military historical literature are of the least advantage in this case, e.g. the approach to the phases of the Turco—Hungarian struggle from the aspect of the anti-Turkish activities of the warlord-rulers, with the exception of János Hunyadi. This method, also applied by Kupelwieser, may be suitable to present a comprehensive picture of the Turkish policies of certain Hungarian kings, and with regard to recent research, even of their development, but it fosters the danger of binding the ends of the stages to epochal days not to actual turning-points. This, in turn, may cause a double distortion: on the one hand, it blurs the actual terminal dates of a stage, and on the other hand, it diverts attention from the events of transitional periods, which were noteworthy, and even decisive at times. It will be seen that the anti-Turkish operations of Sigismund, János Hunyadi and King Matthias can be divided into several phases, the terminal points of which rarely coincide with the dates of their deaths. In addition, the milestones of their activity as a whole do not necessarily correspond to the significant points defined by works enlarging upon their wars only.

In order to proportion this more coherently, the equally frequent method of dividing the process on the basis of open histilities and truce had to be abandoned. Although clashes never ceased along the Turco—Hungarian/Croatian border in of peace times, the important changes are related to the great field battles and regular sieges of the war periods. However, it is not a law that a great military victory or defeat must bring about a qualitative change of such importance that we should consider it the beginning of a new phase.

In what follows, the aim is to explore the tendencies or, to be more precise, the changes of tendencies latent in the series of events. The lines are drawn between the stages at points where a new tendency seems to occur, e.g. a series of Turkish attacks instead of a Hungarian offensive or vice versa; a shift in the balance; a considerable increase or decrease in Turkish pressure, etc., irrespective of the fact that some periods thus last for decades, and others for a few years only. To do this, we did not consider merely war events (series of open field battles, fortress sieges, and raids of limited strategical purpose, etc.), but took into account Ottoman assaults on neighbouring Southern

Slavic and Romanian state formations, their autonomous fights against the Turks, and the changing trend of their political orientation, etc. Correctly so, because they had never been completely independent of the state of the Hungarian—Turkish balance of forces, which they had also affected.[4] Bearing in mind these factors of a differing kind and significance, attention was focused on the question of when and where the Hungarian defensive forces attempted to bring to a halt or deflect Turkish progress: well *outside* the borders, *along* the borders of Hungary or *within* her confines. This was done, because we found that these facts best reflected the permanently changing military possibilities of the Hungarian kingdom, as well as the underlying economic, domestic and foreign political factors influencing or determining these events.

1. Hungary's first response to Turkish conquests (1365—1369)

The Ottomans of Asia Minor first appeared at the southeastern fringes of Europe in the mid-fourteenth century. At first as auxiliary troops to contending Balkanian rulers, then, having seized the pass across the Dardanelles (1354), as an independent political and military formation with a European base, they increasingly influenced the fate of the region. By subduing Thrace, they threatened the existence of the declining Byzantine empire and neighbouring Bulgaria and Serbia.

Although the first Turkish conquests were a long way from the southern frontier of the Hungarian kingdom, King Louis I (1342—1382) had to take notice of the emergence of a new, expansive Balkanian state formation, because from its onset it had played a significant political role in the foregrounds of its borders that was disproportionate to its small territory. The Turkish breakthrough also menaced the Balkanian state formations that had been

[4] We leaned on the following comprehensive works (further unquoted) concerning the history of the Turkish empire and the Balkan countries in question: N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* I—II. Gotha 1908—1909; S. J. Shaw, *Das osmanische Reich und die moderne Türkei: Der Islam* II, *Die islamischen Reiche nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel*, Frankfurt/Main, 1971, (Fischer Weltgeschichte 15.); D. E. Pitcher, *Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century*, Leiden 1972; C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876; id., *Geschichte der Serben* 1—2/1, Gotha 1911—1918; id., *Istorija Srba* I. *(do 1537 g.)*, revised by J. Radonić, Beograd 1952; V. Klaić, *Bosznia története a legrégibb kortól a királyság bukásáig*, Nagy-Becskerek 1890 (Történeti, nép- és földrajzi könyvtár 22); S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Beograd 1964; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staats-bildungen* I, Gotha 1905; id., *Geschichte der Rumänen und ihrer Kultur*, Hermannstadt 1929; Istoria Romîniei II, Bucureşti undated; H. Pirenne, (et al.), *Le fin du Moyen Age* I, 1285—1453, Paris 1931 (Peuples et Civilisations VII/1.).

traditionally regarded by the Hungarian kings as their vassals and against which they had undertaken frequent wars in the first half of the 14th century in order to attain dominion over them. If this fact had escaped the attention of the Hungarian monarch concerned with a territory from Poland to Italy, — and we have no ground to think so —, he received warnings from the Pope and the Byzantine emperor. In fact, both of them regarded Louis I as the person capable of stopping the Turkish advance. The Pope intended to invest him with the generalship of a series of planned crusades, and Emperor Ioannes V paid a personal visit to Buda in the winter of 1365—66 to persuade Louis to act as the mediator in the negotiations concerning the reunion of the Church.

However, Louis I did not seriously harbour the notion of an all-round military operation against the Turks. In spite of previously agreeing to it, he failed to support the crusading enterprise of Amadeus VI, the Count of Savoy, although their joint action might have dealt a powerful blow to rudimentary Turkish reign. (In the summer of 1366, Amadeus' fleet captured several Bulgarian fortresses along the Pontus withou this aid and recaptured Gallipolis, the key to the Dardanelles, which caused the Sultan to be encapsulated in Asia Minor for a decade.) Louis did this, because he considered the Sultan to be merely a new contending party in the Balkans and he failed to realize — he could not possibly realize at that time — the imminent threat to the country. This is further confirmed by the fact that he took no measures to more powerfully influence, let alone assist the Balkanian state formations that were most dangerously threatened by the Turkish drive. His only preventive action of limited strategic purpose was the establishment of the Bulgar *banatus** of Vidin which also confirms, this assumption.

Around the mid-1360s the unified Bulgarian tsardom of Ivan Alexandâr broke up into three parts for unknown reasons, yet hardly without the active participation of the Ottomans. Ivan Sracimir policed the western parts nearest to the Hungarian border, the central territories with the centre of Trnovo were made over to Ivan Šišman and the despot Dobrotića governed the coastal areas along the Black Sea (in Dobrudja). Turkish control over disintegrated Bulgaria had already become strong; they got gained access to the Lower Danube, and by reducing Bulgaria to dependence they could exert a direct and powerful influence over Hungary's client state, Wallachia. The Hungarian kingdom was threatened with being outflanked from the south-east by the Turks and their vassals.

Then Louis I rapidly occupied the territory of Sracimir within a few weeks in the late spring of 1365 and reorganized it as the «Bulgar *banatus*», manning its fortresses — Vidin, Laganj and Beogradčik — with Hungarian

* *Banatus* : administrative unit created along the southern borders of the Hungarian kingdom. It played a major role in the defence of the country.

garrisons. Stretching the Hungarian frontiers to the south and east in this way, he formed a defensive zone in front of the original borders of Hungary, thereby attaining a means to also keep a closer check on the voivode of Wallachia. However, the «Bulgar *banatus*» failed to fulfill the tasks assigned by its founder. Instead of activizing the anti-Turkish forces of the other two Bulgarian tsardoms, it urged the Orthodox and Bogomil populations of all three tsardoms to resist the Hungarian objectives, due to the forceful conversion to Catholicism within its confines. Instead of holding the unruly Vlaicu, voivode of Wallachia, the brother-in-law of Sracimir, at bay, it massively contributed to his growing influence in the region. The only means for Louis I to temporarily control the voivode was to entrust him with the government of the *banatus* of Szörény (today: Turnu Severin), thus lending him the key to the connection between the heartland and the «Bulgar *banatus*». Consequently, in 1369 when Vlaicu sided with the Bulgarian rebels also patronized by Šišman, the Hungarian rule in Western Bulgaria rapidly collapsed.

Although the idea was sound, its implementation failed. The primary reason for the failure was not the senseless and violent proselytism, but the recognition that the king was not strong enough to settle the chaotic Wallachian-Bulgarian issue *at once*. To be more precise: the idea of establishing the «Bulgar *banatus*» was too arbitrary, unprepared and ill-considered to be effective. There is no reason to think that had Louis I given more consideration and concentration to the issue, he would not have had sufficient military force to impose obedience on Vlaicu and to defend his positions there against the Bulgarians. Be that as it may, only the result is important: the Hungarian set-back considerably enhanced Turkish influence in Bulgaria and was eventually harmful for the Bulgarians, who benefited from the battles of 1368—69 but gradually lost their fortresses during the next decade and finally witnessed the extinction of their state, which was the price that also had to be paid for the Hungarian failure.[5]

[5] Concerning the beginning of the Ottoman conquests in Europe: F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14—15. Jahrhundert)*, Brno—Munich—Vienna 1944 (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 34.); I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règles des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I.* Monachii 1967 (Societas Academica Dacoromana. Acta historica 7.); Concerning anti-Turkish projects: A. Pór, *Nagy Lajos (1326—1382)*, Budapest 1892, pp. 380—400.; N. Jorga, *Philippe Mezières (1327—1405) et la croisade au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1895; Gy. Moravcsik, *Bizánci császárok és követeik Budán*: *Századok* (in the following: *Sz*) 95 (1961), pp. 834—840.; L. V. Gorina, *Pohodjt na graf Amadej VI Savojski protiv Bulgarija prez 1366—1367*, *Istoričeski pregled* 6 (1970), pp. 71—78; Concerning Hungarian campaigns: M. Wertner, *Magyar hadjáratok a XIV-ik században*: *Sz* 39 (1905), pp. 440—447; Concerning the Bulgar *banatus*: L. Thallóczy, *Nagy Lajos és a bulgár bánság*: *Sz* 34 (1900), pp. 577—615; I. Minea, *Magyar—bolgár érintkezés Nagy Lajos alatt*, Budapest 1907; V. Gjuzelev, *Das Papstum und Bulgarien im Mittelalter*: *Bulgarian Historical Review* (in the following:

There are no definite data, but it seems very likely that hostilities pertaining to the Bulgar *banatus* led to the first collision between Hungary and the Turkish troops deployed to «support» the Bulgarians.[6] Although lacking such encounters, the Hungarian attempts to establish the Bulgar *banatus* belongs to the history of anti-Turkish warfare, as it is clearly apparent that the enterprise was intended to prevent Turkish territorial gains.

2. The lull before the storm (1369—1389)

Everyone would expect clashes between Hungary and the Turks to proliferate in the subsequent years. Sracimir, again recognized in his authority over the Bulgaria of Vidin in the summer of 1369, proved to be a loyal vassal of Hungary, but the other two parts of Bulgaria remained under strong Turkish control, which was likely to have increased due to the Hungarian set-back. Yet there is no record whatsoever about any Turco—Hungarian engagement from a period of 20 years.[7]

During the last fifteen years of his reign, Louis I paid little attention to the overshadowing danger in the south. Although he had often requested the

BHR) 5 (1977): 1, pp. 54—58.; J. Pataki, *Anjou-királyaink és a két román vajdaság*, Kolozsvár, 1943.

[6] According to some 16th—17th century Turkish chroniclers, in the 766th year of the Hedsra Lala Sahin, *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia, defeated the Hungarian, Serbian, Bosnian and Wallachian troops at Adrianopolis and the Hungarian king was present in the battle. For this reason relevant literature has given the date of the first Turco—Hungarian clash either as 1362, 1363, 1364, 1366 or — and this is correct — as 1365. (see e.g. J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* I, Pest 1827, p. 150; H. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Gy. Germanus, *A törökök első föllépése az Aldunán és az első török—magyar összeütközés*: *Sz* 44 (1910), pp. 41—49). Other hitorians, however, pointed out long ago that the Turkish chroniclers had recorded the events of the battle at Črnomeni here, misdating it (see e.g. M. Horváth, *op. cit.* II, pp. 299—300, notes 1, 2.; D. E. Pitcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 43—44), yet in this battle neither the Hungarian king, nor the Hungarian troops took part. Due to its inscription and the record of Menesdorfer from 1407, the reconstruction and the donation of the church at Maria-Zell is traditionally related to a victory of Louis I over the Turks by relevant literature: see S. Steinherz, *König Ludwig I. von Ungarn und seine Weihgeschenke für Maria-Zell*: *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 35 (1877); If this event is indeed related to a Turco—Hungarian clash of uncertain date — and this seems very likely —, then it must be one of the events of the struggle in connection with the Bulgar *banatus*. For reasons, see note 7.

[7] Different Padovan chronicles, referring to a letter of Louis I, give account of a significant Turco—Hungarian encounter, dating it 1377 (S. Steinherz and following it the Hungarian historical works relate this event to the donation to Maria-Zell). L. Kumorovitz, however, has lately proved that this date is incorrect: *The last Wallachian campaign of Louis I (1375)*. Lecture at the meeting of the Committee for the History of the Middle Ages on February 24, 1977.

Pope to permit him to use the financial resources of the Church for a crusade or to collect a purse for it, he had no plan ready for an attack on the Turks. His primary aim in reinforcing the border fortresses along the Lower Danube and in Transylvania (Orsova, today: Orşova; Törcsvár, today: Bran; Tolmács, today: Talmaciu) in the 1370s was not to deflect Turkish danger, but to keep a watch on the voivode of Wallachia. That he did not fear the Ottoman threat is apparent from the fact that his troops were fighting in Italy in 1372—73 headed by István Laczkfi, voivode of Transylvania and Benedek Himfi, *comes** of Temes, formerly *banus*** of Bulgaria, the two principal exponents of Hungarian frontier defence in the south-east, and in 1378—80 the king himself was in the Italian theatre. After the death of the last Anjou king (1382) his «empire» became entangled in a strife for the throne and in grave factional fights from which Hungary was not able to emerge until around 1387.

The indifference of Louis I, the frequent and long-term absence of the king's army and the domestic discord, all gave the Turks an easy opportunity to start their ravaging and plundering incursions and to interfere, as usual, in the party strife to advance their interests. If they failed to do so, the only explanation lies with their preoccupation elsewhere and with the changes in the balance of forces in the foregrounds of Hungary.

And indeed, the Hungarian king could correctly rely on the anti-Turkish self-defensive activity of the Balkan alliance (Serbia, Macedonia, and Wallachia) in the foregrounds of Hungary, as they also automatically defended the Hungarian borders. When this alliance crumbled after the defeat at the battle at Črnomeni (September 26th, 1371), the Turks made headway via the least resistance, i.e. towards the south—south-west, parallel to the frontiers of Hungary (the fall of Macedonia in 1371—75, the annexation of the remnants of Thrace in 1373—87, and the partial occupation of Albania around 1385). Around the mid- 1380s the Ottoman troops again turned toward the north-west (Monastir in 1382, Sofia in 1385, and Niš in 1386), inducing a new union of the most important state formations in the Balkans. Besides Bosnia, even Šišman, Tsar of Bulgaria, joined the Serbian-lead alliance, who had previously adopted a fairly stedfast pro-Turkish policy. The allied forces imposed a sweeping defeat on the troops of *beğlerbeği* Kara Timurtaş pushing into Bosnia, and the union also survived the conquest of Trnovo by Lala Sahin, *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia, which reduced Šišman to subjection again.

* *Comes*: Head of a Hungarian county (*comitatus, vármegye*) appointed by the king and functioning as chief administrative, jurisdictional and military leader. The scope of authority of the *comes* of Temes was extended over several neighbouring counties in the 15th century.

** *Banus*: administrative, jurisdictional and military leader of a *banatus*, and of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, then clients of Hungary. The commander of a large fortress co-ordinating the operation of surrounding minor forts was also called *banus*.

Although the reason why Louis I asked the Pope to preach for a crusade after the defeat at Črnomeni was that the Ottomans had attacked and defeated «his subjects», he had not provided his allies with military assistance. However, on frequent occasions he had carried out warfare against his unruly Balkan vassals, at the most with short-term triumphs. With the passage of time, the situation remained unchanged. King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387—1437) stood in opposition to the Balkan alliance from the start by supporting the enemies of Serbia and Bosnia, namely Little Charles, Ladislas of Naples and the «rebels of Southern Hungary». As Lazarus, Serbian kenez, took advantage of Sigismund's distress for gaining more territory, Hungarian troops assailed Serbia in the spring of 1389, and the king's forces also remained in the south during the summer months. When the news spread that the Sultan himself had set out against the Balkan alliance, Sigismund came to terms with Lazarus, but the was reluctant to rush to his aid with his army poised for attack, and he did not send auxiliary troops. (It was his opponents in the South of Hungary headed by János Horváti who allegedly represented the Hungarian kingdom in the allied forces.)

In the fierce battle of Kosovo polje on June 15th 1389 the Balkanian troops suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Turks: both the kenez and Sultan Murad lost their lives. The alliance that also protected Hungary, fell apart.[8]

3. The beginnings of the direct Turco—Hungarian struggle (1389—1402)

With the battle lost at Kosovo polje, the «third power», which was of an uncertain status and unsteady political orientation, collapsed. Previously it could be and had to be counted on; its position sandwiched between the two most significant military powers of the region, the Hungarian kingdom and the Ottoman empire, had made their direct encounters as yet avoidable. Despot Stefan Lazarević, the successor of Lazarus, was compelled to acknowledge

[8] Concerning the political history of the era: A. Pór, *op. cit.*, passim; F. Rački, *Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV i početkom XV stoljeća*: *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (in the following: *Rad*) II, pp. 68—160, III, pp. 64—152, IV, pp. 1—140 = E. Margalits, *Horvát történeti repertórium* I—II, Budapest 1900—1902, I, pp. 155—195; Concerning Hungarian campaigns: M. Wertner, *op. cit.*, pp. 447—449; Concerning the political and military events of the Balkans: St. Novaković, *Srbi i Turci XIV i XV veka.* Revised by S. M. Ćirković, Beograd 1960 (Srpska Književna Zadruga. Kolo III. Knjiga 356—357), pp. 197—223.; G. Škrivanić, *Bitka na Marici*: *Vojno-istorijski Glasnik* (in the following: *VG*) 1963, pp. 71—94.; I. Dujčev, *La conquête turque de la Peninsule des Balkans de 1371 a 1389*: *Études historiques* 7 (1975), pp. 89—100.; F. Rački. *Boj na Kosovu*: *Uzroci i posljedice*: *Rad* XCVII, pp. 1—68. = E. Margalits, *op. cit.* I, pp. 27—44; G. Škrivanić, *Kosovska bitka*, Cetinje 1965.

Turhish dominion and to admit Turkish garrisons, and certain Serbian areas in the east were completely incorporated. This turn was more ominous to Hungary than any of the Turkish conquests so far. The Bulgaria of Vidin and Wallachia having no Turkish garrisons, and the Bulgaria of Trnovo not being adjacent to Hungary, the Ottoman conquerors reached the Hungarian borders first in Serbia. It was here that they established their first military bases suitable for use as stepping-stones for the incessant and systematic devastation of Hungary.

Until 1389, the Hungarian king was free to decide when, where and how he wished to intervene with the struggle for the repartition of the Balkans, and what measures he wished to take to stop of offset the Turkish advance. All his enterprises being preventive in nature, his decisions exercised long term influence over the fate of the country, rather than in direct ways. From 1389 on, however, the Hungary of Sigismund had to defend herself if she wanted to secure independence. Thus, from this date onwards the Turkish expansive thrust, formerly a foreign political issue only, assumed the dimensions of a problem of self-defence, gaining vital importance by influencing or determining every foreign political decision.

As the frontier fortresses along the Lower Danube had not been transformed into a united zone of border defence, Turkish raiding parties had easy access to Hungarian areas from Szerémség* to the *banatus* of Szörény. The responsibility for frontier defence devolved onto the mobile corps of the counties and different *banatus* of South Hungary. Despite the victories of the South Hungarian forces under the command of the *comes* of Temes and the *bani* of Macsó and Szörény over mobile but irregular Turkish light cavalry of little military value — e.g. in 1391 at Nagyolaszi (Szerémség), in 1393 at Érsomlyó (Krassó county), in 1395 at Csák (Temes county), in 1396 at Temesvár and in the county of Torontál —, these feats were not sufficient to ward off the frightening devastation of Southern Hungary, and the flight and subjection of the masses of the population. The battlefields alone marked the extent to which the interlopers pushed forth beyond the frontiers.

Possibly as early as 1389, Sigismund realized that intra-frontier defence could not be effective as the Ottoman raids demoralized the population and undermined the financial resources of home-defence (in accordance with their function), despite the sporadic successes of the defensive forces. He was aware of the necessity to repel the Turks, to break the chain of vassals menacing the state from the south and east, and to re-establish — at least in parts — and reconsolidate the zone of previous Hungarian influence, and the only means of achieving these objectives were expeditions launched outside the

* Territory between the rivers Danube and Sava (in Latin *Sirmium*), now in Yugoslavia.

borders. No other Hungarian monarch had such a deep concern for beating off the Ottomans, no one spent such a long time in the theatres of South Hungary and the Balkans as Sigismund during this phase of his reign.

At first the king considered the extension of the Hungarian borderland on the right bank of the Danube and the fortification of the Danubian crossing-places as his most urgent tasks. The Serbian expeditions of 1389, 1390 and 1392, however, did not come up to expectation, despite the fact that two of them were led by the sovereign in person. The temporarily captured strongholds (e.g. Braničevo and Čestin) were lost, and they were unable to win back Golubac held by the Turks (1390, 1392). Although Vlk Branković, gospodar of the eastern parts, at first co-operated with Sigismund, he did not manage to defer the Serbian ruler and the ruling classe from being strongly biased in favour of the Turkish party. Although Dabisa, king of Bosnia, appointed Sigismund as his heir to the throne after the Hungarian expedition of 1393—1394, the Turks pursued onslaughts against the *banatus* of Macsó via Bosnia already in 1394. The Bosnian enterprise of the Hungarian king in the same year was crowned with just as fragile success as those in Serbia.

From 1393 Sigismund gave up southern actions that resulted in little triumph and drew up the bulk of his forces on the eastern front, for the Sultan had seized Trnovo on July 17th 1393, had had the Hungary-oriented Šišman killed, installed a garrison in Vidin, encircled Constantinople and levied a tax on the voivode of Wallachia after the undecided battle at Argeș (in the summer of 1393). However, Sigismund found a reliable ally in voivode Mircea cel Bătrân, who was eager to throw off the Turkish yoke. These — and the weakness of the south-eastern marches (Orsova, the first in the row of strongholds on the left bank of the Danube, was lost temporarily to the Turks) — highly justified the redeployment of Hungarian troops. In the summer of 1395 the united Hungarian—Wallachian army seized the fortress of Little Nicopolis opposite Nicopolis, thus gaining an important strategic base facing occupied Bulgaria.

After careful diplomatic and military preparations Sigismund attempted to uproot the Turkish positions in Europe with an offensive the following year. However his army, supplemented with «crusaders» from France, Italy and the German Empire as well as by auxiliary troops from Wallachia, suffered, a crushing defeat from the Sultan's forces (on September 18th 1396). One single day on the battlefield at Nicopolis shattered the hopes fostered for half a century that the Turks could be expelled from Europe with the collaboration of the European powers in a single offensive it was impossible to hold the crusaders together longer). The Sultan's army, extended with auxiliary troops from the Balkans, proved to be sufficiently strong to be successfully pitted against united Europe, not only against certain European powers. Whether the battle of Nicopolis was as important as its consequences in European military

history and in the development of anti-Turkish activity, it did not open a new period in the Turco—Hungarian struggle. As Sigismund's attempt in 1396 to change the balance of power in the foregrounds and borderlands of Hungary did not fulfil its purpose, the antagonism resumed the routine of the pre-battle period.

The reason for this trend of events lay in the policy of Bayazid I, who had no interest in violating the European *status quo*. By the early 1390s his court had been dominated by a party of Balkan renegades, who — breaking with the so-valled »*ġāzī*« ideology advocating the conversion of Europe to Islam — urged the Sultan to pursue warfare against Asia Minor. Bayazid I was not encouraged by the victory at Nicopolis to alter this policy. As rapidly as he had left it for the European theatre, he returned to Anatolia to resume his advance towards the Euphrates, extinquishing several Turkmenian principalities that had formerly been relatively independent (1397—98).

Understandably, his units left in Europe turned to their advantage the potentials of the situation after the victory at Nicopolis. Assisted by the inner adversaries of Sigismund, they took temporary possession of some Hungarian fortresses (e.g. Szávaszentdemeter, today: Mitrovica, and Szörény), and ravaged the land between the rivers Drava and Sava right up to the border of Styria. But Sigismund, returning via prolonged detours, quickly managed to master the chaotic country; at the Parliament of Temesvár (today: Timişoara) in 1397 he tried to reform the Hungarian army and to enable it to meet the demands of anti-Turkish warfare by issuing a number of military statutes.

Although the marauding intrusions of the Ottomans did not decrease in number and ferocity during the following years — Sigismund had to issue regulations in 1399 to prevent the depopulation of Temesköz;* the southern counties united in strength under the direction of the *comes* of Temes to utilize the resources of frontier defence more efficiently — the battle of Nicopolis brought about no qualitative change in this respect either. The Hungarian armed forces could not be compelled to move back to the borders; their swift raids continued to have the purpose of maintaining the loyalty of the nations that sided with Hungary before 1396. The Bosnian campaigns (1398, 1400) did not bring a lasting success; the concomitant prosecution of the Bogomils tended to reinforce the positions of Turkish orientation. As the Turkish forces in Bulgaria kept on extending the Sultan's «empire of vassalage» towards Wallachia, Sigismund repeatedly lent help to Mircea against them.[9]

* South-eastern territory of contemporary Hungary, bordered by the rivers Maros, Tisza, and Danube.

[9] Concerning war events: M. Wertner, *op. cit.*, pp. 448—451; id., *Magyar hadjáratok a XV. század első felében* (in the following: M. Wertner, *XV. század*): *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* (in the following: *HK*) 12 (1911), pp. 66—76; B. Milleker, *A törököknek első betörései Dél-Magyarországba Zsigmond és Albert királyok idejében és Keve és Krassó*

4. The missed opportunities of a decade (1402—1413)

In the course of his eastward breakthrough, Bayazid impinged upon the other great power of the region, the empire of Tamerlane (Timur Lenk), then also controlling a significant part of Persia. Tamerlane's troops inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the Turkish and Balkanian army near Ankara on July 20th 1402; the Sultan died in the custody of the khan. Tamerlane, however, wishing to extend his territories principally towards India and China — did not nourish the plan of overthrowing Turkish rule in Anatolia; he was content to re-establish the principalities formerly crushed by the Ottomans. Turkish possibilities were paralysed not so much by the military consequences of a single defeat — they could replace losses in manpower very rapidly — as by the political situation within their country after the Sultan's death. The empire fell apart because all four sons of the Sultan claimed their right to supreme power. Stimulated by Balkanian renegades, Suleiman, who wished to resume his father's eastward expansion, sustained a defeat from Musa at Edirne in 1411 and lost his life. It was not Musa, however, but Mehmed, who emerged victoriously from the fratricidal struggle after smashing the troops of his brothers in the battle of Čamurlu on July 10th 1413, and having Isa and Musa executed.

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vármegyék megszűnése, 1393—1439, Temesvár 1914 (offprint from *Dél-Magyarországi Történelmi és Régészeti Múzeum Társulat közlönye*), pp. 3—15; V. Trpković, *Tursko—ugorski sukobi do 1402 g.*: *Istorijski glasnik* (in the following: *IG*) 1959, pp. 93—121; Gy. Rázsó, *A Zsigmond-kori Magyarország és a török veszély (1393—1437)*: *HK* 20 (1973), pp. 411—424; Concerning the Wallachian campaign of 1395 cf. E. Mályusz, *Királyi kancellária és a krónikaírás a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 1975, (Irodalomtörténeti füzetek 79), pp. 74—78; Concerning the crusade of 1396 of. M. Wertner, *A nikápolyi hadjárat 1396-ban*: *HK* 26 (1925), pp. 31—62 and 213—253; A. Attiya, *The Crusades*, Paris 1954; Concerning the extent the Turks pushed forth: S. Jug, *Turški napadi na Krajnsko in Primorsko do prve tretjine 16. stoleča (Kronologija obseg in vpadna pota)*. Ljubljana, 1943. (Glasnik Muzejskega Društva za Slovenijo XXIV), pp. 344.; G. Gündisch, *Die Türkeneinfälle in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 2 (1937), pp. 393—395; id., *Siebenbürgen in der Türkenabwehr, 1395—1526*: *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (in the following: *RRd'H*) 13 (1964), p. 418; Concerning the consequences of raids: I. Szabó, *Magyarország népessége az 1330-as és 1526. évek között*: *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, ed. J. Kovacsics, Budapest 1963, pp. 65—66; id., *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon. XV—XV. század*, Budapest 1966, p. 180.; E. Mályusz (ed.), *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, I. 1387—1399, Budapest 1951, nr. 2622.; E. Mályusz, *Ikach rex Bosnensis. Studia Slavica Hung.* 14 (1968) pp. 259—267.; Concerning the relationship to neighbouring countries: S. Novaković, *op. cit.*, pp. 224—301; I. Nidermann, *Magyarország és a bosnyák politika Mária és Zsigmond alatt (1382—1420)*, Balassagyarmat 1936; S. Ćirković, *O «Djakovačkom ugovoru»*: *IG* 1962, pp. 3—10; E. Minea, *Principatele române şi politica orientală a împeratului Sigismund*, Bucureşti 1919; P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân şi suzeranitatea ungurească*, Bucureşti 1938.

As Serbia, taking advantage of the factional fight, broke free from direct Turkish dominion and no actual danger loomed over Wallachia and Bosnia, the ring pressing the Hungarian borders from the east and south broke up. According to our present state of knowledge, no raid was able to burst upon Hungarian terrain during the ten years of Turkish interregnum. The altered situation is ably characterized by the fact that while Sigismund in 1390 granted lands to László Sárói, *comes* of Temes, because *he had successfully protected the population of the southern counties entrusted him, against Turkish raids*, Pipo Scolari, *comes* of Temes, was allotted a fief in 1407 on the pretext that *he had repeopled and consolidated*[10] the southern parts of the country formerly depopulated by the attacks of the Ottomans and other infidels.

The relationship between Hungary and the Balkan countries took a far more favourable turn than at any other time since the advent of the Turks in Europe. Though Bulgaria remained an integral part of the Turkish empire, Wallachia was ruled by Mircea, Sigismund's faithful ally. Lazarević, despot of Serbia, vowed allegiance to Sigismund (1404, 1411), whose conversion the king was politic enough to reward with huge land-grants and several positions of eminence in Hungary. Hungarian influence gained momentum in domestically always unstable Bosnia, although the quelling of the Bogomils following the Hungarian triumphs and the massacre after the victory at Doboj in 1408, hardly contributed to solidifying a lasting and cordial alliance.

Neither the Hungarian kingdom, nor her allies in the Balkans took measures to press home the advantages of the fratricidal wars waged in Anatolia (temporarily withdrawing the mainstay of the Rumelian Turkish army from Europe) in order to set free, at least partly, the occupied territories in Bulgaria and Thrace, although such an attempt might have had inticing porspects. They were satisfied with being free from Turkish pressure and the concomitant military expenses and grave devastation. They seemingly thought nothing of taking preventive measures in case the offensive resumed and of impeding the solidification of the Ottoman forces. In fact, they also participated in the internecine fight, now on this side, now on another.

The Turks acted in the very opposite manner. Even in the years of inner strife, the Rumelian Turks grasped every opportunity to intervene in the political quarrels of the Balkans. Their endeavours were considerably facilitated by

[10] He defended «incolas regni nostri in Machoviensi, Sirmiensi, Crassoviensi et Temessiensi antefato districtibus ac comitatibus incolatum habentes». L. Thallóczy—A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára, 1198—1526*, Budapest 1907 (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria XXXIII.), pp. 26—28; «idem ipsos, qui antea per sepissimas invasiones et creberrimos Thurcorum insultus pene devastati et depopulati extiterunt . . . ad pristine integritatis statum reducendo populorum multitudine plurimum decorat.» G. Wenzel, *Okmánytár Ozorai Pipo történetéhez*: *Történelmi Tár* (in the following: *IT*) 1884, pp. 21—22.

the fact that ignoring the sad experience of half a century, some Serbian or Bosnian overlords wished to retain, or ascend to, power by using Turkish auxiliary troops. In 1409 Vlk Lazarević tried to overthrow the Hungarophile rule of Stefan with the help of Turkish forces; Ottoman groups appeared increasingly in the Bosnian areas from around 1410. This explains that a Turkish raiding party broke through up to Krajna in 1408, burning down a number of local settlements, and that in 1413 Musa, occupied in the European seat of operations, could think of extending Turkish control by an attempt to seize Novobrdo, the centre of precious metal mining in South-Eastern Serbia.

This also explains that the initiative remained with the Turks, despite the fact that Hungary was the decisive point of military and political orientation in the region during this period. It is sufficient to mention that each of the direct or indirect Turco—Hungarian clashes of the period is related to some Turkish attempt at encroachment. This was the case with Bosnia in 1407—8 and Serbia in 1409 — Hungarian documents present them as anti-Turkish enterprises — and the Hungarian army stationed in the south, led first by Pipo Scolari, then by Sigismund, frequently encountered Turkish forces assisting Vlk Lazarević. And this was the case in 1413, when troops of the king also took part in liberating Novobrdo.[11]

5. The military situation prior to 1402 is restored (1415—1421)

Apart from the immanent dynamism of the Ottoman social structure, the passivity of the Eastern and Central European countries concerned helps to explain how the Turkish empire, reunited under the reign of Mehmed I, was soon able to launch a new offensive. And — contrary to the eastern orientation of the decade prior to 1402 — this time in the European theatre, for Mehmed had been helped to power by a faction ardently advocating the *Jihad* against Christendom, i.e. the resumption of European conquests. The westward drive of the new monarch was only temporarily and limitedly hindered by the emergence at the end of the 1410s of a new pretender to the throne, the so-

[11] Concerning the battle at Ankara: M.-M. Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, Bucarest 1942 (Publicațiunile Institutului de Turcologie din Jași); G. Škrivanić, *Angorska bitka, 1402*: *VG* 1964, pp. 51—76; Concerning the conditions in the Balkans: S. Novaković, *op. cit.*, pp. 302—372; J. Radonić, *Zapadna Evropa i balkanski narodi prema turcima u prvoj polovini XV veka*, Novi Sad 1905 (Knjige Matice Srpske 11—12), pp. 14—27; M. Dinić, *Pismo ugarskog kralja Zigmunda Burgundskom vojvodi, Filipu*: *Zbornik za društvene nauke Matice Srpske* 1956; A. Kuzev, *Vostanie Konstantina i Fruzina*: *BHR* 2 (1974): 3, pp. 53—69; Concerning war events related to Hungary: C. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag 1879, pp. 47, 56 and 61; M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 253—254; B. Milleker, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—20; Gy. Rázsó, *op. cit.*, pp. 425—431.

called Pseudo-Mustafa, who enjoyed the support of certain Balkan rulers. (Mustafa suffered a fatal defeat at Tuzla in 1421).

Although the causes were slightly different, both the Hungarians and the Turks were primarily attracted to Bosnia which was split by separatism and faction. The rapid sequence of Bosnian kings could in no way master the separatist interests of the great magnates, chiefly of Duke Hrvoje, Hranić Sandalj and kenez Pavel Radinović, who adopted autonomous domestic and foreign policies, and were independent regarding military affairs. They were ready to employ Turkish assistance against the king, or Hungary or each other. Hrvoje, for instance, inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the troops of János Garai, *banus* of Macsó, János Maróti, *banus* of Ozora and Pál Csupor, *banus* of Slavonia* (in August 1415 to the south of the Sava) with, and probably due to, the help of Turkish units. The significance of Turkish «assistance» is exemplified by the fact that Garai who was captured was set free four years later at immense ransom by the Turks, not by the Bosnians.

In 1415, the Turkish troops were not satisfied with plundering the lands of Sandalj, but seized his fortified and strategically most asignificant fortresses: Vrhbosna, Višegrad, Sokol and Ključ, which constituted advance bases for easily reaching both Hungarian and Croatian, and behind them the Austrian borders, and they could keep an eye on Serbia as well. To offset these new territorial possessions, Pipo Scolari directed the Hungarian army to Bosnia in 1416, without significant success. A characteristic instance of Turkish control in Bosnia is the comment of the previously anti-Turkish Hranić Sandalj from 1420: «By God's and the Majestic Emperor the Sultan Mehomet beg's good grace and generosity, we acquired (the Konavlje territory) and we were confirmed in our possession by General Isaak (beg of Vrhbosna)».

After an interval of about 15 years, the Turks in possession of Bosnian bases immediately resumed their depredating raids in the territories of the Hungarian kingdom. In the first years, they led their attacks westward (the vicinity of Aquilea and the borderlands of Styria in 1415, around Zagreb in 1418, in Slavonia at the end of the 1410s), but around the turn of the 1410s they arrived in the Transdanubian counties of Zala, Somogy and Baranya, and in Temes and Csongrád counties on the other side of the Danube.

For unknown reasons, the Ottomans emptied their bases in Bosnia about 1420. Then, however, the Turkish thrust towards the inlands of Hungary started from the east. After the death of Mircea, their Bulgarian raiders could cross Wallachia unhindered, heading for Transylvania, whose parts in the Barcaság** they devastated in collaboration with Dan, voivode of Wallachia, in 1420 and 1421; they defeated the troops of the voivode of Transylvania,

* Territory between the rivers Drava and Sava, now in Yugoslavia.

** Privileged territory of the Transylvanian Saxons (*Burzenland*), now in Rumania.

and sacked Brassó (Kronstadt, today: Braşov). The fortress of Szörény fell to the Turks possibly in 1420.

However, the Hungarian forces were not driven back behind their own frontiers. Just like before 1402, Sigismund tried to counter balance the growth of Turkish influence with actions in Wallachia and Bulgaria. It is certain that his attempt to modify the adverse situation in Wallachia, due to the death of Mircea, was carried out with a show of arms rather than with actual military operations. He rested content with erecting the fortress of Görény after a Bulgarian raid in 1419, and in 1421 — on the news of the Sultan's death — he rashly postponed a projected campaign. The only significant engagement — István Losonci, *banus* of Szörény, marched to Wallachia and clashed with Dan and the assisting Turks at the end of the 1420s — ended with a victory over his army.

The series of military encounters after 1415 is similar in essentials to that prior to 1402. The Hungarian war machine had no effective remedy to ward off the Turkish raids, but the incursions could not pin the Hungarian army to the borders again. It is true that no success of any significance crowned the operations of Hungarian arms either in Bosnia or Wallachia; on the contrary: both countries seemed to be defecting away from the Hungarian sphere of interests. This was, however, considerably offset by Serbia which — although it extradited the pseudo-Mustafa in order to gain favour with the Turks — ceased to be the advance base and military spring-board of the Ottomans, thereby substantially contributing to the security of the southern borderlands.[12]

6. Consolidation of Hungarian positions (1422—1427)

For all the prospects of Turkish occupation being amplified by the Hussite wars and the events of the previous decade, the balance seems to have been weighted in favour of the Hungarians. Again, it was not a positive change in the Hungarian military organization: the lasting preoccupation of the Sultan's army elsewhere presented Hungary with the opportunity of fortifying her positions. The successor of Mehmed, Murad II considered Turkish rule in

[12] Concerning war events: M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 268—276; J. Radonić, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—42; B. Milleker, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—24; S. Ćirković, *Dve godine bosanske istorije (1414—1415)*: *IG* 1953; Concerning Turkish incursions: S. Jug, *op. cit.*, pp. 6—7; G. Gündisch, *Die Türkeneinfälle*, pp. 398—399; id., *Siebenbürgen*, pp. 419—420; D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* II, Budapest 1894, p. 385; A. Áldásy, *Regesták a vatikáni levéltárból*: *TT* 1895, p. 284; S. Borovszky, *Csanádvármegye története 1715-ig*, I, Budapest 1896, p. 358; For conditions in Bosnia, cf. L. Thallóczy, *Hervoja herczeg és czímere*: *Turul* 10 (1892), pp. 1—12; J. Radonić, *Der Grossvojvode von Bosnien Sandalj-Hranić-Kosača*: *Archiv für slavische Philologhie* 19 (1897).

Europe strong enough to turn easteard again and he set out to conquer the Anatolian principalities which had become independent in 1402. The release of the Hungarian border was probably also effected by the fact that the Sultan became involved in a war with the third most portentous military factor of the region, the maritime republic of Venice (1425—1430) at a time when the Hungarian—Venetian hostilities, paralysing Sigismund's anti-Turkish efforts, gradually disappeared (war in 1418—1429).

In the course of the next few years, Hungary seems to have been inaccessible to Turkish raids, due to the withdrawal of their forces from Bosnia and the interstitial position of Serbia. Intrusions into Transylvanian terrain ceased for 11 years after 1421. The reason — as well as an indication of increasing Hungarian influence — is that Dan II, voivode of Wallachia, formerly governing under the shadow of Turkish arms, also joined the anti-Turkish block, his troops repeatedly erupted into territories in Bulgaria under Turkish dominion.

Despite his preoccupations in the north, Sigismund gave considerable support to Dan's efforts. His troops had to intervene in the eastern front every year to help the voivode retain power, and to protect him from frequent Turkish assaults. In 1423, at first Pipo Scolari, *comes* of Temes, marched to the seat of war in Wallachia, but soon after the king's troops, returning from Bohemia, attained a mighty victory over the Turks in October. In 1424, Pipo Scolari's troops were again at the border zone; it is likely that the hard-handed general won back the fortress of Szörény. In 1425, two Hungarian military columns (headed by Miklós Csáky, voivode of Transylvania, and Pipo Scolari) advanced to the area of Turkish operations. Sigismund arrived in Transylvania in the autumn of 1426 to personally direct the warfare in support of Dan; by then some Hungarian corps had merged with Dan's forces. Early in 1427 at Radu Praznaglava, the Turks confronted Dan, whom the army of Sigismund — who was in the field in April and later in July—August, but staying within easy reach all the time — could restore to his throne only after a strenuous struggle, while the vicinity of Szörény suffered heavy assaults. Thus, it was only possible for the Hungarian king to retain his Wallachian vassal by taking extreme measures.

Although Bosnia was assailed by Turkish groups in the following years e.g. in 1424 voivode Radivoj drew them into his struggle with King Stefan Tvrtko II — Hungarian control increased in strength in Bosnia. The assertive, independent-minded nobility of the first quarter of the century, gradually died off and Tvrtko, menaced from all sides, concluded an alliance with Sigismund, acknowledging his supremacy. Sigismund was able to secure the continued loyalty of Stefan Lazarević, Serbian despot. So much so, that the despot, in the 1426 treatly of Tata, promised him the formerly alienated *banatus* of Macsó and the fortresses of Belgrade and Golubac, in the event of his death.

Due to these conditions, the prospects of the anti-Turkish struggle in Hungary were more promising than at any time since 1389, irrespective of the period of truce (1402—1413). The southern and eastern parts of the country lived in peace, and the outlines of an anti-Turkish alliance led by Hungary were becoming dicernible outside its borders.[13]

7. Hungary loses ground in the Balkans (1427—1437)

Stefan Lazarević Serbian despot died in the summer of 1427 and the Serbian—Hungarian agreement of 1426 automatically came into force. Had Sigismund actually taken possession of the 17 strongholds along the Danube listed in the pact, his prospects in the war against the Ottomans would have been enhanced. The advantage lay with him: he could have prevented the Turks from seizing the Serbian fortresses in control of crossing places along the Hungarian border and from utilizing them as strategic and military bases for aggression against the Hungarian territories, doing all this by a forced volte-face, similarly to their practice in 1389. Moreover, the series of border fortresses from the confluence of the rivers Drina and Sava to the influx of the Danube and Morava, could have served as a basis for the unified Hungarian system of frontier strongholds, found to be so necessary previously. On the one hand, it could have more effectively protected the border zone than the former system based on the mobile troops of Southern Hungary, and on the other, it could have constituted a military advance base, both for struggles in the foregrounds of the country and for a more resolute Serbian and Bosnian policy of the Hungarian kings.

Instead, Sigismund was able to retain only a minority of strongholds obtained through the pact. In the summer of 1427 — when Lazarević was still alive and Sigismund was on an expedition in Wallachia — the Turks burst upon Serbia to prevent Hungary in good time from gaining territory. They captured Niš and Kruševac, along the Morava, and imposed a siege against Zimony, an auxiliary stronghold to Belgrade. So, when the Wallachian expedition was over, Sigismund hurried to Serbia and on September 27th he sent word from there to the Bishop of Lincoln that he had recaptured the fortress

[13] Concerning war events: G. Wenzel, *Ozorai Pipo. Magyar történelmi jellemrajz Zsigmond király korából*, Pest 1863, pp. 60—62; M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 417—427; B. Milleker, *op. cit.*, pp. 23—24; Concerning the Hungarian-Serbian relationship: F. Pesty, *Brankovics György rácz despota birtokviszonyai Magyarországon és a rácz despota czím*, Budapest 1877 (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből VI. 9.); J. Radonić, *Sporazum u Tati 1426 i sprsko-ugarski odnosi od XIII do XVI veka*. Beograd 1941. (Glas. Odeljenje društvenih nauka Sprske akademije nauka i umetnosti. 187), pp. 179—181; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1967 (Sprska Književna Zadruga), pp. 101—104.

of Belgrade, «the key and token of Hungary's security», and took the oath of Djordje Branković, the new Serbian despot's loyalty.

But the success was not cloudless; the pledge holder of Golubac, a significant link between Belgrade and the borderlands of Temes, handed it over to the Sultan instead of the king. In vain the Hungarian king's army, reinforced with Wallachian and Lithuanian troops besieged the fortress for long months in the spring of 1428, they could not recapture it, similarly to 1390 and 1392. After the failure at Golubac, the Hungarian forces were no longer able to prevent the Sultan any more from laying waste the fortification system in the *banatus* of Macsó and imposing taxation on the Serbian despot and the voivode of Wallachia. The king then thought it better to sue for a hasty peace with the Sultan than to jeopardize the remaining fragments of the North Serbian parts in the coming fights (1428). Thus Hungary lost her advantage, formerly won by securing the orientation of Serbia and Wallachia, and by taking possession of the Serbian fortresses.

As King Sigismund (also Holy Roman Emperor from 1410) focussed his attention on West European policy after the 1429 peace-treaty and as he resided outside Hungary most of the time, Hungary had little chance to shift the balance of power in her foregrounds. Branković was increasingly subordinated to the Turks: the area of his country was shrinking — finally Murad claimed even Smederevo, the seat of the Serbian ruler built by his assent —, he gave his daughter to the Sultan's harem, and he placed some of his troops at the Sultan's service in several operations (e.g. against Albania in 1430).

Although in 1437 Sigismund remembered as a merit of Matko Tallóci, *banus* of Belgrade, that he had routed the Turks in Bosnia and seized a number of fortresses in the mid-1430s, Hungary had no substantial say in changing the situation in Bosnia. The Hungarian king gave his support to Tvrtko, but could not protect him from either the Ottomans or from his domestic opponents. The Bosnian king was chased away from his own country between 1433 and 1436, and while he was hiding in Hungary, the aristocracy of his land engaged Turkish troops to devastate one another's estates. Consequently, a row of Bosnian strongholds — including Vrhbosna (1436) — was lost to the Turks in the late 1420s. Tvrtko himself had no other way of gaining back his power than by offering an annual tribute of 25,000 golden florings to the Sultan. Despite their sporadic charges against Wallachia during the 1420s, the Transylvanian troops could not in effect support the voivodes adopting an anti-Turkish policy, who in turn — Alexandru Aldea, Vlad Dracul — helped themselves by subjecting their country to the Sultan. One of Aldea's letters from 1432, well characterizes the state of Wallachia.

The voivode notified the palatine and the *comes* of Temes that while in the Porte he received word of Turkish preparations against Hungary, and

the moment the Turks set out on their offensive he would side with them attacking Transylvania, but would immediately change sides if Hungarian troops were able to support him.

By taking possession of Belgrade — its *bani*, the Tallóci (Talovac) brothers of Raguzan origin, Matko and Franko, also ruled over the armed forces of the hinterland, the fontier defence in the south increased and the security of the southern counties was considerably improved. Although the Turks maintained fleets on the Danube at Golubac and Kruševac to facilitate any onslaught on Hungary, no attack of any momentum could be launched against Slavonia and the Szerémség protected by Belgrade at that period. The garrisons in Bosnia also directed their raids westward against Croatia and Styria, not towards the north. However, the frontier defence in the south-east, was just as feeble; Turkish incursions could break into Transylvania via Bulgaria and Wallachia almost as unhindered as around the turn of the 1410s: in 1432 they again stormed the Barcaság and the land of the Székelys, and attacked Brassó; it is likely that the fortress of Szörény fell to them on that occasion. According to Raguzan reports, a considerable army under the command of the *beğlerbeği* of Anatolia suffered two defeats within the borders of the Hungarian crownlands. Turkish sources, in turn, registered that Ali beg some time in the mid-1430s easily ravaged the Temesköz for weeks without encountering resistance of any importance.

At first Sigismund could safely hope that Murad was going to be inhibited by his Southern European (Albanian) and Anatolian (Karamanian) expeditions from taking any momentous action along the borders of Hungary. The more so, as he had formed an alliance with Ibrahim, ruler of Karamania, and took pains to establish a wider anti-Turkish bloc in Anatolia. However, pressed by attacks on Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia, the renewed intrusions upon Transylvania and the alarmingly threatened position of Serbia, he was to see soon enough that a policy based merely on frontier defence and a passive policy towards limitrophic countries was barren of effect. After a long interval he visited the south of Hungary in 1436 and made an attempt to assist the Albanians. Although he spent the following year in Bohemia, the complete military structure of Hungary was mobilized to counterweight the unfolding Turkish offensive and relieve Transylvania. The fights along the border were crowned with success, and a considerable Hungarian army, lead by Franko Tallóci, János Marcali and János Ország, launched its first offensive to impede the deployment of Ottoman troops by the help of an onslaught on Serbia. They burnt down Kruševac, annihilated the fleet stationed on the Morava, set fire to the surroundings of Golubac and defeated the pursuing army while withdrawing. However, all this was no more than a significant, successful raid and — having no

continuation — it did not alter the disavantageous situation in the Balkans having developed in a manner injurious to Hungary due to her passivity in the previous ten years.[14]

8. A series of Turkish assaults on Hungary (1438—1442)

When Sigismund died after a reign of 50 years (December 9th 1437) Hungary's southern and southeastern borders were surrounded by countries subservient to the Turks. His successor, Albert of Austria, had to face a series of strong and concentrated attacks unparalleled before. Notably, Murad, ignited by the successes of the past years, decided to occupy and colonize the whole territory of Serbia. Of course, he knew that to achieve this his opponent was not faction-ridden, shrunken and feeble Serbia, but Hungary, whose interest was to maintain Serbia as a buffer state. As the Serbian forces displayed very weak resistance and Hungary did little to hinder the Turkish drive, he had the opportunity to send a part of his troops directly against Hungary, and rivet the forces of the Hungarian defence to the borders. So rapid was the decay of the areas in Southern Hungary and Transylvania, and so great the disintegration of the defensive system of the country, that King Vladislas I was justified in writing in a document: the country was on the verge of «being occupied».

The incessant clashes of this 5-year-period commenced in the summer of 1438 with an invasion lead by Ali *beğ* and Vlad Dracul, voivode of Transylvania. Their troops ravaged and pillaged from Gyulafehérvár (Weissenburg, today: Alba Iulia) and Szászsebes (Mühlbach, today: Sebeș) to the Barcaság for 45 days without meeting significant resistance anywhere except at Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, today: Sibiu). In September, the land of the Székelys suffered a Turkish onslaught. Meanwhile, the Ottoman troops of Serbia and

[14] Concerning the conquest of the fortresses along the Lower Danube: (apart from the literature quoted in Note 13) cf. L. Thallóczy—A. Áldásy, *op. cit.*, pp. XIX—XXXVI; On war events: M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 427—448, 537—549; B. Milleker, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—35; Gy. Rázsó, *op. cit.*, pp. 431—440; J. Karácsonyi, *Az első magyar hadijelentés*: *HK* 11 (1910), pp. 15—22; Concerning the development of Wallachian conditions: (in the following too) L. Elekes, *A magyar—román viszony a Hunyadiak korában*: *Mátyás király emlékkönyv* I, Budapest 1940, pp. 173—228, and passim; Concerning Turkish raids: G. Gündisch, *Die Türkeneinfälle*, pp. 400—402; id., *Siebenbürgen*, pp. 422—423; Concerning the military dispositions of Sigismund: J. Deér, *Zsigmond honvédelmi politikája*, Budapest 1936 (offprint from *HK* 1936); P. Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban* (1387—1437), Budapest, 1977 (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat 83.) passim; Concerning Sigismund's search for allies in the East: L. Tardy, *Régi magyar követjárások Keleten*, Budapest 1971 (Kőrösi Csoma kiskönyvtár 11), pp. 9—26.

Bosnia captured the Serbian fortresses one after the other (Borac, Ravenica in 1438, Zvornik, Srebrnica in 1439) and the Sultan himself set out to complete the occupation of Serbia in the summer of 1439. Branković fled to Hungary, leaving the defence of Smederevo and its garrison to Albert. Smederevo finally capitulated (August 29th 1439) without any of the Hungarian troops stationed at Titel venturing near it. Hearing the news of the capitulation of the fortress, the Hungarian army, which was weak anyway, disintegrated, leaving the southern parts of the country open prey for the Turkish raiders. Thus obtaining new important strategic bases, the Turks could move right up to the Drava in Slavonia, to Temesvár in the areas east of the river Tisza and allegedly to Transylvania, while the Sultan's army rode against Bosnia and forced Stefan Tvrtko to pay an increased annual tribute.

King Albert died in October 1439 and the problem of the succession to the throne divided the powers of the country; the followers of Queen Elisabeth and Vladislas of Jagello, King of Poland, conspired against each other. Making use of the anarchy, the next year Murad led his troops against Belgade, which he considered his own through his relationship to Branković .He knew he could not regard Serbia as completely occupied without seizing this stronghold. Although the 3-day-siege was not successful and the Sultan hastily accepted the peace offered by Vladislas, the campaign of the 1440s consummated the destruction of Southern Hungary. The Turkish hordes, let loose from the encampments, took so many captives beyond the river Sava that — as a chronicler recorded — «a beautiful lass was exchanged for a pair of boots». Keve and Krassó counties became depopulated to such a degree that the *universitates nobilium* ceased to operate and the inhabitants of Keve, a ferry-town on the Danube, received royal assent to move to Csepel island.

After the unsuccessful siege of Belgrade Saadettin, *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia, had a fortress built at Avala (Žrnov) in order to supervise and control Belgrade. The Turkish commanders of Smederevo, which had been seized not long before, considered that their major task was to harrass Belgrade. It was a remarkable triumph, as well as a sign of dawning self-assurance, that in the summer and early autumn of 1441, János Hunyadi succeeded in driving off the troops of Isaak, *beğ* of Smederevo, near Belgrade. With the appearance of Hunyadi a personality emerged who was able to concert and organize the fighting forces of the country and lead Hungary out of a doomed situation with his unequalled rigour and unslackening industry.

As the contemporary chronicler, János Thuróczy put it, «no matter where, in which hidden paths the Turks tried to penetrate the country in order to pillage it — as was their custom — this action was disasterous because the soldiers of voivode János [János Hunyadi], set to guard the frontiers, defeated them every time». As a matter of fact the emergence of Hunyadi did not coincide with an immediate turning point: Hungary had another

difficult year to endure. The Ottomans again turned towards Transylvania in 1442. Mezid *beğ* pushed forth to Gyulafehérvár with 16,000 men, invested a part of the Transylvanian troops and won them over (March 18th), but sustained a defeat from Hunyadi while withdrawing (March 22nd). The voivode of Transylvania made the most of the possibilities brought about by this victory: he invaded Wallachia, dismissed the Turcophile voivode, thus effecting Hungarian influence on the Romanian pricipality after a long break. In 1442, the forces of Hunyadi and Miklós Újlaki were able to lie in wait on the frontier for the onslaught of Saadettin, *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia, sent to revenge the defeat of Mezid *beğ*. The *beğlerbeği* was unable to strike a direct blow at Transylvania, since a part of his troops had to be dispatched to subdue the voivode of Wallachia. The voivodes of Transylvania turned the devision of the Turkish forces to their advantage and pursuing them, they inflicted a defeat upon the mainstay of the army in an open battle in the valley of the river Jalomița, (between September 2nd and 6th), despite the reinforcement of the *beğlerbeği*'s army with regular (janissary) corps.

Between 1438 and 1441, the Hungarian fighting forces, having never utilized their capacities and possibilities for various reasons since 1428, lost the initiative to such an extent that they were a victim rather than an equal partner in the struggle. It is certain that the Ottomans had no lasting conquest of Hungary in mind, yet — knowing the factors that were decisive in their plans — it is certain that had the paralysed state of Hungary lasted longer, they would have soon considered her possible occupation. Hunyadi's victories in 1442, largely due to adventitious factors, proved that despite the long passivity of Hungary and the casualties of the previous years she had the strength to emerge from her vanquished situation. In fact, she was also capable of responding to the Turkish attacks with raids on the Balkans: after the victory at Jalomița, Hunyadi set upon Bulgaria and assailed Serbia together with Újlaki.

Apart from the settled political situation within the borders, and the consolidation of the reign of Vladislas I, the Sultan's renewed antagonism with Karamania after the subjugation of Serbia considerably contributed to this state of affairs. It was Murad's preocucpation in the east that Hunyadi referred to when urging an anti-Turkish offensive, he announced that if nobody followed him he would attack the Turks in Europe with the Transylvanian forces alone.[15]

[15] Concerning war events: J. Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* I, Pest 1852, passim; A. Huber, *Die Kriege zwischen Ungarn und die Türken, 1440—1445*: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 68 (1885), pp. 159—207; M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 549—560; O. Székely, *Hunyadi János első török hadjáratai*: *HK* 20—22 (1919—1921), pp. 1—28; L. Elekes, *Hunyadi*, Budapest 1952, pp. 110—170; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *op. cit.*, pp. 109—113; G. Gründisch, *Siebenbürgen*, pp. 427—430; V. Ciociltan, *Le campagne ottomane de Transylvanie (1438) dans le contexte politique international*: *RRd'H*

9. Anti-Turkish offensive led by Hungary (1443—1448)

Hunyadi's victories of 1442, that were significant in revealing the military potentials of Hungary, but did not bring about any substantial change in the balance of power, revived the abandoned hopes of an extensive anti-Turkish crusading alliance both within and outside the Hungarian borders. Apart from the young king Vladislas, who was strongly influenced by Hunyadi, the landless Serbian despot within the country and the Pope outside the borders were the most ardent advocated of the offensive, whose objective was not only the restoration of Hungarian control in Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia (the restoration of the situation approximately between 1422 and 1427), but a final showdown, the reversal of the Turkish conquests in Europe or at least curtailing them considerably. The fighting forces of uneven composition, eastward-bound under Hungary's command, attempted to challenge the Sultan's army to a decisive battle and to prevail over them well inside Turkish occupation. It was the first attempt of its kind after a long interval, because the Hungarian warlords, with the exception of Sigismund's enterprise in 1396, had been careful to avoid direct clashes with the Turks, and Sigismund himself was determined to ensure that the area of the showdown was near the borders of Turkish occupied areas, and not within their confines. (Undoubtedly, the occupied territory was farther away from Hungary than it was in 1443). However, on that occasion the diplomacy of Hungary and the Pope failed to gain the support of the West European rulers; sporadic assistance arrived only from Burgundy and Venice (1444, 1445), the latter already being involved in the anti-Turkish struggle. Apart from the Hungarian army, Hunyadi could only rely on the Polish forces, until the death of Vladislas, and the Balkan (Serbian, Bosnian and Wallachian) troops of varying number and loyalty.

During the period in question, Hunyadi led three extensive campaigns (1443/44, 1444 and 1448) and one (in 1445) with limited strategic purposes against the Ottoman held areas. Despite their significant partial successes, his series of enterprises did not fulfil the *military* expectation they had been initiated for. The allied forces encountered the Sultan's army in two open battles (November 10th, 1444 at Varna, and October 17—19th, 1448 at Kosovo polje), and suffered serious defeated on both occasions: King Vladislas was killed on the battlefield at Varna, and Hunyadi had a very narrow escape at Kosovo polje, where his prudently constructed army, mostly the infantry, was almost completely destroyed.

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15 (1976), pp. 437—446; Concerning the impact of Turkish raids: B. Milleker, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—39; I. Magdics, *Diplomatarium Raczkeviense*, Székesfehérvár, 1888; I. Ruvarac, *Prilozi za povest srpskog naroda u Ugarskoj*, II. *O Kovinskim privilejijama*: *Zbornik Illariona Ruvaraca* 1 (1934).

Contrary to the generally held view of Hungarian military historiography, the winter campaign of 1443/44 was also a failure. The allied forces overwhelmed all the Turkish units pitted against them and reached the Balkan pass, but they had to return without engaging the Sultan in open battle. Although the Turks suffered heavy losses in these months, this had an insignificant impact on the balance of forces; this was understandable, because the Turks had already proved they were able to rapidly make up for their losses in manpower. By contrast, the crusading soldiers, who had been so painstakingly assembled, dispersed after the campaign, and everything had to be started anew for the next enterprise, from taking the necessary domestic and foreign political actions to establish a substantial fund and reorganizing the entire military force. Thus, the gains of any enterprise were lost during the period of the preparation for the next one. (Hunyadi could only have regarded the operations of 1445 at the Lower Danube, in which the Burgundian galleys left on the Black Sea participated, as a demonstration of Hungary's determination to continue the struggle in a manner unaffected by either the defeat at Varna or by the death of King Vladislas.)

However, this does not mean that Hunyadi's campaigns were fruitless or ineffective. Very little was gained from the projects, but this «little» had a decisive and far-reaching influence on Hungary's possibilities and fate in the forthcoming battles against the Ottomans. Indeed, the political profile of the Balkans had changed from the beginning of the campaign in 1443. Although the 50-year-old Turkish occupation remained in Bulgaria with the garrisons unmoved, the war gave an impetus to the independence and resistance efforts of the Balkan countries. Althougether 8,000 Serbian mounted troops and foot soldiers joined the advancing allied troops; the Serbs recaptured Srebrnica for a time, and Novobrdo was the seat of a rebellion. The new Bosnian king, Stefan Tomas acknowledged the Hungarian king's supremacy, embraced Catholicism, and seized Srebrnica and Vrhbosna from the Turks (1444). Hunyadi's action was also naturally supported by the new voivode of Walachia.

The role of Skender *beğ* indicated the trend of events: brought up at the Porte as a hostage, George Kastriota was the commander of a unit of Rumelian troops in the battle at Niš (end of October and beginning of November, 1443). However, he escaped from the Turks and became the leader of the Albanian resistance movement which had been involved in an armed struggle already for a decade with more or less success. His conversion initiated a new phase in the Albanian movement, as well as the most significant period in the anti Turkish struggle in the Balkans. It is unfortunate that the two outstanding warlords, Hunyadi and Skender *beğ*, had no opportunity to collaborate (e.g. the defeat at Kosovo polje was partly effected by the Sultan's ability to prevent the union of the Hungarian and

Albanian troops). Despite the lack of direct collaboration, Hunyadi's battles were of considerable assistance in the selfdefensive struggles of Albania, which, in turn, favourably affected the development of Hungarian military possibilities.

The harmonious relationship between Hungary and Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia, envisaged in the hopeful winter days of 1443, soon faded. The Sultan had to return to the Anatolian fronts from time to time — the allied troops were able to considerably advance into Turkish territory due to his absence in 1443 and 1444 — but he could not nourish the idea of a counter-attack even after the most promising victories. He resorted too diplomatic contrivances to disrupt the unity of the allied powers, with considerable success. For instance, he returned Branković's country, in 1444, withdrew Turkish garrisons from several Serbian fortresses and retained only those Eastern Serbian territories which had been held for a long time. This agreement was advantageous to Hungary in so far as it kept the border fortresses clear of Turkish forces, however, it considerably benefited Turkish interests by removing Hungary's strongest Balkanian ally from the bloc of the anti-Turkish offensive. Although Branković did not take up arms in 1448 to impede Hunyadi from marching through his land, he did not join him; in fact, he informed the Sultan about Hunyadi's military operations.

The Bosnian ruler was at most only symbolically represented in Hunyadi's fights (1443); he struggled with Brankivić instead of the Ottomans (for the possession of Srebrnica in 1448), but remained loyal to the Hungarian king. The voivode of Wallachia participated in Hunyadi's wars (1444, 1445, 1448) with substantial, although rather unreliable contingents. Meanwhile Hunyadi gave military aid to Vlaicu II against Vlad's attacks, who burst upon Wallachia with Turkish troops. Hunyadi «concluded a steadfast alliance» with Alexandru II, voivode of Moldavia, who handed over Chilia, an important stronghold at the mouth of the Danube, to Hungarian garrisons.

In general as a result of Hunyadi's fights a large part of Serbia was liberated and the countries subjedted by the Porte earlier or threatened with incorporation by the Turks, won a breathing space. In 1443 all signs indicated the possibility of transforming the Balkans, united almost completely under Turkish dominion, into a unified anti-Turkish zone. Although finally this failed to come about, Hungary's control over the lands in her foregrounds was restored, similarly to the situation of 1422—1427.

The trend of events in this period has another aspect reminding one of 1422—1427: Turkish assaults that ravaged the heartland of the Hungarian kingdom ceased after 1443. Although Hunyadi's offensives resulted in the loss of numerous lives and even more money, this was still below the losses involved as a result of the incursions of Turkish raiders into the south-western, southern

and south-eastern parts of the country. Moreover, Hungary recovered her initiative, and reduced self-assurance, while the Sultan was barred from a direct assault on Hungary more than ever before.[16]

10. Hungary once again loses ground in the Balkans (1449—1454)

Due to the defeat at Kosovo polje, Hunyadi's strength was shaken and he was forced to defend himself against the Cillei (count of Cilli) — Garai — Branković league within the borders. When in 1452, Ladislas V transferred his seat from Vienna to Buda, Hunyadi resigned his post as governor (*capitaneus generalis** of the nation from 1453 on) held since 1446. As Hunyadi's army, organized at the price of great sacrifices and consuming a large part of his private property, was defeated in the campaigns of 1444 and 1448, he could no longer harbour the notion of an over-all offensive. In the course of the next years a rapid sequence of truces ensured the status quo between the Hungarian kingdom and the Turkish empire, which were observed by both Sultan Murad who was preoccupied elsewhere (in Albania and Karamania) and by his successor Sultan Mehmed II (from 1451). Similarly to any other peace of Hungarian arms in the Balkans, the tranquility was one again beneficial to the militarily superior Turks, who could exert constant pressure on limitrophic countries due to their garrisons in Europe. This is also emphasized by the fact that in these armistice agreements Hungary was bound to acknowledge that Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia were tributery subjects to the Port and they were obliged to provide auxiliary troops of necessary. In other words, Hungarian influence over the Balkans, strengthened as a consequence of Hunyadi's campaigns, was again on the decline.

[16] Concerning war events: J. Teleki, *op. cit.*, I. and II. (Pest 1853), passim; M. Wertner, *XV. század*, pp. 560—572; O. Székely, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—64; L. Elekes, *Hunyadi*, pp. 171—255, 277—282, 357—385; see also E. Mályusz, *A magyar rendi állam Hunyadi korában*, Budapest 1958 (offprint from *Sz* 91[1957]); Concerning particular battles: J. Horváth, *A várnai csata*: *HK* 1 (1888), pp. 102—142, 268—305; F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna (1444)*: *Orient* 3 (1950), pp. 229—265; J. Dąbrowski, *L'année 1444*: *Bulletin International de l'Academie polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres* 6 (1951); B. Cvetkova, *Pametna bitka na narodite*. Varna 1969; id., *La bataille memorable des peuples (Le Sud-Est-Européen et la conquête ottomane fin XIV^e — première moitié du XV^e s.)*. Sofie 1971.; S. T. Nedev, *Von Szegedin und Konya bis Varna im Jahre 1444*: *BHR* 4 (1976): 1, pp. 75—92; L. Kropf, *Jehan de Wavrin krónikájából*: *Sz* 28 (1894), pp. 675—696, 881—903; L. Kiss, *A rigómezei hadjárat*: *HK* 8 (1895) pp. 1—42, 157—181, 339—349, 454—486, see also Gy. Miskolczy, *Hunyadi János török hadjáratai*: *HK* 14 (1913), pp. 347—369, 545—583; F. Pall, *Stăpînirea lui Iancu de Hunedoara asupra Chiliei şi problema ajutorării Bizantului*: *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 18 (1965).

* *Capitaneus generalis*: Military leader appointed by the king on certain occasions, in charge of defending a part of the country.

Although Hunyadi once again fostered some adventurous projects in 1453, regarding a water-borne attack to outflank the Turks at the siege against Constantinople, eventually in forced passivity he was to see Sultan Mehmed II's occupation of the seat of the former Byzantine empire (May 29th), who thus consummated the efforts of his predecessors: the total and unquestioning submission of the South-Eastern Balkans. Although the shock and fright caused by the fall of Constantinople was felt throughout Europe, it did not result in any significant shift in the balance of forces in the foregrounds of Hungary. The Byzantine emperors, who had no actual empire, had long been of little significance with regard military affairs, and the only role of the city itself was to serve as a base for Christian fleets deployed on the Black Sea in the fights of the previous decades.

In the following year, the Sultan rode against Serbia, demanding the «return» of Smederevo, which was an adequate warning of the danger approaching the southern borderland of Hungary. Nevertheless, it was impossible to compel the Hungarian fighting forces to move back to the frontiers, in contrast to the earlier Turkish onslaught aimed at the subjugation of Serbia (in 1438/39). The fall of Constantinople and the desperation of Serbia roused the estates, which led to the consolidation of Hunyadi's position. In August, 1454 the *capitaneus generalis* had the opportunity to cross the Danube with a reinforced army. He forced the Sultan to give up the siege of Smederevo, routed the huge force of depredating troops of Feriz *beğ* and pushed on towards Sofia. Encountering the mainstay of the Sultan's army there, he had to retreat, burning down Vidin, and returned to Hungary. Although he did not run the risk of close-quarter fights, his attack temporarily cleared the despot's country of Turkish troops and Branković also gained breathing space. But this single, discountinued enterprise — similarly to the raid on Serbia in 1437 — naturally achieved no lasting results. However, it considerably contributed to the fact that the Sultan's project of occupying Serbia was implemented next year more cautiously, systematically and in a more gradual way.

Hungary's loss of ground was, of course, conspicuous, but although the initiative had been lost, Hungary suffered no attack of any significance during these six years, which is a significant indication that the results of the offensive between 1443 and 1448 did not wear off completely.[17]

[17] Concerning war events; J. Teleki, *op. cit.*, II, passim; L. Elekes, *Hunyadi op. cit.*, pp. 386—437; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Srpska despotovima prema turcima od pada Carigrada do opsade Beograda (1453—1456)*: *Godišnjak filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 6 (1961), pp. 126—142; K. Kiss, *Hunyadi János utolsó hadjárata Bolgár- és Szerbországban (1454) s Nándorfehérvár felmentése*. Pest 1857; Concerning the fall of Constantinople: F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*. Munich 1953, pp. 67—110; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453*. Cambridge 1965; Concerning the projects of Hunyadi: Gy. Moravcsik, *Ungarisch—byzantinische Bezie-*

11. The Hungarian armed forces are pushed back to the frontiers (1455—1463)

As the supreme command of Hungary could not go beyond making plans in 1455, Southern Serbia was an easy victim for the Sultan, which he had regarded as a Turkish province ever since the capitulation of Novobrdo (June 22.). After long and circumspect preparations, Mehmed II led his army against Belgrade in early June, 1456. Contrary to some Turkish sources, which claim that he set out directly against Hungary, the actual purpose of the campaign was to capture Belgrade, because this Hungarian strategic base was the greatest obstacle in the path of any attempt to occupy Northern Serbia. The defenders of the fortress — first under the command of Mihály Szilágyi, and later under János Hunyadi — continued to beat off the besiegers, and with the aid of the crusaders outside the fortress, dealt a crushing blow on the Asian forces and sent the bulk flying (July 22), which compelled Mehmed to give up the siege.

The defence of Belgrade was and is justly considered to be the greatest victory of Hungarian arms and personally of Hunyadi, particularly as this was the only occasion when Hungarian troops forced the imperial army to withdraw. This triumph was not clouded by the fact that it was the frustrated charges of the Ottoman troops, rather than the casualties in the clash of July 22, that forced the Sultan to retreat. In addition to the fights in Albania, the failure at Belgrade considerably enhanced the fact that the next year the Turks could not make use of the Hungarian domestic situation, which had become chaotic after the death of János Hunyadi, the execution of László Hunyadi, then the death of Ladislas V and the interregnum.

Furthermore, the triumph of 1456 considerably facilitated the approach of Serbia and Bosnia to Hungary. The regency council, policing Serbia after the death of Branković, delivered Mihal Angelović into the hands of King Matthias in early 1458, and Stefan Tomas, king of Bosnia, employed Hungarian assistance to install his son, Stefan Tomasević, to the throne and to protect him there. He also undertook an enterprise against the Turks in Serbia together with Mihály Szilágyi.

However, it has to be borne in mind that the siege of Belgrade marked a unanimously unfavourable turn in the Turco—Hungarian struggle: notably the fact that the Hungarian armed forces were pushed back to the frontiers and had to defend themselves. The success at Belgrade saved the most important Hungarian border stronghold, but did not have the potentials for a continuation, and a new Hungarian offensive. Even if the Black Death that ravag-

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hungen zur Zeit des Falles von Byzanz: *Acta Antiqua* 2 (1954), pp. 349—360; L. Tardy, *Hunyadi János kapcsolata a Krim-félszigeti városokkal és annak előzményei*: *Keletkutatás* 1974, pp. 122—123.

ed his encampment had not claimed Hunyadi, and if the anti-feudal movement had not unfolded in the crusaders' camp, the Hungarian army that had suffered heavy casualties during the siege, could not have pressed home the advantage of the situation by launching an over-all assault. Hunyadi's army mainly consisted of ill-equipped, militarily untrained and uncatered for peasant-soldiers; leading them to the Balkan theatre would have been a hopeless and irresponsible affair. As a long established sign of Hungary's imprisonment, after a long break her heartlands were again pillaged by Turkish raiders. In the autumn of 1457, minor predatory hordes intruded into Transylvania via Wallachia.

As Hungary became paralyzed, the beneficial effect of the victory at Belgrade soon vanished. Left alone, Serbia was naturally unable to withstand the repeated onslaughts of the Turkish forces. Mahmud Pasha the Grand Vizier, the relative of Mihal Angelović delivered to Hungary, advanced to the Danube in the valley of the Morava, easily taking possession of the neighbouring fortresses (Resava, Visovac, and Golubac) and he had the burnt-down Žrnov rebuilt opposite Belgrade. The next year, Smederevo, the former seat of the Serbian kings, capitulated (June 29). This step again concluded the Turkish occupation of Serbia, this time for centuries. Only an area of a few square kilometres of former Serbia, once the largest and most powerful country in the Balkans, protected by the fortress of Belgrade, and captured by Hungary in 1427, remained exempt from Ottoman colonialization.

The fall of Golubac and Smederevo had exactly the same impact as in 1428 and 1439: the southern provinces of Hungary were opened up permanently to the Turkish raiders, who did not hesitate to resume the devastation of Hungary. Every year they burst upon South Hungarian territories, temporarily capturing and setting fire to fortresses: Szávaszentdemeter (today: Sremska Mitrovica) in 1458, Keve (today: Kovin) in 1460, Szávaszentdemeter and Kölpény (today: Kupinik) in 1462, and they again tried to take Belgrade too (May 1460).

Meanwhile, the Hungarian troops made only a few forays of very limited purpose in the immediate foregrounds of the borders. The Hungarian raids — they cannot be more highly evaluated — were usually led by Mihály Szilágyi, until 1460 when he was captured during the attempt to seize Smederevo. The Turks took him to Constantinople and executed him. Hearing of the capitulation of Golubac, the new king, Matthias called for general mobilization and a crusade but his army, gathered at Pétervárad (today Petrovaradin) and Kevi, did little more than protect the Szerémség from Turkish intruders.

After the occupation of Serbia, the Sultan's next target was Bosnia. For some years, Matthias had been on bad terms with Stefan Tomas, and from 1461 with his successor, Stefan Tomasević, because they had appealed to the Pope for help to offset the actually weak Hungarian actions taken to ensure

Bosnia's dependency. Finally, increasing Turkish pressure made Tomasević reach a reconciliation with Matthias; he handed over some fortresses and refused to pay tribute to the Port (May 1462). At the beginning of 1463, when the Ottoman troops drew up to set out against his country, Tomasević successfully sued for peace with the Sultan, but his new conversion accelerated rather than retarded his fall. In May—June 1463 Mehmed seized about 70 more or less important strongholds in Bosnia, including Bobovac, Jajce and Ključ of major strategic significance, without encountering resistance, and he executed the imprisoned king. The Sultan was less successful in Herzegovina, whose major fortress, Blagaj, was so doggedly defended by Duke Stefan Vukčić that the Turkish army had to retreat empty-handed.

By occupying and incorporating Serbia and Bosnia the whole Balkans south of Hungary (or west of Croatia) were united under Turkish rule. Thus the «third» political and military power was annihilated; it had been crushed earlier in 1389 and subjected to Turkish control, but revived after 1402 to participate — at times actively, but generally by the force of gravitation only — in the struggle of the two decisive powers. Due to the new Turkish conquests, the areas along the Adriatic coast of the Balkans, so far intact from the Ottomans (Herzegovina, and Albania), were too much separated from Hungary and Croatia for the Hungarian king to count on them as actual allies. This, in turn, meant that if the Ottomans wished to advance towards the west and north, further spoils and new territories could be gained only from the body of Hungary and Croatia. The whole Turkish society and war machine were established on the incessant conquest of new territory, and it was inevitable that Hungary and Croatia were the next victims.

From the theatre of the 80-year-long Turco—Hungarian conflict, Wallachia alone could avoid the fate of becoming a subject province of the Turkish empire. Although it was not its own prowess and Hungarian assistance that protected its independence: it was situated in a more or less neutral zone of Turkish interests, where manipulation, a more sophisticated method of subjugation sufficiently replaced direct occupation. It was the only state formation which — once attained — could shield the South Hungarian borders, provided the Hungarian king supplied due assistance to enhance its self-defensive fights.

Voivode Vlad concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Matthias in 1461, refused to pay tax to the Port, and routed the beg of Vidin sent against him. This made the Sultan himself march on Wallachia. The enormous Turkish army ravaged the country unhindered, but could not suppress the Wallachian troops, as Vlad withdrew to the forests with the majority of the population. From there he sent small raiding parties, mostly at night, to harrass the Turks. Finally, Mehmed installed Radu on the throne and leaving auxiliary troops behind, he withdrew. Matthias, whose favour Vlad took pains to acquire by

protecting the Hungarian base at Chilia both from Ştefan cel Mare, voivode of Moldavia and the Turks, was prepared to burst upon Wallachia with his troops and restore Vlad to power after the Sultan's retreat (September 1462). Eventually it was unnecessary, as Radu recognized his authority. This again was nothing more than an oral promise from the voivode pressed from both sides, and meant no actual obligation if the Turkish pressure increased.[18]

12. The last victories of Hungary in the Balkans (1463—1465)

During Mehmed's Bosnian campaign in 1463, Matthias and the armed forces stayed near the seat of operations, in Southern Hungary. In order to divert his attention and to prevent intervention, Ali, *beğ* of Smederevo, burst upon the Szerémség first and Temesköz later, sustaining heavy defeats in both cases. Matthias, however, took no measures to assist Tomasević and hinder the Sultan's army from occupying Bosnia. It was not that he acquiesced in losing the whole of Bosnia; he was wise enough to see that his army, hardly exceeding 20,000 men, would be completely crushed if he undertook an open battle with the Sultan's army at a time when the advatage lay with the latter, possessing numerous bases in Bosnia.

Leaving garrisons in the fortresses, the Sultan's army had hardly retreated when it bacame abundantly clear that it was not became of constraint, or only prudent consideration that Matthias put up with the passivity of the summer months: he had a far-reaching strategical purpose in doing so. He withheld his army for an offensive, and to promote this he concluded a new alliance with Venice (September 12); the fleet of the maritime republic was to ensure the engagement of many Turkish troops with an attack of Morea. From October to the end of December 1463, the advancing Hungarian army

[18] Concerning events: J. Teleki, *op. cit.* II, passim; L. Elekes, *Hunyadi*, pp. 438—479; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 112—240, passim; Concerning the siege of Belgrade see also Gy. Balanyi, *Nándorfehérvár ostroma és felmentése*: *HK* 12 (1912), pp. 167—196; J. Szűcs, *A nemzet historikuma és a történelemszemlélet nemzeti látószöge*, Budapest 1970 (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat 51.), pp. 82—91.;Concerning Hungarian war plans and sporadic actions: J. Holub, *Adatok a török ellen tervezett 1455-iki hadjárathoz*: *HK* 12 (1911), pp. 149—154; V. Fraknói, *Szilágyi Mihály, Mátyás király nagybátyja*. Budapest 1913.; Concerning the Turkish incursion into Transylvania in 1457: G. Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen*, pp. 431—432.; Concerning the fall of the Bosnian state: L. Thallóczy—S. Horváth, *Jajcza (bánság, vár és város) története, 1450—1527*, Budapest 1915 (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria XL.), pp. LVI—LXXXVIII; D. Kovačević, *Pad bosanske srednjovekovne države po dubrovačkim izvorima*: *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 14 (1964), pp. 205—220.; Concerning Wallachia: N. Stoiescu, *La victoire de Vlad l'Empaleur sur les Turcs* (1462). RRd'H 15 (1976), pp. 377—398.

recaptured 60 Bosnian strongholds and watch-towers, including the key fortresses of Jajce, Ključ and Banjaluka, and only the arduous winter prevented them from completing the liberation of Bosnia.

The results of the 1463 Hungarian campaign were far too significant for the Sultan to let them go unavenged. However, his troops were, unable to take Jajce even after a 40-day siege (July 12—22, 1464), and on receiving the news that the Hungarian relief troops were setting out, the Sultan gave up the siege. But that year was less beneficial to Hungarian arms than the previous one. Although Imre Szapolyai managed to seize Srebrnica on the right bank of the Sava, the king's forces failed at Zvornik (October 8—November 9). The events of the late summer were repeated in reverse: then, the Sultan had given up the siege, on hearing of a Hungarian attack, now the king's troops retreated on receiving the news about the Sultan's offensive.

By the summer of 1463, the Sultan had completed incorporating the Balkan territories in the foregrounds of the Hungarian kingdom, but the Turks seemed «to have run» rather further than justified by the Turco—Hungarian balance in the given situation. Hungary was vigorous enough to make corrections in the clashes of 1463/54. A characteristic feature of the 1463/64 «sham war» was that both parties took good care to avoid an open clash between their main bodies; the protection of the results achieved by the main armies was deployed onto the respective fortress garrisons; the Hungarian and Turkish rulers shared the Bosnian territory, thereby totally abolishing the state formation called Bosnia in the Middle Ages. Both parties regarded the occupied parts as theirs. The Bosnian kingship of Miklós Újlaki (1471—1477), appointed by King Matthias, did not mean the restoration of Bosnia's independence, it merely satisfied Újlaki's ambitions and had the aim of activizing the private property of the Újlaki in the interests of defence.

The occupation and retention of the western part of Bosnia constituted one of the major feats of arms. It was one of the most enduring results of the Matthias era and of the whole course of Turco—Hungarian hostilities. For all its alterations, the Bosnian fortification system was eventually sufficiently powerful for long decades to extend the Croatian borders to the east, preventing the incorporation of Slavonia and Croatia, narrowing down the Turkish raids despatched against the hereditary provinces of Austria. It completed the immense system of border fortresses and the Hungarian/Croatian frontier defense machine based on it, starting from the Szerémség, which was to accomplish a very grave task during the long struggles of the next period. Furthermore, the possession of Western Bosnia also slightly stretched the foreign political horizon of Hungary. She increasingly protected Dalmatia against Turkish and Venetian efforts, and gained the opportunity to establish secure control over temporarily independent Herzegovina. A notable indication of this was the step taken by Stefan Vukčić, the ruler of Herzegovina,

who had also aided Matthias with troops in the siege of Jajce, when in 1465 he admitted a Hungarian garrison to the fortress of Počitelj, which, in turnt further strengthened the defence zone in Bosnia.[19]

13. Static war along the Turco—Hungarian section of the border fortresses (1466—1520)

With the «sham war» of 1463—1464, the century-long Turco—Hungarian struggle for the repartition of the Balkans had come to an end but it continued as an expressly self-defensive struggle for the Hungarian kingdom. However, the wars of the previous 20 years, and the latest events of 1463/64, confirmed that when confronted by massive Turkish superiority, Hungary had enough prowess to effectively defend her borders and thus for a long time she could delay incorporation of her border zones. The stability of the Hungarian-Croatian defence considerably contributed to the fact that during the next years and decades the Ottomans directed their advance towards other theatres, and conversely, the lasting preoccupation of the Turks elsewhere greatly facilitated the fact that the Hungarian-Croatian defensive system was able to survive repeated pressure.

After 1463, in the European seat of operations the Sultans considered their major task to be the subjugation of the so far relatively independent south-eastern territories in the Balkans (Herzegovina in 1482, Albania in 1479, the Peloponnesos peninsula and the Greek isles at the turn of the century), which evidently led to a new war with Venice (1463—1479, 1499—1503). The formidably expanding Turkish empire encountered more and more adversaries in the eastern theatres. After the fall of Karamania (1468) the Ottomans exerted pressure on the empire of Uzun Hassan, the successor of Tamerlane, who had concluded an alliance with Matthias and Venice against them. The Turco—Persian rivalry concerning the possession of Eastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia determined, first for decades, and later for centuries the balance of forces in this region, and also influenced the trend of events in Europe.

[19] Concerning war events : J. Teleki, *op. cit.* III (Pest 1853), passim ; L. Thallóczy—S. Horváth, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXVIII—CXXXI ; L. Thallóczy, *Mátyás király első két török hadjárata* : *HK* 16 (1915), pp. 362—396 ; L. Elekes, *Mátyás és kora*. Budapest 1956, pp. 47—52 ; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed* ,pp. 245—264, and passim ; Gy. Rázsó, *Hunyadi Mátyás török politikája* : *HK* 22 (1975), pp. 336—339.; Concerning Hungarian control over Bosnia : A. Kubinyi, *Die Frage des bosnischen Königtums von N. Újlaki* : *Studia Slavica Hung.* 8 (1958), pp. 373—384. Concerning the conditions in Herzegovina : S. Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i njegova epoha*, Beograd 1964 ; L. Thallóczy, *Tanulmányok a Kosaca-család és Herczegovina történetéből. Bosnyák és szerb élet- s nemzedékrajzi tanulmányok*, Budapest 1909, pp. 93—295.

Mehmed and his successor, Bayazid II (1481—1512) soon became involved in hostilities with the Russian rulers and the Egyptian Mameluk Sultans. For this reason Sultan Selim I, the successor of Bayazid, a relatively soft-handed and passive ruler compared to his predecessors, strived primarily to overcome his eastern opponents. In 1514 he inflicted a devastating defeat o the Persian forces, conquered Syria and Mesopotamia in 1515—1517, and crushed the resistance of Egypt in 1517. After the Balkans, the domain of the Turks also extended over the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

During most of this phase, Hungary was at peace or truce with the Turkish empire, which, of course, did not mean that clashes ceased even for a short time. The struggle deteriorated into a series of engagements between the local forces of the Turkish and Hungarian/Croatian border zone, facing each other.

The Hungarian/Croatian/Bosnian section of the border fortresses, founded by Sigismund and extended and implemented by Matthias, consisted of two parallel rows of frontier fortresses and a number of interstitial border defence units in this period. The first row ran from Sirmium through Oršova, Belgrade, Šabac, the *banatus* of Srebrnica, Banjaluka, Jajce and Knin to Klis and Skradin along the Adriatic Sea; the second from Temesvár through the district of Karánsebes-Lugos (today: Caransebeş—Lugoj) the Szerémség, Dubica, Krupa, Otočac and Bihač to Senj in Dalmatia. The defence of interstitial terrain was incumbent upon the increasing number of transmigrating Serbian refugees, the majority of them forcibly transferred by Matthias, along the Lower Danube; in Croatia it devolved upon the Croatian magnates personally involved by virtue of their estates and also encouraged by pay from the treasury. The border zone, arranged in depth and length, was under the command of the *banus* of Macsó, later the *comes* of Temes and the voivode of Transylvania in the south—south-east, while the *banus* of Croatia-Dalmatia-Slavonia was commander in the south-west; from 1466 onwards a single person was appointed to these three posts. The *bani* of major fortresses were responsible for co-ordinating the activity of the neighbouring smaller forts.

In conformity with their military and administrative practice the Turks arranged the conquered Bosnian and Serbian territories into sandjaks and the more comprehensive vilayets. The estates possessed by the treasury were distributed among temporary fief holders, in return for which they were to station soldiers on active service under the direction of the regional commander. The inhabitants of the conquered areas soon complied with the Turkish system; some embraced Islam and served as mecenaries, spahis; while the majority became marauders. In this way, the local command was able at any time to mobilize huge forces in the border areas alone against Hungary and Croatia. Their operations against Hungary were mainly led by the beg of Smederevo, and against Croatia by the pasha of Vrhbosna (Sarajevo).

The Hungarian frontier defence zone was most organized and incorruptible in the south, particularly around the centre, Belgrade. Consequently, the greatest pressure was excercised on the very long and arranged, thus easily trespassable Bosnian-Croatian section of the border fortresses, through the gaps of which raiders had relatively easier access to Croatia, undergoing slow but final devastation, and to more intact and thus more inviting Krajna, Karinthia and Styria. Mainly in the Jagello era (starting with 1490), the Turks ravaged Croatia practically every year, but also outlying areas beyond the more solid defence zone along the Lower Danube were not exempt from Turkish havoc. Just to mention the operations of greatest impact: the forces of the *beğ* of Smederevo reached Nagyvárad (Großwardein, today Oradea) in 1473, 1490 and Temesvár in 1484; incursions into Transylvania did not cease either (the most significant of them was in the autumn of 1479 and in January—February 1493). Primarily during the war periods, the Hungarian forces were able to return Turkish actions within their power. As the border fortresses were far distances apart and the mobile troops were unable to protect the gaps between them, the task of the two opposing parties was not to beat off an attack but to avenge it, engulfing both the Hungarian and the Croatian, and the Serbian, Bulgarian and Bosnian people in unbearable torments everyday.

Irrespective of the magnitude of the forces involved, the periods of declared war (e.g. 1490/91, 1501/2, 1512/13) did not differ from times of peace in the character of the operations, merely in the increasing frequency and ferocity of the clashes. During these 50 years of the Turco—Hungarian struggle, the Sultan's army, i.e. the united Anatolian and Rumelian troops, never appeared in the theatre along the frontier, and the mobile army of the Hungarian king also rarely ventured too near, thus direct engagements were out of question. The periods of war were too brief to change the status quo: all of them were declared to satisfy originally limited purpose.

The events of 1479/80 and 1501/2 clearly demonstrated that these wars were merely the usual raids on a larger scale. In the fall of 1479, Ali *beğ* of Smederevo, allegedly burst upon Transylvania with 40,000 men, but sustained a crushing defeat on Kenyérmező (Brotfeld, today: Cîmpul Pîinii) at the hands of local troops under the command of István Báthori, voivode of Transylvania and Pál Kinizsi, *comes* of Temes (October 13). Matthias responded to this and to Turkish incursions into Croatia with a three-stage offensive in 1480: in spring Ştefan cel Mare, voivode of Moldavia, advanced to Wallachia with Transylvanian troops, in the autumn Matthias pushed forth to Vrhbosna in Bosnia and Kinizsi to Kruševac in Serbia. The three-stage arrangement indicates that the purpose was not colonialization, or recapturing any Turkish holds but merely discouraging the enemy coupled with plundering, and the forceful resettlement of the Southern Slavic

people (Kinizsi allegedly returned with 60,000 Serbs). Due to his results in plundering and slave-raiding, his contemporaries considered Kinizsi's Serbian raids of 1481 and 1493 to be a major success. In October 1502, a Hungarian offensive again started from three sides; János Korvin, *banus* of Croatia, and Imre Czobor broke into Bosnia, Józsa Somi, *comes* of Temes and György Kanizsai, *banus* of Belgrade, into Serbia, and Péter Szentgyörgyi, voivode of Transylvania and Péter Tárnok, *banus* of Szörény, into Bulgaria. The consequence was the liberation of Jajce, setting fire to the suburbs of Vidin and Little Nicopolis, and once again immense spoils.

These enterprises of great depth, but very limited purpose, were far less dangerous to the status quo than the repeated fortress sieges. The Turks besieged Belgrade and Šabac the *beğ* of Vidin turned against Szörény. Only Kinizsi's prowess saved Belgrade from capitulation in 1494. The key of the first section of border fortresses, Jajce was heavily assailed in 1479, 1492 and 1502. At the price of losing some minor forts (Komotin, Vjenčac, and Trsat in 1496) the fortification system doggedly resisted the Turkish charges, and the frontier defence, reformed by Matthias, proved flexible and efficient enough to beat them off. Of course, on most occasions their opponents consisted of only a part of the local Turkish forces. Except for transient victories at smaller palisades, the Hungarian command very rarely attempted fortress sieges. It is, therefore, paradoxical that the only important change of the borders during the first half of the period was effected by the sole Hungarian campaign, notably the conquest of Šabac (February 15, 1476) had considerable impetus on consolidating the first row of Hungarian border fortresses, and on enhancing the security of communication between Jajce and Belgrade and along the river Sava. (It is worth mentioning in passing, a fact that sheds light on the causes of Hungarian enterprises of the period, that Matthias was compelled to assault Šabac for reasons of a domestic political nature: he was bound to counter balance the domestic crisis, brought about by the Turkish incursion of 1473 and the siege of Nagyvárad, with a rapid triumph in the south.)

Just as in the past, the static war along the borders was once again favourable for the militarily immensely superior Turks, who also had huge resources. The close juxtaposition to the Turks and the ensuing permanent danger forced the Hungarian treasury to keep a large number of soldiers under arms constantly stationed in the south of Hungary, thereby creating a burden that was paralyzing the economy of the whole country. Meanwhile, the daily Turkish raids curtailed the basis of the most significant reserves of domestic defence, namely the national tax. Successful though they might be, the Hungarian raids on Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria afflicted the local population only, as the Ottoman empire, whose area was some 1—1.5 km^2 by then, was immune to superficial wounds in the north-western marches.

The resources of the Hungarian kingdom alone were insufficient for the army to throw off the yoke of an unfavourable static war by restoring the «third power» in the Balkans through a preliminary offensive. Although Matthias had a strong hold on the resources of Moravia and Silesia, he was frequently compelled to despatch his mercenary army of formidable prowess and fame there. During the reign of the weak Jagello rulers Hungary — which was in a permanent state of bankruptcy and also depreciated in its foreign policy — was no longer able to provide sufficient mobile forces, as she could hardly bear even the expenses of maintaining the system of frontier fortresses. No matter how unaltered the character of the struggle was, the 1500s and more so the 1510s abound in signs confirming the fact that under the cover of the static war the balance became heavily balanced in favour of the Turks.

The signs of crisis first appeared most conspicuously on the Croatian front. The Hungarian/Croatian troops suffered an increasing number of defeats within their own terrain when attempting to impede raiding or returning warbands. In 1492 Imre Dercsényi, *banus* of Croatia was able to prevail over the Ottomans at Una, however, on September 15 the next year at Udbinj, his troops of 8,000 men sustained such an overwhelming defeat at the hands of Jacob, pasha of Bosnia, that apart from him the other commanders, the elite of the Croatian nobility were killed. At the turn of the century, János Korvin and Žarko Dražojević returned the depredations of the pasha of Vrhbosna by raids upon Herzegovina and Bosnia, but during the next few years, Dražojević died in action at Sinj (1508), one of the *vice-bani* at Knin (1511) and Péter Beriszló bishop-*banus* at Dubica well beyond the row of frontier fortresses (1520). It is another characteristic fact that Beriszló was engaged in assisting encircled Jajce and not in preparing attacks on Turkish territory. The conditions of defence were worsened by domestic anarchy: Croatian nobles set both against each other and the central power. Some Croatian magnates held a parley with the Turks, and more serious still, the notion of collective submission was expressed in the Croatian parliament itself. The graveness of the Croatian situation is best described by the fact that Maximilian I, governor of the territory behind Croatia, was forced to hold peace-negotiations with the Sultan in 1498. The area of Hungarian raiding activity also narrowed considerably along the Lower Danube. While István Báthori, *comes* of Temes encountered the intruding Turks at Illadia (Krassó county) in the autumn of 1512, the counter actions of János Szapolyai, voivode of Transylvania, did not extend beyond the vicinity of Smederevo (1515) and the north-eastern parts of Bulgaria (1514).

In the mid-1510s Jajce was heavily blockaded. Local Turkish troops ventured to besiege some important strongholds almost every year (Knin in 1511, Skradin, Klis in 1513, and Knin in 1514), and after a long pause in 1512 they accomplished a considerable border change by conquering the fortresses

of the *banatus* of Srebrnica. The only Hungarian attempt to besiege a fortress missed its point as Szapolyai, the voivode of Transylvania chose an insignificant target and failed totally (Žrnov in 1515).

Hungary's relationship to those limitrophic countries that were still intact from the Turks also took an unfavourable turn. The Hungarian king's last say on the affairs of territories east of Croatia had been in 1476. The Turks installed Mathija Kristić (Vojsalić) on the Bosnian throne in place of the «triple dealer» Duke Stefan Vukčić. Kristić evidently policed only some parts of Herzegovina, not the complete area of Turkish occupation. He applied for recognition to the Hungarian court with the natural consequence of bringing down the Sultan's wrath on him. In 1476 Matthias launched a war against him, liberating the fortresses of Kristić. However, Hungarian control over Herzegovina was short-lived; the Ottomans took final hold of this province in 1482.

Although making some sparse approaches to Hungary, the voivode of Wallachia remained friendly to the Hungarian king only for brief periods, usually until the first attack of the Turks. Even their transient loyalty was maintained only with the greatest difficulty. Their northern neighbour, the other Rumanian principality, Moldavia was permanently struggling to avoid subjugation. Ştefan cel Mare lost Chilia and Akkerman in 1484, but his army again triumphed over the intruding Turks in 1486. Support from the Hungarian king continually declined for his struggle, and he was at times openly antagonistic to Matthias (1465—1468). The voivode, who was more or less justified in declaring in 1502 that he had fought 36 battles with the Turks, 34 of them victorious, was gradually reduced to a position of vassalage to the Sultan and was bound to pay tribute. His last will clearly characterized the state of affairs: on his death bed he ordered his son to subject himself to the Sultan voluntarily.[20]

[20] Concerning war events: M. Mesić, *Hrvati na izmaku XV i na početku XVI vieka*: *Književnik* 1 (1864), pp. 401—431, 504—533 and 2 (1865), pp. 61—78, 195—218, = E. Margalits, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 476—510; M. Mesić, *Banovanje Petra Berislavića za kralja Ljudevita*: *Rad* III ,pp. 1—64 = E. Margalits, *op. cit.*, pp. 195—202; L. Elekes, *Mátyás király*, pp. 118—119, 165—171; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed op. cit.*, passim; Gy. Rázsó, *Hunyadi Mátyás*, pp. 339—343; Concerning the siege of Šabac: D. Csánki, *Szabács megvétele*: *HK* 1 (1888), pp. 355—388; Concerning the depth of Turkish incursions: S. Jug, *op. cit.*, p. 53 (map); A. Amlacher, *Die Türkenschlacht auf dem Brotfeld*, Hermannstadt 1879; G. Gründisch, *Siebenbürgen*, pp. 433—439; id., *Incursiunea Turcească din anul 1493 in ţinutul Sibilui*: *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 14 (1961), pp. 1491—1502; Concerning fights in Croatia: A. A. Olesnicki, *Bošnak Hadum Jakub, pobjednik na Krbavskom polju g. 1493*: *Rad* 264 (1938) pp. 123—160, cf. G. Borsa, *Néhány bécsi ősnyomtatvány magyar vonatkozásai*: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár évkönyve* 1965—1966 (Budapest 1967), pp. 390—391; Concerning the Turkish wars of the 1510s: G. Barta—A. Fekete Nagy, *Parasztháború 1514-ben*, Budapest 1973,; pp. 68—69; Concerning Maximilian I's

14. The system of Hungarian/Croatian frontier defense collapses (1521—1526)

In conformity to the long-established custom of Turco—Hungarian diplomacy, Sultan Suleiman I, who acceded the to throne in the autumn of 1520, immediately sent his envoy to Buda to renew the peace treaty concluded in 1519 for three years. By imprisoning the Turkish envoy, the Hungarian government openly signified that its wish was now to arrive at clear-cut decisions and its standpoint brought no changes during the sad experience of the following years. Lacking prudent plans for the future, Hungary lived in uncertainty, hoping in vain for foreign help.

Thus the government of Louis II rather accelerated the pace of the events; after the conquest of the Middle East and Egypt it could hardly be doubted that the Sultan would ride against the northeast, where the balance of forces had developed expressly to his favour, despite the long absence of his imperial army. However, the rejection of the offer of peace was by no means justified and advocated by these facts; on the contrary, neither the domestic situation nor the European state of affairs could justify it. Although Louis II correctly referred in 1525 to the fact that it was during the periods of peace when Hungary lost most of her strongholds and it was to be feared that the country

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negotiations with the Turks: J. Gröblacher, *König Maximilians I. erste Gesandschaft zum Sultan Bajezid II*: *Festschrift Hermann Wiesflecker*. Hrsg. von A. Novotny und O. Pickl, Graz 1973, pp. 73—80; Concerning the organization and operation of borderzones: L. Thallóczy—S. Horváth, *op. cit.*, passim, especially pp. CLIX—CLXXI, CLXXXI—CLXCIII; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *op. cit.*, passim, especially pp. 269—291; F. Szakály, *A mohácsi csata*, Budapest 1975 (Sorsdöntő történelmi napok 2), pp. 50—58; Concerning particular units of the borderzone see also: J. Szentkláray, *A dunai hajóhadak története*, Budapest 1885; Z. Tóth, *Mátyás hadügyi politikája*, Budapest 1912, pp. 60—62; id., *A huszárság eredete*: *HK* 35 (1934), pp. 129—196; Concerning the military role of immigrant Serbs: A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj od pada Smedereva do seobe pod Čarnojevičem (1459—1690)*, Zagreb 1914; id., *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini. Od najstarijih vremena do osnivanja potisko-pomoriske granice (1703)*, Novi Sad 1929. (Knjige Matice Sprske 50.); Concerning Turkish rule in Serbia and Bosnia: M. Vasić, *Martolosi u jugoslavenskim zemljana pod turskom vladavinom*, Sarajevo 1967 (Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Djela. Knjiga XXIX. Odjeljenje istorijsko-filoloških nauka. Knjiga 17.) passim, especially pp. 29—50; id., *Der Einfluß der Türkenkriege auf die Wirtschaft des osmanischen Grenzgebietes in Serbien und Bosnien (1480—1536). Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege*. Hrsg. von O. Pickl. Graz 1971 (Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 1.), pp. 308—318, cp. also the abundant literature referred to in them.; Concerning home defense expenses of the Hungarian treasury and the economic consequences of Turkish wars: A. Kubinyi, *Die Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege auf die zentralen Städte Ungarns bis 1541. Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen op. cit.*, pp. 201—212. Concerning the situation in Wallachia and Moldavia: L. Elekes, *Nagy István moldvai politikája és Mátyás király*, Budapest 1937; *Ştudii cu privire la Ştefan cel Mare*, Bucureşti 1956.

would disintegrate under the burden of constant military expenses that exdeeded her potentials even without a concentrated Turkish attack. In the given situation, the Hungarian government ought to have focused all its strength on delaying an open war. Had it given sufficient thought to the experience of the former Turco—Hungarian struggle, it would have realized that more than ever before an open field battle was doomed to failure.

Apparently, the government of Louis II could place most hope in the seasoned resistance of the Hungarian/Croatian border fortification system, which had often halted the Sultan's forces at the frontiers of the country. As external support for the centre of this system — was not provided, the united troops of Hungarian mobile units did not even attempt to interfere — and thus made it easy for Suleiman to capture the most important strongholds along the Lower Danube section in the summer of 1521: Šabac on July 7, Zimony (today: Zemun) on July 11 and even Belgrade after a 60-day siege on August 29. Meanwhile marauders sent out from Turkish encampments pillaged the Szerémség, setting fire to the fortresses that had been most significant in deterring Turkish actions. The gap in the Hungarian defence system cut by the Sultan's offensive was further widened in the coming years by local Turkish forces; in 1522 they seized Orsova and Pét, and in 1524 they captured and demolished Szörény so that it was beyond any hope of restoration. The southwestern, Bosnian section of the fortification system, which had been exempt from the Sultan's attacks, opened wider at more and more points (Knin and Skradin were lost in May 1522).

By the end of 1524 the first section of Hungarian/Croatian fortification system from Szörény to Klis practically collapsed. Some scattered strongholds remained, but could in no way fulfil their original assignment and their maintenance placed an increasing burden on the treasury. Jajce, once the strongest frontier fortress in the north, was so paralyzed by constant blockades that it could be reinforced only with the greatest military and financial efforts. Mobilizing 6,000 men — almost the whole Croatian army — Kristóf Frangepán had to undertake strenuous fights in order to supply the fortress with food and ammunition; he had no hopes of relieving the fortress. The seaside fortress of Klis was also kept under continuous blockade (the Turks besieged it twice in 1522 and twice in 1524). The Ottomans frequently attempted to capture Croatian strongholds in the second row of frontier fortresses.

The Turks deftly repaired and garrisoned the newly captured fortresses so that they would lose only a few days before setting out to pillage Hungarian and Croatian areas. As if under schedule, Bosnian raiders ravaged Croatia monthly, especially the estates of the Frangepáns and Ivan Karlović, *banus* of Croatia, ostensibly their personal enemies. They also reached the Austrian areas beyond. Practically left to themselves, the Croatian Orders first confided with the Austrian archduke, and then with the Turks to learn the conditions

of submission. The Szerémség was accessible to Turkish raids from 1521 on, and it was laid waste within a few year's time. The Turks could not push farther at that time, because the Danube and the second row of defense fortresses along it (Titel, Pétervárad, and Újlak (today: Ilok), etc. obstructed their advance. It is indicative of the insight and determination of Pál Tomori, appointed as archibishop of Kalocsa and *capitaneus generalis* of South Hungary in 1523, that this — now primary — section of border fortresses survived without rapid disintegration until 1526, the year of a new Ottoman campaign.

The desultory domestic and foreign political action of the government all failed or resulted in their reverse. All military initiative was lost due to the casualties of 1521 and the chronic monetary stringency. Whenever a small Hungarian or Croatian unit, the troops of Tomori and Karlović, happened to venture some kilometers beyond the Turkish fortresses for plunder — an everyday practice before 1521 — it was hailed as a major victory. Characteristically, the most momentous triumph of Hungary in this period was achieved within the confines prior to 1521 in a defensive situation: in August 1523 the troops of Tomori dealt a crushing blow at the numerically stronger marauding forces of pasha Ferhad. The so far unbearable pressure exerted over the Szerémség was somewhat mitigated by this success, but the balance of forces remained unchanged. The more so, as the Turks easily replaced their thousands of dead, while the loss of a few hundred seasoned Hungarian soldiers considerably harmed the Hungarian defence.

Between 1521 and 1524, the Hungarian kingdom lost territories she had gained from the Balkan states first in 1427 ,and later in the campaigns of Matthias in 1463/64 and 1476. Although devastation was graver than ever, the Turks could not as yet strip Hungary's and Croatia's heartlands. However the capitulation of the fortresses in Bosnia and along the Lower Danube fostered the danger of fatal changes. On the one hand, it prevented the Hungarian defence from relying on the eastward-flowing Danube, and on the other, the possession of the fortresses along the Lower Danube greatly enhanced the Sultan's opportunity to advance against Hungary.[21]

[21] Concerning the rejection of peace: D. Kosáry, *Magyar külpolitika Mohács előtt*, Budapest 1978; Concerning war events: M. Mesić, *Hrvati nakom bana Berislavića do muhačke bitke*: *Rad* XVIII, pp. 77—164 and XXII, pp. 55—205 = E. Margalits, *op. cit.*,*I.*, pp. 323—377; V. Fraknói, *Tomori Pál*, Budapest 1882 (Offprint from *Sz* 35 [1881]); For particular events see also: L. Kiss, *Nándorfehérvár bukása (1521)*: *HK* 2 (1889), pp. 389—440, 546—612; G. Škrivanić, *Turski pohod protiv Ugarske i osvajanje Beograda, 1521*: *VG* 3 (1976), pp. 143—175; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Suleimans Angriff auf Europa*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* 28 (1973), pp. 165—170; L. Kropf, *Adalékok az 1523. évi török portyázás történetéhez*: *HK* 15 (1914), pp. 130—132; A. Kubinyi, *A szávaszentdemeter-nagyolaszi győzelem 1523-ban (Adalékok Mohács előzményeihez)*: *HK* 24 (1977); J. Kovács, *Jaicza fölmentése Frangepán Kristóf által 1524-ben*: *HK* 5 (1892), pp. 114—118, etc.; Concerning Hungarian actions taken to ward off danger: F. Szakály, *A mohácsi csata*, pp. 13—21;

15. The final defeat of the Hungarian kingdom (1526)

When the new Turkish offensive began in 1526, the task of retarding the Turkish thrust, and enabling the Hungarian mobile troops to unite, devolve upon the fortresses of the Szerémség. And although the garrisons of these hastily fortified, ill-supplied fortresses were very sparse, they fulfilled their assignment. Although the firm resistance of Pétervárad and Újlak (July 11—27, and August 1—8, 1526) provided time for the hurried deployment of Hungarian forces, their strength failed, when left to themselves, they had to repel the Turks by lengthening the siege. On August 29, 1526 the Hungarian mobile army, also strengthened with foreign units, suffered a fatal defeat within the span of one and a half hours at the hands of Suleiman I. Encountering no resistance, the Sultan temporarily took the seat of the Hungarian kings, the castle of Buda, then left the country, plundering, ravaging, and driving away countless captives as he went.

There is ample evidence that the Hungarian army suffered grievous defeats with casualties similar in number to that at the battle of Mohács, whenever they engaged the Sultan's forces in open field battles. However, these battles were waged in the Balkans, far from Hungarian territory, and it was always the status quo in the Balkans and not the existence of the Hungarian kingdom that was at stake. The defeats demonstrated that depite the support of occasional allies, the Hungarian army was unable to bring the Turkish thrust to a halt, but the impact of these set-backs was indirect, and she could rapidly recover from their effects. For the first time in 1526, the Sultan himself could advance into Hungarian terrain and crush the Hungarian army within its confines. As a matter of course, the defeat was disastrous, ensuing fatal consequences, because the country could no longer emerge from the crisis brought about by this defeat. The medieval Hungarian state disintegrated. The southern parts with a dominant military position were colonized by the Turks. The country was divided into three parts, and became easy prey to foreign influence. Hungary, once the decisive factor of anti-Turkish warfare, was reduced to the battlefield of Austro—Turkish conflict. The independent Hungarian army as such had ceased to exist: the remnants of the Hungarian war machine, though considerable, became subjected parts of the two contending armies in the fights of the next one and a half centuries.[22]

Zs. Hermann, *Államháztartás a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* (*Megjegyzések Thurzó Elek költségvetési előirányzatához*): *Sz* 109 (1975), pp. 301—336.

[22] Concerning the war events of 1526: J. Gyalókay, *A mohácsi csata: Mohács emlékkönyv*. Ed. I. Lukinich. Budapest 1926, pp. 193—276; L. Papp, *A mohácsi csatatér kutatása*: *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum évkönyve* 1960 (Pécs 1961), pp. 197—253; id., *Újabb kutatások a mohácsi csatatéren*: *Ibidem* 1962 (Pécs 1963), pp. 199—221; L. Bende, *A mohácsi csata*: *HK* 13 (1966) pp. 532—567; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.*, pp. 170—176; G. Perjés,

Conclusions

If the period of 1365—1389, which is indifferent in this respect, is left out of account, the following balance can be drawn up concerning the nearly 130 years of the Turco—Hungarian struggle, based on the above stages.

The situation was beneficial to the Turks

1. between 1389 and 1402, when they encircled Hungary and set out their depredating raids against the territories of the country;

2. between 1413 and 1421, when they restored their zone of influence in the foregrounds of Hungary except for Serbia;

3. between 1427 and 1437, when they recovered control over countries limitrophic to Hungary;

4. between 1438 and 1442, when they temporarily occupied Serbia and with their annual attacks pinned down the forces of the Hungarian defence to the borders;

5. between 1449 and 1454, when their rule in the Balkans, slackened in the wars of 1443—1448, was again solidified;

6. between 1455 and 1463, when they incorporated Serbia and Bosnia, and forced the Hungarian army back to the frontiers;

7. between 1521 and 1525, when they crushed the «shield of the Hungarian kingdom», the first row of Hungarian/Croation frontier fortresses;

8. in 1526, when they seized the fortresses in the Szerémség guarding the advance route to the Danube and vanquished the mobile troops of the Hungarian kingdom in a decisive battle.

On the other hand, the balance was weighted in favour of Hungary

1. between 1402 and 1413, when the countries in the Balkans except for Bulgaria were set free from direct Turkish rule or colonialization, and Hungary's control gained momentum in the neighbouring lands;

2. between 1422 and 1427, when stronger Hungarian influence could be felt in the Balkans;

3. between 1443 and 1448, when Hunyadi's offensives drove the Turks back from Hungary's frontiers and abolished or slackened Turkish dominion over Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia;

4. between 1463 and 1465, when the Hungarian army recaptured the majority of Turkish held territory conquered in the previous year.

A mohácsi csata: *HK* 23 (1976), pp. 427—468; cf. Contribution to the study of G. Perjés, entitled : I. Nemes, *A mohácsi csata* : *HK* 24 (1977), pp. 105—116 ; Concerning the role of J. Szapolyai : J. Pataki, *Aţitudinea lui Radu de la Afumaţi şi a lui Joan Zápolya în ajunul luptei de la Mohács (1526)* : *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historica* II, pp. 13—28 ; Concerning events after the battle in general : P. Jászay, *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után* I, Pest 1846, passim.

The period of 1466—1520 does not belong to either class. Despite the imminent superiority of the Turks and the quantitative shifts anticipating the qualitative changes of the following stage, its characteristic feature was the firmness of the status quo effected by the previous period.

The course of the whole warfare was dominated by the Turkish advance: in spite of temporary setbacks, Turkish colonialization steadily advanced from the incorporation of the Balkans to the defeat and partial occupation of Hungary. Apart from the final outcome, this is revealed by the 2 : 1 proportion of the periods in favour of Turkish victories, and also by the fact that each Hungarian triumph was followed by Turkish victories, whereas the Turks were able to promote the results of a stage in the next period on three occasions (in 1427—1437 and 1438—1442; in 1449—1454 and 1455—1463; in 1521—1515 and 1526).

From the Hungarian point of view, a stage could be considered completely successful if its efforts led to the restoration of the political and military situation given in the last stage that was dominated by Hungarian triumphs, because this was the only means to obliterate Turkish victories of interim periods. Only the periods of 1422—1427 and 1443—1448 meet this requirement, so the stages of 1402—1413 and 1463—1465 show relative successes only in the final evaluation. Although the direct threat and the investment of the country ceased without active participation of the Hungarian forces, the former period was only partially successful because Bulgaria, incorporated in the course of the 1389—1402 period, continued to be an integral part of the Turkish empire. The latter period was not fully effective because instead of liberating or occupying Bosnia and Serbia, Hungary was able to make some border changes only, even if their influence was very considerable.

As early as the beginning of Sigismund's reign, it became obvious that the only means to counter-balance Turkish advance was a constant offensive of the Hungarian arms. As the frequent victories gained over local Turkish troops necessarily had transient effect, the Hungarian command was from time to time bound to encounter the Sultan's army itself to implement the above task (these clashed were always initiated by the Hungarians, with the exception of 1526). However, the Hungarian army, strengthened as it was with allied troops of varying number and military value, suffered a defeat every time it engaged the Sultans' troops in an open field battle. The only close-quarter fight which resulted in the Sultan's retreat was at Belgrade in 1456, but this victory was attained under special circumstances that cost the Turks heavy casualties in the long battle.

All the above events confirm that the Ottoman empire was immensely superior militarily to the Hungarian kingdom from 1389 at the latest. As 1526 approached the causes became increasingly apparent. The area of the Turkish empire well exceeded that of the Hungarian kingrom long before the

great conquests in the Middle East and Africa — by occupying the Balkans alone it gained larger territories than Hungary and Coratia together. Due to Selim I's conquests between 1514 and 1517 the area of the Ottoman empire increased to five times the size of Hungary, and its population tripled the latter. While the Hungarian king's annual income was 150—200 Florins, the Sultan's was some 4 million gold.

However, at the beginning of the struggle these reasons could not account for Turkish superiority, as the Turks had to face dangerous enemies in Anatolia and their territorial advantage was not so overwhelming in 1451 — their area was 570,000 km² — that the provinces of the Hungarian kingdom, being far more developed, would not have been able to offset it.[23] This is evident notwithstanding the fact that the Turks utlizied the forced military «assistance» of the Balkna countries far better than the Hungarians. The explanation lies with the difference between Turkish and Hungarian (or European) body politic, social and military construction. As its reasons and characteristics are widely known to experts, it is sufficient to mention here only one thing: the «thousand-headed» Christian forces were by nature heavily handicapped in the face of the Turks: the more slowly the Christians assembled, the faster they disintegrated, while and their adversary under the command of a single monarch subordinated everything to the primary aim of colonialization. While the Hungarian/Croatian social structure, administrative and tributary system gave wide reign to develpoing individual and particular interests that tended to paralyze the military efforts of the country, the Turkish body politic was practically identical to the war machine, and their administrative and tributary system primarily served the aims of warfare.

The immanent differences between the two social and military structures — mainly the substantially more unified Turkish command and the system of rapid mobilization — were more striking in times of the Hungarian offensives. Except for the Italian and Lithuanian wars of Louis I, the Hungarian kingdom had no interest in changing the balance of forces beyond a circle round her heartlands with a radius of 300—400 km, consequently she waged her wars along it. In contrast, the Turks fought along a circle line of an ever increasing radius, soon coming to a length of 1000—1500 km, which made them pass the Dardanelles every time, a considerable feat in that period. This, in turn, was partly beneficial to the Hungarian army: the Sultan's preoccupation elsewhere, generally in Anatolia, was always one of the reasons stimulating Hungary to launch an anti-Turkish offensive. However, the Sultan

[23] G. Perjés, *Az oszmán birodalom európai háborúinak katonai kérdései (1356—1699)*: *HK* 13 (1966), pp. 862—872; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Szulejmán*, Budapest 1974; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* 31 (1977), pp. 147—183.

always arrived from Anatolia in time to prevent the offensive Christian forces from gaining a significant advantage in his absence.

Turkish superiority rose in direct proportion to their expanding territory and increasing population. A division of this period clearly reveals this trend. During the 78 years of 1389—1566 the turning-points marking new stages rapidly succeeded each other at an average of 7—8 years, sometimes even by shorter spans. This meant that the Hungarian kingdom was capable of beating off, retarding or halting the Turkish advance, with frequent assaults usually in due time or at the very last minute, in other words, she was able to delay the unification of the Balkans under Turkish domination. The importance was by no means belittled by the fact that the merit of retarding Turkish actions did not lie only with the Hungarians, and that at times, notably in 1402, fortune considerably favoured the Hungarian command. It cannot be incidental, that the quick sequence of stages testifying to the flexible adaptability of the Hungarian kingdom, coincides with the time when the territorial superiority of the Ottoman empire was not so overpowering as to disable its opponents to counterweigh it with suitable measures and the good utilization of resources.

The long homogeneous period of 1466—1520 — the pace of the struggle slowed down — indicates two facts: first, the occupation of the Balkans had been completed, which Hungary was no longer able to alter, and secondly, that Hungary and Croatia had sufficient strength to put off or to hinder the incorporation of Hungarian and Croatian heartlands for a long time. With the given nature of the period, accumulating quantitative shifts demonstrate the ever-incerasing might of the Turks, which became increasingly apparent with the passage of time, and this might was also proportionate to their territorial expansion. Thus, when the events after the Turco—Hungarian struggle gathered pace after 1520, it was inevitable that the irreversible changes of the past 50 years in the balance of power had to be paid for by losing the territorial integrity of the Hungarian kingdom and her national independence.

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A LETTER TO ABRAHAM B. ISAAC NETIRA

FROM THE GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

The panegyrics in the Geniza[1] composed in praise of one Abraham of Baghdad are well known; they were probably written by his secretary, Abraham Hakkohen. They are all in the same, highly characteristic script. Doubtless autographs, they add to the number of pre-12th century Hebrew autographs extant.[2] These poems have been published over the last eight decades by S. Schechter, J. Mann, and myself.[3] Most recently, I published Solomon b. Nahum Albaradani's panegyric and showed that it was written to the same Abraham.[4]

Who this Abraham was has remained doubtful. J. Mann was of the opinion that he was a member of the Aharon family.[5] I expressed the view that he was of the Netira family. This view has now been substantiated.

The Netira family of Baghdad was rich and important.[6] Netira himself began as merchant and banker to the Caliph al-Mutadid in 892, and served him and his successors until his death in 910. By the later years of al-Muktadir's reign, he had competition from other Jewish bankers, such as Jusuph b. Pinhas and Aharon b. Imram. Netira married one of the daughters of Jusuph

[1] A new explanation of the origin of the Cairo Geniza given by S. D. Goitein: *Studia Islamica* XLVII (1978), pp. 5—7.

[2] N. Allony: *Sinai* XL (1976), Nos. 1—2, pp. 2—3.

[3] A. Scheiber: *Zion* XXX (1965), pp. 123—127; idem: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXI (1968), pp. 249—257.

[4] A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXX (1976), pp. 341—349; J. A. Emerton: *The Society for Old Testament Study. Book List. 1977* (Leeds 1977), p. 16; A. Scheiber: *MIOK Évkönyve 1977/78* (Budapest 1978), pp. 324—325; idem: *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection. 1951—1976* (Budapest 1978), pp. 183—184; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* III (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1978), pp. 166, 358, 462—463, 507; D. Sadan: לשוננו לעם XXX/1 (1978), pp. 6—7.

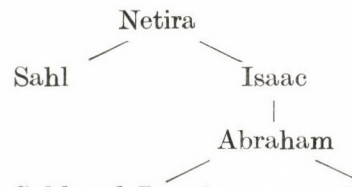
[5] J. Mann: *Tarbiz* V (1934), pp. 177—178; idem: *The Collected Articles* II (Gedera 1971), pp. 465—466.

[6] M. A. Cook, *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London 1970), pp. 64—65; N. Gross, *Economic History of the Jews* (Jerusalem 1975), pp. 26—27; H. H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (London 1976), p. 396.

b. Pinhas. Sahl b. Netira is mentioned in Arab sources in the fourth decade of the 10th century. According to E. Ashtor[7] he is perhaps to be identified with Sahl b. Nazir, who was one of Abu Abdallah al-Baridi's bankers and was tortured in 941. The sons of Netira also appear in another Arab source in an account of the year 928.

In the Cambridge Geniza Additional Series I have now found a letter in the same hand as the panegyrics — that of Abraham Hakkohen — which resolves the matter. Its reference is T.-S. A. S. 146. 30, paper, 10 cm by 19 cm. The right-hand edge has been torn off. The text of the letter is on the recto; the verso has but a single line, centred.

The addressee is Abraham b. Isaac. The family tree is thus as below:



Thus, Abraham was Netira's grandson. He named one of his sons after his own father. «When the custom of naming a boy after his grandfather or another ancestor or agnate became standard practice in Geniza times, in addition to strong family attachment a religious element was present: 'The Torah frequents its lodgings.'... Thus the custom of naming a child after his grandfather seems to have been more consistent in the Jewish family than in the Muslim family of the day.»[8]

The writer alludes, after the pars pathetica, to Abraham's high dignity (line 15). He notes that he has written in his honour twice before (line 16); this is a clear reference to his panegyrics. He then tells how he visited a number of houses of learning;[9] clearly, at the instance of his master he was taking them financial support. Returning with letters of appreciation from the houses of learning in his pocket, he was on a ship when it was struck by a storm. He lost everything, even his clothing. If our reading of the fragment is correct, he also lost his companion, a Maghrebi, that is to say a man from western North Africa, Tunisia (line 21). He has nothing to eat, and asks for his master's help, for the latter supports every congregation in Egypt and many other

[7] E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London 1976), pp. 145—146; E. Werner: *WZKM* LXIX (1977), pp. 159—168; S. Y. Lahib: *Der Islam* LV (1978), pp. 125—127.

[8] S. D. Goitein, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 427, note 35.

[9] B. S. Jackson: *The Jewish Law Annual* I (Leiden 1978), p. 259.

places that he has visited. Without this he cannot return; he cannot overcome the trials of the journey (line 29). In the last line of the fragment he alludes to the name of his master, the Abraham of the Bible (line 31).

The single line of the verso asks all those who read the letter to tear it up.[10] Perhaps he was ashamed that he was driven to begging.

We publish below the text of the fragment, together with a photograph, with grateful thanks to the Cambridge Univesity Library for permission to do so.

The study trip of which this is one result was made possible by a scholarship from the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. My grateful thanks to Professor D. Patterson for his help in this connection.

[10] Similar remarks on the letters of the Geniza: E. Roth: »*Udim*« VII–VIII (1977/78), Hebrew Section, p. 14, note 2.

T.—S. A. S. 146. 30.

[1a] [אשרי איש] ירא את י'י במצותיו חפץ מאד
[אשרי שמ]רי משפט עושי צדקה בכל עת
[אשרי משכי]ל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטהו י'י
[ויצוהו י'י לרא]ש ולנגיד על עמו יש
5 [וראו כל עמי הארץ] כי שם י'י נקן על ויראו ממך
[תחת אבתיך יהיו ב]ניך תשיתמו לשרים בכל הארץ
[הדרת יקרת ת]הילת גילת צהלת תפארת
.... [לאיש] טוב לאיש האמת איש
[הישר] .... [איש ה]כבוד איש המרחם איש
10 ..... [ור]א את י'י בכל מידות שבו
..... [רבנו] אברהם בן כ ג ק מ ר יצחק
..... [אדם ט]וב הולך לדבר טוב בכל
[ימו] ...[דגו]ל במעשיו הכשירים
..... בכל אדם עובר ושב
15 ..... [כ]בודו ומלכותו ושררותו
..... [עבדך כ]תב לשבחך כתב שנית
..... [לב]כות כי הייתי הולך אל
[כל ישבה ו]ישיבה ובכתב כל ישיבה

1 אשרי]תה' קיב, א.
2 אשרי]שם, קו, ג.
3 אשרי]שם, מא, ב.
4 ויצוהו]שמ' א' יג, יד; מל' א' יד, ז.
5 וראו]דב' כח, י.
6 תחת]תה' מה, יז.
10 ירא]מל' ב' ד, א.
11 רבנו]כמו בראשי תיבות של שירי התהלה.
14 עובר]יח' לה ז.

[ויושיבה ישבתי באניה שלו] ושלם ועמד עלי סער
[וטובעו בים כ]ל בגדיי ומה שהיה בידי
[ומת גם האד]ם המערבי שהיה עמי
. . . . . [והשלכתי מרחם] עליך שתרחם עלי
[כעל כל בשר] ודם בצדקתך כל שכן
. . . . . [אני מתפ]לל [א]ל [כ]בודך יום
[יום . . . . יחי בשלו]ם ויהיה לך שכר טוב
. . . . . [אני נשארתי] בלא מחיה והקהילות
[עניות ואינן חיי]ם אלא על שררותכם הם
. . . . . [ונשענים עלי]ך במצ ובכל קהל שאבוא
[שם]. . . .[ומה] יש בידי על [צ]רות הדרך
. . . . . ותרחם עלי במתנתך
. . . . . [יה]י שמ כמוך ואברכך בכל
. . . . . .
[1b] . . . . . [נא לקר]עו מי שיקרא כתב זה

22 והשלכתי]תה׳ כב, יא.
25 שכר]קה׳ ד, ט.
28 במצ] במצרים.
31 שמ]שמך. ואברכך בכל]בר׳ כד, א.

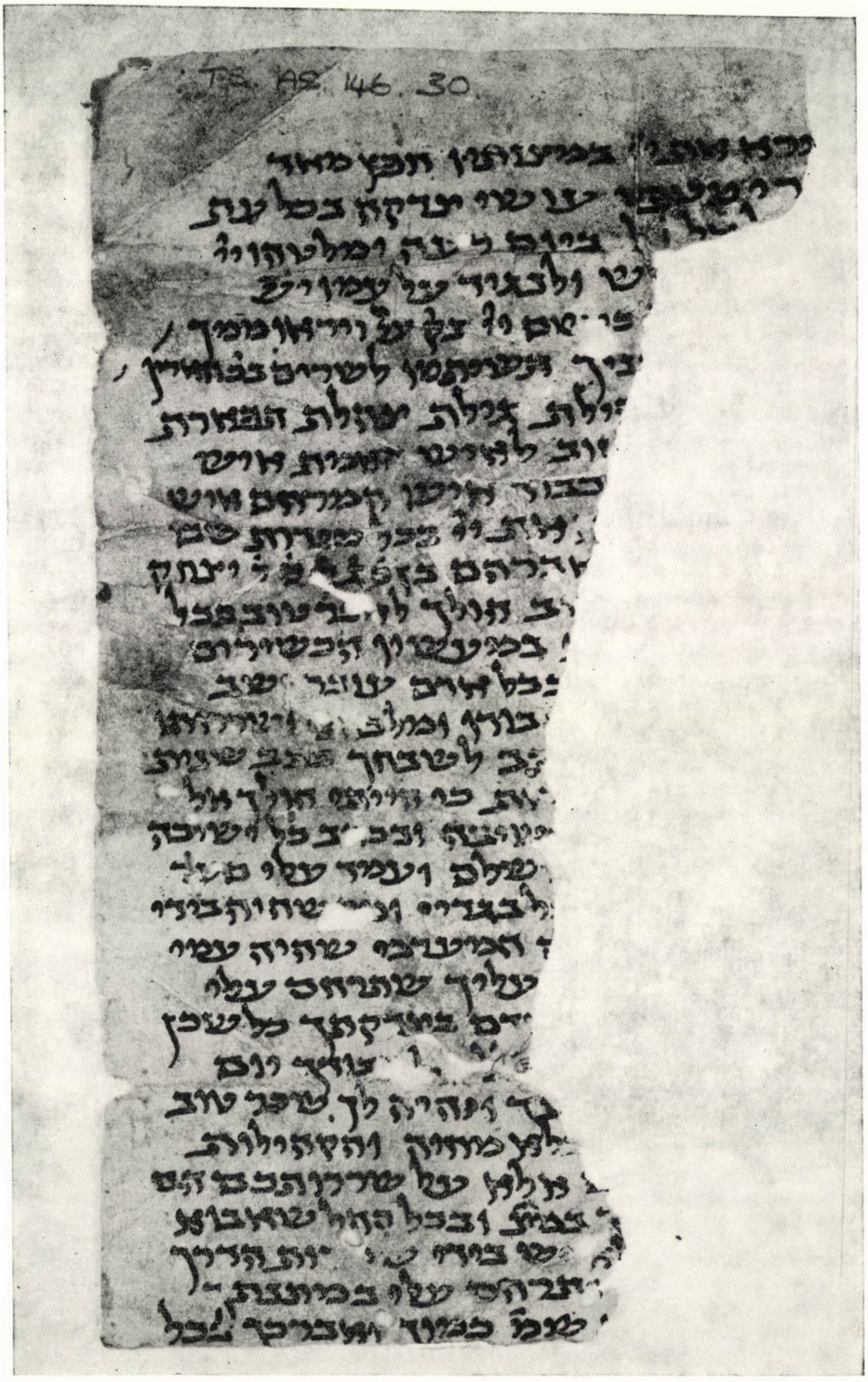


Fig. 1. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. AS. 146. 30, p. 1a.



Fig. 2. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. AS. 146. 30, p. 1b.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXIII (1), pp. 121—128 (1979)

CRITICA

The Journey to the Other World: Papers from Exeter 1971, Ed. by ELLIS DAVIDSON, D. S. Brewer Ltd and Rowman and Littlefield, Cambridge 1975.

The papers given in this volume were delivered at the Conference at the University of Exeter in April 1971, sponsored jointly by the Department of History and the London Folklore Society.

The problems of death and life after death have fascinated man from very early times. The motive for visiting the other world differs in a great deal: some heroes went there to explore the unknown, came back and reported what they had seen, others searched for immortality or some beloved person suffering in the hells. The duty of the shaman was to convey the soul of the departed to the other world, because only he knew the way.

Ideas about the other world, heavens and hells, are very old, widespread, and extremely multifarious, and so it is difficult to avoid the temptation «to discover» common features in them: eternal fire, the underworld river, and the wailing and gnashing of teeth, etc. It is impossible to cover the entire subject as it occurs in Mesopotamian, Iranian, Christian or Dantean visionary literature and the other world imaginations in India, China, Japan, South-East Asia, not to speak of Africa.

The aim of this volume is not to give a comprehensive description of all the ideas and literature on the subject, although it does touch upon different spheres of the theme. J. R. Porter in his study on Muḥammad's Journey to Heaven emphasises the shamanic element. He states that the prophet's visit to the otherworld is not entirely unprecedented and it has a sort of pattern and structure illustrated in shamanic journeys.

J. G. Bishop «*The Hero's Descent to the Underworld*» and H. W. Stubbs «*Underworld Themes in Modern Fiction*» give a detailed analysis of the subject from ancient times up to the present day.

Carmen Blacker «*Other World Journeys in Japan*» offers an account of the subject as it occurs in the Buddhistic world. Most of the peregrination stories, among them the best known one, that of Maudgalyāyana's, who rescues his sinful mother from hell, originate from India and were also popular from early times in China. Some Chinese manuscripts of the story were found in Tun-huang, and one of them mentions illustrations as well (A. Walley, *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang*, London 1960, pp. 216—235). In Tibet and Mongolia this story was also rather well-known. (W. Heissig, *Helden-, Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen*). Three genres exist in lamaist literature concerning other world subjects: one is the famous *Bar-do thos-grol* literature that prepares the departed's soul for the long journey and rebirth, and teaches the art of dying that was considered as important as the art of living. Another literary genre is a systematic description of hells, while the third topic includes peregrination stories. (To

mention only some of the most widespread literature: J. A. Mc Culloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1930; W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, London 1949; O. Kowalewski, *Buddijskaja Kosmologija*, Kazan' 1837 and Mongol'skaja Chrestomatija, Kazan' 1837, etc.).

The conception of the journey of the dead is dealt with by Professor Boyle in connection with the funeral rites and burial customs of the 13th century Mongols. The author of the paper traces this back to the earliest data. He emphasises that Mongols distinguished between the methods employed in burying their «less important men» and their «chief man». In the case of the latter, they placed the grave in a secret place so that it would never be discovered, while they impaled horses over the tombs of less important persons. Professor Boyle supposes that this latter custom follows Scythian practice, and that in the case of rulers represents archaic tradition.

H. R. Willis Davidson «*The Ship of the Dead*» deals with the ship funeral of pagan Scandinavia and gives parallels from other cultures of the world.

Finally Theo Brown «*West Country Entrances to the Underworld*» and W. Waring «*The Phantom Coach in the West Country*» collect traditions of entrances to the other world and of the means of transport by which one could reach the realms of the other world.

The theme of such depth and complexity is worthy of a volume of papers and one could imagine several books being devoted to the subject. Here we have articles that mainly deal with the subject from the point of view of folklore, that will be of major assistance to all those concerned with the theme, ranging from students of literature to historians of religion. The publication is of unique value and scholars will find very helpful data illuminating various aspects of the question.

Alice Sárközi

A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, volume two, 1893. Editor: John R. Krueger. Translated from the Russian by William H. Dougherty: Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 61/2, Indiana University, Bloomington 1977.

Six years after the publication of the first volume of Pozdneyev's *Mongolia and the Mongols*, we now have in hand the second part of the voluminous work. It is the direct continuation of the previous volume that gave the diary of the author up to 1892. In this volume Pozdneyev's route leads from Peking back to Urga through Kalgan, Khökhe Khoto, Kuei-Hua Ch'eng, Ch'eng-te-fu, Doloon Nuur and Biruu-khoto.

All those concerned with Mongolian studies know that Pozdneyev's work is a real treasure-house of data. It is also evident that the original Russian editions of 1892 and 1893 are bibliographical rarities today. That is why a more accessible English translation of these two volumes is especially welcome.

When A. M. Pozdneyev published his *Mongolia and the Mongols* he had already travelled on several expeditions to Mongolia, once taking part in Potanin's geographic expedition. He had also visited the Kalmyks of the Astrakhan region to collect folklore material. His field-work was supplemented by his earlier documentary researches, and these not only enabled him to produce an informative diary, but to give a detailed and thorough analysis of the things and events he had seen.

The book is a very precise description of the places visited. It goes much beyond the limits of a simple travelogue and enables the readers to become acquainted with the legends, and myths still alive among the inhabitants.

In this volume Pozdneyev presents the Lamaist monasteries in Khökhe-Khoto with their inscribed stone monuments. According to the Mongol chronicles, the city was founded during the reing of the

Ming emperor Chia-ch'ing (1522—1567). At that time Altan Khan, a renowned figure in Mongol history, built his palace here, and in addition to leading wars against the Chinese, he found time to engage in large scale literary activity. By having the Mongol Kanjur translated, he also became a propagator of Buddhism.

Pozdneyev was not only interested in cultural heritage, but also in business affairs and trade. He provided valuable information about trading activities with detailed price lists. He gave a full description about all the institutions of the town: the Banner Academy and its everyday activity up to its financial affairs, the Tumet soldier's drill ground, powder magazines, and armouries, as well as the poor house, the market and cemetery of the city. The author took every opportunity to converse with the lamas, officials, soldiers or anybody he met, and was attentive in every respect. He described the cultivated land, the use of opium, the coal mines, and the costs of maintaining troops, to mention only a few of the many subjects.

In the Kuei-hua-ch'eng Tumets' region he listed the most important monasteries within the nomadic territory. He includes a report about the Na-huo-ch'ien Roman Catholic Church and a visit to the Belgian mission, where later the outstanding scholar, A. Mostaert was also active. He published and translated the inscription of the stone-carved monument at the Shara-süme monastery in Doloon Nur. He gives a detailed description of Dzuunnaiman süme that comprised the ruins of an ancient Sino-Mongolian city that began as a capital of the Yüan emperors founded during the period from 1256- to 1259 for Khubilai Khan.

The editor succeeded in producing a thorough work by adding explanations to the volume that reveal new data. Subheadings divide the text into shorter parts to improve its readability and to elicit the themes. A glossary of terms, and an index of persons and places facilitates the use of the text. Sixty original illustrations are included at the end of the book. A complete bibliography of A. M. Pozdneyev's writings complete the volume.

The reprinting of Pozdneyev's books is to be welcomed, because the books are not only important for the students of Mongolian philology, but for all those interested in the social, political, economical life of Mongolia at that time.

In his preface, the editor informs us about the preparation of the English translation of Pozdneyev's *Sketches of Life in Mongolian Buddhist Monasteries* (Očerki byta buddistskikh monastyrei). It is encouraging to know that the editor intends to continue his mission of revealing valuable, but not easily accessible books, and it is to be hoped that the next volume will be available in the near future.

Alice Sárközi

Türk-Macar kültür münasebetleri ışığı altında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar mültecileri sempozyumu. Symposium on Rákóczi Ferenc II and the Hungarian Refugees in the Light of Turco—Hungarian Cultural Relations. İstanbul 1976. XVI + 239 pp.

The third centenary of the birth of Ferenc Rákóczi II was widely and rightly commemorated throughout Hungary and also abroad; undoubtedly he was an outstanding figure of 18th century European history. It was a noble gesture of the Turkish Republic that it provided moral and material assistance for the organization of various ceremonies connected with the anniversary in Turkey. A delegation of Hungarian cultural and scholarly personalities was invited — headed by the Minister of Education (and included the Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Dean and the staff of the Chair of Turkish Philology, Faculty of Letters, Loránd Eötvös University, *etc.*). The international representation of the participants was enhanced by scholars from Poland and Romania. The organizing com-

mittee (chairman: T. Gökbilgin, and members: S. Eyice, C. Orhonlu and S. Özbaran) carried out very good work in providing the guests with the necessary comfort and a wide range of scientific and cultural programmes.

The symposium at the University of Istanbul lasted for 4 days: May 31 — June 3. Another merit of the hosts was that the material of the articles presented to the conference (not all of them had been read) was promptly published.

The entire volume has a summarizing character, but not always in the best meaning of the word. There are also some overlapping, especially concerning Mikes and the arrival of the refugees in Turkey. Of course, this is a more or less natural concomitant of such conferences where the topic is necessarily circumscribed. Still, even though certain articles may comprise well known facts for Hungarian readers, they will surely be of interest to those in other countries. Thus, this book will help to popularize and make Hungarian history better known abroad — which is an important service.

The volume begins with the inaugural speeches delivered by Professor O. Akşit, the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, and Professor T. Gökbilgin the chairman of the organizing committee (both in French and Turkish with considerably different content).

The first article was also written by T. Gökbilgin and deals with various anti-Habsburg movements in Hungary in the 17th—18th centuries. Besides, it analyses some aspects of Rákóczi's relationship to the Ottoman Empire during and after the War of Independence, providing new details concerning the stay of the refugees in Turkey.

Professor B. Köpeczi reviewed Ferenc Rákóczi's life and career, summarizing the results of his detailed and careful studies and books.

The more important part of Professor Gy. Székely's contribution was where he traced back the history of the political slogan, to be found on coins and military remnants, «Pro Libertate», in various European countries and its fate in the War of Independence. This was also a good opportunity to present a general picture of Rákóczi's state organization.

Professor I. Szathmári investigated the important question of how Hungarian literary language had developped until the beginning of the 18th century and then under Rákóczi. He pointed out that out of the three contemporary tasks — the propagation of the norms that had been formed by that time, further unification, and the enrichment of the vocabulary — the short period of the War of Independence was sufficient only for the fulfilment of the first and partly that of the second (while the influence of Latin was overwhelming even in the Prince's Hungarian style). Further, Professor Szathmári presented the results of his phonetical and morphological studies, regarding the works of some eminent authors of that period.

Z. Abrahamowicz recalled very warmly the traditional Polish—Hungarian friendship which was also confirmed on several occasions during and after the revolt. He also published two unknown documents concerning Rákóczi; one in Polish from 1716, the other in Turkish from 1718 (this latter has been transliterated).

Professor S. Eyice presented a carefully prepared collection covering the monuments that referred to the Thököly and Rákóczi emigrations in Turkey, *i.e.* texts of tombstones and other inscriptions on various objects, and the dwelling places of the Hungarians in Tekirdağ. The transcriptions are not always free of spelling mistakes. *E.g.* the right side of the *b.* inscription of the Hungarian çeşme (p. 93.) should be read: QUAM POSTEA UT VIDES / DE KESEK AB HUNGARIA / QUE CONSUL / REDEGIT / ANNO 1812. It is also known that Gregorius de Kesek (= Kőszeghy Gergely in Hungarian) was born in Tekirdağ, 16. 3. 1769. (*cf.* Thaly Kálmán, *Rákóczi-emlékek Törökországban és II. Rákóczi Ferencz hamvainak föltalálása* [Rákó-

czi-relics in Turkey and the discovery of the remains of Ferenc Rákóczi II], Budapest 1893², pp. 65—66.).

The title of C. Göllner's article *(Die Bedeutung des antihabsburgischen Aufstandes von Franz Rákóczi II. (1703) im Rahmen der Geschichte Rumäniens)* is misleading and reflects a conception having no connection with history at all, since the Rákóczi War of Independence had nothing to do with the history of Romania. He might have written Romanians, perhaps, if he had wanted to speak about this minority of 18th century Hungary. Indeed, he mainly dealt with the Transylvanian events pointing out the negative tendencies which led to collapse there.

L. Hopp, an expert on Mikes, analyses his letters from different aspects — establishing his sources, but emphasizing his originality at most parts throughout the work. The transcription, however, was not modified when the text was translated into French. However, the illustrations seem to be superfluous as they have no relationship either to Mikes or to Turkey.

S. N. Özerdim's short characterization of Mikes's activity does not add very much to our previous knowledge. Ş. Tekindağ's article *(Türk—Macar Münasebetlerine Toplu Bir Bakış)* is too general in scope to be able to delve deep enough. Moreover, his generalizations do not always withstand criticism. Especially the first sentence, «Macar'lar, şüphesiz, menşe itibariyle Türk ırkındandır» is open to doubt. It would also be surprising if the equation of Hünkâr with on-ogur > Hungar (p. 154.) can be confirmed by linguists in the future.

Professor C. Orhonlu, who left us so unexpectedly, presented something new and interesting, as usual. He found an 18th century History of Hungary in the Nur-i Osmaniye Kütüphanesi. Beside the scholarly description of the manuscript, he also tried — on intrinsic grounds — to define the possible national and social status of the author. He concludes by saying that he must have been a Hungarian from the environment of Rákóczi (in all probability not Ibrahim Müteferrika).

H. Z. Koşay listed the place-names connected with the name Macar (= Hungarian) in present day Turkey.

Professor N. Göyünç deals with another wave of Hungarian immigrants who arrived in Turkey in 1849, headed by Lajos Kossuth. Professor Göyünç found some new material in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, among them two *talimatnâmes* concerning the transport of the refugees to Kütahya and Aleppo. It also transpires that the so-called Kossuth house in Kütahya was more probably inhabited by Count Batthyány.

A rather long study by T. Gökbilgin (*Thököly Imre ve Osmanlı-Avusturya İlişkilerindeki Rolü*) surveys the anti-Habsburg movements and revolts since 1665 until 1682, focusing on Turco—Hungarian relations. B. Köpeczi also has another contribution entitled «François II. Rákóczi et la question des latines dans l'Empire Ottoman» that deals with one of Rákóczi's literary works «Entretien de Mustapha, surnommé le Sage avec un Franc, appelé Pelerin», which is interesting from historical and political points of view, too.

J. Baysal effectuated a very careful inventory of early Ottoman book printing. Her figures are especially worthy of attention.

Professor Zs. Kakuk made a comparison between the Turkish knowledge of Thököly and Mikes, and established that while the first had to know Turkish and thus the words cropping up in his works may be used as linguistic sources, the latter reiterated words that were common, mostly in distorted forms, in the 16th—17th century Hungarian language.

A list of those Turkish and Tartar soldiers who had participated in the War of Independence was published by this reviewer of the volume.

Géza Dávid

VETTAM MANI, *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia. A Comprehensive Dictionary with Special Reference to the Epic and Purāṇic Literature*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi 1975, Motilal Banarsidass. VIII, 922 p.

The old Indian saying *yanna bhārate tanna bhārate* is more or less valid, because the great epics especially the Mahābhārata, are not only literary works, but «literature» (Winternitz). The great epics and the *Purāṇas* together can be regarded as the richest treasury of mythology and religion in the world.

The inexhaustible material buried in this vast amount of literature, represented by the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* and the group of *Upapurāṇas*, is still unsatisfactorily utilized and the already published works only touched on certain aspects.

Vettam Mani's Encyclopaedia was originally written in *Malayālam*, the language of *Kerala*, the field of prosperous classical tradition and the author, as his work brilliantly shows, was in the position of possessing this rich treasury of information. At the same time he is a man with the best type of traditional scholarship. These circumstances clarify the great merits and also the minor shortcomings of the monumental volume.

The presentation of the source material follows traditional lines, the compiler not become involved in the controversial standpoints of the secondary literature. However, this also means that one cannot find references to the philological data concerning the single works or texts and the chronological sequence is unreliable. The occasional quotations from the non-Indian material unfortunately contain some orthrographical errors (*Hippocraitus* instead of *Hyppocrat*, *Bulher* for *Bühler*, etc.) which could have been avoided by the editors of the English version.

These shortcomings are offset by the major achievements. The method of discernment is generally narrative and very fascinating. The immensely large number of word-headings arranged according to the English alphabet open up a broad inroad through the jungle of mythology, and having studied the variants of the mythological events, I must admire of the unbelievably extensive knowledge of the author.

The proper names, epithet ornans are very richly incorporated and the composition of such items like *Kṛṣṇa* is prompt and also enjoyable for the reader.

The exhaustive iconographical descriptions given in the items on gods, and goddesses are of immense use.

The treatment of historical persons, such as *Pāṇini*, *Kālidāsa*, *Śankara*, etc. as well as their life and career is reflected in the epical and *purāṇic* tradition, and is very diligent, colourful and gives us a good inspiration.

The geographical names, and the names of historical or religious importance are truly taken up, as well as the objects of a religious cult, and things worshipped are given a reasonable place.

A special feature of the work is the recording of South-Indian data, since recent investigations indicate the early appearance of the genre of *Purāṇas* in the *Tamil* literature and also the probable influence of these *Dravidian* compositions on the later *Sanskrit Purāṇas*. Moreover the role of the south emerged after the Muslim invasion, as recognized in the finest living traditions preserved by the *Nambudri brāhmanas* in Kerala.

The terminology of chronology in different Indian languages, together with the Arabic and English equivalents, was undoubtedly a splendid idea.

By giving the *guruparamparā*, i.e. the list of teachers of different schools and branches of learning, plus the synoptic tables of genealogy Vettam Mani considerably enriched the volume.

The rich references to the passages of the epics are praiseworthy and provide an outstanding guide.

I would like warmly congratulate the author for the originality of the work, and

for his attitude to the subject matter i.e. for the approach of a believing Hindu scholar, the result of which is that the non-Indian reader can appreciate the spiritual spheres of Hinduism, the various aspects of the living popular faith included in the epics and *Purāṇas*, and one finds some glimpses of the *brāhmaṇic* wisdom from which we non-Indians can learn a good deal.

It is my opinion that this publication of the reputed firm of Motilal Banarsidass is a unique undertaking, not only in field of the strictly scientific life, but in the dissemination of ancient Indian mythology and culture.

Gyula Wojtilla

HERMANN KEES, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1977. 3., unveränderte Auflage, 315 p. 7 Abb. 55.—M.

HERMANN KEES, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1977. 3., unveränderte Auflage, 503 p. Tafeln, X. 46,— M

HERMANN KEES, *Das alte Ägypten. Eine kleine Landeskunde*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1977. 3., durchgesehene Auflage. Mit einem Namen-, Orts- und Sachregister von ADELHEID BURKHARDT. 229 p. Abb. 56. 25,— M.

Tha publication of the first studies of Hermann Kees (1886—1964) in the second decade of our century introduced a new era in Egyptological research. The two outstanding religious syntheses, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alter Ägypter* and *Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* appeared later, in 1926 and 1941 respectively. Both of them had a revised edition in 1956. During their long use up to the present time, they proved to be indispensable manuals of scholarly work in the domain of Egypt:an religion.

The books of Kees are characterized by their admirable richness of factual data resulting from his impressive command of the immense Egyptian religious literature. At the same time, they should not be regarded as dry reference tools; they are buit up, and mainly *Götterglaube*, on a concept which attributes major importance to the local cults and the rivalry between the clergies of the religious centres. This topographical outlook helped to elucidate a number of important details, nevertheless it failed to explain the central issues of the beliefs. It transpired that an understanding of Egyptian religion as a whole was impossible on this basis, and present day research has endeavoured to find new ways to approach the general features of religious life in the Nile-Valley. The new trends, of course, do not effect the standing values of his works.

Das alte Ägypten (first published in 1955) again displays the interest of Kees in the geographical factors of Egyptian history. While demonstrating his unique knowledge in this field, the book is easy to read, and unlike the two others, it can be used as an introductory guide by everybody seriously interested in Egyptology. The present edition is supplemented by indices made by A. Burkhardt, a welcome aid to specialists and beginners.

Acknowledgement is due to the Akademie-Verlag for the handsomely produced third edition of the three main books by one of the most outstanding Egyptologists. From now on, the younger generation of Egyptologists also have easy access to these classical works of religious science.

László Kákosy

A. MARX, *Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*. Edited with an Introduction by M. H. SCHMELZER. New York 1977, XXI, 591 p.

Alexander Marx (1878—1953) war der Professor von Jewish Theological Seminary

of America und auch sein erster großer Bibliothekar. Als er im Jahre 1903 die Bibliothek übernahm, war dort kaum etwas zu finden. Heute verfügt sie über 10.000 Handschriften, 30.000 Genisa-Stück — darunter auch autograph Handschriften von Juda Hallevi und Maimuni — und über ein Viertel Million Bücher. Das ist zum größten Teil sein Verdienst.

Lebenslang war er bestrebt, einen modernen Katalog zusammenzustellen. Seine Kartenblätter sind geblieben, die Arbeit aber konnte er nicht beenden. In den Jahren 1917/18—1953/54 berichtete er selbst, bis 1970/73 seine Nachfolger in den Jahresberichten (*Register*) des Institutes über den Zuwachs der Bibliothek. Es war eine ausgezeichnete Idee, diese Berichte in einem Band zu sammeln, denn dadurch wird ein klares Bild über die Raritäten gegeben. In der *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* erschienen zahlreiche Artikel von ihm über die dortigen Handschriften und Bücher. Es muß seinen Grund haben, warum einige Artikel, obwohl sie mit der Bibliothek zu tun haben, nicht erschienen sind (z. B. ZfHB. [XV] 1911, pp. 26—27.). Auch diese Artikel sind jetzt im Band wie auch seine zwei bibliographischen Studien. Eine wurde aufgrund seines eigenen Exemplars mit seinen handschriftlichen Nachträgen und Korrektionen photographiert.

Der Band war der Gedanke des heutigen gelehrten Bibliothekars, Prof. M. H. Schmelzer. Von ihm wurde das Buch mit einem Vorwort und Illustrationen versehen zum Druck vorbereitet. Über Schmelzer schrieb der Direktor des Institutes, Prof. G. D. Cohen: «a bibliographer worthy to succeed Professor Marx. His dedication to Jewish culture as developed in the Jewish book and to the continued and measured growth of the Seminary Library will place future generations in his debt.» Folgende schöne Worte gelten wieder Prof. Marx: «In the profoundest sense the bibliographical notes are his autobiography, for he made of the Seminary Library and of the Jewish book his life.»

In diesem Buch kann jeder etwas für sich finden. Es hat auch ungarische Beziehungen: Die Statuten und Protokolle der Gemeinde in Altofen 1770—1780; die Statuten der Gemeinde von Ofen aus 1787 (p. 365.). Die Protokolle vier ungarländischer Gemeinden aus dem XVIII. Jhd. (p. 364.). Die talmudischen Glossen von Moses Sofer, des Rabbiners von Pressburg (p. 56.) und sein Responsum von 1829 (p. 319.). Die Dezision von Bet-din in Sátoraljaújhely aus 1830 (p. 130.).

Dieses wichtige, schön ausgestattete Werk wird zur unentbehrlichen Quelle der Forscher der jüdischen Bibliographie. Es muß zu den Handbüchern der Bibliotheken gehören.

A. Scheiber

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BULAQS AND OГUZS IN MEDIAEVAL TRANSYLVANIA

BY

LÁSZLÓ RÁSONYI

1.

The *Blaci* people were mentioned already in Anonymus's chronicle[1] by virtue of the fact that a number of them had resisted the conquering Hungarians until their leader, *Gelou* died in battle, which forced them to join the Hungarians. They had their role at the dawn of Transylvanian history.

György Bodor's recently published study indicates that the names *Blac* (*Blaq*) and *Vlach* refer to two distinct peoples.[2] This article reminded me of an assumption of mine, developed some years ago, concerning the identity of the name *Blaq* and the Turkic ethnic name *Bulaq*; the French chroniclers of the crusading armies, such as Villehardouin, advancing across Bulgaria and the Lower Danube mention «li Blaci et li Comains» and the Blaqs in Asĕn's Bulgar empire, sometimes mistaking them later for the Vlachs. Franciscan friars wandering in the East recall Magna Hungaria and Magna Bulgaria at the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains. This initiated the concept of a *Magna Blachia*. I had stated then that this must have been a reference to the Bulaq people living south-east of the ridge of the Ural[3]. Bodor s'article generated a train of ideas concerning the relics of the Turkic peoples who played a role in Transylvania in the 11th—13th centuries.

Gy. Bodor made comparisons between: a) the people referred to by Anonymus as *Blacus* (plural *Blachi* and *Blacci*), mentioned by Kézai[4] in the form of *Blacki* as a people closely connected with the Székelys, who were referred to last by the diplomas in 1224, and b) the reports of the Franciscan monks. It is noteworthy that Kézai writes in the section about the Huns: «Pannonia . . . Sclavis tantummodo, Graecis, Teutonicis, Messianis et Ulahis advenis remanentibus in eadem, qui vivente Ethela populari servitio sibi serviebant» (*l.c.*, p. 163). Apparently, the Hun Saga is inclined to regard the largest possible number of peoples widely known in Kézai's age (around

[1] *SRH* I, p. 65.

[2] Bodor Gy., *Egy krónikás adat helyes értelmezése* [Correct Interpretation of a Data in the Chronicles]: *MNy* LXXII (1976), pp. 268—271.

[3] L. Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklük*, Ankara 1971, p. 154.

[4] *SRH* I, p. 162.

1238) in Pannonia as subjugated by the Huns, e.g. the peoples of the Balkans, the Greeks, *Ulah*s and the peoples of the two Moesia; the only exceptions were the Slavs and the Germans. It is also evident from the above lines that Kézai made a clear distinction between the *Blaci* and the *Ulahi*. Kézai may have been aware of the Ulah splitter groups in Transylvania but considered them as insignificant as the Pecheneg and Oγuz groups, of whom he made no mention within Transylvania in contrast to the *Blaci*, who played a historical role.

But to return to Bodor's arguments: Rubruquis visited the court of the Mongolian Great Khan in 1253 and also referred to the Blaqs in his report to the French king: «De illa regione Pascatur exierunt Huni qui postea Hungari, unde est ipsa maior Hungaria ... cum illis concurrerunt Blaci et Bulgari et Wandali ... Et iuxta Pascatur sunt Illac, quod idem est quod Blac» ...[5]

In the second half of the century, another friar, Roger Bacon, also held the view that the Blaqs, who lived in the land of the Bulgar Tsar Asĕn, originated from former Blacia («Blaci de Blacia majore»), limitrophic to Magna Hungaria.[6] Bodor concludes his article by assuming that the Blaqs seemed to have moved westward from Turkic surroundings somewhere beyond the Ural, and the later chroniclers, especially Brother Mark, incorrectly identified the people called *Volachus* ~ *Valachus* in the diplomas with the splitter group of the Blaqs of eastern origin, who presumably drifted here with the Bulgars, sharing their culture, perhaps living in symbiosis with them.

The passage quoted from Rubruquis, and its partial adoptions up to Marco Polo, especially puzzled G. Brătianu, who elaborated a number of hypotheses and also devoted ample thought to the ethnic names *Illac* and *Lac*, the latter recorded by Marco Polo. Despite his differring position, P. Pelliot, the outstanding orientalist, enlarged upon Brătianu's assumptions at length: «A mon avis «Illac» est une mauvaise leçon pour «Ulac». Rubrouck avait envoyé de Palestine au roi saint Louis son rapport sur son voyage; l'erreur a dû se produire dès la première transcription qui en fut faite en France, et se trouvait ainsi dans le texte qui vint aux mains de Roger Bacon, même si celui-ci l'a tenu de Rubrouck directement après que celui-ci fut revenu d'Orient. C'est de même que le manuscrit de Marco Polo que celui-ci remit à Thiébaut de Cepoy contenait manifestement des erreurs qui étaient le fait de Rustichello de Pise et que le Vénétien ne s'était pas soucié de corriger ... Que la vraie leçon de Rubrouck ait bien été «*Ulac*» et non «Illac».[7]

Illac ~ *Ulac* is not identical with the *Vlach*s of the Balkans. Again, Pelliot states, «la correction «Iflac» est incontestablement fausse.»[8] If *Illac*

[5] *Sinica Franciscana* I, ed. Wyngaert, p. 219.

[6] *Opus majus*, p. 231.

[7] P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, pp. 145—159 (Oeuvres posthumes II.).

[8] Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

is indeed the mis-spelling of *Ulac* ~ *Ulaq*, two explanations seem possible: 1) if «idem est quod Blac», the identification is similar to «Huni qui postea Hungari». 2) In the other case, the Qanglï people or one of their leaders, Ulaq-ẖan should be considered,[9] or the khan of the Ulaq tribe, who died in battle against the Mongolians in 1219. It is well-known that the first component of a compound word ending with the dignitary name *ẖan* is not necessarily a substantive, in this case a personal name, but it can also be an appellative, an adjective, thus it can be read Ulaq ẖan as well, meaning the «ẖan of the Ulaq tribe». For an analogy see *Barschan* «the ẖan of the Persians» mentioned by Gardīzī.[10]

As for the Qanglïs, the neighbours of the Qarluqs and Qïpčaqs, events that had taken place 34 years before Rubruquis's visit possibly left their impression on him. It is not unlikely that similarly to the Bulaq tribe of the Qarluqs who developed into an independent people, the Ulaq group separated from the Qanglïs. The dignitary name ẖan had not at that time been devaluated and denoted the chieftain of a people or of a significant tribe.

However, it is insufficient to state that the names *Blaq* and *Vlach* refer to two peoples; their origin and meaning also have to be analyzed.

Dezső Pais concluded in 1935 that the Balkanian *Vlach, Olachus* people is not identical with the *Blaq*s, but his etymological explanation of the name («part, fragment, branch») is mistaken because the basic verb *bal-* «to cut» and the noun and proper name *balqu* are non-existent in Turkic dictionaries and eastern sources.[11] While the Blaqs had wandered westward from Turkic surroundings beyond the Ural Mountains, the Vlachs scattered in four directions from the centre of the Balkan peninsula, from around Lake Ohrid. As regards their origin, they were the descendants of Thracian and Illyr herdsmen who were Romanized in the Balkans and mixed with herdsmen from Southern Italy. The word *vlach* is of Southern Slavic origin; it is the basis of the Hungarian word *ulah* > *oláh* «Rumanian», just as the Hungarian word *olasz* «population of Neo-Latin origin, mainly Vallons, in mediaeval Hungary; today: Italian» derives from the Southern Slavic plural *vlàsi*. The Vlachs incorporated numerous Slavic elements in their primordial habitat and through the archbishopric of Ohrid, they came under influence of Greco-Slavic culture.[12]

[9] Juvainī, ed. Browne, I, p. 90; Rašīd ad-Dīn, transl. Smirnov, Moskva—Leningrad 1952, I/2, p. 208; Abulġāzī, ed. Kononov, Moskva—Leningrad 1958, line 292 of the original text.

[10] Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, p. 94.

[11] Pais D.: *MNy* XXXI (193), pp. 268—269.

[12] In addition to Th. Capidan's works see L. Tamás, *Romains, Romans, et Roumains dans l'histoire de la Dacie Traiane*, Budapest 1936; St. Kniezsa, *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Landnahme und die Ansiedlung des Ungartums*, in: *Siebenbürgen und seine Völker*, Budapest 1943, pp. 31—34.

The confusion of some historical sources concerning the mixing of the *Vlach* and *Blaq* names can be traced back to the economic and social historical background of the Turkic equestrian nomads. Starting with the Huns, the area between the Lower Danube and the Carpathians was the residence of equestrian nomadic peoples for different periods of time. The mounted nomads made raids westward particularly against Byzantium in order to seize labour power, notably herdsmen in this region. Following the Huns and Avars, the Danubian Bulgars, to a lesser extent the Pechenegs, and again the Comans and the Golden Horde had substantial role both to the south of the Carpathians and in Moldavia. As Menandros (ed. Bonnae) reported in 578, the rapid sequence of Balkan campaigns resulted in slaves being carried over the Danube, e.g. by the Avars. Krum (Korum or Kurum) Bulgar khan (803—814) resettled some 10,000 *Vlach* families during a single campaign in the early 9th century. Ample evidence is available by Zonaras, Kedrenos, Georgios Monachos and other Byzantine chroniclers edited in the *Corpus Bonnae.*[13] All this partly explains the mass occurrence of pastoral, originally migrating peoples mainly drifting northward in the Danubian plain and the bordering Carpathians in the north. The appearance of *Vlach* masses understandably gave rise to mistaking them for the *Blaqs*. This confusion also influenced Rubruquis and his followers as well, although the two names can be distinguished on the basis of clear-cut phonological differences. The initial consonant of the name *Blaq* ~ *Bulaq* had always been *b-*, and its final consonant always *-q*. The form of the name *Vlach* is given in the Hungarian historical sources with an initial vowel, except for the forms *Valachus*, *Volachus*, developing into *ulah* then *oláh* in standard Hungarian. Rašīd-eddīn, writing about the incursion of Batu Khan in 1241, refers to Moldavia as *Kara Ulaγ.*[14] The form of the name was also *Ulah* in Old Ottoman : «Eskiden Romanya'nın yerli halkına ve bu halkın soyundan olan kimselere verilen ad.»[15]

When in 1391, Wallachia under Voivode Mircea was reduced to tributary vassalage to the Turks, the country acquired the Turkish name *İflak*. Moldavia, named *Kara Ulaγ* by Rašideddin, was also later referred to as *Kara İflak*. The tendency to supply an initial vowel to names beginning with consonant clusters was strong in the later Ottoman-Turkish, e.g. the ethnic name *Slav* became *İslav*. The tendency is still so extensive today that the *Türkçe Sözlük*, published in 1966, claims *İslovak* and *İsloven* to be correct instead of *Slovak* and *Sloven*.

[13] L. Rásonyi, *Contributions à l'histoire des première cristallisation d'état des Roumains, L'origine des Basaraba*, pp. 4—5. (Etudes sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale).

[14] Transl. Verchovskij, II, p. 45.

[15] *Türkçe Sözlük* 1966.

In my opinion, the origin of the name *Blaq* is related to the Qarluq tribal name *Bulaq*. First Julius Németh[16] quoted the dictionary of Kāšγarī from 1069, in which the name of the *Bulaq* people was mentioned, who were subdued by the Kipchaks and named *Älkä Bulaq* from then on. Kāšγarī set the meaning of *Bulaq* as «breitrückig (Pferd)», but in the other Turkic languages and in Mongolian it meant a «white-piebald» horse, or a «white-legged» horse in Chagatay. I venture the assumption that the name *Älkä Bulaq* should be spelled *Ärkä Bulaq*. Namely, the word *älkä* is missing from Turkic dictionaries and the diminutive of *el* ~ *il* «realm» is semantically false here. On the other hand, the word *Ärkä* «male» would suit the meaning. Despite the fact that the facsimile edition of Kāšγarī contains only the spelling *Älkä*, there are examples for the *r* > *l* phonological change in the Turkic, especially in the Oγuz languages.[17] I refer also to the Kazak name *Erke Blaq* (see below). J. Németh, when writing about the name *Bulaq*, used a wide range of dictionaries and quoted numerous echo words such as *ala-bulaq* from various Turkic languages. As a matter of fact, a broadbacked horse is a pack-horse. Already Kāšγarī mentions the word *ulaγ* «Kurierpferd, Streitross». Although his spelling is *ulaγ*, in the Uighur, Turki, Chagatay, Uzbek and even in the Anatolian Turkish it is *ulak*. The question arises whether the word *ulaq* could be derived from the echo word *ulaq-bulaq* through bifurcation of meaning, or whether Kāšγarī gave the meaning of the word *ulaγ* ~ *ulaq* to *bulaq* by mistake.

The name *Bulaq* was also borne by a little-known Turkic people, whom the Russian conquerors mentioned at the end of the 16th century, after subjugating them in 1592. The Bulaq people lived at that time in the land of the piebald horses supposedly somewhere around the Narym east of the Bashkirs and the Ural Mountains. The horses of this people used to be well-known trading goods.[18]

The *Bulaq* tribe broke with the Qarluq tribal confederation and became independent. Data concerning the Qarluqs are very defective and scattered.[19] According to Czeglédy's concise description, «The Qarluqs once belonged to the Turk tribes. When the Turk empire, founded in the mid-sixth century, broke up into western and eastern parts in 581, the territory of the Qarluqs was situated between the two Turk empires, at the south-western fringes of the

[16] J. Németh, *Das Volk mit den scheckigen Pferden*: *KCsA* I. Erg. B., pp. 345–353.

[17] See Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, p. 215.

[18] See Németh, l. c.

[19] For the data of the Chinese sources on the Qarluqs see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, passim; W. Eberhard, *Çinin şimal komşuları*, Ankara 1942; W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935. For a good summary of the Qarluq history see K. Czeglédy, *A karluk törzsek nevei* [Names of the Qarluq Tribes]: *MNy* XLV (1949), pp. 164–168.

Altay around the Black-Irtish and the Džaisan-köl . . . , in the To-lo-szu (Talas) valley, according to Chinese sources.»[20]

Czeglédy, utilizing a wide range of data from Persian and Arabic resources, delineated the dispersion of the Qarluqs and found that during the fights of the 11th century and especially at the time of the Mongolian conquest they had almost completely disappeared. The data at hand refer primarily to the earlier, northern period of the Qarluqs. They consisted of nine tribes, the seventh of which was named *Bulaq*. Barthold's information, to be quoted later in connection with the name Balasaγun related to the name *Zágon*, is of major significance with regard to the Bulaq tribe or people. Al-Muqaddasī and Yāqūt reported that a people lived in the Talas valley, which was the land of the Qarluqs, whose summer residence was near the Bulgars and also the Bashkirs. It is highly likely that this people were the Bulaqs, of whom a part later founded the land of the piebald horses in the northwest.

In my article of 1961 entitled «L'origine du nom *székely* (sicule)» I mentioned the tribal name *Bulaq*, which has a similar meaning to the tribal name *Székely* < *Säkil* «whitelegged horse»,[21] but at that time I failed to identify it with the name *Blaq*. Indeed, the traditions related to the tribal name *Székely* contain surprising elements : first the horses of the Székely mounted border regiment and later the Székely cavalry regiment were whitelegged, in conformity with a tradition dating back several centuries.[22] The tribal names *Bulaq* and *Säkil* also justify J. Németh's assumption that the colour names in the Pecheneg tribal names ought to be derived from the colours of horses.

The question naturally arises how the elision took place. Among others, Räsänen examined the problem of elision.[23] E.g. Ottoman *bırak-* «lassen» > *brak-*; Oirot *qïra* «Acker» > *qra*; Chuv. *qravul* < *qaraul* «guard, garrison»; Sabir *Βαλαχ* > *Βλαχ*. In outlining the Bashkir grammar, Benzing remarked :[24] «Elision in der Umgangssprache ist sehr häufig.» With special interest here is the elision of the vowel of an open syllable before *l*. Some examples : Kazak Еркеблакъ (Erkeblaq) «stallion bulak» (*SODž*, p. 58); a Meshcheriak is called Блакты (Blaqtï) in 1775, derived from Bulaqlï (*Materialy po ist. Baškirsk. ASSR* IV/2, p. 417). Forms without elision are very frequent, e.g. : 1760 : Bashk. Булак (Bulak) (*op. cit.*, IV/2, p. 160) ; Kazak Тайбулак (Tajbulak) «foal bulak» (Grodekov, *Kirgizi i Karakirigizy*, Priloženie, p. 142) ; 1643 : *Bulaq*, the name of a Tatar of Tobol (Miller, *Ist. Sibiri* II, p. 486) ; Kazak *Bulaqpai* (*SOK*, p. 88).

[20] Czeglédy, *op. cit.*
[21] *Acta Linguistica* XI, p. 185.
[22] According to Gábor Balás's kind report.
[23] Räsänen, *op. cit.*, pp. 53—55.
[24] *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, p. 424.

The above data reveal that apart from the tribal and later ethnic name *Bulaq* «white-piebald (horse)», there existed personal names of identical form as well as in the form of *Blaq*. All these data confirm the assumption that the ethnic name *Blaq* evolved from *Bulaq*.

When did a splitter group of this people arrive in Bulgaria and Transylvania? No data whatsoever confirm the presumption that they constituted a separate wave of the repeated westward thrust of the Turks, unless there had been a belated migration of a group (Onogurs) that the Arabian and Western chronicles failed to register in the haze of the 7th century. Which wave of migrating peoples had they joined then to break westward through the steppe gate between the Ural and the Caucasus? It is only the Onogur-Bulgars of Esperik who can be taken into account as only they were known at the time of the Hungarian conquest and only they had stayed along the Pontus for a longer period before that time.

In 1222, a «terra Blacorum» was mentioned in the Olt basin, on the plain of the later Fogaras county.[25] This area was of major strategic significance due to its easily mobilized inhabitants when the two passes of the Southern Carpathians had to be guarded. This reason may have prevented the Vlachs of the region between the Danube and the Carpathians from breaking away from Bulgarian rule, by drifting into the mountains of Transylvania. At both gateways to the Carpathians, namely in the Transylvanian foregrounds of the Tömös pass and the Olt valley, there were two Bulgarian settlements: Hung. *Brassó* < Bulgar *Boro-šuy* «gray water» and north of it: *Tortilló* rivulet < *Tortïlïy* «pebbly, alluvial»[26] and Hung. *Szeben* (formerly *Sebin*, then *Sibin*) < *Säbin* «Rejoice!», whose name is identical with *Säbin (Σαβῖνος)*, the name of the Bulgar ruler in 765—767.[27] It is also a plausible assumption that after occupying Transylvania, the Hungarian conquerors placed the South Transylvanian marches under Blaq supervision, and «terra Blacorum» refers to this fact. Later, with the Saxons gaining more territorial grants, the Blaqs were transferred to the Southern Székely *sedes* (Hung. *székek*), i.e. to the *sedes* of Sebes, Kézd and Orba.[28] It was perhaps at the same time that the Blaqs settled near the Pechenegs in «silva Bissenorum et Blacorum» around the Persány Mountains.

Provided the Bulaqs advanced to the Danube basin together with the Bulgars and — as Kézai assumes — they knew the Turk runic script,[29] it is

[25] ZW I, p. 17.

[26] Rásonyi L.: *MNy* (1929), pp. 1—19, and *UAJ* XXXIII (1961), p. 246.

[27] *Categories*, p. 210; *Türklüğün izleri*, pp. 116—117; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, p. 262.

[28] Bodor, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[29] »Zaculi ... cum Blackis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt, unde Blackis commixti literis ipsorum uti perhibentur« (*SRH* I, p. 162).

not farfetched to consider that letters of non-Turkic origin (*f* and *h*) were incorporated in the Székely runic script through them along the Pontus, as J. Németh suggested. He also suggested that the Székely runic script comes nearest to the Turk runic script of the Talas valley.[30] And, as stated earlier, the Talas valley was for a time populated by the Qarluqs, or perhaps by the Bulaqs themselves.

Did any place names relevant to Bulaq occurrence in Transylvania come down to posterity apart from «terra» and «silva Bissenorum et Blacorum»? Among existing place names of the Székelyland and the Barcaság (Burzenland, Ţara Bîrsei) examined here, few Turkic names can be detected, and despite the Székelys' name being Turkic in origin, Székely place names of proved Turkic descent are very scarce, because the eastward-bound Székely settlers spoke the same Hungarian tongue as the other conquering tribes. However, there probably are Turkic loan words belonging to the geographical terminology among their place names. The actually existing settlement names of Turkic origin must be traced back to the Bulaq, Pecheneg or Oγuz languages. But as the languages of the Bulaqs and Oγuzs belong to the Turkic tongues of the Oγuz type, it is very difficult to decide if any Bulaq name occurs among the names of probable Oγuz origin. Still, I think there are some, for instance the name of *Zágon*. It is hard to resist the temptation to relate it to the Russian word *zagon'* «corral», but the large number of the place names in the Székelyland derived from the Slavic come from the Ruthenian, so *g-* would be replaced by *h-*. Researchers of insight have not considered it a Slavic word. Although János Karácsonyi did so,[31] he «only tried to prove» his assumption — as János Melich put it.[32]

According to Kāšγarī *sayun* is «Fürstentitel bei den Qarluq»(!) ; Besim Atalay gives its meaning as «Karluk büyüklerinin unvanı». Kāšγarī also listed the expression *ata sayun*, whose meaning Brockelmann translated with the word «Arzt». It must be borne in mind, however, that in the 11th century Arab medical science was at a most developed stage ; it had outstanding physicians and clinicians, who summarized and elaborated the results of the ancient Greek and Roman medical sciences. In contrast, the Qarluqs had only shamans. *Ata-sayun* also seems to have had political functions. It is reminiscent of the name of Attila's aide *Ata-qam* «father shaman» ; another of his nobles was called *eš-qam* «assistant shaman».[33] The Qarluq *ata-sayun* formed a pair with *bala-sayun* «boy shaman», which gave its name — probably through a personal

[30] Németh Gy., *A magyar rovásírás* [The Hungarian Runic Script], Budapest 1934, pp. 22—29.

[31] Karácsonyi J.: *Katholikus Szemle* X, p. 483.

[32] Melich J., *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország* [Hungary in the Period of the Conquering of the Land], Budapest 1929, p. 262.

[33] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, pp. 76—126.

name — to the town Balasaγun ruined in the Middle Ages, somewhere along the river Ču. Within short distance from it in the Talas valley, a people could be found, whose summer habitat also happened to be in the vicinity of the Bulgars and the Bashkirs.[34] Turkic customs of namegiving also include proper names that determined the holder's fate, which developed from dignitary names, e.g. *Tegin* «Prince».[35] Obviously, the word *sayun* could evolve into a proper name, notably a Qarluq, more precisely a Bulaq proper name, undergoing regular changes in the Hungarian language to produce *Zágon*. Although it is difficult to prove, it seems likely that Balázs Orbán is correct in stating: «according to tradition, Zágon gained its name from its very first settlers».[36]

It is unfortunate that written documents do not date back to early times in Transylvania, thus the first appearance of *Zágon* is in a register of 1567. The list of names of the marches include the field of *Bod*, earlier *Bud*, «where — as tradition has it — there used to be a village, perhaps with the name of *Bod*, earlier *Bud*».[37]

In fact, the Old Hungarian form of the name *Bod* was *Bud*. As regards the name *Bud*, I venture to put forth a rather cautious assumption. The Bulaqs' separation from the Qarluqs confirms that once they belonged to the Turk tribal confederation. Buddhism penetrated Inner Asia very early, well before the Turks. A dialogue between the Western Turk Bilge qaγan and Tonyuquq also reflects the influence of Buddhism.[38] Numerous relics, primitively carved or engraved monumental representations of Buddha survived in the Tarim basin, the habitat of the Uigurs, once also a tribe of the Turk tribal confederacy. At any rate the Old Turkic name of Buddha was *Bud*. The words *bud* ~ *but* ~ *put* «idol» of different Turkic languages stem from this original form. The name of a place along the river Küküllő, *Budvár*, may also contain this word. B. Orbán writes: «Hardly fifteen minutes below Udvarhely on the right bank of the Küküllő, a conglomerate rocky mountain of striking shape rises; this mountain, the *Budvár* . . . reminds one of a motionless huge Sphynx».[39] This name recalls to mind the Uig. personal name *But Qaya* «Idol Rock», most probably referring to the name of the birthplace.[40]

The name *Zágor* can also be traced back to a personal name. B. Orbán listed it with the names of the border areas in Háromszék, as a name of unit

[34] *Enzyclopädie des Islam* I, p. 639; Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, p. 116.
[35] *Categories*, p. 212.
[36] Orbán III, p. 159.
[37] Orbán III, p. 160.
[38] L. Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklük*, Ankara 1971, pp. 98, 106, 107.
[39] Orbán I, p. 60.
[40] About the name *Buda* > *Bud* see W. Bang von Gabain—Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan Texte* VII, p. 4. Concerning the name *But Qaya* see W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad 1928, p. 122.

of fields, and a diploma of 1412 from Kisküküllő county refers to «possessio Zagor».[41] A village and a stream bear the name *Zágor* even today. It is of interest that a document from 1521 mentions a place «Pratum *Zágor*réthe» rooted in a personal name, as far away from Transylvania as in the Nagykunság (Greater Comania).[42] Even a traveller of modern times met with the name *Sagur-Chan* in a Kirgiz folk tale.[43] It is again Kāšγarī, who provides information about the etymology of the word: *saγurmak* «schlürfen, aufsaugen». Bei den Qarluqen. (!) The name strikingly often occurs in the Nagykunság, but it can be alleged that a group of the Qarluqs had drifted along with the Comans, and as noted above, it was a part of the Bulaq tribe of the Qarluqs, who had been temporarily subjected to Kipchak rule.

The personal name *Sagur* > *Zágor* belongs to the names given at random after the first word uttered at delivery, e.g. *Šüktur* «Be quiet!» etc.[44]

Certain doubts arise when the village name and rivulet name *Zajzon* is regarded in this light. In any case, the name is Turkic in origin, but whether it is Bulaq or Oγuz is undecided. The village belongs to Hétfalu near Brassó. The relevant data are quoted from J. Árvay's book: 1367: *Zayzen*; 1500: *Zayzon*; 1510: *Sewson*; 1531: *Zaizon*; 1542: *Sayson*; 1551: *Sayzon*.[45] The above data demonstrate that the vowel of the second syllable was *i* or rather *u*, and the original form of the name was *Saysun*.

Similarly to the name *Zágor*, this is a personal name in the grammatical form of an imperative verb, but the function of the imperative-optative is to determine fate in this case. Its root is the verb *say-* with rare occurrence in dictionaries but familiar in the Uigur language, in which it means «durchstechen».[46] As it is known in the Uigur, it must have been known in the Qarluq as well, since both the Uigurs and the Qarluqs once constituted parts of the Turk empire. In Old Ottoman the verb meant «tutmak, addetmek«.[47] Modern Oirot contains the word with the same meaning as Uigur, i.e. «to stab, to impale».[48]

The third person singular imperative-optative form of the verb *say-* is *saysun* «he should stab it» (i.e. the enemy; it is the wish of the newly born child's father at its birth). Personal names of this kind were very frequent, similarly to the second person singular forms, which were identical with the

[41] ZW III, p. 525.

[42] Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története* [History of the Yass-Comans] III, p. 752.

[43] Krist, *Allein durchs verbotene Land*, p. 102.

[44] *Categories*, p. 215.

[45] Árvay J., *A barcasági Hétfalu helynevei* [Placenames of Hétfalu in Burzenland], Kolozsvár 1943.

[46] Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 333.

[47] *Tarama Sözlüğü*.

[48] Baskakov—Toščakova's Oyrot—Russian dictionary.

verbal root.[49] E.g. *Saybek* «stab hard» (*SODž*, p. 98; *SOV*, p. 6; *SOK*, p. 110); *Say Balay* (*SODž*, p. 144); *Say Buqa* (!) (*Uig. Sprachdm.*, p. 30); 1830: *Saybulakov* (*Pam. Kn. Semipal. Oblasti* 1900, p. 62).

Turkic preference for verbs meaning «to stab, to stake, to pierce» in personal names is apparent from different derivatives of the verb *sanč-*, e.g. optative *Sanča* (*Proben* IX, p. 533); *Sanča* (Katanov, *Otčet o počzdke*, p. 9); and especially the participle *Sančar*. Some 60 data could be quoted to confirm this. Special mention should be made of the great Seljuk sultan who was similarly named (1119—1157). His name gradually changed from the original function of determining fate into a fashion name. Data can be quoted from as late as the past century, e.g. 1824: Kazak *Sančar* (*Materialy po Ist. Kazakskoj SSR* IV, p. 325) and Turkmen *Sančar* (Melgunov: *Zapiski Imp. Ak. Nauk* III, Priloż. 5, p. 320). These data also bear out the *Zajzon* < *Saysun* etymology.

There are, however, names of even greater importance. If it is considered that the Bulaq and Bulgar symbiosis had existed well before the Hungarian conquest, it can be inferred that the Bulaqs incorporated some Bulgar phonological characteristics. I suggest that the initial *j* > *dž* > Hung. *gy* and the vocalization of the final *-γ* belong to these features. Consequently, the place names derived by J. Melich and myself from the Bulgar-Turkish[50] could partly be Bulaq in origin. I am concerned here primarily with the name of the two Küküllő rivers in Middle Transylvania. J. Melich wrote about the name Küküllő: «Two rivers are known by this name, one is the Kisküküllő, the other the Nagyküküllő. The Kiskülülllő meets the Nagyküküllő at Balázsfalva (Blaj), and the latter flows into the Maros (Mureș) between Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and Enyed (Aiud). The first data concerning the name date back to 1252 («duos fluvios Kykullu»), and from this date on these rivers were frequently mentioned in diplomas, literary records, and documents. It is certain that the name existed in the 9th and 10th centuries, thus also in the 11th, 12th centuries. *Küküllő-vár* along the river Küküllő allegedly existed as early as in the 11th century.»[51]

According to J. Melich's supposition, the Turkic river name *Kükelek(γ)*, developed from an assumed Turkic common name *kükelek(γ)*, was borrowed by the Hungarian language. Deviating somewhat from his solution, I hold that the original form of this river name was **Kükelliγ* «blackthorn-grove», as the common name *kükel* ~ *kökel* is maintained in Turkic personal names apart from Grönbech's *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, e.g. already in 1261. Bar

[49] L. Rásonyi, *Les noms de personnes impératifs chez les peuples turques*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV, pp. 233—243.

[50] For *Krassó* and *Küküllő* see Melich J., *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország*, pp. 28, 30, etc.; Rásonyi L., *Brassó*: *MNy* XXV, pp. 17—27; idem, *Tortillou*: *UAJ* XXXIII, pp. 245—251.

[51] Melich, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Hebraeus (ed. Wallis, I, 439, facs. p. 515) refers to a certain *Kükäl-aga* ; a Tatar's name *Кукилдейко* (*Kükildejko*) is mentioned in 1662 (*Dopolnenie k akt. istoričesk.* IV, p. 286). The names *Kara Kököl* and *Kara Kükül* were found with the Tatars of Baraba and Tobol respectively (Radloff, *Proben* IV, pp. 65, 85). Place names meaning «blackthorn-grove» also occur in Anatolia, namely the Turkish Gazetteer contains *Kökenli* names analogous with *Kökelliγ* ~ *Kükelliγ*.[52]

Finally, the two earliest Bulaq names must be enlarged upon as they are most significant from historical and linguistic points of view. That these names are Bulaq in origin seems to be confirmed by the above mentioned names, especially by the etymology of the name *Zágon*.

At the time of the Hungarian conquest Bulaqs must have reigned beside and above Slavic splitter groups and they alone had sufficient power to challenge the Hungarian conquerors. Anonymus wrote about five important campaigns completing the Hungarian settlement.[53] One of them, the campaign of *Tuhutum* (read : *Töhötöm*) around 896 opened up Transylvania for the conquerors. His antagonist was «*Gelou*, dux Blacorum», who was killed after a strenuous battle some kilometres from the settlement Gyalu in present-day Kolozs county. The name *Gelou* is a cue. J. Melich gave the most profound explanation of the name so far,[54] whose attention J. Németh drew to the fact that a Turkic personal name *Yolïγ* occurs in the Turk inscriptions, and its meaning is not yet uncovered. Since the publication of J. Melich's book, the deciphering of Turk inscriptions has largely developed with a number of recent publications. The reading of the name in question wavered for a long time.[55] I think the name should be read *Yoluγ*, also allowed for by the letters of the runic script. Yoluγ tegin himself engraved the inscription in runic script on the stele of his relatives Kül-tegin and Bilge qaγan, who died in 731, and another inscription is known along the river Ongin by the hands of Yoluγ tegin.[56]

The word *Yoluγ* appears later in Kāšγarī's dictionary. The Brockelmann edition gives its meaning as «Lösegeld, Opfer». According to the text edition and translation of Besim Atalay, its Modern Turkish meaning is «kurban, fidye, fedâ» (I, 210 ; III, 13, 333). The Kar-.-Balk. *džuluu* means «ransom» in the dictionary of Sujunčev. This word as a personal name very well fitted the psychology and the categories of the Turkic personal names ; my *Onomasticon Turcicum* being in preparation, lists several such names. E.g. Qaz. *Курбан* (Grodekov, *Kirgizy*. Prilož., p. 94) ; Chuv. *Учекей* ~ *Учукей* (Magnickij, *Čuv. jaz. im.*) <

[52] *Köylerimiz*, Ankara 1968.

[53] *SRH* I, pp. 15—117 : *Anonymi Gesta Hungarorum*.

[54] Melich, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

[55] Cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 206 ; Gabain, *Alttürkkische Grammatik*, p. 249 ; Malov, *Pamjatniki*, p. 36 ; *DTS*, p. 271.

[56] Malov, *Pamjatniki Mongolii i Kirgizii*, M.—L. 1959, p. 8.

diminutive of *ü,ƀžük* «ein opfer, das während des *śinźɛ* genannten festes um die pfingsten verrichtet wird» (Paasonen, p. 197).

The *Yoluq Arslan* names of the Seljuk dynasty of the 12th century have no reference here.[57] The meaning of the adjective *yoluq* is «striped, streaked, bushy» in different Turkic languages.

The place name *Gyalu* in Kolozs county has often been related by researchers (Melich, Pais, etc.) to the name of the warlord *Gelou* (*Gyelou*) and the tool *gyalu* «plane». J. Melich[58] suggested that tool names of Turkic origin (e.g. *gyalu* «plane», *csákány* «pickaxe») occur in place names based on personal names, but as already seen, the place name *Gyalu* < Old Hung. *Gyolou, Gyelou* < *Džolou* < Turk. *Yoluγ* has no connection with the tool name, which is of uncertain origin.[59] On the other hand, with the passage of time the tool name could have been identified with the place name *Gyalu* by accident. Bárczi quotes examples of *o, a* > *e* sporadic dissimilation already from the Old Hungarian age: *hornyó* > *hernyó* «caterpillar»; Turkic *boqaγï* > Hung. *békó* «fetter» *Bartolon* > *Bertalan* «Bartholomew»; Turkic *ǰarta* > Hung. *gyertya* «candle».[60]

The name *Yoluγ* probably passed from the famous prince *Yoluγ* of the Western Turk Empire to the Qarluqs, and in this way to the Bulaqs as well. The more so, as the common name, the basis of this personal name, is missing from the Chuvash language, consequently its origin is more probably Bulaq than Bulgar-Turkic.

After the death of Gelou, the Bulaqs «sua propria voluntate dextram dantes dominum sibi elegerunt Tuhutum ... et in loco illo, qui dicitur *Esculeu*, fidem cum iuramento firmaverunt et a die illo locus ille nuncupatus est *Esculeu* eo, quod ibi iuraverunt.»[61] This Tuhutum is the same person who participated in the pact of blood immediately before the Hungarian conquest. Joinville similarly describes the blood compact between the crusading knights and the Comans in 1252.

The Bulaqs' union with the Hungarians conforms to the Turkic custom that minor tribes «propria voluntate» joined the larger ones. Regarding the judiciary and social status, this would have been impossible for the Vlachs, even if the Bulaqs had been identical with them, who, as a matter of fact, had not appeared in Transylvania by that time.

[57] Cf. Ibn al-Aṯīr, ed. Tornberg, XI, p. 335; XII, pp. 91, 98; Abu'l-Fidā IV, p. 65; Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, IV, pp. 336, 337.

[58] Melich, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

[59] *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-Etimological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language] I, Budapest 1967, pp. 1118—1119.

[60] Bárczi—Benkő—Berrár, *A magyar nyelv története*, [History of the Hungarian Language], Budapest 1967, pp. 161—162.

[61] *SRH* I, pp. 67—68.

D. Pais had already noticed the connection between the place of the oath, *Esculeu*, and the Hungarian word *eskü* «oath», and included it in the notes of his book *Magyar Anonymus* (p. 58). Today, the village of *Esküllő* can be found to the northwest of Kolozsvár (Cluj), its Roumanian name is *Aştileu*. In the notes of *SRH*, János Karácsonyi put forth the correct solution for the etymology of the name. He related it to the Turkic word *ički* and suggested that «locus ubi ius iurandum datur.»

In spite of this, in *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language] the Hungarian word *eskü* «oath» is claimed to be the derivative of the verbal root *es-*, «esés, térdre esés, leborulás» [fall, kneeling, prostration], «a felsőbb hatalmaknak leborulással való kérése, rájuk hivatkozás» [prostration before the metaphysical powers to beseech them, to refer to them].[62]

Two arguments seem to contradict the above explanation: 1. It is undeniable that the last syllable of the place name corresponds to the Turkic *-lïγ, -lig, -luγ, -lüg* suffix after the vocalisation of the final spirant *γ*. This suffix is the counterpart of the Hungarian suffixes *-ság, -ség* and *-os, -es, -ös* and refers to a place where the action or object expressed in the verb stem occurs, as already seen in the cases of *Kükellig* > *Küküllő* and *Tortïlïγ* > *Tortilló*. So this suffix confirms the Turkic origin of the whole word. 2. Similarly to the analysis of every loan word — and even more pronouncedly — this etymology must comply with the cultural historical background. Neither the Hungarians nor the Bulaqs were Christian in 896, consequently kneeling could not be a part of the oath; but considering the act of the pact of blood, another form of oath was exercised. As Anonymus explains: the seven chieftains «more paganismo fusus propriis sanguinibus in unum vas ratum fecerunt iuramentum.»[63] The most important fact is that they all drank from the blood shed by each of them. The oath was drunk in the practice of every Turkic people. The modern Turkic languages have the corresponding expression *ant ič-*. The verb *ič-* existed already in Old Turkic, see the derivative *ičkü* ~ *ičgü* «Getränk».[64]

The suffix *-qï, -ki, -qu, -kü, -γï, -gu, -gü* is very productive in the Turkic languages.[65] The word *iški* ~ *ičkü*, formed from the verb *ič-*, means «drink, beverage» in the first place, but it can also denote «drinking».[66] The *č* > *š* phonological change can not only be detected in words of Bulgar-Turkic ori-

[62] *TESz* I, p. 796.

[63] *SRH* I, p. 40.

[64] von Gabain, *Alttürk. Gr.*, p. 310.

[65] Cf. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1957, p. 000.

[66] Karaim *icki* »das Trinkgelage«, Chag. *ičkü* »das Trinken, der Trank«, etc. (Radloff, *Wb.*).

gin.[67] It is present in other Turkic languages, especially in the Qïpčaq tongues, e.g. Coman 1469: *Kachkanchiw* (Qačqančïγ), today *Kaskantyú*. The basic word of the name is the personal name *Qačqïn* «der Flüchtling, Vagabund» Kazak *qašqïn*.[68]

The name of *Taksony*, a 10th century descendant of Árpád, comes from the Old Turkic form *Toqčïn*.[69] The vocalisation of the final *γ* is amply evidenced by the *Codex Cumanicus*, by the medieval name *Boklow* (< *Boqluγ*) and by the above-mentioned *Kachkanchiw*. As for the initial *i-*, it developed into *e-* at times, e.g. Kazak *eč-* «trinken»(!), *ešet-* (< *išit-* «hören»), Bashkir *eš* (< *iš*) «Arbeit» etc.[70]

Enek, Eneth, Enee,[71] occuring in the Hungarian Hun Saga, correspond to *inek* in most Turkic languages and to *ene* in the Chuvash. Its modern Hungarian counterpart is *ünő*.

Considering the above evidence, it seems highly likely that the name *Esküllő* is of Turkic, more precisely of Bulaq origin.

To summarize, it can be stated that — bearing in mind the Arabic and Russian reports on the tribal name *Bulaq*, the proper names *Bulaq* (and often *Blaq*) that occur with several Turkic peoples, and the Transylvanian reference to the *Bulaq*s (Blaci) and their remnants in proper names — the people called *Blac* in the chronicles are identical with the *Bulaq* tribe of the Qarluqs. This study is not concerned with the role of the Blaqs in the confines of Danubian Bulgaria.

2.

The name of the Oγuzs take the form of *Uz* in Hungarian and Byzantine records, *Ƒuzz* in Arabian sources and *Tork* in the Russian annals. As the Russian alphabet lacks the sign for the phoneme *ü*, and it is a known fact that the Oγuzs-Torks called themselves Turks, *Tork* is the equivalent of *Turk*. Originally, the Oγuzs belonged to the peoples of the Western Turk Empire; they were scattered in a vast area and their dispersion only grew when in 745 the Uigurs overthrew the reign of the Turk kagan. Today, a part of the Turkic languages is called the Oγuz type, another large group the Qïpčaq type, named after the Qïpčaqs once living to the north of the Oγuzs. The majority of the Oγuzs advanced westward. The group that later made its way across Persia

[67] Gombocz, *BTLw*, p. 182.
[68] Cf. Rásonyi: *Acta Linguistica* VII, pp. 97–98.
[69] Rásonyi: *MNy* XXIII, pp. 274–284.
[70] Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte*, p. 91.
[71] *SRH* I, pp. 144, 249, 250.

and established the Seljuk Empire and then the Ottoman Empire in Asia Mino rdoes not concern us here. Our interest is focussed on the group that in 889 in alliance with the Khazars pursued the Pechenegs, who closely followed the Hungarians towards the west. These Oγuz tribes also advanced westward, and played a major role in the history of both the Great Principality of Kiev and of Byzantium. They reached the Dnepr as early as in 1055 and forced the Russian principalities to counter-attack. Due to this offensive, the arduous winter and the epidemics, the Torks, i.e. the Oγuzs, were compelled to migrate farther. In 1065, pressed by their greatest enemy, the Comans (*Polovci*), they burst upon the Byzantine Empire also menaced in the east by the other Turkic people, the Seljuks known as *Γuzz* in the Arabic records. The most significant places of abode of the Torks are supposed to have been around the rivers Bug and Seret. When in 1080 their name was again more frequently mentioned in Russian annals, they lived in the border areas of the principalities of Kiev and Perejaslavl' in peace with the Russians, at times even in alliance, as in 985 against the Volga Bulgars. For this reason it may be justified to assert that the five tribes fighting against the *Polovci* around 1185 in the Igor Tale, were Torks.[72]

As for the Hungarian references to the above given facts, Kossányi's hypothesis[73] that it was the Oγuzs (Torks), residing in Moldavia, who broke into Transylvania in 1068 and lost a battle at Kerlés, seems to be correct.

Hungarian-Oγuz relations are confirmed by more than this single battle, because several reminders are extant concerning the presence of the Oγuzs either as an admitted people or one settled as captives in Transylvania and other parts of Hungary. There are also relevant personal names listed by D. Pais, e.g. 1138: *Uza*; 1138: *Uzdi*; 1171 *Uzdi* > *Uzd*,[74] each with the diminutive suffixes *-a* and *-di*, *-d*. Apart from *Uzd*iszentpéter, *Uzd*iszentgyörgy etc. in Kolozs county, Gábor Lükő mentions a brook called *Úz*, that emerged in Háromszék county and flowed into Bacău county in Moldavia.[75] Its valley, the *Úz* pass, is one of the most accessible spots in the Carpathians. Its name is explained by the fact that in the 11th or 12th century, Oγuzs migrated into the Székelyland on royal assent, probably to help defend the borders against the common, threatening enemy, the Comans. An elaborate settlement project dispersed them among the Székelys, with whom they merged in a similar manner to another Turkic people, the Bulaqs. There are no other place names in the

[72] For the Torks or Uzs see Rasovsky, *Pétchénègues, Torks et Béréndés en Russie et en Hongrie*: *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 1933, p. 1—65.

[73] Kossányi: *Századok* 1924, p. 534.

[74] Pais D., *Régi személyneveink jelentéstana* [Semantics of our old personal names]: *MNy* XVIII, p. 100.

[75] Lükő G., *Havaselve és Moldva népei a X—XII. században* [Peoples of Wallachia and Moldavia in the 10—12. cc.]: *Ethnographia* 1934, pp. 92—93.

Székelyland containing the name *Úz*, but an important settlement name of Oγuz origin, a village in the Barcaság today called *Türkös*, can be detected in old diplomas; 1366: *Turchfalua*; 1460: *Therkes alio nomine Temes* . . .; 1504: *Torkess falw*; 1625: *Türkös*, etc. Among the former names of the village a «Villa turcica» can also be found.[76] From the peoples concerned here only the Oγuzs called themselves Turks, consequently the names *Thurcfalua* and *Türkös* refer undoubtedly to the Oγuzs. As the Saxon and the Hungarian alphabets have a separate letter to denote the phoneme *ü*, the question arises whether the name *Torkess falw*, dating from 1504, recalls one of the other names of the Oγuzs, Torks or not. This fact may suggest that while the village inhabitants called themselves Turks, the language of the Slavic people, who had once settled together with them, still contained reminiscences of the name *Tork* in 1504.

The five minor Turkic clans advancing against the Polovci in Igor's army described in the Igor Tale cannot have been Polovec, only Tork. These clan names must have been personal names in origin. The names of three of the five clans can be traced in the Székelyland and the Barcaság. One is the name *Татраны* (*ы* is the Russian plural suffix). This name existed in the form of *Tatrang* in the Barcaság. The ending *-n* > *-ng* of the Hungarian name must have been a Hungarian development with sporadic occurrence, e.g. the Turkic loan words *komócsing*, *porong* and *katáng* (kóró).[77] Some data concerning the name Tatrang: 1484: *Thatrang*; 1500: *Tatrankfalwa*; 1533: *Thattrangfalwa*; 1652: *Tatrang*, etc. The stream *Tatrang*, mentioned in diplomas from 1541 on, flowed through the village.[78]

Among Byzantine sources Anna Komnena mentions a Scythian man named *Τατράνης* (Tatranes) from 1091,[79] I think he was an Oγuz refugee. Another archaic ethnic name, Myrmidon, referred to by Attaliates, is considered by Russian historians to be related to the Oγuzs.[80] Other data with reference to this name can be detected in the Tarim basin, where two ruined towns and a river, and in Kazakhstan two places bear the personal name *Tatran*. Magnickij mentions a personal name *Tatran* in the Chuvash language,[81] which may stem from the Tatar *Tatïran*. As for its morphological category, the participle *tatïran* > *tatran* is reminiscent of the Old Hungarian name *Ézelő* < *Ezeley* «Feinschmecker», and the Old Hung. *Jutocsa* «Feinschmecker», the latter of Turkic origin.[82] However, it must be borne in mind that this word

[76] Árvay, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[77] Cf. L. Rásonyi: *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 1936, pp. 5–6; idem: *UAJ* 1961, pp. 246–251.

[78] Árvay, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–201.

[79] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, p. 202.

[80] Kossányi: *Századok* 1924, p. 526.

[81] Magnickij, *Čuvašskie jazyčeskie imena*, Kazan' 1905, p. 80.

[82] Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, pp. 121, 140.

and the Kazak *Tatran* are probably Oγuz loan words with a meaning denoting an ancient religous content. Notably, the Kirgiz language contains the word *tataran* meaning «čudovišče, strašilišče»,[83] the Bashkir had the word *tatran* «vospolenie srednjago ucha»,[84] i.e. otitis media fatal to children, evil spirit, monster, thus it belongs to the category of protecting names. There are several personal names of this kind, e.g. Chuv. *Šat* (epylepsy), *Kelekey* < *Kele* «evil spirit», etc.[85]

The name *Tatran* is the present participle (i.e. *tatïran* > *tatran*) of the Middle Turkic verb *tatïr-* «kosten lassen» (Kāšγ.) ~ Ottom. *tatïr-* «to make or let be tasted, to make or let be felt or experienced» (Redhouse), etc. In the Qïpčaq languages its form would be *tatïrγan*,[86] therefore the Kazak and Bashkir forms *Tatran* are probably loan words of ancient religious meaning taken from the Oγuz-Turks.

Another of the Tork clan names mentioned in the Igor Tale may also be related to place names in the Székelyland, namely the *Могуты* (*Moguty*). It is well-known that transcribing Turkic names, the Russians often use *o* for *a*, e.g. *Ольбери* (*Ol'beri*), a tribal name in the Igor Tale, which is identical with *Alp-er* ; or *Mokěj Lačinov* from 1557, which is the diminutive of the name *Mak*.[87] The Tork tribal name in question can be read as *Makut*. Rašīdeddīn[88] can also be quoted here, who — writing about Batu Khan's lieutenant Kadan, states that his army occupied the «Makut province» after the battle along the river Sajó in Hungary. This *Makut* probably stands for *Maklár*. The name *Makut* holds the Mong.-Turk. plural suffix *-t*, also confirmed by some Turkic inscriptions.[89] Its Common Turkic equivalent is the plural suffix *-lar*, *-ler*. Already in 1927, J. Németh held the view that the name *Maklár* was derived from the Turkic name *Mak*, also found in the place names «*Mak*-uta» and «terra *Mak*».[90] The meaning of the Coman, Chagatay, Altay Turkic, Karachay, etc. *mak* ~ Uig. *maγu* is «praise». J. Németh and later György Györffy[91] attributed the name *Maklár* to the Pechenegs. Indeed, its first mention is made in connection with the border of Pecheneg territories. However, it whould be sufficient to say that it originated at a time prior to the Comans. As for the place names of

[83] Judachin, *Kirgizsko—russkij slovar'*, M. 1940.

[84] Achmerov, *Baškirsko—russkij slovar'*, M. 1958.

[85] Mészáros Gy., *A csuvas ősvallás emlékei* [Monuments of the ancient religion of the Chuvashs], Budapest 1909, p. 282.

[86] A. Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraimskim*, Kraków 1932, p. 79; K. H. Menges: *Phil. Turc. Fundamenta* I, pp. 474—475.

[87] *PSRL* XIII, p. 279.

[88] Ed. Blochet II, pp. 54—55.

[89] Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1957, p. 55.

[90] Németh Gy.: *MNy* XXVII, pp. 145—147.

[91] Györffy Gy.: *KCsA* I. Erg. Band, pp. 423, 493.

the Székelyland, the place names rooting in the personal name *Mak* can be of Oγuz, i.e. Tork origin. *Maksa*, near Sepsiszentgyörgy (*Sfîntul Gheorghe*) once the seat of the Székely assemblies, was registered since the 14th century. It is in the vicinity of names with reference to the Pechenegs, but it is widely known that the Pechenegs, Bulaqs and Oγuzs were settled among the Székelys in a very random pattern.[92] East of Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu Mureş), in the vicinity of Kibéd, *Makfalva*, registered ever since 1567, can be found.[93]

A compound name, *Карасъ-кокъй* (*Karas Kökey*) also belongs to the Tork clan names in the Igor Tale. The second component should be read *Kökey*, being the diminutive of *kök* «blue» (Hung. *kék*). Perhaps the place name *Kökös* at the intersection of the Barcaság and Háromszék refers to this Tork tribal name, as *Türkös* does—to *Turk*, although reservations must be made in the case of assumptions concerning monosyllables.

The original form *Bursa* of the rivulet lending its name to the Barcaság can also be of Oγuz origin. It was first recorded in 1211. J. Melich analyzed the form as regards Hungarian phonological development. *Bursa* > *Burca* > *Borca* > *Barca*.[94] He declared that it cannot be traced back either to the Slavic languages or the Roumanian, despite Tomaschek's and Roesler's attempt to derive it from the Slavic languages. There are records of the name *Bursa* in Inner Asian areas, where a splitter group of the Oγuzs arrived after the Turk-Uigur shift of power in 745. It is the name of a mountain stream around the Peter the Great Mountains; a winter resort also bears this name. Another mountain stream to the north of the Pamir is called *Say-Bursa* «Right-side Bursa» (Beljaev: *Izv. Russ. Geogr. Obšč.* LV, p. 10). The Bursa in Transylvania and the one in Inner Asia are a vast distance apart, but the borderless empire of the migrating Turks, covering the endless steppe of the Eurasian plain and mountains between the Hoang-ho and the Danube, formed to a certain extent a toponymical unity, giving rise to several identical river, settlement and mountain names.[95]

There is another geographical name in the Székelyland that may be of Oγuz origin. It is Mount Nemere. Its first record dates back to 1694.[96] The mount is the highest of all the peaks rising above the river Úz in the intersection of the counties Csík, Háromszék and Moldavia. The north wind blowing from this mountain is the noted «wind of Nemere», also familiar in the traditions.[97]

Mountains sometimes bear personal names, e.g. Mount Nagy Sándor, Kelemen Alps next to the Mount Nemere. Territories once populated by the Oγuzs

[92] Orbán III, pp. 180—182.
[93] Orbán IV, pp. 24—27.
[94] Melich J., *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország*, pp. 269—271.
[95] L. Rásonyi: *Belleten* 1938, pp. 113—114.
[96] *Székely Oklevéltár* IV, p. 333.
[97] Orbán III, pp. 4, 85, 130, 137.

produced personal names containing the word *Nemere* until quite recently, e.g. Kazak *Nemere bay* (*SOK*, p. 260); *Nimere-bay* (*SOK*, p. 174); *Nemere-bay* (*SOK*, p. 224). *Nemere* denotes «grandchild», according to Radloff.[98] This personal name belongs to the category of the first word uttered at delivery, e.g. Kazak *Bala-boldu* «(he) became a boy».[99]

Not far from Mount Nemere, the Ojtoz pass leads from the northern corner of Háromszék county to Moldavia. Old records of the name have: 1410: *Ohtuz* (M. Costăchescu, *Documentele Moldovenești înainte de Ştefan cel Mare*, Iaşi 1931—32, I, p. 78); 1462: *Oituz* (J. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare* I, pp. 63, 64); 1538: *Ojtozi szoros* (*SzO* II, p. 51); *Oytozi vár* (*SzO* IV, p. 232). Frigyes Pesthy[100] relates the *oj-* part of the present form to the Turkic word *oy* «valley»; the second part *tuz* denotes «salt». The form of the first registered occurrence is the basis of the discussion here. There are cases to exemplify the *lt-*, *ld-* > *ht* > *jt-* development in Hungarian phonological history. This change explains that the originally Turkic name *Altun* became first *Ohtun*, then *Ajtony*,[101] and confirms the medieval *Buldur* > *Buhtur* > *Bojtor* sequence.[102] The above examples confirm the following assumption: **Altuz* > *Ohtuz* > *Ojtuz* > *Ojtoz*. *Al* means «red, reddish»,[103] Common Turkic *tuz* means «salt», so the meaning of the whole name is «reddish salt». The question is whether reddish salt existed or not. Sósmező («salt-field») is located along the Ojtoz pass in Háromszék county, and Szalánc, famous for its chalybeate salty springs at its Transcarpathian side. Dr. György Vitális, a leading geologist, was kind enough to inform me that rocks of Molass series of the Myocene are characteristic of the valley, some of them also red in colour. Reddish salt fields are embedded in the rocks. Therefore, the meaning of the name, i.e. «reddish salt» is highly likely.

In the northern part of the Székelyland the *Görgény* Alps, the *Görgény* stream and the villages of *Görgény Hodák*, *Görgény Oroszfalu*, *Görgény Sóakna*, *Görgény Szent Imre*, *Görgény Üvegcsür*, *Görgény Orsova* and *Kisgörgény* can be found.[104] I. Kniezsa and L. Benkő considered the name of unknown origin,[105]

[98] Radloff, *Wb* III, p. 691: Kaz. *nemärä* »der Enkel«, Tar. *näbirä* »der Enkel, der Nachkomme«. Both words can be derived from Persian *nabīra*.

[99] *Categories*, p. 215.

[100] Pesthy F., *Magyarország helynevei* I, Budapest 1888, p. 236.

[101] Gombocz Z., *Árpádkori török személyneveink* [Our personal names of Turkic origin in the age of the Árpáds], Budapest 1915, pp. 24—25.

[102] Rásonyi, *Valacho-turcica*: *Aus d. Forschungsarbeiten d. Mitglieder des Ung. Inst. in Berlin* 1927, p. 80.

[103] Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 293.

[104] *Magyarország Helységnévtára* 1873.

[105] Kniezsa I., *Keletmagyarország helynevei* [Place-names of East Hungary],p. 175; Benkő L., *A Nyárádmente földrajzi nevei* [Geographical names of the Nyárádmente], p. 10.

but I think it can be explained. Higher mountains in the Székelyland, like everywhere else, belong to the zone of the beech-tree.[106] The beech is called *gürgen* in Ottoman, which belongs to the Oγuz languages. In the high mountains of Turkey the name of the beech occurs sporadically: *Gürgen, Gürgenağaç, Gürgencik, Gürgendağ* (Beech-mountain), *Gürgendere* (Beech-valley), five *Gürgenli* (Beech-grove), and *Gürgenpınar* (Beech-spring), etc.[107] Another Oγuz people, the Turkmens present data on the name *Gürgen* which — with its original palatal form — corresponds to *Gorgān* ~ *Žoržān* of the Arabic sources. The Russian transcription *Гюргеи* should be read *Gürgen* despite the fact that Barthold uses the form *Gurgen* when writing about the clash on the Persian border between the Persians and Turks in the age of the Sassanians.[108] In this region to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, a high mountain (partly in the zone of the beech), a river flowing into the Caspian Sea and a town bear this name. A third people, the Qarluqs, who also spoke an Oγuz tongue, knew a variation of the name, i.e. *ägürgän*. According to Kāšγarī it denotes a plant, the crop of which the Qarluqs consumed, therefore *ägürgän* must be a variation of *gürgen*. It is well-known that *gürgen*, i.e. Fagus silvatica, especially the Rotbuche type, can be used both as fodder and nutriment, as the acorn contains 21% oil, 24% protein and 40% strach. With regard to the disappearance of the initial vowel, Räsänen[109] quotes numerous examples: Ottom. *sıcak* «warm» < *ısıcak*; Balk. *rū* «Samen» < *uruγ*; Karaim *sitmä* «Fieber» < *isit-mä*, etc.

The old form of the Hungarian name *Görgény* was most certainly *Gürgen*, although registered data cannot be quoted, because recordings in this region started very late: 1426: *Castri Georgen* (read: Görgen) (*SzO* I, p. 119); 1548: *Castro Georgen* (*SzO* II, p. 83). L. Benkő cites some data in connection with the village Kisgörgény along the river Nyárád: 1497: *Geyergyen* (*SzO* VIII, p. 172); 1498: *Kysgeorgen* (*SzO* III, p. 147).[110] These data of later times naturally contain the transcription of the *ö* instead of the *ü* vowel. The form *Kisgörgény* is used in the *Helységnévtár* (Gazetteer) of 1941.

As the tree name *gürgen* is missing from the Qïpchak languages, it can be originated only in the Oγuz tongues. Most probably the name *Görgény* was borrowed from the Oγuz.

Presumably, the name *Čik* also belongs to the words of Oγuz origin. It is not the name of a settlement, but of the border area between the Görgény Alps and the river Úz. It means «border». Already Gyula Sebestyén and

[106] Blattny T., *Az erdei fatenyészet határai Magyarországon*: *Erdészeti Lapok* 1911, p. 5.

[107] *Köylerimiz*, Ankara 1968.

[108] W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, p. 43.

[109] Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte*, pp. 53—54.

[110] Benkő, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Bernát Munkácsi[111] noticed the Turkic origin of the word, the latter also mentioned a lake in Bashkiria called *Čik*. It is very important to examine when and where the name occurred within the territories of the Oγuz languages. As early as in the times of Orkhon inscriptions a people called *Čik*[112] was mentioned in the Kögmän mountains, then in 762 mention was made of the Uigur *čik-tutuq*[113], where *tutuq* means «Militärischer Gouverneur einer Provinz».[114] The early Uigurs also knew the dignitary name *čik-bilge*. Within the present territory of the Soviet Union there is a village called *Čik* to the northwest of the Altay Mountains near Novosibirsk, and a river *Čik* in the water system of the Ob. A group of the Göklen tribe of the Turkmens also bears the name *Čik*.[115] In addition to the 86 village names of *Hasan*, *Hasanaga*, and *Hasanefendi*, etc. in Turkey, a village called *Çikhasan*[116] also exists.

There are many place names of Turkic origin scattered througout South-Eastern Transylvania, although which Turkic people they refered to could hardly be defined now, partly because their historical background is unknown, and partly because of the lack of phonological criteria. There is, for instance, the village called *Bibarcfalva* near the southern slope of the «silva Blacorum et Bissenorum». The expression may denote the priority of the Blaqs to possess the woods. Gy. Györffy[117] suggested that the name is of Pecheneg origin. The first component of the name, i.e. the Old Turkic dignitary name *beg*, Tatar, Kazak *bi* and Ottoman *bey* could by no means take the form of *bi* in the Pecheneg ; the second component of the name κουλπεη (*külbey*), the name of the fourth Pecheneg tribe mentioned by Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, also confirms this.[118] The name cannot be Coman in origin, as the Russian annals mention a Polovec named *Beg(o)bars*.[119] The name Bibarcfalva appears in Moldavia in 1493 in the form of Бибарцово (*Bibarcovo*).[120] The connection between the Moldavian and Transylvanian names still has to be solved, not leaving the fact out of account that the Moldavian *Bibarc* also shows the Hungarian *s* > *c* phonological change. The personal name *Beybars*, *Bibars* «Lord-Leopard» was so popular with the medieval Turks that the Arabian chronicles mention about 40 such names with reference to the Egyptian

[111] Sebestyén : *Ethnographia* VIII, p. 74 ; Munkácsi : *Ethnographia* XII, p. 142.
[112] Thomsen, *L'inscription de l'Orkhon*, p. 123.
[113] F. W. K. Müller, *Maḫrnâmag*, p. 91.
[114] Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 345.
[115] Petrusevič, *Turkmeni* : *Zap. Kavk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obšč.* XI, pp. 10—27.
[116] *Köylerimiz*, 1968.
[117] *KCsA* I. Erg. Band, p. 495.
[118] J. Németh, *Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen* : *UAJ* X, p. 27.
[119] L. Rásonyi, *Kuman özel adları* : *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* III—VI, p. 89.
[120] Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare* II, pp. 19, 166. Cf. also L. Rásonyi, *L'origine des Basaraba*, p. 11.

Mameluks alone.[121] *Bibarc* (< *Bibars*), the establisher of the settlement *Bibarcfalva* was to all probability a *kenéz* of East or Late-Coman origin who after the foundation of the Golden Horde escaped with his serf-folk from Muntenia or Oltenia. So did also many other Coman (Qīpčaq) families.[123]

Uzon,[122] the *Timis* stream springing around Zajzon and lending its name to the *Tömös* pass, *Törcs*(vár), *Kökös*, etc., are Turkic names of so far undetermined origin. However, it seems justified to state that the *Blaq* < *Bulaq* development has been explained and the presence of the Oγuzs in some part of Transylvania has been proved. Whether they were Bulaqs or Oγuzs, they also became Székelys, merging with the tenth or perhaps first conquering tribe of the Hungarians, i.e. the Székelys.

Abbreviations

Categories	L. Rásonyi, *The Psychology and Categories of Name Giving among the Turkish Peoples*, in: *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, Budapest 1976, pp. 207—223.
MNy	*Magyar Nyelv*
Orbán	Orbán Balázs, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* I—VI. Budapest 1869—1873.
SODŽ	see under *SOV*
SOK	see under *SOV*
SOL	see under *SOV*
SOV	*Materialy po obsledovaniju tuzemnogo i russkogo starožil'českogo chozjajstva i zemlepol'zovanija v Semirečenskoj oblasti.* Sobr. i razrabotannye pod rukovodstvom P. P. Rumjanceva. Kirgizskoe chozjajstvo. Spb. 1912—1913. I. Lešinskij uezd *(SOL)*; II. Kopalskij uezd *(SOK)*; III. Džarkentskij uezd *(SODž)*; IV. Vernenskij uezd *(SOV)*.
SRH	*Sciptores Rerum Hungaricarum* I—II. Ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1937.
SzO	*Székely Oklevéltár* I—VI. Kolozsvár 1872—1898.
Türklüğün izleri	L. Rásonyi, *Ortaçağda Erdelde Türklüğün izleri: Belleten* 1938, pp. 107—122.
ZW	Zimmerman—Werner—Müller—Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt 1892—1937.

[121] *Categories*, p. 218.
[122] Györffy: *KCsA* I. Erg. Band, p. 495.
[123] Rásonyi, *Valacho-Turcica*, Berlin 1927, pp. 1—29.

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ON THE ROAD TO SHANG-TU, SUPREME CAPITAL

BY

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Between Tu-shih-k'ou 獨石口 on the Great Wall (northeast of Hsüan-hua) and La-ma-miao (Dolôn-nûr, To-lun), in what used to be Čaqar territory, at about 100 *li* from Tu-shih-k'ou, there stands (or stood) a strange square brick structure of unusual shape, presumably dating from the Yüan, if not before, but which has remained almost totally unknown on account of its out of the way location. The people call it *Shu-chuang-lou* 梳粧樓 «Toilette Tower» but in written sources it is sometimes referred to by a Mongol name *čayan ger* : «White House».

The *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih* (1758. Abbr. : KPSTC) in its section on «Antiquities» provides the earliest description under the title : ««*Hsi-liang-t'ing* 洗凉亭 : Western Cool Pavilion :» — «North of Tu-shih-k'ou, ten *li* or so south of Shang-tu-ho-tien 上都河店 ; popularly known as the Toilette Tower of Empress Hsiao (of the Liao) 蕭后 ; it is square both inside and outside ; built with brick it is more than two *chang* high (2 × circa 3 meters); the roof is shaped like a flat platform, but it is half in ruins. The door faces the southeast and in both the left and right side (walls) there is a stone window. Outside, each of the four sides measures three *chang* (3 × 3 m). Inside, the lower section is square, the middle section is octogonal, while the upper section has the shape of a round 'raised flower 起花,' resembling an inverted vessel 覆盂. Outside, all around there (once) was a wall, the foundations of which are still extant. The Mongols call (this structure) *čayan ger* 'White House.'»[1] The compilers of the KPSTC add a few words of comment to which we shall come back later on.

The *Ch'a-ha-erh sheng t'ung-chih* (1935. Abbr. : CHESTC)[2] does nothing more than repeat this text but without mentioning either the Mongol name or the reference to its location with regard to the Shang-tu-ho, the upper course of the Luan-ho. This modern provincial gazetteer moreover uses character 壯 for 粧 *chuang*.

[1] KPSTC 3. 12b.
[2] CHESTC 4.10b 10a.

The Toilette Tower was known before the middle of the eighteenth century ; in fact the KPSTC[3] quotes a poetic line by a certain Kuan Ning 關寧 a Manchu officer who in the 1730s held posts in Tu-shih-k'ou and Dolôn-nûr.[4] This brief text is entitled «Passing by the White House»: «The swift river flows on ; the grass on its banks presents a picture of spring ; the golden cosmetics (*fen* 粉) of the Tower have already turned into dust. The Ch'ing-shan 青山 does not care whether (human structures) stand or fall down ; things are as of old, and steep rocks lead the traveler.» A brief commentary merely notes that according to a tradition among the natives (*t'u-jen*, undoubtedly meaning Chinese settlers rather than the Mongols) these are the ruins of the Toilette Tower of a Liao Empress.

The Ch'ing-shan, or Yin-shan, is the mountain range running through Inner Mongolia, but in this part of the Mongol plateau only rounded hills can be seen, and «steep rocks» is a poetic exaggeration.

A preliminary remark is to be made here : the identification of the Toilette Tower as the Western Cool Pavilion found in th KPSTC and repeated in the CHESTC is certainly a mistake. The Western Cool Pavilion is something different as we shall indicate below.

The earliest reference in western language to the Toilette Tower appeared in a missionary magazine both in Dutch and French in 1898, with an engraving based on a photograph taken by Arthur Hustin (1872—1952), and a brief description by Am. Heirman (1862—1900).[5]

Here follows his text in translation slightly summarized : «There are numerous ruined tombs in the Mongol territories, often with very imposing aspect. Such is the monument which stands at a distance of ten *li* from our residence of Hei-t'u-wa 黑土窪 in a valley irrigated by the Luan-ho. Now it is precisely in this valley that the great Qubilai used to gather his herds ; and where after the conquest of the larger part of China he came to spend his summers. This structure which according to tradition dates from the conqueror's time, as the photograph shows, consists of a square tower topped by a cupola. Each side measures about eight meters, and its height without the cupola equals its width ; the cupola could well measure two meters. So far nobody has been able to inform us exactly about the purpose of this structure. A stèle, or monolith column, with inscription must have stood facing one side ; indeed two feet away there is a stone tortoise, the usual pedestal for such obelisks. A hundred meters away, on the slope of a little hill, one can clearly see the remains of a cemetery. A pedestal with in its upper side the mortise for a

[3] KPSTC 15.48b 49a.

[4] KPSTC 4.21a, 22a.

[5] *Missions en Chine et au Congo*, No 115, Août, 1898, pp. 105—106 ; *Missiën in China en Congo*, No 115, Augustus, 1898, pp. 105—106.

tomb stone has remained intact a few feet away, but the stone itself has disappeared. It is not impossible that one day under these ruins the stèle and tomb stone with inscription will be found, telling us the history of past centuries, perhaps of illustrious Christians.»[6] But Heirman no longer noticed the foundations of the surrounding wall.



[6] Heirman is referring here to the discovery in 1890 of a Nestorian cemetery at a place called Shih-chu-tzu-liang 石柱子梁 more than 120 *li* north of Kalgan, and southwest of Hei-t'u-wa : in a letter of September 1, 1890, Cesar De Brabander (1857—1919) writes that «four hours» from his mission station near modern Chang-pei-hsien, there was a «Christian grave, several centuries old.» He states that up to that time he had never given much credit to tales about ancient tombs, until a fortnight ago, when a reliable Christian asserted that he had seen a large cross, in white marble, at least five feet tall, and bearing «European letters.» De Brabander immediately set out, accompanied by two Christians, to investigate the spot, but he was unable to find the said cross ; a Mongol who happened to pass by told him that he knew nothing about such a cross. But then through his binoculars, De Brabander detected stones set up on a low ridge : when he went there, still no white marble cross, but he found what looked like a cemetery : seven graves with head stones still standing up. These were seven to eight feet tall, two feet wide and one foot thick ; chiseled upon each of those stones there was a cross, and underneath the cross the outline of potted flowers on a «table.» Judging from the configuration of the land, De Brabander thought he detected the outline of some thirty graves. Three days later, he paid a second visit to the place still hoping to find traces of that marble cross ; this time

Hei-t'u-wa «Černozëm depression» was the name of an area rather than of a particular spot. The village Heirman refers to, without naming it, was P'ing-ti-nao-po («*Obô* in the Plain»), later again renamed with a more sinicized name P'ing-ting-pu «Pacification Village.» Though rather small in size, the village of P'ing-ting-pu became an important place in large measure owing its growth and prosperity to the mission founded there around 1895 and the immigration of sizeable numbers of Christians.

Heirman's estimate of the size of the monument, eight meters square, and eight + two meters high, roughly corresponds to the measurements indicated in the KPSTC: three *chang* (ca. 9 m.) wide, and two *chang* (ca. 6 m.) high, apparently not counting the cupola.

The picture of 1898 allows us to form an idea of its appearance and state of preservation at that time. Evidently this is not a Chinese building, nor does it resemble the Buddhist towers of the Liao. The photograph shows two riders on horseback standing close to the structure, and judging from the size of the horses and men it is evident that Heirman's estimate and that of he KPSTC are close to the truth.

The picture evidently shows us the southeast side with the door, and the southwest wall with the window. The structure is made of brick with

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he was accompanied by a Mongol who assured him he had seen that white cross on more than one occasion. He showed De Brabander the very spot where it was supposed to be; and when other Mongols came over to investigate what this group of people were doing, they explained that in the fall of the previous year, the lamas of the lamasery known as *Boro-usun süme* had taken down the white cross and all other white marble tombstones to be used in the construction of the lamasery. The white cross and the other marble stones were never seen again, but from the above data De Brabander concluded that he had discovered a Nestorian cemetery. His letter appears in *Missiën in China en Congo*, Nr 26, Maart 1891, pp. 410—412, with sketches of the stones and their designs on p. 411.

The stones were rough brown rock, and the crosses and flower designs were very shallow and roughly cut. Five or six (if I recall correctly) with the clearest engravings were taken to the Bishop's residence in Hsi-wan-tzu in the early 1930s and set up in the garden. Photographs of three of them may be seen in P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monuments and Relics in China*, Tokyo 1937, pp. 426—427, and Saeki Yoshirô 佐伯好郎, *Keikyô no kenkyû* 景教之研究 Tokyo, 1935, pp. 925—926. Immediately after the war (1947, I believe), the stones of Hsi-wan-tzu were moved once more to the outskirts of Kalgan, but never set up again, and I remember that one was broken during the transfer. I have no knowledge of what happened to the stones thereafter.

At the mission station of Shih-chu-tzu-liang (circa 15 *li* from the actual «cemetery») there were half a dozen stones left, but without any designs, and no more than three to four feet tall, much smaller than those described by De Brabander. I suppose that they too came from the same spot, but I am none too sure about that.

These tombstones certainly date from before the Yüan, and almost certainly belonged to the Önggüd Turks who during the Liao, Chin, and Yüan, inhabited the whole stretch of Inner Mongolia later known as Sui-yüan and Chahar. As is well known, there are more Nestorian relics from that time found around Pai-ling-miao in Sui-yüan.

extremely heavy walls, but whether the whole mass of those walls is brick, or only the outside layer with the inside filled up with unburned brick or plain earth, one cannot tell from this picture. In the middle of the eighteenth century the building was already «half in ruins,» but by the end of the nineteenth century, it was still standing, but the base of the walls, especially at the corners, is badly eroded, and this fact seems to indicate that at least the base was solid brick, still strong enough in spite of the erosion to support the structure.

The window in the southwest wall is rather small compared to the overall size of the building ; this window seems round on the photograph, but considering its poor and delapidated condition, an intelligent guess about the original shape is entirely impossible.

The arch over the doorway in the southeast wall looks like a corbelled one, but this could be because a real arch, if there ever was one, has fallen down. Through the doorway we seem to look right through the building which would seem to mean that the northeast wall was completely gone, but no traveler who saw the structure mentions that explicitly. Perhaps what we see is the glare of the sunlight coming through the southwest window shining on the inner side of the opposite wall. Judging from the clothes of the horsemen shown on the photograph, and the shadow of one of them thrown on the outer southwest wall, the picture was taken in winter, and the time of day was late afternoon : when this photograph was taken the sun was already very low.

I lack the technical knowledge to provide an adequate and precise description of the brickwork : let me only say that a pattern of depressions in the brick work on both sides of the door and also above it form a post and lintel pattern occupying a little less than one third of the face of the wall. The same pattern is repeated on the face of the southwest wall above and around the window.

The top of the walls, i.e. the edge of the roof, is all gone, but near where the edge must have been, there is a double band of bricks with the edges pointing outward, three or four rows of bricks high, each layer projecting slightly over the one underneath. This double band is markedly higher in the center of the walls just above the door and above the window than above the corners of the structure. Above the upper band of pointed bricks just described, we vaguely see the remains of another double or triple row of bricks, forming a cornice, but it is so badly eroded and so little of it is left, that one can hardly conclude from it what the top of the walls looked like.

It is impossible to say how much of the upper layers of the flat roof is gone, and what was its exact appearance, and how far the dome rose above the original surface of the roof, probably flat all around it. The KPSTC calls the dome «a raised flower, resembling an inverted cup,» which seems to mean that

the dome definitely rose above the original roof. Probably the outer surface of the dome is gone too. At any rate, no ornamentations can be detected, and faint traces of vegetation are visible. If the picture had been taken in summer, the whole surface of roof and dome may well have been covered with grass and shrub.

No measurements are available for the inside; the KPSTC just states that the structure on the inside was in three sections: square below, octogonal in the middle, and the upper part round, the common design to adapt a round dome over a square base. Whether the center piece of the roof was a real dome or a system of corbelled rows of bricks, one row projecting above the one underneath, we cannot know, of course.

The only other western publication I know of, making mention of this «monument» is Lawrence Impey's narrative of his trip to Shang-tu in the early 1920s: although he does not describe it in his text, Impey has a small scale photograph with the following note: «A curious building erected by the khanate on their route near the town of Ping-ting obo [= P'ing-ti-nao-po, P'ing-ting-pu]. The architecture is reminding of that to be seen in Tashkent or Samarkand where the khan Kublai [Qubilai] also held sway.»[7]

Impey's photograph shows the northwest and southwest walls, the latter with the same window as on the 1898 picture. Impey unfortunately gives us no further information, but judging from his photograph the structure in the 1920s was only in little worse condition than in 1898. But Impey's photograph taken from a greater distance shows more of the dome itself: on top there is something like a finial, unless this is something that did not belong to it. The back wall facing the northwest is a plain surface without window, but the center part of the cornice is a little higher than above the corners, just as is the case on the southwest wall above the window, and on the southeast wall above the door.

In 1951, the late Rev. Amedée Esquenet (1878—1961) who had spent many years in Hei-t'u-wa area in the 1910s and 1920s, answered from Baguio where he was then residing, a number of queries of mine regarding the Toilette Tower, and other matters. In the 1920s, the tower was still known as Shu-chuang-lou; it is situated at a distance of 12 *li* due east of P'ing-ting-pu. He estimated the size of the tower at four meters, but here evidently his memory must have failed him.

Having heard Heirman's suggestion that the structure may well be a tomb or mausoleum in the middle of a cemetery, and Impey's remark about a possible Central Asian origin, we turn now back to the additional note in the KPST (but dropped by the compilers of the CHESTC): «there is more than

[7] L. Impey, «Shangtu, the Summer Capital of Kublai Khan», *The Geographical Review* XV (1925), pp. 584—604. Photograph on p. 589, fig. 4.

one mention in the *Yüan-shih* of construction of *lu-ting* 鹿頂 «*lu-roof*» pavilions in Shang-tu, and one may look them up. In T'ao Chiu-ch'eng's 陶九成 (Tsung-i 宗儀) *Kung-chüeh chih-tu* 宮闕制度 «Arrangement of the Palaces,» in his *Cho-keng-lu* 輟耕錄, *lu-ting-tien* is always written *lu-ting* 盝頂 «box-roof,» because the roof is flat like a *lu* 盝 : it has no ridge. If that is so, the tower is probably a relic of that architecture, and is one of those built in that period.»

Apart from the shape vaguely suggested by T'ao Tsung-i, the authors of the KPSTC do not explain on what ground they identify the Toilette Tower of P'ing-ting-pu as a *lu-ting* structure, and, as we shall see, such an identification remains far from certain. We need not review every passage of the *Yüan-shih* (YS) making mention of the *lu-ting*; since none explains the real characteristics of the *lu-ting*, a few instances will suffice :

1. In 1318, a *lu-ting* hall (*tien* 殿) was constructed behind the Wen-te-tien 文德 «Hall of Literary Virtue.»[8]

2. In the tenth month of 1320, after the emperor had spent the summer at Shang-tu and returned to Ta-tu, orders were issued for the construction of a *lu-ting* hall for the empress at Shang-tu,[9] and in the eighth month of the following year the *lu-ting* hall of Shang-tu, most probably the one just referred to, was completed. [10]

3. In the second month of 1322, work was discontinued on the *Hsieh-shan* 歇山 «Mountain Rest» hall of Shang-tu.[11] As we shall see shortly, this was a *lu-ting* structure.

4. Sometime later during the same year, the emperor ordered scenes of sericulture and wheat cultivation to be painted on the walls of a *lu-ting* hall (not further identified) so that he could view them regularly, and thus familiarize himself with the people's activities.[12]

5. There was also a *lu-ting* hall in Cho-chou near Peking, and, still in 1322, a new tower was constructed on the west side of it.[13]

6. In the eleventh month of 1324, a «Mountain Rest» *lu-ting* tower (*lou*) was constructed in Shang-tu ;[14] this must be the *Hsien-shan-tien* the construction of which had been temporarily halted in 1322.

7. Finally, in 1363, a *lu-ting* hall was built for the crown prince, on the west side of the Sheng-an 聖安 «Sacred Peace» Hall.[15]

[8] YS, Po-na-pen 26.6b ; Taipei ed., 1966, vol. I, p. 228b.
[9] YS 27.12a ; Taipei ed., p. 238b.
[10] YS 27.20a ; Taipei ed., p. 241b.
[11] YS 28.1b ; Taipei ed., p. 243a.
[12] YS 28.6b ; Taipei ed., p. 245a.
[13] YS 28.7a ; Taipei ed., p. 245a.
[14] YS 29.18b ; Taipei ed., p. 256b.
[15] YS 43.6a ; Taipei ed. 356b.

The KPSTC refers to the *Cho-keng-lu*, and indeed in his description of the various buildings within the palace grounds of the Yüan emperors, T'ao Tsung-i lists several *lu-ting tien* 殿 «halls,» *lu-ting-fang* 房 «houses,» *lu-ting ching-t'ing* 井亭 «well-pavilions,» and *lu-ting-hsien* 軒 «studios.»[16] But he does not follow the spelling of the Yüan-shih; indeed he writes *lu-ting* 𥫱 which he explains: «its roof is as flat as a clothes trunk (*ssu* 笥), hence the name *lu* 𥫱 «small box.»[17] Evidently T'ao changed character *lu* 鹿 «deer» to a more readily understable one, more or less conveying the shape of the building. What is not clear is whether T'ao means to say that the roof was completely flat, without dome rising above the roof as with the P'ing-ting-pu structure. Then in most cases T'ao also indicates the size of those various *lu-ting* buildings in terms of *chien*: «room spaces;» they range from one to five *chien*, in other words the *lu-ting* are not square «one room» buildings: most are oblong in shape, some even fairly large. As to the construction of the *lu-ting*, T'ao has only one sentence, and a very short one at that: «construction of the *lu-ting*: three rafters,» which I fail to understand. Does this mean that the ceiling of a one-room *lu-ting* was divided into four sections, by three rafters (or beams?) laid out between the walls? This would necessarily mean a rafter in the middle of the ceiling (and the dome), which will have its importance in our further discussion below.

What seems to complicate this matter of size and shape of rooms even further, is that T'ao also speaks of «three-rafter half-chambers» (三椽半屋) (or three-and-one-half rafter-chambers?), and there were structures comprising several room combinations of that size.[18] At one point he says that in one particular area of the palace «there are several *lu-ting* half-chambers, comprising three rooms (*chien*) each.»[19] Without the necessary technical knowledge, this is all difficult to visualize.

We possess yet another document from the Yüan period where the expression *lu-ting* appears: an inscription dating from 1325, found on the site of the Lung-hsing-ssu 龍興寺 «Dragon-like Rising Temple,» of Man-t'o shan, Ying-ch'ang 雁昌, in Eastern Mongolia. A. M. Pozdneyev made a copy of this inscription during this trip of 1893, and reproduced it in his travelogue with a Russian translation (here I quote from the new English version based on the

[16] *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 5b—10a. Chu Chieh 朱偰, *Yüan Ta-tu kung-tien t'u-k'ao* 元大都宮殿圖考, Shanghai 1936, pp. 40—45, quotes some of these passages from the *Cho-keng-lu*, and from other works such as the *Chao-chien-lu* 昭俭錄 (unknown to me), but always without explanation of the term *lu-ting*. On his maps of the palace grounds, Chu also indicates several *lu-ting*.

[17] *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 7b.

[18] E. g. *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 7b, 8a, several instances.

[19] *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 8a.

Russian).[20] In line 11 of the Chinese text we find the words *tung hsi lu-ting san-men* «east and west, *lu-ting*, three gates.» Pozdneyev (or his consultants) has completely misunderstood the expression. Admittedly the whole context is rather difficult. Pozdneyev's version reads: «The princess and prince were moved by this memory to rid the place of weeds,clear the ground, dress stones, and raise a temple with a statue of Avalokiteśvara and with two wings, an east and a west one.» The translation then refers to note 72 on p. 363, where *lu* is explained as «dragon» (indeed Mongol *luu* is «dragon»), and then also as «barn,» and as «indicating Chinese temples in general.» All this is extremely vague, and the Chinese text speaks of *san-men*, lit. «three doors,» not «two wings.»

I doubt that the reading *san-men* is correct, although the KPSTC, too has this text with the same reading as Pozdneyev:[21] since the *Cho-keng-lu* always speaks of *lu-ting* as «house,» or «pavilion,» or «studio,» etc., never as «door,» and almost always adds the number of *chien* «room spaces» involved, I suggest that here, too, we should read *lu-ting san-chien*: «three room spaces.» My tentative translation of this sentence of the inscription would be: «thereupon they cut away the bushes, broke the ground, cut trees (for timber), laid the foundation of a stone hall to house the statue of Kuan-yin (i.e. Avalokiteśvara), with a *lu-ting* of three room spaces on both the east and west sides of it.»[22]

Another book from immediately after the Yüan period, relatively little known, making mention of the *lu-ting* in the palace, is the *Yüan ku-kung i-lu* 元故宮遺錄 «Restant Record of the Yüan Palace,» by Hsiao Hsün 蕭洵 translated by Ignatius Ying Ch'ien-li 英千里 «Hsiao's Record of the Imperial

[20] A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, Volume Two: 1893, translated by W. H. Dougherty, Bloomington, Ind. 1977, pp. 212—215.

[21] KPSTC 13. 33a.

[22] It may seem risky on my part to question the reading of an inscription on stone, something presumably done with great care. But the same inscription contains another error easy to detect: the last line of the inscription (on p. 215), not reproduced in the KPSTC, we find the expression *i-ling-k'ou*, certainly an erroneous spelling for *ch'ieh-lin-k'ou*. In Pozdneyev's translation: «Construction overseer, Chia-i-ta-fu (ch'ing), official in charge of foreign artisans and Ling-k'ou (Christians?), the Chief head of the main office Chang,» should read: «Construction overseer, Chang, (holding the rank of) Chia-i-ta-fu, governing foreign artisans of his own department (*t'ou-hsia*), and general administrator of the General-Administration Office of the *ger-ün-keü*.» For the expression *ch'ieh-lin-k'ou*: *ger-ün k'ü* (~ *köbegün*) «sons of the house, slaves,» see Fr. W. Cleaves, «The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 In Memory of Chang Ying-jui,» HJAS 13, 1950 (1—131), pp. 51—52. As to the Chinese titles referred to in the 1325 inscription, they may be found in the Chinese version of the 1335 inscription: Plate viii (between pp. 70—71), with the translation on p. 26; and for the Mongol version: on p. 74, line 31; p. 99, line 31.

Palaces of Khanbaliq.»[23] According to Wu Chieh's 吳節 Postface (1396), Hsiao Hsün was a member of a party sent from Nanking to make a survey of the Yüan palace before it was torn down.[24] Under the circumstances, it is understandable that Hsiao who wrote in or shortly after 1370,[25] left only a superficial record of his brief visit.

Hsiao's text refers to *lu-ting* in five different passages, and since the texts are rather involved, and Ying has certainly not always translated accurately, we may briefly review those passages here :

1. Speaking of the Hall of Great Light (*Ta-ming-tien*), Hsiao's partial description runs as follows : 殿楹四向皆方. 柱大可五六尺. 飾以起花金龍雲. 楹下皆白石. 龍雲花. 頂高可四尺. 楹上分間. 仰爲鹿頂. 斗拱攢. 頂中盤黃金雙龍[26]

T'ao Tsung-i who describes the *Ta-ming-tien* from another point of view, does not say that it was a *lu-ting* structure.[27] Here is my own tentative translation of Hsiao's text : «The column bases are four-square ; the column shafts measure perhaps five or six feet high, adorned with raised flowers, golden dragons and clouds ; under the column bases there are blocks of white marble with dragons, clouds, and flowers (sculptured on them), at most perhaps four [variant : three] feet high. The tops of the columns mark off the 'rooms.' The ceiling is a *lu-ting* : bent upwards and hollow. In the middle of the top there is a pair of coiled yellow golden dragons.»

I realize how risky it is for one without any technical knowledge of these matters to venture an interpretation of such texts. Ying evades the difficulty by paraphrasing rather than translating, and very freely at that. He renders

[23] *Bulletin No* 8 *of the Catholic University of Peking*, 1931, pp. 27—46. Ying states that Hsiao's work is found only in two collections, the *Jih-hsia chiu-wen* 日下舊聞 (ch. 5), and the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書 (vol. 85). The catalogue of the *Tsorng shu jyi cherng* (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*, First Series), Shanghai, 1935, p. 185, does not mention the *Jih-hsia chiu-wen*, but lists the *Chih-pu-tsu chai . . .*, the *Lung-wei pi-shu*, and the *I-hai chu-ch'en* as comprising Hsiao's description of the palace. However, the *Tsorgn shu jyi cherng* text was not available to me.

[24] Ying, pp. 28—29. If the palace was actually destroyed is another question. On October 12, 1369, it was still intact as we see from a passage in the *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu*, Taipei ed., vol. 3, (ch. 45), p. 881 : when the selection of a capital was being discussed, and Pei-p'ing was proposed because there was the Yüan palace which would save a heavy burden of taxation for the people, the emperor rejected the idea because even so, the palace would have to be extensively remodelled and that too would not be cheap. Later Pei-p'ing became the residence of a «prince,» the future Yung-lo emperor, and extensive changes must have been done to conform the palace to the status of a prince.

[25] In his final notes he mentions the death of the last Yüan emperor, who passed away in 1370.

[26] *Chih-pu-tsu chai*, vol. 85, p. 2b.

[27] *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 2b ; a translation of this paragraph may be found in Fr. W. Cleaves, «The Fifteen 'Palace Poems' by K'o Chiu-ssu» : *HJAS* 20 (1957), p. 427.

the last sentence *yang wei lu-ting* etc., as «the ceiling is sustained by many ornately variegated lifters in the midst of which . . .»[28]

The key expression of course is *tou-kung-chuan*. *Tou-kung* 斗拱, 抖拱 usually indicates «a bracket between the top of the pillar and the beam to spread the weight of the roof.»[29] But this expression seems to have had yet another meaning. In the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, Secret History of the Mongols*, the Chinese transcription and translation of which were compiled only a few years after Hsiao wrote his account, *kung* 拱 is used to render Mongol *bögötür* «curved, bent upward» in the expression «a horse with an arched back,»[30] and in the modern language *kung ch'iao* is an «arched bridge,» *kung-men* «an arched doorway,» and in chemical terminology «dome» is rendered as *kung-ting* 拱頂;[31] R. H. Mathews lists *tao-kung* 倒拱 «inverted arches.»[32] I do not think, however, that *tou-kung* is a variant of *tao-kung*, but *tou-kung*, I believe is more likely to mean «arched» or «hollow, like an (inverted) bushel.»

2. The second passage in Hsiao's text is as follows: (延春閣) 雖至幽暗. 闌楯皆涂黃金龍雲. 冒以丹青絹素. 上仰亦皆拱爲[鹿]頂. 中盤金龍.[33] «(Pavilion of Prolonged Spring): in spite of the extreme darkness, the railings are painted with figures of golden dragons and clouds, (and the walls) display silks of various colors; all the upper ceilings are also arched and hollow, and in the (*lu-*) *ting* there are (painted) coiled golden dragons.» Ying[34] loosely renders the last line as follows: «The ceiling is decorated with ornate lifters converging towards a coiled dragon in the center.» As with the previous passage, we should observe that in T'ao's description the *Yen-ch'un-ko* «Pavilion of Prolonged Spring» is not identified as a *lu-ting*.[35]

3. 又東爲宣文殿. 旁有秘密堂. 西有鹿頁小殿.[36] «Still further to the east is the Hall for the Spread of Literature (*Hsüan-wen*); on the side is the Hall for Contemplation of the Secrets, and to the west there is a small *lu-ting* pavilion.» Ying says: «the little Palace of the Deer Head.»[37] Here for the first time he takes character *lu* in its literal sense of «deer.» But *ting* is not «head.»

[28] Ying, p. 30.

[29] E-tu Zen Sun, *Ch'ing Administrative Terms*, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 347–348 (Nr. 2356).

[30] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* § 95.

[31] *A New English-Chinese Dictionary* (complied by the Editing Group of A New English-Chinese Dictionary), HongKong 1975, p. 352.

[32] *A Chinese English Dictionary*, Shanghai 1931, revised, Harvard, Cambridge, Mass. 1947, p. 881c.

[33] *Chih-pu-tsu chai*, p. 2b. Character *lu* which I put between brackets, is supplied in small type. It does not appear in the *Jih-hsia chiu-wen* (5. 3a).

[34] *Ying*, p. 33.

[35] *Cho-keng-lu* 21. 3b.

[36] *Chih-pu-tsu chai* 3a. Chu Chieh, *T'u-k'ao*, p. 40, reads *Mi-mi-shih* 室.

[37] Ying, p. 34.

T'ao does not mention the Hsüan-wen-ko in his description of the palace,[38] but then it was not this pavilion that was a *lu-ting*, but a small structure near by.

4. 雕窗中抱彩樓. 皆鳳翅飛檐. 鹿頂層出. 極爲奇巧.[39] Ying translates: «. . . and displaying many windows, enfolds an ornate storied building. The curving eaves of the latter are shaped like the wings of a phoenix, under which the tiers of the brackets show the most artistic design and craftmanship.»[40] Here he abandons the rendition «deer head,» and again settles for «bracket.» I would propose the following translation: «carved windows frame varicolored storied buildings; all have flying eaves like phoenix wings, and *lu-ting* (roofs) rise in tiers, all displaying exceedingly wonderful craftmanship.» As I understand this sentence, the writer is inside a building and describes the roofs of other structures as he sees them through the window.

5. 金門翠屏(回)闌小閣. 多爲鹿頂鳳翅重檐.[41] «(along the bank of the brook one comes upon) golden doors and kingfisher screens, winding balustrades and small pavilions, many of which are of the *lu-ting* (-type) with tiered eaves resembling phoenix wings.» This last sentence in Ying's translation is rendered this way: «manifold eaves bearing phoenix wings and supported by deer heads.»[42]

From these five passages it is evident that Ying Ch'ien-li, not knowing what to do with the expression *lu-ting*, was most inconsistent in his translation.

The Morohashi dictionary also lists *lu-ting-fang* in T'ao Tsung-i's spelling and explains the term as «main house, or hall,» and refers to yet another listing namely *cheng-fang* «main house.»[43] This is very strange since there is nothing in T'ao's description that could lead to an understanding of *lu-ting* as a main central structure of an architectural complex; quite to the contrary, one has the impression that most of the *lu-ting* structures mentioned by T'ao are rather smallish, a bit out of center of a compound. Morohashi's listing *cheng-fang* comprises a long citation from Li Tung-yang's 李東陽 *Ta-Ming hui-tien* 大明會典 «Great-Ming Statutes,» listing the prescribed disposition and sizes of various buildings in the princely palaces, but it is clear from the text itself that the *lu-ting-fang* mentioned there are not «main» buildings, but side constructions of various sizes: once 6 «rooms,» once one «room,» and the last one mentioned, three «rooms.»[44]

[38] T'ao mentions it in another place: *Cho-keng-lu* 2. 12ab: Hsüan-wen is a later name for the K'uei-chang-ko 奎章. For other references to the K'uei-chang ~ Hsüan-wen ko, Chu Chieh, *T'u-k'ao*, pp. 37—40.

[39] *Chih-pu-tsu chai* 6b. Chu Chieh, *T'u-k'ao*, p. 42.

[40] Ying, p. 42.

[41] *Chih-pu-tsu chai* 7a.

[42] Ying, p. 42.

[43] *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 8, p. 124c, and vol. 6, p. 675d.

[44] Li Tung-yang, *Ta-Ming hui-tien* 147. 6ab.

Finally, the term *lu-ting* appears twice in the *Hung-lou-meng*: in the third *hui*: . . . 大正房. 兩邊廂房. 鹿頂耳門. 鑽山. 四通八達.[45] In David Hawkes' translation, *The Story of the Stone*, this line is rendered as follows: «the big building at the end of the court yard was connected at each end to galleries running through the length of the side buildings by means of 'stag's head' roofing over the corners . . .»[46] As in the inscription of 1325, here again we have *lu-ting* combined with *men*, but the Morohashi dictionary quoting this line, reads *lu-ting erh fang*.[47] Several editions which I was able to consult all read *lu-ting erh-men*, but Prof. Wang Chi-chen 王際眞 (New York) who published a summarized version of the *Hung-lou-meng* and whom I consulted, wrote me (January 10, 1979) that at least one edition (*Chih-yen chai ch'ung-p'ing Shih-t'ou chi* 脂硯齋重評石頭記, photolitho reprint of a manuscript copy) reads *erh-fang*. Prof. Wang observed that in view of the second passage of the *Hung-lou-meng*, he is inclined to the view that *fang* is the better reading.

I understand the above passage as follows: «the great central house on both sides had lateral houses, and side rooms of the *lu-ting* (type, with 'tunneled mountains,' and leading in every which way.» I do not know the exact meaning of *chuan-shan*, perhaps another technical term, but it is not relevant to our present subject.

The second passages occurs in *hui* 71: 這丫頭應了便出去. 到二門外鹿頂內:[48] «this slave girl in response immediately went out to outside the second gate and inside the *lu-ting*.»

None of these texts enlighten us much regarding the construction of the *lu-ting*. I think it most likely that they were wooden structures, perhaps of a particular design and origin; but there is little to suggest that they were of the same design as the brick built Toilette Tower of P'ing-ting-pu.

Impey was impressed with the similarity of the Toilette Tower to some buildings in Central Asia. I have suggested a possible foreign origin for the *lu-ting*, and, as I have noted, T'ao Tsung-i has changed character *lu* «deer,» which yielded no meaning, for *lu* «box,» vaguely suggesting the shape of the *lu-ting*, but that does not mean that the Toilette Tower and the various *lu-ting* were of one and the same design, because of a foreign characteristic.

Heirman who thought he detected traces of tombs around the Toilette Tower, was inclined to think that the tower in fact was a mausoleum of sorts built over a burial place. So far as I know, the place has never been thoroughly

[45] 120-*hui* text, Kuang-i shu-chü, Shanghai 1948, 1 *chüan*, 3 *hui*, p. 18.

[46] David Hawkes, *The Story of the Stone*, vol. 1, Penguin ed., 1973, p. 95.

[47] Morohashi, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 12, p. 909c. He explains *lu-ting* as an arched passage way, and then quotes this line form the *Hung-lou-meng*, reading *fang* instead of *men*; in other words his explanation does not agree with the quotation. The very same line quoted by Morohashi contains yet another variant different from my text.

[48] *Chüan* 3, *hui* 71, p. 83.

examined, or excavated, and nobody knows what has happened to the building and the supposed tombs in recent years ; so the problem of the real nature of the Toilette Tower may never be solved.

As to the *lu-ting* of the *Hung-lou-meng*, the question arises if there were still authentic *lu-ting* structures in the Ch'ing period : in other words did the author speak of real *lu-ting*, or imaginary ones ; does he mention them only as an anachronism and literary device, an exotic element and reminiscence from earlier times ?

The authors of the KPSTC (above) make another mistaken identification : as we have seen, among «antiquities» they list the Western Cool Pavilion (*Hsi-liang-t'ing*) and proceed to describe the Toilette Tower or «White House.» The compilers of the *Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* (TCITC) apparently had never seen or heard of the «White House» and do not mention it ; and they only make an incidental reference to the *Hsi-liang-t'ing*.

The missionaries in Hei-t'u-wa always make a distinction between the «White House,» or as they call it, the Toilette Tower, and Hung ch'eng-tzu «Red Town,» a little farther north, which, as we shall see, is the site of the Western Cool Pavilion of the Yüan.

But first we should point out that there were two Cool Pavilions, an eastern and a western one ; and both pavilions had something to do with the imperial routes between Ta-tu (Peking) and Shang-tu : there were three routes, namely the eastern one passing through Ku-pei-k'ou and reaching Shang-tu from the east, and the central and western routes partly coinciding : the former one going by Tu-shih-k'ou, the latter one crossing into Mongolia slightly west of modern Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) to join the former one just north of Tu-shih-k'ou.

On the eastern route (Ta-tu, Ku-pei-k'ou, Shang-tu), the last station nearest to Shang-tu, was the Eastern Cool Pavilion, according to Chou Pai-ch'i 周伯琦, 50 *li* east of Shang-tu,[49] but according to the TCITC,[50] south-west of Shang-tu : this is hardly possible, but its exact position is not relevant to our present subject. At any rate, the Ming established a postal relay station there during the early years of the dynasty.[51]

The second postal route Ta-tu, Tu-shih-k'ou, Shang-tu of the Yüan ran through the Hei-t'u-wa area, and during the Yüan period there were four stations between Shang-tu and Tu-shih-k'ou : 80 *li* northeast of Tu-shih-k'ou was Niu-ch'ün-t'ou 牛羣頭 «Cattle Herd Head ;» 60 *li* farther north, was Ming-

[49] KPSTC 3. 19a. Chou's biography in YS 187. 11a—12b ; Taipei ed., vol. III, p. 2000.

[50] TCITC 409.2.2a ; here we also read that according to the *Shan-shui chi* 山水記, the Eastern Cool Pavilion was 50 *li* south of K'ai-p'ing, an impossibility, of course.

[51] *Ming-shih* 40.21a. Taipei ed., 1962, vol. I, p. 433a.

an 明安 «Brilliant Peace;» 60 *li* further was the station of Li-ling-t'ai 李陵臺; again 60 *li* farther was Huan-chou 桓州; from here to Shang-tu no distance is indicated, but it cannot have been too far. Another name for Ming-an was Čaγan naur «White Lake;»[52] there was such a lake in the immediate vicinity.

We should observe that the distances are variously, and confusingly, indicated in various sources. So they should not be taken too literally. And then during the Ming, these places were also indicated by other names; or written with different characters.

The Ming, too, had four stations between Tu-shih-k'ou and Shang-tu, although perhaps not established in exactly the same locations, but the same names were applied.[53] The first station, only 37 *li* north of Tu-shih-k'ou (corresponding to Niu-ch'ün-t'ou, allegedly 80 *li* northeast of Tu-shih-k'ou) was Hsi-ning 隰寧; under the Ch'ing this place came to be known as *Čilûn balγasun* «Stone Town;» the Chinese population called it Shih-t'ou-ch'eng «Stone Town,» or Shih-chu-tzu «Stone Column,» on account of two stones found there.[54] During the Ch'ing period, when Chinese administration was first introduced in this area, Hsi-ning ~ Čilûn-balγasun was the boundary between the jurisdiction of the *li-shih t'ung-chih* 理事同知 residing at Tu-shih-k'ou and Dolôn-nûr.[55]

The second station of the Ming was called Ming-an, locally known to the native people, i.e. Chinese settlers, as Hung-ch'eng-tzu, or Wu-lan (Ulân) ch'eng, i.e. «Red Town;» but to the Mongols, as Noqai qušû «Dog's Muzzle.» The ruins during the Ch'ing measured 2 *li* and 20 paces (circumference?), and had two gates. West of this place was the Western Pavilion, and the lake called Pai-hai-tzu «White Lake,» Čaγan-naur to the Mongols.[56] One wonders why there were two Mongols names for this station; originally these two names may have indicated two different places, close to each other, and only later come to be applied to one and the same place. In the KPSTC we are told that the place was one hundred *li* from Tu-shih-k'ou; in another chapter, the same work cites a survey by the Manchu official Sun Chia-kan 孫嘉淦 who states that 30 *li* north of Tu-shih-k'ou he came through a flat area with very good soil, and 50 *li* farther north he came upon the ruins of Hung-ch'eng-tzu.[57]

[52] *Chan-ch'ih* (Jamči), vol. 2 (*Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, Nr. 30) Pei-p'ing, 1936, pp. 7, 178. On the map «So-mo t'u-k'ao» in the introductory section of Shao Yüan-p'ing's *Yüan-shih lei-pien* (1699), close to Shang-tu where one would expect Huan-chou, we read «Wu-huan;» which seems to indicate that Shao believed that the name Huan-chou was derived from the tribal name of antiquity. He may well be correct.

[53] *Ming-shih* 40.21a. Taipei ed., I, p. 433a.

[54] KPSTC 3.13b14a. TCITC 409.2.2a.

[55] KPSTC 1.16b.

[56] KPSTC 3.13ab. TCITC 409.2.2a.

[57] KPSTC 12.28ab.

If the same place is meant, there is a discrepancy of 20 *li* in his estimate of the distance to Tu-shih-k'ou.

With regard to the White Lake in the vicinity of this Ming station, the reader will have remembered that in Yüan sources the station of Ming-an was also known as Čaγan-naur ; but the Yüan sources, as we have seen, reckon the distance to Tu-shih-k'ou as 80 + 60 *li*. At any rate, this Čaγan-naur will have to be mentioned again later on.

The third station is Wei-lu 威鹵 «Overawe the Barbarians :» it was 140 *li* from Tu-shih-k'ou, and 60 *li* from Ming-an station (Nr 2) ; this little town, the Mongols called Boro qota, and the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'eng 青城 ; it measured 1 *li* and 280 paces in circumference. Another name for it was Li-ling-t'ai, the name of the Yüan.[58]

The fourth and last station before reaching Shang-tu was Huan-chou, the same name as under the Yüan. Supposed to be 186 *li* northeast of Tu-shih-k'ou, the distance to Shang-tu is not indicated. The name Huan-chou goes back to pre-Yüan times, and we are told that the Mongols called it K'u-erh-t'u : *kürtü* (?) *balγasun*.[59]

As we have seen, the Western Cool Pavilion and the White Lake were in the immediate neighborhood of Ming-an station. The KPSTC[60] quotes a line from Chou Pai-ch'i according to which the Western Pavilion was 150 *li west* of K'ai-p'ing (Shang-tu). Evidently *west* cannot be correct.

In the Mongol chronicle *Erdeni-yin Tobči* by Saγang-sečen, we read that Qubilai over a period of eight years built four capitals, the fourth one being

[58] KPSTC 3.19ab. TCITC 409.2.2a.

[59] KPSTC 3.16b17a. TCITC 409.2.2a. Both the «Jesuit Atlas» (W. Fuchs, ed., *Der Jesuiten Atlas der Kanghsi Zeit*, Peking 1943, map 7 ; *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit. Seine Entstehungsgeschichte nebst Namenindices* . . ., Peking 1943, p. 280, nr 79), and the *Ch'ing-tai i-t'ung ti-t'u* (1760), Taipei 1966, map on pp. 105—106 indicate Huan-chou as *Kürtü-balyasun*. But according to Saγang-sečen, the summer residence, Shang-tu, was called *Šandu-keyibüng-kürtü-balyasun* (I. J. Schmidt's, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 1829, pp. 112 (1. 13)—113; 136—137. John R. Krueger, *Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-yin Tobči*, 's-Gravenhage 1961, pp. 112, 114; H. Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 51. I do not know what *Kürtü* (or *Kürdü* ?) here may mean. As to the element *Keyibüng*, evidently corresponding to Chinese *K'ai-p'ing*, this was also the name of a river, coming from the north and flowing into the Luan-ho to the northeast of Shang-tu. The two atlases mentioned above spell this name *K'o-i-p'eng* ; but a Mongol map of the Dolôn-nûr-Shang-tu area, shows a *Keyibüng γool*, written *Hei-feng-ho* 黑風河 in Chinese. W. Heissig, «Über Mongolische Landkarten, Teil I» : *Monumenta Serica* 9, 1944, p. 135. The commentary to the Chinese translation of Saγang-sečen's chronicle (*Meng-ku-yüan-liu chien-cheng* 4.11a) also refers to the K'o-i-p'eng river. One wonders why the Chinese authors did not simply write K'ai-p'ing ? Shang-tu was designed on the model of Ch'ang-an of the T'ang. Both the Jesuit Atlas and the *Ch'ing-tai i-t'ung ti-t'u* indicate Shang-tu by its popular Mongol name: *J̌au-naiman süme*: «One-hundred-eight Temples.»

[60] KPSTC 3.18b.

named *Erčüki-yin lang-ting*.[61] I do not know what the word *erčüki* means; but *lang-ting* is the Chinese *liang-t'ing*, and this is more likely to be the Western Cool Pavilion between Shang-tu and Tu-shih-k'ou, than the Eastern Cool Pavilion about which we have too little information.

The Persian historian Rashîd al Dîn also mentions the Cool Pavilions, but he calls only one of them *lang-ten* (= *liang-t'ing*), namely the one to the east of Shang-tu, while giving the name of *qarsi* «palace» to the Western Pavilion near the (Čaγan) naur.[62] As I have already suggested, it must be there that the Western route joined the central one coming from Tu-shih-k'ou.

Now at last we must address the question: is the Western Cool Pavilion (*hsi-liang-t'ing*) the same as the Toilette Tower described above, as the compilers of the KPSTC believed? That is hardly possible. First a literary source from the end of the Yüan strongly implies that the «White House» was not the same as the Western Cool Pavilion: in a brief account of a trip in 1352 from Ta-tu to Shang-tu in the company of the emperor, Chou Pai-ch'i mentions what can only be the Toilette Tower or «White House.» The emperor and his entourage this time took the Tu-shih-k'ou route; unfortunately Tu-shih-k'ou itself is not mentioned at all, and most of the stops were held at unfamiliar places; however, once the traveling party had crossed the border into Mongolia, Chou notes that they passed by a Pai-t'a-erh «White Tower,» and immediately thereafter they reached Sibartai «Muddy,» also known as Niu-ch'ün-t'ou: we know that during the Yüan there was a relay station there. Chou then notes that a little further along the road there was the Čaγan-naur «White Lake.»[63] Evident-

[61] Schmidt, *Geschichte*, pp. 112—114.

[62] *Rashîd al Dîn Tabîb. The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated from the Persian by John Andrew Boyle, New York—London 1971, pp. 276—277. Boyle renders *Lang-ten* as *liang-tien*; this should be *t'ing*, of course. Y. P. Verxovskii in his translation *Rašid-ad-Din. Sbornik Letopisei*, Tom II, Moskva—Leningrad 1960, p. 176, has the correct interpretation. In this same passage, Rashid describes the westernmost road to Shang-tu, and mentions the town «Sinali» which J. Boyle cannot identify. It is Hsi-ma-lin, west of Kalgan (Verxovskii spells *Simali*). P. Pelliot published an article on the non-Chinese population of *Hsi-ma-lin* under the Yüan «Une Ville Musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols» in *Journal Asiatique* 1927, pp. 261—279; see also Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 3, pp. 116—117. This palace built near the *naur* can be nothing other than the «traveling palace» built by Qubilai in 1280, according to the *Yüan-shih* 11.4a; Taipei ed., I, p. 84b. One may also consult E. Blochet, *Djami el Tevarikh. Histoire générale du Monde. Histoire des Mongols*, Tome II, Leyden London 1911, p. 45 of the «Appendice,» and p. 464 of the Persian text, note a; however most of Blochet's information is found in more recent publications. The *Altan Tobči* (*Činggis qayan-u čadig*, p. 159) makes mention of a *lang-ting*, but the text is obscure.

[63] KPSTC 13.17a—18b. The text of Chou's travel account is also found in ch. 60 of the *Ch'eng-te fu-chih*. E. Bretschneider «Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and environs» in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* VI (1875), p. 394, has a little map indicating this Pai-t'a, and on p. 395, referring to Chou's intinerary, he

ly this is the Pai-hai-tzu, close to the Hsi-liang-t'ing, but Chou does not mention the latter. There is one difficulty: Niu-ch'ün-t'ou was said to be 80 *li* from Tu-shih-k'ou, while Ming-an ~ Čaγan-naur in the neighborhood of the Western Pavilion, is said to be 60 *li* north of Niu-ch'ün-t'ou. In spite of these discrepancies it is clear that the White Tower was at a little distance from the lake and the Western Pavilion near the lake, and there is no doubt that Chou's White Tower is the building later known as «White House» or Toilette Tower. No other structure in that area could be called White Tower, and Chou could not have been speaking of the Hsi-liang-t'ing: he would never have called it a «tower.»

During the early Ming, the Western Cool Pavilion is mentioned more than once in connection with the Yung-lo emperor's campaigns in Mongolia. Returning from his 1410 expedition, the emperor traveled the road from K'ai-p'ing (Shang-tu) to Tu-shih-k'ou. Chin Yu-tzu 金幼孜 who was in the emperor's entourage and left an account of the trip, relates how on the fourth day of the seventh (lunar) month, the imperial train left K'ai-p'ing to arrive by evening at Huan-chou (written 環!): there they found the ruins of a little walled town; the next day, by evening they reached Wei-lu (written 虜) station; on the following day, the sixth, they reached Ning-an 寧安 (= Ming-an). On the seventh day, after leaving Ning-an station, they passed by the Western Cool Pavilion of the Yüan, and Chin gives us this brief description: «the stone wall around it has not yet fallen down, but the foundation of the hall is entirely surrounded by bushes; in front of the hall there is a double row of thuyas. The silence is impressive.»[64] By evening of that same day, they were at P'an-ku-chen 盤谷鎮, another name for the Hsi-ning station. On the eighth day, the emperor and his train reached Tu-shih-k'ou.[65] Chin says nothing about the

says: «I cannot identify the next five stations. The sixth is called Pai-t'a-erh, White Tower. A place of this name is marked on the modern map of the Great Wall as found in the *Süan-hua fu chi*, north of Tu-shih-k'ou.» In my own notes I find that E. Bretschneider, *Recherches Archéologiques sur Pékin et ses environs*, 1879 (not available in the Washington, D. C. area) has the same map on p. 91. The *Hsüan-hua fu-chih* (1743), vol. 1, map, p. 8b, indeed indicates Ch'ih-pa-tu 赤把都 and Pai-t'a-erh. This Ch'ih-pa-tu is likely to be the Sibartai mentioned in Chou's itinerary. Most probably the compilers of this gazeteer never went there to inspect the place but gathered their information from hearsay or from earlier records. They represent the Pai-t'a with the outline of a stûpa: *suburγa*, something most definitely the Toilette Tower is not. Never having seen this tower, the compilers hearing about a special *t'a* automatically thought of a stupa-like tower.

[64] Chin Yu-tzu, *Ch'ien-hou Pei-cheng lu* 前後北征錄 (ed.: Tung-fang hsüeh-hui), n. d., n. p., p. 13b. Also quoted in KPSTC 3.13a.

[65] The *Ming shih-lu* provides fewer details: here the itinerary jumps directly from K'ai-p'ing to Li-ling station (Wei-lu), and then directly to P'an-ku, and Tu-shih-k'ou, without any mention at all of Ming (~ Ning)-an and the Cool Pavilion. *T'ai-tsung shih-lu* (*Ming shih-lu*, vol. 12), pp. 1367—69; *Mindai Mammô shiryô*; *Minjitsuroku-shô*; *Môkohen* 1, pp. 395—396.

pavilion itself, and his remark that the surrounding wall had not yet fallen down implies that the rest had fallen in ruins; and his further remark that shrubs were growing all around the terrace on which the hall once stood seems to be a clear indication of dilapidation. He could hardly have taken the trouble to mention such details while dismissing the building itself, had it still been standing there.

The Yung-lo emperor's last expedition of 1424 followed the same road in both direction, and Yang Yung's 楊榮 diary provides us with a more complete account of the stops than does the *Shih-lu*: on the outward journey, on the day *ting-mao* (twenty-second) of the fourth month: Tu-shih-k'ou; *keng-wu* (25th): Hsi-ning; *hsin-wei* (26th): the Western Cool Pavilion; *chia-hsü* (29th): K'ai-an 開安 (= Ming-an!); *i-hai* (first day of the fifth month): Wei-lu; *ting-ch'ou* (3d): Huan-chou (𡎴); *wu-yin* (4th): Shuang-t'ai 'Double Tower'» *chi-mao* (5th): K'ai-p'ing.[66]

On the return trip, immediately following the emperor's death: on the day *kuei-mao* (first) of the eighth month, the party escorting the emperor's remains passed K'ai-p'ing to stop at Shuang-t'a; *chia-ch'en* (2d): Wei-lu-ch'eng; *i-ssu* (3d): the Western Cool Pavilion; *ping-wu* (4th): Hsi-ning; *ting-wei* (5th), the procession reached Yün-chou just to the south of Tu-shih-k'ou.[67] None of these stopovers are listed in the *Shih-lu*.

If any of the Ming court official saw the «White House», so far as I know they left no record of their impressions. One thing seems sure, that what Chin Yu-tzu has to say about the site of the Western Cool Pavilion can hardly apply to the «White House» as we have described it.

If it is correct that the Western Cool Pavilion was west of the Ming-an station of the Ming, as asserted by the Ch'ing geographies, one wonders why the Ming officials traveling south-north (slightly bearing east) between Tu-shih-k'ou and Shang-tu, and passing through Ming-an should make a detour to pass by the Cool Pavilion. Perhaps the ruins of the Pavilion were so close to the Ming-an station as to be practically one place.

As already indicated in the foregoing pages, the missionaries of the 1890s and later always clearly distinguished between Hung-ch'eng-tzu (Ulân-qota) ruins of the Yüan palace, and the Toilette Tower more to the south. Heirman who describes the Toilette Tower, in another letter speaks of the ruins of a great ancient city know as «olaan hoton,» but he fails to describe

[66] Yang Yung, *Pei-cheng chi* 北征記 (in same volume with Chin Yu-tzu's two narratives), p. 2a; *T'ai-tsung shih-lu* (vol. 14), pp. 2448—51; *Môkohen* 1, pp. 545, 546: very little, and the Hsi-liang-t'ing is not even mentioned.

[67] *Pei-cheng-chi* 5b. For the complete itineraries of the Yung-lo emperor's expeditions, the reader may consult among others: Wolfgang Franke, «Yunglos Mongolei-Feldzüge,» in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3, 1945, pp. 1—54.

those ruins, and does not even indicate their exact location.[68] However more complete information was provided to me by Am. Esquenet : in his letter dated March 31, 1951, accompanied by a simple sketch, he provided very interesting data regarding the site and the ruins of the Western Cool Pavilion in Hung-ch'eng-tzu : his sketch puts Shih-t'ou-ch'eng-tzu (Čilûn balγasun: Hsi-ning station of the Ming) at 60 *li* north of Tu-shih-k'ou. Whereas the KPSTC explains this name Shih-t'ou-ch'eng-tzu as coming from two stone columns. Esquenet states that the walls were constructed of stone, not of beaten earth as is the local custom ; but by 1930 these walls were totally in ruin. Some 30—40 *li* almost due north of Shih-t''ou-ch'eng-tzu was the mission station of P'ing-ti-pu ~ P'ing-ti-nao-po, and 10—12 *li* due east of P'ing-ting-pu he indicates the Toilette Tower. Then at circa 16 *li* to the north-northeast of P'ing-ting-pu at the tip of an equilateral triangle the basis being P'ing-ting-pu and the Toilette Tower, is Hung-ch'eng-tzu. Here is what Esquenet has to say about the site of the «palace :» «that the Toilette Tower should be the same as the place of Hung-ch'eng-tzu is totally impossible ; I have passed hundreds of times by this ruined palace. This is now (speaking of the 1920s and 1930s) a very desolate area . . . It is easy to follow its ground plan : a wide wall all around, and in the middle a terrace with the palace on it. Over the years many pieces of white marble have been dug up and used by the farmers for various purposes. There were heaps of broken yellow or green-colored glazed pan-tiles, resembling those in the palace in Peking. The «palace» certainly was not so very big, a square of perhaps 200 meters, if I recall correctly. The terrace on which it stood, was something like 60 centimeters high, and it was indeed cool there : the west wind brought fresh air from the K'u-lun lake (just north of P'ing-ting pu)[69] and then to the north, not very far, was the Shan-tan-ho (Shang-tu-ho) : the city itself was situated on a rise of the ground. In other words, they could not have chosen a more suitable place for a «cool pavilion.» The river leaves its banks in rainy years, but the flood never reaches the palace site.»

In another letter, dated April 13, 1951, he refers once more to the marble dug up there, and, says that it was the same type of marble as that dug up by Chinese farmers at Pai-ch'eng-tzu, Čaγan-balγasun «White City,» twenty *li* or so north of Chang-pei-hsien. This type of marble was called *pai-yü* 白玉 (a stone also mentioned by T'ao Tsung-i in his description of the palace of Ta-tu). The stones found at Hung-ch'eng-tzu were not so fine as those dug up at Pai-ch'eng-tzu, and few large pieces were found. He thinks, however, that

[68] *Missiën in China en Congo*, Nr 112, Mei, 1898, p. 54b.

[69] The Čaγan-naur of the Yüan and Ming. The «Jesuit Atlas» sheet 7, and the *Ch'ing-tai i-t'ung ti-t'u* of 1760 indicate a *k'u-lei* lake next to Wu-lan ho-tun : Ulan qota : Hung-ch'eng-tzu.

the marble of both places came from the same quarry, but he was never able to find out where that could have been. Repeated inquiries about the origin of this white marble brought no satisfactory answer from the local Chinese; and Mongols, too, were unable to give any information. All they would say was: «it must have come from some place in *k'ou-li* 口裏 (China Proper); we have never seen this sort of stone in Mongolia.» Esquenet further notes that he never saw any script, whether Chinese, or Mongol, or other languages, engraved on the stones of Hung-ch'eng-tzu.

If in recent years the site of the Cool Pavilion was locally known as Hung-ch'eng-tzu, or Ulân qota «Red Town,» we have seen that according to the Ch'ing gazeteers of the eighteenth century, it was the Ming relay station that was properly known as Ulân qota. So we may think that the relay station not being constructed with very durable materials, once no longer in use in the early part of the fifteenth century, soon it fell into disrepair and then completely disappeared. As the Western Cool Pavilion, even after it had fallen into ruins, remained easy to recognize and was much better known, the name Ulān qota must have been transferred to it. The two places, Pavilion and relay station were close enough to each other to make such a shift easy.

The reference to Pai-ch'eng-tzu in Am. Esquenet's letter calls for an additional note on that place: it was the Central Capital (Chung-tu 中都) of the Yüan, but the ruins were usually referred to as Sha-ch'eng 沙 «Sandy City,» or Pai-ch'eng-tzu «White City.» As we have already mentioned, Saγang-sečen tells us that Qubilai built four cities: a summer residence: Šangdu Keyibüng Kürtü Balγasun, a winter residence; Yeke Dayidu qota, the Cool Pavilion knowns as *Erčüki-yin lang-ting* (already mentioned), and the fourth in Saγang-sečen's own words: *Alta-yin aru-yin arulan čaγan balγasun*. This is the reading found in Schmidt's edition, but the Urga ms., and the Ordos mss. read somewhat differently: *Altai-yin* (~ *Altan-u*) *aral-un čayan balγasun*; «The White City of the Aral North of the Altai (Mountains).»[70] Chang Erh-t'ien, commenting on the Chinese version of this name «Čaγan Balγasun North of the Altai,» identifies it with Pai-ch'eng-tzu northeast of K'ai-p'ing (Shang-tu), and as proof refers to the KPSTC.[71] Whatever the word *aral* «island, confluent,» here may refer to, it is hardly possible that we have to look in the Altai region for this «capital.» Saγang-sečen may by accident have mixed up two texts. There is no doubt that this Čaγan balγasun is the Pai-ch'eng-tzu, some twenty *li*

[70] E. Haenisch (ed.), *Eine Urga-Handschrift des Mongolischen Geschichtswerks von Secen Sagang* (*alias Sanang Secen*), Berlin 1955, p. 43. 43v. line 4 sq. *Erdeni-yin Tobči. Mongolian Chronicle. Scripta Mongolica* II, Cambridge, Mass. 1956, Pt II, p. 115, Pt III, p. 100.

[71] *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng* 4.11a. The KPSTC 3.17b18a lists a Pai-ch'eng 60 *li* northeast of K'ai-p'ing but it cannot be taken into account here.

north of modern Chang-pei-hsien. The KPSTC lists it under the alternative name Sha-ch'eng, and notes that the native people call it Čaγan balγasun. Originally known to the Mongols as Ongγočatu «with a (watering) trough,» the place was selected for a traveling palace, and was later renamed Chung-tu.[72] That all this did not exactly happen during Qubilai's reign is of minor importance.

According to the KPSTC, Pai-ch'eng-tzu Sha-ch'eng, at a distance of ten *li* north of Hsing-ho 興和[73] forms a square of one *li*. But in fact the distance from Chang-pei to Hsing-ho is about twice that long. While it mentions those ruins, the gazeteer does not explain in what state they were in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Cesar De Brabander who resided near Hsing-ho and discovered the Nestorian cemetery farther north as explained above, in his letter of September 1, 1890, also describes what he was able to dig up at Pai-ch'eng-tzu. He explains that by that time Chinese immigration, though close, had not yet reached Pai-ch'eng-tzu. With regard to the ruins themselves, he does not say how large the walls of Pai-ch'eng-tzu are, but he notes that in the middle of the city there is a mound two meters high above the ground around. Out of this mound he dug up six pedestals of white marble : the square base of these pedestals measured more than one meter to a side, and was 0.65 m. high ; the upper section was round with a diameter of 0.70 m. Apart from those six pedestals of columns, he discovered two more of slightly greater dimension. The mound itself must originally have been a two-tiered terrace with a stone ramp leading up to it. From the presence of a layer of ashes just underneath the upper layer of the soil, De Brabander concluded that the palace was destroyed by fire ; and as in Hung-ch'eng-tzu all around there were fragments of yellow and green glazed pan-tiles.

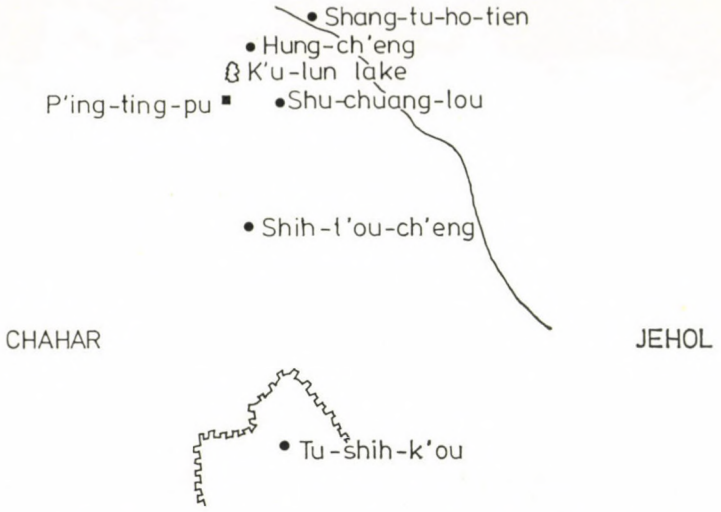
Then, besides the marble pedestals, De Brabander found many «dragon heads» (as he calls them) also in white marble, some with a square mortise in the upper surface ; he concluded that these must have served as bases for upright stones or steles.

De Brabander further found the remains of a furnace of sorts, constructed with brick, with a huge fire place : a grill consisting of ten iron rods, 1.15 m. long and 0.30 m. thick ! over which there must have been a cauldron of at least

[72] KPSTC 3.3b4a. *Yüan-shih* 22.4b ; 28b, etc. Taipei ed., vol. I, p. 186b. 195b.

[73] Hsing-ho, until the middle of this century was still the popular name of Chang-pei-hsien, its modern name. Hsing-ho in fact is also an old administrative center of the Yüan, and the early Ming. The Mongols called it Qara Balγasun «Black City.» KPSTC 3.1b—3a. Even the Chin had a center in this area, if not at the very same spot, namely Fu-chou 撫 ; this name appears as Joju in Rashîd al Dîn's text regarding the road to Shang-tu.

two meters in diameter. Finally he states that all other objects discovered there (but not listed) were of equally huge proportions.[74]



[74] *Missiën in China en Congo*, Nr 26, Maart, 1891, pp. 409b, 410a. I may note here that in the 1940s, although the land all around was in Chinese hands, many stretches had remained uncultivated on account of the poor condition of the soil, and Pai-ch'eng-tzu, in the middle of such an area, was still untouched. The outline of the walls could still be followed in the grass land. But I have no idea whatever happened to the objects found at Pai-ch'eng-tzu: I guess that like in Hung-ch'eng-tzu and at the Nestorian cementery, whatever could be put to use was gradually taken away by the farmers to be used again.

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BAHRĀM ČŌBĪN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPALITY IN KARTLI

BY

MARGIT BÍRÓ

Bahrām Čōbīn, the Persian warlord, who saved Persia from extinction with his glorious victory over the Turks in 589, is of central importance in the Khvatāy-nāmak, the lost Middle Persian source of Sassanian history and its adoptions, as demonstrated by the extant later Arabic and Persian versions. Bahrām became a legendary hero in a short time, and was assigned a place among the expected Messiahs of Persia under the name Vahrām-i Varjāvand.[1]

According to the Khvatāy-nāmak, Persia was attacked by the Byzantines, Arabs, Turks and Khazars simultaneously in the late 580s. The short description of this attack on Persia can be found in the chronicle of J̌uanšer, the 11th century Georgian historian.[2] J̌uanšer does not mention either the Arabs or the Khazars, but enlarges upon a concerted onslaught of the mountain dwellers (Didos, Durdzuks and Osets) and the Georgians, commissioned and financed by Byzantium. Hormizd IV (579—590) the Persian ruler, assigned the task of repelling the Turks to Bahrām Čōbīn, the governor of the eastern provinces of Persia.[3] During the warfare, Bahrām waged successful battles against the Hephthalites and the Western and Eastern Turks.[4]

[1] K. Czeglédy, *Bahrām Čōbīn*: *Antik Tanulmányok* IV (1957), p. 301; idem, *Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), p. 21, in which Czeglédy accepts the validity of the section on the Khazar attack in the Khvatāy-nāmak; idem, *Nomád népek vándorlása Napkelettől Napnyugatig*, Budapest 1969, p. 44.

[2] *K'art'lis C'xovreba* [The History of Georgia] I (ed. Qauxč'išvili, Tbilisi 1955), pp. 219—220.

[3] The sources contain heterogeneous data concerning the rank of Bahrām. Some hold the view that Bahrām was appointed the governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia by the Persian ruler, others claim that he governed the eastern provinces. According to K. Czeglédy, the latter information refers to the time when Hormizd appointed Bahrām leader of the troops fighting against the eastern enemy: K. Czeglédy: *AOH* VIII (1958), p. 21, n. 3.

[4] After defeating the Hephthalites (around 557 A. D.), the Turks conferred dominion over the whole of Inner Asia and western Turkestan bounded by the Gobi desert, the Chinese borderlands and the Amu-Darya. Advancing westward, they crossed the Volga in

In reconstructing the historical events of that age, the data of Sebēos, the 7th century chronicler of Emperor Herakleios, must not be left out of account, who gained information from Armenian soldiers serving in the Persian army, and at times perhaps from members of one of the most powerful Armenian families (the Bagratuni family).[5] By the end of the 6th century,certain Armenian nobles had pledged their loyalty to Persia and performed a highly significant role in Persian political life. The most outstanding of them, Smbat Bagratuni, was assigned the third highest rank in the Persian court for his military services rendered to Khosrav II (591—628).[6] Due to these close links between Armenia and Persia, Sebēos might have received information about Bahrām Čōbīn.

Sebēos reports that in the eleventh year of the reign of Hormizd IV, namely between July 2nd 588 and July 2nd 589, Bahrām (Vahram Merhevandak) «vanquished the host of the T'etals and took by force Bahl and the entire land of the Kušans right up to the region called Kazbion beyond the river Vehrot. After he had waged war with the mighty king of the Mazk'ut's, who dwelled in this region on the other side of the great river, this Vahram defeated his large army and killed the king in battle.»[7]

The ethnic name *T'etal*, mentioned in Sebēos's chronicle, refers to the Western Turks.[8] The geographical data of the quotation confirm the assumption that Bahrām occupied the former land of the Kušans, which had been subjected to the Hephthalites, then to the Western Turks. Having overcome the Western Turks, Bahrām crossed the river Vehrot (Oxus) and subdued the «mighty king of the Mazk'ut's», namely the Eastern Turkish kagan. The Khvatāynāmak relates the same episode, stating that Bahrām smote the enemy with an arrow. On the other hand, Chinese sources relate that Chu-lo-hou, the Eastern Turkish kagan was killed by a «stray arrow» during his fights in Western Turk territories in 588. The supplementary data of the three sources reveal that Bahrām waged war against Chu-lo-hou, the Eastern Turkish kagan beyond the river Vehrot (Oxus) and killed him with an arrow. The name

567 and organized the Khazar tribal confederation out of the Ogurs and the Savirs living on the West bank of the Caspian Sea. The Turk Empire broke up into eastern and western parts in 581. The Eastern Turks policed the region around the Gobi desert, and the western Turks reigned between the valley of the river Ili and the Caucasus. Khazaria, Western Turkestan and Afganistan also belonged to the confines of the Western Turks. Cf. K. Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, p. 151.

[5] Ö. Schütz, *A Sebeos Krónika 50. fejezetéhez: Keletkutatás* 1974, p. 83.

[6] K. Czeglédy: *AOH* VIII (1958), p. 23.

[7] P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* I (Paris 1951), p. 125.

[8] K. Czeglédy, *A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikájához: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* XV (1959), pp. 108—128.

mazkʿutʿ, used by Sebēos to denote the Eastern Turks, originates from ancient Greek descriptions of the Massagetes, who resided around the Oxus.[9]

After his glorious victory over the Turks, Bahrām rebelled against his ruler in 590. The reason for this revolt is given contradictorily by various sources. Of them all, the chronicle of Sebeos seems to have most credit. It relates that Bahrām delivered only a portion of the enormous spoils, obtained during the campaign, to Hormizd, and distributed the rest among his warriors, which made the enraged Persian ruler send soldiers to Bahrām to extract the rest of the spoils. This event gave rise to the discontent of Bahrām and his army. According to this source, the warriors pledged loyalty to their leader and decided to overthrow the Sassanian dynasty and set Bahrām on the throne after returning to their homeland.[10] However, before Bahrām's return to Ktesiphon, the seat of the Persian Empire, the aristocracy, displeased with the policy of their ruler, had removed Hormizd and put his son Khosrav II on the throne. But the new ruler had insufficient power to retain his authority against Bahrām and fled to Byzantium in order to ask his greatest enemy, Emperor Maurikios (582—602) for help to subdue the rebel. In the absence of Khosrav, Bahrām seized power in Persia, and in the spring of 590, precisely on March 9th, on the high festival of the Persians, had himself crowned. One year later, however, Khosrav defeated the usurper with Byzantine assistance and regained his throne.[11] In return for Byzantine help, Khosrav abandoned Armenia and a part of Kartli as far as Tbilisi, to Byzantium in 591.[12]

All these severe foreign attacks on Persia in the late 6th century, and Bahrām Čōbīn's rebellion together with the simultaneous domestic fights had a most beneficial effect on the political state of Kartli (Eastern Georgia), which had been under Persian dominion for two centuries.

The Georgian feudal lords, who had formed an alliance with the Persians in 523 to overthrow the kingdom in Kartli in order to fulfil their long-established wish to have hereditary disposal over the lands they had once been granted by the king for their services but which had remained in royal possession so far, were able to make good use of the menaced state of the Persian Empire: they appealed to Byzantium for help to attain their independence and establish principality in Kartli.[13]

[9] K. Czeglédy, *A korai kazár tört.*, pp. 117—119; idem: *AOH* VIII (1958), pp. 23—24.

[10] P. Goubert, *op. cit.*, p. 126; L. N. Gumilev, *Bahram Čubin (Opyt kritiki istočnikov): Problemy vostokovedenija* 1960, No. 3, p. 232.

[11] P. Goubert, *op. cit*, pp. 127, 131—132, 138—140; K. Czeglédy, *Apocalyptic Lit. op. cit*, p. 39.

[12] *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* [A Survey of Georgian History] II (ed. G. Melikʿišvili, Tbilisi 1973), p. 271.

[13] *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* II, pp. 268—274. According to the researches of C. Toumanoff, the Persians abolished the kingdom in Kartli in 580, and the insti-

The formation of the new political administration is a controversia issue regarding Georgian sources. The anonymous author of the 9th century chronicle *Mokcevai Kartlisai* informs on the unanimous wish and decision of the Georgian nobles :[14] « . . . whole Kartli gathered together and Guram was appointed *eristav* and later curopalate.» The 11th century report of Sumbat, son of Davit, confirms this in essentials.[15] Juanšer, also of the 11th century, however, emphasizes the role of the Byzantine Emperor in appointing Guram (Guaram) and also refers to the events which facilitated the establishment of the central power :[16] «Some years later Persia was to witness an unparalleled upheaval, because the king of the Turks went into Persia ; the Greeks came and fought with the Persians in Mesopotamia[17] and sent them flying, and they went into Persia and started to devastate her. Then Kasre Ambarvez[18] left Rani and

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tution of the principality was established in 588 with Byzantine assistance : C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown 1963), pp. 381—384.

[14] « . . . šekrba Kartli da ganačines eristavad Guram da merme kurapalatadca.» (*Jveli kartuli agiograpiuli literaturis jeglebi* [Relics of Old Georgian Hagiographical Literature] I (ed. I. Abulaje, Tbilisi 1964), p. 95).

[15] «Mas žamsa katalikosi iqo Mcxetas Samoel, da ertad šekrba qoveli Kartli da gamoarčies Guaram, Davitis natesavisagan, mocevnuli jmata mista tana, Asams da Varazvard, . . . da Guaram ganačines eristavad : At that time Samoel was the katholikos in Mcxeta, and Kartli convened and chose Guaram, from the house of Davit, who (Guaram) had come with his brothers Asam and Varazvard, . . . and appointed Guaram *eristav*». (*Kartlis Cxovreba* I, p. 374). E. Taqaišvili pointed out that the author of the chronicle had used the *Mokcevai Kartlisai* as a source for the quoted section : *Kartlis Cxovreba* I, p. 374, n. 1.

[16] «Šemdgomad amissa mciredta celta ikmnnes špotni didni Sparsets šina, rametu ševida turktta mepe Sparsets šina ; movides berjenni, ecqunes sparsta Šuamdinaresa, aotnes da ševides Sparsets, da icqes tquenvad Sparsetisa. Mašin Kasre Ambarvezman dauteva Rani da Kartli da carvida šuelad mamisa twisisa.

Esret ra ucalo ikmnes sparsni, mašin šeitkunes qovelni eristavni kartlisani, zemoni da kuemoni, da cargzavnes mocikuli cinaše berjenta mepisa, da itxoves, rata učinos mepe natesavtagan mepeta Kartlisata da rata iqvnen eristavni igi twistwissa saeristosa šeucvaleblad.

Mašin keisarman ayasrula txova mati, da mosca meped disculi Mirdatisi, Vaxtangis jisa, berjnis colisagan, romelsa erkua Guaram, romeli mtavrobda Klarjets da Javaxets.

Xolo ese Guaram iqo dedit Xosroiani da mamit Bagratoani. Da ese Bagratoanni švilišvilni da natesavni arian ama Guaramisni.

Amas Guarams mosca keisarman kurapalatoba, da carmogzavna Mcxetas». (*Kartlis Cxovreba* I, pp. 217—218.) For the part between asterisks see note 20.

[17] The word *šuamdinare* (literary translation : area between the rivers) is translated by C. Toumanoff with the word Mesopotamia : C. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. **383.**

[18] It is the name of Khosrav II (591—628) the Persian ruler. The form *Kasre* of the Georgian source came through Arabian or Syrian mediation. Cf. Arabic *Kisra*, Syrian *Khosrau* : M. Andronikašvili, *Narkvevebi iranul-kartuli enobrivi urtiertobidan* [Studies in Persian-Georgian Linguistic Relations] I (Tbilisi 1966), pp. 515—517. The nickname of the Persian ruler — *Ambarvezi* «Victorious», «Triumphant» — is a variant of the Arabic («Middle Persian») *abarviz* : M. Andronikašvili, *op. cit.* I, pp. 421—422.

K'art'li and went to assist his father. And it came to pass, as the Persians were thus engaged, that the *erist'avs* of Upper and Lower K'art'li convened and despatched messengers to the king of the Byzantines and asked him to appoint a king from the royal house of K'art'li and to assent that the *erist'avs* might remain in their office undisturbed. Then the Emperor fulfilled their appeal[19] and set the nephew of Mirdat, the son of Vaxtang from his Greek wife, on the throne, who was called by the name Guaram and who reigned in Klarǰet'i and J̌avaxet'i.

Addendum :[20] *This Guaram was a Xosroid on his mother's side and a Bagratid on his father's. And these Bagratids are the grandchildren and relations of Guaram.*

The Emperor gave this Guaram the title *Curopalate* and sent him to Mc'xet'a.»

There is no denying that J̌uanšer relates here the attack of the Turks and Byzantium on Persia in 588/589. Khosrav,[21] the son of Hormizd IV the Persian ruler (Khosrav is called K'asre Ambarvez in the chronicle of J̌uanšer), who — as the chronicler has it — had been earlier assigned Rani[22] and Movakani[23] by his father, left the territories in his care and hastened to Persia to redeem his father.

These foreign attacks enabled the *erist'avs* of Kartli to congregate and elect a prince. Consequently the Georgian magnates did not re-establish the old kingdom, but they placed a noble, a *primus inter pares*, in supreme power elected by them from their ranks, who did not deprive them of their hereditary

[19] The following is added to the sentence in the Čalašvili manuscript (16th c.): «daucera saerist'aot'a mat't'a mkwidroba: he signed that their lands be hereditary». (*K'art'lis C'xovreba* I, p. 218).

[20] This addendum is found only in later manuscripts. All the manuscripts that have this addendum contain a section on the genesis of the Bagratids from the chronicle of Sumbat, son of Davit: *K'art'lis C'xovreba* I, p. 218, n. 4.

[21] «Mašin mep'eman sparst'aman Urmizd misc'a jesa t'wissa Rani da Movakani, romelsa erk'ua K'asre Ambarvezi. Movida da daǰda Bardavs, da ucqo zraxvad erist'avt'a K'art'lisat'a: aγut'k'ua ket'ili didi, da daucera saerist'ot'a mat't'a mamuloba švilit'i-švilamde, da esret' caribirna lik'nit'a. Da gandges erist'avni da t'wis-t'wisad xarksa misc'emdes K'asre Ambarvezsa: Then Urmizd, the king of Persia, gave Rani and Movakani to his son, who was called the name of K'asre Ambarvez. He came here and settled in Bardav, and started to cajole the *erist'avs* of K'art'li: he promised them much good and signed that they have hereditary possession over their lands, and thus he lured them by flattering them. And the *erist'avs* turned traitors and each of them paid tribute to K'asre Ambarvez.» (*K'art'lis C'xovreba* I, p. 217).

[22] It is the part of Caucasian Albania between the rivers Mtkvari and Araks: T'. Papuašvili, *Heret'is istoriis sakit'xebi* [Problems of Hereti's History] (Tbilisi 1970), p. 104.

[23] Considering Hereti a part of Kartli, the borders of Movakani were the following on the basis of Leonti Mroveli's data: Iberia in the west, the Caspian Sea in the east, and the river Mtkvari in the south. This area is the part of Albania to the left bank of the river Mtkvari and it is identical with the «Albanian Kingdom proper», referred to in the work of Anania Širakac'i (7th c.): T'. Papuašvili, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

lands. This was the way Guaram[24] gained power, whom also the Byzantine Emperor acknowledged as the greatest lord of Kartli and gave him the title *curopalate*.

From a detached point of view, all this signifies that Kartli, fighting against Persia, was headed by a representative subjected to the Byzantine Emperor, and not by a sovereign monarch (Georgian: *mep'e*). Georgian sources refer to the elected ruler of Kartli as *erismt'avar*, or *erismt'avt'a-mt'avari* «the leader of the *erist'avs*» so as to distinguish him from the rest of the magnates, or he was also called *didi erist'avi* «mighty erist'avi». The establishment of the principality meant the foundation of an early feudal state in Kartli[25].

J̌uanšer's reflection concerning the establishment of the principality is not isolated from the wider framework of the power struggles of Byzantium and Persia. His chronicle contains data which supplement the information of other sources about the events in the Persian Empire.[26] «Then the Emperor

[24] It is to be noted that the Byzantine sources make no mention of Guaram, the *erismt'avar* of Kartli. However, the chronicle of Theophanes refers to a noble called Gurgen in connection with the rebellion of 571, who was the leader of the anti-Persian revolt in Kartli. Researchers usually identify Gurgen of the Byzantine sources with *erismt'avar* Guaram of the Georgian documents: C. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 385; *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 271.

The reports of Theophanes seem to be confirmed by the Sassanian coins bearing the initials GN in Georgian letters. Namely, the researchers are of the view that the initials GN refer to the name Gurgen. Next to the portrait of Hormizd IV (579–590) Persian ruler a hardly decipherable number can be seen that best resembles the digit 7. According to G. Dundua, this signifies that the Gurgen coins were minted from the 7th year on (i.e. 586) of the reign of Hormizd IV. Dundua concludes that Gurgen, whom Theophanes claims to have been only the leader of the 571 revolt, became *erismt'avar* of Kartli in 586: G. Dundua, E. c. k'art'ul-sasanuri monet'ebis problema da adrep'eodaluri xanis Sak'art'velos istoriis sakit'xebi [The problems of the so-called Georgian-Sassanian coins and the history of early feudalism in Georgia]: *MAC'NE istoriis, ark'eologiis, et'nograp'iisa da xelovnebis istoriis seria* I 1976, pp. 106–109.

[25] Simon J̌anašia, *Šromebi* [Works] I (Tbilisi 1949), pp. 105–108; *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, pp. 271–273.

[26] «Mašin keisarman carmosc'a ganji didi Guaram kurapalatisa t'ana, da ubrjana, rat'a mit' ganjit'a gamoiqvannes č'rdilos laškarni, da šeert'nes t'ana spani k'art'velt'ani, da šegzavnnes Sparset's. Xolo Guaram qo egre: gamoiqvanna ovsni, durjukni da didoni da carujγuanna cina erist'avni k'art'lisani. Ševides Adarbadagans, daucqes tquenvad. Da esevit'arni čirni da uc'aloebani moicivnes sparst'a zeda.

Mašin gamoč'nda Sparset's kac'i ert'i, romelsa erk'ua Baram Č'ubini, ese ecqo t'urk't'a, Sparset's šemosrult'a, vit'ar'ca ceril ars ganc'xadebulad c'xovrebasa sparst'asa, mokla Saba, t'urk't'a mep'e, da aota banaki mat'i. Xolo spani igi berjent'ani, romelni šesrul iqvnes Sparset's, šeik'c'es da carvides šina. Da č'rdiloni igi, Guaram kurapalatisa šegzavnilni, carmovides iginic'a šina; ramet'u vinat'gan moic'ales sparst'a t'urk't'agan, šešindes, da daec'a šiši da jrcola k'art'velt'a sparst'agan.

Da aman Guaram kurapalatman icqo c'ixet'a da k'alak't'a magrebad.

sent a treasure to *curopalate* Guaram and commanded him to raise northern troops with it and join them to the Georgian troops and send them to Persia. And this is what Guaram did: he brought Ovses,[27] Durjuks[28] and Didos[29] and sent the *eristʿavs* of Kʿartʿli to lead them. They went into Adarbadagan and

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Da kualadcʿa cqaloba qo ɣmertʿman kʿristianetʿa zeda da sxua šuɣli davarda Sparsetʿs: rametʿu igive Baram Čʿubini gaadga sparstʿa mepʿesa, da dascunes tʿualni Urmizd mepʿesa cʿolis jmatʿa mistʿa, da icqes brjolad Čʿubinman da Kʿasre. Iota Kʿasre Čʿubinisagan, da carvida Saberjnetʿs. Da keisarman Mavrik moscʿa asuli tʿwisi cʿolad Kʿasres, da moscʿa spa misi da carmogzavna Čʿubinsa zeda. Iota Čʿubini Sparsetʿitʿ, da Kʿasreman daipqra Sparsetʿi . . .

Mašin erčda sparstʿa mepʿe keisarsa, da gantʿavisupʿldes kʿartʿvelni. Da ese Guaram kurapalati dadga morčʿilebasa zeda berjentʿasa.

Iqo kaci morcmune da mašenebeli eklesiatʿa. Aman icqo eklesia ǰuarisa patiosnisa; . . .

Da mepʿobda ketʿilad da ušpʿotʿvelad. Aramed eristʿavni kʿartʿlisani ver scʿvalna saeristʿvotʿagan matʿtʿa, rametʿu sparstʿa mepʿisagan, da berjentʿa mepʿisagan hkʿondes sigelni mkwidrobisatʿwis saeristʿvotʿa matʿtʿa, aramed iqvnes morčʿilebasa Guaram kurapalatisasa.» (*Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, pp. 219—221.).

[27] Georgian sources often refer to the Alans, who lived at the northern fringes of the Caucasus, by the name *Ovsi* or *Osi*. Frequent reference to them is explained by the fact that the political life of the Georgian state was closely related to the Alans from the beginnings. This large tribal group, which belongs to the northern branch of the Iranian peoples, gained significance in the region between Lake Aral and the Caucasus after 50 A.D. Following the thrust of the Huns into Europe, some of their tribes advanced westward, others remained near the Caucasus: K. Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, p. 135.

[28] First reference to the Durdzuks is made by the Arab Ibn al-Faqīh (first half of the 10th c.) in connection with events of the 6th century. A century later (11th c.) the Georgian Leonti Mroveli and J̌uanšer also wrote about them. At that time the term *durjuk* denoted the Chechen-Ingush (Vaynah) tribes, who dwelled in the northern part of the Caucasus. During the 18th century, however, the ethnic content of the name *Durjuk* (*Jurjuk*) changed, i.e. it referred only to the western groups of the Chechen-Ingush tribes: N. G. Volkova, *Ėtnonimy i plemennye nazvanija Severnogo Kavkaza*, (Moskva 1973), pp. 135—139. According to archeological findings, in addition to the Dariel pass, the road along the rivers Assa and Armkhi was of primary importance among the routes crossing the land of the Ingush. The local population formed contacts with mountain dwellers and the peoples of the plain via the valley of the river Assa. This canyon is identical with the *Parčuan—Durjuk* «gate» or «road», which had from earlier times connected the mountain dwellers of the Northern Caucasus with Georgia. They got in touch with the inhabitants of the Eastern Caucasus mostly through the Derbend gate. It should be noted that the migration of the Ingush is far less noticeable via the route along the Darial canyon although it led immediately past the land of the Ingushs: E. I. Krupnov, *Srednevekovaja Ingušetija* (Moskva 1971), pp. 142—144. — It was Márton Istvánovits who drew my attention to the works of N. G. Volkova and E. I. Krupnov, and I herewith acknowledge his kind assistance.

[29] They are a people living around the upper section of the river Andi Koysu. Ptolemaios (2nd c. B. C.) called them *Diduroi*, Plinius (1st c. A. D.) names them *Diduri*. It is highly probable that Zacharias Rhetor refers to the Dido̊s by the name *Dâdî* in the geographical appendix of his work concerning church history (6th c.): K. Ahrens—G.

started to devastate her. These were the afflictions and damages brought upon the Persians.[30]

Then a man, who was called by the name Baram Čʿubin,[31] appeared in Persia. He fought against the Turks, who had come to Persia, as it is clearly written in the history of the Persians,[32] and he killed Saba,[33] the king of the

Krüger, *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte von Zacharias Rhetor* (Leipzig 1899), pp. 253, 382 ; K. Czeglédy, *Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the Nomads: Studia Turcica* (ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971), pp. 133—148. — Later they were also mentioned in Armenian and Georgian sources. According to the *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* the Durdzuks lived west of the river Terek, and the Didos east of it (G. A. Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnej Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1959, pp. 293—294.)

[30] C. Toumanoff accepts the position of M. Higgins, notably that the attack on the north described by J̌uanšer corresponds to the «Khazar» attack familiar from the works of Arabian historians. The onslaught took place after April 589 : C. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 384, n. 5 ; L. N. Gumilev is of the opinion that the Khazars also joined Guaram's army, thus in the troops attacking Azerbaijan and Armenia, which were under Persian rule, in April 589, the Khazars fought together with the Georgians and the mountain dwellers : L. N. Gumilev, *op. cit.*, p. 230, n. 15. On the other hand, G. Mamulia affirms that the mention of the Khazars in Arabian sources refers to later times (7th—9th centuries). Mamulia suggests that the source of the section cited from J̌uanšer's chronicle was a cycle of Georgian historical songs composed at the time of the events in question, therefore the data of the chronicle can be accepted as authentic : G. Mamulia, Leonti Mrovelis da J̌uanšeris cqaroebi (Pʿalauri eposi Leonti Mrovelis da J̌uanšeris saistorio tʿxzulebebši. Cqaros strukʿturuli analizi) [The sources of Leonti Mroveli and J̌uanšer. The Pehlevi epos in the works of Leonti Mroveli and J̌uanšer. A structural analysis of the source.]: *MACʿNE* 4 (1964), pp. 271—272.

[31] The form Baram comes nearest to the New Persian form *Bahrām* : M. Andronikašvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 445—446.

[32] J̌uanšer of the 11th century, as well as Leonti Mroveli of the same age, used the «History of the Persians» (Georgian : *sparsʿa cʿxovreba*) as a source. It has been long debated without solution as yet which work is actually called the «History of the Persians». According to recent research, «the book of the history of the Persians», referred to in the chronicle of Leonti Mroveli, is an Arabian compendium of the Khodāy-nāme, and the «History of the Persians» enclosed by J̌uanšer is identical to the Bahrām Čōbīn romance of the 7th century : G. Mamulia, *op. cit.*, pp. 243—275.

[33] It is the Khvatāy-nāmak, or its version known from Arabian and Persian sources, that combines Bahrām's story with the records of Khosrav's rebellious uncle Bistam. As the chronicle of Sebeos relates, Bistam advanced to the land of the Hephthalites around 597, where he successfully defeated the Hephthalite princes Šaug and Pariovk. Marquart pointed out that the names of Šaug and Pariovk had appeared in the story of Bahrām, in which Bahrām's antagonist, the Turk kagan is called *Šawa* (Arabic-Persian *Šāwa* < **Šawag* > Armenian *Šaug*) and his son is named *Parmuda*. K. Czeglédy considered that Šaug, who was still alive in 597 at the time of Bahrām's rebellion, coud not be identical with the Turkish kagan, whom Bahrām killed in 588 : K. Czeglédy : *AOH* VIII (1958), p. 22. According to S. Qauxčʿišvili, the name Saba reached the Georgian source through Byzantine documents : *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, p. 040. In contrast, G. Mamulia suggests that J̌uanšer made use of no Byzantine source whatsoever in enlarging upon the Persian—Turkish warfare : G. Mamulia, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Turks and sent their camp fleeing. But the Greek troops that were in Persia turned and went home. And the northerners that had been sent by Guaram also came home ; and as the Persians thus got rid of the Turks, the Georgians were frightened, and sorrow and fear befell them because of the Persians.

And this Curopalate Guaram started to reinforce the fortresses and cities.

And God again had compassion on the Christians, and new strife was created in Persia : for the same Baram Č'ubin revolted against the king of the Persians and blinded the brothers[34] of the wife of king Urmizd[35] and Č'ubin and K'asre went out to fight. K'asre was put to flight by Č'ubin and went to Byzantium. And Emperor Mavrik gave his daughter to K'asre as a wife, and gave him his army and sent him [to fight] against Č'ubin. Č'ubin fled from Persia and K'asre occupied Persia . . .

Then the Persian King submitted to the Emperor and the Georgians were liberated.[36] And this curopalate Guaram submitted himself to the Greeks.

This man (Guaram) was a godly person and builder of churches. He started to erect the church of the majestic cross[37] . . .

He reigned benevolently and peacefully. But he was unable to dispossess the *erist'avs* of Kartli of their lands, because they had certificates from the king of the Persians and from the king of the Greeks that their lands were hereditary, although they fell under the jurisdiction of curopalate Guaram.»

[34] At this point of the sentence, every manuscript of the Vakhtang-redaction (18th c.) has the conjunctive «and» (Georgian : *da*), completely changing the meaning of the sentence : «*Baram Č'ubini gaadga sparst'a mep'esa*, da *dascunes t'ualni Urmizds mep'esa*, da *c'olis jmat'a mist'a*: Baram Č'ubin rebelled against the king of the Persians and blinded Urmizd *and* his wife's brothers in the eye.» This conjunctive, however, is missing from every manuscript prior to Vakhtang (15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries) : «*Baram Č'ubin gaadga sparst'a mep'esa, da dascunes t'ualni Urmizd mep'esa c'olis jmat'a mist'a*: Baram Č'ubin rebelled against the king of the Persians and blinded the brothers of king Urmizd's wife in the eye.» S. Qauxč'išvili is of the opinion that the latter variation of the sentence can be proved correct : *K'art'lis C'xovreba* I, p. 040.

[35] *Urmizd*, the Georgian variation of the name of Hormizd IV (579—590) the Persian ruler comes from the Middle Persian *Ohrmizd* : M. Andronikašvili, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

[36] J̌uanšer most probably relates here the peace treaty of 591 between Byzantium and Persia. However, the chronicle of Sebēos reveals that only the Kartli areas west of Tbilisi were liberated from Persian rule : *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 271.

[37] G. Č'ubinašvili's researches confirm that *erismt'avar* Guaram had the chapel built next to the cathedral of J̌vari. The cathedral of J̌vari was later erected by *erismt'avar* Step'anoz I and his family at the turn of the 6th to 7th century: G. Čubinašvili, *Pamjatniki tipa Džvari*, Tbilisi 1948.

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AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS OF MAIMONIDES

FROM THE LENINGRAD GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

It is now some ninety years since A. Neubauer published the autograph signature of Maimonides :[1]

אני משה ברבי מימון ז׳ צ׳ ל׳

A number of his manuscripts have since come to light,[2] including medical writings, letters, responsa,[3] and others.

Many pages of the Mishne Tora have survived,[4] in greatest numbers from his Mishna-commentary in Arabic.[5] Now partly in the Bodleian, Oxford, and partly in the Sassoon Library (newly in the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem), there are four volumes on the five orders of the Mishna. From the deletions and emendations it is clear that it was an impurum.

Only the order of Tohorot is missing.[6] J. Blau, too, declared : «Of this order, unlike the others, nothing has survived in the Oxford or Sassoon autograph manuscripts.»[7]

Of the order of Tohorot we have found four pages (the Introduction) in Leningrad in October, 1978 (Antonin 1095.). Paper, 15.5×22 cm. In this, too,

[1] A. Neubauer, *Facsimiles of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1886), Pl. IV.

[2] N. Allony : *Sinai* XL (1976), Nos. 1—2, pp. 1—7.

[3] M. A. Friedman : *Tarbiz* XLVI (1976/77), pp. 145—149.

[4] S. H. Atlas, *A Section from the Yad Ha-Hazakah of Maimonides* (London 1940) ; E. Hurvitz, *Mishneh Torah of Maimonides. Newly discovered handwritten pages of Rabbi Moshe Ben Maimon* (New York 1973) ; M. Beit-Arié : *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* LVII (1974), offprint.

[5] S. M. Stern : *Tarbiz* XXIII (1951/52), pp. 72—88 ; *Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi.* I—III. Ed. R. Edelmann (Copenhagen 1956—1966) ; *Thirty-Eight highly important Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts from the Collection formed by late David Solomon Sassoon* (Zürich 1975), pp. 56—58. No. 16.

[6] S. M. Stern : *Tarbiz* XXIII (1951/52), p. 73.

[7] J. Blau : *Lešonenu* XXXV (1970/71), p. 75.

the author has made a number of emendations, and has deleted certain sections. The catalogue states that this is a «Glossary on Mishnah, Arabic.»[8]

A discussion of the text, and a comparison with the published version,[9] will be offered elsewhere; this is by way of a preliminary announcement.

M. Lutzki has recognised an autograph fragment of Maimûni's Mishna-commentary to Tohorot on a geniza-leaf at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (ENA 4045[8]; *Hatekufah* XXX—XXXI [1946], p. 683; S. M. Stern: *Tarbiz* XXIII [1951/52], p. 83.). From the photostat I have seen it is clear that it belongs to the Leningrad manuscript.

On the title-page of another work in Leningrad, the Arabic original of Saadya's work on the philosophy of religion (*Kitâb al-Amânât wal-I'tikâdât*), the second half of Maimonides' name may be seen:

[משה ברבי] מימון [ז' צ'] ל' אסף

This too is Maimonides' own hand (Evr.-arab. I. 127.). He was the owner of this work of Saadya. Although the margin of the manuscript has some notes, they are not by Maimonides.[10]

Photographs are attached to enable my statements to be checked.

These manuscripts have waited eight centuries to be redeemed from obscurity.

[8] A. I. Katsh: *The Leo Jung Jubilee Volume* (New York 1962), p. 129.

[9] משנה עם פירוש רבינו משה בן מימון. סדר טהרות. Ed. J. Kafaḥ. I—II (Jerusalem 1968—1969).

[10] The book list written on the same title page was published by W. Bacher: *REJ* XXXII (1896), pp. 126—129. Must be republished in complete form with corrected reading.

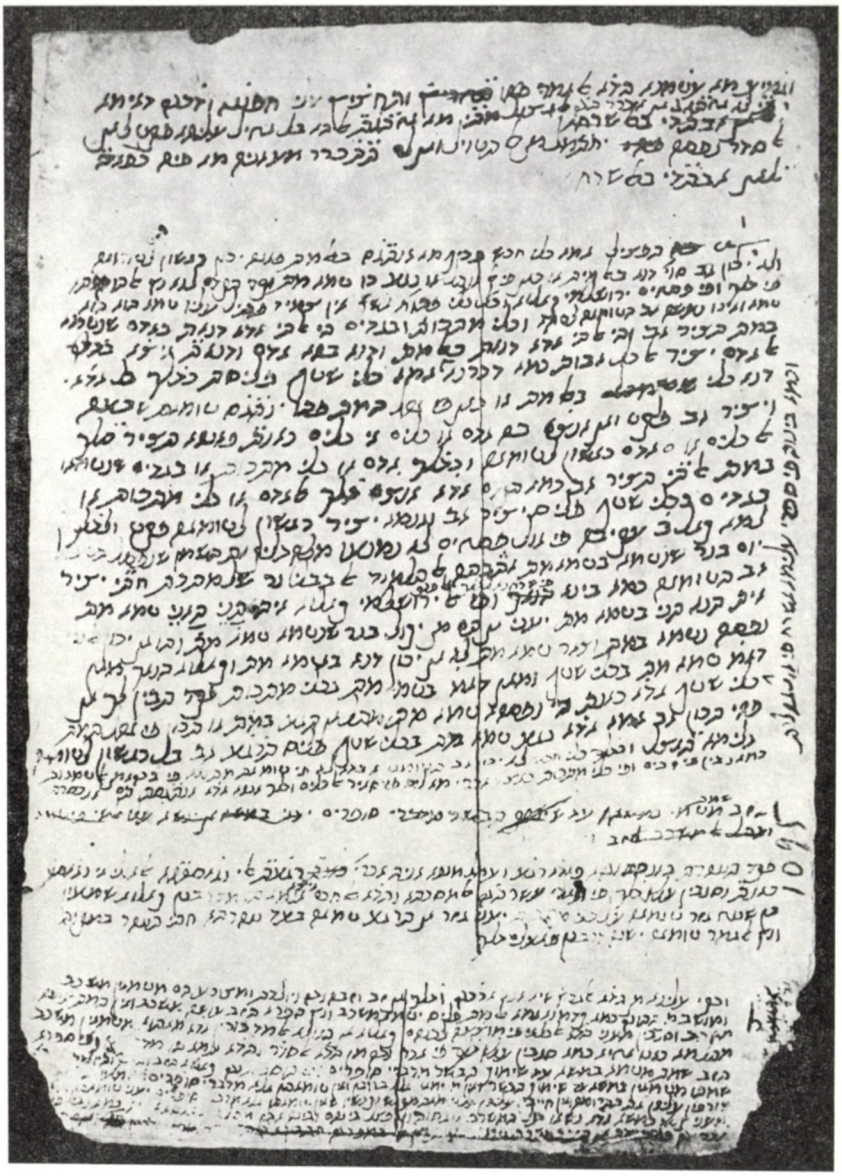


Fig. 1. MS. Leningrad, Antonin 1095, p. 1a

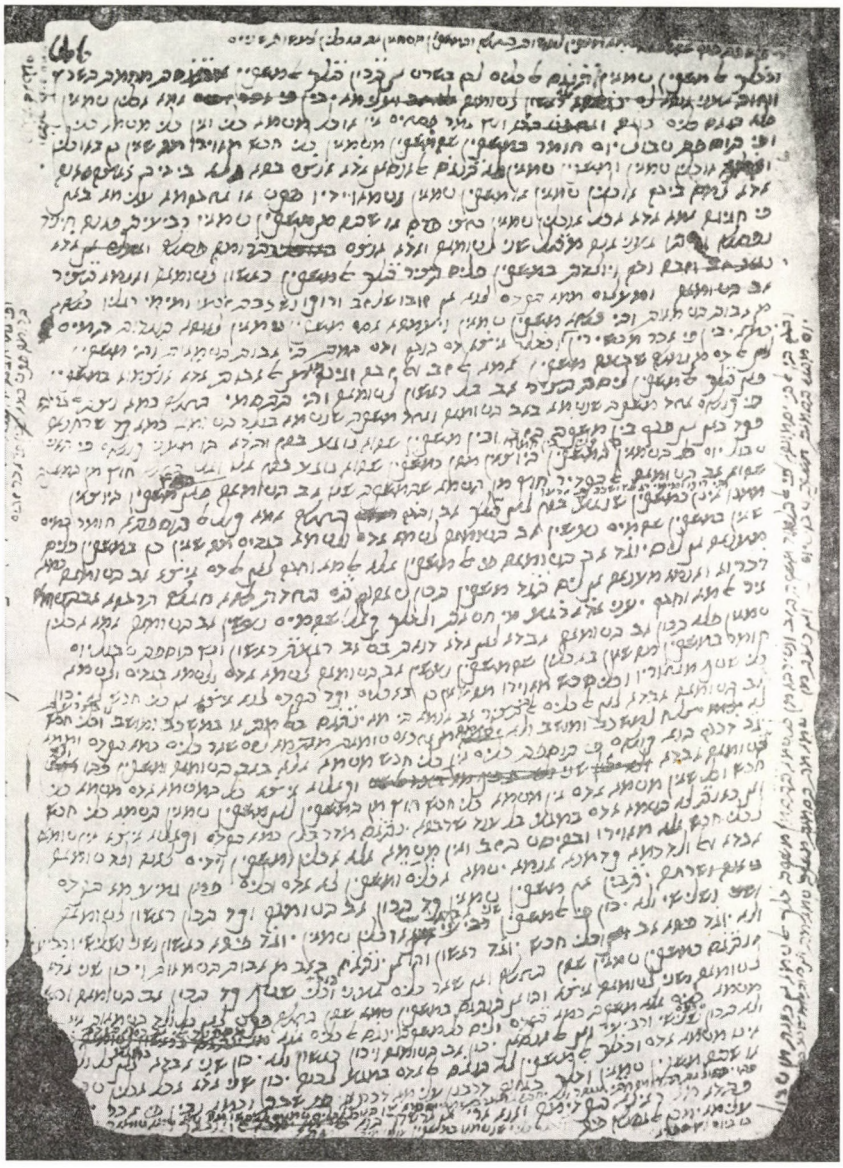


Fig. 2. MS. Leningrad, Antonin 1095, p. 1b

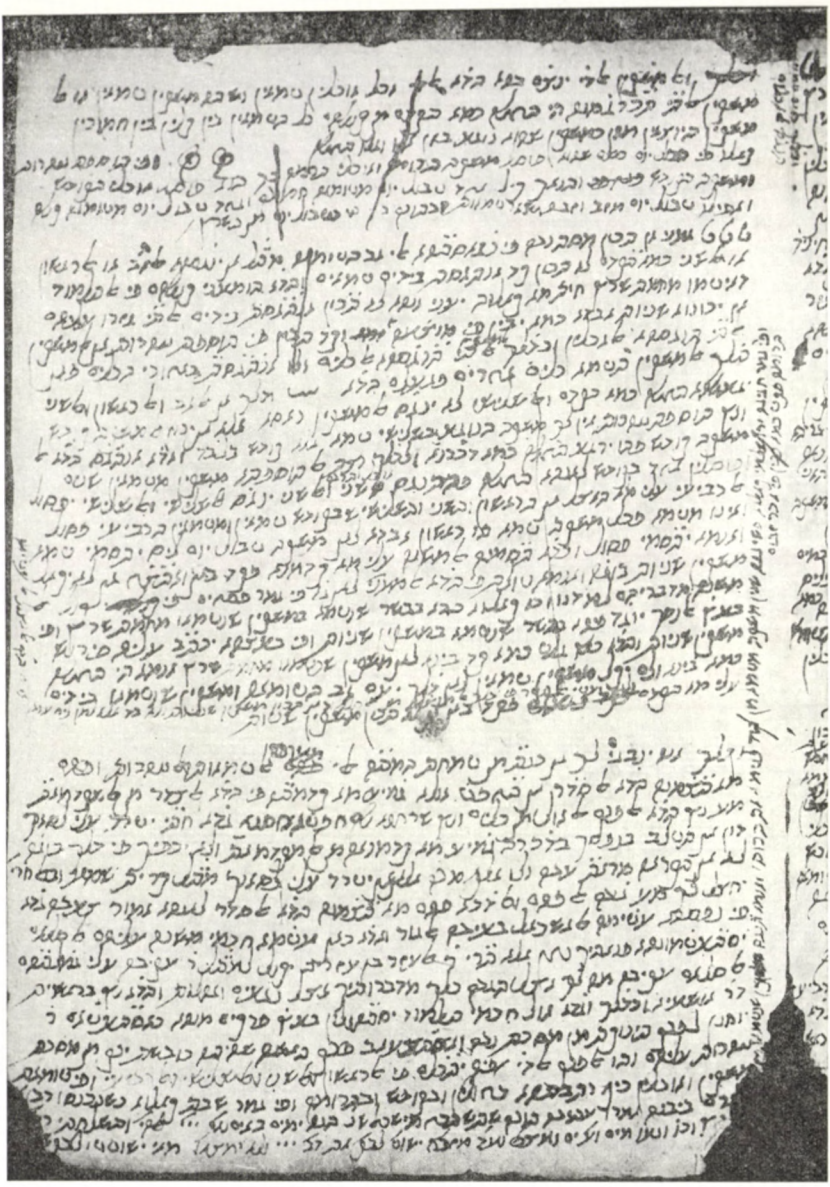


Fig. 3. MS. Leningrad, Antonin 1095, p. 2a

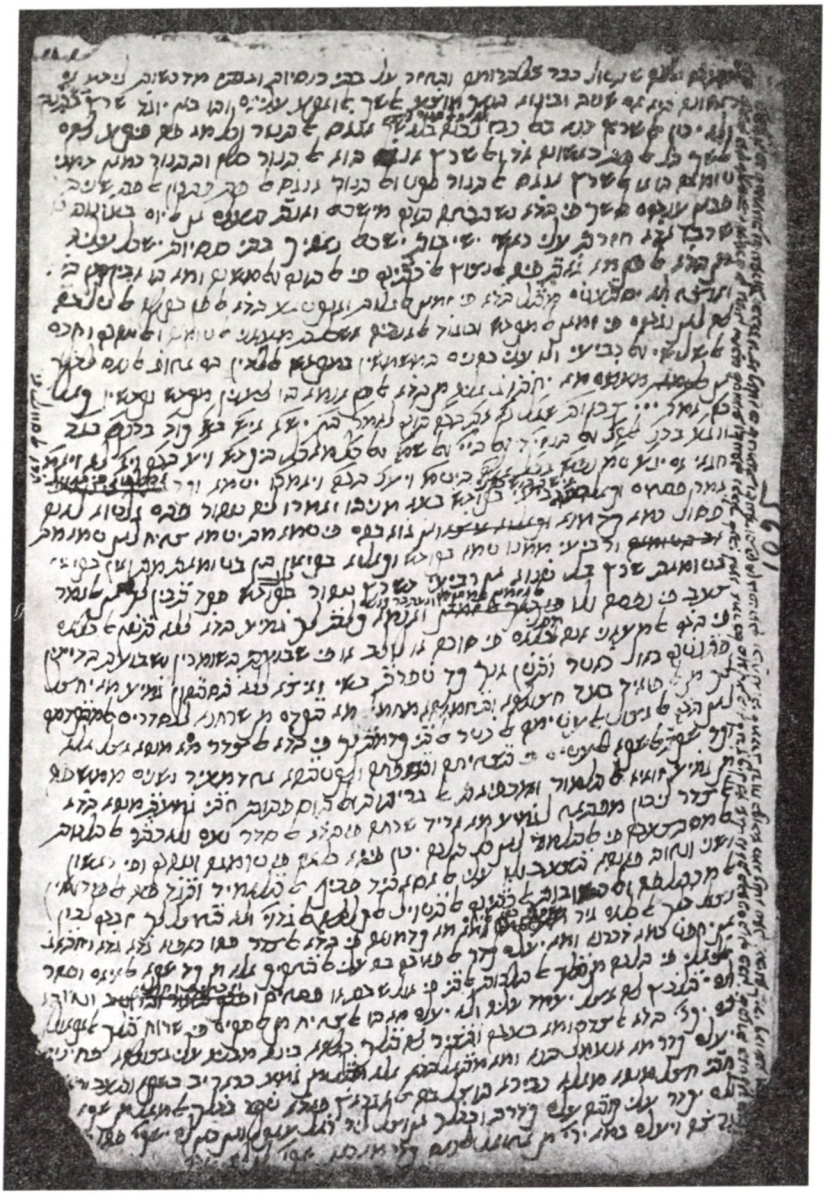


Fig. 4. MS. Leningrad, Antonin 1095, p. 2b

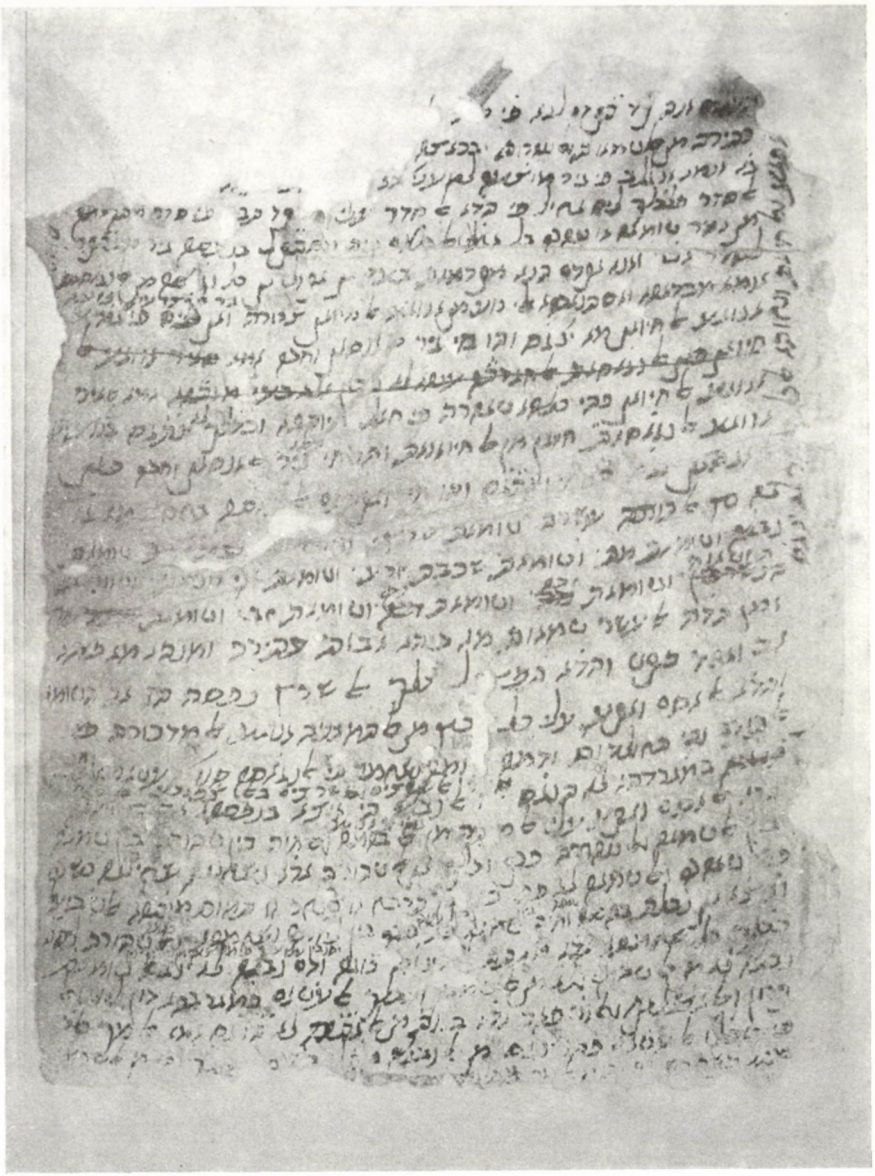


Fig. 5. MS. New York, ENA 4045[8], p. 1a

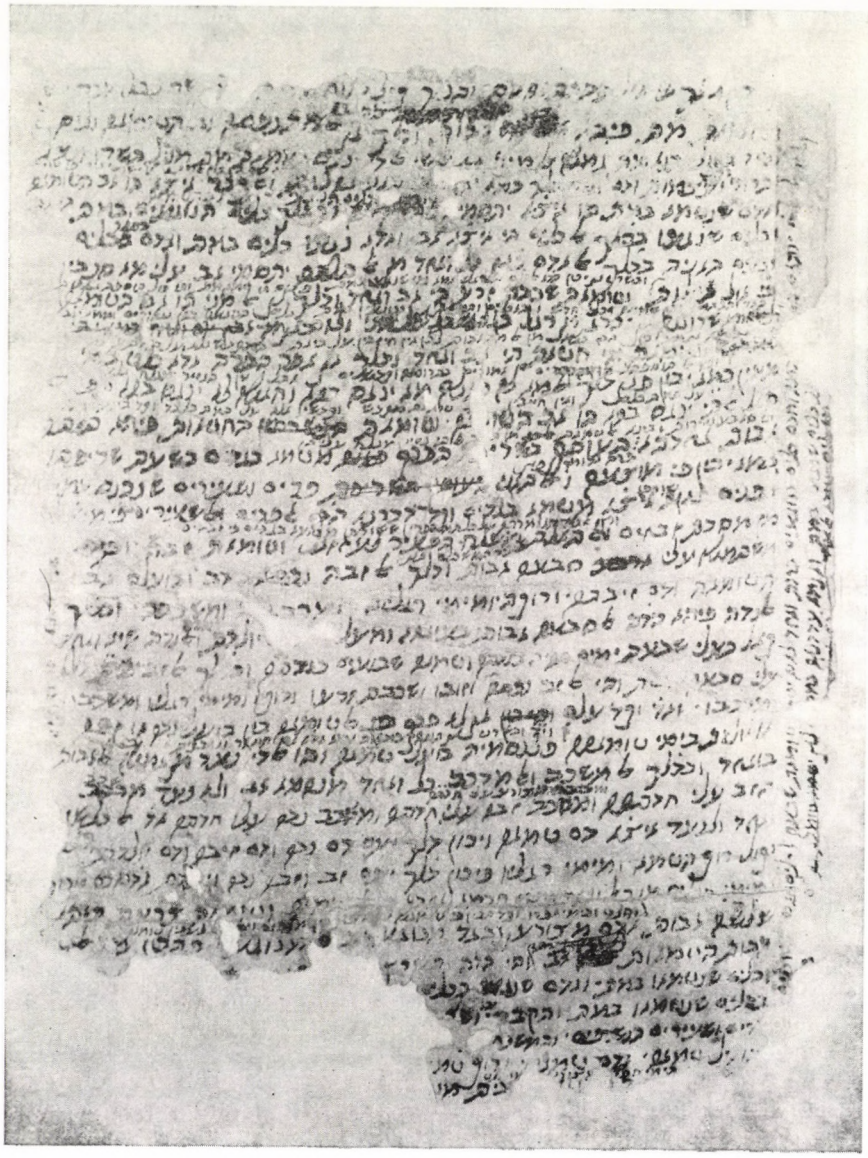


Fig. 6. MS. New York, ENA 4045[8], p. 1b

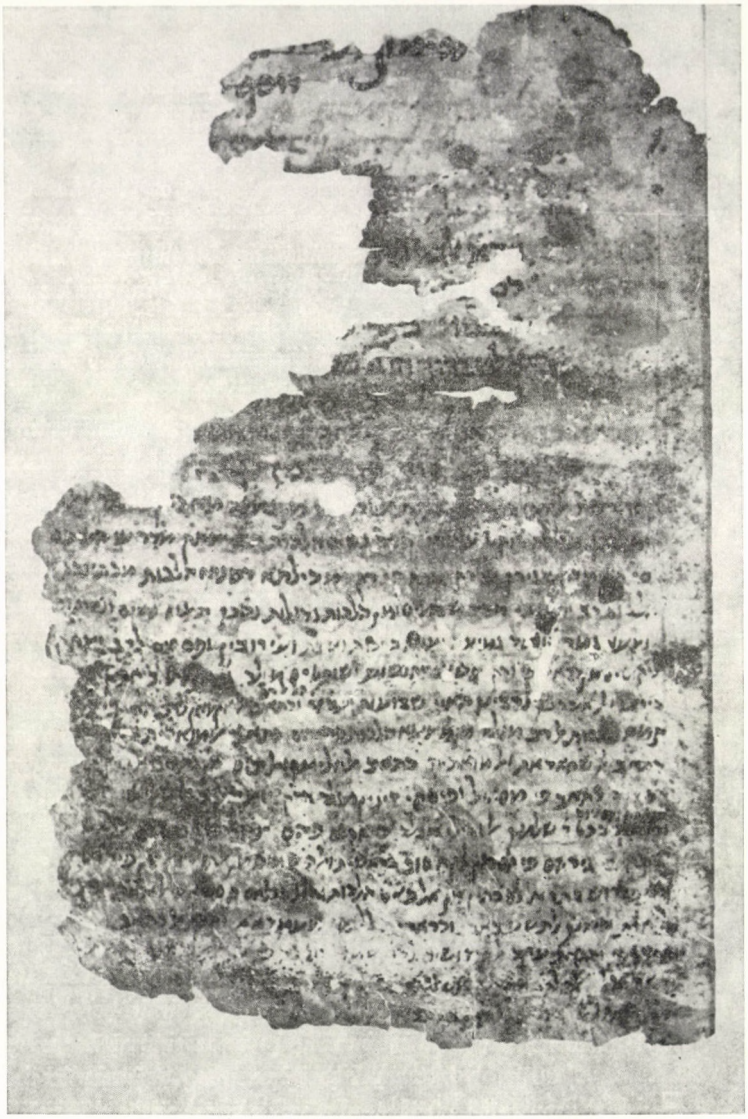


Fig. 7. MS. Leningrad, Evr.-arab. I. 127, p. 1a

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TWO NEW FRAGMENTS OF SAADYA'S ESSA MESHALI

FROM THE GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

Saadya's anti-Karaite verse tract, the Essa Meshali, was untraced for nearly a millennium. Its first part was found by B. M. Lewin some fifty years ago.[1] Enough of it has been found since then to make a small volume,[2] but even after publication further fragments were found.

Some years ago I classified the manuscripts and established that there were five.[3]

The work has recently attracted attention again. Simon Hopkins has established that the leaf of parchment in T.—S. A 45 belongs to the Lewin manuscript.[4] It is a hitherto unknown part of the work. Hopkins gives a photograph and a transcription of the manuscript, but adds: «Parts of this fragment are extremely difficult to read, and some of the readings should not be regarded as anything more than tentative.»

Indeed, the publication of an annotated reading would be most welcome.

Professor E. Fleischer has also found an unknown fragment in Cambridge (personal communication).

I.

In August 1978, on the third day of a visit to Cambridge, I found in the recently sorted Additional Series a sixth manuscript of the work (T.—S. A. S. 116.82).

[1] B. M. Lewin: *Tarbiz* III (1931/32), pp. 147—160.

[2] אשא משלי. Ed. B. M. Lewin (Jerusalem 1943). See A. Dotan, *Ben Asher's Creed. A Study of the History of the Controversy* (Missoula 1977), pp. 81—85.

[3] A. Scheiber: *Tarbiz* XXXIV (1964/65), pp. 223—231.

[4] S. Hopkins, *A Miscellany of Literary Pieces from the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge 1978), pp. 61—63. No. 18b; A. Scheiber: *JJS* XXX (1979), p. 102. The text reprinted in a corrected form with a commentary by S. Abramson: *Sinai* XLIII (1978/79), Nos. 3—4, pp. 97—104.

It is a single leaf, paper, square script, with pointing. The dimensions are 12.5 cm by 20.5 cm. There are 23 lines on each page. It is in poor condition ; the writing is very faint and in many places illegible. The text agrees with that published by Lewin חה—זה ;[5] where it cannot be made out, I have placed Lewin's text in square brackets. The notes reveal any variae lectiones.

II.

Two days later I found another fragment of this verse tract in the same place. This is the fifth piece of the manuscript I have identified as No. 3. (T.—S. A. S. 122.73.). The surviving part is 5 cm by 9.5 cm, with writing on both sides. One section of chapter הח ; nothing of this chapter has survived. Because of the brevity of the fragment, little can be said of its contents. The strophes are so fragmentary that no attempt is made to rearrange them and the lines are printed as found in the manuscript. If and when complementary fragments are found, this fragment will gain significance.

The new manuscripts lend support to our view that this work of Saadya's was once very popular ; this is why it was so widely copied.

A photograph of the manuscripts is given to aid the discovery and dentification of further fragments.

*

I wish to express my thanks to the Cambridge University Library for the photographs and for permission to publish the texts.

The study trip one result of which is this paper, was made possible by a grant from the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. My thanks go to Prof. D. Patterson.

[5] B. M. Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 32, last line — p. 35, last line.

I

T.—S. A. S. 116. 82.

(חרוזי זה)

[1a] . . . . . [אותם] אזה :

ואויל שפתים ילבט
[כקצח במ]טה יחבט
כי דבר [יי] בזה :

[והשכיל ל]אדם יקח דעת
בענש [ליץ] זאת [מודעת]
[יח]כם פתי ויעלוזה :

זעו כל [אדם יראו מאימיו]
והאמינו באלוה ונביאיו [וחכמיו]
[מול] מחזה אל מחזה :
ה

(חרוזה חה)

[חכ]מים יצפנו דעת
וכל פתיות [נגדעת]
[ו]אורח ישרים נבוחה :

טרוף [ובוצע מע]שקות
בזו בוז ואהבו חשוקות
[מפני יראת] שומע שיחה :

יד שלח [לשמואל] לסמכו
ברדתו מן האני לתמכו
[ולא דן דינו וע]דיו לא נחה :

כרמל [וראשית] הגז
הביא בעל דין לישמעאל [במלגז,]
[והיתה לכהן] כמנחה :

לא שפטו [כי רחק מן הכאור ומן הדומה לכאור]
ואלו שפטו [הוציא משפטו כאור]
אבל דומה לדומה [נפשו זנחה :]

[מכסה] פשע מבק[ש אהבה]
[אחד העם לעקבה בנתיבה]
וגעלה כמשאה שלוחה :

14 טרוף] ל. טורף.
15 בזו] ל. בווז. ואהבו] ל. ותאו. חשוקות] ל. עשוקות.
24 שפטו] ל. שפט.

[ג]ער כפיו מתמך] בשחד
[ובהון ובפז רב לבו לא יחד
כי הוא עמוקה שו]חה :

ס]בל ועינו מצדק העלים
האומר כי יחללו בשעלים
תורה וחקה פצו]חה :

ע]פעפיו מדעת האטים
היזום כי משפטים מטים
והכבד] //את לבו כי היתה הרו]חה : [1b]

פ]ת [במלח תאכל]
ובמי נהר תתכלכל
צו]ו לתלמ[ידמו לפע]נ]חה :

צ]פירת גאות שכ[ורי עטרת]
אל תתאבו, ותבוז עתרת
כי [אחריתך טובה] מהם לשמ]חה :

ק]ב חרוב [די שבוע]
מי יוכל להתכלכל כן בו שבוע
נסכלתה האומר טבחו טב]חה :

45 להתכלכל] ל. יתכלכל.

[ר]וח מבינתי] תעניני אותך מלבזות
כי בא[פס חכמה] דברת זאת
חררים במדבר [ארץ] מלחה :

שופט ועושה [דין עני]
[הוא] יריבך ולא אני
כסוררים [שוכני צחיחה :]

תלונותיך שמע שדי
[אל יתן] לחית נפש חסידי
[הויה לבוחלי בם צוחה :]

אנשי רע לא יבינו [משפט]
[ולהב יקוד] עלימו כנפט
[שרפה באש כסוחה :]

[באין מוסר ירדו שחת
קננו בעברי] פי פחת
[ותהי נבלתם כסוחה :]

גידל] הבינו [מעשיו
כי הוסיף על מחיר שדה ולא] כפלוסיו
[ויהי בדעתו נטשה לנוחה :]

. . . . . .

II

T.—S. A. S. 122. 73.

(חרוזי הה)

[1a] גרזה משם וגסה · תלמ[וד] .....
בדרך נמו לפרוסה · ולא .....
נמו בין הרחובות · והה[א] .....
ואמרות כל מסחבות · .....
משפט לצענה · ופר 5
ואומרים משא ליע .....
זה עולם עד לא יצר .....
ארץ תוהה : רחץ .....
..צור · וכל נמצאת .....
[א]ותם · ואיך יבין 10
[ז]ה ונהה :

.....
.....

11 ונהה] עי׳ ל. עמ׳ נב, שורה 10.

[1b] .....ה קללתם מלבוון · וגם

.....נורם · ושפתי חכמים

[יזרו דעת] .....[ותר] וסים ועגור ידעו עת

[באנה] .....[נ]גוהה : אלה פיהם מלא

5 .....הברזל ואם קהה :

.....אם · אלא עדה

.....[נ]לחם ברצח · לעת

[ערב והנה בלהה :] .....כלי מפיץ ומשו[ר]

.....וה ותילהה :

10 .....פתאם · ול.....

.....יכוו בדבר ל.....

.....ובחר.....

.....

.....

2 ושפתי] משלי טו, ז.
3 ותר] יר׳ ח, ז.
4 נגוהה] יש׳ נט, ט.
5 הברזל] קה׳ י, י.
7 ברצח] יח׳ כא, כז. לעת] יש׳ יז, יד.
8 כלי מפץ] יח׳ ט, ב.

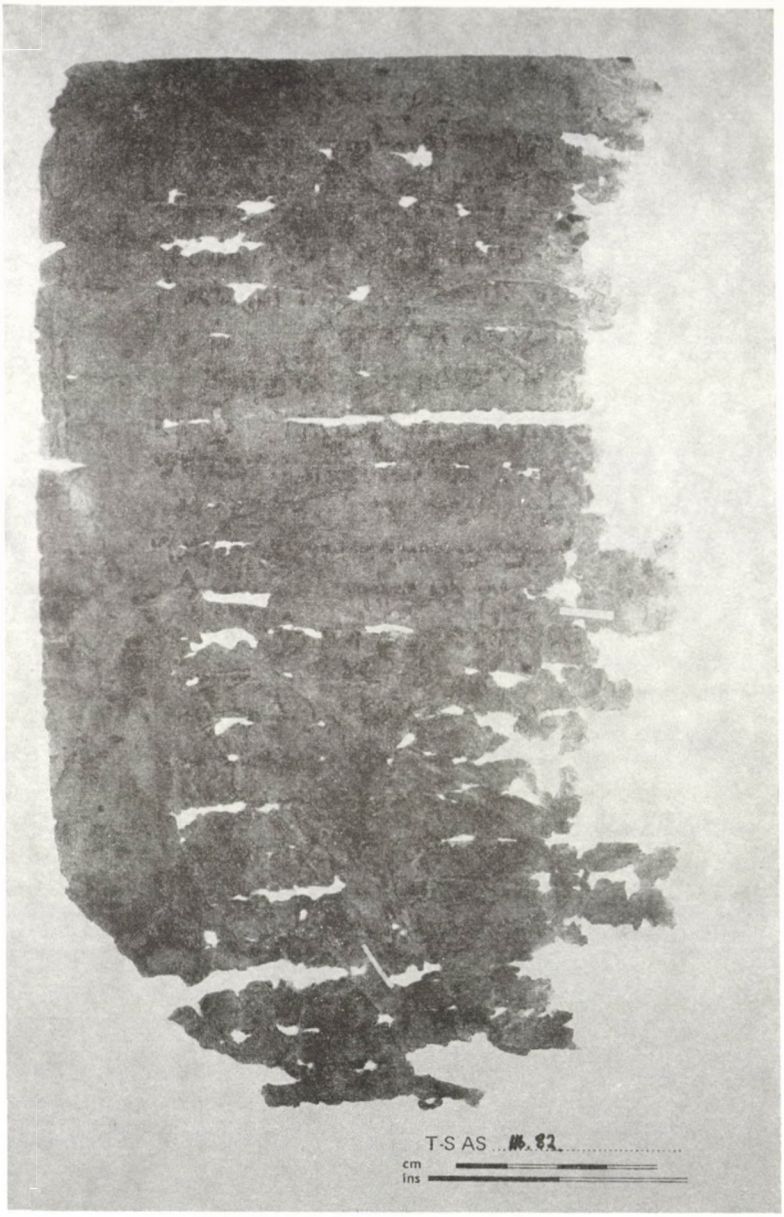


Fig. 1. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. A. S. 116.82, p. 1a

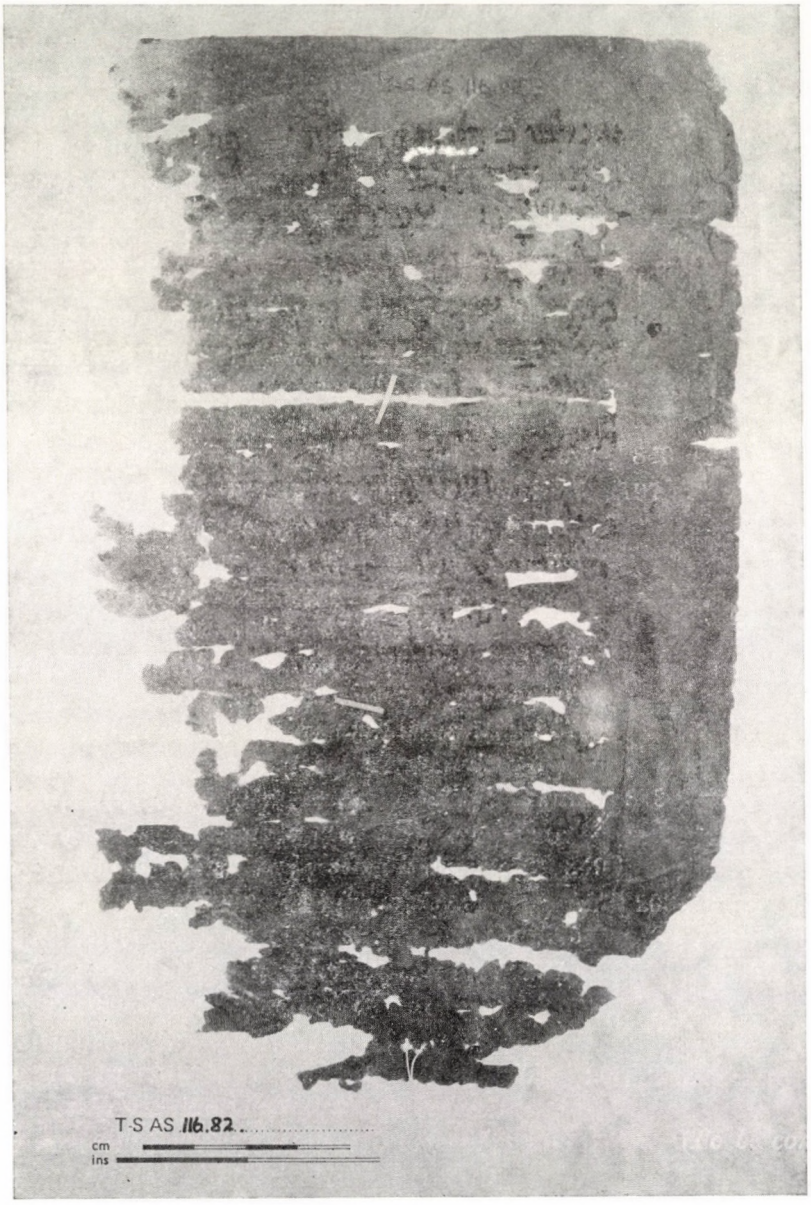


Fig. 2. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. A. S. 116.82, p. 1b

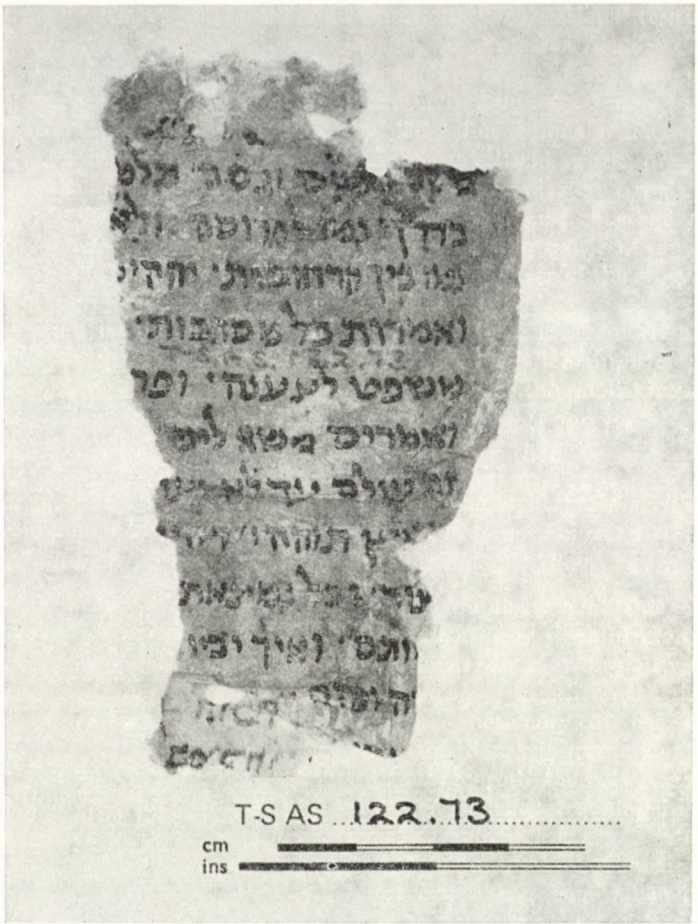


Fig. 3. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. A. S. 122.73, p. 1a

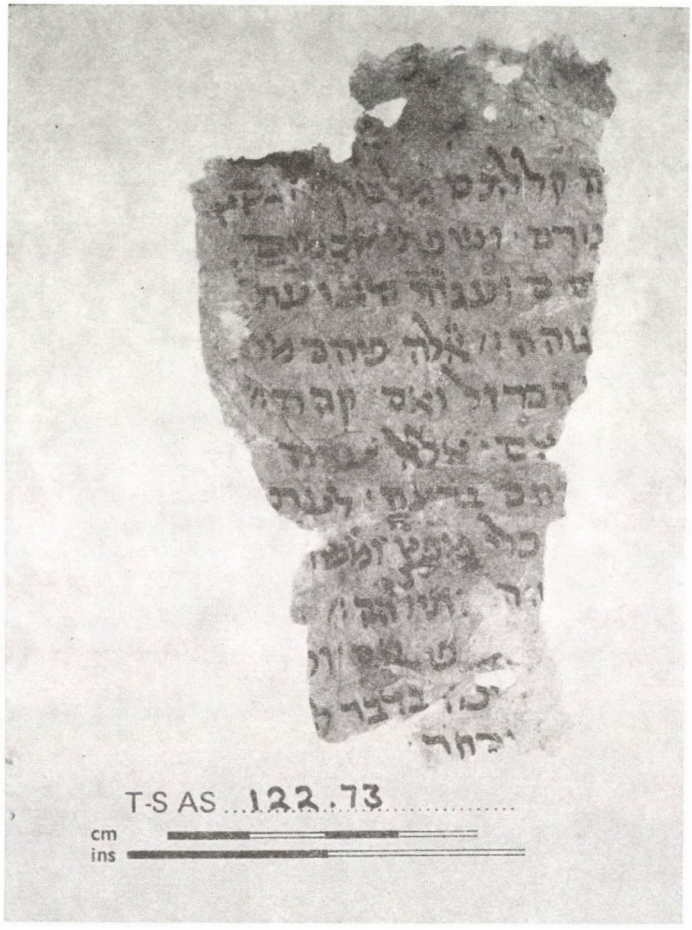


Fig. 4. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. A. S. 122.73, p. 1b

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXIII (2), pp. 209—252 (1979)

KĀŚYAPĪYAKṚṢISŪKTI: A SANSKRIT WORK ON AGRICULTURE I.

BY

GYULA WOJTILLA

As early as 1964 Professor S. P. Raychaudhury called attention to the *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* providing us with a free translation of excerpts from this Sanskrit treatise on agriculture.[1] I became familiar with that work during my stay in Varanasi in 1973 and arrived at a decision to deal with the work.

The text here published is one of the few Sanskrit[2] sources bearing on agriculture. The manuscript upon which the edition is founded, is a single codex under the signature XXXVIII. 1. 8. 63419 belonging to the Adyar Library, Madras.

The date of the copy is December 19th, 1930 and it was copied in Tirupati. The supposed original was not available for me and there is a good reason to think that it has been perished.[3]

I must confess that I was in two minds whether the edition from a single copy was justified. However, the importance of the text for research in to the technical and economic history drove me to put the text before the specialists concerned.

The work is of uncertain date and consists of 1780 lines.

I give the text in Latin transliteration according to the generally accepted form, so my orthography sometimes differs from the original one, especially in the case of the nasals. I followed the arrangement of the original and also I did not touch upon the irregular sandhis.

I added a consecutive number of verses wanting in the copy in order to facilitate the use of the work.

[1] *Agriculture in Ancient India.* General editor D. Raghavan (New Delhi 1964) Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

[2] The printed texts are the *Kṛṣiparāśara* and the *Kṛṣisamayanirṇaya*, both in: *Kṛṣiparāśara*. Ed. by G. P. Majumdar and S. Ch. Banerji (Calcutta 1960).

[3] The colophon reads: *Transcribed by pandit V. Vijayaraghavacharya, epigraphist, Tirupati S. India on December 19th.* 1930 *A. D.* For the information I am thankful to Professor Dr. S. Sankaranarayaran, director of the Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupari A. P.

In the second and third parts of this study an English translation as well as a special vocabulary of the important terms and a detailed study on age, author, contents and problems of philological nature will be published.

Here I should like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Seetha Neelakanthan, Librarian, Adyar Library for the permission of publishing the manuscript,[4] to Professor V. Raghavan for his constant help in my research and managing to get the photocopy, to the responsible authorities of the Ministry of Education, Government of India for sending me the photocopy through official chanels and Professor Ludwik Sternbach for various kinds of aid and benevolence towards my work.

Text

Kāśyapamunikathitā
Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūktiḥ

dhānyādikṛṣikramakathana-
śākādikṛṣikramakathana-
bhojyābhojyakramakathana-
vividhahavyanivedanakramakathanātmaka-
bhāgacatuṣkagumbhitā
(*mūlamātram*)

(1) *tatra śāstropadeśakramaḥ*
kāśyapa upadiśati

dharmavitkṣatriyo rājā prajārakṣādhuramdhuraḥ |
daṇḍayitvātha daṇḍyāṁstu satyaṁ dharmaṁ ca sarvatah ||1||
sthāpayitvā viśeṣeṇa varṇāśramaratānapi |
prajāḥ suprakṛtiḥ kāle poṣayet devatuṣṭaye |
devāśca yakṣagandharvāḥ pitaro munayaśca ye || 2 ||
ye cānye makhahomādikriyārhāḥ saṁprakīrtitāḥ |
tatprīṇanaṁ tu yajanaiḥ devayajñaṁ vidurbudhāḥ || 3 ||
prajānāmatithīnāṁ ca prīṇanaṁ bhojanādibhiḥ |
dhenvādiprīṇanaṁ kālyaṁ bhūtayajñaṁ prakīrtitam || 4 ||
ṛṣiyajñādayo ye ca nirdiṣṭā munibhiḥkramāt |
vedavidyādānajapādānaistatprīṇanaṁ matam || 5 ||
ato yajñeṣu sarveṣu devayajñaḥ pradhānakaḥ |
dvitīyo bhūtayajñastu tannidānaṁ mataṁ mama || 6 ||
tasmātsarveṣu deśeṣu bhūmīśo rakṣanāvratī |
devayajñaṁ bhūtayajñaṁ dvayameva prapālayet || 7 ||

[4] The permission was given by her in a letter dated March 11th, 1976.

śuddhadravyairdevayajñaḥ saphalaḥ kathito budhaiḥ |
tadarhadravyamādyaṁ tu sasyādiḥ parikīrtitaḥ || 8 ||
sasyodayaphalā bhūmiḥ dhṛtā vārāharūpiṇā |
viṣṇunā bhūṣṇunā pūrvaṁ pātālajalapātataḥ || 9 ||
saṁprārthitastayā devyā devaḥ śārṅgiparaḥ pumān |
harṣeṇa bhūmyā māhātmyamavadatsurasannidhau || 10 ||
ratnādidhāraṇāt garbhe ratnagarbhā vasuṁdharā |
dhānyādīnāmoṣadhīnāṁ jalānāṁ prasravādapi || 11 ||
dharā tu medinī khyātā prāṇināṁ prāṇavardhinī |
dvipadā ye catuṣpadāścaṇḍajā vividhāstu ye || 12 ||
te sarve prāṇivargāstu medinyāḥ sāravaibhavāt |
prāptasatvāḥ prāṇadharāḥ jīvino niścitā bhuvi || 13 ||
pannagānāṁ tathānyeṣāṁ dvipadāṁ ca catuṣpadām |
bharaṇāt prāṇadānācca devaprītiśca śāśvatī || 14 ||
satyadharmācaraṇakaṁ caturvargaphalātmakam |
tataḥ sṛṣṭistu saphalā tena modati sṛṣṭikṛt || 15 ||
ataḥ sasyaṁ dharāprāṇaḥ dharāyā vṛttiruttamā |
māṅgalyasūtraṁ ca tathā sasyamāhurdivaukasaḥ || 16 ||
sasyādireva medinyāḥ jīvanāḍī kalātmikā |
sasyādireva medinyāḥ paro dharmaḥ paraṁ yaśaḥ || 17 ||
sasyapūrṇā vasumatī prāninām prāṇavardhinī |
sarvamaṅgaladātrī ca devānāṁ tuṣṭidāyinī || 18 ||
nityasasyā ca madhurajalasrāvā viśeṣataḥ |
śobhate sarvataḥ pṛthvī viṣṇorājñāvalambinī || 19 ||
viṣṇunā pālitā bhūmiḥ jananī prāṇasamtateḥ |
poṣayitrī cādyamātā puṣṭidā tuṣṭidā tathā || 20 ||
ratnagarbhā paraṁ nityaṁ sarvarakṣaṇakāriṇī |
parvatottuṅgavakṣojā payodhiraśanā tathā || 21 ||
samudramuktā bhūṣāḍhyā devī rājati śārṅgiṇaḥ |
sūryacandrāgnidīpeyaṁ mandamārutavījanā || 22 ||
viśālavanasaṁcārā pṛthivī viṣṇuvallabhā |
sarvaṁsahā rājate 'tra dikcakraracitasthitiḥ || 23 ||
tāmetāṁ vasudhāṁ kṛtsnāṁ kṛṣiyogyasthalojvalām |
nānādeśeṣu vibhajet nānākārāṁ mahīpatiḥ || 24 ||

(2) *girinadīnadavanasārakṣetrādibhedena*
sasyārhābhūmivibhajanakramakathanam
kāśyapa upadiśati

payodhisaṁvṛtā bhūmiriyamāṛṣṭi sarvataḥ |
brahmaṇā tu vidhātrā sa nirmitā hi samasthalā || 25 ||
phalapradātrī vividhā kalyeṣu vividheṣvapi |
ślāghitā devagandharvamunibhūpālavṛndakaiḥ || 26 ||
prāptasttvaphalā bhūmiḥ pratikalpaṁ ca bhāvitā |

kvacinnimagnā vārāśijalapūreṣu bhūriyam || 27 ||
kvacittathā samudreṇa tyaktasvāntapradeśakā |
kvacinnirbhiṇṇanāḍī ca kālabhedena kalpataḥ || 28 ||
sārāsārasravayutā nimnā connatarūpiṇī |
giribhiḥ saṁvibhaktā ca nadībhiśca kvacitsthale |
nadena sārabhūmyā ca hradena mahatāpi ca || 29 ||
kvacit śarkararūpā ca kvacidatyuṣṇarūpiṇī |
kvacit jalavihīnā ca jāteyaṁ vasudhā kramāt || 30 ||
kvacidūṣararūpā ca kvacit bījavināśinī |
evaṁ bahuvidhā jātā medinīyaṁ prakīrtitā || 31 ||
ato mahīpatiḥ sarvaprāṇipālanadīkṣitaḥ |
sasyābhivṛddhaye bhūmiṁ parikṣeta sulakṣaṇām || 32 ||
asthipāṣāṇakhaṇḍādyairhīnāṁ mṛdulamṛttikām |
susnigdhāmalparaktāṁ ca kṛṣṇavarnāṁ tathaivaca || 33 ||
tuṣakācavihīnāṁ ca sārāṁ rasasamujjvalām |
naśvabhrayuktāṁ nāgādhāṁ nottuṅgāṁ ca samasthalām || 34 ||
mallikājātikuṭajasurāgandhasamujjvalām |
athavā padmakharjūratiniśaprasavakramām || 35 ||
apītasalilāṁ śaśvat pītodakajalāmapi |
bījavṛddhikarīṁ vegāt sītāsaukhyapradāyinīm || 36 ||
vṛṣaphenāktakāṁ vāpi satvajantusamanvitām |
akaṇṭakāṁ karīṣādihīnāṁ ca nibiḍāṁ ghanām || 37 ||
tolane 'dhikabhārāḍhyamoṣadhivṛddhidāmapi |
brāhmaṇakṣmāṁ kṣatrabhūmiṁ vaiśabhūmiṁ tathaiva ca || 38 ||
śūdrabhūmiṁ kvacit deśe saṁkīrṇaguṇabhūmikām |
evaṁ pañcavidyāṁ jātyā vibhaktāṁ vimalodakām || 39 ||
antaḥ sārayutāṁ bāhyasārāmapi ca kalpakīm |
nayanānandajananīṁ valmīkādivivarjitām || 40 ||
duṣṭasatvavihīnāṁ ca satvapakṣiniveśinīm |
vātavegena vātyā vā vahnivegena vā punaḥ || 41 ||
apītasalilalāmantarniṣkuṭodyānavṛddhidām |
pracchāyabhūrūhāṁ vṛddhidāyinīṁ vālpanimnakām || 42 ||
nānābījāvalīvṛddhikārinīṁ ca muhurmuhuḥ |
mṛdusparśāṁ ca nitarāṁ gopriyāṁ godhanapriyām || 43 ||
śubhalakṣaṇasaṁyuktāmalpadoṣāmapi kvacit |
sulabhodkanisrāvāṁ sulabhasvīkṛtodakām || 44 ||
evaṁ lakṣaṇasaṁyuktakhalabhūmivṛtāṁ kvacit |
vasudhāṁ bhūpatirvīkṣya grahnīyāduttamāmiha || 45 ||
bhūparīkṣākramavido gunāḍhyā nṛpacoditāh |
brāhmaṇāḥkṣatriyā vāpi viśaḥ śūdrāstu vā punaḥ || 46 ||
dagārgalapramāṇajñāḥ kṛśiśāstraviśāradāh |
parīkṣayeyuḥ bhūmiṁ tu śubhe śubhanimittake || 47 ||

snātaḥ śuciḥ śuddhavāsāḥ dhṛtasvarṇāṅgulīyakaḥ |
nirdiṣṭtāṁ bhūmimāsādya kuryāt tatra pradakṣiṇam || 48 ||
sahamaṅgalaghoseṇa svastivākyena kovidaḥ |
sāyaṁkāle 'thavā prātaḥ brāhmaṇairvedapāragaiḥ || 49 ||
pañcagavyena śuddhena salilenāthavā punaḥ |
khanitreṇāpi tulayā ṭakayāpi kvacitbudhaḥ || 50 ||
bhūmiṁ parīkṣayetkhātvā nirīkṣya ca muhurmuhuḥ |
āghrāya pītvā ca mṛdaṁ tolayitvāpi vā kvacit |
kṣiptvā patrasthalile ghaṭikāvadhi kovidaḥ || 51 ||
varṇabindurasasrāvaiḥ vidyāt bhumyāśca lakṣaṇam |
samavarṇā samachāyā ghanā snigdhā ca bhūrapi || 52 ||
devānāmapi bhūpānāṁ praśastā muniniścitā |
brāhmaṇānāṁ viśāṁ cāpi kṣemadā vṛddhidāyinī || 53 ||
śubhalakṣaṇasaṁyuktā sarveṣāṁ śubhadā dharā |
kuṭumbārogyadā śaśvat dhanagodhānyavṛddhidā || 54 ||
nirdiśoduttamāṁ bhūmiṁ madhyamāmapi vā kvacit |
adhamāṁ varjayet yatnāt bhūmilakṣaṇapaṇḍitaḥ |
kṛṣiyogyā bhūmiriyamudyānāyeyamāhatā || 55 ||
vanāya bhūriyaṁ proktā jalādhārāya niścitā |
iyaṁ bhūmiriti proktā caturthī ca svabhāvataḥ || 56 ||
iti bhūmiṁ śubhe kāle nirdiśecca nṛpājñayā |
sīmāsthalavibhāgaśca kartavyo bhūmimicchatā || 57 ||
grāmeṣvapi ca deśeṣu durgeṣu nagareṣvapi |
prāsādāntastu vā bhūmiṁ kṛṣyudyānādiyogyakām || 58 ||
nirdiśenmatimān yuktyā nānākṣetrasvarūpavit |
jalasvarūpavit prājñaḥ prāṇināṁ sukhasiddhaye || 59 ||

3 *bhūmyāṁ jalādhārasthāpanakramakathanam*
kāśyapa upadiśati

pramāṇajñaiḥ śilpivaryaiḥ śāstrapāraṁgatairnṛpaḥ |
kārayet grāmanirmāṇaṁ durgāṇāṁ ca purāmapi || 60 ||
vanamadhye nadītīre girisānutaṭe 'thavā |
svadeśeṣvapi rāṣṭreṣu tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ || 61 ||
abhīrapalliṁ ghoṣaṁ ca vrajaṁ vā godhanāśritam |
tathā kṣudragrāmajālaṁ sthāpayet sumuhūrtake || 62 ||
vāpīkūpasamāyuktamudyānadivibhūṣitam |
sasyakṣetrāvṛtaṁ kāryaṁ niyamena mahīpatiḥ || 63 ||
grāmāṇāṁ nagarāṇāṁ ca purāṇāmapi sārabhūḥ |
sasyārhā kathitā prāṇaḥ jīvanaṁ cottamaṁ tathā || 64 ||
prāṇanāḍīti gārgyaśca provāca vadatāṁ varaḥ |
sasyārhakṣetrasaṁyogādeva sarvatra śāśvatam || 65 ||
grāmādinirmāṇaphalaṁ kathitaṁ munipuṁgavaiḥ |
prāṇirakṣā ca nitarāṁ puruṣārthaphalaṁ tathā || 66 ||

devatuṣṭiryajñaphalaṁ sṛṣṭeśca phalamuttamam |
sajīvasya hi lokasya prāṇarakṣākarī bhṛśam || 67 ||
sārabhūriti nirdiṣṭā jīvānāṁ phalamuttamam |
ataḥ sulakṣaṇopetāṁ doṣahīnāṁ mahīpatiḥ || 68 ||
athavā svalpadoṣāṁ tu nirdiśet tatra tatra tu |
vibhaktāṁ grāmaamārgeṇa puramārgeṇa vā kvacit || 69 ||
mahāmārgeṇa vā deśe vibhajet bhūmimuttamām |
grāmāṇāṁ nagarāṇāṁ ca paścime bhāga uttame || 70 ||
udīcyāmathavā prācyāṁ daksiṇasyāṁ tathā kvacit |
jalāśayaṁ sthāpayettu bhūmisthityanusārataḥ || 71 ||
gabhīraṁ parighāvattu dhanurākārabhāsuram |
dīrghaṁ kvacit vartulaṁ vāgādhaṁ tu salilāśayam || 72 ||
dṛḍhaprapālikasetumārgeṇa ca surakṣitam |
uttaṁgataṭakalpāḍhyamayomārgeṇa saṁyutam || 73 ||
jalāgamanamārgeṇa śobhitaṁ ca viśeṣataḥ |
ato gireḥ samīpe va cottuṅge bhūtale 'thavā || 74 ||
mahāhradena saṁyukte sthāpayettu jalāśayam |
mahājalasthairyabhājaṁ jalādhāraṁ tu bhūtale || 75 ||
sārakṣetre sthāpayettu svayaṁ srāvayutepi vā |
saikatādivihīne tu pāṣāṇādivivarjite || 76 ||
jalāśayaṁ tu gaṁbhīraṁ jalapūrārgalāyutam |
tathā taṁ sthāpayet vidvān jalapūrṇe jalāśaye || 77 ||
yena vā na virodhaḥ syāt grāmādeḥ nagarasya ca |
prākārodyānadurgāṇāṁ khalakṣetrasya vā punaḥ || 78 ||
jalabhītiḥ pravāhādyaiḥ na syātsarvatra bhūmipaḥ |
tathā taṁ sthāpayet deśe parīkṣeta kramādimam || 79 ||
māsakrameṇa vā varṣakrameṇa ca muhurmuhuḥ |
sthāpayennṛpatistatra taṭarakṣaṇakāriṇaḥ || 80 ||
varṣākāle viśeṣeṇa kulyādīnāṁ śataṁ tathā |
vāpīnāṁ dīrghikāṇāṁ ca rakṣaṇaṁ kṣemadaṁ matam || 81 ||
jalāśaye tu salilapūrṇe saṁrakṣite kramāt |
sasyādivṛddhistatraiva niścitaḥ sukhadāyakaḥ || 82 ||
rogahānirvahnibhayahāniśca sukhamuttamam |
poṣaṇaṁ rakṣaṇaṁ śastaṁ dvipadāṁ ca catuṣpadām || 83 ||
vihaṁgamānāmapi ca sarpādīnāṁ ca sarvataḥ |
sukhaṁ tu paramaṁ coktaṁ na vyādhiśca bhavet dhruvam || 84 ||
pānadravyaṁ tu salilaṁ dvipadāṁ ca catuṣpadām |
ekameva hi nirdiṣṭaṁ brahmaṇā sṛjatā prajāḥ || 85 ||
mahodakasthānameṣaḥ jalāśaya udīritaḥ |
ataḥ sarvaprayatnena prajārakṣādhuraṁdharaḥ || 86 ||
sthāpayet rakṣayedrājā jalāśyamimaṁ kramāt |
jalāsyadvayaṁ bhūpaḥ kvacidekaṁ jalāśayam || 87 ||

sārakṣetrānusaraṇaṁ sthāpayet grāmayogyakam |
giriprasravaṇopetaṁ mahāhradayutaṁ tathā || 88 ||
vananimnagayā yuktāṁ mahānimnagayā kvacit |
deśe deśe viśeṣeṇa grāmāṇāṁ ca purāmapi || 89 ||
jalavyayasthānayutaṁ kalpayet yuktitaḥkramāt |
jalāśayataṭe bhūpaḥ vṛkṣāṁśca parivardhayet || 90 ||
vetasaṁ ca vaṭaṁ tatra kolakandāvaliṁ kvacit |
plakṣamaśvatthakaṁ caiva khadiraṁ khādiraṁ tathā || 91 ||
tindukaṁ timtriṇīṁ vāpi bhūrjaraṁ cāpi veṇukam |
nimbaṁ kadambamapi ca ye ca sāradrumā matāḥ || 92 ||
tāṁstu vṛkṣān mahīpālaḥ yatnenāhṛtya kālataḥ |
jalāśayataṭe yuktyā sthāpayet kṣemasiddhaye || 93 ||
taṭasya nimnabhūmyāṁ vā tatkulyāyāśca nirgame |
snānaghaṭṭāvirodhena pānaghaṭṭārhakaṁ kvacit || 94 ||
vṛkśāṁśca vardhayet yuktyā tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ |
khalabhūmyāṁ tathāvṛkṣān vaṭādīn sukhadāyinaḥ || 95 ||
taṭakadīrghikātīre hradādīnāṁ taṭe tathā |
pracchāyavṛkṣān bhūpālaḥ vardhayet kramatastathā || 96 ||
ākrīḍeṣvapi codyāneṣvevaṁ viśrāntibhūmike |
mahāmārgasthale tatra jalāśayasamīpataḥ || 97 ||
vātapotaprasavakān prāṇināṁ śramahāriṇaḥ |
vanabhojanayogyeṣu sthāneṣu vividheṣvapi || 98 ||
devālayodyānatale bhūpālodyānake tathā |
munīnāmuṭajānāṁ ca tale tatra viśeṣataḥ || 99 ||
senāniveśasthāne ca bhūpaviśrāntikasthale |
yajñārhasthalake cāpi valayarhasthānakepi ca || 100 ||
pracchāyavṛkṣān bhūpālaḥ vardhayetkramaśastathā |
vihaṁgamāhlādakarān phalapuipādidāyinaḥ || 101 ||
tathā vyādhipraśamakān śītalān komalān tarūn |
akaṇṭakān ca panasānāmrāṁścāpi rasālakān || 102 ||
punnāgamalātīkundacampakāvalipmapyatha |
sthāpayedāvaraṇake tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ || 103 ||
jalāśayajalasrāvāt vardhayecca kramāttarūn |
jalāśayavihīne tu sukhaṁ naivopajāyate || 104 ||
na sāndhyakarma na snānaṁ vṛkṣāṇāmapi vardhanam |
na syādityeva munibhiḥ saukhyaṁ ttvitiviniścitam || 105 ||
ataḥ sarvaprayatnena bhūpālo rakṣaṇavratī |
grāmeṣvapi ca deśeṣu vanamadhye tu vā punaḥ || 106 ||
sthāpayitvā tu gambhīraṁ jalāśayamatandritaḥ |
kulyāṁ dṛḍhataṭāṁ nityaṁ sulabhodakanisravām || 107 ||
nānāśākhāsamākrāntāṁ mahākulyāyutāṁ tathā |
jalāśayena sahitāṁ sthāpayet bahuśo dṛḍhām || 108 ||

(4) *atha nadīmātṛkakulyākūpādikramakathanam*
kāśyapa upadiśati

yatra sasyakṣiteḥ kulyā jalādhāropi vā kvacit |
na kalpitā vā na sthāpyā satatodakapūritā || 109 ||
tatra kulyā nadīmātṛmukhā sthāpyeti niścitā |
tat caturvidhamākhyātaṁ kṛṣipaddhatikovidaiḥ || 110 ||
ādyā nadīmātṛkā syātkulyā cātha hradāśritā |
jalāśayāśritā vāpi mahīdhrabhṛgupārśvabhāk || 111 ||
kulyā caturvidhā hyevaṁ sthāpyā deśapramāṇataḥ |
yatrordhvabhāge nadyādiḥ dṛśyate bhūsvabhāvataḥ || 112 ||
tatra nadyā mukhaṁ kāryaṁ svataḥ prasrāvabhāsuram |
kṛṣiyogyaṁ sthalaṁ yatra vidyate deśabhūmiṣu || 113 ||
prāyastadūrdhvake bhāge dūre vāduratopi vā |
kulyādhāraḥ prakartavyaḥ kṛṣikāryavicakṣaṇaiḥ || 114 ||
prākgāminyāṁ nimnagāyāṁ kulyārambhaṁ kvacitsthale |
tathā paścimagāminyāṁ kulyāṁ samparikalpayet || 115 ||
haridantaragāminyāmathavā tāṁ prakalpayet |
koṇāntarapraveśinyāmāpagāyāmapi kvacit |
krameṇottuṅgabhūmistu sarvatra hi viśiṣyate || 116 ||
nimnagāmātṛkākulyā nadyārabdhā kṛtasthalā |
krameṇa bhūmiṁ vividhāmākramya bahurūpikām || 117 ||
grāmāt grāmamathākramya vanādvanatalaṁ tathā |
svakīyakṣetragāṁ kuryāt prakṛtikṣemasemasiddhaye || 118 ||
caturhastaḥ pañcahastaḥ ṣaṭhastaḥ saptahastakaḥ |
daśahastakamānaṁ vā kulyāvaipulyamīritam || 119 ||
kvacinmahāhradārabdhā kulyā sā jalapūritā |
tatha mahodakanadītalārabdhā ca niścitā || 120 ||
svakṣetrabhāgāvadhikaṁ kulyāvaiṁālyamuttamam |
tulyamevaṁ hi kalpyaṁ tadunnatistu sthalocitā || 121 ||
sarvatrāgādhatā yojyā jalaprasrāvayogyakā |
mahātaṭākaṁ tīrtvā vā madhyamārgaṁ kvacittale || 122 ||
sarvaprāṇihitāyaitāṁ kulyāṁ bhūpaḥ prakalpayet |
giriprasravaṇārabdhāṁ kulyāmapi tale kvacit || 123 ||
svakṣetragāminīṁ kuryāt kṛṣisaṁpadvivṛddhaye |
kulyāmekaṁ pūrṇajalāṁ tathā kulyādvayam kvacit || 124 ||
kulyātrayaṁ vā kṣetrāṇāṁ hitāya hi vidhīyate |
nadīhīne kvacit deśe saikatasthalakalpitā || 125 ||
kulyāpica sukhāyāiṣā niścitā kṛṣikovidaiḥ |
santatasrāvasamyuktā sthalī sā grāvavarjitā || 126 ||
sukṣetrā suguṇopetā sasyakṣemāyā kalpate |
hradārabdhāṁ tu vā kulyāṁ neyātsvagrāmasaṁpade || 127 ||
udyānāyāpi vā deśe cākrīḍāyāpi vākvacit |

kulyāprakalpanaṁ yuktyā jalasrāvasamujvalam || 128 ||
snānāya pānāya tathā kṛṣikāryāya ca kṣitau |
niścitaṁ munibhiḥ pūrvevedibhiḥ jīvarakṣakam || 129 ||
kvacitdeśe bhūtalaṁ tu kulyānīraṁ praṇāśayet |
pāyayet śoṣayedvāpi svāntardoṣādibhiḥ svayam || 130 ||
atastāt bhūtalaṁ varjyaṁ kulyānirmāṇakovidaiḥ |
kvacidūṣarabhūmiśca dṛśyate sarvataḥ kṣitau || 131 ||
sā cāpi varjyā kulyāyai bhūdoṣākrāntabhūrapi |
ataḥ satguṇasaṁpannaṁ bhūtalaṁ vīkṣya pārthivaḥ || 132 ||
kulyāprakalpanaṁ deśe sthāpayet sasyasaṁpade |
kvacit kulyādvayaṁ yojyaṁ tathā kulyātrayaṁ kvacit || 133 ||
sthalānukūlam sarvatra tatkalpanamudīritam |
sarvāsāmapi kulyānāṁ jalādharasthalīṣu ca || 134 ||
praveśaśca kramātproktaḥ śāstravidbhiḥ munīśvaraiḥ |
jalāśayavihīne tu sthale grāme pure tathā || 135 ||
vane vanāntare vāpi tāṁ kulyāṁ kṣetragāminīm |
prakalpayet tathā dhīmān sasyavṛddhyai viśeṣataḥ || 136 ||
tale tatra kṣudrakulyā śasyate ca phalapradā |
prāṇināmapi sasyānāṁ jīvanaṁ jīvanaṁ matam || 137 ||
ataḥ sarvatra deśeṣu pārthivaḥ kṣemasiddhaye |
kulyāṁ nadīmātṛkāṁ vā sthalāntarakṛtāmapi || 138 ||
jalapūrṇāṁ prakurvīta khātayet rakṣayetsadā |
arakṣitā sā viphalā doṣabhāk jalavarjitā || 139 ||
ato bhūpatibhiḥ sarvaiḥ kulyārakṣaṇamuttamam |
dharma ityeva nirdiṣṭamṛṣibhistattvadarśibhiḥ || 140 ||
vāpībhyaśca taṭākebhyaḥ kūpebhyaśca viśeṣataḥ |
jalaposaṇamādiṣṭaṁ kṛṣikṣemāyā bhūtale || 141 ||
kvacitsthalyāmūrdhvabhāge niścitā salilasthitiḥ |
kvacittu kathitā bhūmyāmadhobhāge jalasthitiḥ || 142 ||
kvacitposaṇabhūyiṣṭhe jalasrāvastu naśyati |
mṛddoṣadūṣito 'nyatra jalasrāvaśca naśyati || 143 ||
ataḥ saikatabhūyiṣṭhā jalapūrṇā vasundharā |
vāpikupādiyogyeti niścitā tattvadarśibhiḥ || 144 ||
yasmin deśe grīṣmakāle sasyakṣetrāya ca punaḥ |
udyānāyāpi vā nīraṁ na paryāptaṁ hi kulyajam || 145 ||
tasmin tudeśe sarvatra kūpaṁ nirmāpayennṛpaḥ |
kṣudrakūpaṁ ca kūpaṁ ca mahākūpaṁ ca vāpikām || 146 ||
caturaśraṁ maṇḍalaṁ vā dīrghākāramathāpi vā |
sthāpayet khātayet tacca rakṣayecca yathāvidhi || 147 ||
uttarāyanamāseṣu prāyo deśeṣu sarvataḥ |
adhobhāge jalaṁ dṛśyaṁ nadyāmapi tale kvacit || 148 ||
tasmātkūpādikhananamuttarāyaṇamāsike |

saṁpūrṇasalilāvāptihetave cirakālikam || 149 ||
dagārgalavidhijñena dhīmatā bhūmivallabnaḥ |
vāpīkūpādikhananaṁ salilasthitimeva ca || 150 ||
ādau niścitya vṛkṣādyaiḥ bhūnaḍīvīkṣaṇādapi |
bhūmiṁ parīkṣya kalayet sumuhūrte sulagnake || 151 ||
prāyaḥ prātastu khananaṁ śubhāya parikīrtyate |
abhyarcya varuṇaṁ nīranāthaṁ bhūdevikāmapi || 152 ||
vanadevīṁ tathābhyarcya balidānāt viśeṣataḥ |
kūpaṁ vāpīṁ dīrghikāṁ ca sthāpayet kramato nṛpaḥ || 153 ||
ādau mahāvaṭaṁ khātvā dīrghaṁ vā caturaśrakam |
maṇḍalākāramathavā khātamṛtsnāṁ tu dūrataḥ || 154 ||
nikṣipya kramaśastatra jalasaṁdarśanāvadhi |
mṛduccharaṇamākhyātaṁ bhaṭaiḥ vīraiḥ kṛṣivalaiḥ || 155 ||
jalaṁ saikatasaṁmiśraṁ vīkṣya kūpādiṣu kramāt |
adho 'dhiṣṭhānakalpastu dṛḍhyāya ca vidhīyate || 156 ||
sthale saikatabhūyiṣṭhe ceṣṭikājālakairapi |
supakvairihacādiṣṭamadhiṣṭhānaprakalpanam || 157 ||
kaṭhine bhūmibhāge tu dīrghikākalpena kvacit |
adhiṣṭhānamadhobhāge śilākhaṇḍaiḥ prakalpayet || 158 ||
kūpasyādhaḥ sthale caivamadhiṣṭhānaṁ yathākramam |
sikatājalasaṁmiśramṛduccharaṇakāryataḥ || 159 ||
dṛḍhīkṛtya kramānnityaṁ bhūyiṣṭhaṁ salilaṁ tataḥ |
vilokya tatra kūpādāvadhiṣṭhānopari kramāt || 160 ||
iṣṭikākhaṇḍakaiḥ kāle nirmāṇaṁ kalpayennṛpaḥ |
sudhāsaṁmiśritaih kūpanirmāṇaṁ ttviṣṭikādibhiḥ || 161 ||
cirakālasthitikaramāhustattvavido budhaḥ |
ataḥ sarvatra deśeṣu vāpīkūpādikalpanam || 162 ||
sudheṣṭtikādibhiḥ kāryamiti śāstreṣu niścitam |
adhiṣṭhānāt bhūtalāntaṁ pratyahaṁ seṣṭikādibhiḥ || 163 ||
prakalpanaṁ prakurvīta kvacit sopānakalpanam |
mukhadvāraṁ prakurvīta śilābhiḥ bhūtale kramāt || 164 ||
prācyāṁ prātīcyāmathavā sthalayogyaṁ vidurbudhāḥ |
ghaṭīyantrasthalaṁ tīre śilābhiḥ parikalpayet || 165 ||
tataḥ salilanisrāvahetave dṛḍabhūmike |
tīreṣu kṣudrakulyāṁ ca sthāpayetsthalayoɢyakam || 166 ||
ghaṭiyantraṁ tu vividhaṁ vṛṣabhairvāhyamuttamam |
dṛḍhaśṛṅkhalikāyogāt hastihastādibhiḥ kvacit || 167 ||
vāhyaṁ tu tanmadhyamaṁ syādadhamaṁ naravāhyakam |
ghaṭīyantrapreraṇena cādhastaṁ salilaṁ kramāt || 168 ||
kūpāditīrabhāk loke dṛṣṭaṁ sarvatra sarvataḥ |
tannīraṁ kulyakāyogāt sasyakṣetrāya śasyate || 159 ||
kṛṣikāryaratastasmāt dhīmantaḥ puruṣā bhuvi |

brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścānyepi yuktitaḥ || 170 ||
ghaṭīyantraprayogena vāpīkūpādinīrakam |
jalāśayastham nīraṁ vā nadīmātṛkakulyagam || 171 ||
hradotthaṁ ca jalaṁ śuddhaṁ jaladoṣavivarjitam |
kṛṣikṣetrāya śākādisthānakāya ca bhūtale || 172 ||
campakādilatāsthalyāmapi nītvā yathākramam |
kṛṣiprayojanaṁ loke prāpnuvanti yathāvidhi || 173 ||
jalādhārasthalaṁ tasmādādau prāpyaṁ kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
kulyādyairapi kupādyaiḥ hradādyairapi bhūtale || 174 ||
jalāśayādyairapi ca jalaṁ prāpyaṁ hi niścitam |
meghapracārakāle tu vṛṣṭiḥ sarvatra niścitā || 175 ||
daivayogānmunīndrāṇāṁ saṁkalpādi sarvadhā |
kādambinībhiḥ kāle tu saṁvṛṣṭaṁ salilaṁ nṛpaḥ || 176 ||
jalāśyādisthāneṣu pūrayet kṣemasiddhaye |
rakṣayettatprayatnena jalamūlā kṛṣirmatā || 177 ||
ataḥ sarvatra bhūpālairanyaiḥ puruṣapuṁgavaiḥ |
ṛtukāle tu sarvatra jalaṁ prāpyaṁ prayatnataḥ || 178 ||
saṁrakṣyamiti ca proktaṁ kāśyapena maharṣiṇā || 179 ||

(5) *kṛṣīvalānāṁ grāmakāryakarāṇāṁ ca*
guṇalakṣaṇakathanam | *kṛṣipraśaṁsā ca* ||
kāśyapa upadiśati

kṛṣikāryaratā ye tu puruṣāḥ grāmavāsinaḥ |
ḍambhāsūyādimuktāśca parasparahitaiṣinaḥ || 180 ||
gobhūmīdevabhaktāśca nitarāṁ satyavādinaḥ |
parānukūlyaniratāḥ saṁtataṁ tuṣṭacetasaḥ || 181 ||
ajātaśatravo loke parakāryaprayojanāḥ |
catuṣpādvargavātsalyabhūṣitā nayakovidāḥ || 182 ||
gaṇanākarmakuśalaḥ śuddhāḥ śaucaparāyaṇāḥ |
nityakarmaratāḥ kāle kṛtātithisu satkriyāḥ || 183 ||
tandrālasyādihīnaśca kāmakrodhādivarjitāḥ |
parasparaṁ snehabhājaḥ sāhyakarmaratāśca ye || 184 ||
te tūttamāḥ samādiṣṭāḥ puruṣāḥ puṇyadarśanāḥ |
jalāśayataṭādīnāṁ kulyādīnāṁ ca rakṣakāḥ || 185 ||
gorakṣaṇaikaniratāḥ rājaviśvāsaśālinaḥ |
putrapautrādisaṁpannāḥ śvaśurabhrātṛvargakāḥ || 186 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāśca kṛṣijīvinaḥ |
saṁmīrṇavarṇajā ye tu vyādhādyā ye narā bhuvi || 187 ||
ākheṭarasikā ye tu ye ca gorakṣakā matāḥ |
yettvajāpālakāḥ khyātāḥ ye cānye kṛṣijīvinaḥ || 188 ||
te sarve manujā loke sarvadeśeṣu sarvadhā |
parasparaprītiyuktāh lokakṣemāya dīkṣitāḥ || 189 ||
grāmāgragaṇyaiḥ jātyagragaṇyairevaṁ nṛpājñayā |

śikṣyasvavṛttayo lokavārtābhitāḥ kṛpālavaḥ || 190 ||
svasvajīvanarakṣākhyamakheṣu kṛtadīkṣakāḥ |
sarvaprāṇihitāyaite kathitāḥ puṇyapuruṣāḥ || 191 ||
teṣu ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuddhāḥ satyadharmaparāyaṇāḥ |
kṛpālavo nītividaḥ paścāttāpādibhūṣaṇāḥ || 192 ||
yathārhadaṇḍakāḥ sarvarakṣākarmaṇi dīkṣitāḥ |
nṛpāpājñāpālalotkāḥ bahusadguṇamaṇḍitāḥ || 193 ||
grāmādhipatayaste tu kartavyā bhūtimicchatā |
grāmasyaikasya vā te tu grāmāṇāṁ vā kvacitsthale || 194 ||
nyāyyānyāyyakramasthairyadharmasthāpanakāriṇaḥ |
te vai kṛṣikriyāsāhyakāriṇaḥ saṁprakīrtitāḥ || 195 ||
bhūpālaiḥ kṣatriyairevaṁ dhanikairvaiśyakairapi |
kṛṣikāryeṣu taiḥ sāhyaṁ kāryaṁ lokahitāya hi || 196 ||
dharmyaṁ yaśasyamāyuṣyaṁ kṛṣisāhyamitīritam |
bhūpālaiḥ kṣatriyaistasmāt brāhmaṇaiḥ vaiśyakairapi || 197 ||
śūdrairapi yathāśakti kṛṣisāhyaṁ mahāphalam |
nānāvidhānāṁ bījānāṁ gavāmapi ca dānataḥ || 198 ||
kṣetradānāmahāpuṇyamāhurloke munīśvarāḥ |
kulyākhananato vāpi sasyakṣetrasya rakṣaṇāt || 199 ||
jalāśayasthāpanādvā vāpyādīnāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
annaśālāsthāpanādvā kṛṣisāhyaṁ mahāphalam || 200 ||
gavāṁ ca saṁrakṣaṇato brāhmaṇānāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
yathāśaktikriyāsāhyaṁ mahāphalamudīritam || 201 ||
tasmāt sarvatra deśeṣu puruṣāstu kṛpālavaḥ |
grāmarakṣaṇabhṛtyāṁśca taṭarakṣaṇabhṛtyakān || 202 ||
sthāpayitvā hi sarvatra tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ |
vidrāvya caurān daṇḍyāṁśca daṇḍayitvā yathākramam || 203 ||
dharmasthitiṁ ca paramaṁ sukhaṁ jīvanarakṣṇam |
prakurvantastu puruṣāḥ devaiḥ ślāghyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
satyaṁ dānaṁ kṣamāśīlamānṛśasyaṁ tapo ghṛṇā || 204 ||
yasmin saṁdṛśyate sarvaṁ niyoktavyaḥ sa puruṣaḥ |
grāmanyāyasabhāyāṁ ca bhūmipālairyathākramam || 205 ||
grāmādhipatyaṁ ca tathā kṛṣiyuktipravartanam |
tadadhīnaṁ śubhakaramityāhuḥ paramarṣayaḥ || 206 ||
brāhmaṇānāmalābhe tu kṣatriyo vaiśya eva vā |
tatra saṁyojanīyaḥ syāt prajānāṁ kṣemahetave || 207 ||
sarvatrārṣaṁ pramāṇaṁ ca kṣemāya vijayāya ca |
kṛṣiyuktistu loke 'smin kvacit śūdreṣvapisthitā || 208 ||
saśūdraḥsadgunādhyaśca viprabhaktiparāyaṇāḥ |
śāstraviśvāsaśālīca mānajñaḥ sādhusevakaḥ || 209 ||
dhīmān kālapramāṇajñaḥ hitakārī hitapriyaḥ || 210 ||
bhāvitavyaśca vinayī tadyuktiḥślāghanāspadam |

prāyo grāmeṣu sarvatra bhṛtyāḥ śūdrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ || 211 ||
ta eva kṛṣikāryeṣu yoktavyā nānyajātayaḥ |
vaiśyāśca kṣatriyāścaiva guṇāḍhyāḥ sūkṣmabuddhayaḥ || 212 ||
gaṇanādikriyāsvevaṁ rakṣaṇādikriyāsu ca |
niyoktavyā bhūmipālaiḥ viprā nītiṣu nityaśaḥ || 213 ||
gavāṁ rakṣaṇakāryeṣu prajārakṣaṇakarmaṇi |
corādidaṇḍakāryeṣu jalādhārādirakṣaṇe || 214 ||
devālayādirakṣasu kṛṣikārye viśeṣataḥ |
kāryāntareṣvapi grāmyeṣvevaṁ bhūpālakarmaṇi || 215 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāśca dṛḍhabuddhayaḥ |
sarve sarvatra yoktavyāḥ tadākṣemāya kalpate || 216 ||
tadā janapadasyāpi rāṣṭrasya ca viśeṣataḥ |
sukhādiraikamatthācca jāyate paramaṁ sukham || 217 ||
ekakaṇṭhyaṁ caikamatthaṁ pataṁgeṣu hi nityaśaḥ |
dṛṣyatāmiti nirdiṣṭaṁ bhārgaveṇeha mauninā || 218 ||
tasmāt grāme janapade pure va durgakalpane |
nivāsino janāḥ sarve gatāsūyādidurguṇāḥ || 219 ||
setusaṁrakṣaṇe mārgarakṣaṇe kṛṣiraksaṇe |
puragrāmādirakṣasu cākrīḍodyānarakṣaṇe || 220 ||
prajānāṁ rakṣaṇe cāpi gavāmapi ca rakṣaṇe |
dharmarakṣāsvapi tathā nyāyakāryasya rakṣaṇe || 221 ||
yaccānyat rakṣaṇaṁ proktaṁ nānārūpaṁ maharṣibhih |
sarvāsu tāsu rakṣāsu sarvaiḥ grāmādivāsibhiḥ || 222 ||
pratyekamādaraḥ śreyān śasyate śāstracoditaḥ |
yasmin grāme 'thavā rāṣṭre rājñaḥ sadma na kalpitam || 223 ||
tasmin deśe viśeṣeṇa prajānāṁ pālanāyahi |
amātyo vā rājavaṁśyaḥ guṇī pratinidhistu vā || 224 ||
prakurvīta nivāsaṁ tu dhanasenāsahāyavān |
prajābhiḥ prārthitaṁ dattvā rakṣettāścāpado bhṛśam || 225 ||
nānāvidhaurupāyaistu jīvanaṁ parikalpayet |
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ saṁkīrṇajātijāḥ || 226 ||
ye cānye manujā loke grāmādisthalavāsinaḥ |
svadharmaniratāste tu sukhabhājo yaśasvinaḥ || 227 ||
saṁprāptaparamānandāḥ sakuṭumbāḥ sagodhanāḥ |
virājante hi deśeṣu tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ || 228 ||
nṛpājñāvartinaḥ sarve śrutismṛtikṛtādarāḥ |
paropakāraniratāstathā vītabhayā narāḥ || 229 ||
ādhivyādhivihīnāste satkriyāḥ sādhusevinaḥ |
virājante hi deśeṣu tatra tatra viśeṣataḥ || 230 ||
sarveṣāmeva teṣāṁ tu kṛṣivṛttiḥ sanātanī |
śubhadā bhūtidā ślāghyā yathānyāyapravartanāt || 231 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ svakarmaniratā api |

kṛṣikarmasu yogyāste sādhuślāghyaṁ hi tadviduḥ || 232 ||
yajñānapi cādhāraṁ prāṇināṁ jīvadāyakam |
kṛṣikarma praśamsanti munayo divyacakṣuṣaḥ || 233 ||
nṛpāt prāptaṁ svataḥkṛtaṁ sasyakṣetraṁ tu mānavāḥ |
saṁprāpya yatnavantaśca kṛṣikāryakṛtādarāḥ || 234 ||
devānāṁ ca munīnāṁ te matāḥ prītidāyinaḥ |
dhanānāmapi sarveṣāṁ kṛṣireva paraṁ dhanam || 235 ||
parairagrahyamādiṣṭaṁ sarvaślāghyaṁ mahāphalam |
devānāṁ prītijanakaśuddhadravyapradāyi tat || 236 ||
pāratantryaharaṁ caiva nityaṁ lakṣmīvilāsakṛtam |
tathātithīnāṁ devānāṁ svakuṭumbasya jīvadam || 237 ||
nānāvidhānandakaraṁ kṛṣikarma praśasyate |
atastadanyā vṛttistu pāratantryeṇa gumbhitā || 238 ||
puṇyānāṁ hānidā cāpi ninditā tattvadarṣibhiḥ |
ataḥsadguṇasaṁpannāḥ puruṣāḥ svaprayatnataḥ || 239 ||
vedādhyayanasaṁpannā api rakṣāpravṛttayaḥ |
vāṇijyavṛttayaścānye śūdrāḥ saṁkīrṇajā api || 240 ||
satyavratā dayāḍhyaśca kṛṣyādānaratā bhṛśam |
saṁmānyavṛttayaḥ kāmaṁ sādhubhiśca surairapi || 241 ||
kṛṣipravṛttiṁ sarveṣāṁ devānāṁ prītidāyinīm |
yatnato rakṣayeyustāṁ jīvanaṁ jīvanapradām || 242 ||
vane janapade deśe kṣetre grāmye bhṛgostaṭe |
kṛṣipravṛttiṁ saṁkalpyāṁ manyante hi munīśvarāḥ || 243 ||
purātanaistu munibhiraṭajāṁganabhūmiṣu |
kṛṣikarmakṛtaṁ loke sarvaprāṇihitārthibhiḥ || 244 ||
tadādi kṛṣikāryaṁ tu khaṇḍaśaḥ sūkṣmabuddhibhiḥ |
nītaṁ deśeṣu sarvatra phaladaṁ cābhavatkramāt || 245 ||
ataḥ kṛṣyādānametat sarvaiḥ puruṣapuṁgavaiḥ |
sūkṣmadhībhirahāsevyaṁ śāśvatānandahetave || 246 ||

(6) *kṛṣikāryārhadravyasaṁgrahaṇakathanam* ||
kāśyapa upadiśati

medhāvī kṛṣikāryajñaḥ bhūlakṣaṇavidāṁ varaḥ |
śubhe muhūrte sumanāstvabdāraṁbhe kṛṣikriyām || 247 ||
seveta phalasidhyarthaṁ trimūrtidhyānapūrvakam |
bhūdevīṁ dhānyadevīṁ ca smṛtvā manasi nirmale || 248 ||
pūjayitvāthavā bhaktyā dravyasaṁgrahaṇodyataḥ |
goṣṭhaṁ gosthānakaṁ vāpi gomayālepanakriyam || 249 ||
gandhapuṣpādyalaṁkārabhāsuraṁ ca viśeṣataḥ |
tindukaistiniśairvāpi sarjakaiḥ sāradārukaiḥ || 250 ||
gobandhatūlakaṁ kṛtvā śṛṅkhalādyairathāpi vā
alaṁkṛtya tu taṁ deśaṁ gandhakurikumapuṣpakaiḥ || 251 ||
pradakṣiṇaṁ vā kṛtvā tatsthale gāścārayet budhaḥ |

śubhalakṣaṇasaṁyuktāḥ dhenūḥ saṁcārayediha || 252 ||
savatsāścātha vṛṣabhān śvetāṅgān śubhalakṣanān |
suvarṇakupyaśṛṅgāgrān gandhādyaiścāpyalaṁkṛtān || 253 ||
ghāsaiḥ śaṣpaiḥ palālaiśca jalapātraiśca mangalaiḥ |
pūrayedatha taṁ deśaṁ ç oṣṭhe śubhamuhūrtake || 254 ||
krītvā vā vṛṣabhān śvetān śubhalakṣaṇamānitān |
dhenūrvā mahiṣān vāpi bandhayettatra kovidaḥ || 255 ||
lāṅgalān rajjujaṭilān halānapi viśeṣataḥ |
sāṅgān nirīśavantaśca sāradārukṛtān tataḥ || 256 ||
śubhasthale 'thanikṣipya gandhāmradalapuṣpakaiḥ |
candanaiḥ kuṅkumairvāpi maṇḍitāṁśca viśeṣataḥ || 257 ||
mahāmaṅgalaghoṣeṇa dhānyadevīṁ ca pūjayet |
bhūdevīmatha lakṣmīṁ ca vāṇīṁ gaurīṁ surādhipam || 258 ||
varuṇaṁ ca dhaneśaṁ ca pūjayitvā viśeṣataḥ |
svakīyaṁ kṣetramāsādya vṛṣabhaih saha kovidaḥ || 259 ||
lāṇgalairbhadrakairyuktaṇ sumuhūrte sulagnake |
karṣaṇaṁ kārayedādau eśānye koṇake śubhe || 260 ||
āgneye vāpi vā bhāge varuṇe vā kvacitsthale |
salilāpūraṇaṁ kṛtvā sukarṣāya tadā kramāt || 261 ||
prathamaṁ karṣaṇaṁ bhūmeḥ kṣetre svīye viśeṣataḥ |
kārayet vṛṣavāhyena halena kṛṣikāryavit || 262 ||
evaṁ krameṇa tatkṣetraṁ caturthā pancadhāpi vā |
halena karṣayitvā ṣaṭdivasaṁttvadhikaṁ tu vā || 263 ||
loṣṭhāṁśca laguḍānanyān bahirnikṣipya ç omayam |
ājakaṁ vālagaṁ tatra sthāpayet sāravṛddhaye || 264 ||
khanitrān śankulān kṣudratalukān khaḍgakān tathā |
churikā yāśca kṛṣyarhāḥ dravyaśāstreṣu niścitam || 265 ||
yuktyā tadānayetsarvaṁ lavitraṁ lavasārakam |
yasmindeśe yadāvṛṣṭiḥ prathamā dṛṣyate kṣitau || 266 ||
tadā bhūkarṣaṇaṁ śreṣṭhamāhuratra munīśvarāḥ |
kulyāmukhena salilamāpūrya nijabhūmike || 267 ||
sasyārhakāle bhūmestu karṣaṇaṁ ca munīritam |
tasmātsarvatra deśeṣu kṛṣikālānurūpatah || 268 ||
mitrāṇāmupadeśācca yuktyā ca kṛṣikāryavit |
ādau bhūkarṣaṇaṁ kāryaṁ sunimitte sulagnake || 269 ||

(7) *lāngalapūjākramakathanam* ||
kāśyapa upadiśati

karṣaṇātpūrvameveha lakṣaṇajñaiḥ kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
lāṅgalādyarcanaṁ kāryaṁ vṛṣadīnāṁ viśeṣataḥ || 270 ||
kṣetrasya vātha bhūmyāśca pūjanaṁ phaladāyakam |
suddhatoyena gandhādyaiḥ dīpadānairathāpi vā || 271 ||
bhūmidevi namaste 'stu mahi sarvaṁsahe 'dhunā |

kṛṣyāraṁbhaṁ kariṣyāmi prasannā bhava suvrate || 272 ||
karṣaṇaṁ tāḍanaṁ yacca tvayi yadyatkṛtaṁ mayā |
devi kṣamasva tatsarvaṁ kuru mahyaṁ mahāphalam || 273 ||
tvameva mātā sarveṣāṁ prāṇināmiha kīrtyate |
ataḥ prasannā bhūdevi phalaṁ dehyamitaṁ kṣitau || 274 ||
iti stutvā prārthayitvā bhūdevīṁ viṣṇuvallabhām |
pradakṣinīkṛtya namaskārapūrvaṁ kṛṣīvalaḥ || 275 ||
dikdevān rakṣakāṁścāpi sūryamāyukṣkaraṁ tathā |
stutvā bhūkarṣaṇavidhau kuryādārāmbhamuttamam || 276 ||

(4) *tatra vṛṣabharājapūjākramakathanam*
kāśyapa upadiśati

saurabheya mahāsāra vṛṣarājāmitadyute |
bhūkarṣaṇavidhau tvaṁ hi sahyaṁ kuru mamānagha || 277 ||
sugandhamālyapuṣyādyairadya tvāṁ pūjayāmyaham |
phalado bhava me tvaṁ tu dharmakṛt svasti te bhṛśam || 278 ||
tṛṇaiḥ sasyaiśca salilaiḥ tvāṁ poṣyāmyahamādarāt |
śaṁkarānugrahāt tvam tu phalado bhava me sadā || 279 ||
utpādya tanayān śaśvat tvattulyabalavīryakān |
alaṁkuru tvaṁ goṣṭhaṁ me tvāṁ poṣyāmyahamādarāt || 280 ||
vṛṣarāja tvamevātra dhanadhānyadivṛddhikṛt |
dharmarūpa tvameveha tasmāt tvāṁ poṣayāmyaham || 281 ||
devayajñaṁ bhūtayajñaṁ yathā me saphalaṁ bhavet |
tathā dayāṁ kuru tvaṁ tu cāparādhaṁ kṣamasva me || 282 ||
iti saṁprārthya vṛṣabhaṁ pūjayitvā viśeṣataḥ |
śrāntā yathā te na klāntāstāvat tatkāryamīritam || 283 ||
tanmanaḥkleṣahetustu viphalāya viniścitaḥ |
tasmānna yojayet śrāntān vṛṣabhān kṛṣikarmaṇi | 284 ||
tadā gopūjanaṁ śastamityāhurmunisattamāḥ |
saṁgraheṇa govṛṣabhalakṣaṇakathanakramaḥ ||
kaśyapa upadiśati

gāvaśca vṛṣabhāścaiva śubhalakṣaṇabhāsurāḥ |
śubhadāḥ svāmināṁ proktāḥ deśakṣemapradāśca te || 285 ||
kṛṣikarmaṇi te yogyāḥ vṛṣabhā vṛṣavardhakāḥ |
śvetāngāḥ kiṁciduttungāḥ vṛṣabhā mañjunetrakāḥ |
gambhīraninadā ye ca te tu brāhmaṇajātikāḥ || 286 ||
raktāṅgā nitarāṁ tuṅgāḥ gambhīraninadāśca ye |
tejobalasametāśca te vṛṣāḥ kṣatrajātijāḥ || 287 ||
śvetaraktāṅkanairyuktaḥ tanmaṇḍalavibhūṣitāḥ |
nātituṅgā nātinīcāḥ te vṛṣā vaiśyajātijāḥ || 288 ||
kṛṣṇānga nātituṅgāśca kopavegena tāḍitāḥ |
su . . . vantaśca te vṛṣāḥ śūdrajātijāḥ || 289 ||
ete sarve praśastāśca kṛṣikarmaṇi yogyakāḥ |

nātidīrghaṁ na ca kṛṣaṁ vṛṣaśṛṅgadvayaṁ śubham || 290 ||
mithovaiṣamyahīnaṁ ca vṛṣaśṛṅgaṁ praśasyate |
khurāśca vṛṣabhānāṁ tu na kṛśā nātidīrghakāḥ || 291 ||
vaiṣamyahīnāśca tathā dṛḍhāḥślāghyā viniścitāḥ |
śubhā gatirdīrghavālaḥ vṛṣabhānāṁ praśasyate || 292 ||
nātisthūlā na ca kṛśāḥ bhāravāhitvameva ca |
prasannatvaṁ kāryakāle vṛṣaṇāmuttamā guṇāḥ || 293 ||
khure viṣāṇe śvetaśca lalāṭe pūcchake 'pica |
varṇāntaravibhūtiśca vṛṣaḥ śubhavivṛddhidaḥ || 294 ||
ramyātmanaśca hṛṣṭāśca śubhavarṇasamujvalāḥ |
śubhāvartādisahitāḥ dhanadhānyavivṛddhidāḥ || 295 ||
sūkṣmaromāvalīvyāptāḥ gambhīraninadāśca ye |
manojñanayanopetāḥ vṛṣabhāḥ śubhadā matāḥ || 296 ||
raktavarṇā mahāśṛṅgāḥ tejobalavivarjitāḥ |
skhaladgatiyutāścāpi krodhanidrāvaśaṁgatāḥ || 297 ||
kṛśāngā dhūmravarṇāśca tathā bahvāśinaśca ye |
ye vivarṇāśca vṛṣabhāḥ nitarāṁ nīcakāśca ye || 298 ||
karkaśāṅgāḥ krūraravāḥ varjyāste vṛṣabhādhamāḥ |
sampūrṇaśvetakāyāśca raktakāyāstu vā vṛṣāḥ || 299 ||
śubhadā dhanadhānyādivṛddhidāḥ parikīrtitāḥ |
doṣahīnā guṇopetāḥ vṛṣabhāḥ śuddhajātijāḥ || 300 ||
saṁgrāhyāḥ kṣemasidhyarthaṁ kṛṣikārairviśeṣataḥ |
sulakṣaṇā dhenavaśca mahiṣāśca tathā matāḥ || 301 ||
mahiṣyāśca bahuksīrāḥ rakṣanīyāḥ kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
meṣāḥ chāgāśca bahudhā kṛṣikāryaphalapradāḥ || 302 ||
paraṁparopadeśena parīkṣāsvapi paṇḍitaiḥ |
niścitān doṣahīnānśca vṛṣabhādīn śubhārthinaḥ || 303 ||
rakṣeyuśca prayatnena kṛṣisāphalayahetave |
kāleṣu poṣanīyāśca hitāhārapradānataḥ || 304 ||
rogebhyo rakṣanīyaśca lālanādibhiranvaham |
goṣṭhasthalaṁ nirdeśecca teṣāṁ puṣṭipradaṁ budhaḥ || 305 ||
kṛṣikarmaṇi cādyaṁ tu sahāyā vṛṣabhottamāḥ |
ataḥ satkulasaṁjātā dhenavaśca viśeṣataḥ || 306 ||
kṛṣīvalaistatra tatra grāmeṣu nagareṣvapi |
śubhalakṣanasaṁpannāḥ dhenavastu paraḥśatam || 307 ||
pālanīyāḥ kṛṣikāraiḥ grāmeṣu nagareṣvapi |
palālatṛṇanīrādyaiḥ lālanairbahurakṣaṇaiḥ || 308 ||
dharmakāmārthasiddhistu dhenūnāṁ pālanāt bhavet |
rogapraśāntiśca tathā bālavṛddhādirakṣaṇam || 309 ||
gosahasraṁ yatradeśe pālyate prītipūrvakam |
tatra deśeṣu parjanyo varṣatyeva na saṁśayaḥ || 310 ||
gavāṁ rakṣanato dānāt devānāṁ prītiruttamā |

ataḥ prajānāṁ kṣemādirityevaṁ bhārgavo 'bravīt || 311 ||
ataḥ sarvaprayatnena gogaṇaṁ tu kṛṣīvalāḥ |
rakṣeyuśca vanānteṣu grāmamadhye ca sarvataḥ || 312 ||
svayaṁ bhṛtyagaṇaiścāpi gopālaiśca viśeṣataḥ |
pratyabdaṁ tu śubhe kāle gopūjā ca viśiṣyate || 313 ||
dināṁte pratyahaṁ tāsāṁ gandhapuṣpādipūjanam |
yaśasyaṁ śubhadaṁ proktaṁ sarvaśāstreṣu kīrtitam || 314 ||
satsantānapradaṁ puṁsāṁ trivargaphaladaṁ tathā |
chāyāsu tāśca te chāgāvṛṣabhādyāḥ kriyāḥkarāḥ || 315 ||
madhyāhvakāle grīṣme tu sthāpyā rakṣyāśca dhīmatā |
śītakāleṣu goṣṭhe tu hitāhārārpaṇādibhiḥ || 316 ||
saṁrakṣyāḥ kṣemasidhyarthaṁ kuṭumbasyāpi bhūpateḥ |
gorakṣaṇaṁ tu bhūpālaiḥ kartavyaṁ dharmyamīritam || 317 ||
corācca duṣṭasattvācca tadrakṣaṇamathārpaṇam |
mahāphalaṁ samuddiṣṭaṁ kṛṣikārye viśeṣataḥ || 318 ||
iti śāstropadeśakramaḥ ||
atha prathamo bhāgaḥ
dhānyādikṛṣikramakathanam ||
(10) *sasyārhakālaparīkṣākramaḥ*
kṣetravibhāgakramaśca ||
kāśyapa upadiśati
kṛṣikāryakramavido loke sarvatra dhījuṣaḥ |
vṛṣabhān mahiṣān dhenūḥ bhṛtyānapi ca sevakān || 319 ||
poṣayitvā niyogajñān kṛṣiṁ kṣetreṣu kalpitān |
vardhayeyuḥ kramamukhaṁ vividhaṁ kṣetrayogyataḥ || 320 ||
ādau kālaparīkṣātra mukhyakalpā vidhīyate |
kāśmīradeśyake vaṅgadeśye nepāladeśyake || 321 ||
pāñcālakosalakuruvirāṭāvantibhūmike |
mālave śakadeśye vā sindhusauvīrabhūmiṣu |
śūrasenāvanticedikoṅkāṇāndhrādibhūmiṣu || 322 ||
yadā yadā vṛṣṭipātastadā śastā śastā kṛṣikriyā |
yatra grīṣmādikāleṣu nadīkulyādimārgataḥ || 323 ||
kṣetreṣu salilotkṣepaḥ tadā śastā kṛṣikriyā |
yatrāgādhajalādhārapraṇālīkulyakāmukhāt || 324 ||
yatra yatra jalotkṣepaḥ tadā tatra kṛṣiḥ śubhā |
meghodayajalasrāvamagādhasalilāśayam || 325 ||
kulyājalasamṛddhaṁ ca vīkṣya dhīmān kṛṣīvalaḥ |
kṛṣiṁ prakalpayet yuktyā sthalasaṁpatkramāt bhuvi || 326 ||
dvidhā vibhaktāṇi loke kṣetrāṇi svīyarūpataḥ |
tatra tatra nadītīre grāmeṣvapi vanāntare || 327 ||
parvatasya taṭe caivaṁ nimnonnatatalepi ca |
śālibhūmistu tatrādyā munibhiḥkathitottamā || 328 ||

dvitīyāḍhakabhūmistu madhyamāpi phalapradā |
śālibhūmistu salilapracurā tu svabhāvataḥ || 329 ||
saṁpūrṇakardamākhyātā nitarāṁ mṛdumṛttikā |
kulayopakulyā śākhāliṅgumbhitā tajjalasravā || 330 ||
samantataḥ kṣudrarūparakṣāmṛttikabhittikā |
khalasvarūpato vāpi grāmavāstusvarūpataḥ || 331 ||
kṣetrapaṅktisvarūpādvā śālibhūmisthitirmatā |
prācyāṁ kvacinnimnabhāgā prātīcyāmatha ca kvacit || 332 ||
yāmye kvacinnimnatalā kauberyāṁ nimnabhūmikā |
kvacitprāyaḥ samatalā kulyā nīragrahoṅmukhī || 333 ||
kṣetrāt kvacit kṣetratalapraveśārhajalasravā |
evaṁ svarūpaṁ vividhaṁ śālibhūmyāstu niścitam |
prathāmakarṣaṇādīha vrīhyutpacyavadhi kṣitau || 334 ||
śālibhūḥ pūrṇasalilā khyātā pūrṇaphalapradā |
grāmādivastubhūmyaṁ ca vanānte ca taṭe kvacit || 335 ||
unnatā bhūrdvitīyā sā kathitāḍhakabhūmikā |
svalpodabindusaṁsevyā caṇakāḍhakavardhinī || 336 ||
naitasyāḥ jalakulyādiprakalpanamudīritam |
prāyeṇa svalpasalilasekāt karṣaṇayogyakā |
tato bījāvāpakāle kiṁcitsalilapānatā || 337 ||
evaṁ samucite kāle jīvanaṁ bījajīvadam |
etādṛśaguṇopetā kathitā cāḍhakasthalī || 338 ||
śālibhūmyāścāḍhakādibhūmyāścārhaṁ kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
bījasaṁgrahaṇaṁ nānārūpamatra munīritam || 339 ||

(11) *nānāvidhibījasaṁgrahaṇakramakathanam ||*
kāśyapa upadiśati

pūrvaṁ saṁprārthito dhārtyā dhātā lokapitāmahaḥ |
bījāni vividhānīhāsṛjatpunaracintayat || 340 ||
tadāśayaṁ viditvā tu bhūmidevī mahodayā |
uvāca harṣeṇa vidhiṁ prāṇināṁ sukhasiddhaye || 341 ||
vidhe nanu tvayā sṛṣṭānīmāni vividhāni tu |
bījāni mayi nikṣiptānyādarādacireṇa hi || 342 ||
prāptāṅkurāni niyataṁ bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ |
tavānugrahabhūmnā ca vāsavasya viśeṣataḥ || 343 ||
pratyabdaṁ meghavṛṣṭiśca niyatena bhaviṣyati |
yathākālaṁ prāptavarṣāḥ prajāḥ sarvatra sarvataḥ || 344 ||
kṛtvā bījāvāpanaṁ tu sukṣetreṣu viśeṣataḥ |
saṁpūrṇaphalabhājaśca pṛṣṭā hṛṣṭāsca nityataḥ || 345 ||
bhaviṣyanti kṛṣijñāśca nānādeśeṣu bhūtale |
devānāṁ prītiratulā yajñādīnqṁ vivardhanam || 346 ||
prajānāmatithīṇāṁ ca prīṇanaṁ bhojanādibhiḥ |
dhenvādiprīnanaṁ kālyaṁ saphalaṁ bhūtayajñakam || 347 ||

iti vijñāpito devyā medinyā kamalāsanaḥ |
tathāstvityabravīdvākyaṁ sarvaprāṇihitapradam || 348 ||
tadādi loke sarvatra bījāni vividhāni tu |
rakṣyante kṛṣikarmajñaiḥ mānavaiḥ sūkṣmabuddhibhiḥ || 349 ||
śālyādikastu prathamaḥ nirdiṣṭo hi munīśvaraiḥ |
āḍhakādirdvitīyaśca tṛtīyaḥ śākasantatiḥ || 350 ||
latākusumavargastu caturthaḥ kila kīrtitaḥ |
etat caturvidhaṁ loke kṛṣikarma viniścitam || 361 ||
puṣṭipradaṁ ca phaladaṁ mānāvānāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
sarvartuṣvapi santoṣajanakaṁ devatuṣṭidam || 352 ||
govṛṣoṣṭrāśvakuṁbhyādijīvināṁ jīvadāyakam |
nāradādyairyogivaryairupadiṣṭaṁ hi bhūtale || 353 ||
mahīpālairuttamaiśca svasvadeśasthalīṣvapi |
kṛṣikarma kṛtaṁ bhaktyā bhṛtyavargaiśca rakṣitam || 354 ||
tadādi brāhmaṇavaraiḥ kṣatriyaiḥ vaiśyajātijaiḥ, |
sūdrairanyaiśca bahudhā sukṣetre kālayogyakam || 355 ||
ārabdhaṁ kṛṣikāryaṁ tu bījamukhyaṁ prakīrtitam |
ataḥ śudhībhirbhūloke kṛṣikarmavidāṁ varaiḥ || 346 ||
bījānāṁ saṁgraho yuktyā kalpanīyo viniścitaḥ |
nāmāni kramaśo vakṣye bījānāmihasiddhaye || 357 ||
śalyādi kalamādiśca ṣaṣṭikādiśca tattridhā |
rasavarnakajātyadyaiḥ vibhaktaṁ kṛṣikovidaiḥ || 358 ||
kiṁcit ghanāstu kalamāḥ rasādhikyāḥ samujjvalāḥ |
ṣaṣṭikā rasahināśca kṛṭāḥkamalayoninā || 359 ||
śālivrīhistu ṣaṭviṁśatbhedakaḥ parikīrtitaḥ |
tatra tatra hi deśeṣu bhūmibhedena kovidaiḥ || 360 ||
bījāvāpaḥ prakartavyo yathākālamatandritaiḥ |
tasmātsarvaprayatnena tadrakṣaṇamudīritam || 361 ||
śvetaśāliḥ raktaśāliḥ sthūlaśālistathaiva ca |
dīrghaśāliḥ svādurasaḥ kalamaḥ śvetavarṇakaḥ || 362 ||
raktavarṇaśca kalamaḥ kalamaḥ sthūladehakaḥ |
dīrghākṛtiśca kalamaḥ vrīhirhemākhyaśaṁbakaḥ || 363 ||
kapiśaḥ śaṁbako 'nyaśca raktaśāṁbaśca varṇataḥ |
kṛṣṇaśaṁbaścānyarūpaḥ nitarāṁ rasavanmataḥ || 364 ||
śūkavrīhiḥ sthūlakāyo vrīhiścānyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
ghanavrīhiśca palaśavrīhiśca rasameduraḥ || 365 ||
svāduvrīhiśca nitarāṁ phalavrīhistathāparaḥ |
drākṣāvrīhiścāparastu nīvāraḥ śvetakṛṣṇakaḥ || 366 ||
yavau ca śvetakṛṣnau ca sthūlākārastathaiva ca |
saṁmaravrīhiraparaḥ nitarāṁ rāśikārakaḥ || 367 ||
kalavrīhiśca paramaḥ nitarāṁ puṣṭidāyakaḥ |
sitavrīhiḥ pītavarṇaḥ vrīhiścājīrṇahārakaḥ || 368 ||

iti ṣaṭviṁśatibhidākalpitā dhānyarāśayaḥ |
sarveṣāmapi caiteṣāṁ bījānāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ kramāt || 369 ||
arkātape śoṣitānāṁ sapakkānāṁ khalasthale |
svagrahe vā raksaṇaṁ tu pradhānaṁ śubhavardhakam || 370 ||
bhūpālairathavā rakṣyaṁ kāle deyaṁ prakīrtitam |
bījarāśiḥ paraśreyaḥ kṛṣestu prathamaṁ dhanam || 371 ||
narāṇāmapi devānāṁ prītidaṁ dānayogyakam |
tasmāt kṛṣīvalairyuktyā bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ varam || 372 ||
etāni tāni bījāni saṁpūrṇaphaladāni ca |
māseṣu triṣu vā tāni caturmāse 'thavā sthale || 373 ||
kānicit pañcamāseṣu ṣaṇmāseṣviha kāni ca |
saptamāseṣvaṣṭtamāseṣvadhikakramataḥ kvacit || 374 ||
phaladāni supakvāni nirṇītāni munīśvaraiḥ |
tasmāt svadeśe kṣetreṣu jalasrāvānukūlataḥ || 375 ||
śālyādikṛṣikāryeṣu cāraṁbhaḥ sukhasiddhaye |
pūrvapuruṣakāryādikramatastu kvacitsthale || 376 ||
meghodayajalasrāvakramataścānyato bhuvi |
deśakālanuguṇyena kṛṣikarma praśasyate || 377 ||
narendrāṇāṁ prajānāṁ ca phaladaṁ parikīrtitam |
dhenvādināmapi tathā pataṁgānāmapi kramāt || 378 ||
jīvasaukhyapradamidaṁ kṛṣikarmasuniścitam |
evamāḍhakabījāni māṣabījāni ca kramāt || 379 ||
mudgānāṁ caṇakānāṁ ca godhūmānāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
tilānāṁ kīrakānāṁ ca kodravāṇāṁ kvacitsthale || 380 ||
yavarāṇāṁ kulas hānāṁ śyāmānāṁ kṛṣṇasāriṇām |
ikṣūnāmapi puṇḍrāṇāṁ jātibhedarasakramaiḥ || 381 ||
vibhaktānāṁ bahuvidhaṁ dhānyānāmuṣṇabījakam |
jīrakānāṁ sarṣapānāṁ marīcīnāṁ tathaiva ca || 382 ||
vidheyānāṁ ca tūlānāmeraṇḍānāṁ kvacitsthale |
eteṣāmapi bījānāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ sukhadāyakam || 383 ||
paṭolikānāṁ bījāni vārtākānāṁ tathaiva ca |
jaṭikā rāśijaṭikā vallikā vanavallikā || 384 ||
ṣavakā cāpi vividhā rasapūrṇā ca kīrtitā |
śākāśca vividhā varṇarasajātiprabhedakāḥ || 385 ||
kuṣmāṇḍānāṁ kalāṭānāṁ nānārūpaṁ tu bījakam |
kustuṁbānāṁ kaṭānāṁ ca dhānyakānāmapi kvacit || 386 ||
haridrānāṁ ca śuṇṭhīnāṁ bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ śubham |
sūraṇānāṁ ca kandānāṁ śākuṭānāṁ tathaiva ca || 387 ||
rasakānāmapi tathā kadalīnāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ kāryaṁ kṛṣikarmaviśāradaiḥ || 388 ||
elā drākṣā ca naladaṁ nāgavallī rasojjvalī |
pūgānāṁ kramukānāṁ ca bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ śubham || 389 ||

mallikāpītapuṣpānāṁ kundānāmapi bījakam |
rakṣeyuratimuktānāṁ cāṁpeyānāmapi kvacit || 390 ||
śigrūṇāṁ bhūrjakānāṁ ca karañjānāmapi kvacit |
śamīnāṁ naktamālānāṁ devadārvākhyabhūruhām || 391 ||
vibhītakapriyaṅgveśca tathāmalakabhūruhām |
piṇḍītakānāṁ niṁbānāṁ likucānāmapi kvacit || 392 ||
śirīṣāṇāmaśokānāṁ dāḍimānāṁ tathaiva ca |
śrīparṇānāṁ tamālānāṁ sindhuvārākhyabhūruhām || 393 ||
kapitthānāṁ ca jambūnāṁ saptaparṇākhyabhūruhām |
bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ kāryaṁ sukhāya ca kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 394 ||
udumbaraścaladalāḥ tiniśāḥ pāribhadrakāḥ |
palāśāśca madhūkāśca vaṭāḥ plakṣā rasālakāḥ || 395 ||
tindukāstilakā nīpāścārjunāḥ sarjakaśca ye |
badarāḥ pīluvṛkśaśca jambīrāḥ punnagāśca ye || 396 ||
vaṁśāḥ kāśāśca vividhāḥ mātulaṅgākhyābhūruhaḥ |
evaṁtu vividhā vṛkṣāḥ patraiḥ puṇyaiḥ phalairapi || 397 ||
phalapradā mānavānāṁ pataṁgānāṁ viśesataḥ |
vaṭādayo mahāvṛkṣāḥ ye cānye parikīrtitāḥ || 398 ||
sarveṣāmeva teṣāṁ tu bījasaṁrakṣaṇaṁ hitam |
supakvānāmātape tu śoṣitānāṁ viśeṣataḥ || 399 ||
bījānāṁ santatī rakṣyā bhāṇḍeṣu vividheṣu ca |
palālarāśiṣu tathā kuṇḍeṣvapi kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 400 ||
śaśamūṣakamārjāraiḥ na dūṣyā bījasantatiḥ |
(palālarāśiṣu tathā kuṇḍeṣvapi kṛṣīvalaiḥ)
jalarāśikaṇairvāpi vātavṛṣṭyādibhistathā |
yathā na dūṣitā doṣairanyaiśca vividhairapi || 401 ||
bījānāṁ saritatiḥ pālyā tathā gehe khalasthale |
bījānāmuttamānāṁ tu pālanaṁ dharmabuddhitaḥ || 402 ||
śreyase kṛṣikānāṁ tu kathitaṁ munipuṁgavaiḥ |
śalyādibījāni tathā śakabījāni vā punaḥ || 403 ||
vṛkṣāṇāmapi bījāni kandānāmapi bījakam |
krītvā saṁgrahya vā loke kṛṣikarmavido narāḥ || 404 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ saṁkīrṇajā api |
svakṣetreṣu svadeśastheṣvādarāt yuktitastathā || 405 ||
nānārūpeṣu vṛṣabhaiḥ karṣiteṣu viśeṣataḥ |
kāle samucite siktānyathavā vardhitāni ca || 406 ||
āvāpavidhinā yuktyā vinyaseyuryathākramam | 407 |

(12) *bījāvāpārthaṁ bhūkarṣaṇakramaḥ ||*
kāśyapa upadiśati

bījāvāpastu vividhe nirdiṣṭaḥ śāstrakobidaiḥ |
kvacit śāleyabhūmyāṁ tu karṣaṇaṁ vṛṣabhaiḥ śubhaiḥ || 408 ||
ato nirdiṣṭameṣāṁ bījānāṁ vrīhisaṁtateḥ |

kandādināmapi tathā vardhanaṁ prathamaṁ sthale || 409 ||
kāryamityevamādiṣṭaṁ kṛṣikarmavicakṣanaiḥ |
jalakṣetre ca tadbhinne jalasikte śubhasthale || 410 ||
bhūkarṣaṇaṁ ca vṛṣabhaiḥ kārayitvā yathākramam |
bījāvāpanayogyāni kṣetrāni vividhāni tu || 411 ||
kārayitvā samīkṛtya cāṅkuranyāsanam tu vā |
kalpayeyuryathāśakti yuktyā ca sthalayogyakam || 412 ||
ākrīḍe cāpi cārāme nṛpodyāne tathaiva ca |
grāmasya nagarasyāpi bahirantastu vā sthale || 413 ||
vṛṣabhairbhūkarṣaṇaṁ ca khanitrādyaiḥ samakriyā |
kheṭādyaiśca samīkāraḥ ksetrāṇāṁ parikīrtitaḥ |
sitākramaśca kṣetreṣu bījāvāpāya kovidaiḥ || 414 ||
kvacitkalpaśca nirdiṣṭaḥ kvacit khananameva ca |
kandādīnāṁ sthāpanārthamavaṭaṁ vā prakalpayet || 415 ||
kadalyādyā ye ca latātaravaḥ saṁprakīrtitāḥ |
teṣāṁ bījāṅkurāṁ yuktyā kandasthāpanameva ca || 416 ||
latayā vardhanaṁ cāpi vividhaṁ kṛṣikovidaiḥ |
samīkṛte hi sukṣetre yathākāle sapeṣṭake || 417 ||
nyasanaṁ phaladaṁ coktamṛṣibhistattvadarśibhiḥ |
tasmāt bhūkarṣaṇaṁ śastaṁ śālikṣetre latāsthale || 418 ||
śākādivṛdhyarhabhūmau udyāne vṛkṣakasthale |
karṣaṇaṁ cāvaṭaṁ sītārekhālpanameva ca || 419 ||
tattatkṣetranukūlyena kalpayet kṛṣikovidaḥ |
jalasekāt tena hīnamarkarocichaṭākramāt || 420 ||
śuṣkitaṁ vā sthalaṁ dhīmān bījāvāpāya nirdiśet |
latādisthāpane caivaṁ vṛkṣānāṁ sthāpane tathā || 421 ||
kadalīkandavinyāse hyaṅkurasthāpanepi ca |
bhūkarṣaṇādikaṁ sarvaṁ kṛṣikāryaṁ tu yuktitaḥ || 422 ||
paraṁparopadeśācca kārayetphalasiddhaye || 423 ||

(13) *vividhadhānyaprāptyarthaṁ kṛṣikramādikathanaṁ* ||
kāśyapa upadiśati

kosalādiṣu deśeṣu nadīsalilapūrite |
sasyakṣetrasamūhe tu śālyādiḥ kṛṣiruttamā || 424 ||
nirdiṣṭā munibhistasmāt dhīmadbhistu kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
kalamavrīhinivahān prāptuṁ kṛtaviniīcayaiḥ || 425 ||
jalāśayānāmathavā nadīnāṁ ca hradasthale |
kulyāmukhāt yathākālaṁ sasyakṣetreṣu coditam || 426 ||
ādāvāpūrya tadanu karṣaṇaṁ vṛṣabhairmatam |
tataḥ salilapūrṇāni sasyakṣetrāṇi mānavāḥ || 427 ||
śāṅkarāt dikkoṇabhāgādathavā tu kvacitsthale |
prācyāṁ pratīcyāmathavā karṣaṇaṁ śubhadāyakam || 428 ||
pūrvameva kvacitdeśe nibiḍaṁ vardhitāni ca |

śalyaṅkurāṇāṁ jālāni cotkhātakramamādiśet |
bandhīkṛtya tu tajjālaṁ karṣaṇānmṛdutāṁ gate || 429 ||
jalakardamabhūyiṣṭhe śālikṣetre sulagnake |
ajāśakṛtknairevaṁ gavāṁ cāpi śakṛtkaṇaiḥ || 430 ||
latāvratatibhirvāpi prāptasāre sayatnake |
paṅktiśaḥ panktiśo bhṛtyaiḥ vinyasetsamabhūmike || 431 ||
tatra kṣetre svalpajalaṁ sthāpanīyamanantaram |
jalādhikyasrāvamārgaḥ kalpanīyo viśeṣataḥ || 432 ||
yathā sasyāṅkurāṇāṁ tu nāśastu na bhavettathā |
tathā tadrakṣaṇaṁ kāryaṁ tatkarmaphaladaṁ viduḥ || 433 ||
evamaṅkurajālānāṁ vinyāsaśca kramānmataḥ |
yatrāṅkurāṇāṁ nāśastu vṛṣṭyādibahukāraṇaiḥ || 434 ||
saṁpāditastathā dhīmān tatra deśe prayatnataḥ |
navāṅkurāṇāṁ nyasanaṁ phaladaṁ parikalpayet || 435 ||
grāmyeṣu kṣetrajāleṣu vanye vātha sthalāntare |
ekadvitricatuḥpañcakuṭumbibhirudasthale || 436 ||
daśakairviṁśatiguṇaiḥ vṛṣabhairyugapaṅktibhiḥ |
ekadā sasyabhūmīnāṁ karṣaṇaṁ sasyavṛddhikṛt || 437 ||
ekamatyāt grāmajanaiḥ bahuyugyaprayoǥataḥ |
ekadā bījavinyāsaḥ phaladaśca prakīrtitaḥ || 438 ||
evaṁ sakardamajale śālikṣetre viśeṣataḥ |
grāmye vā nagare vāpi vanye vanatalāntare || 439 ||
sakulyājalanisrāce śalyaṅkuragaṇe 'rpite |
jalādhikakṣaye tatra kalpite bahuvaktrake || 440 ||
kṣetranyastā śālibījāṅkurapālī tu bhūtale |
dināni saptadaśa vā tīrtvā sākṛṣṭabhūmike || 441 ||
saṁprāptamūlā vṛdhyarthaṁ brahmaṇā tu vidhīyate |
tato bahirnevadalaprāptiśca śubhadarśanam || 442 ||
yā kāntiḥ śukapatreṣu dṛṣyate sumanoharā |
tayā kāntyāṁcitā bhāti bālevāruḍhayauvanā || 443 ||
evaṁ tu prathame māse gate vrīhisthale bhuvi |
kalamādidalānāṁ hi vṛddhiḥ saṁdṛṣyate kramāt || 444 ||
paritoṅ 'kuravṛddhiśca tatsamā kāntibhūṣitā |
pratyahaṁ pītatoyā ca phaladānāya kalpate || 445 ||
sasyakṣetrasamūheṣu tadānīṁ tṛṇakoṣṭhakāḥ |
sakardamajaleṣvatra vṛddhibhājaśca niścitaḥ || 446 ||
ta eva sasyaripavo niścitā munisattamaiḥ |
tasmātkṛṣīvalairyuktyā tadā tu tṛṇakoṣṭhakāḥ || 447 ||
muñjādyāścanyaroṣā ye nirasyā yatnato bhuvaḥ |
muñjākoṣṭhatṛṇādīnāṁ phalahānipradāyinām || 448 ||
sasyavṛddhikṣayakṛtāṁ mūlataścchedanaṁ śubham |
śāleyabhūmiṣu tadā jalamāpūrya kovidaḥ || 449 ||

tṛṇakoṣṭhān nirasyātha paṅktiśaḥ paṅktiśaḥkramāt |
bhṛtyavargaiḥ pratyahaṁ vā vairicchedaḥ praśasyate || 450 ||
sasyakṣetreṣu sarvatra caivaṁrītyā tṛṇādiṣu |
dviṣatsu saṁnirasteṣu yatnatastu kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 451 ||
prāptaśobhā vṛddhiyutā bhāsate śālisantatiḥ |
tato dvitīyamāsetu śālivṛddhiśca niścitā || 452 ||
tadānīmapi ye kecit tṛnqdiripavo yadi |
bhavanti sasyakṣetreṣu tannirāsaśca yuktitaḥ || 453 ||
mahāphalāya kathitaḥ sasyānāṁ bahurūpiṇām |
śvetaśālī raktaśāliḥ kalamādyāśca ye purā || 454 ||
nirdiṣṭā vividhā dhānyarāśayo bahujātikāḥ |
sarveṣāmapi teṣāṁ tu kṛṣikāryaṁ hi tulyakam || 455 ||
bhūmīnāṁ karṣaṇaṁ cādau tato bījāṅkurāpaṇam |
tṛṇakāṣṭhotkṣepaṇaṁ ca punastatkarma cādarāt || 456 ||
jalasaṁpūraṇaṁ caiva śālisaṁrakṣaṇaṁ tathā |
tulyarūpaṁ tulyakāryaṁ niścitaṁ kṛṣikovidaih || 457 ||
tathāpi śālayaḥ śambāḥ kalamādyāśca bhūmiṣu |
jātibhedāt varṇabhedāt trimāsaphaladāstu te || 458 ||
kecicccaturmāsaphalāḥ pañcamāsaphalāḥ pare |
ṣaṇmāsaphaladāścānye tadādhikyaphalapradāḥ || 459 ||
tasmāttaddhānyanyakaṇikaprādurbhāvakramaṁ bhuvi |
jñātvā kṛṣīvalaistāvat teṣāṁ salilapūraṇam || 460 ||
nirdiṣṭaṁ kṛṣikarmajñaiḥ deśe sarvatra sarvataḥ |
yadā tu dhānyakaṇikārāśiḥ sasyāgrapaṅktiṣu || 461 ||
kṣīragarbho ghanaḥ kiṁcidānataḥ dṛśyate kramāt |
tadā tatkaṇikārāśirakṣaṇaṁ tu śukādapi || 462 ||
tulyameva vinirdiṣṭaṁ nānādeśeṣvapīritam |
evamataḥkṣīrapūrṇā dhānyānāṁ kaṇikāvaliḥ || 463 ||
kramādantaḥ sāravatī tatsārastaṇḍulodayaḥ |
tāvatparyantameteṣāṁ salilasya prapūraṇam || 464 ||
śastaṁ ca phaladaṁ proktaṁ anyathā phalahīnatā |
tasmātvrīhyantarasakṛtkṣīravṛddhikramādikam || 465 ||
jñātvā tatsamaye mūle sasyānāṁ kṣīravṛddhaye |
krameṇa salilasrāvaḥ kartavyastu kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 466 ||
nadījalāśayajalapūraṇaṁ vā kvacitsthale |
hradakpādisalilapūraṇaṁ vā prayatnataḥ || 467 ||
tadā phalapradaṁ proktaṁ prāṇināṁ sukhasiddhaye |
vasundharāyā varataḥ saṁkalpāt brahmaṇastathā || 468 ||
uptāni sasyakṣetreṣu bījāni vividnāni tu |
phaladāni bhavantīha vṛddhaṁ prāpya kramāt bhuvi || 469 ||
svayamevaṁvidhānyeva bhāsurāṇi mahītale |
mūṣakāt śalabhakīrāt śukādapi ca duṣṭataḥ || 470 ||

prāṇivargāt rakṣaṇaṁ tu viśeṣaphaladaṁ viduḥ |
parasparaṁ snehavantaḥ grāmyāḥ kṛṣikarā janāḥ || 471 ||
sasyānāṁ kalamādīnāṁ vayo niścitya rūpataḥ |
sākṣādanubhavātbījasaktyā ca sthalavaibhavāt || 472 ||
śālyādīni supakvāni rakṣitānyanujīvibhiḥ |
pradakṣiṇādibhirmanyānīha prānihitāṇi ca || 473 ||
yadā tu dhānyakaṇikārāśau pakke yathākramam |
tattadvayaḥ kālayogāt tadā na jalasevanam || 474 ||
kāryamityevamādiṣṭaṁ kṛṣitattvavidāṁ varaiḥ |
śālikṣetreṣu sarveṣu kathito 'yaṁ kramo budhaiḥ || 475 ||
tasmāt tadvrī[hi]kaṇikāḥ pakkakāle kṛṣivalāḥ |
atandrā rakṣeyuretāḥ doṣāt vividharūpataḥ || 476 ||
evaṁ tadvrīhikaṇikāgaṇe pakve dalāgrake |
vrīhikāṇḍavaliḥ sāgrāḥ (bhava) patatīha bhuvau tadā || 477 ||
evaṁ tāṁ patitāṁ dṛṣṭvā dinaviṁśatikāvadhi |
nirīkṣya pālayetkṣetre bhṛtyairvā svayameva vā || 478 ||
atha saṁprāptakāle tu daṇḍānāṁ vrīhisantateḥ |
supakvānāṁ svarṇavarṇacchuritānāmapi kvacit || 479 ||
taddaṇḍakartanaṁ kāryaṁ saṁkulādyaiḥ kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
anujīvikavargaiśca bhṛtyairanyaistathā narāḥ || 480 ||
kartayeyuḥ daṇḍakāṇḍāvaliṁ kalamasantateḥ |
ekadā vā pratyahaṁ vā mithaḥ sāhyakriyāparaiḥ || 481 ||
kartanaṁ phaladaṁ prāhuḥ yathāśālyādidaṇḍakaḥ |
nāśitā vā na naṣṭā vā vṛṣṭyādyaistaskaraistuvā || 482 ||
tathā tatkartanaṁ kāryaṁ sasyānāṁ vividhātmanām |
kartitavrīhidaṇḍānāṁ sāgrāṇāṁ tu kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 483 ||
sthāpanaṁ khalabhūmiṣu bhṛtyairanucāridabhiḥ |
trayaṁ vā pañcakaṁ tatra dinānāṁ khalabhūmiṣu || 484 ||
sthāpanaṁ rakṣaṇaṁ śastaṁ mahāphalamudīritam |
ślathāgrāṇāṁ supakvānāṁ daṇḍānāṁ vrīhisantateḥ || 485 ||
khalabhūmyāṁ mardanena dhānyānāṁ kaṇikāvaliḥ |
patitā rājate ratnagumbhavalirivāmalā || 486 ||
punaśca vrīhidaṇḍāgre mardite sati yatnataḥ |
vṛṣāṇāṁ mahiṣāṇāṁ ca pādaghaṭṭanakaistu vā || 487 ||
avaśiṣṭo dhānyakaṇagumbhaścādhaḥpatatyadhaḥ |
evaṁ sammardanaṁ kṛtvā vrīhidaṇḍāvale khale || 488 ||
puñjīkuryurdhānyakaṇān ghanān sārān pṛthakkṛtān |
ghanahīnān peśalāṁśca śūrpavātādivījanaiḥ || 489 ||
pṛthakkṛtya prayatnena puñjīkuryuḥkṛṣīvalāḥ |
ātape śoṣayitvātha nirmalān kārayet budhaḥ || 490 ||
devānāmatharājñāṁ ca bhāgamekaṁ yathākramam |
srotriyāyāpi viduṣe bhāgamekaṁ yathākramam || 491 ||

datvā dānaṁ bhṛtyavargapoṣaṇaṁ vā kvacitsthale |
avaśiṣṭaṁ dhānyarāśiṁ sthāpayet svaniketane || 492 ||
rakṣayecca prayatnena kāṭhinyādiṣu yuktitaḥ |
mṛnmayeṣvapi bhāṇḍeṣu sutapteṣvathavā kvacit || 493 ||
dṛḍhakāścairnirmiteṣu piṭhareṣvapi vā kvacit |
dṛḍharajjukṛteṣvakteṣvapi deśānusārataḥ || 494 ||
kvacit bhūmyāṁ dṛḍhasthalyāmavaṭaṁ vā prakalpayet |
tatra sopānasaṁyukte vrīhidhānyādikaṁ kvacit || 495 ||
sthāpayet rakṣayet yuktyā jalataskarakīrakāt |
mūṣakadāpi duṣṭācca satvāt bhayavivarjitam || 496 ||
evaṁ tu kalamavrīhidhānyānāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ param |
bījānāmapi caiteṣāmātape śoṣitātmanām || 497 ||
rakṣaṇaṁ caivamādiṣṭtamuttamaistu kṛṣīvalaiḥ |
evaṁnīte dhānyarāśau svagrahāṇi kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 498 ||
sasyavrīhyādidaṇḍānāmātape śoṣitātmanām |
gopādamarditānāṁ ca rāśiṁ mṛdulatantukām || 499 ||
puñjīkṛtya kṣudramānaṁ svagrahe goṣṭhakepi ca |
sthāpayitvā viśeṣeṇa palālānāṁ ca rakṣaṇam || 500 ||
dhenūnāṁ vṛṣabhāṇāṁ ca mahiṣāṇāṁ tathā kvacit |
mahiṣīṇāmajānāṁ ca mṛgāṇāmapi vā kvacit || 501 ||
palālapūlakairetaiḥ jīvanaṁ śāstraniścitam |
ataḥ sarvatra deśeṣu dhīmantastu kṛṣīvalāḥ || 502 ||
dhānyādibhirmānavānāṁ prāṇarakṣaṇakarmaṇi |
catuṣpātprāṇarakṣāsu sasyakāṇḍapalālakaiḥ || 503 ||
mahānandāya kalpante kṛtayatnā vidhānataḥ || 504 ||
āryāṇāmupadeśācca deśacārakramādapi |
tathā svānubhavāt yuktyā kṛṣikarmaratā ratāḥ || 505 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ saṁkīrṇayonayāḥ |
ye cānye bhūsaṁpadastu phalitaṁ dhānyarāśikam || 506 ||
sumuhūrte sulagne ca vinyasya svagrahottame |
pūjayitvā dhānyalakṣmīṁ dhanalakṣmīṁ tathaivaca || 507 ||
gandhaiḥ puṣpaistathā śuddhadravyaiḥ śāstraviniścitaiḥ |
brāhmaṇān bhojayitvātha pradatvā dakṣiṇāṁ śubhāṁ || 508 ||
yaśaḥ sukhaṁ ca paramamaiśvaryaṁ prāpya bhūtale |
tathādevānugrahaṁ ca suputrāśca kalatrakāḥ |
pautrādibhiḥ sametāśca hṛṣṭā rājanti nityaśaḥ || 509 ||
śālikṣetreṣu vividheṣvataḥ prāptakṛṣikriyāḥ |
mānavā yuktito deśe svakīye ca vanāntare || 510 ||
grāmeṣvapi ca satkṣetre sthalyāmapi tathā kvacit |
sārakṣetre nityajale dvitīyaṁ kṛṣikarma ca || 511 ||
kṛtvā tatphalamapyatra prāpnuvanti mahodayāḥ |
pratyabdamevaṁ sarvatra dvirāvṛttikṛṣikriyā || 512 ||

kṣetreṣu bahurūpeṣu śasyate phaladāyinī |
ajāśakṛtgośakṛtkalatādīnāṁ samarpaṇaiḥ || 513 ||
kṣetrāṇāṁ sāramutpādya dvitīyavṛttirisyate |
kriyākriyā yogyapadā phaladā ca prakīrtitā || 514 ||
pratyahaṁ vīkṣaṇāt śālikṣetrāṇām mānanādapi |
kṛṣeśca kramayogācca śāntātmānaḥ kṛṣīvalāḥ || 515 ||
dhenvādīnāṁ rakṣanācca prāpnuvantyadhikaṁ phalam |
tasmātkṛṣikramavido mitho maitryādibhāṣaṇāḥ || 516 ||
dvitīyāvṛttikakṛṣikāryāya kṛtamānasāḥ |
pratyabdaṁ gorakṣaṇaṁ ca bhṛtyānāmapi rakṣaṇam || 517 ||
bījānāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ cāpi kulyādīnāṁ ca rakṣaṇam |
jalāśayatatākādihradānāmapi rakṣaṇam || 518 ||
khanitraśaṅkulādīnāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ khalarakṣaṇam |
vṛtestu rakṣaṇaṁ cāpi kṣetrānāmapi rakṣaṇam || 519 ||
mukhyaṁ dharmamiti jñātvā tathā kṛtvā prayathnataḥ |
deśācāravaśāccāpi kṛṣikarma mahodayam || 520 ||
mahānandāya kalpante trivargasukhasaṁpadaḥ |

(14) *atha āḍhakādivividhadravyaprāptyarthaṁ*
kṛṣikramādivarṇanam ||
kāśyapa upadiśati

āḍhakāṇāṁ ca māṣāṇāṁ caṇakānāmapi kvacit |
mudgānāṁ ca kulathānāṁ tilānāṁ ca kvacitsthale || 521 ||
āvāpaścāpi bījānāṁ marīcīrakādinām |
kṛṣikarma ca kartavyaṁ vyañjanaṁ tairudīritam || 522 ||
annaṁ tu vividhaṁ loke dhānyotthaistaṇḍulādibhiḥ |
kriyate prāṇarakṣārthaṁ tatkalpaḥ pākaśāstrakam || 523 ||
vīrasenena rājñā tu pākaśāstraṁ mahatkṛtam |
tatputreṇa nalenāpi gārgeṇa ca maharṣiṇā || 524 ||
tatroktānnavyañjanādikramastu vividho mataḥ |
tadeva vyañjanaṁ loke cānnādyānāṁ rucipradam || 525 ||
māṣāḍhakamarīcyādyaiḥ lavaṇaiśca guḍādibhiḥ |
saṁpādyate hi sarvatra puṣṭyārogyapradaṁ nṛṇām || 526 ||
dhānyotpādanakāle ca caturaistu kṛṣīvalaih |
vanyeṣvapi ca bhāgeṣu api grāmyeṣu bhūtale || 527 ||
ādhakānāṁ ca māṣāṇāṁ mudgādīnāṁ cakālataḥ |
sīrakṛṣṭeṣu bhāgeṣu svalpasikteṣu vāridaiḥ || 528 ||
kulyānīrakaṇairvāpi bījāvāpaśca niścitaḥ |
āḍhakeṣvapi māṣeṣu mudgeṣvapi tileṣvapi || 529 ||
caṇakeṣvapi śāstreṣu bṛhallaghu ca niścitqm |
jalasikte bhūmibhāge cottuṅge tatra tatra tu || 530 ||
tilādīnāṁ tu bījānāmāvāpaḥ kṛṣicoditaḥ |
catuḥpañcaṣasaṁkhyeṣu vāsareṣu gateṣu hi || 531 ||

āḍhakādyāṅkurotpattiḥ dṛśyā sīrasthale tadā |
sā ca bhūsārayogena niścitā śāstrakovidaiḥ || 532 ||
pratyakṣamālokitā ca nānādeśeṣvāpi sthale |
vrīhikṣetraṁ tu bhūloke jalabhūmiratīritam || 533 ||
māṣāḍikṣetrabhūmistu tārabhūmiriti smṛtā |
tasmādāḍhakamāṣādikṛṣikarma kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 534 ||
tārakṣetreṣu kartavyamiti provāca bhārgavaḥ |
śiṣṭācārakramavaśāt saukaryādvā talasthite || 535 ||
vrīhikṣetreṣu māṣādibījāvāpaḥ kvacitsthale |
phalapradaśca nirdiṣṭaḥ śāstre 'sminnapi kāśyape || 536 ||
yathādeśācāravaśāt sthalakālavaśāttu vā |
jalabhūmikṣetrabhāge tārabhūkṣetrakepi vā || 537 ||
sīrakṛṣṭe yathākālaṁ prāyaḥ samatale tathā |
bṛhadāḍhakabījāni māṣabījāni vā tathā || 538 ||
mudgabījāni caṇakatilagodhūmabījakān |
kulutthabījāni tathā kīrabījaṁ ca kodravam || 539 ||
bījāni yavarāṇāṁ ca marīcībījakānyapi |
tūlairaṁḍhakabījāni jīrakāṇāṁ ca bījakam || 540 ||
bījāni sarṣapādīnāṁ tārakṣetrasthaleṣu vā |
vāpayeyuryathākālaṁ paṅktiśaḥ paṅktiśaḥ kramāt || 541 ||
sītaśreṇīṣu vā nānārekhāśreṇīṣu vā punaḥ |
jalasiktāni bījāni kānicitkṛṣikovidāḥ || 542 ||
asiktāṁ ca jale tadvat kāṁśca satbījakāvalim |
vāpayeyuryathākālaṁ svadeśācāravaibhavāt || 543 ||
uptānāmeva bhūbhāge dvividhe tatra tatra tu |
bījānāmaṅkuropattimālokya kṛṣikāriṇaḥ || 544 ||
ekamāsena vā kiṁcinnyūnādhikyakramānvite |
kāle tale tu sarvatra pracurāṇi tṛṇāni hi || 545 ||
kṛṣivalāstāni vīkṣya karaśaṅkulakādibhiḥ |
chitvā bhittvā samūlaṁ ca bahiśchṛdya (?) tatsthalāt || 546 ||
tṛṇādini tatastatra jalasecanamācaret |
bījāvāpānantaraṁ tu cāḍhakādisthale bhuvi || 547 ||
vṛṣṭyādhikhyaṁ yadi tadā bījanāśo bhavet dhruvam |
ataḥsvalpaṁ jalakaṇāvalisecanamuttamam || 548 ||
kulyānīreṇa vā caited kalpyamāhurmunīśvarāḥ |
tilagodhūmacaṇakamāṣamudgāḍhakāvaleḥ || 549 ||
bījānāṁ nāśajanake saṁniraste tṛṇādike |
tadā śākhopaśākhānāṁ aṅkurādaṅkurāntaram || 550 ||
mūle puṣkalasāraṁ ca kalayet kalamādivat |
atastṛṇānāṁ kandānāṁ śatrūṇāṁ nivahe hate || 551 ||
māṣādidaṇḍaśākhādivardhanaṁ kila niścitam |
tadānīmeva śobhādiḥ puṣpādiśca manoharaḥ || 552 ||

puṣpodbhavānantaraṁ tu kaṇiśānāṁ ca saṁtatiḥ |
kapiśeṣvāḍhakādīnāmutpattiśca vilokitā || 553 ||
māsatrayeṇa kālena kvacit tadadhikena vā |
māṣāḍhakādicaṇakagodhūmotpattirīritā || 554 ||
mūlasthale tu salilasekavaibhavato bhuvi |
antaḥ sāro bhavatyeva kapiśānāmitīritaḥ || 555 ||
evaṁ māṣāḍhakaatilaprādurbhāvastu bhūtale |
sarvatra daivayogena nirmitaḥ śāstradarśitaḥ |
antaḥsāre ghanībhūte māṣādiśreṇikā kramāt || 556 ||
phalāya dṛṣṭaḥ sarvatra paṅktiśaḥ kaṇiśāṁcale |
tadā patrādipatanaṁ jīrṇatā patanaṁ tathā || 557 ||
śirastalānāṁ namanaṁ nirdiṣṭtaṁ kṛṣikovidaiḥ |
kālānuguṇamevaṁ tu jalasecanamācaret || 558 ||
tilānāmapi godhūmarāśīnāṁ tārabhūmike |
kaniśādipraveśaśca kālabhedaśca niścitaḥ || 559 ||
jātibhedo rūpabhedaḥ kṛṣibhedastathā kvacit |
vijñeyaḥ sthalabhedena kṛṣiyogyā tadarhakā || 560 ||
āḍhakādighanībhūte kaṇiśānāṁ gaṇe tathā |
supakve kṣetrabhāgeṣu tatkrantanamudīritam || 561 ||
bhṛtyaiḥvārairakṣakaiśca phalakāle tu rakṣaṇam |
mahāphalāya bhavati dhānyādivadihoditam |
chinnānāṁ truṭitānāṁ ca kaṇiśānāṁ khalasthale || 562 ||
daṇḍādyairmardanaṁ proktamātape śoṣaṇam tathā |
āḍhakīdaṇḍakāṇḍādīn vṛṣāśvādicatuṣpadām || 563 ||
bhakṣanārthamihādiṣṭtan rakṣeyuśca kṛṣīvalāḥ |
puñjīkṛtya khalasthāne svagrahe svocitasthale || 564 ||
goṣṭthacatvārabhāgeṣu cāthavā sthalayogyakam |
āḍhakīdaṇḍakāṇḍādirakṣaṇaṁ ca sukhapradam || 565 ||
vrīhidaṇḍapalalādīn āḍhakīdaṇḍakāṇḍakān |
māṣagodhūmacaṇakapatradaṇḍādikānapi || 566 ||
catuṣpātjīvadān puṣṭipradānapi ca sarvadhā |
sarvartuṣvapi paścāderārogyasukhadāyakān || 567 ||
puñjīkuryācca rakṣecca kāryajñastu kṛṣīvalaḥ |
kṣudragrāmakaṭugrevavihīnān tu kṛṣīvalaḥ || 568 ||
śūrpādivinyāsayogāt vātavījanatopi vā |
pecanāccāmanādvāpi nirmalīkṛtarūpakān || 569 ||
godhūmatilamāsādīn āḍhakīsarṣpādikān |
kīrān mudgānathānyāṁśca puñjīkuryātkhalasthale || 570 ||
svagrahaṁ cānayedetān ātape śoṣitān tathā |
nirmalīkṛtadehāṁśca caṇakāḍhakamudgakān || 571 ||
vyañhanāya tathāsajjān bhāṇḍeṣu ca pṛthakpṛthak |
sthāpayedrakṣayaetkāle sukhasidhyai kṛṣīvalaḥ |

dhānyādīnāḍhakādīṁśca marīcyādīn bhuvasthale || 572 ||
deśācāravaśādevaṁ yuktyā ca kṛṣikovidāḥ |
tattajjātisvarūpanuguṇaṁ ca sthalayogyakam || 573 ||
kālānuguṇamanyāṁśca kṛṣilabhyāt viśeṣataḥ |
saṁpādayeyuḥ grāmeṣu pureṣu nagareṣvapi || 574 ||
tadantikasthale kṣetrabhāgeṣu vividheṣvapi |
kṛṣyādānaṁ tu niyamāt mahāphalamudīritam || 575 ||
jalabhūmau tythā tārabhūmau vā kṛṣiyogyakāḥ |
pratideśaṁ pratigrāmaṁ kodravaṁ yavaraṁ tathā || 576 ||
yavaṁ ca vardhayetkāle tat dhānyamapi puṣṭidam |
tatkāṇḍadaṇḍaḥ paśvādijīvānāṁ jīvanapradaḥ |
ataḥ sarveṣu deśeṣu kodravaṁ yavaraṁ yavam || 577 ||
puṣṭipradaṁ mahāsāraṁ vardhayitvā viśeṣataḥ |
agastyabhikṣudaṇḍāṁśca sthalayogyam ca vardhayet || 578 ||
mahāphalapradaṁ cekṣukṛṣikarma praśasyate |
gajānāṁ paramādharāṁ śarkarāguḍakāraṇām || 579 ||
ikṣudaṇḍaṁ dṛḍhaṁ kālavardhanaṁ jalabhūmiṣu |
athavā tārabhūbhāge kvacitkṣetre viśeṣataḥ || 580 ||
dīrghāvaṭaśreṇikaṁ tu kṛtvā tatra nikhātayet |
kadalīnāṁ ca sarvatra puṇḍrekṣuṇāmiha kṣitau || 581 ||
na bījakalanaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ pratyakṣaṁ vāpi śāstrataḥ |
śaratkāle tathānyatra samaye deśacodite || 582 ||
kṛṣīvalairikṣudaṇḍasthāpanaṁ cāvaṭasthale |
sthāpanaṁ salilāsekapūraṇaṁ ca kramoditam || 583 ||
gate daśadine kāle tanmūlādaṅkurodbhavaḥ |
ikṣudaṇḍāṅkuravaśāt dalādīnāmathodgamaḥ || 584 ||
māsadvayena vā māsatrayeṇāpi kvacitsthale |
saṁpūrṇadalavṛddhistu niścitā phaladāyinī || 585 ||
puruṣākṛtikaunnatyamadhikonnatireva vā |
ikṣudaṇḍāvalīvṛddhiṁ jñātvā kṛṣivicakṣaṇaḥ || 586 ||
tanmūle cāvaṭe bhāge nityaṁ salilasecanam |
kalpayet yatnataḥ kāle rakṣayecca viśeṣataḥ || 587 ||
vātādibhistathā caiṣāmikṣūṇāṁ rakṣaṇaṁ param |
evaṁ prakāraḥ kathitaḥ kadalīnāmiha kṣitau || 588 ||
kadalī phaladā śaśvat tajjātirvividhā matā |
deśācāravaśātkālayogācca kṛṣikovidāḥ || 589 ||
kadalīmikṣukāṇḍaṁ ca sarvartuṣvapi vardhayet |
satataṁ phaladaṁ proktametat sarvatra deśake || 590 ||
kvacit parvatasānau vā girimūrdhani vā kvacit |
kaṭhinasthalake bhūmisāraṁ jñātvā vicakṣaṇaḥ || 591 ||
kadalīmikṣukāṇḍaṁ ca vardhayetsukhasiddhaye |
satataṁ phaladaṁ proktametat sarvatra bhūmiṣu || 592 ||

na tūṣarasthale bhūmidoṣaduṣṭe tu vardhayet |
ataḥ sallakṣaṇopeta bhūbhāge tu vicakṣaṇaḥ || 583 ||
sūpapradhānān caṇakādhakamudgādimān kvacit |
vardhayet rakṣayecca phalitān svagrahaṁ nayet || 594 ||
picuvṛkṣaṁ tūlavṛkṣaṁ tathā tacchreṇikāmapi |
kārpāsavastrasidhyarthaṁ tārabhūmau kvacit sthale || 595 ||
tathoṣṇasthalake caiva vardhayettu kṛṣīvalaḥ |
yatsukhapradamādiṣṭaṁ paraṁparyopadeśataḥ || 596 ||
sākṣādvīkkṣaṇato vāpi tatsarvaṁ vardhayetkṛtī |
khalabhūmitaṭe vāpi grāmānte grāmasīmani || 597 ||
ākrīḍāntaḥ sthale vāpi sthale samucite rathā |
jalāśayataṭaprānte cottuṅge grāmavāstuke || 598 ||
kārpāsavṛkṣavṛddhiśca tathānyadvardhanaṁ kramāt |
śastamityevamādiṣṭaṁ śāstrajñairmunipuṁgavaiḥ || 599 ||

iti kāśyapīyakṛṣisūktau dhānyādikṛṣi-
kramakathanaṁ nāma prathamo bhāgaḥ
atha śākādikṛṣikramakathanam nāma
dvitīyo bhāgaḥ
kāśyapa upadiśati

kṛṣikāryakramavido loke sarvatra bhūmiṣu |
sallakṣaṇairbhāsurāsu nṛpājñāvartinaḥ sadā || 600 ||
śālikṣetre yathākālaṁ śalyādīn kalayetkramāt |
tārakṣetreṣu tadvacca caṇakādīṁśca vardhayet || 601 ||
etena bhojanopāyaḥ samagraḥ parikalpitaḥ |
śālitaṇḍulavargaiśca saṁbhāradravyakaistathā || 602 ||
āḍhakādyaiśca tatpūrtiḥ naiva dṛṣṭaḥ kṣamātale |
ataḥ śākādikān svādurasān tatra vivardhayet || 603 ||
jaṭikān rāśijaṭikān vallikā vanavallikāḥ |
paṭolikāṁśca vārtākān ṣavakāṁśca tathaiva ca || 604 ||
śakāṁśca vividhān tadvat kūṣmāṇḍāṁścakalāṭakān |
kustumburun kalātāṁśca sūranān śākuṭāṁstathā || 605 ||
haridrāścāpi śuṇṭhiśca sthalavanyaprabhedakān |
sthalibhavāṁśca vividhān rasapūrṇān kṛṣīvalān |
kṛṣikramāt vardhayeyuḥ bhojyakāryārthasiddhaye || 606 ||
etāni śākadravyāṇi mukhyānīti matirmama |
kvacit deśeṣu śākādiḥ jātirūpaprabhedataḥ || 607 ||
rasato varṇataścaiva bhinnaḥ saṁparikīrtitaḥ |
palāṇḍuṁ vardhayet drākṣānaladailādivardhanam || 608 ||
kṛṣīvalaistu kartavyaṁ tatra tatra sthalīṣvapi |
tārabhūmitale vāpi jalabhūmitalepi vā || 609 ||
ṛtuyogyaṁ deśayogyaṁ paraṁparyakramodbhavam |
rītiṁ ca vijñāya budhaḥ śākadravyaṁ vivardhayet || 610 ||

prathamaṁ taṇḍuladravyaṁ sūpadravyaṁ dvitīyakam |
śākadravyaṁ trtīyaṁ syāt kṛṣyādānakramodbhavam || 611 ||
ghṛtakṣīradadhidravyaṁ caturthaṁ ca samīritam |
etat caturvidhaṁ dravyaṁ bhojyakalpaḥ prakīrtitaḥ || 612 ||
sarveṣāmiha devānāmetat prītivivardhanam |
manuṣyāṇāṁ tu sarveṣāṁ jīvanasthairyakāraṇam || 613 ||
puṣṭidaṁ cārogyadaṁ ca budhyāyurvardhanaṁ tathā |
sṛṣṭikāle brahmaṇā tu sṛṣṭaḥ sarvatra bhūmiṣu || 614 ||
anena bhojyakalpena vasudhā tu sajīvanā |
brāhmaṇaḥ sṛṣṭisāyamamabhavacca tadāditaḥ || 615 ||
sarveṣvapi ca deśeṣu kṣetreṣu vividheṣviha |
munīśvarāṇāṁ yamināṁ manusyāṇāṁ ca sarvataḥ || 616 ||
trivargaphaladaścāyaṁ bhojyakalpaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
tasmāt śākadravyakādikṛṣiścāpi kṛṣīvalaiḥ || 617 ||
kalpanīyā viśeṣeṇa grāmeṣu nagareṣvapi |
vane vanāntare vāpi sallakṣaṇasamanvite || 618 ||
janāvāsāntikasthāne jalādhāre viśeṣataḥ |
śākādikṛṣikāryaṁ ca phaladaṁ ca viniścitam || 619 ||
vasantakāle grīṣme vā haimante vāpi vā kvacit |
vārtākavallījaṭikamarīcīṣavakādibhiḥ || 620 ||
sīrakṛṣṭaṁ kṣetratalaṁañcayedaṅkurārthibhiḥ |
vārtākādīni bījāni cātape śoṣitāni tu || 621 ||
gośakṛtkādibhiḥ sāramedure bhūtale kvacit |
aṅkurārthaṁ vinyaseyuḥ jalasekaṁ ca kovidāḥ || 622 ||
yathākramaṁ kārayeyuḥ palālācchādanaṁ tataḥ |
evaṁ dinatraye kāle galite ttvaṅkurasthale || 623 ||
aṅkurāṇāṁ darśanam tu kriyate vidhinā kila |
dinaviṁśatike kāle dṛḍhamaṅkurajālakam || 624 ||
sīrakṛṣṭe sthale yogyaṁ cotkhātvā sthāpayet budhaḥ |
tadānīmeva mūle tu jalasekastu jīvadaḥ || 625 ||
ālavālakramasthāne vārtākādīstuṁ vardhayet |
paṭolikāṁ vallikāṁ ca latārūpapravṛddhinīm || 626 ||
vardhayet vallikāvṛdhyai kāyamānasvarūpake |
grīṣmakāle jalakṣetre varṣākālaṁ vinā budhaḥ || 627 ||
kālāntareṣvapi tathā śākadravyakṛṣiḥ śubhā |
śākuṭānāṁ tu kandaṁ ca sūranāṇāṁ ca kandakam || 628 ||
haridrākandakaṁ caivamāvāle vā prakalpayet |
sthale vā coṣṇabhūmyāstu kṛṣikarma phalapradam || 629 ||
itthaṁ latārūpakānāṁ kṛṣiśca vividhā matā |
kūṣmāṇḍaṁ vanakūṣmāṇḍaṁ elānaladamukhyakān || 630 ||
vardhayettārabhūbhāge nāgavallīmapi kvacit |
kadalīmikṣudaṇḍaṁ ca nāgavallīṁ ca pūgikām || 631 ||

jalakṣetre tathodyāne cākrīḍe vardhayet budhaḥ |
raṁbhāṁ ca mocāṁ phaladāṁ panasaṁ likucaṁ tathā || 632 ||
rasālamāraṁ ca tathā jambūmapi ca vardhayet |
nārikelatarūṁścāpi pālayet kṛṣikarmavit || 633 ||
grahaṇāṁ niṣkuṭe vāpi cārāme vā kvacitsthale |
tārabhūmisthale vāpi jalabhūmitale kvacit || 634 ||
yathāsthalaprāpti loke brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāstathā |
vaiśyāśca śūdrāḥ saṁkīrṇajātijā api mānavāḥ || 635 ||
vyādhādayaśca vīrāśca yathāśakti svabhūmike |
dhānyākaṁ sūraṇaṁ vallīṁ kūṣmāṇḍaṁ ca paṭolikām || 636 ||
vardhayet śāstranirdiṣṭān jaṭilādīn yathākramam |
prathamaṁ bhūkarṣaṇaṁ tu dvitīyaṁ gośakṛtkaṇam || 637 ||
tatra kṣipecca bhūsārakalanārthamidaṁ viduḥ |
tatra kṣetre bahumukhamālavālaprakalpanam || 638 ||
ālavālāñcalasthāne vārtākādiniveśanam |
mālatīkundacāṁpeyakutajādisthaleṣvapi || 639 ||
ālavālaṁ bahumukhaṁ kalpayetsthalayogyakam |
ālavalāñcale bījasthāpanaṁ vāṅkurārpaṇam || 640 ||
deśācāravaśātkālayogādevaṁ prakalpayet |
tato gate māsakāle vārtākādestu mūlataḥ || 641 |
tṛṇādivairisaṁghasya nirāsaśca prakīrtitaḥ |
dinapañcakakālaṁ vā dinaṣaṭkamathāpi vā || 642 ||
vārtākādestu mūleṣu cālavālamukhāt budhaḥ |
jalānāṁ secanaṁ kuryāt grīṣmakāle viśeṣataḥ || 643 ||
muhurmuhustoyadānāṁ tṛṇakoṣṭhanirāsakaḥ |
mahāphalāya nirdiṣṭamṛṣibhih śāstrakovidaiḥ || 644 ||
śākādipatrajāleṣu vārtākānāṁ tathā kvacit |
paṭolikānāṁ vallīnāṁ ṣavakānāṁ tathaiva ca || 645 ||
kūṣmāṇḍānāṁ kalāṭānāṁ sūraṇānāṁ tathaica |
śākuṭānāṁ haridrāṇāṁ ārdrakānāmapi kvacit || 646 ||
patrajāleṣu kīṭādibhakṣaṇaṁ drśyate naraiḥ |
atastatkītadoṣādinirāsārthaṁ kṛṣīvalāḥ || 647 ||
bhasmadhūlīkṣepaṇaṁ vā sudhāsalilasecanam |
kārayet kramataḥ kāle deśācāravaśāt tathā || 648 ||
bījānāṁ sthāpane cāpi tṛṇādikṣepaṇe tathā |
latādipālane cāpi puṣpāvirbhāvakālikam || 649 ||
yatkarmaniścitaṁ loke kriyate kāryakovidaiḥ |
svayaṁ nirīkṣya tatsarvaṁ paraṁparyopadeśataḥ || 650 ||
paṭolikāsu vārtākakūsmāṇḍādiṣu bhūtale |
jambīralikucādīnāmeladrākṣādikeṣvapi || 651 ||
drākṣākharjurikādīnāṁ kṛṣyādiṣu subuddhayaḥ |
deśācāraṁ kramaprāptamṛtuyogyaṁ kṛṣikriyām || 652 ||

kalayeyuḥ bhojyakhādyasvādyādisukhahetave |
teṣu kecitpatrarūpāḥsurasāḥ parikīrtitāḥ || 653 ||
pare tu puṣparūpāḥ syuranye tu phalarūpikāḥ
anye lavakarūpāḥ syuritare kandarūpakāḥ || 654 ||
puṣpodaye puṣpamadhye puṣpanāśo tathā kramāt |
kecid svādyāśca peyāśca kadalyāṁ tu viśeṣataḥ || 655 ||
kadalīkandakāṇḍaṁ ca puṣpaṁ lavakameva ca |
phalaṁ ca kandakaṁ vāpi svādu rucyaṁ ca sarvadā || 656 ||
bhojyaṁ nirdiṣṭametattu munibhistattvadarśibhiḥ |
paṭolikānāṁ lavakaṁ vārtākānāṁ tathaiva ca || 657 ||
śākānāṁ ṣavakānāṁ ca bālye svādutaro rasaḥ |
ato lavakameteṣāṁ praśastaṁ parikīrtitam || 658 ||
panasānāṁ rasālānāṁ kūṣmāṇḍānāmapi kvacit |
lavakaṁ madhyavayasi rasaḥ svādutaro mataḥ || 659 ||
ikṣūṇāṁ nārikelānāṁ likucānāṁ tathaiva ca |
rasālapramukhādīnāmantye vayasi bhūtale || 660 ||
temanādikriyāyogyarasastatra nirūpitaḥ |
evaṁ svadeśācaraṇaṁ svasvajātikramādapi || 661 ||
yaduktaṁ pākāśāstreṣu kāladravyādiyogataḥ |
svaśarīrasthapittādiguṇadoṣavaśādapi || 662 ||
kṛṣikramavido loke paṭolādikṛṣiṁ tathā |
rakṣayeyuḥ grahe kṣetre cākrīḍe svīyabhūtale || 663 ||
kedareṣvapi vā vāpihradādīnāṁ tateṣvapi |
jalāśayasyādhasthāttu tanmukhe vā viśeṣataḥ || 664 ||
kadalīpūgapunnāganārikelāmravṛkṣakān |
panasailādrāksakādīn mālatyādīn viśeṣataḥ || 665 ||
vardhayedvārtākavallīkūṣmāṇḍānapi yuktitaḥ |
nānāśākān tathāpeyān khādyān carvyānapikvacit || 666 ||
kṛṣyādānakramavaśāt rakṣayet pālayedapi |
deśe deśe ca sarvatra vasante grīṣmakepi ca || 667 ||
varṣākāle śaratkāle haimante cāpi vā kvacit |
śiśirepi svakīyeṣu kṣetreṣu vividheṣvapi || 668 ||
prakṛtvā cālavālādīn tattatkālānurūpataḥ |
śākaṁ patraṁ tvacaṁ kandaṁ vā rasameduram || 669 ||
ārogyapuṣṭijanakaṁ kṛṣyādānavaśāt bhuvi |
pālayeyuḥ kṛṣividaḥ grahnīyuḥ phalamuttamam || 670 ||
elālavaṅgārdrakādīn pūgān tāmbūlavallikāḥ |
ikṣukāṇḍāṁśca kadalīranyayāśca vividhā latāḥ || 671 ||
kedārāñcalabhāgeṣu tārabhūbhāgikepi vā |
janopakārakānanyān pippalīpramukhānapi || 672 ||
nānāvidhāścoṣadhīnāṁ latāśca prāṇavardhakāḥ |
vardhayeyurviśeṣeṇa tattatkṣetrānurūpataḥ || 673 ||

yathākālaṁ yathācāraṁ pūrvasūryupadeśataḥ |
kṛṣisādhyaṁ prāṇivargasukhadaṁ yannirūpitam || 674 ||
śāstreṣu munibhiḥ pūrvaiḥ tatsarvaṁ tu kṛṣivalāḥ |
yuktyā svasvakṣetrabhāge vardhayeyuḥ prayatnataḥ || 675 ||
svīyasvīyakuṭumbānāṁ rakṣārthaṁ brāhmaṇairapi |
prītyarthamapi devānāṁ kṣatriyairvaiśyakairapi || 676 ||
śūdrairanyaiśca bhūloke kalpyā kṛṣirudīritā |
śāstreṣvapi nibaddhā ca munibhistattvadarśibhiḥ || 677 ||
srṣṭikartrā brahmanā tu kalpādau vividhāni tu |
bījāni sirsṭāni bhuvi dhṛtānyatha viśeṣataḥ || 678 ||
bhūmidevyā prajāsrṣṭiprārthanāpūraṇāya hi |
ekaṁ bījaṁ tubahudhā rūpabhāk ca bhaviṣyati || 679 ||
bahudhā phaladaṁ nṛṇāṁ bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ |
iti bhūmyā viṣṇupatnyā pūrvamuktaṁ ca tatśrutam || 680 ||
kṛṣiśāstraṁ tu bhūmyoktaṁ nītaṁ tanmunibhiḥ kṣitim |
tacca saṁrakṣitaṁ bhūpaiḥ lokarakṣādhuraṁdharaiḥ |
adhītaṁ taccakālena śūdrakaistu viśeṣataḥ || 681 ||
tadādi bahudhā śāstraṁ kṛsyākhyaṁ bhūnivāsibhiḥ |
parjanyakālānuguṇaṁ vistṛtaṁ rakṣitaṁ ca tat || 682 ||
evaṁ kālena mahatā nānādeśeṣu mānavaiḥ |
pratyekaṁ kṛṣiśāstraṁ tu cādhītaṁ bhaktipūrvakam || 683 ||
kṛṣiśca kalitā svīye kṣetre kedārakepica |
phalaṁ ca labdhaṁ sampūrnaṁ poṣitā jīvarāśayaḥ || 684 ||
svaprajāśca viśeṣeṇa devabhūpālasāhyataḥ |
ataḥ sarvatra deśeṣu kṛṣikarmaṇi bhūmipaiḥ |
uttamaṁ sāhyamādiṣṭaṁ munibhiḥ kathitaṁ purā || 685 ||
vinā rājñāṁ tu sāhyena kṛṣirbhūmaṇḍale tathā |
deśe vā nagare grāme na saṁpūrṇaphaleritā || 686 ||
pratyakṣataśca dṛṣṭaṁ ca prajābhirbhṛtyakairapi |
ataḥ sarvatra bhūpālaiḥ kṛṣisāhyaṁ mahāphalam || 687 ||
kartavyaṁ maṇḍalānāṁ ca rāṣṭrānāṁ kṣemasiddhaye |
svātmakṣetrmādivṛdhyarthaṁ yaśase ca parāya ca || 688 ||
devānāṁ prītaye cāpi svadharmasthairyahetave |
viprebhyaḥ śrotriyebhyaśca nānāgotrebhya eva ca || 689 ||
bhūdānaṁ gopradānaṁ ca kulyākhananameva ca |
kṛṣikarmaṇyaśaktānāṁ viprāṇāṁ ca viśāmapi || 690 ||
śūdrāṇāmapi cānyeṣāṁ hitāyānekarūpakam |
kṛṣisāhyaṁ tu kartavyaṁ rājadharmānusārataḥ || 691 ||
vāpīkūpataṭākānāṁ hradānāṁ khananaṁ tathā |
jalāśayānāṁ ca tathā ghaṭīyantraprakalpanam || 692 ||
sasyavidhvaṁsakānāṁ tu taskarāṇāmanekadhā |
daṇḍaśca śuddhasattvānāṁ yaśase dharmasiddhaye || 693 ||

evaṁ bahuvidhaṁ sahyaṁ kṛṣikarmani niścitam |
tatsarvaṁ bhūmipālaistu kartavyaṁ munibhāṣitam || 694 ||
yasmin grāme nagaryāṁ vā deśe vāthakvacitsthale |
kṛṣikarmaṇyaśaktānāṁ prajānāṁ rakṣaṇāya ca || 695 ||
janabāhulyanagararājadhānyādivāstuke |
upakārāya vā bhūpāḥ sārakṣetrāṇyanekadhā || 696 ||
kṣetrāṇāṁ maṇḍalaṁ vāpi dvividhānāṁ mahītale |
svīkṛtya kṛṣikāryārthaṁ yathākālaṁ yathākramam || 697 ||
niyojayeyuḥ svān bhṛtyān prajāścāpi viśeṣataḥ |
saṁkīrṇajātijān riktān śūdrāṁścāpi kṛṣisthale || 698 ||
yojayitvā tatra tatra dhānyādīn vividhānapi |
āḍhakādīnapi tathā śākādīṁśca kvacitsthale || 699 ||
mallicaṁpakamukhyāni kusumānyapi yuktitaḥ |
amitaṁ vardhayeyuḥ svaprajākṣemābhivṛddhaye || 700 ||
śakādidravyarāśiṁ ca dhānyādīnāṁ ca rāśikam |
āḍhakīcaṇakādināṁ rāśiṁ ca tilarāśikam || 701 ||
māṣasarṣaparāśiṁ ca tathā drākṣādipuñjakam |
vividhānāṁ phalānāṁ ca puñjaṁ ca samayodbhavam || 702 ||
sajjīkṛtya narāṇāṁ hi sukhāya sthāpayennṛpaḥ |
āpaṇasthānake vāpi tadarthaṁ nirmite sthale || 703 ||
sacatvare saṁgaṇe vā nirāvaraṇakepi vā |
niṣadhyāsu tathā śālānirmāṇeṣvapi vā kvacit || 704 ||
sarvaṁ dravyaṁ ca pūrvoktaṁ yaccānyatsukhadāyakam |
kambalaṁ vastrajālaṁ ca dadhikṣīrādikaṁ tathā || 705 ||
bhojyadravyaṁ ca vividhaṁ carvyaṁ khādyaṁ ca yadbhuvi |
kṛṣyādānavaśātprāpyaṁ guḍaṁ tailaṁ hitapradam || 706 ||
yaccānyat dravyamatroktaṁ tatsarvaṁ bhūmivallabhaḥ |
grāme pure ca nagare rājadhānyāṁ viśeṣataḥ || 707 ||
niṣādyādisthānakeṣu cānīyāttu kriyārhakam |
sthāpayitvā viśeṣeṇa vaiśyān vāṇijyakovidān || 708 ||
krayārthaṁ vikrayārthaṁ ca yojayet dhanikān nṛpaḥ |
vasantādiṣu māseṣu yat yat prāpyaṁ kṛṣikramāt || 709 ||
yantrādibhiśca yatprāpyaṁ yat prāpyaṁ taṁtuvāyakam |
tailakāraccayat prāpyaṁ tatsarvaṁ pṛthivīpatiḥ || 710 ||
mālākārācca yatprāpyaṁ gandhadravyādikaṁ bhuvi |
saṁpādayitvā tatsarvaṁ prajānāṁ sukhasiddhaye || 711 ||
grāme pure ca nagare rājadhānyāṁ viśeṣataḥ |
āpaṇādiṣu śālāsu cāṅgane vividhepi ca || 712 ||
sthāpayet rakṣayet rājā vaiśyān tatra niyojitān |
prasthaṁ ca kuñjaṁ droṇaṁ ca nāḍikaṁ kṣudrameva ca || 713 ||
dhānyāḍhakādidravyāṇāṁ kalanārthaṁ prakalpayet |
ayaḥ paṭṭaiḥ sāradāruphalakābhirmahīpatiḥ || 714 ||

prasthādikaṁ kārayecca deśe sarvatra yojayet |
tailāditolanārthaṁ ca palaṁ kāraṁ tathaiva ca || 715 ||
ayaḥkhaṇḍena klṛptam ca sarvatra samamānakam |
tulyarūpaṁ tulyadaraṁ deśe tatra niyojayet || 716 ||
tatpramāṇaṁ cavaiśyeṣu grāmyeṣvapi janeṣu ca |
nivedayet bhṛtyavargaiḥ brāhmaṇādyairviśeṣataḥ || 717 ||
tulādaṇḍaṁ ca kāṁsyaṁ vā pittalaṁ vā viśeṣataḥ |
śākāditolanārthaṁ ca rājā sarvatra yojayet || 718 ||
amātyapramukhai rājā palaṁ prasthādikam kramāt |
aṅkayitvā viśeṣeṇa deśe sarvatra yojayet || 719 ||
dhānyādīnāṁ kriyajñānaṁ panajñānaṁ tathā nṛpaḥ |
uddhoṣayecca sarvatra deśe deśe viśeṣataḥ || 720 ||
pratigrāmaṁ pratigrāmaṁ prajāsaukhyāya yuktitaḥ |
dhānyādidravyarāśīnāṁ tailādīnāṁ tathaiva ca || 721 ||
vastrādīnāṁ ca śākādidravyānāṁ ca kṛṣikrame |
yatsāhyaṁ vividhaṁ śāstranirdiṣṭaṁ munibhiḥ purā || 722 ||
tatsarvaṁ pṛthivīpālaḥ kalpayetkṣemasiddhaye |
kṛṣiṁ vinā na bhūloke dvipadāṁ ca catuṣpadām || 723 ||
sukhādirna bhavedeva niścitaṁ śāstraparāgaiḥ |
tasmāt devaprīṇanārthaṁ prajānāṁ rakṣanāya ca || 724 ||
kṛṣikarmaṇyuparatiḥ nṛpādhinā ca niścitā |
purohitaiḥ brāhmaṇaiśca sacivairvā viśeṣataḥ || 725 ||
mahīpatiḥ kṣatriyo vā prajārakṣādhuraṁdharaḥ |
sarvakāryeṣūttamaṁ tu kṛṣikarma praśasyate || 726 ||
tatpālayet svadeśeṣu yatnato yuktitaḥ kramāt |
evaṁ mahīpatiryuktyā grāme vā nagarepi vā || 727 ||
rājadhānyāṁ viśeṣeṇa niṣkuṭaṁ vanameva vā |
purasya ca bahirdeśe madhye vā vṛksavāṭikam || 728 ||
antaḥpurasthapramadālīlārthaṁ vā viśeṣataḥ |
ārāmaṁ sthāpayet dhīnām vanānte vṛkṣavātikam || 729 ||
sārāṇāṁ candanādīnāṁ vṛkṣāṇāṁ vardhanādapi |
grahanirmāṇasāhyaṁ ca prajānāṁ parikalpayet || 730 ||
prāsādodyānabhāgeṣu manojñān phalamedurān |
vṛkṣāṁśtu vivdhān bhūpo vardhayeyuryathākramam || 731 ||
rambhāṁ ca mocāṁ jambīraṁ matulaṅgāṁ ca pippalīm |
anyāścoṣadhivallīśca naladānapi vardhayet || 732 ||
kuśān kāśāṁśca vividhān tulasīrbilvakānapi |
kusumāni ca pūjārhānyanekāni ca bhūmipaḥ || 733 ||
kālalabhyāni gandhāḍhyānapi sarvatra vardhayet |
kuṭuṁbarogyadāyini yuktyānyāni ca vardhayet || 734 ||
devodyānaṁ devabhūmāvutsavāya prakalpayet |
grāmasyāntaḥ sthale vāpi bahirvā tatprakalpayet || 735 ||

yathāsthalavaśāt bhūpo deśācāravaśādapi |
evaṁ prāsādabhūmyāṁ tu pramadāvanamuttamam || 736 ||
manojñavṛkṣaṣaṇḍāḍhyaṁ mālatyādivirājitam |
sthāpayedevamanyatra rājadhānyā baḥiḥ sthale || 737 ||
tacca bhūpaḥ sthāpayecca prajānandavivardhanam |
evaṁ vane vanānte vā girisānutaṭe 'thavā || 738 ||
mahāvanaṁ sthāpayecca nānāvṛkṣasamujvalam |
nānāvṛkṣavalībījarakṣaṇaṁ tatra nirdiśet || 739 ||
phalaiḥ puṣpaiśca phalakādārukhaṇḍādibhirnṛpaḥ |
prajānāṁ grahanirmāṇasāhyaṁ tena viniścitam || 740 ||
tasmāt sarvatra deśeṣu bhūmirakṣā dhuraṁdharaḥ |
viśālabhūmibhāgeṣu sīmābhittiyuteṣu vā || 741 ||
karañjakān naktamālāneraṇḍān bhūrjakānapi |
arjunān sarjakān nīpān kadambānapi bhūruhān || 742 ||
śigrūn śamān maruvakān devadārudrumānapi |
śrīparṇakān tindukāṁśca vatān plakṣan tathākvacit || 743 ||
bhadradārunapi tathā priyaṅgūṁśca kvacitsthale |
vibhītakānāmalakistathā haimavatīrapi || 744 ||
karṇikārāṁśca likucān niṁbavṛkṣānapi kvacit || 745 ||
aśokāṁśca śirīṣāṁśca dāḍimānapi bhūmipaḥ |
jambūvṛkṣān kapitthāṁśca sarvato bhadrakānapi || 746 ||
cāṁpeyakān kuravakān varṇajānapi karṇikān |
tāpiñchaṁśca tamālāṁśca sinduvāradrumānapi || 747 ||
tintriṇyākhyān mahāvṛkṣān tathā vaṁśānapi kvacit |
cūtān rasālānāmrāṁśca badarīn vā viśeṣataḥ || 748 ||
rabhadrumān madhukāṁśca piluvṛkṣān tathaiva ca |
punnāgān pāribhadrāṁśca kovidāradrumānapi |
evaṁ nānājātirūpān vṛkṣān sārān yathākramam || 749 ||
sthāpayetpṛthivīpālaḥ rakṣayet jalasecanaiḥ |
davāgnivījanāt duṣṭasattvāt corāt yathākramam || 750 ||
evaṁ mahāvanaṁ rakṣyaṁ nadītīreṣu vā kvacit |
gāndhārakuntipañcālakāśmīrāvantibhūmiṣu || 751 ||
sindhunepālaniṣādhakosalāṅgādibhūmiṣu ca |
ghūrjarāvantisaurāṣṭrapramukhādisthaleṣu ca || 752 ||
deśeṣu vividheṣvevaṁ sārabhūmisthale nṛpaḥ |
mahāvanaṁ sarvavṛkṣaṣaṇḍojvalitadiṅmukham || 753 ||
taṭākakulyāvāpyādisamyutaṁ ca samantataḥ |
kṛṣīvalaiḥ svaprajābhiḥ sthāpayitvā yathākramam || 754 ||
vīrairbhaṭairyodhavargaiḥ rakṣayetsukhasiddhaye |
parvatasyāntikasthāne vanamadhye 'thavā kvacit || 755 ||
khaniṁ ca nānālohānāṁ janayitrīṁ mahīpatiḥ |
parīkṣya bhūgarbhanāḍīṁ rakṣayecca tatra hi || 756 ||

ayaḥkhaṇḍaṁ pittalāṁśca suvarṇaṁ rajataṁ tathā |
gairikānapi yatnena saṁpādya kṣemasiddhaye || 757 ||
lohakāryapraviṇaiśca lohakāraiśca takṣakaiḥ |
suvarṇakārairapi ca grāmeṣu nagareṣvapi || 758 ||
nānāyudhānāṁ jālāni kalpayitvā viśeṣataḥ |
kṛṣiyogyānyayudhāni datvā grāmyajanāya ca || 759 ||
puraprāsādadurgādirakṣārthaṁ ca mahīpatiḥ |
nānāvidhapraharaṇajālaṁ yodheṣvapi kvacit || 760 ||
senāsthāneṣu ca tathā sthāpayet pālayedapi |
jāṁbūnādaiśca rajataiḥ khanijaiḥ bhūpatiḥ kramāt || 761 ||
samudravīcījanitaprāvalaiścāpi mauktikaiḥ |
nānābharaṇajālāni kalpayitvā viśeṣataḥ || 762 ||
devebhyaḥ prathamaṁ dattvā brāhmaṇebhyastataḥ kramāt |
svayaṁ dhṛtvā ca mahiṣīṁ prāsādapramadā api || 763 ||
taistairābharaṇaiḥkāmamalaṁkṛtya yathākramam |
paramānandasaṁpanno rakṣayecca mahīmimām || 764 ||
evaṁ bhūpastatra tatra deśe sarvasukhāvaham |
saṁpādayettu vividhadravyajālaṁ tu sarvataḥ || 765 ||
kalpabhedena vā kālakrameṇa ca mahīpatiḥ |
kṛṣikarmavikalpam ca bījāvāpavikalpakam | |766 ||
śītoṣṇasthānabhedena vibhaktāṁ ca kṛṣikriyām |
gopracāravaśādvāpi vṛṣṭipātakramādapi || 767 ||
jalādharavaśāccaivaṁ jñātvā bahuvidhodayam |
kṛṣikarma prayuñjita sārakṣetrānusārataḥ || 768 ||
mahīpāle prasanne tu sarvaṁ sidhyati bhūtale |
mahīpāle 'prasanne tu sarvaṁ naśyati niścitam || 769 ||
tasmāt rāṣṭrasubhikṣārthī prasannaḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ |
kṛṣīvalāt karadravyaṁ paṇaṁ vā dhānyameva vā || 770 ||
yathākramaṁ ca svīkṛtya bhūtalaṁ sacarācaram |
svakuṭumbasamaṁ nyāyyamārgeṇa parirakṣayet || 771 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścānyepi mānavāḥ |
kṛṣikriyāsāhyamārāt nṛpāt svīkṛtya bhaktitaḥ || 772 ||
yathākālaṁ yathācaraṁ saṁpādya ca kṛṣiṁ bhuvi |
karadravyaṁ ca dattvā te rāṣṭrakṣemābhivṛddhaye || 773 ||
devānāgantukān svīyakuṭaṁbaṁ ca yathākramam || 774 ||
poṣayitvā viśeṣeṇa dharmo mārgo yathoditaḥ |
tathā śakṛtyā rakṣayeyuḥ yaśomaṇḍitadinmukhāḥ || 775 ||
evaṁ grāme janapade nagare vā viśeṣataḥ |
parasparasnehabhājaḥ prāptabhūpālasāhyakāḥ || 776 ||
varṇāśramakriyāśaktyaḥ lasantu kṣmātale bhṛśam || 777 ||
iti kāśyapīyakṛṣisūktau śākādikṛṣikrame
kathanaṁ nāma dvitīyo bhāgaḥ ||

atha bhojyābhojyakramakathanaṁ nāma trtīyo bhāgaḥ
kāśyapa upadiśati
nṛpājñayā coditāstu brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā viśaḥ |
anye cāpi yathākālaṁ sārakṣetre viśeṣataḥ || 778 ||
kṛtvā kṛṣiṁ bahuvidhāmevaṁ nirdiṣṭtarītitaḥ |
dhānyānāṁ vividhānāṁ ca rāśimāḍhakarāśikam |
marīcīsarṣapādīnāṁ rāśiṁ svagrahamānayet || 779 ||
ātape śoṣayitvā tān yathākālaṁ yathākramam |
sajjīkuryustu pākāya pratyahaṁ devatuṣṭaye || 780 ||
sādhvībhiḥ pākakāryaṁ tu kartavyaṁ devaśāsanāt |
devānāmatithīnāṁ ca satkāraḥ saphalo bhavet || 781 ||
tataḥ prajārakṣaṇaṁ ca niścitam tu munīśvaraiḥ |
dharmavit brāhmaṇastasmāt dravyāṇāṁ bahurūpiṇām || 782 ||
bhoyjābhojyakramaṁ jñātvā pāke sādhvīṁ niyojayet |
pīlvannaṁ kodravānnaṁ ca na devabrāhmaṇārhakam || 783 ||
śubhaṁ ca śvetavārtākaṁ laśunaṁ grañjanaṁ tathā |
palāṇḍuṁ kavakaṁ caiva niryāsaṁ ca tathākramam || 784 ||
abhakṣyaṁ ca brāhmaṇānāṁ kusthalaprabhavāni ca |
bṛhatkūṣmāṇḍakaṁ vāpi pannāṁ śigrūṁ ca pīlukam || 785 ||
varjayet brāhmaṇastatra cāsthalaprabhavaṁ tathā |
pipīlikāmakṣikādyaiḥ kramibhiścāpi yat grahe || 786 ||
dūṣitaṁ taccānnamukhyaṁ varjayet yatnato dvijaḥ |
sārameyaiḥ kukkuṭādyaiḥ dṛṣṭamannaṁ tathaivaca || 787 ||
viśvāsahīnaṁ dattaṁ ca dūṣitaṁ tu nakhādibhiḥ |
tuṣatantvādiduṣttaṁ ca dvijo 'nnaṁ parivarjayet || 788 ||
mārjārairdūṣitaṁ yacca padāghrātaṁ ca veśmani |
cucundarīmūṣakādyaiḥ yaccānnādyaṁ hi dūṣitam || 789 ||
tatsarvaṁ varjayet yatnāt brāhmaṇastu viśeṣataḥ |
annādyaṁ nīcaduṣṭaṁ tu tathāghrātaṁ tu vā kvacit || 790 ||
spṛṣṭaṁ vā na tu bhuñjīta śreyo 'rtho sarvataḥ kṣitau |
aśuddhasthaladattaṁ ca sarvaṁ tacca vivarjayet || 791 ||
kavalādavaśiṣttaṁ ca cāsyāt patitameva ca |
abhakṣyamāhurmunayaḥ yaśase kṣemasiddhaye || 792 ||
adattamatithibhiśca devatābhyo viśeṣataḥ |
akāladattaṁ ca tathā yadannādyaṁ grahādiṣu || 793 ||
asthale ca tathā paktaṁ jalenākṣālitaṁ tathā |
annaṁ vā śākarāśiṁ vā bhakṣyaṁ vā khādyameva ca || 794 ||
abhakṣyameva nirdiṣṭaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ viśeṣataḥ |
akulīnena paktaṁ ca malamūtrādidūṣitam || 795 ||
romādidūṣitaṁ yacca svenādau bhakṣitaṁ tathā |
asnātapaktaṁ ca tathā varjayet bhojanādikam || 796 ||
hastadattaṁ cāpasavyakaradattaṁ ca yat tathā |

ayaḥ khaṇḍena dattaṁ vā dārukhaṇḍakaraṇḍakaiḥ || 797 ||
tathā paryuṣitaṁ cānnaṁ varjayet dvijasattamaḥ |
grahāntare tu yat paktamānītaṁ svagrahaṁ tataḥ || 798 ||
taccābhojyamihādiṣṭaṁ munibhiḥ śāstrapāragaiḥ |
dadhyannaṁ ca tilānnaṁ ca rātrau bhuñjīta no dvijaḥ || 799 ||
candrikābhojanaṁ caiva pradīpena vivarjite |
sthale ca bhojanaṁ tadvat bhojanaṁ tamasi kramāt || 800 ||
nindyametacca nirdiṣṭaṁ munīndraiśca surairapi |
saphenaṁ ca jalaṁ tadvat nadyādeḥ prathamodakam || 801 ||
ākāśāt patitaṁ toyaṁ dhārāsalilameva ca |
aspṛśyaiḥ spṛṣṭatoyaṁ ca yatnato varjayet budhaḥ || 802 ||
uṣṭrakṣīraṁ caikaśaphakṣīraṁ dvkhurajaṁ tathā |
kṣīraṁ salavaṇāṁ tadvat yuvatikṣīrameva ca || 803 ||
vatsaprahīnagokṣīraṁ vatsāntaravinisratam |
gokṣīraṁ ca tathāloke hyajākṣīraṁ ca dūṣitam || 804 ||
dugdhaṁ ca tāmravinyastaṁ varjyaṁ nindyaṁ ca tatviduḥ |
atastu śrotriyo vipraḥ dharmavit brāhmasiddhaye || 805 ||
bhojyābhojyakramaṁ jñātvā pākaṁ kuryāt yathāvidhiḥ |
kṣatriyāṇāṁ ca vaiśyānāṁ śūdrāṇāmapi bhūtale || 806 ||
noktaḥ sa eṣa niyamo munibhistattvadarśibhiḥ |
māṁsabhojanamapyeṣāṁ na doṣāyeti niścitam || 807 ||
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdraścānyepi bhūtale |
bhojyābhojyakramaṁ jñātvā deśācārapramāṇataḥ || 808 ||
devatāyārpitaṁ pūrvaṁ bhuñjantastadanantaram |
dhūtapāpaścakāśante śraddhabhaktiguṇojvalāḥ || 809 ||
tasmāt sarvatra deśeṣu brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāstatha |
vaiśyāśca śuddhadravyāṇi taṇḍulādīni nityaśaḥ || 810 ||
śākadravyāṇyapi tathā pāvanāni navāni ca |
jalaṁ dugdhaṁ dadhi ghṛtaṁ navanitamathāpi vā || 811 ||
tailaṁ ca patravargaṁ ca pātrāni ca yathākramam |
svayaṁ vā sviyapatnībhiḥ sādhvībhiḥ svasvaveśmani || 812 ||
gomayāliptabhūbhāge śuddhaṁ cullīṁ ca sendhanām |
pūjayitvā viśeṣeṇa bhūmiṁ vāsavameva ca || 813 ||
yamaṁ cāgniṁ ca varunaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ ca viśeṣataḥ |
pākaṁ kṛtvā yathākālaṁ bhāṇḍaiścāpi ghaṭādikaiḥ || 814 ||
tataḥ śuddhasthale sthāpyaṁ ṣaṭrasādisamujvalam |
bhakṣyaṁ bhojyaṁ ca vividhaṁ vaṭakādikameva ca | |815 ||
pākaśāstroktamārgeṇa paktaṁ tailaghṛtādibhiḥ |
śarkarādyaiḥ guḍairnānāvyañjanādibhiranvitam || 816 ||
temanādyaiśca vividhaiḥ sopaskārairviśeṣataḥ |
paktaṁ śrāddhaprītipūrvaṁ yathākālaṁ yathākramam || 817 ||
sthāpayeyurdevatārcasthale veśmani vā punaḥ |

piṭakādiṣu bhāṇḍeṣu pūrayeyuryathārcitam || 818 ||
nivedanāya devānāṁ tadetat śāstracoditam || 819 ||
iti kāśyapīakṛṣisūktau bhojyābhojyakrama
kathanaṁ nāma tṛtīyo bhāgaḥ ||
atha vividhahavyanivedanakramakathanaṁ nāma
caturtho bhāgaḥ
kāśyapa upadiśati
pākakriyā tu dvividhā nityanaimittikakramāt |
nityaṁ tu nityaṁ deveśadṛṣṭipātādiyogyakam || 820 ||
naimittikaṁ ca tadvatsyāt pātrabhedastu tatra hi |
devārhaṁ bhojyajālaṁ tu havyamityabhidhīyate || 821 ||
iḍhamevātithīnāṁ ca prajānāṁ śāstracoditam |
bhojyamityevamādiṣṭaṁ kavyaṁ pitṛniveditam || 822 ||
tattu svabandhubhirbhojyaṁ śāstrajñaiḥ samudīritam |
deveśarūpaṁ vividhamādiṣṭaṁ pūjanārhakam || 823 ||
śivaliṅgasvarūpaṁ ca śālagrāmaśilātmakam |
dhāturviṣṇoścāvatārabhedaṁ jñātvā dvijottamaḥ || 824 ||
kṣatriyo vā vaiśyakaśca yathāśakti vidhānataḥ |
sāndhyaṁ karma tu nirvartya devapūjāṁ prakalpayet || 825 ||
rajopacāravattattu sakalaṁ śāstracoditam |
gaṇḍuṣācamanādyaṁ tat snānavastrādidhāraṇam || 826 ||
bhojyāsanaṁ prakalpyātha śraddhabhaktisamanvitaḥ |
sādhvībhiḥ paktamannādi vividhaṁ bhojyamuttamam || 827 ||
samarpayet devatṛptyai nānāvyañjanaśobhitam |
guḍānnaṁ pāyasānnaṁ ca tilānnaṁ ca tathaiva ca || 828 ||
dadhyannamatha mudgānnaṁ apūpaṁ vaṭakaṁ tathā |
godhūmavaṭakaṁ tadvat polikāṁ mājakāmapi || 829 ||
modakaṁ śarkarābandi drākṣailādisamanvitam |
kuṁkumadravyasaṁyuktaṁ ghanaśarkarakānvitam || 830 ||
payogalakabandī vā vicitrānnamathāpi ca |
yuktyā pākakramaprāptaṁ madhuraṁ kālayogyakam || 831 ||
māṣataṇḍulasaṁmiśraṁ lavaṇādirasojvalam |
ḍalaṁ mahāḍalamapi pākaprāptaṁ ghṛtānvitam |
tadeva dadhyanvitaṁ vā saghṛtaṁ ca saśarkaram || 832 ||
sudhārasasamaṁ paktaṁ ḍalaṁ ca vividhākṛti |
śārkaraṁ jālepikaṁ vā mudgagodhūmasaṁyutam || 833 ||
saghṛtaṁ māṣasaṁpannaṁ athavā tat prakalpayet |
madhuraṁ lavanaṁ tadvat kaṭuṁ tiktaṁ tathāmlakam || 834 ||
kvacit tuvarakaṁ vāpi ṣaḍrasaṁ dravyamīritam |
godhūmamāṣamudgānāṁ caṇakānāṁ ca piṣṭakaiḥ || 835 ||
ḍalādibhakṣyaṁ vividhaṁ khādyaṁ peyaṁ tathā kvacit |
carvyaṁ ca kramataḥ paktaṁ rasanārucidāyakam || 836 ||

yuktyā paktaṁ yathākālam taile vātha ghṛtepivā |
annādyaṁ temanādyaṁ ca tathātirasamukhyakam || 837 ||
bhakṣyaṁ ca vividhaṁ paktaṁ śraddhābhaktipuraḥsaram |
śuddhadravyaiśca saṁpaktaṁ niyamena mahānase || 838 ||
etat sarvaṁ bhakṣyajālaṁ bhojyādi ca yathākramam |
bhojyāsananiviṣṭāya viṣṇave 'mitatejase || 839 ||
devārcanakramādbhaktyā cārpayitvā dvijottamaḥ |
varivasyāṁ sabhāpyātha puṣpagandhānulepanaiḥ || 840 ||
cāmakhyajanādīnāṁ vījanaiḥ stutibhistathā |
rājopacāravat sarvaṁ devārcanamudīritam || 841 ||
kalpayitvā viśeṣeṇa nitye naimittike tathā |
samaye bhaktivākyādyaiḥ praṇāmādibhiranvaham || 842 ||
toṣayitvā jagannāthaṁ praṇatābhīṣṭadāyakam |
śuddhadravyaiḥ kṛṣiprāptaiḥ paktaṁ pratyahamādarāt || 843 ||
arpayitvātha kṛṣṇāya viṣṇave paramātmane |
tatastvatithivargāya svakuṭumbāya ca kramāt || 844 ||
bhojyamannaṁ khādyavargamanyatpaktaṁ mahānase |
vividhaṁ saḍrasopetamātmarakṣaṇahetave || 845 ||
arpayet bhojyapātreṣu kadalīpramukheṣu ca |
bhojayitvā viśeṣeṇa prītipūrvaṁ dvijottamaḥ || 846 ||
sacūrṇaṁ tāmbūlaṁ ca datvā tebhyo yathākramam |
evaṁ nṛpājñayā loke dvijā dharmavidāṁ varāḥ || 847 ||
devayajñaṁ bhūtayajñaṁ dvayamatra mahītale |
dharmyaṁ yaśasyamāyuṣyaṁ pālayet bhaktipūrvakam || 848 ||
kuṭuṁbasya nṛpasyāpi rāṣṭrasya ca viśeṣataḥ |
kṣemasidhyarthamevaṁ hi kartavyamiti śāstrataḥ || 849 ||
sarvalokahitārthāya kāśyapo munirabravīt ||

iti kāśyapiyamuniviracitāyāṁ kāśyapīya
kṛṣisūktau vividhahavyanivedanakrama
kathanātmakaḥ caturtho bhāgaḥ ||

samāptā ceyaṁ kāśyapīyakṛṣisūktiḥ ||
gobrāhmaṇebhyaḥ śubhamastu nityam
lokāḥ samastāḥ sukhino bhavantu ||

(*To be continued*)

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MUJKĀLO ZLOTĀRI: A GYPSY BALLAD

BY

JÓZSEF VEKERDI

Text

Mujkāló Zlotári. Lesko phrál: Dilivúca prála. Leski romńí: pārni Jútka.

Phendás o Mujkāló, e Tári:

Lé-ta, Jútka, kōro vastéste,
h' án mange šudró pājí,
šudrá kxajingátar,
šudré čerebóstar.

I parní Jutka las opr' ó kōró, haj gēlás pājéske. O Júca kapitáno avélas, šelé šlugaďénca. Haj phendás laki:

— Jútka,

dé ma šudró pājí,
dé ma 'k cinó pājí!

Phendás lesk' i Jútka:

Haj čí san tu korró
haj čí niči bangó.
Xúľi tēle, xuľí,
haj pí šudró pājí!

O Júca kapitáno ná po khōró šudas o vas hanem pe lako vás. Thaj gēlás andel cignudí,

khote totkozílas,
khoté motkozílas.

I Jútka gēlás khēré le pājésa:

Andém o pāji,
Mujkálo Zlotári!

Phendás o Mujkálo Zlotári:

Sóstar si ťo muj mundričāló,
haj ťe phīké ba ťikālé?

Phendás i Jutka:

Izraľómas haj peľómas.

Akor phendás o Mujkálo Zlotári:

Dilivúca prála!
L' éke bālés vastéste
haj šín les andi phú,
te kerél i Jutka aménge
lāšo paprikášo,
mēg mé ńugsinávas.

Akor dás sūnó, h' avél o Júca kapitáno šele šlugaďénca pala j šukár Jútka. Akorāra gáta sas o xābén so kirādás i Jútka.

Úšťi opré — phenel —
Mujkálo Zlotári,
ke gáta j e paprikáši!

— Áš-ta, Jútka,
akāná dém sūnó,
avél o Júca kapitáno
šelé šlugaďénca.

Kana šudás anglunó ando múj, o Júca kapitáno ab' avél pala j šukār Jútka:

— Lāšé ťo des Mujkálo Zlotári!

— Naís Júca kapitáno.

Xúľi tējlé xúľi
pa ťo grás h' ám manca
pe taxtáj xamásko
haj p' ek taxtáj pimásko.

— Haj č' ávilem me túte
p' ek taxtáj xamásko,
h' āvilém
pala j šukār Jútka.

— Hāj ná kade žal pe kodi!

Akor phendás o Júca kapitáno:

Sár aves mánca?
Kardra vagy birokra?

Phendás o Mujkálo Zlotári:

Čí sem me šlugaďí,
ám manca angāľáti!

Gĕle angāľáti. Xuťildás les o Júca kapitáno, šindás les ž' andel čangá. Xuťildás o Mujkálo Zlotári, šindás les ž' ando maškár. Phendás atúnči o Mujkálo Zlotári:

Jútkico, Jútkico,
mo pārni Jútkico,
lé šūrí vastéste,
haj šín lesko bričinári,
te xáv lesko šēró.

Phendás o Júca kapitáno:

Jútkicom, Jútkicom,
mó pārni Jútkicom,
lé šūrí vastéste,
haj šín lesko bričināri,
te xáv lesko šēró.
Ke dik katé
kaj rajkāno téšto!

Las i Jútka šūri vastéste, haj šindás le Mujkālo Zlotārésko bričinári. Atúnči kado xoľájlas, šindás les ž' andi kór.

Dilivúca prála!
Án-ta muro kárdo!

O Mujkálo Zlotári šindás le Júca kapitāńésko šēró. Atúnči gēlás kaj Jútka, kaj šukár Jútka, šindás ví lako. Le Júca kapitāńésko šēró šudás kaj la Jutkáki bul, la Jutkáko šēro šudás kaj Júca kapitāńésko bul. Atunči phendás:

— Dilivúca prála! Áv-ta te xáv kol paprikášo!

Xālás o Mujkálo Zlotári, lás o kárdo, ande la Jutkáko šēro pizdás les, bešlás pe pesko grás, gēlás kaj pārni Jutkáki déj:

Lāši rāťi máma!

— Ba maj naís, fiam!
Xúľi tēlé, xúľi
pa ľo grás, xá haj pí,
ha ingér la kắvra ša.

Xālás pilas o Mujkálo Zlotári, šúdas la máj cina andi zén, ha ingerdás la khēré. V' ákāna trajín pengi lúma.

Translation

Mujkālo Zlotāri. His brother: «Brother Dilivuca». His wife: «White Jutka».

Mujkālo Zlotāri said:

Jutka, take a pitcher,
and bring me cold water,
bring it from a cold well,
bring it in a cold jar.

White Jutka took the pitcher and went to fetch water. Captain Juca went with one hundred soldiers and told her:

— Jutka,

give me some cold water,
give a little water.

Jutka told him:

Surely, you aren't blind,
surely, you aren't lame!
Get off your horse, get off,
you may drink cold water.

Captain Juca did not put his hand on the pitcher, he put it on her hand. And went with her into the nettles,

there he did embrace her
and there he did kiss her.

Jutka returned home with the water:

I have brought you water,
Mujkālo Zlotāri.

Mujkālo Zlotāri asked:

Tell me, why are your lips bitten,
and your shoulders, why are they muddy?

Jutka answered:

I slipped and fell.

Then Mujkālo Zlotāri spoke:

Brother Dilivuca!
Take a piglet in (your) hands
and dash it to the earth,
Jutka shall prepare us
a fine stew from the meat,
while I take a rest.

Then he had a dream that Captain Juca came with one hundred soldiers to take away the beautiful Jutka. By this time, the food prepared by Jutka was ready.

Then Jutka spoke : Arise
Mujkálo Zlotári,
for the stew is ready !

— Wait, Jutka — he answers —
I have just had a dream,
Captain Juca's coming
with his hundred soldiers.

Scarcely had he taken the first bite, when captain Juca arrived to take away the beautiful Jutka.

— Good day, Mujkálo Zlotári !
— Thanks, Captain Juca.
Get off your horse, get off,
and come, sit down with me,
eat a plate of food,
drink a glass of wine, too.

— I did not come to you
for a plate of food,
I came to take away
the beautiful Jutka.

— It won't be so easy !

Then captain Juca said :
How will you fight with me ?
Shall we fence or wrestle ?

Mujkálo Zlotári said :
No, I'm not a soldier,
do grapple with me.

They came to grips. Captain Juca seized him and thrust him into the earth up to the knees. Mujkálo Zlotári seized him and thrust him up to the waist. Then Mujkálo Zlotári said :

Jutka, my dear Jutka,
my darling, white Jutka,
take a knife in your hand,
cut his belt with it,
I will cut off his head.

Captain Juca said :
Jutka, my dear Jutka,
my darling, white Jutka,

take a knife in your hand,
cut his belt with it,
I will cut off his head.
Cast a glance at me,
see this gentle body!

Jutka took a knife in her hand and cut Mujkālo Zlotāri's belt. Then he became angry and thrust him into the earth up to the neck.

Brother Dilivuca!
Help me, bring my sword!

Mujkālo Zlotāri cut off Captain Juca's head. Then he went to Jutka, to the beautiful Jutka and also cut off her head. He put Captain Juca's head at Jutka's buttocks, and Jutka's head at Captain Juca's buttocks. Then he said:

— Brother Dilivuca! Come with me, I will eat that stew.

Mujkālo Zlotāri ate it, he took his sword and ran it into the head of Jutka, mounted his horse and went to the mother of the white Jutka:

Good evening, dear mother!

— Thanks, son; the same to you!
Get off your horse, get off,
you may eat, you may drink,
take my other daughter!

Mujkālo Zlotāri ate and drank, put the younger sister on the saddle and brought her home. Till now they live their life.

*

The ballad was related by Liza Rostás, 52 years old, in Püspökladány (Eastern Hungary), on May 10th, 1971. Her Gypsy name is either simply her Christian name *Liza* 'Betty' or *le Gustesko romńi* 'Gustav's wife' (her husband's name is Gusztáv *Rostás*). She recited the whole story as a tale, in prose, without melody. The metric passages of the text were also recited by her without any distinction from the prose parts, without prosodical emphasis. This way of reciting was remarkable because Gypsy informants are, as a rule, completely unable to *recite* a song like other texts (stories, anecdotes, tales): they can only *sing* it. This also refers to the only ballad generally known to Gypsies in Hungary, i.e. the «Ballad of the snake» and to a limited number of semi-epic songs (romances) performed by them in Gypsy language (*Romani*). Thus, the story of Mujkālo Zlotāri stands apart from the other Gypsy ballads.

Acquaintance with this story is restricted to the Gypsy community in Püspökladány. Except for this group, I did not come across it anywhere else

in Hungary. My informant Liza seemed to be the best specialist to recite it, but other members of the group also knew it. The women sitting around us made some corrections while she was reciting.

Two years after my visit, my friend Gábor Grabócz tried to gain another variant of it and on that occasion, Liza Rostás was also the person who undertooke the performance. The story was essentially the same, without new details. The manner of performing, however, radically differed from the previous one. Mr. Grabócz used a tape recorder with which he recorded the *songs* of the group. This circumstance noved Mrs. Rostás to include the Mujkālo Zlotāri ballad in the sequence of other *songs* and she *sung* the entire text, both prose and metric parts, in a quite free recitative tone.

Though many members of the community are acquainted with this ballad, they have only a passive knowledge of it. It tends to totally disappear from Gypsy folklore in Hungary.

Three decades earlier, in 1942, the Csenki brothers, Sándor and Imre, noted it down in the same community, by another informant, Gusztáv Kolompár, who was 58 years old. Unfortunately the manuscript of the Gypsy text perished during the war and we now possess only a Hungarian metric translation made by the late Sándor Csenki (see Appendix I). The names of the heroes are the same as with Liza Rostás and the events follow in the same order. A re-translation of the Hungarian text into Romani confirms that all *metric* passages of L. Rostás' variant coincide with the corresponding parts of the Hungarian text while the wording of the *prose* passages is somewhat different Cf., e.g.:

C s e n k i : *De szállj le lovadról . . .*
Hiszen nem vagy te vak,
Sántán se láttalak.

Get off your horse,
Surely, you aren't blind,
as I see, you aren't lame.

R o s t á s : *Haj či san tu korro*
haj či niči bango,
xuľi tēle, xuľi.

Surely, you aren't blind,
surely, you aren't lame,
get off your horse, get off.

Thus, the metric lines appear to be the constant elements of the ballad while the wording of the prose parts is, more or less, the reciter's free invention each time.

A third variant of this ballad (in Romani) was found in a copybook of Sándor Csenki (No 8) containing Gypsy tales from Püspökladány, from the same period (ca. 1942. See Appendix II). Here the name of the informant is not indicated. The text of this variant shows great differences. Here the heroine's name is *Biri* (instead of *Jutka*) and the informant seems not to have exactly remembered the name of the hero *Mujkālo Zlotāri* for Csenki — if my reading of this hardly readable manuscript is correct — spells it once *Murkālo*, then *Mukralo*, a third time *Mukālōro*, never together with the second name *Zlotāri*. Here the horse bears the name *Murgu* just as in Kolompár's variant while Mrs. Rostás did not mention the name of the horse.

This Gypsy ballad was borrowed from the Rumanian. There it is known under the name of *Ghiţa cătănuţa* 'Gitsa the soldier' and is widespread throughout the Rumanian folklore area except for Transylvania where its occurrence is comparatively rare.[1] Among others, it was recorded from the greatest Rumanian ballad singer of all times the Gypsy Petrea Creţul Şolcan (in Rumanian).[2]

Our Gypsy variants correspond to their Rumanian source in most of the essential parts. There are, however, some divergencies. In Rumanian, *Ghiţa cătănuţa* is the name of the husband, not that of the lover as it is in the Gypsy story (*Juca kapitāno*). The lover is a robber in the Rumanian ballad (a hero of the famous *Gruia* ballad cycle) who previously was the fiancé of the woman. This motive is entirely missing from the Gypsy ballad.[3] The name of the Gypsy husband *Mujkālo Zlotāri* and the other names — as far as I know — do not occur in the Rumanian variants. They were invented by the Gypsies. The invention of Gypsy names is a rather archaic feature. It is rarely to be met in Romani tales in Hungary. Here the heroes bear their original Hungarian names like *Babszemjankó*, etc.

The Rumanian variants are much longer than our Gypsy texts. E.g., that of Şolcan comprises round 400 lines. Csenki's lost Romani variant was also rather long : 267 lines. Accordingly, the style of the Rumanian ballads is epic, slow-flowing, full of retardative motives, while the style of our Romani ballad is dramatic from the very beginning on. This dramatic character was underlined by my informant when, before starting with the story, she introduced the *dramatis personae* by enumerating their names and adding merely their functions : «Lesko pral, Dilivuca prala».

[1] *Balade populare româneşti*, ed. A. I. Amzulescu. Bucuresti 1964, pp. 210—211.

[2] G. D. Teodorescu, *Poesii populare române*, Bucuresti 1885, pp. 626—631. Cf. also : *Márk vitéz*. Ed. J. Faragó, Bukarest 1974, p. 291.

[3] Mutilation of the borrowed story is also a very characteristic peculiarity of Gypsy tales. Cf. J. Vekerdi, *A cigány népmese* [The Gypsy Folk Tale], Budapest 1974, pp. 100 sqq.

The Rumanian ballads always have a melody and are accompanied by music (string instruments). Csenki's informant Kolompár has followed the Rumanian method of ballad telling, viz. singing. My informant told me the story without a melody, like a tale in prose. The same informant sang the entire text to G. Grabócz. Probably she has had some reminiscences of the earlier (Rumanian) method of singing, but the actual melody elapsed from her memory since then.

The distribution of prosaic and metric parts is based on text structure. The narrative passages are in prose, while the dialogues are in verse. The prosody of the metrical lines follows the usual Rumanian ballad prosody. There are octosyllabic lines with caesura after the fourth syllable :

izraľómas | haj peľómas

and hexasyllabic lines divided into two parts either by caesura after the fourth syllable :

de ma šudró | pājí

or by a strong accent on the fifth syllable :

šudrá kxajin- | gátar.

A free mixture of octosyllabic and hexasyllabic lines is characteristic of the Rumanian ballads. This technique of the Gypsy ballad is in accordance with the above statement, namely that the metric passages have conserved their original shape while the prosaic parts are improvised on each occasion.

The language also shows the metric parts to be original. These bear clear traces of some other Gypsy dialect, not the usual *Māšāri* variant of the Vlax dialect as spoken in Püspökladány and appearing in the prose parts. Words like *totkozil, motkozil, mundričālo, ba, taxtaj* or the ablatives *xajingatar, čerebostar*, the past tense *izraľomas, peľomas* are unknown in the Māšāri dialect. Similarly, the verses in Csenki's Romani variant contain the same non-Māšāri words and some other non-Māšāri grammatical forms as, e.g., present tense ending in *-a* (*džala, dela*, etc.) which is future tense in Māšāri. The prose text is also in correct Māšāri in Csenki's variant.

As a matter of fact, there are many loan words from Hungarian. Above all, they are present in the prose text which has no fixed wording. A few of them occur, however, also in metric lines as *kardo, paprikāšo, ńugsij, kardra vagy birokra, zēdno*. Obviously they were introduced into the text secondarily. Their recent origin is also proved by the fact that they do not form a common stock of both Romani variants : they occur either in the one, or in the other text.

All this makes our ballad a true image of the general evolution of Gypsy culture :

1. As I have repeatedly pointed out, Gypsy folklore is entirely based on the non-Gypsy folk culture of the country where the Gypsies actually live. In this case, some Gypsy group (probably, *Kelderāra*) borrowed a popular folk ballad from Rumanian somewhere in Southern Rumania. The possibility of borrowing was given, first of all, by the fact that professional Gypsy singers performed Rumanian folk ballads for Rumanian peasant audiences. After having learnt it in Rumanian, they translated (more precisely, travested or transformed) it into Romani.

2. While leaving their dwelling place in Southern Rumania for Transylvania, this Kelderāri group came across a Māšāri group and the Māšāris learnt a number of ballads from them. The borrowing from another Gypsy tribe was due to the situation that the Māšāris did (and do) not possess ballads of their own. Although each Gypsy tribe despises the other ones, intermarriages and inter-borrowings are of common occurrence between them. The Māšāris were not in close contact with such an environment of Rumanian folklore from where they could directly borrow this ballad. In Transylvania, where the Māšāri tribe dwelt in the past century, this Rumanian ballad is scarcely known and, besides, in Transylvania there was no professional singing of ballads by Gypsies (or Rumanians, Hungarians) therefore the Māšāris adopted Rumanian folk songs and ballads to a smaller degree than the Kelderāris or other Gypsy tribes living in more conservative regions of the Rumanian folklore area. In addition to the ballad Mujkālo Zlotāri, they also borrowed a few other pieces from the Kelderāris or some other Gypsy tribe.[4]

3. After leaving Transylvania, with its rather conservative Rumanian- and Hungarian folk culture, and settling in the Hungarian Plain (i.e. present day Eastern Hungary) at the beginning of this century, the Gypsies very soon forgot their ballads. In the Hungarian folk culture of this territory, ballads became extinct long ago. Thus, there was no longer any external support for the Gypsies to maintain this literary category. The first and partly the second generations remembered them and were able to sing them in the manner they inherited (Kolompár, 58 years old in 1942). The next generation has only vague memories of the old fashion of performing ballads (Liza's recitative singing in 1973, verses inserted into the text by Csenki's unknown informant in 1942 and by Liza in 1971). The final stage in the evolution of the ballad was that the Gypsies transformed it into a prose tale (second part in Csenki's Gypsy text, the narrative passages in Liza's text). All this agrees with the law that Gypsy culture preserves only those categories which are present in the folk culture of the country where they actually live. After a period shorter than a century (three generations) they give up the cultural elements borrowed from the po-

[4] Cf. J. Vekerdi, *Le roi de glace. Ballade tsigane de Hongrie*, In: *Études Tsiganes* 21 (1975), No. 2–3, pp. 12–14.

pulation of their previous dwelling place. In contrast to the ballads, folk tales were a living category in Hungary in the first half of this century, therefore the Gypsies in Püspökladány transposed the ballad into a tale.

A similar switch in the literary category (transformation of ballads into tales in prose) can be encountered also in non-Gypsy folklore. In 1959, Z. Kallós collected a number of ballads transformed into tales in the most archaic communities of the Hungarian folklore area in Moldavia (North-Eastern Rumania).[5] Just as in the Mujkālo Zlotāri story, a few pivotal lines are cited in their original metric form. There are, however, some important structural features distinguishing the Gypsies' technique of transformation from the non-Gypsy procedure. Those Hungarian informants who did not exactly remember the wording and melody of the old ballads, retained only their plot and built up from this plot a normal, conventional fairy tale or romantic story with all the requisites of Hungarian folk tales as opening and closing formulae, and standing phrases, etc. In order to achieve this, the story-tellers added a certain amount of complementary epic material to the extremely short, ecliptic text of the Hungarian ballads. Thus, a complete change of the literary genre occurred. In Hungarian (and other non-Gypsy) folklore, there are exactly circumscribed categories fixed by tradition : lyric songs, ballads (with melody), and tales. Intermediate transitional categories are avoided in tradition-bound communities.

Diametrically opposed to this, Gypsy folklore is not tradition-bound. It is always *in statu nascendi*, in a state of ceaseless transformation, it drops formerly borrowed components and replaces them by new ones. The structural laws of the lending culture are not obligatory for it. In addition, it allows much greater freedom of structure even inside, within the limits of its own laws, than it is possible in non-Gypsy folk culture. With Gypsies, individual shaping (improvization) is a general rule of reproduction, while it is forbidden in traditionalist peasant culture.

Our variants of the Mujkālo Zlotāri ballad are clear testimonies of the Gypsies' improvisatory talent. Csenki's Hungarian translation (*Appendix I.*) goes back to a Romani text very close in style to the Rumanian *epic verse stories* (ballads). Liza transformed the same plot into a *mixture of tale, ballad and drama*. Such an intermediate genre would be impossible in Hungarian or in Rumanian folklore. Csenki's Romani text (*Appendix II.*) disintegrates, stylistically, in two parts : it begins quite like a Gypsy *lōki ďīli* (*lyric song*) and it is quite possible that this part was sung by the informant, and it ends as a

[5] Kallós, Zoltán, *Balladák könyve*, Bukarest 1970, pp. 595—614. — The bilingual (Hungarian and Rumanian) story-teller V. Gurzau inserts metric passages in prose ballad tales in Rumanian, never in the corresponding Hungarian variants. See : *Vasile Gurzău magyar ês román nyelvű mesêi*, ed. S. Domokos, Budapest 1968, pp. 33—36. (A kind remark by József Faragó.)

tale in prose. This latter variant shows the culmination of the Gypsy freedom of invention: it shifts from one category to another within a coherent piece. Thus, a single literary genre (a Rumanian ballad) gives birth to a number of works composed in different genres in Gypsy folklore.

As stressed above, the Gypsy community i nPüspökladány is the only one that is acquainted with this ballad and forty years ago some elderly members could recite a few other pieces (similarly of Rumanian origin) to the Csenki brothers. Their knowledge of ballads was due to their recent immigration and to their contacts with other tribes in Rumania who had undergone a stronger influence by Rumanian folklore. Since then, the old informants had died and the ballads were forgotten.[6]

In other countries, however, there are other Vlax Gypsy tribes which, a few decades ago, still knew a large number of ballads in Romani, translated from Rumanian. The eminent Russian Gypsiologist L. N. Cherenkow writes on this subject:[7] «These ballads became rather deeply rooted in Kelderāri folklore. Of course, this refers, first of all, to the folklore preserved by the older and middle generation, not the young ones who mainly enjoy jazz, beat or, in the best case, jazz-like song-hits of Gypsy origin. In the middle generation, an active knowledge of these ballads is, after all, an exception, but masses of Kelderāris now 35—50 years old did hear them in their childhood or are aware of their existence.»

In 1958, old Ištvan Demeter told me at the Easter table (*pála j mesáli la Patradáki*) that he has learnt «Wallachian» ballads when he was a child from his uncle Janoš Tajko who was very fond of drinking, but was afraid of his wife. Little Ištvan secretly bought him wine and brought it to his tent and Janoš expressed his gratitude by telling him tales and singing ballads, many of which he knew. This Janoš originated from «andáu Maramároš».[8] All this happened about 1888—1892, in Southern Hungary, in «Austria» (i.e. in Galicia — «*kau Lémberǧ*» and «*ka j Krákova*») and in the Russian-occupied part of Poland («*ánde Rusíja ka j Varšáva*»). At this time, Janoš was about fifty years old and Ištvan ten or twelve.

. . . There are some individuals who tell these ballads in prose.

All this comes, without exception, from the Kelderāris. I have never met anything like this neither among the Lovāris, nor in other Gypsy ethnographic groups speaking Vlax dialects. On the whole, it seems to me that in one or two decades this genre will totally disappear.

[6] Cf. J. Vekerdi, *Gypsy folk songs*: *AOH* XX (1967), pp. 339—340.

[7] Personal communication of February 15th, 1976.

[8] Northern Transylvania. N. B. *Máramaros* is the Hungarian name of this county; in Rumanian, it is called *Maramureş*. Similarly, the names *Demeter*, *István* and *János* are Hungarian. This mixture of Rumanian and Hungarian impact is characteristic of Vlax Gypsy culture. — *J. V.*

. . . The Kelderāris are also very fond of old Lovāri songs that in many cases are forgotten by the Lovāris themselves. Usually they are short ballads on pure Gypsy subjects such as theft, pursuit, and flight from the gendarmes etc. («*jaj, de ingrén pé kris / duj čōrré žandára, / krujál ma len sâma, / khóńik č' ável pálāl . . .*» «*te déna ma but berš, / d' othé umblavó ma / po k sānó kopáči, / p ek zéleno kránga*» . . . «*mentosár, še dále,*[8] *múrro kálo šéro . . .*» etc.) These songs have a different emotional character. They are sung on different occasions (at the table, and at festivities) and their prosody and melody is rather different from that of the epic ballads of Rumanian origin. The Kelderāris call them «*lovərícka ǵiľá*» and the Lovāris «*beťārícka dīlá*».[9]

Appendix I.

Melody and first lines of Sándor Csenki's metrical Hungarian translation of the ballad.



Jutkicám, Jutkicám,
Hófehér Jutkicám,
Mikor elvettelek,
Még vizet sem hoztál

Forrás hűs vizéből,
Csobogó csermelyből.
Jutkz ezt hallotta,
Korsaját felkapta,
Elment vizet hozni
Forrás hűs vizéből,
Csobogó csermelyből.

[9] In Hungary, these songs form the common stock of everyday Lovāri singing. Here they are well known by the name *lōki d'ili* 'slow song'. Cf. A. Hajdu, *Le folklore tsigane*, in: *Études Tsiganes* 8 (1962), pp. 1—33, and: idem, *La lōki djīli des Tsiganes kêldêraš*, in: *Arts et traditions populaires* XII (1964), pp. 139—177.

Appendix II.

Variant form of the ballad as recorded by S. Csenki in Gypsy (in his copy-book No. 8, at the end; deposited in the *Karacs Ferenc Múzeum* of the grammar school in Püspökladány).

Biri me ľiľom tu
šudro paji andem
šudro čerepostār
tuke xajingatar
kod (?) Biri kaj (haj?) i džal
lela koro ando vas
kajso (?) kańik kaj voj
kaj i džala.
Biro muri rakľi
de ma cerra pāji
ke trušālo (?) som dural (?) . . .
kaj voj kaj vi dela
xuťilela vasteste
haj ingrela la maškar
. . . . . *le zēdno maškar*
. . . . . *le cignuda*
kothe voj . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . *rom haj ťi*
parna gadža kaj li (?)
le (?) bričāja vasteste
haj džal haj rodela la
kaj vi rakhela la maškar
. . . . . *le zēdna*
. . . . . *le cignuda*
kaj voj totkozilas (?) kaj voj
. . . . . *mokkozinela*
kaj voj ingrela peska
. . . . . *parna gadža*
khere ingrel la kao vurdon
kaj voj vi bešela kaj vi
voj tradela
Hajtrin rāťa sōvel
haj trin ďes voj džal
ande bare foroste

kaj voj phenla peska gadžake
dža te an amenge
ek kilo mas
thaj an amenge ek kilo mas. No, kirāvela o mas. No o Murkālo či (lacuna) šero te sovel. Las thaj das suno. Haj avel Juca kapitano šele ketanenca. No de kana das suno, minďan avilas o šel ketana. Angaľate gele. Kana gele p angaľate či birila jek[hav]reste. O Mukralo : Le bričāja le vasteste. Haj las, phendas o kāver: Šú (?) muri bričaja. Te xav lesko kodo šero. Kako xolajla o Mukālōro ..... gelas o Juca kapitańo. And i[š]talo cipin (?) andre: Murgu muro grast aven khere. I zen šudas pe o grast. O šero ingerdas. Kana ingerdas, o sokro pe feľastra torďilas. Andem tuke ek balano šero. Mišto kerdan muro raklo.

Translation

Biri, I have married you
I have brought cold water
from a cold jar
to you, from the well.
Then Biri goes,
she takes the jar in the hand
and to the well
she goes.
— Biri, my daughter,
give me some water
for I am thirsty, from far . . .
Then she gave him,
he took her by the hand
and led her into
the green . . . . . , into
. . . . the nettles
there he . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . husband, and your
white wife, where is she (?) ?
He takes his razor (?)
and goes and searches for her
and finds her in
green . . . . . .
nettles . . . . . .
there he embraced her (?)
there he kissed her (?)

Then he takes his
white wife ....
he leads her home to the car
in which he lives
in which he travels.
And he sleeps three nights
and he goes three days
to the big town
there he tells her wife:
Go, bring us
one kilogram of meat,
go, my wife,
and bring us one kilogram of meat. Well, she cooks meat. But Murkalo does not . . . his head for sleep. Then he dreamt that Captain Juca was coming with one hundred soldiers. When he dreamt it, soon came the hundred soldiers. They came to grips. When they came to grips, none of them was able to defeat the other. Then Mukralo: 'Take a razor in your hands.' Then the other said: 'Put (?) my razor, so that I may cut his head.' Then Mukaloro became angry ..... Captain Juca went away. He cried in the stable: 'Murgu, my steed, let us go home!' He put the saddle on the horse. He carried the head with him. When he fetched it, his father-in-law was standing in the window. 'I have brought you a pig's head.' 'All right, my son.'

Appendix III.

Variant form of the ballad as recorded by G. Grabócz in 1973. This time, before starting with *singing* the ballad, Liza recapitulated the story in prose, *without* melody. The allocution *fiam* 'my son' (Hungarian), repeatedly interpolated into the text, refers to the recorder Grabócz.

Sás kaj nás fiam, Júca kapitáno, háj Mukāló Zlätări.

— *Lé-ta Jútka, phenel o Mujkāló Zlätări, lé-ta Jútka khōró vastésti, thaj án mange šudró pāji, šudrá khajingátar, šudré čerepóstar.*

Avél o Júca kapitáni, šelé slugaďénca:

— *Án-ta Jútka, án-ta, án-ta ma 'k cinó šudró pāji!*

— *Hāj huľí tēle Júca kapitáni, ke či san tu korró haj či niči bangó.*

Či šudás o Juca kapitáńi po khóro vas, šudás pe la Jutkáko vas. Andel cígnudi andel búgnudi (?) gēlas kothé ..... sārdás kothé totkozisārdás. Haj gēlás khēré kaj o Mujkāló Zlätări.

— *Haj só kerdán tu Jútka, Jútka, šúkār Jútka kaťi bút?*

— *Izāľómas thaj pēlómas.*

— *Lé-ta Dilivúca phrála, kol ciné bālōrón* (?) *sávo* (?) *maj šukārén* (?), *te kerél amenge Jútka šukár lāšó paprikáši, mēg mé ńugsijáva, phenel o Mujkāló Zlätári.*

— *Úšťi Mujkāló Zlätári, ke gåta o paprikáši, phenél i šukār Jútka.*

— *Aj, phenel, šúkār Jútka, akāná dikhlém sūnó le Júca kapitānósa, lé šelé slugaďénca.*

Kan āngluní víla šudás ando múj o más, dikhél p eg ríg, fiam, avél o Júca kapitåni šelé slugaďénca.

— *Lāšó ťo ďes, Mujkāló Zlätári.*

— *Ba maj naís, Júca kapitåni. Húľi tēlé, húľi, p ek čāró xamásko, p ek pohåri pimásko.*

— *Haj č' āvilem me túte te xáv haj te pav, avilém palá j šúkār Jútka.*

— *Hā, ná kade žal pe kodi, Júca kapitåno, t^e ingrés la šukārá Jutka. Sár aves mánca, kardra birokra?*

— *Či sem me, phendás o Mujkāló Zlätári, slugaďí; am mancá birokra!* (*From the audience: angāľátį*)

Haj šinél les o kapitåno ži kaj čhangá. Haj lél les o Mujkāló Zlätári fiam, šudás les ž ándo maškár. Phenél o Júca kapitåni:

— *Án-ta Jútka, án-ta Jútka, án-ta o bričinåri* (!) *te xáw lesko šēro. Dik até šukår manúš, šukår sānó manúš!*

Phendás atunči o Mujkāló Zlätári:

— *Án-ta Jútkicom, án-ta Jútkicom i bričåga* (!) *te šináw lesko bričinåri, te xáw lesko šèrò.*

Haj gēlás i Jutka, fiam, ná le gādžésko šindás hanem šindás le Mujkāló Zlätārésko. Haj Mujkāló Zlätári xoľájlas, xuťildás ékhe vastésa i sostín, le kåvresa šindás les dž ándel (!) *kór. Phendás atunči:*

— *Án-ta Dilivúca, án-ta, án-ta murro kárdo te šináw lesko šēro.*

Taj šindás lesko šēró fiam.

— *Xá haj pí!* (*From the audience: Na mišto . . .*)

Haj la Jucáko šēró tēlé šindas fiam, haj šudás les kaj le Mujkālé Zlotārésko búl. (From the audience: *Juca kapitān . . .* Laughter, also she laughs and stops. Immediately after it, she starts singing:)

Bišārdás la (!) *Mujkaló Zlätåri lá šukāra Jútka υ pājéske: — Lé-ta vasteste khōro Jútka haj ám mange pāji šudré čerepôstar šudra khajíngâtar.*[10]

Haj gēlas i Jutka t ånel šúdro pāji, tháj rakhādilás le Juca kapitâńésa.

— *Án-ta Jútka j án-ta, án-ta má 'k cino pāji! — Haj čí san tu kórro ke* (!) *či na niči bângo.*

Haj o Juca kapitåńi ná po khōro šudas o vast, haj šudás pe j šukár Jûtka.

Taj gēlas andel cígnudi khóte tótkozílas khóte måtåtîlas.

Thaj ingerdás o pāji kaj Mujkāló Zlätâri.

[10] The vowels *â, ê, î, ô* are overlong.

— *Haj so kerdan tu Jútka káťťi bûtáig?*

Haj sóstar si ťo mūj Jútka, mundričálo, ťé phīke bá ťikâle?

— *Ke izdrajľēmas tháj pelémas, ke izdrajľémas tháj pelêmas.*

— *Ašunés tu Dílivúca, lé kaj (?) bālo taj šín andi phu t' akor maj šúkar Jutka* ∪—∪∪ *taj kerel aménge Jútka lāšo paprikáši meg mé ńugsînav.*

— *Ušťi j opre úšťi Mújkāló Zlätári ke gáta j o páprikâši.*

— *Sostar či muklán ma Jútka, te ńūgsînav ke sūno dikhlem le Júca kapitânósa, avél šelé slûgaďénca.*

Kan angluno šúdas ando múj, áke ávilás o Júca kapitáno šelé slûgaďénca.

— *Ke (!) lāšo ďés Mújkālé Zlätári! — O Dél āndás tu Júca kapitáni!*

— *Ušťi ušťi úšťi h' ám mánca p ek čāro xamásko p ek čāró pimâsko.*

— *Haj č' avílem me túte p ék čāró xamásko t' ávilém me palá j šukár Jútka.*

— *Haj na kāde žál pe kódi Júca kapitáno; sár avés manca, kárdra váď birôkra?*

— *Taj či sem me slugāďi, té džam me túsa kárdra, t áves manca angāľâtę.*

Šindas le Mujkāle Zlätáres o Juca kapitáno ž andél čânga.

Xoľajlás o Mújkaló Zlätári, šindas les dž ándo maškâr.

— *An-ta Jútka j án-ta, án-ta j o bričinári te šináv leski kór te xav lesko šêro.*

Atunči phéndas o Mújkalo Zlätári: — Án-ta Jútka án-ta, án-ta bričinári te xáv leskó šéró, te xáv lesko trâjo.

Haj i šukar Jútka ná kaj kápitáno gēlas hanem kaj Mújkaló Zlätâri || : haj šindás leskó bríčinâri.

Haj Mújkālo Zlätári xoľájlas, l ékhe vástesa xuťildás peski sóstin, le kāvresa šindás leskó šêro.

Vi la Jutkáko šīndas, lá Jutkáko šēro šudás kaj Juca kapitānósko, le Juca kapitānósko šēro šudás kā lá Jutkáko bul.

(Continued without melody:)

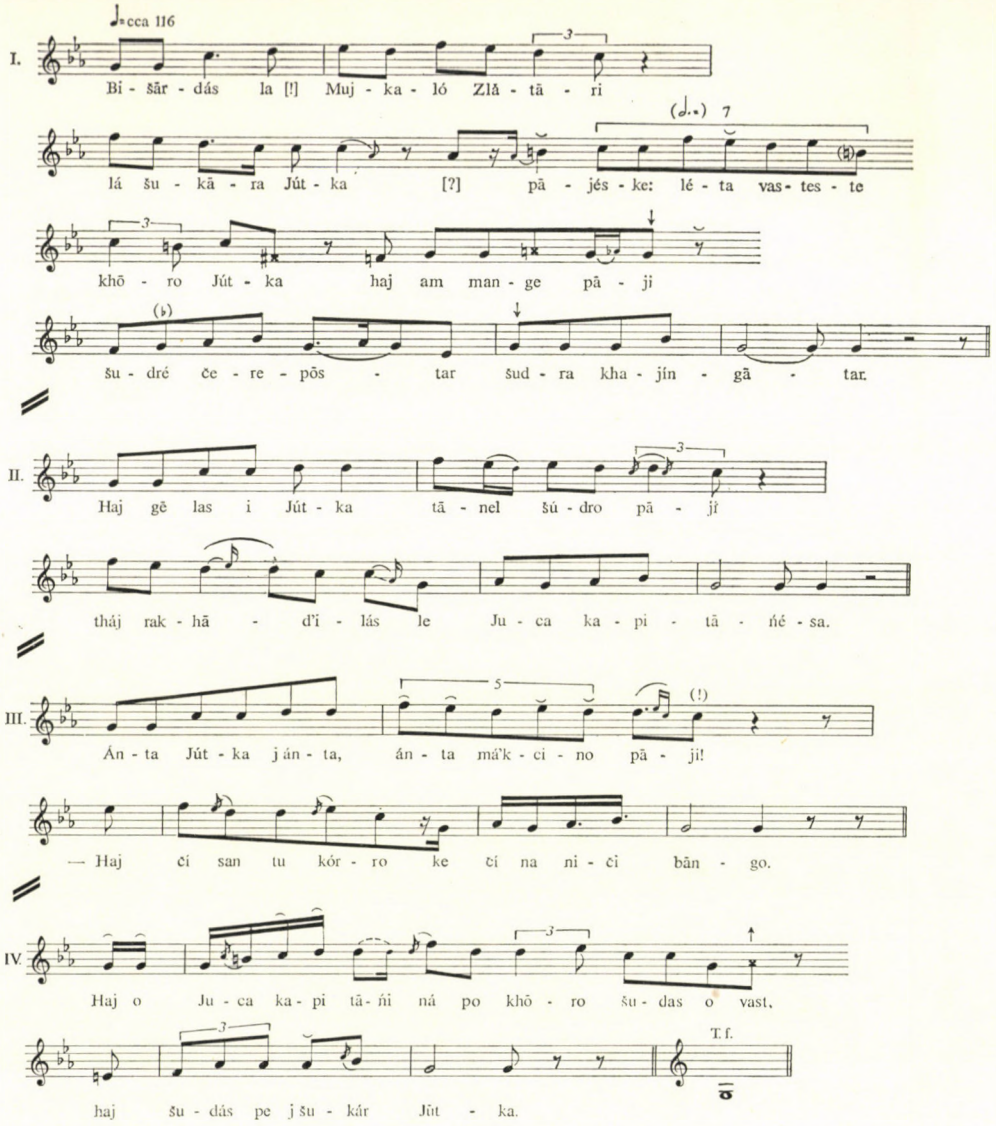
Xálas pilás o Mújkāló Zlätári (slightly melodically, with a different melody:) *haj šudás po xānro lako šēro* (hence with the usual melody:) *thaj gēlas ží kâj laki dēj.*

— *Ušťi mama úšťi, k' ándem tuke lášo bakrāno šéro te kerés amenge lāšó paprikâši.*

— *Xuľi tēle xúľi, háj xa pi fiam, háj ingér la máj šukārá šejóra haj šú l' andi zêna!*[11]

(After it, she started singing the ballad «*O sapōro o lolōro*» with the same melody.)

[11] The melody was written down by Bálint Sárosi, Head of the Institute of Ethnomusicology.


I.
♩.= cca 116
Bi - šār - dás la [!] Muj - ka - ló Zlă - tā - ri
lá šu - kā - ra Jút - ka [?] pā - jés - ke: lé - ta vas - tes - te
khō - ro Jút - ka haj am man - ge pā - ji
šu - dré če - re - pōs - tar šud - ra kha - jín - gā - tar.
II.
Haj gē las i Jút - ka tā - nel šú - dro pā - jí
tháj rak - hā - d'i - lás le Ju - ca ka - pi - tā - ńé - sa.
III.
Án - ta Jút - ka j án - ta, án - ta má'k - ci - no pā - ji!
— Haj čí san tu kór - ro ke čí na ni - či bān - go.
IV.
Haj o Ju - ca ka - pi tā - ńi ná po khō - ro šu - das o vast,
haj šu - dás pe j šu - kár Jūt - ka.
T. f.

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CHRONICA

THIRD INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM OF PRE-OTTOMAN AND OTTOMAN STUDIES

The Third International Symposium of the C.E.P.O. (Comité d'Etudes Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes) was held in Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) from September 18 to 22, 1978 under the auspices of the *Odsjek za Orijentalne Jezike* (Filozofski Fakultet) and *Orijentalni Institut* in Sarajevo. (The second symposium took place two years earlier in Hamburg.)

One third of the approximately eighty participants were members of the Turkish delegation, one quarter were from Yugoslavia, and the others came from Austria, Britain, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, France, the FRG, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and the USA. Hungary was represented by four participants.

The symposium was opened on the morning of September 18, when Professor Nedim Filipović, Secretary General of the Organizing Comittee greeted the participants and inaugurated the meeting. During the next three days lectures were delivered on a wide range of topics on the field of Turcology concerning the period 1071 to 1923. Without aiming at completeness some of the numerous lectures are listed here: D. Bojanić (Belgrade), *Osmanlı vergi sisteminde salariyye*: B. Kütükoğlu (Istanbul), *Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't-tevârîh'i*; E. Tryjarski (Warsaw), *Un rapport anonyme du voyage diplomatique de l'ambassadeur polonais W. Miaskowski en Turquie en 1640—1641*; M. S. Kütükoğlu (Istanbul), *1253 mâlî yılına âit Saray Bosna Gümrük Defteri*; G. Fehér (Budapest), *Reflexions sur l'authenticité iconografique des illustrations des chroniques ottomanes*; L. Gazić (Sarajevo), *Les recueils des manuscripts orientaux à Sarajevo*; G. Baer (Jerusalem), *Egyptian attitudes towards Turks and Ottomans in 17th and 18th centuries*; S. A. Skilliter (Cambridge), *Consideration of an undated* berat *appointing a* müteferrika *and conferring a* teamet *upon him*; Z. Korkmaz (Ankara), *Eski Anadolu Türkçesinde imlâ fonologie bağlantısı*; A. Gallotto (Naples), *L'étude de la langue osmanli par les textes en caractères arabes vocalisés*; T. Majda (Warsaw), *A Turkish dialect from Eastern Anatolia — 18th century text in Latin transcription*; A. de Groot (Leiden), *The legacy of a 17th century orientalist*; S. Buluç (Istanbul), *Elvan Çelebi'nin menâkib-nâmesi*; C. M. Cortepeter (New York), *The Enderun or palace of controling the Ottoman State*; G. B. Bosscha Erdbrink (Groningen), *The activites of the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Jacobus Colyer and the Peace Conference at Karloſça 1697—99*;

The valuable lectures, based on well established scientific results, met with success, and most of them captivated the interest of the audience. They were followed by a discussion that resulted in many contributions to the subjects in question.

The receptions given by the Organizing Comittee and the President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina provided a good opportunity for informal talks and the discussion of problems.

The participants had the opportunity to visit the famous Library of Gazi Husrev Beg, and take part in an excursion organized to Mostar, a picturesque town in Hercegovina.

The meeting was housed in the «Terme» Hotel in Ilidža, a fine bathing resort near Sarajevo. We express our thanks to the organizers for the excellent organization of the conference and for their kind hospitality that made the meeting not only useful, but at the same time a pleasure for the participants, who look forward to the next symposium to be held in Madrid in 1981.

Anna Horváth

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CRITICA

GIAN ANDRI BEZZOLA *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, Francke Verlag, Berlin und München 1974, 251 p.

G. A. Bezzola's work will delight the reader and provide an insight for researchers. The author presents the 13th century image of the Mongolians by elaborating the extant records of events covering a relatively narrow area (Europe under the rule of the Roman Church) during the span of hardly 50 years (1220—1270). The message of his book has a more profound bearing than a mere historical philological analysis. The subtitle, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen*, confirmed by the foreword and the introduction, reveals that the author considers his work of significance with respect to analysing the confrontation of different civilizations. These civilizations still meet or confront each other these days, consequently relations of this kind are correctly reckoned to be a fundamental issue of world history. The encounters of the peoples involved do not constitute merely and primarily a historical problem: changes and adjustments in their way of life, culture and attitudes are more fundamental (increasing humanetological investigation verifies this emphasis today). Mediaeval, i.e. Christian Europe underwent two encounters of substantial impact, namely with the civilizations of Islam and the Mongolian Empire. Although the latter was undoubtedly of lesser significance, its survey and analysis are also less detailed and comprehensive than those related to the confrontation with Islam. Bearing this in mind, the work of Bezzola will be indispensable for further research, even if the magnitude of the cultural confrontations largely exceeds the consciously narrow field of his interest. The Mongolian confrontation was experienced by the Christian world in three different forms: in long subjugation, in short subjection or military confrontation, and without any military encounter. The historical Occident, («Abendland») encompassed lands that mainly avoided military encounter with the Mongolians or were involved in scattered clashes only, thus belonging to the periphery of the Occident (e. g. Hungary and Poland). Moreover, Christian civilization was not homogeneous: the Byzantine, Armenian and Slavic (Bulgarian and chiefly Russian) Christians were easily discernible apart from the Roman Church. Local differences in the Mongolian image basically derived from whether the peoples actually confronted the Tatars — in most cases with arms — or not. Therefore, an overall survey of the confrontation cannot dispense with the analysis of Russian records, which is altogether lacking in Bezzola's analyses.

In reconstructing the experience of the confrontation, Bezzola relied on the written records as empirical facts and delinated the Mongolian image on their basis in the light of historical research findings. As a matter of course, this image is changing, reinforced by the comparatively strict

chronological elaboration of the records. The author, interpreting the changes of the image, points out that despite these changes, the image is considerably homogeneous due to the lack of a profound cultural and intellectual exchange between the two civilizations. His reconstruction is precise, authentic and as variegated as possible. He rarely abandons the factual material to enlarge upon his personal views, but whenever he does so, his arguments are moderate and well-established.

Bezzola succeds in what he undertook. His sources, with the mentioned limitations — are exhaustive. Where necessary he consults material outside his restricted sphere of research (Arabic, Armenian, and Byzantine sources), therefore, the omission of not considering Russian records is more conspicuous. The only exception, the mention of Archbishop Peter, is left unsolved due to the omission of other sources. (e.g. V. T. Pašuto *Kievskaja letopis' 1238 g.*: *Istoričeskie zapiski*, No. 26, pp. 298—305.)

In elaborating the sources with utmost precision, whatever the point of interest, he takes into account the relevant works of highest authority and combines the results of several fields of research with skill and insight.

The validity of the historical scene that he presents is beyond argument, although some points of emphasis of his interpretation may lead to debate.

Which, indeed, is the scene he outlines? The answer lies in the structure of his study, according to which four historical phases can be distinguished in the Mongolian image of the West.

The first period is prior to the confrontation with the Mongolians, characterised by a medley of legendary and realistic facts. In the times of no direct contact, a considerably homogeneous — legendary — image had evolved on the basis of information via the Middle East. The following makes up the basic contours of this picture: the Tatars must be an eastern Christian people who assist Christiandom (more precisely the papacy) against the Saracens.

The core of this mythical image is the legend of King David and Prester John. On the periphery of the «Abendland», however, the concept had already been more subtle: the Hungarians had mediated to Europe the first realistic image of the Tatars based on direct contacts (friar Julianus) in the course of the search for their primordial habitat. At that time, the position of the West had three various references in the assessment of the Mongolians: 1. they were a potential eastern ally against the Seljuk Empire; 2. they were an imminent military threat on their European periphery; 3. they were a potential target for an over-all attack on western Christiandom. As no direct threat loomed over the centre, the major powers (the papacy and the imperial power) were engaged only in detecting Mongolian objectives and organising proselytism. The focus of their interest clearly reveals their ignorance concerning the nature of the Mongolian conquest. Bezzola also gives a list of the errors contributing to the development of the legendary Mongolian image (e.g. their Jewish origin together with the erratic derivation of their alphabet from the Jewish one, the mistaken etymology of the ethnonym, and the Nestorian tradition, etc.). In that period, the Western image of the Mongolians was basically rooted in religion: they systematically related the Mongolians to Biblical traditions and Christian beliefs. The failure of proselytism is explained by the fact that the West had no or very defective knowledge of the Mongolian way of life, mentality, and culture, in short of their civilization. This shortcoming was then combined with the information containing the first elements of a realistic Mongol image immediately prior to the Tatar attack on Eastern Europe. Realism in this sense excludes Biblical legends only, but is not free from exaggeration. There appeared the image of the fierce, cruel, sly blood-thirsty barbaric people renouncing human beings and God (amply exaggerated in western chronicles, and more authentic in Eastern European do-

cuments). The foundations of the view to be developed at the time of the direct offensive had been laid.

The second phase (1241—45) is referred to by Bezzola as the period of horror. No trace of Christianity or any liberating mission can be found in this image. On the contrary, the view changes into the reverse: the Tatars are the people of the Antichrist, threatening to devastate the whole Christian Occident. In the first period, legend obscured reality, now apocalyptic visions blurred the eyes.

The new image that evolved among peoples assaulted and ravaged left its trace in the records of captives, witnesses, and in songs of lamentation and chronicles. In Western Europe the apocalyptic vision of the Tatars as the scourge of God fitted into the world view of the Divine order. Bezzola states that pressing circumstances eventually led to a relatively homogeneous image with some significant (at times substantially antagonistic) variations. The causes of variation include the identity of the people professing them, (i.e. whether they were directly menaced or not), the recorder of the image (whether he was in personal contact with the Mongolians or obtained information via diverse sources), and differences in the characters of the chroniclers (interests and personality traits) The basic difference between the two major variations, the realistic and the apocalyptic, can most probably be explained by the first cause. The image originated in the court of Béla IV is not a mere image, but the essence of experience affecting everyday life, while to the west (in the centre) it was an image solely, whose nature was to conform to the power struggle and become integrated in it. The Mongol image of the periphery constantly in touch with the Tatars was bound to comply with the actual facts, with reality: there was no such force in the West.

Bezzola also highlights the facts determining a possible anti-Mongolian offensive on the part of the European leading powers and explores how circumstances led to the combination of the passive, submissive view of the papacy and the militant, hopeful view of the imperial world. Bezzola seems to give too much credit to the imperial power (namely to Frederick II), when he assumes that the Emperor was wholly aware of the Mongolian threat; the militant position of the Emperor fitted the imperial-papal strife, and as a common feature of both parties, they regarded their anti-Mongolian policy as only one episode of their struggle. This statement can also be confirmed by the fact that the legendary view of the Mongolians immediately replaced the old one after their disppearance, mystifying the whole of Europe.

The immage of the third period (1245—55) is again centred on Europe, which was the first phase of non-military contacts with Mongolia. Missionaries, and imperial envoys were able to provide information and surveys on Mongolian forces and establish the bases of a possible alliance with regard to future political development. Although this stage was dominated by uncertainty concerning links to Mongolia, the most authentic detailed reports on their descent, way of living, attire, customs, institutions, political administration, outlook and culture date back to this period. However, a realistic general concept was lacking, due to the interest of power and religion: there the search for a potential alliance against Islam, here proselytism. The image is the recurrence of that prior to the phase of the direct contact, with the addition of an extended geographical world view. The reason for this return is that the political-military relationship did not affect the mentality (a similar phenomenon is found in China: after the Mongolian conquest the notion that «China is the centre of the world» returned).

The author points out that the fourth phase was characterized by the threat of a new Mongolian attack. This period partly overlapped the previous one in time, as Bezzola outlines the Mongol-image of the third phase on the basis of the coherent

reports of missionaries and envoys, although the date of the chronicles does not coincide with the strict chronology of historical events. After a succession of legends and disappointments, in the fourth period there was a petrified general anti-Mongolian view, which firmly held its ground in later mediaeval scholastic theology. The universal struggle against infidelity and heresy is manifest in this view: the Mongolian offensive was only a fragment of their threat to Christendom. The major characteristic of the Tatars is «hostes catholicae fidei». The more realistic image of Eastern Europe survived in the periphery, while the legendary one dominated the centre. Despite some realistic, vivid and even understanding descriptions, such as Rubruk's, the 13th century European view firmly persisted. The authority of eye-witnesses was acknowledged only during the travels of the Modern Age.

To summarize, Bezzola states that the decisive factor of the Mongol image in that period was their strangeness: Mongolians were completely unfamiliar to Europeans regarding their language, nationality, appearance, and beliefs. According to the author, the latter factor was decisive in the development of these views. To confirm this, he points out that the Mongolians entered as antagonists only when and where they shunned western objectives of unity or refused the monopoly of the Pontificate. On the other hand, Bezzola considers this image is valuable, because it brought about and strengthened European self-consciousness.

The rationalization of the author is doubtlessly correct on the level of reconstructing the era, but overlooks the essential factors at the root of religious differences that made it impossible to bridge this gap (Mongolian culture was very flexible regarding religious matters): Bezzola leaves out of account significant differences determining the substantial disparity of the two civilisations. The fact that contemporary people experienced religious differences, merely reveals that they had no profound knowledge about Mongolia, or any possible information of that kind could not affect the prevailing view. Naturally, the major emphasis was placed on religious differences within the framework of the given world view (the analysis of the Baconian world order included in the appendix also confirms this); further studies on the confrontation of civilizations, however, can be expected to reveal other decisive factors.

Kornélia Melles

LAJOS LIGETI, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van* [Turkic Connections of the Hungarian Language and their References] I, Budapest 1977, 430 p. (Budapest Oriental Reprints, Series A 1.)

One focus of Hungarian turcological research has always been the investigation of Old Turkic loan words in the Hungarian language. These loan words reveal evidence about an era of Hungarian history and language that can hardly be uncovered with any other means. The problem itself is specifically Hungarian however, the conclusions can be effectively conferred to general Turcology. In effect, Hungarian loan words date back to western Turkic languages and dialects that have no other relics whatsoever relevant to that age. It is, therefore, obvious that in addition to Hungarian linguistics Turcology and Altaic studies also devote special attention to the early Turkic elements of the Hungarian lexicon.

The work of Zoltán Gombocz (*Die bulgarisch—türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*), published in 1912, was an outstanding achievement of the age in listing the Turkic loan words of the Hungarian tongue. During the past decades, the factual information in Turkic and Altaic studies has largely expanded, several issues of linguistic history have been clarified. Although the synthesis of Gom-

bocz has not yet been surpassed, eminent Hungarian linguists and turcologists have joined forces to solve the unsettled questions of Turkic loan words on the basis of the findings of Hungarian linguistics and Turkology. Lajos Ligeti deserves considerable credit in this field, because — as a scholar of Turkic and Mongol studies — he has put to use the means of these disciplines in exploring the loan words of the Hungarian language.

In the very first phase of his academic career, in the 1930s, he directed his attention to loanwords. In a series of articles published in the 29th—33rd issues of the journal *Magyar Nyelv* he presented new Turkic and Mongolian data to confirm certain earlier etymologies, and offered new possible solutions or pointed out former erratic etymologies. Already these early articles held some principles, e.g. the significance of Mongolian data, the problem of the etymology of Turkic words, and their frequency in Turkic languages or occurrence among other tongues, that constituted the milestones of his later activity. He was deeply engaged in a contemporary discovery of great momentum, namely the original length of Turkic vowels, and the «Mongolian» character of some Hungarian loan words.

His studies, written after the Second World War, are dominated by these theoretical principles and by the analysis of linguistic material on their basis. To mention some examples: he discovered the connection between the Hungarian words *gyűrű* «ring» and *szérű* «barn-yard», *gyűszű* «thimble» and *szűcs* «furrier», or the origin of *ocsú* «offal» all the time bearing in mind the etymology of the Turkic words. Examining the layers of Turkic vocabulary, he described the linguistic route of the Hungarian word *gyöngy* «pearl», also a loan word (from the Chinese) in Turkic. He explained the Hungarian word *nyár* «summer» on the basis of the chronology of Turkic phonetic history. His notes of insight largely contributed to the turcological entries of the *Történeti-etimológiai szótár* [Historical Etymological Dictionary]. His notes considerably supported the acceptance and elaboration of certain new viewpoints, as in the case of possible Slavic mediation with words like *bélyeg* «stamp», *bér* «wages», and *bilincs* «shackles», etc., or the need for precise and minute analysis of the meaning of words such as *gyopár* «cat's foot», *harang* «bell», and *orsó* «reel».

The volume reviewed here, containing L. Ligeti's studies on Turkic loan words in the Hungarian language and on relevant issues of Turkic and Altaic studies bears the appropriate title «Turkic Connections of the Hungarian Language and their References». In addition to particular etymologies, an abundance of diverse references is displayed in the articles including the historical backgrounds of Turkic—Hungarian connections, the identity and nature of the loan language or dialect, the linguistic and cultural-historical moments of borrowing, the adaptation of the new word to the Hungarian tongue and its development. In addition, the more remote background is brought to light: to the effect that he deals with the connection of the lending Turkic languages to the Altaic, Uralic or at times to Chinese, Persian, Caucasian or Slavic languages. This vast field of research also includes several methodological problems.

The assumptions of Ligeti below exemplify the problems related to Turkic loan words.

The ancient connection of Uralic and Altaic languages is as yet unproved. The connection of Uralic languages is beyond doubt, but the same cannot be confirmed in the Altaic languages. Turkic and Mongolian tongues have been in long-term and variegated connection, although detailed elucidation is still lacking. The connection between Uralic and Turkic languages can hardly be questioned. Bearing this in mind, the term «Altaic» loan words in the Hungarian language is out of place and the term «Mongolian» must also be used with restrictions to the effect that the Hunga-

rian tongue contains loan words of the Chuvash type which has Mongolian connections. The word *nyak* «neck», so far regarded as an early loan word dating from the era of the Uralic primordial habitat because of the initial *ny-*, must be excluded due to expressed phonological and semantic difficulties; the etymology of *nyár* «summer» is most probably correct.

As regards loan words, the term «old Turkic loan words» is justified as the later Pecheneg, Oguz and Coman influence cannot be separated from the earlier one. These loan words manifest Old Hungarian characteristics. A good many borrowings show old Chuvash traits, but Common Turkic features are also discernible. Some phonological phenomena (e.g. the long final *ó, ő, ú, ű* in the Hungarian) is understandable from Common Turkic, more precisely from the Kipchak tongue. The lending Old Chuvash language is commonly considered Bulgar—Turkic, although it is highly likely that the Khazar had an equal if not a greater role. Two dialects of the lending Chuvash language can be detected. Apart from Turkic tongues, Hungary had connections with peoples of Iranian languages: research on these links could supply new findings for the investigation of Turkic loan words.

The Turkic lexicon constitutes the immediate background of the Hungarian loan words. The place of the Turkic original within the Turkic vocabulary must be explored as thoroughly as possible. The whole family of the word must be traced back from the aspects of morphology, phonology and semantics. If it did not occur in every Turkic language, the geographical delineation of occurrence may be significant. Special care must be given to exploring the route of culture-words penetrating into several languages apart from the Hungarian, but cultural historical conclusions must be very cautiously drawn. All the three layers of the Turkic lexicon, i.e. original elements words of domestic development and loan words, supplied the Hungarian vocabulary with new elements. As for the grammatical category of the Hungarian loan words, they are primarily nouns and to a lesser extent adjectives and verbs. Nouns expressing the concept of time developed into adverbs and in one case (*-kor* «at, at the time of . . . ») into a suffix within the Hungarian language.

In addition to the loan words of proved Turkic origin, there is a considerably large number of borrowings with probable Turkic descent. In some unsettled cases, the relation of the loan word to the suggested Turkic original is undoubted, however, a full explanation is still lacking. In other cases, the counterpart of a Hungarian word can be traced back to the Mongolian. In such cases, it is considered that the lending Turkic languages (dialects) are known only indirectly and that in addition to the well-known tendencies of phonological development, several minor tendencies might still be little known. A knowledge of Turkic phonological history is of basic importance. Further Turkic sources may reveal new evidence.

The briefly outlined list of principles predominated Ligeti's etymologies, which show both the minute phylological care of detail and his insight into primary relationships.

Later Ottoman—Turkish loan words, expressly distinct from old Turkic borrowings, are given less emphasis in the field of Ligeti's research. The present volume contains his comments on the Hungarian word *kajszi* «apricot» of Ottoman origin and on the calque *nyelvet fogni*, menning approx. «to catch a spy» borrowed during the Ottoman rule in Hungary. He also analysed in detail the Hungarian glossary included in the travel book of the great 17th century Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi.

The volume also includes a science historical rarity. As is well-known, Z. Gombocz left no manuscripts to posterity, he destroyed his drafts. Ligeti presents a 3-page note of Gombocz on the Turkic verbal nouns probably composed for a university lecture.

The Kőrösi Csoma Society and the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — personally Ödön Schütz and Éva Apor as editors — provided considerable assistance to the research by initiating the series of *Budapest Oriental Reprints*, and no other volume could have been more worthy of introducing the series than the collection of Ligeti's studies on the Turkic loan words in the Hungarian language.

Zsuzsa Kakuk

TURCOLOGICA. К семидесятилетию академика А. Н. Кононова, Изд. «Наука», Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград 1976, 364 p.

The volume under review was published in honour of Andrej Nikolaevič Kononov, a leading scholar of Russian Turcology.* Kononov's name is widely known and highly respected by Hungarian orientalists. In appreciation of his work and his close connections to Hungarian Turcology, honorary membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was conferred on him in 1973. He has also been an honorary member of the Kőrösi Csoma Society since 1970.

S. N. Ivanov enlarged upon the scientific and pedagogical activities of A. N. Kononov (*O naučnoj i pedagogičeskoj dejatel'nosti Andreja Nikolaeviča Kononova*, pp. 3—12). Three major fields of interest can be detected in the 50-year work of Kononov: 1. the investigation in the grammatical structure of Turkic languages, 2. the text edition of old records, 3. the examination of the history of Russian and Soviet orientalism, especially Turcology.

The 46 studies of the volume encompass the largely varied fields of Turcology. The articles are divided into two major groups: I. Linguistics; II. General questions of Turkic philology. Both groups contain the studies in the alphabetical order of the authors. The present review highlights the studies in thematic units, on the basis of the original major groups.

The group on linguistics contains studies in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

An extensive chronological survey of the Turkic peoples and languages around the Volga-region was outlined by T. M. Garipov (*Problemy i perspektivy izučenija kypčakskich jazykov Uralo-Povolž'ja*, pp. 47—55). Garipov also reveals that his new book to be published soon is concerned with the description of the grammatical system of the Bashkir and Tatar languages. E. V. Sevortjan's study on the disappearance of initial consonants is richly illustrated with examples (*O slučajach padenija načal'nych soglasnych v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 148—156). He finds that the phenomenon is not regular, but covers all originally Turkic consonants. B. A. Serebrennikov's article (*Značimye detali*, pp. 157—163) is focussed on two issues: on morphological and etymological problems and on a significant question of phonological history, i.e. the phonological phenomena related to the originally long vowels. He argues with the hypothesis of Ščerbak concerning the originally long vowels, concluding that it leaves several contradictions unsolved. According to the above hypothesis the Kipchak and Qarluq-Uigur $z(\delta)$ appeared after long vowels due to the relief of tension in forming the sound s. On the other hand, in the present Turkmen, where the original vowel length is preserved, $\delta(z)$ can still be found sporadically after originally short vowels (e. g. *düz* «pravil'nyj, *töz* «dikij, puglivyj», etc.). G. Hazai deals with the historical precedence of the $g > \emptyset$ and $g > y$ changes that took place in the Ottoman during the 16th—18th centuries, becoming an overall tendency by the 19th century (*Bestandsaufnahme zu einer Erscheinung der Geschichte des Os-*

* The first book in his honour was published ten years ago: *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik. K šestidesjatiletiju Andreja Nikolaeviča Kononova*, Izd. «Nauka», Moskva 1966, 276 p.

manisch—Türkischen, pp. 200—203). M. S. Širaliev presents the nasal vowels of secondary development in the Azerbaidjan language (*Nosovye glasnye na materiale dialektov i govorov azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*, pp. 181—183). These nasal vowels derive from the influence of the velar occlusive (*ŋ*) (e.g. *ämilärüã* < *ämiläriŋä* «tvoim djadjam»). V. A. Avrorin offers his views on the vowel harmony of the Manchu tongues and on its phonological history (*Vokalizm i ego garmonija v man'čžurskom pis'mennom jazyke*, pp. 13—19).

Several of the authors deal with morphological issues. E. A. Krejnovič offers valuable clues to further research on the suffix *-lï* (*Ob odnoj tjurksko-paleoaziatskoj jazykovoj paralleli*, pp. 94—100). Suffixes analogous to Turkic *-lï* and its genetical relatives *-lïq*(*-lïğ*) can be found in some paleo-Asian languages. The *l* component of the suffix is the same in every examined language with approximately similar function. N. Z. Gadžieva advances her views on the problems of morphological history (*Značenie areal'noj lingvistiki dlja istorii tjurkskich jazykov*, pp. 37—46). Certain pronouns, postpositions, and adverbs, etc., preserve some morphemes whose grammatical functions have become obscure, e.g. pronominal *-ïŋ* (originally genitive); *-q* (dative-directive); *-n* (determinative); *-ča* (directive, comparative), etc. The author expounds the subject in more detail in the fifth chapter of her work entitled «Problemy tjurskoj areal'noj lingvistiki (Srednеaziatskij areal)», published in 1975 (pp. 246—288). In investigating the characteristics of the semantic structure of the *izāfet*, L. J. Tuguševa concludes that these structures are modified by the nature of the lexico-grammatical components (*O leksiko-semantičeskoj strukture substantivno-atributivnych slovosočetanij v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 173—180). The initial adjectival component of an Ottoman compound word often denotes colour. V. D. Arakin suggests that the most productive adjective of the kind is *kara* (53%), to be followed by *ak* (29%), *kızıl*, *sarı*, *yeşil*, etc. Arakin points out that the compounds of this type belong to the compounds of metonymic or metaphoric nature (*Složnye suščestvitelnye s pervym komponentom — prilagatelnym cveta v tureckom jazyke*, pp. 20—26). As a result of lo years' research, V. I. Rassadin presents suffixes of the tofalar language that has a rare if any occurrence in other Turkic languages, or display different fuctions there. E.g. *-dï* (*agdï* «lestnica»); *-lïšqï* (*ubalïšqï* «staršie sestry»); *-ašqïn* (*oynaašqïn* «igruška»). The rest of his article is focussed on the formation of verbs, infinitives and participles (*Nekotorye osobennosti tofalarskogo jazyka*, pp. 133—141).

The question whether Turkic languages have verbal aspects and how they are related to mood is the major concern of D. M. Nasilov (*Ešče raz o vide v tjurkskich jazykach (k istorii voprosa)*, pp. 111—120). He quotes earlier and recent assumptions regarding the problem and concludes that eventually the possibility of aspect in Turkic languages cannot be disregarded. At any rate, aspect and mood must be distinguished; former hypotheses often combined them. Further research also demands the examination of the structure of verbal moods, having only recently started as regards individual Turkic lan guages. A. N. Kononov established the basis of such a scientific approach in the field of the Uzbek language. In her study L. A. Pokrovskaja suggests that the limits of personal and impersonal verbs are highly blurred (*K voprosu o ličnych i neličnych formach glagola v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 126—132). Therefore, in a certain sense the Turkic verbal forms of diverse functions are neither personal nor impersonal. So morphological and syntactical undifferentiated verbal forms is the correct term in this case. A. M. Ščerbak investigates the optative (*Formy želatelnogo naklonenija v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 184—190), and arrives at the final conclusion that the Common Turkic optative formed with the affix *-a(y)* (plural *-a-lï*(*q*) ?) derives from an ancient *nomen actionis* ending with *a*.

The major issues of the theory of nominal form coming from verbs in enlarged upon in the study of V. G. Guzev on the basis of old Anatolian records and the data of the Modern Turkisch language. He examines the morphological nature, the grammatical meaning, and the function of these forms (e.g. *-ma*, *-mak*, *-(A)r*, *-mïš*, *-duk*, etc.) (*Sistema imennych form tjurkskogo glagola kak morfologičeskaja kategorija na materiale staroanatolijskogo i tureckogo jazykov*, pp. 56—64). S. N. Ivanov endeavours to put to use his principles, developed during the examination of Turkic cases (*casus*), in the elaboration of the tense system of the Turkic indicative mood. He analyses in detail the interconnection and meaning of the verbal forms ending with *-acak* ~ *-acakтı*, *-ar* ~ *-ardı*, *-yor* ~ *-yordu*, *-mış* ~ *-mıştı*, *-dı* ~ *dıydı* (*K ob''jasneniju sistemy vremen tureckogo indikativa*, pp. 79—88). I. V. Kormušin is of the position that the causative verbal forms have a role in expressing passive relations in several Altaic languages (*O passivnom značenii kauzativnych glagolov*, pp. 89—93). In the Tuvan tongue, for instance, the causative form has two basic meanings: causative and passive. Similar aspects of the causative forms are described in the grammars of the Altaic, Khakas, Karakalpak and the Buriat and Manchu languages. Valuable observations are displayed on the comparative typological research of the English and Turkish language in the study of V. N. Jarceva (*Morfologizovannye i nemorfologizovannye značenija v raznostrukturnych jazykach*, pp. 191—199). Her major concern is the research on various verbal forms (active, passive, and reciprocal, etc.) and their syntactic phrases.

Data are supplied to the investigation of certain questions of Turkish syntax in A. Dilâçar's study. He discusses Turkish linguistic examples to analyze the special traits of linear (English, and French, etc.) and complexive (Turkish) sentence structure (*Zametki o sintaksise i grammatičeskich funkcijach v tureckom jazyke*, pp. 65—72).

A number of the authors deal with etymological and terminological problems. K. H. Menges thoroughly examines the connection between the Old Turkic word *idi* and its derivatives in Middle and Modern Turkic (*Tjurkskoe IdI 'gospodin', nekotorye ego refleksy v tjurkskich jazykach i paralleli v drugich jazykovych sem'jach*, pp. 101—110). The comparative historical method he adopted demanded the evaluation of relevant data from geographically remote language groups (Uralic, Indo-German, Dravidic, Sino-Tibetan, and Korean, etc.). I. G. Dobrodomov considers the similer «*aki borove*» of the old Russian annals Turkism, precisely the equivalent of the Old Turkic *burča* «kak tuči (pyli)» (*Zagadočnaja parallel': bur* (*bor*) *orchonskich runičeskich nadpisej i borъ* (< **bъrъ*) «*Povesti vremennych let*», pp. 241—246). I. M. Oranskij's view is presented on the history of the Tadjik word *qumoč* (< Turkic *kömäč*) «chleb, lepeška» and the word *nān* «chleb» of Persian origin existing in several central Asian Turkic languages, on the basis of reliable ethnographical and linguistic data (*Ob odnoj irano-tjurkskoj semantičeskoj paralleli*, pp. 121—125). The article of K. Rédei—A. Róna—Tas throws light on the remote relatives of the Zyryen and Votyak *kušman* 'redis', so far regarded as Churvash in origin (*Ob odnom agrikuľturnom termine v jazykach srednego Povolž'ja*, pp. 142—145). They hold that the word was not originally Turkic in the Chuvash language either. Its equivalent in the Volga Bulgar language, *χŭšman*, can have been the borrowing of the Proto-Vogul word *qoćman* ~ *χoćman*, but it is not unlikely that the Old Hungarian counterpart of *hagyma* «luk; luk-porej» was borrowed. N. A. Baskakov elaborates the etymology of the words *kogan*, *bojarin*, *bylja*, *saltan*, *čaga*, *koščej*, *kur* and *kotora* (*Tjurkizmy — socialnaja terminologija v Slove o polku Igoreve*, pp. 225—243). The author also touches upon the problem of the interrelation of the words *qan* and *qaγan*. — Former Kāšγarī translations and editions gave the meaning of some words incorrectly.

The correction of one of them *qaq*, was executed by A. Rustamov (*Machmud Kašgarskij o slovach s zvukovoj oboločkoj qaq* pp. 146—147). On the basis of some terms expressing relations on the female line (Old Turkic *tayaj*, *inijigün*, Kirgiz *togončor*, etc.) S. M. Abramzon assumes that the old Turkic society retained some traits of matrilocal marriage, although these features express a former stage of development in the family status (*O nekotorych terminach rodstva v tjurkskich jazykach*, pp. 204—207). The 20,000-line «Divan» of Kady Burchaneddin from 1393 has far-reaching consequences for the research of the Azerbaijan language. V. I. Aslanov cites words now extinct in the Azerbaijan or words whose meaning differs from today's usage (*Iz nabljudenij nad leksikoj Divana Kady Burchaneddina*, pp. 221—224). A. P. Grigor'ev headlights the precise meaning of the term *kubčir* (*Nalogovyj termin kubčir*, pp. 235—240). The word *kubčir* reached the empire of the Ilkhans to denote a special kind of taxation. According to the researchers of the Chingisid diplomas the position of Barthold is justified as *kubčir* might have denoted any kind of direct tax levied on agriculture and animal husbandry. The institutions of slavery in the Ottoman empire, particularly one of its forms, *penčik*, is described by A. D. Novičev (*Penčik, K istorii rabstva v osmanskoj imperii*, pp. 305—312).

The second section of the volume holds studies on the general problems of turcology. It includes the article of J. Németh entitled *K voprosu ob avarach* (pp. 298—304) dealing with the language of the Pannonian Avars, the origin of the ethnonym *Avar* and the question of the pseudo-Avars. The sporadic records on the language of the European Avars all refer to the Turkic nature of their tongue (*Qağan Bajan*, *Qatum*, *Tarhan* (*Tarqan*), *Tudun*, *Kök*, *Solaq*, etc.). J. Németh then analyses the ethnonyms *bulgar*, *suvar*, *avšar*, and, *čăvaš* at great length.

Some of the studies discuss the problems of runic inscriptions. In examining the dialects of Turk runic records, Ê. R. Tenišev finds that the language of the runic inscriptions is a mixed dialect of Oghuz and Uigur, also constituting the first literary standard in the history of the Turkic tongues (*O naddialektnom charaktere jazyka tjurkskich runičeskich pamjatnikov*, pp. 164—172). Both poetical, rhetorical, legal and everyday terms are characteristic of it. S. G. Kljaštornyj presents the new interpretation and translation of two formerly discovered runic documents (*Stely Zolotogo ozera* (*K datirovke jenisejskich runičeskich pamjatnikov*, pp. 258—267). He dwells on the date and circumstances of the death of Bars-beg (by his dignitary name *ïnanču Alp*) mentioned on the steles found around the Altïn-köl. Thomsen, Kljaštornyj and others hold the view that Bögü-kağan and P'o-chü, known from Chinese sources, are identical figures. R. Giraud refuted their position. M. Mori confirms the latter view, stating that the identity of Bögü-kagan is still obscure (*Begju-kagan i Pocjuj*, pp. 284—290). The new phase of archaeology gave momentum to the research into runic records. E. Tryjarski draws attention to some fundamental problems of methodology by referring to the errors of previous research findings (*Ešče raz o metodike izdanija runičeskich nadpisej*, pp. 325—333).

P. Zieme presents a part of Suvarnaprabhāsa and its translation (*O vtoroj glave sutry Zolotoj blesk*, pp. 341—347). This section had not been related to the Suvarnaprabhāsa before, despite the fact that the major part of this section is included in its first book. Examining the literary qualities of the quatrains of Kāšğarī, I. V. Stebleva points out that the original sequence of these quatrains can be reconstructed (*K analizu tipa povestvovanija v poetičeskich tekstach iz «Divan lugat at-turk» Machmuda al-Kašgari*, pp. 319—324). The reconstruction completed, we can become acquainted with the original Turkic poems, whose stanzas Kāšğarī

used to illustrate grammatical events. Reconstruction is made possible by the fact that the poetical words of the «Divan» retained the archaic narrative style familiar from old Turkic texts. Under the direction of A. N. Kononov, E. I. Fazylov and his student M. T. Zijaeva are preparing the new edition of *Kitab al-Tuḥfa*,a significant Mameluk—Kipchak document. This volume is to contain an introduction the translation of the text, a glossary, a grammatical index and the facsimile of the record. E. I. Fazylov gives a short survey on the specific morphological devices of the given text (*Zamečanija o rukopisi i jazyke «At-tuhfa»*, 334—340). E. N. Nadžip thoroughly discusses the copies of *Nahǰ al-farādis*, their editions and authenticity (*Ob avtore i date sozdanija pamjatnika XIV veka «Nachdž al-faradis»*, pp. 291—297). On the basis of analyzing all the variants, he can conclude that the author of the book was Mahmūd bin ʿAlī, who completed his work on January 21, 1358. The copy of Jalta was made in 1389/1390, the copy of Istanbul in 1360. N. Korogly compares the personal names occurring in *Šeǰere-i terākime* and Kitāb-i *Dede Korkut* (*«Rodoslovnaja turkmen» Abulgazi i oguzskij epos*, pp. 268—273). He correctly assumes that the characters with names that are similar are not always identical, and their role is not identical. The eleven pairs of names listed also bear out this assumption (e.g. *Ayna* ~ *Ayna-Melek*, *Kutlï Kayalï* ~ *Kutlu-melek*, *Olaš* ~ *Ulaš*, etc.). There are, however, personal names, whose reference to a single character is unambiguous (e.g. *Bayïndïr*, *Kazan* (*Salor-Kazan*), *Korkut*, etc.). A corollary point should be made concerning the personal name *Olaš* ~ *Ulaš*. Similarly to the personal name *Bayïndïr*, which occurs both as a tribal and a clan name, data could be brought forth to confirm the occurrence of the personal name *Ulaš* in tribal and clan names: in 1185, the name of a Coman tribe is *Ulaš*(eviči); in 1328—29 a clan of the Hungarian Comans is called *Olaas* (read *Olāš*); in the 16th century, a clan of the Bayındır tribe around the Tarsus bore the name *Ulaš*, and one of the Jürük clans around Osmaniye in Çukurova is called by the same name today (cf. L. Rásonyi, *Kuman Özel Adları: Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* (Ankara) III—IV—V—VI (1966—1969), pp. 135—136; L. Rásonyi, *Les anthroponymes comans de Hongrie*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX, 1967, p. 144).

The specific features of the Middle Asian Turkic literary language of the 15th—16th centuries are examined by G. F. Blagova (*O sootnošenijach prozaičeskogo i poetičeskogo variantov sredneaziatsko-tjurkskogo literaturnogo-pis'mennogo jazyka XV — načala XVI v (k postanovke voprosa)*, pp. 27—36). She is of the opinion that it is necessary to revise the position, firmly established in the last century, which claims that Nevāī was the only person who fought for the literary application of his mother tongue. A worthy and eminent disciple, Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, followed in his track and accomplished what the great poet had initiated.

Questions of literary history related to the first half of the 19th century are explored by M. P. Alekseev and E. I. Maštakova. M. P. Alekseev reveals an intricate puzzle of literary history (*Francuzskaja poema* 1836 *g. o «kirgizach» i ee avtor*, pp. 208—220). It comes to light that the actual author of a poem published in Paris in 1836 (C. Clairmont, *Vladimir et Zara ou les Kirgiuses. Poème en quatre chants*) was Hermenn-Hristian Gambs, who combined Russian and English literary traditions in his work. The geographical and personal names in the poem and the details providing information about the everyday life of the Khazaks testify to the assumption that the author wrote of personal experience. Maštakova outlines the Turkish literary and domestic political scene of the early 1800s through the analysis of Izzet Molla's (1785—1829) work entitled *Mihnetkeşan* (*«Stradanija v Kešane» Izzeta Molly*, pp. 274—283). Interpreting the beginnings of Turkish political

poster design, A. D. Želtjakov asserts that the germs of this significant means of mass political agitation date back to the cartoons of newspapers in the last quarter of the 19th century (*K istorii vozniknovenija političeskogo plakata v Turcii*, pp. 247—257). The journalistica ctivity of the early 20th century «westerners», primarily that of Tüccar-zade Ibrahim Hilmi, is surveyed by J. A. Petrosjan (*Iz istorii tureckoj publicistiki v načale XX veka*, pp. 313—138).

Two of the studies deal with science historical questions. M. Z. Zakiev assigns a place to the turcological school of Kazan in the framework of the history of Russian Turkic studies (*Kazanskaja škola tjurkologov i grammatiki na tatarskom jazyke (konec XIX i načalo XX v.)*, pp. 73—78). In the second half of the 19th century, Tatar scholars also joined the investigation of the Tatar language; the eminent figures were K. Nasyrov, G. Ibragimov and others besides Gabdulgalljam Fejzchanov, the author of the first grammar book written in the Tatar language (1887).

A major advance in the Russian—Hungarian orientalistic connections also became steady in the second half of the last century. This development is confirmed by about 800 letters addressed to Hungarian linguists by Russian scholars, now kept in the archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. S. Kakuk selected 19 Radloff letters, which are of special interest in Turkic studies (*W. Radloff's Briefe an ungarische Gelehrte*, pp. 348—358). These letters exhaustively confirm his major role in international oriental studies and the fruitful influence of his personality, academic and organizing activity on Hungarian linguistics and turcology.

To summarize, it can be said that the volume in honour to. A. N. Kononov is worthy of the eminent scholar and adequately represents Soviet turcological researches.

Imre Baski

S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* III. *The Family*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1978. 8° pp. XXI + 522 (University of California Press).

Before our very eyes the glorious palace rises higher and higher: Professor Goitein's four-storey monument is fadeless. The third, penultimate, volume is devoted to the family. No detail escapes his attention.

Respect for the forefathers was very much alive among mediaeval Jewry; this showed itself even in such matters as the giving of names. Today grandchildren are named after grandparents who have died. In the classical period of the Geniza, however, the first-born could be given the name of a grandparent even if the latter were alive. Nor was it unknown for a son to bear the same name as his father.

Among surnames there appears *Saghir* (Arabic) and *Kujik* (Persian), which mean 'little'. This, too, is the meaning of the Hispano—Roman *Chicatella* borne by the Spanish Jews of this period. Place-names and occupations also provided sources of family names.

It was frequently the case that uncles married their nieces, and the marriage of cousins was also frequent.

The author quotes Z. W. Falk's observation that the wedding ceremony in the synagogue is strongly reminiscent of the 7th century Nestorians' marriage ceremony. There is an important chapter on the marriage contract (the *ketubba*), which draws on M. A. Friedman's manuscript work on the subject. The oldest illustrated marriage contract (p. 449/57), now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is described in the reviewer's article in the *M. Wallenstein Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem 1979), pp. 67—69.

Weddings took place towards the end of the week (Wednesday or Thursday), to give time for the father to return from his commercial trips. Tuesday, which is now fashionable in orthodox circles, is a later development.

The economic background of the marriages is excellently brought out in the appendix.

Polygamy in the East in the Geniza period was certainly the custom, but it could only take place with the consent of the first wife. There is a document concerning such a case in the Kaufmann Geniza (A. Scheiber: *Acta Or. Hung.* XVII [1964], pp. 220—224.).

Mixed marriage among Muslims, Christians, and Jews, was possible only after conversion.

The wife — house symbol (p. 164) deserves a linguistic monograph to itself. The house-shape of the bride's ring is an artistic realization of this symbol (see most recently M. Berger—W. Häusler—E. Lessing, *Judaica. Die Sammlung Berger*, Wien —München 1979, No. 77.).

There are some poetic pages on the Jewish husband's love for his wife; yet there are some wifely complaints, in the lower social classes, about being beaten by one's husband (p. 184). The husband makes arrangements to ensure that his family is looked after while he is away on business. There are, however, occasions when he is away for years, giving rise to countless legal problems.

Parents and children were very close to one another. The son is the father's pride and joy: for *ben* ('son') they often wrote *hamud* ('delight'). Congratulations are offered when a son is born. On such an occasion in 1057, a valuable family Bible was given (p. 226). A grown-up child visits his mother before a holy-day; if he does not, he apologises. One son writes to his father in Aden (the latter is in the Arab port on his way home from India): You are the light. If you are not with us, how can we live?

Divorce was very frequent. The oldest letter of divorce is from Jerusalem and dated 872/3 (p. 260).

Although provision was made for orphans and they were cared for, there are many pleas in the Geniza from fatherless children and their mothers.

The final chapter surveys the world of the married woman. They performed other work besides housework: they could take part in business life (in property and financial matters). They could personally take matters to court. They often travelled for family reasons, to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, and they could accompany their husbands on their commercial travels. Women visited the synagogue, the baths, the bazaars, their relatives, and the sick. We have a more detailed account of the life of two independent women: one was a teacher, the other a tradeswoman.

Of their inner life we know little. They certainly read and write, but not a single autograph letter definitely written by a woman is extant. There are no Hebrew poetesses or female story-tellers. But Professor Goitein notes: «The Geniza woman was not the slave of her household. She had a life beyond her family.»

Let us add a few comments on specific matters, if only to show with what careful attention the book has been read.

P. 358. The name of the «Gaon» has been definitively established by the reviewer on the basis of T.S. A.S. 146. 30. This is Abraham b Isaac Netira (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIII, 1979, pp. 113—119).

P. 447/11. On this, see A. Marmorstein, 'The Jewish Blessing of Virginity' in *JJS.* I, 1948/49, pp. 33—34. Marmorstein does not cite I. Davidson's rich literature: *Thesaurus.* II. p. 63. No. 1433.

P. 478/117. Further examples of the kissing of the eye in the mediaeval period may be found in I. Löw, *Studien zur jüdischen Folklore.* Hildesheim—New York, 1975. p. 42.

P. 493/107. On the Baradani brothers see most recently A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXX, 1976, pp. 341—349.

P. 507/217. In a Hebrew-Arabic booklist in Leningrad the reviewer found the title of Harun al-Rashid (Ant. 349). This too is likely to originate ultimately from the Thousand and One Nights.

Professor Goitein dedicated the second volume to the memory of his mother; this

third one is dedicated to that of his father, Dr. Eduard E. Goitein, whom he lost at the age of 14. Professor Goitein cites him, too, in a note (p. 478/115). This is a moving example of filial piety in our time; it is only with such sensitivity as this that it is possible to penetrate the past and put one's finger on the pulse of bygone ages.

The work will be the handbook of every mediaevalist, general historian, and historian of culture.

A. Scheiber

An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles. Volume One. Part 2. General editor A. M. GHATAGE, Poona 1977, pp. 217—504. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.

The second part of volume one of the monumental work which following the first fasciculus containing the general principles of redaction as well as the vocabulary running up to *akṣināśana*[1] covers the items beginning with *akṣināsāntara* and concluding with *aṅká*.

The presentation of the lexical material comprised in this part practically corresponds with the theoretical and practical deals fully explained in the previous volume and the structure of the single word headings also do not differ from the already published ones.

I can speak of some items only in terms of highest praise and admiration for instance the set up of the word *agnī* which incorporates both the modern etymological explanations and the traditional ones and gives not less than 29 primary meanings richly documented by the attested linguistic evidence taken from the chronologically arranged sources. The recording of data occupies 10 pages of two columns!

A brilliant example how the dictionary informs us in the case of homonyms like *agniṣṭhá* m. 1. «the central (i.e. 11th of the 21 sacrifical posts) standing nearest to the (*Āhavanīya*) fire» 2. «a frying pan (made of iron)». n. 1. «a cart standing near the *Āhavanīya* (fire), a cart on which the fires are placed of the time of going on a journey».

The terms of social meaning preserved in the inscriptional evidence got a very lucid treatment (*agra-hāra*) and contain proper reference to the bibliographical details. This type of information will surely be immensely helpful also to scholars other than linguists.

One can hardly recognize inconsequences in the word headings. I would only mention a minor question which occasionally hurts me. Though the etymology of the vocables was beyond the scope of the present undertaking, the editors sometimes inserted a short reference to the origin of the given word: *agni* IE, and at the same time they forgot to indicate the alleged non-Aryan origin of such words like *agāra*. I have the strong hope we shall be pleased by the release of the following volumes in the years to come.

Gyula Wojtilla

MARGARET CONE and RICHARD F. GOMBRICH, *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara. A Buddhist Epic. Translated from the Pali and Illustrated by Unpublished Paintings from Sinhalese Temples*, Oxford 1977, XLVII, 111 p. 5 colour plates, 40 monochrome plates. Clarendon Press.

The publication of the English translation of *Vessantarajātaka* with a scholarly written introduction, critical notes on the text, and beautiful pictures taken from Srī Lankā is a cause for celebration among the specialists and the lay people looking for the knowledge of Buddhism and especially for the tradition pf Theravāda Buddhism.

Although the *Vessantarajātaka* belongs to the collection of *Jātakas* or birth-stories of Buddha this composition embodying

[1] See my review in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXII (1978), pp. 120—122.

786 stanzas constitutes an independent epical poem. The ideas reflected in the poem are close to the nucleous part of Buddhist teaching, this is a monument of self-renunciation and mirror of Buddhist humanism. This circumstance made the *Vessantarajātaka* the most popular literary work of Theravāda Buddhism which was translated from the Pali version into the local languages of South East Asia. This is still a compulsory subject of study in the schools of that countries, its influence can be measured only with that of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian world.

The present English translation is masterly done and truly gives back the elementary thoughts of the original and at the same time it makes us feel the beauties of this gem of Buddhist literature.[1] The students of Buddhism must be thankful for the detailed introduction throwing a fresh light on the Pali, Sanskrit, etc. versions and the spreading over of the work in South East Asia.

This discussion of the text is completed with the short, however, very informative sketch on Sinhalese painting. The most remarkable period of this art is called *Kandyan* flourished after 1753 and gradually declined after 1815. It can be characterised as follows: the style is strictly linear, »rigid conventions govern the use of colour», «the human figure tends to be slim, even elongated, and is often shown making some eloquent gesture» (pp. XLV—XLVI).

Appendix one provides us with the translation of «the long description of the forest» which is not of the interest of the common reader rather of the specialist since here the translator hands over a philologically accurate rendering accompanied with the utmost precise interpretation of flora and fauna. The translation was based on the Pali text edited by Fausboll[2]. The serious textual criticism made by Professor Alsdorf did inevitable to include some emendations. These can be seen in *Appendix two*.

The illustrations collected during Dr Gombrich's field work are of different origin: rurals, plastered rock, cloth-painting, popular print, postage stamp, mass produces batik, cover of book and show the deep influence of the story on Sinhalese art and culture.

The volume is a remarkable exhibition of oriental scholarship, the printing and binding praise the publishing house.

Gyula Wojtilla

[1] *Vessantara Jātaka*, transl. by W. H. D. Rouse in: The *Jātaka* vol. VI. transl. by E. B. Cowel and W. H. D. Rouse (Cambridge 1907), pp. 246—305 is outdated and its stylistical merits are low.

Chrestomathie der Sanskritliteratur von Klaus Mylius. Leipzig 1978, 287 p. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie.

The publication of this chrestomathy is a major event in the Indological studies in the GDR and broadly speaking in Europe since together with the Sanskrit—German dictionary of the same author and the Sanskrit grammar by Professor W. Morgenroth there is a solid basis for modern Sanskrit teaching in the German speaking countries.

The aim of the book being to give, as far as possible, a comprehensive picture of the various branches of Sanskrit, hymns from *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, selected texts from *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads* and *Sūtras*, reasonable excerpts from *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as from the *Purāṇas*, nice collection from the narrative literature, lyrics and drama and also the scientific literature: *Dharmaśāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Rājatarańgiṇī*, *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, *Kāmasūtra* and Buddhist Sanskrit text too.

The text given in Latin transliteration was a painstaking work. Professor Mylius has done a great service to the cause of Sanskrit studies.

Gyula Wojtilla

[2] *Jātaka*. vol. VI. ed. by V. Fausbøll (London 1896), pp. 479—596.

Älteste indische Dichtung und Prosa. Vedische Hymnen, Legenden, Zauberlieder, philosophische und ritualistische Lehren. Herausgegeben von KLAUS MYLIUS. Verlag Philipp Reclam, Leipzig 1978, 268 S.

Das kleine Buch enthält Lesestücke aus einem langen und literaturgeschichtlich außerordentlich farbigen Zeitraum zwischen 1200 v.u.Z.– 6. Jh. v.u.Z. Diese Periode ist grössenteils aus den Sanskrit (d.h. vedischen) Urkunden erkennbar, welche eine Reihe von Schwierigkeiten eben für den Fachmann bilden und haben keine oder schwer erreichbare deutsche Übersetzungen.

Prof Mylius, einer der besten Spezialisten dieses Zeitalter, gab einen sorgfältigen, reichen Auswahl von *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, *Kena-Upaniṣad*, *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*, *Maitrāyaṇī-Upaniṣad*, *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra*, *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra*. Von dieser Literatur tat sich eine eigentümliche Welt vor dem Gemeinleser auf: die Hymnen des *Ṛgveda* an machtvollen Götter, man kann plötzlich die Gemütstimmung des Reiches des Aberglauben und der Magie des *Atharvaveda* fühlen, eine Bekanntschaft mit den ideologischen und technischen Aspekten des Opferrituals machen, die tiefsinnigen Gedanken der *Upaniṣaden* ahnen und gelegentlich auch die Schönheit der lyrischen Kompositionen erfinden. Alles zu illustrieren möchte ich ein Zauberlied des *Atharvaveda* hinstellen. *Atharvaveda* I. 14. lautet:

(Verfluchung einer Nebenbuhlerin)

1. Ihren Anteil, den Glanz habe ich genommen wie vom Baum den Kranz. Wie ein tiefgegröndeter Berg soll sie lange bei den Vätern sitzen.
2. Dieses Mädchen, o König, soll herabgeschüttelt werden als deine Braut, o Yama ! Gebunden sei sie an das Haus der Mutter und an das des Bruders und an das des Vaters.
3. Diese ist deine Haushüterin, o König, wir übergeben sie dir. Lange soll sie bei den Vätern sitzen, bis zum Bedecken des Kopfes.
4. Mit des Asita, des Kaśyapa und des Gaya Zauberspruch verschliesse ich wie Geschwister den Inhalt eines Kastens deinen Anteil.

Die Übersetzungen sind philologisch überzeugend und die deutsche Nachdichtung ist auch wertvoll. Der Fachmann sollte die Übersetzung aus *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* welche erstenmal von Prof. Mylius ins Deutsch übertragen worden ist, besonders warm begrüssen.

Das Nachwort dient zur einen Einleitung in die Literaturgeschichte und hilft den Leser um ainigen Teilfragen nachzugehen.

Dieser schöne Band wird eine Grosse Freude für die Liebhaber der indischen Kultur machen und es ist sehr nützlich für die Fachmänner als Historiker, Ethnologen und Gelehrter der vergleichenden Literatur-wissenschaft.

Die Veröffentlichung des Buches folgt die beste Tradition des Verlag Philipp Reclan nach und leistet einen bedeutenden Vorschub dem Austäusch der Kultursätze zwischen Indien und den deutschsprachigen Ländern.

Gyula Wojtilla

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TWO HUNGARIAN VERBS OF OLD TURKIC ORIGIN

BY

I. MÁNDOKY KONGUR

bír

The verb *bír* implied the following major denotations in the Old Hungarian language: 1. after 1372/ around 1448: 'besitzen | haben'; 2. around 1456: 'beherrschen'; 3. around 1476: 'unterwerfen'; 4. 1527: 'verschaffen'; 5. before 1529: 'veranlassen'; 6. 1531: 'ertragen'; 7. 1568: 'zu etwas fähig sein | imstande sein' (*A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [in the following: TESz.] I, Budapest 1967, pp. 303—304), while the present meanings of the verb cover 1. 'van ereje ahhoz, hogy valamely terhet tartson, viseljen, hordjon, vagy valamit elviseljen, kiálljon' [have the strength to hold, bear, carry a burden, to endure or stand sg]; 'valamit elvégezzen, megcsináljon' [to carry out, to accomplish sg]; 'képessége, ereje van (valamit végezni vagy fizetni)' [have the ability or strength to do sg or to pay]; 'képes valamire, győzi' [be able, capable to do sg]; 2. 'kellő ereje, hatalma van ahhoz, hogy valakit vagy valamit megfékezzen, féken tartson, vezessen, irányítson, fegyelmezzen, vele megbirkózzék, vagy valakit rávegyen valamire, valakit arra késztessen, hogy tegyen valamit' [have sufficient strength, power to bridle, restrain, lead, direct, discipline, overcome sy or sg, to induce, force sy to do sg]; 3. 'valakit vagy valamit valamely módon hatalmában, birtokában tart, birtokol' [keep sy or sg in one's power or possession, to possess]; '(valamely testrészét) tudja használni, mozgatni, tud neki parancsolni' [can use, move, control (a part of the body)]; 'valamivel mint (anyagi vagy szellemi) tulajdonával rendelkezik' [have disposal over a (material or spiritual) thing]; 4. 'valakit, valamit el tud szenvedni, kiállhat' [can suffer or stand sy or sg] (*A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* [in the following: ÉrtSz.] I, Budapest 1959, p. 624). The meanings of the abundant verbal and nominal derivatives of the verb *bír* can be traced back to the denotations of the basic verb.

Several scholars unsuccessfully attempted to define the etymology of the verb. Gábor Bálint considered the Hungarian verb *bír* of Mongolian origin, and compared it to a Mongolian verb that he spelled as *bari-* or *beri-* 'megfog, elvesz, tart, birtokol' [take, get, hold, own]; 'emel, megért, behat a dologba' [lift, comprehend, influence sg] (*Párhuzam a magyar és mongol nyelv terén*, Budapest 1877, p. 3). His hypothesis failed both from a semantic and from a

morphological-phonological point of view. Scholars in his wake were no more successful either. Bernát Munkácsi related the verb to the Vogul verb *pērm-* 'dulden, ertragen, überwinden, überwältigen' and traced both back to Indo-iranian origin (*Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* I, Budapest 1901, p. 163). H. Paasonen also searched for the counterparts of the Hungarian verb in Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages, and added to the above quoted Vogul verb other Vogul verbs of diverse form and meaning: *vērm-* 'vermögen' and *verit-* 'ertragen, aushalten', and also Zyryan *vermy-* 'können, vermögen, Kraft haben, überwinden', Votyak *vormi-* 'id.', and Samoyedic *pir'au, pire'au* 'einer Sache gewachsen sein, können', *piretau, pirepiu* 'id.' (*Beiträge zur finnischugrisch-samojedischen Lautgeschichte*: KSz. XIV, p. 64). Zoltán Gombocz and János Melich also compared the verb in question to the Vogul *pērm-*, although they voiced their doubts concerning this etymology, owing to certain phonological difficulties (*Magyar etymologiai szótár* I, Budapest 1914, p. 409). Although Géza Bárczi referred to both the Ugric and the Finno-Ugric origin, eventually he declared the verb of «uncertain and debated origin», because the Ugric etymology encountered «grave», the Finno-Ugric «even graver» phonological difficulties (*Magyar szófejtő szótár*, Budapest 1941, p. 20). The latest comprehensive etymological encyclopaedia of the Hungarian language firmly holds the origin of the verb *bír* unknown and the Ugric and Finno-Ugric etymologies to be incorrect (TESz. I, p. 304). No one ever thought of tracing the verb back to other, e.g. Germanic, Slavic, Romanian or Turkic languages.

The above etymologies of the Hungarian verb *bír*, deriving it from the Mongolian, Indoiranian, Uralic, Finno-Ugric or the Ugric tongues, are all at fault concerning semantics, morphology and phonology, consequently they should be disregarded when searching for the roots of this verb. The Turkic languages alone can yield clues concerning the etymology of the verb. The hypothesis, originating the verb *bír* in the Turkic tongues, is outlined in the following section.

The Hungarian verb *bír* is of Turkic origin and belonged to Turkic loan words of the period prior to the Hungarian conquest (9th—10th centuries). An Old Turkic verb was taken over by the Hungarian language, i.e. **buyur-*, perhaps **bïyur-* or **bïyïr-* 'to command, order; to prescribe, define; to induce, force, persuade; to rule over sy or sg, have sy or sg in one's power; to commission, entrust sg to sy's care; to give, grant, ordain', cf.: Karakh. Kāšġ., QB *buyur-* 'prikazyvať', povelevať' (DTS 121); Rabġ. *buyur-* 'prikazyvať' (Mal. 374) | Tefs. *buyur-* 'prikazyvať, povelevať' (Bor. 110), Quṭb, NeFe. *buyur-* 'prikazyvať, predpisyvať, veleť' (Faz. 273), Muḥ. *buyur-* 'prikazyvať' (Nadž. 176) | Cum. CC *buyur-* 'befehlen, dekretieren' (Grönb. 67), Mam.-Kip. AḤ *buyurdï* 'emretti' (Caf. 24), BM *buyur-* 'rozkazywać' (Zaj. 48), LA *buyur-* 'befehlen' (Houtsma 65), 'veleť, prikazyvať' (Kuryš. 101), TZ *buyur-* 'buyurmak' (Atalay 159), Qaw. *buyur-* 'befehlen' (Tel. 307), SSar. *buyur-* 1. 'to,

command, order'; 2. 'to say' (Bodr. 236), IM *buyur-* 1. 'emretmek'; 2. 'öne, yukarı geçmek' (Battal 22); Arm.-Kip. *buyur-* 'rozkazywać; ordonner (Tryj. 172), *boyur-* ~ *buyur-* 'prikazaťʼ (Grun. 388) || Crim. Tat. *buyur-* 'befehlen'; 'reden' (Radl. IV, 1811), Dobr. Tat. *buyur-* 'to order, command', Kar. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ, povelevaťʼ; 2. 'soblagovoljaťʼ, soizvoljaťʼ (KRPS 1974., 138), Nog. *buyïr-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ; 2. 'poručaťʼ (NRS 1963., 90), Kum. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ, veleťʼ, povelevaťʼ, rasporjažaťsja'; 2. 'zakazyvaťʼ (KuRS 1969., 88), Krch.-Balk. *buyur-* 'veleťʼ, povelevaťʼ, predpisaťʼ, prikazaťʼ, rasporjadiťsja' (RKarBalS 1965., 59, 425, 470, 480, 533), Kaz. Tat. *boyor-* 'befehlen' (Bál. 161), *boyïr-* 'prikazyvaťʼ, prikazaťʼ; povelevaťʼ, veleťʼ, poveleťʼ; predpisyvaťʼ, predpisaťʼ (TaRS 1966., 76), Bashk. *boyor-* 'prikazyvaťʼ, prikazaťʼ, predpisyvaťʼ, predpisaťʼ *čto komu*, poveleťʼ *komu* '(BRS 1958., 105), Kkalp. *buyïr-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ; 2. 'prednaznačaťʼ; 'poručaťʼ (KkRS 1958., 120), Kzk. *buyïr-* 'prikazyvaťʼ; rasporjadiťsja *o čëm-l.*' (KaRS 1954., 113), 'buyrïq berüw, ämir etüw, žarlïq qïluw; näsip boluw, ïrzïq etüw, paydasïn, qïzïğïn körüwʼ (QTTS 1976., II, 499), Kirg. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ, zakazyvaťʼ; 2. 'prednaznačaťʼ, predopredeljaťʼ (to, čto suždeno)' (KiRS 1965., 165) | Uzb. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ, predpisyvaťʼ, veleťʼ; 2. 'naznačaťʼ, propisyvaťʼ; 3. 'zakazyvaťʼ (*čto-l.*)'; 4. 'otpravljaťʼ (*kogo-l. kuda-l.*); veleťʼ (*komu-l.*) poechaťʼ (*kuda-l.*)' (URS 1959., 92—93), Uig. Mod. *buyru-* 1. 'povelevaťʼ, prikazyvaťʼ, predpisyvaťʼ; 2. 'zakazyvaťʼ (UigRS 1968., 223) | Alt. Tel. *puyur-* 'befehlen, entscheiden, bestimmen, ein Urteil fällen, festsetzen, auftragen' (Radl. IV, 1363) | Turkm. *buyur-* 1. 'veleťʼ, prikazyvaťʼ; 2. 'zakazyvaťʼ, poručaťʼ (TuRS 1968., 122), Azerb. *buyur-* 'veleťʼ (RAS 1971., 122), Gag. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ; povelevaťʼ; 2. 'priglašaťʼ prosiťʼ; 3. 'ugoščaťʼ, potčevaťʼ (GRMS 1973., 95), Osm. *buyur-* 1. 'prikazyvaťʼ, povelevaťʼ; 2. 'soizvoliťʼ, okazaťʼ česťʼ, požalovaťʼ (skazaťʼ, prijti, vojti, vzjaťʼ i. t. p.)'; 3. *upotr. kak vspom. glagol vmesto glagola* «etmek», *vyražaet vežlivosťʼ* (TRS 1977., 136) | Chuv. *pŭr* 'prednaznačaťʼ, predopredeljaťʼ (o suďbe)' (ČRS 1961., 300).

As the data indicate, the verb *buyur-* occurs in almost every Old and Modern Turkic language. Its derivative noun *buyruq* ~ *buyrïq*, formed with the *-(u)q* deverbal suffix, is just as frequent, actually data on this derivative date back to considerably earlier times than records on the basic verb *buyur-*. To quote only the most significant old data:

OT Runic KT *buyruq* 'prikaznyj (t i t u l i d o l ž n o s ť)' (DTS 121); Uig. Runic Su. *buyruq* 'id.' (op. cit.); OT Runic BQ *ič buyruq*, *ič buyruqï beg* 'titul, dolžnostnoe lico' (DTS 201); Uig. AY, Tis. *buryuq* 'prikaznyj (t i t u l i d o l ž n o s ť)' (DTS 125) | Karakh. Kāšġ. *bïruq* 'Oberhofmeister' (Brock. 36), 'teşrifatçı, hakanın yanına, aşamasına göre büyükleri alan ve yer gösteren adamın adı' (Atalay I, 378); | Khwar. Quṭb *buyruq* 'rozkaz' (Zaj. 186), Tefs. *buyruq* 'prikazanie; prikaz' (Bor. 110) | Cum. CC *buyuruq*, *buyruḫ* 'Befehl, Vorschrift, Gebot' (Grönb. 68) | Mam.-Kip. AḤ *buyruq* 'ferman, emir' (Caf.

24), BM *buyruq* 'ordre, commandement' (ZAJ. 14), LA *buyuruq* 'Befehl' (HOUTSMA 65), *buyruq* 'prikaz, rasporjaženie' (KURYŠ. 101), Qaw. *buyruq* 'Befehl' (TEL. 307), SSar. *buyruq* 'command', *buyruq iyäsi* 'judge' (BODR. 236) | Arm.-Kip. *buyruḫ* 'ordre' (TRYJ. 171), *buyruḫ et-* 'ordonner' (DENY, Eph. 48), 'ordonner, régner, dominer' (TRYJ. 172), *buyruḫči* 'vices gerens' (DENY, Eph. 48), *buyruḫči, buruḫči* 'celui qui ordonne, prince, souverain' (TRYJ. 171) etc. These Turkic occurences reveal conspicuous similarities, even identity with the Hungarian word *bíró* 'Richter; am Herrscherhof oder an einer staatlichen Institution mit verfügender Gewalt ausgestattete Person; Steuermann; Schultheiß'. Hungarian scholars hold the view that the Hungarian word *bíró* is «the present participle of the verb *bír* formed with the *-ó* suffix and used as a noun. Its original meaning may have been 'possessing power'. A certain stage of civilisation established, a post of social leadership usually involved the right of dispensing judgement. Here are the roots of the 'ítélőbíró [judge] variant of the word, which became gradually dominant» (TESz. I, p. 305). The documents, however, do not disclose any old or present meaning of the verb *bír* that would entirely explain the meaning of the word *bíró*. On the other hand, as a derivative of the Turkic *buyur-* or *buyruq* etc. it can be analysed. Therefore, it is very likely that the Hungarian word *bíró* is not derived from the Hungarian verb *bír*, but arrived in the Hungarian vocabulary separately, via the borrowing of an Old Turkic **buyruq*, perhaps **bïyruq* or **bïruq*. (There is no room here to elaborate this issue at length; a further paper will headlight it.)

Both the semantic and the phonological aspect of the evolution of *bír* can be faultlessly explained on the basis of its Turkic etymon suggested above. The meanings listed previously indicate that the basic meaning was 'hold power over sg, have sg in one's power' (cf. TESz. I, p. 304), which accounts for the rest of the meanings, while also being the basic denotation of the Turkic equivalents. Not only the basic meanings coincide; some secondary meanings are similar as well, e.g. 'have disposal over sy or sg; rule over sy or sg; persuade, incite, force sy (to do sg), etc.' (see above).

The etymon of the word *bír* is thus assumed to have been the Old Turkic **buyur-*, or **bïyur-* or **bïyïr-* form (a bisyllabic word), although the Karakh. (Kāšġ.) form *bïruq* could allow for an inferred **bïr-* (i.e. monosyllabic) form, however, the long vowel of the Hungarian verb precludes this variation. Hypothesizing either of the forms **buyur-* or **bïyur-* or **bïyïr-* is justified, because the delabialisation of the labial vowel in the first syllable under the influence of the *b-* (and *-y-*) could have taken place either in the Hungarian or earlier in the Turkic language; cf. such pairs of words as: Hung. *bigyó* ~ *bogyó*, *bigyesz* ~ *bugyesz*, etc., and the Turkic, e.g. Kzk. *bulay* ~ *bïlay* 'so'; Kzk. *buġaw* ~ Dobr. Tat. *bïġaw* 'shackles'; Kzk. *bïyïl* 'this year' < *bu yïl*; Dobr. Tat. *bïyerde* ~ *biyerde* 'here, in this place' < *bu yerde* etc. If the **buyur-* form is assumed to have been borrowed, its development in the Hungarian

language took place as follows: first **bïyur-*, then **bïyïr- > *biyir- > bír*, written as *bír* in present day orthography. The same stages apply for **bïyur-* or **bïyïr-*, with one or two stages less respectively. Borrowing the Old Turkic form **bïyur-* seems to be most likely; this form is documented from very early times (cf. CLAUSON, *Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 387—8). The Russian *biríč*, *birjúč*, *bírcij* 'Ausrufer, Verkünder der Regierungsbefehle, Gerichtsdiener' (Old Russian *biričь*, Ukrainian *biryč*, Slovenian *birìč* 'Scherge, Gerichtsdiener', Czech *birič* 'Herold, Büttel', Upper Sorb *běrc*, *běric*, Lower Sorb *běric* 'Büttel, Gerichtsdiener'; cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, [Heidelberg 1953], p. 87) also appear to be the borrowing of a derivative of Old Turkic **bïyuruwčï* or **bïyïruwčï*. The hypothesis is further confirmed by the fact that the Hungarian word *bika* 'bull', whose Turkic counterparts usually bear the forms *buqa*, *buġa*, *boġa*, also developed from the Old Turkic **bïqa* (not **buqa*) (cf. TESz. I, p. 299). The assumed development of the form of the verb *bír* is then as follows: Old Turkic **bïyur- > *bïyïr- →* Hung. **bijir- > bír* (on the palatalization of the *ï*, the emission of intervocal *-y-*, and the lengthening of the two *i*'s cf.: Géza Bárczi, *Magyar hangtörténet*, Budapest 1958, pp. 61, 101, 136).

Nobody has defined the etymology of the Turkic verb *buyur-* to date, but the collection and organization of data have been accomplished (cf. Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969, p. 87; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, pp. 387—8). As the present study does not aim at defining the origin of the Turkic word, it is sufficient to only briefly outline the most probable etymological explanation. The Turkic verb *buyur-* may be the derivative of an ancient Turkic nomenverbum **buy* 'need, necessity; care, taking care; work, matter', and 'to be necessary, to be wanted; to think, to care for; to work, to labour' (cf. e.g.: Kirg. *buy* 'hozjajstvennye zaboty, žitejskie dela' KIRS 1965, p. 155]; Kzk. *buyïm* 'predmet potreblenija, vsjakaja obrabotannaja veščʹ ' [KARS 1954, p. 112]), formed with the *-(u)r* deverbal suffix (cf. M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1957, pp. 153—4), the original meaning of the verb probably being 'to look after sy, to warn, to discipline; to make sy work'. This latter meaning could have been the basis for the later 'have power over sy/sg; hold sy/sg in one's power', which, in turn, is the core of all the later meanings. (The etymology will be enlarged upon at length later.)

Apart from the Hungarian language, the Turkic verb *buyur-* was borrowed by the Cheremiss, its 2nd person singular imperative form by the Serbian, its derivatives *buyruq*, *buyuruwčï* etc. by the Persian, Arabic, some Caucasian languages, Vogul, Ostyak, Votyak and by a number of Slavic languages (cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 362—5).

tilt

Its meaning in the Old Hungarian was 1. around 1195: 'nicht erlauben | verbieten, untersagen'; 2. after 1372/ around 1118: 'fernhalten | zurückhalten' (TESz. III, p. 919); its present denotation is '(személy, illetve valamely erkölcsi vagy jogi szabály, szokás a maga hatalma vagy tekintélye alapján) azt parancsolja vagy sugallja, hogy ne tegyünk valamit' [(a person, or a moral or legal law or tradition — due to its power or authority) orders or suggests that sg should not be done] (ÉrtSz. VI [1962], p. 676). In searching for its origin, its form without the *-t* suffix, *til*, extinct in present usage, should be taken as the starting-point. On the basis of the Old Hungarian verbal derivatives or grammatical forms *tiluvt*, *tyloeek*, *tiloǵǵal*, *tylloth*, and the nominal derivatives *tilos*, *tilalom*, etc., scholars defined the old time meaning of *til* as 'sich einer Sache enthalten, zurückhalten', or 'verbieten' (cf.: TESz. III, p. 919). Although the latter meaning is highly hypothetical because almost all the data contradict it, it cannot be discarded until the final etymology of the verb *til* is clarified. Also Géza Bárczi was of the position that «for lack of knowledge on the etymology of the basic verb it is hardly possible to define» the meanings, notably «the etymology of *til* alone can yield the clue» to the definition of the meanings (see: Géza Bárczi, *Tilt*: *Magyar Nyelv* LXVII, pp. 70—71).

Although several scholars endeavoured to discover the origin of this word, no satisfying explanation has been put forward so far. Ármin Vámbéry, comparing the verb *tilt* to the Uig. *tït-* 'to forbid, to hinder', and to Chag. *tïy-* 'to forbid, hold back', was on the right track, but he failed to elaborate his superficial idea (see: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* VIII, p. 180). J. Budenz turned to different sources, searching for counterparts in Finno-Ugric languages: Finn *sulke* 'claudere, occludere, obstruere', Esthonian *sulge-*, *sulgu-* 'schließen, sperren, verstopfen, dämmen; verbieten, dämpfen, beruhigen', etc. (see: *Magyar—ugor összehasonlító szótár*, Budapest 1873—1881, p. 218), his hypothesis, however, is incorrect in the light of present knowledge on phonetic history. The explanation of Géza Bárczi is also unwarrantable, who derived the verb from a pronoun **to-* pointing to distance (*op. cit.*, pp. 71—73). All these attempts restrict the entry of TESz. to the following statement: the basic word of the family is «of non-evident origin» and adds that the basic word *til* «is perhaps identical with the root of the word *titok* ['Geheimnis; unerklärbare, rätselhafte Erscheinung'], i.e. *ti-*» (see: *op. cit.* III, p. 919), and although the word *titok* is also considered of unsettled origin, it «might» be related to Vogul *tujt-*, *tōjt-*, etc. 'to hide, keep secret', the latter having a relationship to Avesta (Zend) *tāya-* 'stealth', *taya* 'secret; thief; stealth' (cf.: *op. cit.* III, p. 927). (Surveying the advocated etymologies of the word *titok* is not the subject of this paper; a new hypothesis, altogether contradicting the earlier ones, will be put forward on another occasion.) As indicated above,

the briefly outlined etymological attempts have all failed, thus the origin of the word should be traced back to other sources.

The *til* root of the verb *tilt* is likely of Turkic origin and belongs to the Turkic loan words of the Hungarian vocabulary prior to the conquest. The most important Turkic counterparts are the following: Uig. Tiš. *tïd-* ~ *tïḏ-* 'zaderživať, uderživať', Med. 'ostanavlivať (krovotečenie)' (DTS 565—6) | Karakh. Kāšġ. *tïḏ-* 'hindern, vorenthalten' (Brock. 205), 'geri koymak, men etmek' (Atalay 120), *tïy-* 'hindern' (Brock. 206), 'men etmek' (Atalay 121), QB *tïd-* 1. 'zaderživať, uderživať'; 2. 'ograničivať' (DTS 565) Khwar. Quṭb *tïḏ-* 'powstrzymać, wstrzymać, przeszkodzić', *tïy-* 'powstrzymywać, wstrzymać' (Zaj. 192), NeFe. *tïy-* 'uderživať, sderživať' (Faz. II, 395) | Cum. CC *tïy-* 'hindern, zurückhalten' (Grönb. 261); Mam.-Kip. TZ *tïy-* 'geciktirmek' (Atalay 257), SSar. *tïy-* 'to keep back, stop' (Bodr. 400), IM *tïy-* 'yasak etmek, menetmek' (Battal 73); Arm.-Kip. (*tïy-*), *tiy-* 'refuser résilier' (Deny, Eph. 75) | Dobr. Tat. *tïy-* 'to keep back, stop', Kar. *tïy-* 1. 'prekraščať, ostanavlivať'; 2. 'lišať, otkazyvať, otnimať'; 3. 'otgovarivať, uderživať, ne dopuskať'; 4. 'ukorjať, uprekať, uveščevať'; 5. 'nakazyvať, sažat (v t j u r'-m u)'; 6. 'uničtožať'; 7. 'zastavljať zamolčať; uspokaivať'; 8. 'zatykať' (KRPS 1974., 556), Nog. *tïy-* 1. 'unimať, ukroščať, sderživať, uderživať'; 2. 'zapreščať, vospreščať' (NRS 1963., 377), Krch. *tïy-* 'zurückhalten, widerstehen, abwehren, beruhigen' (Pröhle 138), Krch.-Balk. *tïy-* 'uderžať, zaderžať, sderžať, vosprepjatstvovať, zapretiť' (RKarBalS 1965., 84, 172, 184, 568, 652), Balk. *tïy-* 'aufhalten, zurückhalten, hemmen, vereiteln, nicht lassen' (Pröhle 260), Kaz. Tat. *tïy-* 'zurückhalten, abhalten, in Zaum halten' (Bál. 113), 1. 'zapreščať, zapretiť, vospreščať, vospretiť'; 2. 'obuzdyvať, obuzdať, unimať, unjať, sderživať, sderžať, uderživať, uderžať, ukroščať, ukrotiť' (TaRS 1966., 565), Bashk. *tïy-* 1. 'unimať, unjať, ukroščať, ukrotiť, sderživať, sderžať, uderživať, uderžať k o g o-č t o'; 2. 'zapreščať, zapretiť, vospreščať, vospretiť č t o' (BRS 1958., 559), Kkalp. *tïy-* 'uderživať; zatykať, vtykať; preodolevať' (Bask., Ka. I, 388), 'zapreščať, nedozvoljať; uderživať ot čego-l.' (KkRS 1958., 666), Kzk. *tïy-* 1. 'zapreščať'; 2. 'priostanoviť, uderžať' (KaRS 1954., 354), 'tïyïm saluw, qoydïruw, ruqsat etpew' (QTTS 1961., II, 397), Kirg. *tïy-* 'zapreščať; uderživať' (KiRS 1965., 789) | Uzb. *tiy-* 1. 'uderživať, sderživať'; 2. 'utihomirivať, unimať; obuzdyvať; ukroščať'; 3. 'zapreščať' (URS 1959., 428) | Kmd., Tel. *tï-* 'aufhalten, abhalten, abreden, nicht zulassen, nicht erlauben, verbieten, ermahnen, Vorwürfe machen' (Radl. III, 1345), Sag. *tïs-* 'zur Ruhe bringen, aufhalten, abhalten' (Radl. III, 1336) | Chuv. *čar-* 1. 'ostanavlivať, zaderživať; zagoraživať, pregraždať puť'; 2. 'mešať, prepjatstvovať'; 3. 'raznimať, unimať'; 4. 'utoljať, oslabljať, uspokaivať'; 5. 'zapreščať, vospreščať, nalagať zapret; 6. 'obryvať, preryvať' (ČRS 1961., 524) etc.

Uig. Tiš. *tïdïl-*; Y ü a n *tïdïl- tutul-* 'zaderživatsja, uderživatsja' (DTS 565—6) | Karakh. Kāšġ. *tïḏïl-* 'gehindert werden' (Brock. 205), 'kaçınmak,

çekinmek, alıkoymak, engel olmak' (ATALAY 120) | Khwar. Ouṭb *tïyïl-* 'być przeszkodzonym; przestać, zaprzestać; zamilknąć' (ZAJ. 192) | Cum. CC *tïyïl-* '(verhindert werden), aufhören' (GRÖNB. 261); Arm.-Kip. *tïyïl-*, *tïyl-* 'cesser; se taire ' (TRYJ. 767), 'cesser' (DENY, Eph. 75) | Dobr. Tat. *tïyïl-* 'to be restrained, held back; to be obstructed', Kar. *tïyïl-* 1. 'utihaṫ, uspokaivaṫsja; prekraščaṫsja, perestavaṫ'; 2. 'molčaṫ, bezmolvstvovaṫ'; 3. 'staṫ, ostanoviṫsja'; 4. 'otstupaṫsja, otrešaṫsja;' 5. 'ždaṫ'; 6. 'rasseivaṫsja' (KRPS 1974., 556), *tiyïl-* 1. 'ostanavlivaṫsja, prekraščaṫsja, perestavaṫ'; 2. 'ždaṫ, nadejaṫsja' (KRPS 1974., 527), Nog. *tïyïl-* 1. 'zapreščaṫsja, ne dozvoljaṫsja; byṫ zapreščennym, nedozvolennym'; 2. 'sderživaṫsja' (NRS 1963., 374), Balk. *tiyïl-* 'aufgehalten werden, zurückgehalten werden, gehemmt werden, aufhören, (PRÖHLE 260), Kaz. Tat. *tïyïl-* 'sich zurückhalten, sich enthalten' (BÁL. 113), 1. 'zapreščaṫsja'; 2. 'vozderživaṫsja, sderživaṫsja; uderživaṫsja' (TaRS 1966., 560—1), Bashk. *tïyïl-* 'sderživaṫsja, sderžaṫsja' (BRS 1958., 559), Kkalp. *tïyïl-* 'ostanavlivaṫsja, prekraščaṫsja' (BASK., Ka. I, 388), 'zapreščaṫsja, nedozvoljaṫsja; byṫ zapreščennym, nedozvolennym' (KKRS 1958., 667), Kzk. *tïyïl-* 1. 'zapreščaṫsja; uderžaṫsja'; 2. 'priostanoviṫsja; perestaṫ, prekraščaṫsja' (KaRS 1954., 353), Kirg. *tïyïl-* 1. 'zapreščaṫsja'; 2. 'uspokoiṫsja, prekratiṫsja' (KIRS 1965., 789) | Uzb. *tiyil-* 1. 'vozderživaṫsja, uderživaṫsja; sderživaṫsja'; 2. 'prekraščaṫsja, priostanavlivaṫsja; stihaṫ, utihomiriváṫsja; issjakaṫ' (URS 1959., 428) etc.

Uig. Chuast. *tïdïn- tutun-* 'uderživaṫsja' (DTS 566) | Karakh. Kāšġ. *tïḏïn-* 'sich hindern lassen' (BROCK. 206), 'kaçınmak, esirgenmek, yasak edilmek' (ATALAY 120), QB *tïdïn-* 1. 'zaderživaṫsja, uderživaṫsja'; 2. 'ograničivaṫsja' (DTS 566) | Kar. *tïyïn-* 1. 'ostanavlivaṫsja, prekraščaṫsja, perestavaṫ'; 2. 'ždaṫ, nadejaṫsja (KRPS 1974. 556) | Shor., Sag. *tïzïn-* 'bei sich behalten, sich beherrschen, aushalten', Sag. *tïstan-* 'sich einer Sache enthalten, von sich fern halten', Koib. *tïstan-* 'ertragen, aushalten, ausharren' (RADL. III, 1337) | Chuv. *čarăn* 1. 'ostanavlivaṫsja'; 2. 'pristavaṫ, pričalivaṫ'; 3. 'preryvaṫ; prekraščaṫ; priostanavlivaṫ'; 4. 'prekraščaṫsja, zakančivaṫsja'; 5. 'vozderživaṫsja, uderživaṫsja'; 6. 'perestavaṫ, prohoditʹ, prekraščaṫsja'; 7. 'smolkaṫ, zatihaṫ; unimaṫsja' (ČRS 1961., 525) etc.

Kar. *tïyïlt-* 'zastaviṫ molčaṫ; uspokoiṫ' (KRPS 1974., 556), 'schweigen lassen' (KOW. 272), Kirg. *tïyïlt-* 'ponud. ot *tïyïl-*' (KIRS 1965., 789) etc.

The Hungarian verb *tilt*, or its root *til*, evolved from the borrowed Old Turkic verb **tïyïl-* 'be kept off sg, refrain from sg, be prohibited'. The *ï*'s of **tïyïl-* became palatal in the Hungarian, more precisely they became palatal *i*'s through replacement of vowels. The bisyllabic word of short vowels emitted the intervocal *-j-*, thus becoming a monosyllable with a long vowel, and later the long vowel shortened to produce the simpler form. The causative suffix *-t* added to the passive-reflective verb **tíl*, the consonant cluster *-lt-* helped accelerate the shortening of the *í*, and analogous with *tilt*, the words *tílos*, *tílalom*

also settled in the forms of *tilos*, *tilalom* apart from *til*. This etymology, deriving the word from the Old Turkic, can be proved and supported by important chronological and word historical arguments. The first Hungarian record of the word dates back to 1195, which direct information is in itself convincing evidence of its age, also confirmed by an indirect feature: the words *til*, *tilt* have a large family, numerous derivatives and diverse meaning. They refer to the age of the word indirectly. However, a problem of Turkic phonological history is to be encountered in this etymology. In the list of Turkic equivalents, the oldest data contain an interdental *-d-*, while the etymon of the word was given as **tïyïl-*, i.e. containing an *-y-*. Some scholars engaged in Turkic phonological history presume on the basis of available historical material that the phonological change or tendency *-d-* > *-y-* commenced around the 10th century. This date is, however, highly hypothetical and will probably be modified by future discovery of Old Turkic linguistic material. The Hungarian words *til*, *tilt* of Old Turkic origin, are in any case only the first of the newly recovered Turkic historical documents of major significance. The evolution of the word *tilt* is then as follows: Old Turkic **tïyïl-* → Hung. **tijil* > **tíl* > *til* (+ *-t*) > *tilt*. As the meanings of the Hungarian word and its derivations completely agree to those of their Turkic equivalents, a lengthy semantic explanation is unnecessary.

The change and development of the phonetic forms of the words *bír*, derived from **buyur-* or **bïyur-*, and *til* (*tilt*) coming from **tïyïl-* coincide at many points. After the *-uyu-* > *-ïyu* → *-iyu-* > *-iyi-* change (cf.: Hung. in Bihar county *sílik* 'become diluted', *silt* 'dilute' ~ Turkic, e.g. Kzk. *suyïl-* 'razžižaťsja; stanoviťsja redkim' [KARS 1954, p. 322], but the Hung. word from over the river Tisza *szujok* 'thin, diluted', *szújul* 'become diluted/thin', *szujkol* 'make thin/diluted'), the development of **bijir* arrived at the same stage as **tijil* from the aspect of phonology, and both developed in a similar way. The only divergence is that the verb *bír* came to stay with its root without a suffix similarly to the root of the verb *tilt*, i.e. *til*, but the latter short form became extinct, only its derivatives, such as the *tilt* form with the causative *-t*, which became regularly integrated in the verbal system of the Hungarian language, hold this root.)(On the Turkic words *tïḏ-* ~ *tïy-* and *tïḏïl-* ~ *tïyïl-* see: M. Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 477; Sir G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, pp. 450, 456).

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THE ROLE OF A MARCH IN ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES

BY

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It must be mentioned in advance that the term «march» is used in the title here to denote a border defensive unit made up of a *march* (Grenzverhau, indago) and a *deserted march tract* (Ödmark, Grenzödland, vastus, solitudo), although current literature has often incorrectly considered a march to be a deserted borderland.[1] Experts are thoroughly acquainted with this defence system primarily in mediaeval Hungary due to an abundance of relevant data and the work of Károly Tagányi.[2] Since the synthesis of Tagányi, a wide range of arguments have been put forth concerning the marches, partly to supplement or modify his hypotheses, with the latest studies advocating ideas such as «die öden Grenzsäume gehören zu der erprobten Verteidigungstaktik der asiatischen Reiternomaden usw.»[3] or for the Hungarians « . . . war . . . die Methode, sich gegen feindliche Nachbarvölker durch möglichst ausgedehnte und verödete Grenzstreifen zu schützen, bereits aus den südrussischen Steppen vertraut.»,[4] in conformity with Tagányi's assumption.[5] This thesis is still valid despite current warnings that «the marches . . . have far less bearing on the nomads : they surrounded their pastures artificially on the grasslands . . . in

[1] I. Bóna : *Archeologické rozhledy* 20 (1968), p. 613 : «Grenzödland» — ung. «gyepü» ; idem, *A népvándorlás kora Fejér megyében* : *Fejér megye története* I, 5. Székesfehérvár 1971, p. 245/29 : «lakatlan gyepü» (uninhabited march) ; idem : *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 1970, p. 260 : «100 km-nyi lakatlan gyepü» (an uninhabited march of a 100 km) ; P. Tomka : *AntTan* 20 (1973), p. 231 : «lakatlan gyepü (uninhabited march); Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve*, Budapest 1977, p. 196 : «lakatlan törzsválasztó gyepü» (uninhabited march separating tribes).

[2] K. Tagányi, *Gyepü és gyepüelve* : *MNy* IX (1913), pp. 97 sqq, 145 sqq, 201 sqq, 254 sqq; idem, *Alte Grenzschutzvorrichtungen und Grenzödland* gyepü *und* gyepüelve : *UJb* I (1921), p. 105 sqq.

[3] O. Mittelstrass, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte Siebenbürgens im Mittelalter*, München 1961, p. 33.

[4] H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 6.

[5] K. Tagányi : *MNy* IX (1913), p. 104, cf. B. Hóman : *EPhK* 47 (1923), p. 53 [= *Történetírás és forráskritika*, Budapest 1938, p. 304], V. P. Simon : *Száz.* 112 (1978), p. 319.

the woodlands and mountains the clans and lines separated their habitat along rivers and mountain ridges.»[6]

Indeed, historical and ethnographic data indicate that protection with the assistance of uninhabited or depopulated border zones is characteristic of settled, agrarian peoples. Relevant sources frequently refer to such areas as wastelands, although it does not by any means imply that every region mentioned as a wasteland was a desolate border zone or a deserted march tract.[7] There is no denying, however, that ἔρημος, north of the Danube mentioned by Herodotos (Her. V 9.) was one of them, of which a certain part, as Arrianos reported, was τα ἔρημα (Arrian I 4, 5) as late as about 335 B.C.; it was situated around the river Ordessos (Argyas-Argeș) in Wallachia. A. Vulpe disclosed that at the time of Herodotos' reference, this wasteland had indeed been desolate.[8] He declared that Wallachia had been an «uninhabited steppe»[9] although the entire zone had encompassed the northern parts of Serbia, the Bánság*, Bácska**, the major area between the rivers Drava and Sava, and Transdanubia, except for its northern and eastern regions, all besides Wallachia.[10] It is, therefore, out of the question to explore the origin of the vast deserted tract on the basis of geographical data. On the other hand, this zone surrounded the land of an agrarian people, most probably the predecessors of the Dacians later mentioned in the records.[11] Another reminiscence of the bordering no-man's-land is the name *Βοίων ἐρημία* (Strab. 7, 1, 5.) or «deserta Boiorum» (Plin. n. h. III 146.) of a wasteland in Transdanubia. After the 4th c.B.C. this region had always been populated, and not sparsely up to the 5th c. A.D. either.[12] I. Borzsák related the name to the deserted tract sur-

* Territory east of the Lower Tisza.

** Territory west of the Lower Tisza.

[6] Gy. Györffy, *op. cit.* pp. 196–197.

[7] Cf. E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*,[6] Stuttgart 1974, p. 225, note 2; I. Borzsák, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbeckens*: Dis(sertationes) Pann(onicae) I, 6. Budapest 1936, p. 31, note 1.

[8] A. Vulpe: *Mem*(oria) *Ant*(iqitatis) 2(1970), p. 172 sqq. He dates it to the 6th–5th centuries B.C., which is contradicted by both archaeological findings and the data of Arrianos.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 176.

[10] Cf. M. Párducz, *Die Skythenzeit in Ungarn*: *Acta Arch*(aeologia) 25 (1973), map 5; R. Vasić, *Kulturne grupe starijeg gvozdenog doba u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1973, p. 120 partly misleading maps. I have elaborated the issue in a study now in typescript.

[11] Archaeological literature refers to the remnants of this people as the Vekerzug or Vekerzug-Chotín group. Some authors label the period as the Scythian, Thraco-Scythian or Thracian age, the later connections of the material findings, however, clearly show the links with the historical Daks.

[12] Cf. A. Mócsy: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyklopedie*, Suppl. IX, p. 533; A. Graf, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien*. DissPass I. 5, Budapest 1936, pp. 20–21; I. Borzsák, *op. cit.*, p. 31, note 1.

rounding the *oikumené* in the ancient Greek world and A. Alföldi found the clues to its development in the Dacians' victory over the Bois.[13] A. Pleidell[14] and A. Graf[15] suggested earlier that it might preserve indications of a defensive system. The data at hand, however, do not confirm the presumption that the Bois would utilize deserted border zones for defence,[16] consequently the term *deserta Boiorum* must be accounted for by the Bois' settlement in uninhabited areas. It is indeed a well-established fact that the Transdanubian desolate zone fell to the Celts from the 4th c. B.C.[17] Whether this 5th c. B.C. «deserted march tract» was created by the population of the Great Plain and Transylvania or by their neighbours who wished to be isolated from them, is still shrouded in mystery. The first assumption, however, seems to be proved by the fact that outside the deserted tract, people of various ethnic units lived without any alleged desire to form an alliance even for the protection of their common border zone.

Data on bordering desert zones are also available concerning other than Carpo-Dacian peoples. Strabon wrote that « . . . the Dasaretii, Agrianes, and other obscure nations, whose numbers the Scordisci were continually reducing, until they had made the country a desert, full of impassable forests, which extended several days' journey.» (Strab. 7, 5, 12.). The hypothesis that this region in the centre of the Balkans was a real border zone is corroborated by Caesar's remark on the Germans : «Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope se audere consistere.» (Caes. *De bell. gall.* VI 23, 1—2.) He wrote similarly about the Suebs, who on the one side were surrounded by a depopulated stretch of land extending for 600 km. (Caes. *De bell. gall.* IV 3, 1—2.),[18] and on the other side they had annihilated the tribe of the Ubii (Caes. *De bell. gall.* IV 3, 3). A border zone with the double function of providing protection against unexpected raids (cf. Caes. *De bell. gall.* VI 23, 3) and increasing the protected people's prestige is detectable with both the Celts and the Germans, with general usage by the latter people, as Caesar stated. The defensive function of the wastelands mentioned in sources is reinforced by Livy's words on the region around the Scardus mons (today Šar Planina): «Illyrici solitudines, quas de industria populando Macedones fecerant, ne transitus faciles Dardanis in Illyricum aut

[13] A. Alföldi, *Budapest az ókorban*: *Budapest története* I, Budapest 1942, p. 144; E. Tóth : *AntTan* 24 (1977), p. 192 sqq.

[14] *Száz.* 1934, p. 289.

[15] *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[16] Cf. Strab. VII 5, 2, whereas they were separated from the Dacians by a river.

[17] Cf. B. Benadík : *Slovenská Archeologia* 19 (1971), p. 476.

[18] Cf. already A. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note 5, most recently H. Göckenjan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Macedoniam essent . . .» were around this area (Liv. XLIII, 20, 1. = Polyb. XXVIII, 8.).[19]

At the same time, the deserted border zone was missing from the practice of the Scythians, the prototype of the nomads in the Antiquity. Herodotos mentioned a wasteland in his Scythica that could be taken for an uninhabited border zone. This wasteland of seven days' journey was located between the Budins and the Thyssagetoi (Her. IV, 22, 123), where — Herodotos alleged — there used to be a fortification system (IV, 124), whose erection he, possibly wrongly, related to the Scythian campaign of Dareios. The Budins were thought to have been nomads, but were wood-dwellers (Her. IV, 21, 109) and it is well-known that agrarian Gelons also had lived on their land (Her. IV. 108). The Thyssagetoi were wood-dwelling hunters (Her. IV, 22), thus this «deserted march tract» was surrounded on both sides by people who were not «steppe nomads». The lands of the Budins and Gelons might also have been bounded by wastelands on the other sides, because the desert between the agrarian Scythians called Borysthenitai and the Androphagoi (Her. IV, 18, 53) was most likely to the southwest of them.[20]

The «wasteland of the Getai» (*ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία*), described by Strabon as flat and lacking water (Strab. VII 3, 14), must have been of non-nomadic origin, it is unlikely, however, that the area bounded by the Danube, the Dniester and the Black Sea (i.e. the Budjak) met his qualification. The concept is also supposed to derive from literature,[21] others identify the wasteland with the steppe,[22] which latter assumption seems to be contradicted by the fact that this region between the Getai of Wallachia and the Germanic people of the Poieneşti-Lukašovka culture had actually been uninhabited in the 2nd—1st centuries B.C.[23]

Only archaeological data are available concerning the long, depopulated stretch of land separating the steppe and the wooded steppe from a people of «Sarmatian» material culture in Southern Russia in the 2nd—3rd centuries (1st—4th) A.D. This tract extended from the Prut to the Dnieper. Its northern border was around Iaşi along the Prut (Koncešty) and Orgeev along the Dniester (Čismja), to continue along the northern frontier of the Kirovograd region

[19] A. Mócsy, *Die Vorgeschichte Obermösiens im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*: *Acta Ant*(iqua) 14 (1966), p. 95. According to him the Macedonians created it in 211, and it is identical with the Tetovo basin.

[20] Cf. B. N. Grakov, *Skify*, Moskva 1971, p. 14.

[21] I. Borzsák, *op. cit.*, p. 31, note 1.

[22] Ê. A. Rikman, *Êtničeskaja istorija naselenija Podnestrov'ja i prilegajuščego Podunav'ja v pervyx vekax našej êry*, Moskva 1975, p. 304.

[23] M. A. Romanovskaja, *On êtničeskoj prinadležnosti naselenija, ostavivšego pamjatniki tipa Lukaševka. Drevnie frakciycy v Severnom Pričernomore. M*(aterrialy i) *I*(ssledovanija po) *A*(rxeologii) 150, Moskva 1969, p. 81 sqq, picture 1.

towards the Dnieper reached near Čerkassy (Lebedovka, Staraja Osota). Its southern border commenced around Bîrlad (Sarata Noua) and met the Dniester near Tiraspol' (Tokmazeja), crossed the river Ingul not far from Bobrinec (Korotjak) and stretched towards Dniepropetrovsk.[24] On the basis of archaeological findings, the time of its depopulation is set in the 2nd—3rd centuries A.D., most likely in the 2nd c.[25] Its flora was not homogeneous: it was an open woodland along the Dniester including the forests around the Bug and the northern parts of the steppe west of the Dnieper. In the south it was surrounded by the settlements of the Sarmatae, of the north by the residences of settled peoples with communal burial grounds. The borders of the latter may have coincided with those of the Bastarnae,[26] although the records dating from the 2nd—3rd centuries A.D. supply very little information for researchers to be definite on this issue.[27] No records referring to this deserted zone survived with the possible exception of Tab. Peut. VIII. commenting on the wasteland east of the Dniester (sors desertus);[28] it is, however, obvious that the region can be regarded as some kind of a «deserted march tract».

It is noteworthy that in this case the deserted defensive zone appeared along the borders of nomadic people, although no data at hand prove that it had been created by nomads. The frontier defence of the Avars in the Carpathian basin shows a somewhat similar picture. In the west, bordering the Bavarians, the confines of the Avars was bounded by the Enns, but the posts of frontier guards were set along the river Kamp and in the Wiener Wald.[29] On this side of the deserted march tract a march, articulated elaborately (in 9 lines) protected the realm.[30] This defensive system consisting of a march

[24] Cf. K. F. Smirnov, *Voprosy izučenija sarmatskix plemen i ix kul'tury v sovetskoj arxeologii*: *Voprosy skifo-sarmatskoj arxeologii*, Moskva 1952, p. 195 sqq, picture 1; M. P. Abramova: *Sovetskaja Arxeologija* 1961—1, p. 100, picture 1; Ê. A. Rikman: *Sovetskaja Etnografija* 1966—1, p. 68 sqq, picture 1; *Êtničeskaja istorija* . . . picture 1; M. B. Ščukin: *Arxeologičeskij Sbornik Gosudartsvennogo Êrmitaža* 12 (1970), p. 65, picture 2 and 14 (1972), 43 sqq, picture 2; V. V. Sedov: *Sovetskaja Arxeologija* 1972—4, p. 120, picture 3.

[25] Cf. Ê. A. Rikman, *Êtničeskaja istorija* . . . p. 39; M. B. Ščukin: *Arxeologičeskij Sbornik* 14 (1972), p. 44 sqq, picture 1.

[26] Cf. Strab. VII 3, 17; D. A. Mačinskij: *Archeologičeskij Sbornik* 16 (1974), p. 122 sqq, p. 130 maps.

[27] However, it is noteworthy that according to Tac. Germ. 46. the Peucini (Bastarnae) mixed with the Sarmatae, also confirmed by archaeological findings.

[28] Tab. Peut. Cod. Vind. 324. comm. E. Weber. Graz 1976, p. 26.

[29] Ann. regni franc. ad a. 791, Einhardi ann. ad a. 791. *SRG*, ed. Kurze, cf. J. Deér *Karl der Grosse und der Untergang des Awarenreiches*: *Karl der Grosse*. Bd. I, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 742 sqq, 752 sqq; A. Kollautz—H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes* II, Klagenfurt 1970, p. 176.

[30] Cf. *MGH* II, p. 748, G. Fehér: *Archaeologia Hungarica* 7, Budapest 1931, pp. 32—34 incorrectly; cf. Gy. Györffy, *István király* . . . pp. 208—9 and P. Váczy: *Acta Ant.* 23 (1975), pp. 229, 231. to evaluating the description of the chronicler of Saint Gallen.

and a deserted march tract is assumed to have been created about 700.[31] Its erection can hardly be explained by the traditions of the steppe. It is, however, alleged on the basis of information supplied by Ibn Rusta (*BGA* 143, 1. ed. de Goeje) and Constantinos Porphyrogenetos (Adm. imp. ed. Moravcsik, c. 42, p. 182)[32] that the Khazars used to have an extensive fortification system of the kind, and they had defended themselves in the north around the Doniec with a row of fortresses.[33] Apart from building a fortress (fortresses) and «entrenching» their land, the Khazars were separated from the Pechenegs by a deserted, roadless tract (Ibn Rusta 149, 5. ed. de Goeje ; Gardizi MEH Bp. 1958. 54—5.) and they launched an offensive against them every year — perhaps to prevent the tract from being populated. These data, however, come from later times, thus the march-deserted march tract defensive system of the late Avars cannot be traced back to the Khazars, unless Ibn Rusta's comment on the building of the Khazar fortification system can be redated to earlier times. Mention must be made here about the late Avar institution of the *tudun* which is likely of Khazar origin.[34]

At any rate, it should be emphasized that the settled, city-dwelling Khazars had used the deserted border zone against the nomadic Pechenegs, and not vica versa. The latter certainly had not used it as they were only a half day's journey away from the (Danubian) Bulgars and a day's journey from the Russians (Konst. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 3 7. ed. Moravcsik 168). Consequently, the defence by the means of a desolate border zone was not the practice of the nomads, but was highly suitable to be used against them. It is pertinent to quote Caesar's comment on the Nervii : they had erected barricades from logs in the marches to protect themselves against plundering horsemen (*De bell. gall.* II 14, 4.).[35] It must be remembered, however, that this means of frontier defence — allegedly in universal use all over Europe[36] — did not correspond

[31] I. Bóna: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 1970, p. 260 with the dates given incorrectly, J. Deér, *Karl der Grosse* . . . p. 742 sqq.

[32] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 28.

[33] S. A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam*, Moskva 1967, p. 25 sqq, pict. 5 ; I. I. Ljapuškin, *Pamjatniki saltovo-majackov kul'tury v bassejne r. Dona* : MIA 62 (1968), p. 91 sqq, picture 26.

[34] K. Czeglédy, *Megjegyzések a honfoglalás előtti magyar királyság intézményéhez* : *A magyar nyelv története és rendszere*. ed. S. Imre—I. Szathmári. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 58, Budapest 1967, pp. 86—7, gives the following : The Khazars appointed an iltbär and a tudun to lead all the peoples submitting to them (the Volga Bulgars, Caucasian Huns) as well as the Western Turks, i.e. all the peoples under their rule (apparently also the Avars).» As the *tudun* appears with the late Avars mixed with a substantial number of Bulgars who had lost contact with Khazar surroundings it should be traced back to Khazar influence.

[35] H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . p. 7. also quotes it.

[36] Cf. V. Czajka, *Schlesiens Grenzwälder* : *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 68 (1934), p. 1 sqq; K. Schünemann : *UJb* 17 (1937), p. 39 sqq ; K. Horedt:

to the Avar and Hungarian system of the march-deserted march tract, as it directly isolated countries like Bohemia and Saxony.[37] The frontier defences termed with the words *Hag, preseka, oseka* and *indagines* were not generally connected with a deserted border zone, just as the existence of a border zone did not imply the existence of march-defensive works. Therefore, the late Avar system of march-deserted march tract cannot have been of local origin. The Hungarian frontier defence system closely copied the late Avar type, at least in the west about which ample data are available.[38] Similarly to the Avars, the border was the river Enns and the defence lines, arranged in depth, surrounded the settlements in concentric circles.[39] The last frontier guards of the Árpád dynasty were posted along the river Traisen[40] — as the Avar guards along the Kamp and in the Wiener Wald — both on the same line. These data cannot be disregarded even if events of the 9th century remain in obscurity, thus continuity is defective. The less so, as the Carpathian basin is also likely to have had some kind of a deserted march tract in the 9th century. According to common opinion, the «Pannoniorum et Avarum solitudines» of Regino was a vacated march tract,[41] and the «westen» located between Carinthia and Bulgaria in the geography of the English king Alfred the Great may also have

Etapele de pătrundere a feudalismului maghiar în Transilvania: Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei sec. IV—XIII, Bucarest 1958, pp. 110—1; H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . pp. 7—10; L. V. Alekseev, *O rasprostranenii toponimov «meža» i «rubež» v Vostočnoj Evrope: Slavjane i Rus'*. Moskva 1968, p. 245 sqq.

[37] Ann. Hild. ed. G. Waitz, *MGH* SS Hann. 1878, p. 66; K. Schünemann, *op. cit.*, p. 39 sqq; H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . pp. 8—9; K. Horedt, *Contribuţii* . . . p. 110. Also Danubian Bulgars had border protecting marches: *L'abrégé des merveilles*. trad. par Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898; J. Marquart, *Streifzüge* . . . p. 205; C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*², Cambridge 1968, p. 217; cf. G. Fehér, *op.cit.*, p. 23; Marvazī, ed. V. F. Minorsky, London 1942, p. 34, wrote of the Volga Bulgars that they fortified the forests; the remnants of these rampants have survived: R. G. Faxrutdinov: *Sovetskaja Arxeologija* 1975—4, p. 76. Similar methods of defence were familiar to Turkic and Mongolian peoples. It was written of the Khakases in the 17th century that at times of danger they fled to «strong places», «black woods» among the mountains, barricaded themselves and built wooden obstacles in the forests. (S. V. Baxrušin, *Naučnye trudy* III, č. II, Moskva 1955, p. 180; cf. M. I. Borgojakov, *Jyš v drevnetjurkskix pamjatnikax runičeskoj pismennosti: Arxeologija Severnoj i Central'noj Azii*, Novosibirsk 1975, pp. 210—11.) Ödögej khan also erected a «fence and a wall» to protect his goods (*Secret History of the Mongols*, § 281).

[38] Gy. László, *A honfoglaló magyar nép élete*, Budapest 1944, p. 231; H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . p. 7. holds the view that the Hungarians might have used the existing Avar defence works.

[39] Cf. H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . p. 10; Gy. Györffy, *István király* . . . pp. 208—9 and *MGH* II, p. 748; P. Váczy: *Acta Ant* 23 (1975), pp. 229,231.

[40] Cf. Gy. Györffy, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[41] Cf. Gy. Györffy, *Honfoglalás, megtelepedés és kalandozások: Magyar Őstörténeti Tanulmányok*, Budapest 1977, p. 127.

denoted a march.[42] As a matter of course, «wastelands» in the 9th century were numerous elsewhere and considerably differed from the ones of the late Avars or the Árpád Age.[43]

It is as yet unsettled whether the systems of the Carpathian basin and Russia had any interconnection, and if they had what the nature of this relationship was. The principality of Kiev fortified its borders with fortresses and outworks along the rivers Oster, Trubež, Sula and Stugna[44] already in the 10th century, and along the river Ros'[45] in the 11th. The principality of Rjazan', in turn, was protected by a row of fortresses along the river Pjana.[46] This defensive network was described by Bruno of Querfurt, whom the Prince of Kiev « . . . duos dies cum exercitu duxit . . . usque ad regni sui terminum ultimum, quem propter vagum hostem firmissima et longissima sepe undique circumclausit . . .»[47] It is apparent from these lines that the outer borders of Russia were constituted by defensive works, nevertheless a kind of deserted march tract seems to have evolved there by the end of the 11th century, although the Igor Tale claimed that an «unknown land» started beyond the river Sula.[48] If this does not hold true, it is hardly possible to explain why the residences and outposts of the Comans were several days' journey, i.e. 100—120 km away from the defence line of the Russians, as was the case according to

[42] P. Ratkoš, *Pramene k dejinám Vel'kej Moravy*, Bratislava 1968, p. 422, but cf V. Gjuselev, *Bulgarien und die Balkanhalbinsel in den geographischen Vorstellungen des angelsächsischen Königs Alfred der Grosse*: *Byzantino-bulgarica* IV (1973), pp. 97—8, who is of the opinion that the *westen* of King Alfred is identical with *Pannonia* and the *deserta Boiorum* of the Ann. Iuv. max.

[43] Cf. V. Gjuselev, *op. cit.*, p. 97. The *westen* of Alfred the Great was north (northwest) of Istria, the «Pannoniorum solitudines» was around the river Raba similarly to the «deserta Boiorum»: cf. G. Vékony, *A Kárpát medence a IX. században*, Manuscript 1973. To the notion of solitudo: *solitudo*, *vasta*, *vastus*, «nicht abgemarkte Land» at the Franks, see E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica* I, Berlin—Leipzig 1934, p. 158, i.e. some kind of a «limes incertus»; «pascua»: S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, in: Gy. László, *A honfoglalókról*, Budapest 1973, p. 29. It is unsettled whether «pascua Romanorum» mentioned by Anonymus could be related to it.

[44] N. N. Voronin, *Die Festungsbauten. Geschichte der Kultur der Alten Rus'*, Berlin 1959, pp. 414—5; V. I. Dovženok, *Storoževye goroda na juge Kievskoj Rusi. Slavjane i Rus'*, Moskva 1968, p. 37; S. A. Pletneva, *Pečenegi, torki i polovcy v južnorusskix stepjax*: MIA 62, 1958, p. 216; P. P. Toločko, *Kievskaja zemlja. Drevnerusskie knjažestva X—XIII. vv.*, Moskva 1975, p. 13 sqq.

[45] V. I. Dovženok, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[46] N. N. Voronin, *op. cit.*, pp. 421—2.

[47] Epist. Brunonis Querfurtiensis ad Henricum II imperatorem: *MPH* I, pp. 224—5; F. A. Gombos, *Catalogus* I, Budapest 1937, p. 429.

[48] *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, Moskva—Leningrad 1950, p. 37; cf. V. I. Dovženok, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

relevant data.[49] A deserted border zone under the control of the Russians can also be found in front of the 16th—17th century *zasečnaja čerta*.[50] Most certainly the addition of the deserted border zone to the defence line in the latter case seems to be a secondary development, although «neutral» forests (*meža*)[51] can also be detected in Russian territory, which, however, may reflect Baltic influence.[52]

Regardless how the march-deserted march tract systems of the Khazars, the late Avars and the Hungarians were related to the Russian ones, acquaintance with them does not alter the fact that this method of frontier defence characterizes agrarian, settled peoples. Extra-European data also bear out this position,[53] two of which should be considered. The territories of North American settled Indian tribes engaged in primitive agriculture were surrounded by a wide neutral belt to which they laid no claim.[54] The area between Muomo, the northern border region of the Shilluks of the Nile, who had settled along the White Nile and lived by agriculture, and the neighbouring el-Kawa housed only temporary settlements; it was solely used for hunting and fishing, and also as a military springboard for raiding campaigns and wars.[55]

The above arguments may sufficiently prove that defence with the help of depopulated borderzones characterized settled, agrarian peoples and was frequently used as a system of march-deserted march tract against nomads. This type of frontier defence might have played a substantial role in altering the ethnic composition of a region; under certain circumstances it could induce an extensive change in the ethnic set-up. K. Tagányi referred to this role when stating that «need and avarice» compelled the people to develop the deserted

[49] For them see: S. A. Pletneva, *Poloveckaja zemlja. Drevnerusskie knjažestva X—XIII vv*, Moskva 1975, pp. 271, 288, 289, 290 and picture 5, *Pečenegi, torki i polovcy* . . . picture 12.

[50] A. V. Nikitin, *Oboronitel'nye sooruženija zasečnoj čerty XVI—XVII vv*: MIA 44, Moskva 1955, p. 211. On the defence system see also: V. V. Kargalov, *Na stepnoj granice. Oborona «krymskoj ukrainy» Russkogo gosudarstva v pervoj polovine XVI stoletija*. Moskva 1974, p. 157 sqq.

[51] L. V. Alekseev, *op. cit.*, p. 250; idem, *Polockaja zemlja. Drevnerussk. knjaž.*, p. 220.

[52] Cf. H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* . . . pp. 7—8, the data on the defence works of the Baltic peoples and the connections of the word to its Baltic counterparts: A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrer*, Wien 1959, p. 77; cf. V. P. Petrov, *Êtnogenez slov'jan*, Kiev 1972, pp. 95—6.

[53] How the deserted border zone spread in the world see: F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie* I, Stuttgart 1891—99, pp. 260—76.

[54] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, pp. 101—102.

[55] H. Straube, *Die Stellung und die Funktion des Schilluk-Königs als zentrale Autorität*: *Paideuma* XIX/XX. (Festschrift zum 100. Geburtstag von Leo Frobenius), p. 215 with bibliography.

march tract.[56] In addition, the central powers had always settled alien ethnic groups along the borders,[57] and when the march-deserted march tract system gradually disintegrated, they put various foreign groups on a long contiguous stretch of the former marches, as in the case of the Saxons in Szepes and Transylvania.[58] This role of the deserted march tract was also familiar to the Shilluks, who used the desolate border zone as a political asylum,[59] or to the Russians, where peasants as well as banished princes fled to the neutral zone between Russia and the Coman territories,[60] also sheltering Coman refugees.[61]

Fleeing the central power, the oppressing status quo, and the settlement of the administration, however, are not of major importance in the factors generating ethnic changes due to the existence of the deserted march tract, although settling the Saxons in Szepes and Transylvania, for instance, exerts its effect even today. It was of more lasting significance, if a people settled on the deserted border area of another, which event can be amply confirmed. This is the case, to quote Caesar, when the Germans «consider it as an indication of *valour* that nobody dare settle among them» (*De bell. gall.* VI 23, 2.) and then « . . . there was a time when the Galls surpassed the Germans in such *valour* (and) settled beyond the Rhine» (*De bell. gall.* VI 24, 1. : «trans Rhenum colonias mitterent.») The passage clearly shows that the Galls occupied the areas left uninhabited by the Germans, and this also accounted for the fact that the peoples of the Celtic migration often possessed «wastelands», like the Bois and the Helvets.[62] The Celts, settled in deserted border zones, and substantially altered the ethnic composition of a region, which can also be seen in the Carpathian basin. The original inhabitants of Transdanubia, later occupied by the Romans, were exclusively Celts,[63] and even in the south river names such as Alpis and Karpis (Her. IV 49.) of the 6th c. B.C. disappeared to be replaced by the river names Dravus and Savus, surviving to this day through 2,000 years. These data confirm the complete change in the population of the region due to the existence of the desolate border zones. When the realm that had

[56] K. Tagányi, *MNy* IX (1913), p. 145; L. Polány, *Nyugatmagyarország néprajzi története*, Offprint 1936, p. 30.

[57] K. Schünemann, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn bis zum* 12. *Jahrhundert*. Ung. Bibl.I. 8, Berlin—Leipzig 1923, p. 93. sqq; O. Mittelstrass, *op. cit.*, p. 37 sqq.

[58] K. Tagányi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; O. Mittelstrass, *op. cit.*, pp. 39—40.

[59] H. Straube: *Paideuma* XIX/XX, p. 215.

[60] S. A. Pletneva, *O jugo-vostočnoj okr jne russkix zemel' v domongol'skoe vremja*: *Kratkie soobščenija IAAN* 99 (1964), p. 32.

[61] S. A. Pletneva, *Poloveckaja zemlja. Drevnerussk. knjaž.*, p. 279 sqq.

[62] Ptol. 2, 11, 6, cf. A. Klotz's editorial note to Caesar's *De bell. gall.* IV 3, 2: C. Ivli Caesaris commentarii vol. I. Commentarii belli gallici[4], ed. A. Klotz, Lipsiae 1952, p. 79: an agitur de regione ἐρημία Ἑλουητίων?

[63] Cf. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia a korai császárság idején*, Budapest 1974, p. 63 sqq; idem, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London 1974, pp. 26, 55.

introduced the «deserted march tract» in the Carpathian basin lost strength (in the 4th c. B.C.), the border zone became free for settlement and was indeed populated by the Celts in the west and by the Getai in the east. The latter had drifted into Wallachia from their habitat south of the Danube.[64] Numerous other data could be quoted, but the significant fact is that due to the lack of ethnic substratum the settling people were able to retain their ethnic unity in an unaltered manner. Celtic conquests outside the border zones also confirm this hypothesis : as far as the available data are concerned, the occupied areas in the Great Plains and Transylvania, where the original population survived, did not become Celtic as regards their ethnic features.

Similar observations can be made in connection with another deserted border zone created by the Celts. This region in the central Balkans around the upper section of the Morava, i.e. the southern parts of the later Moesia superior, had been a deserted or sparsely populated area at the time of the Roman conquest in the 1st century B.C. The Roman settlers occupied a territory devoid of alien-tongued natives. It is hardly a coindicence that traces of Balkanian Romanism can be detected in this region bounded by Niš (Naissus), Sofia (Serdica, Sredec), Skopje (Scupi) and Lipljan (Ulpiana).[65] In other parts of the Balkans, Romanisms of the Roman Age gradually disappeared, and even a renascence of pre-conquest native tongues was experienced at the close of the Imperial Age ;[66] the Slavic elements later occupying the major part of the Balkans coming into touch with these languages. The survival of the Latin language and the evolution of the Neolatin tongues were then made possible by circumstances entirely different from those in the western region of the Empire, where lasting vigorous Romanizing affected the ethnic substratum in contrast to the former area, where romanism had less basis due to lack of a substratum ; this is one of the factors bringing about divergent features of the Neolatin tongues of the east and the west.

The deserted march tract, i.e. the desolate border zone also had a role in determining the direction of ethnic migration. Eastern Europe provides such examples. As seen earlier, an immensely extensive wasteland or sporadically populated zone ran between the Russian defence line and the Coman places of residence. This tract held the «dikie polovcy» and the Brodniks men-

[64] To the data cf. V. Pârvan, *Getica*, Bucarest 1924, p. 40 sqq ; R. Fröhlich, *A géták* : *Phil. Közl.* X, p. 11 sqq incorrectly.

[65] M. Friedwanger, *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumänen in ihrer Frühzeit* : *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 54 (1934), p. 714 ; O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine* I, Paris 1901, p. 289, 293 sqq ; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London 1974, pp. 354—6 ; A. Du Nay, *The Early History of the Rumanian Language*, 1977, pp. 243—4, 262 ; A. Rosetti, *Mélanges linguistiques*, Bucarest 1977, p. 104 with an extension of the region.

[66] A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, p. 358.

tioned in Russian records.[67] These ethnically mixed groups had appeared well before the Mongolian conquest — data also confirm their appearance in the eastern and western ends — at various spots of the zone,[68] so they can by no means have drifted there pursued by the Tatars. Russian research considers the Brodniks and the «savage Comans» to be banished refugees.[69] Whoever they were, their relation to the border zone is clear. Their migration in this area sheds light on a role of the border zone that was decisive under certain circumstances. This concerns the ethnic groups, who departed their original habitat, and appeared a long distance away from it. The groups who settled for whatever reason in the wastelands between the Comans and the Russian land were able to migrate from the Carpathians to the Volga, or at least between the Carpathians and the upper Don region, if registered data are to be regarded. This way of life was far from being devoid of danger, but the refugees apparently had a higher esteem for «savage freedom» than for any form of servitude. Their telling names recorded their mood of living outside the law: they were called «vagrants», «savages» or simply named after the occupied territory, in so far as the name of the *Markomanns*, a group of the Germanic Suebs, belongs here.[70] When such names relatively frequently take the role of distinguishing ethnic units, it seems to be firmly established that the deserted border zone affected the arrangement of ethnic units. Coming from most different places, these ethnically mixed groups could not possibly retain their original ethnic characteristics for a long time and the similar conditions moulded the members of different groups. An instructive example is that of the Ḫapirus (Egypt. 'prw; SA.GAZ «Räuber») in the Middle East, whose personal names display most diverse origins: Akkadian, Assyrian, Hurrite, and Khassite. A special kind of community had developed among these people who had fled to the steppe and the woods, and formed gangs,[71] which «commonwealth» seems to be an ethnic unit at first glance.[72] What could exhibit more

[67] Cf. S. A. Pletneva, *Pečenegi, torki i polovcy* . . . pp. 186, 224; idem, *Poloveckaja zemlja*, pp. 279—82; *O jugo-vostočnoj okrajne* . . . pp. 31—2.

[68] S. A. Pletneva, *Poloveckaja zemlja* . . . p. 282; *O jugo-vostočnoj okrajne* . . . p. 32; K. Horedt, *Considerații asupra brodnicilor: Contribuții* . . . p. 146 sqq.

[69] S. A. Pletneva, *Poloveckaja zemlja* . . . p. 281.

[70] For the Germanic *marka* (IE. **marĝ-* «Rand, Grenze», Avest. *marəzu-*, Lat *margo*, Gothic *marka*) cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterhümer*[4], Leipzig 1899, II, p. 8; E. Gamillscheg, *op. cit.*, p. 157. On the Markomanns: K. Peschel, *Anfänge germanischer Besiedlung im Mittelgebirgsraum. Sueben — Hermunduren — Markomannen*: Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege. Bh. 12, Berlin 1978, p. 127.

[71] Cf. G. Bottéro, *Le problème des Habiru*, Paris 1954; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Ägyptische Abhandlungen Bd. 5, Wiesbaden 1962, pp. 526—31, especially pp. 528—30. László Fóti brought the Ḫapirus to my notice.

[72] See also Z. Mayani, *Les Hyksos et le monde de la Bible*, Paris 1956, p. 137 sqq.

of their mobility than that they turned up everywhere from Elam to Egypt from the end of the 3rd millenium, which is noteworthy notwithstanding the fact that the groups in Elam and along the borders of Egypt were different.

Soviet scholarship considers the way of life of the «vagrants» was «semi-nomadic». However, it has to be stressed that as their life was in constant danger it was ill-suited for settled agriculture. Regino wrote that the conquering Hungarians lived by hunting and fishing in the border areas,[73] just as the other groups in similar conditions led a predatory way of life in a broad sense. It is again another matter that this specific predatory life enabled them to change over to nomadism early. The spoils of the groups in the border areas were chiefly livestock easy to drive away, which they could breed only in a nomadic manner due to their circumstances, as permanent places of residence — especially in the steppe — were impossible to maintain. In the light of these facts it can be inferred that the communities similar to those living on border areas had a role in developing nomadism, the elaboration of which issue, however, would lead too far away from the present subject.

It seems — probably only seems — to be of lesser importance that the border zone also had a role in political changes experienced as a result of ethnic transitions. It was the possession of the former «deserted march tract» that enabled the Celts, occupying Transdanubia in the 4th c. B.C., to soon become a power ruling over the entire Carpathian basin. A similar process changing the political set-up was described by Justinus in connection with the Parthians he derived from the exiled Scythians (Scytharum exules) : they « . . . domesticis seditionibus Scythia pulsi, *solitudines* inter Hyrcaniam, et Dahas, et Areos, et Sparnos, et Margianos *furtim* occupavere. Fines deinde, non intercedentibus primo finitis, postea etiam prohibentibus, in tantum protulere, ut non immensa tantum jam ac profunda camporum, verum etiam praerupta collium, montiumque ardua occupaverint.» (Just. XLI 1, 10—11.). There could hardly be a more lucid description of the «exiles» (exules) «stealthily» occupying the border zones (solitudines) then using it as a stepping-stone for taking possession of limitrophic lands. Such incidents must have been numerous. As Regino wrote, the conquering Hungarians also « . . . roamed over the wastelands of the Pannons and the Avars (solitudines Pannoniorum et Avarum), living by hunting and fishing, then assailed the borders of the Karantans, Moravians and Bolgars . . .» (*SRG*, ed. Kurze, p. 132), that is they first occupied the part of the Carpathian basin with sporadic population in the border areas between different powers.[74] Having once taken these areas, they set out to attack adjacent territories and to subject them, as in the case of the Parthians.

[73] *SRG*, ed. Kurze, p. 132.

[74] Cf. Gy. Györffy, *Honfoglalás, megtelepedés és kalandozások*: *Magyar Őstörténeti Tanulmányok*, Budapest 1977, pp. 129—30 partly in a different light.

This process evidently implies specific conditions given by the occupation of the deserted border zone, and further expansion was made possible by the weakness of neighbouring powers — this factor, however, was in most cases also responsible for the occupation of the deserted march tract.

It can be concluded that border defence by the means of marches-deserted march tracts, i.e. by an uninhabited border zone helped ethnical-political transformation of a region in more ways than one. Its first stage was the forceful «settlement» of the deserted border zone by the power which had created it, thereby changing the ethic composition of a region in so far as it became depopulated. This area could be repeopled by

1. the refugees of the power sustaining the deserted border zone,
2. the settlers of this power after the disintegration of the deserted march tract,
3. new ethnic elements occupying the deserted border zone at a time when this power had become enfeebled.

Finally, it is not negligible that the vast deserted border zones constituted migration routes for some ethnic groups, always to be considered in cases of ethnic groups drifting far away from their original tribal habitat.[75]

By way of conclusion it should be stated that the above mentioned assumptions can be complemented from various aspects, and the picture given can be more subtely drawn. It is, however, obvious that the deserted border areas, often uninhabited as a protection against nomads, harboured the bases of fundamental ethnic and political changes as well as the germs of evolving transitional nomadism, thus investigation into this field requires close attention.

[75] It is noteworthy that one of the most significant eastern Hungarian groups, the inhabitants of Magna Hungaria referred to by Julianus appeared in the easternmost part of the deserted border zone between the Russian land and the steppe peoples where they were simply called «vagrants» (*kärär*) (cf. G. Vékony : *Száz.* 1977, pp. 1175, pp. 1188—9.) They were thus called by a name usually denoting groups living in the deserted border zones. Consequently, it is not unlikely that this Hungarian group travelled so far to the east due to the possibilities of migration in the borderzone, and therefore the 13th century location of their residence is only indirectly effectual for the research of Hungarian prehistory.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRACES OF THE VOLGA BULGARS IN HUNGARY OF THE ÁRPÁD PERIOD

BY

ISTVÁN FODOR

In the times prior to the Conquest (895), the Hungarians got in touch with several peoples in the Eurasian steppe and open woodland, the most momentous influence of whom was exerted on them by the Bulgarian Turks living in the region of the rivers Don and Volga. The bulk of about 250 Bulgaro-Turkic loan words in the Hungarian language bears testimony to this influence (cf. : Gombocz 1912 ; 1960 ; Ligeti 1977). The majority of these loan words were borrowed from the Volga and Don Bulgarians in the 8th—9th centuries. The place and date of borrowing are amply referred to by archaeological finds, which I attempted to elaborate in my recent publications (Fodor 1975 ; 1975a ; 1977 ; 1977a ; 1977b ; 1980). On the following pages I shall expound the assumption that the latest Bulgaro-Turkic—Hungarian connections (after the Conquest) also have archaeological evidence.

The very earliest Hungarian contact with the Volga Bulgarians, drifting northward to the region of the Volga and Kama was probably around 700. It is very likely that in the course of the intensive relationship between the two peoples some groups of the Volga Bulgarians were planted among Hungarians (e.g. the Székelys and the Tárkánys, cf. : Györffy 1977, p. 142 ; Fodor 1980), and groups of Hungarians joined the Volga Bulgarians. At the end of the 8th and during the 9th century the territories of the two peoples drifted apart so that the Hungarians of that age could establish firm contact with the Bulgarians living in the Don region. The two peoples were ultimately separated when the Hungarians settled in the Carpathian Basin. The considerable geographical distance, however, did not put an end to their connections. The Hungarian chronicler Anonymus confirms in his chronicle written about 1200 that resourceful Volga Bulgarian merchants often visited the new land of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin (cf. : Györffy 1948, pp. 59—60 ; 1973, p. 259). In fact, Anonymus writes in chapter 57 of his work that at the time of the reign of prince Taksony (about the mid-10th century) « . . . Billa and Baks, these highly honourable nobles arrived from the Bularland with numerous Ismaelites. The leader endowed them with lands in various parts of Hungary and also bestowed the fortress called Pest upon them to be theirs

for ever . . . At the same time another valiant warrior called Hetény came from the same region and the leader also gave him considerable land and other property.» («Nam de terra Bular uenerunt quidam nobilissimi domini cum magna multitudine Hismahelitarum, quorum nomina fuerunt Billa et Bocsu, quibus dux per diuersa loca Hungarorum condonauit terras et insuper castrum, quod dicitur Pest, in perpetuum concessit . . . Et eodem tempore de eadem regione uenit quidam nobilissimus miles nomine Heten, cui etiam dux terras et alias possessiones non modicas condonauit.») (*SRH* I, pp. 114—115; Pais—Györffy 1975, p. 132). According to the generally held and most probably justified assumption of the Hungarian historians, the Moslem Bulgars could come to Hungary exclusively from Volga Bulgaria, as the Volga Bulgarians were called «Belars» in the Middle Ages and the Hungarian name to denote the Danube Bulgarians was «Nándor» at that time (cf.: Pauler 1900, p. 176; Györffy 1959, p. 61).

Several place names preserved the names of the Volga Bulgarians settled during the Conquest and in the 10th century (e.g. *Bolyár*, *Bercel*). (Györffy 1959, pp. 61, 63; Kristó—Makk—Szegfű 1973, pp. 14—16). A part of the Hungarian place names which include the word *böszörmény* 'Moslem' most probably refer to the Volga Bulgarian Moslems (cf.: Györffy 1959, pp. 54, 61), although Moslems of other origin, first of all the Khalizs, can also have relation to this name. (Czeglédy 1970, pp. 254—255, 257—259; Györffy 1973, p. 259.)

In January 1978, when investigating the medieval material of the store of the museum of Versec (Vršac, Yugoslavia, district Banat), I noticed a clay kettle of unusual shape, which has not yet occurred among the vessels of the tenth-thirteenth-century Hungary. Two semi-circular, vertical handles protrude above the rim of the kettle of almost cylindrical shape made of reddish-grey clay, on each of which a hole was drilled for the purpose of suspension (Fig. 1.). Its site is Versec-Crvenka, height is 22 cm (without handle), diam. 29 cm. Its body is decorated below by a horizontal line, and by two parallel lines of pierced dots on the protruding rim (Fig. 2.). Though the handle is reconstructed, its correctness is proved beyond doubt by the fragment of rim found at Versec, at the border of Strmoglavica, at the excavations in 1970 (Fig. 3.). The museum has a similar fragment from Versecvát (Vatin) as well.[1] As the kettles originate from unprocessed and unpublished excavations, their date can be defined only approximately. On the basis of a quick survey of accompanying finds I believe that temporarily we may date them within broad limits to the eleventh-thirteenth centuries.

[1] I express my gratitude to Sanimir Barački, associate of the Museum of Versec (Vršac) for the opportunity of surveying the finds and for the permission to their publication.



Fig. 1. Versec-Crvenka, clay kettle

The clay kettle was a characteristic shape of vessel of the population of Hungary of the Árpád dynasty (10th—13th centuries) and its spread in the Carpathian Basin can be associated mainly with the Hungarians (cf. Fodor 1975a, p. 256 ; 1977b, p. 333. This inference has been strengthened since by linguistic and ethnographic investigations as well : Kresz 1977, p. 5). But the handles for suspension of the so far known cauldrons are in the interior of the vessel, inside the rim. This type of vessel evolved on the territory of the Saltovo-culture along the Don at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, and the skill of its manufacture was mastered by the Hungarians here and later on they developed it in their new homeland to be one of their most characteristic shape of pottery (cf. Fodor 1975a ; 1977b). The traditions of the manufacture of the Saltovo kettles was kept up by the Danube Bulgarians besides the Hungarians (Dončeva—Petkova 1977, pp. 66—68), and they may have spread it in Wallachia and Moldavia.

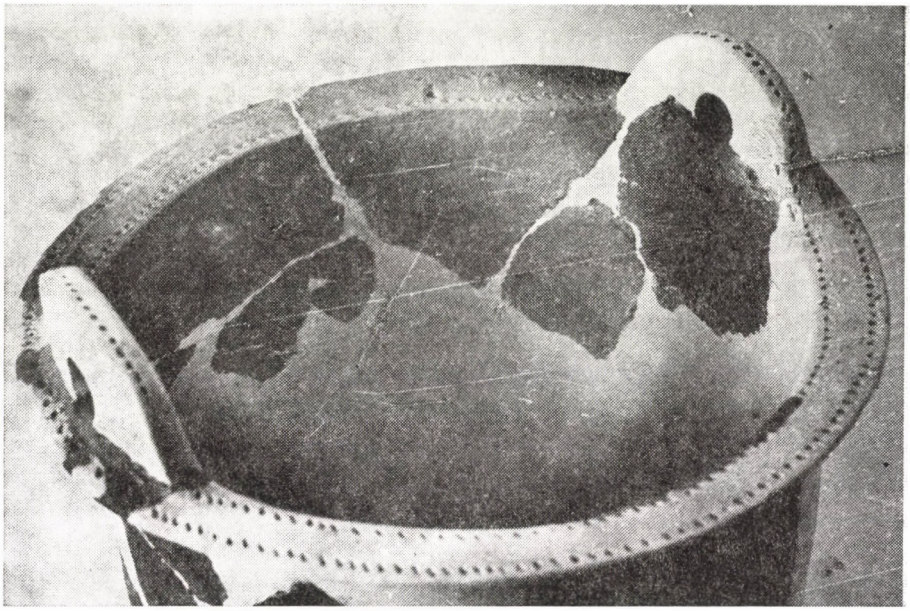


Fig. 2. Rim of the clay kettle of Versec

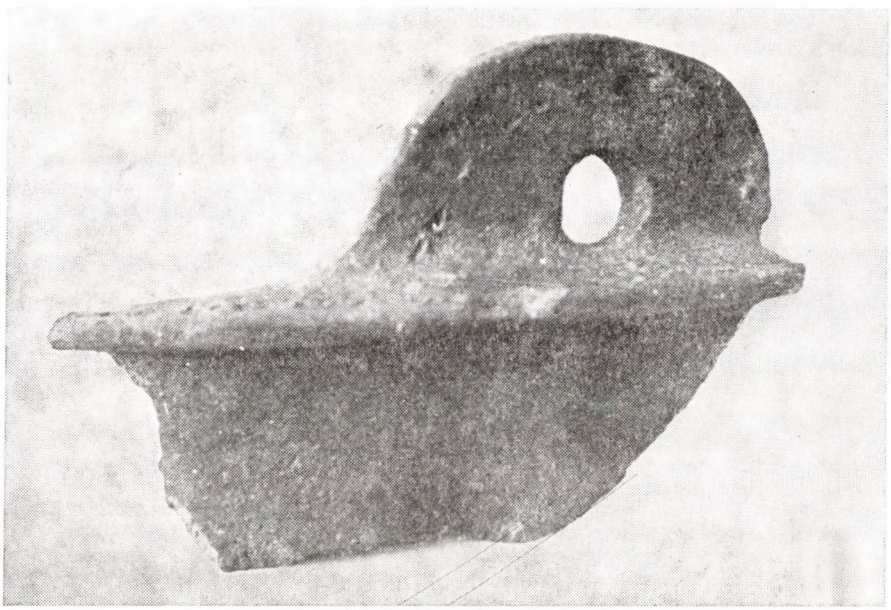


Fig. 3. Versec-Strmoglavica. Fragment of kettle

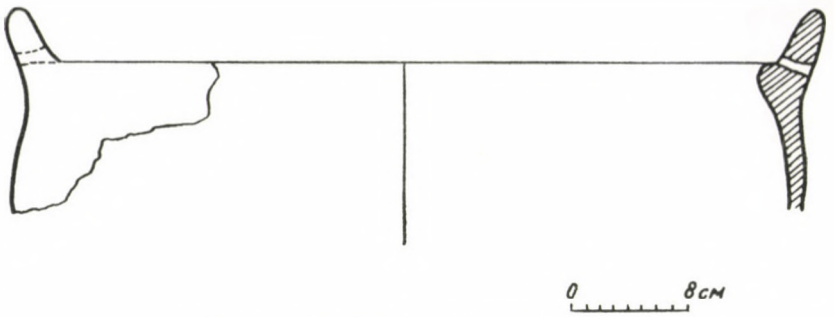


Fig. 4. Rim of the clay kettle of Bilyar

Parallels of the kettles with a vertical handle above the rim cannot be found either in the region of the Don, or in the territory of the Danube Bulgarians. In the published material of finds I could meet with similar kettles only among the Volga Bulgarian vessels. At the excavation of the once huge Bulgarian town Bilyar near the river Čeremšan 13 kettles with vertical handle could be reconstructed from the fragments. They were made on the potter's wheel with a diam. of 18—22 cm, with plain surface (Fig. 4.). (Grigor'eva—Terehina L.—Terehina N.—Halikov 1976, pp. 207—208, Fig. 95/7. A somewhat bigger hand shaped specimen of the diam. of 22.5 cm was also found, the surface of which was ornamented with an irregularly located wavy line. (Kokorina 1976, pp. 219, 222—223). This kettle may be dated to the 10th—11th centuries, on the basis of a similar piece found at Maloe Paľcino (Kokorina 1976, p. 227), and those made on the potter's wheel to a somewhat later date, provisionally perhaps to the 11th—12th centuries (at the most to the early 13th century), as their fragments were not traced in earlier layers. (Grigor'eva and others 1976, p. 208). (Bilyar was established in the early 10th century and was inhabited until the Tatar devastation of 1236, cf. Halikov 1976, p. 45).

Another variant of the clay kettles was also found at Bilyar : the handle was attached to the vessel horizontally, outside the rim, with a hole in the middle for suspension. Two such vessels made on the potter's wheel were found with the diameter of 22 and 30 cm respectively, the surface of one of them was ornamented with a bunch of wavy lines. (Grigor'eva and others 1976, pp. 207—208). The dating of these can hardly differ from the wheeled kettles mentioned earlier. A hand moulded kettle with handle bending out was found at the village settlement of Maloe Paľcino which can be dated to the 10th—11th centuries. (Hlebnikova 1958, pp. 210—212, Plate 3/10 ; 1962, pp. 95, 112—113, Plate 14/14). (There is no hole on the published fragment of handle, therefore this vessel was not suspended, but it was placed on an iron tripod for cooking. The similar kettle of the Árpád period found in Hungary : Méri 1964 , Pl. IX/4). Volga Bulgarian clay kettles are known from yet another place : at the fortified settlement of 'Muromskij gorodok' near the village of Valy, opposite to Kuy-

byshev, on the right bank of the Volga fragments of kettles made on the potter's wheel were found, but there is no photo or drawing of the shape of the handles in the publication. The author only notes that their shape resembles those of Maloe Paĭcino. (Hlebnikova 1962, pp. 119, 121, 130, Plate 22/VI). On their dating so far only that much can be said that they are earlier than the middle of the 13th century as this town was totally destroyed by the Mongols. (Cf. Matveeva 1973, p. 178; Fahrutdinov 1975, pp. 187—188). Perhaps the finds of Bilyar also suggest that we cannot date them prior to the 11th century.

It can be stated on the Volga Bulgarian parallels of the kettles of Versec, that they were rare products of pottery here. On the basis of the dating of the specimen found so far, we may even presume that this type of vessel developed only centuries after the settlement of the Bulgarians here and its origin is not related to the kettles of the Don, where not a single kettle of 'Volga type' has been found. (Pletneva 1967, pp. 108—110). The clay kettles, meant for cooking on open fire around the house, had become popular among peoples shifting from nomadism towards permanent settlement. (Fodor 1975a, p. 261; 1977b, p. 346). As in the early period, the majority of the Volga Bulgarians were also cattle breeding nomads — as it is testified by their funeral rites and also by traces of yurt found at the village settlement near the 8th—9th century cemetery of Kaybely (Merpert 1958, p. 614; Smirnov 1958, p. 685)— and began to settle down permanently only in the region of the middle Volga, we cannot be surprised at the fact that their potters had also 'invented' this practical type of vessel.[2] (Balkhi reported on the remains of earlier nomadism of Volga Bulgarians in the early 10th century. The Arabic geographer wrote about the wooden houses of Bulgar and Suvar, that they are inhabited by the town dwellers only in winter, and they spend the summer outside the town in felt tents.) (Cf. Munkácsi 1903, p. 73; Smirnov 1951, p. 231; 1972, p. 99. The same report is mentioned by M. Bloch as well: Bloch 1949, p. 24, which is interpreted by I. Szabó, obviously by misprint, as referring to the Danube Bulgarians: Szabó 1966, p. 61). It is highly informative what Otto of Freisingen, transiting in Hungary in 1146, wrote about the Hungarians, that «they live in tents during the whole summer and autumn». (Gombos 1937, p. 1767, see the evaluation: Méri 1964, p. 48; Szabó 1966, pp. 31—32). Thus the written sources report on a similar type of economy in the case of both peoples at the time when the clay kettles were used. And to this we may add the third major

[2] It can be hardly by chance that the majority of the kettles of Bilyar (15 pieces) were found at excavation site No. XVIII, which is identical with the territory outside the inner wall, on the confines of the town. (Halikov 1976, p. 26, Grigor'eva and others 1976, p. 203.) Here obviously some later comers may have settled to the confines of the town who kept up for some time their more 'extensive' way of life, and adjusted only slowly to the urban ways.

region where the kettles had spread, the country of the Danube Bulgarians, where this kind of life is justified beyond doubt by the archaeological finds. (Cf. Fodor 1977, p. 93, note 29 ; 1977a, p. 47). Remains of nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life can be met with in the case of all the three already settled peoples. It is quite definite that the Volga Bulgarian merchants saw such kettles in the settlements of the kindred people at the Don. Thus the form was presumably borrowed from there, but the suspending handle was evolved in an individual manner, which shows that manufactured kettles were not imported from the regions of Saltovo. In my knowledge, based on the finds hitherto published, no clay kettle with internal handle was found on Volga Bulgarian territory. (From the point of the possible related origin of the kettles of the Volga and of the Don region it is remarkable that clay kettles were found in one of the southernmost Volga Bulgarian settlements at Valy and recent excavations at one of the sites of northern Saltovo, at Mayaki : Fodor 1977b, p. 336, note 111. Connections between the two regions will be definitely clarified by research which has become rather active recently.)

For us the inference drawn from the above mentioned circumstances, that parallels of the kettles of Versec are known exclusively on Volga Bulgarian territory is the most important. Thus in Hungary this is the only kind of object that can be associated with the Volga Bulgarians without doubt. On this basis we can only presume that sometime after the Conquest a group of Volga Bulgarians had settled down in the vicinity of Versec. As this type of vessel was unknown among the Volga Bulgarians at the time of direct contacts with Hungarians in Eastern Europe roughly between 700 and 800 (as the shape had evolved in the 10th century as the earliest), therefore this tradition of pottery could not be brought along by the Volga Bulgarian groups arriving with the conquering Hungarians. But we may justly think of the Volga Bulgarians who moved to Hungary in the 10th century and may have settled also in the vicinity of Versec.

The latter supposition is not contradicted by historical data either. According to the well founded hypothesis of Gy. Györffy this region belonged to the ducal territories, where mainly the so-called «black Hungarians» lived and among whom we may suspect mainly Kabars and peoples of foreign origin who joined later, including some Muslims. (Györffy 1977, pp. 35, 164—167, 179). According to the testimony of place names, the region of Versec was of mixed population of Hungarians and Slavs in the 11th century. (Kniezsa 1938, pp. 388—389, map). The appearance of Hungarians here can be definitely dated to the first half of the 10th century, as indicated by the archaeological finds, as a rather early pierced bronze hair plait ornament was found in the neighbourhood of the town (Barački 1977, Plate 8 ; Fodor 1980a), in the company of other remains of the period of the Conquest. (Hampel 1905, II, pp. 858—859 ; 1907, pp. 212—213 ; Fehér—Éry—Kralovánszky 1962, p. 84.)

(An important early piece of the Hungarian population of the southern borderland at the Banat is the find of Orsova: Fehér—Éry—Kralovánszky 1962, p. 60. See proofs of the early appearance of the Hungarians along the Lower Danube in the form of place names in: Melich 1925—1929, p. 194.)[3] The ethnic composition of the defenders of the southern borders was rather mixed: the place name *Kölpény* at the mouth of the Temes—Béga originated from the name of the Kölpénys of Scandinavian origin (Györffy 1977, p. 84), the name of the river *Krassó* is of Bulgaro-Turkic origin. (Melich 1925—1929, p. 28.) But the river name can hardly originate from the Bulgarian Turks, who mainly settled down in Dobruja and in North-Eastern Bulgaria (cf. Văžarova 1976; Boev 1972, p. 190, this was the earlier view of Fehér 1928, p. 5), and at present we have no data about the Avars of the Carpathian Basin, who might have included Bulgaro-Turkic tongued groups, living under Bulgarian supremacy, settling down in this locality. (Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1968; 1971; Bóna 1970, pp. 260—261.) It may be far more likely that the name of the river originates from the Bulgaro-Turkic population, who came along with the Hungarians at the time of the Conquest, or, who came to Hungary in the middle of the 10th century.[4]

[3] The southern border of Hungary was the river Danube from the Iron Gate to Belgrade already in the first part of the 10th century and west of it the Sava was the border. On the southern border of the Hungarians the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos wrote the following in the middle of the 10th century: «The Turks live beyond the river Danube, on the territory of Moravia, but also on this side of the river, between the Danube and the Sava.» (*DAI*, cap. 42; cf. Fehér 1922, p. 360; 1922a, p. 47; Kniezsa 1938, pp. 387—388, 395.) This report is supported by the archaeological finds as well. (Bálint 1975, p. 6, Kiss 1973, p. 333; 1975, p. 78.) In contrast, Erdélyi, in his recently published paper (spring, 1978) does not indicate the early Hungarian finds of the southern Banat and, with a single exception, of Syrmia, moreover, he writes the following about the latter region: «Anderseits aber kamen im Süden, zwischen Drau und Save, wo die erwähnten Verfasser (i.e. Kniezsa and L. Glaser — F. I.) auf einigen Punkten Ortsnamen ungarischer Herkunft aus dem 11. Jh. eingetragen haben, auch in den letzten Jahrzehnten keine frühen ungarischen Grabfunde zum Vorschein.» (Erdélyi 1977, p. 77). On the other hand, as the author could have been convinced by the above quoted thesis of Bálint, tenth-century Hungarian graves of great importance were found in Syrmia: the cemetery of Bataynica with a large number of graves, and those of Voyka and Sremska Mitrovica (Szávaszentdemeter), and we also know an early settlement at Belegiš, where clay kettles were also found among others. (I could see the drawings of the material of these sites at Újvidék/Novi Sad by the courtesy of D. Dimitrievič.) Therefore Erdélyi's statement cannot be accepted. The map attached to this paper has unfortunately no key thus we do not know which number indicates what cemetery. Besides, we do not come to know the rather important circumstance from the paper, by what criteria did the author separate the cemeteries regarded as «early» ones by him.

[4] The Museum of Versec preserves a number of kettles of «Hungarian type» from the town and its vicinity, the enumeration of which is planned in another paper of mine (Cf. e.g. Barački 1977, Fig. 2—3.) This circumstance also testifies the mixed ethnic character of the population of the region.

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HELL-IMAGINATIONS IN NON-CANONICAL MONGOLIAN LITERATURE

BY

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Buddhism is one of the oldest religions in the world that makes an effort to solve the eternal problem of right and wrong, reward and punishment, life and death. Its theories concerning the subject were mainly expounded in its teachings about heaven and hell.

Heaven and hell-imaginations — characteristic of every religion — have a rather special meaning in Buddhism. Considering life as a chain of continuously following rebirths, Buddhism regards death, not as the last stoppage of life, but as an intermediate stage between the previous and the next births. As a result of the good and evil deeds committed by individuals during their lifetime, they are reborn to a fortunate life or to a bad fortune. The most unpleasant form of existence is to be born in hell. In India, the conceptions about hell developed in the highest degree in the northern Mahayana system of Buddhism. Here, instead of the eight hells enumerated in old Buddhist works, already eight hot hells and eight cold ones are described, and beyond them, an outer hell as well. A further development of these imaginations can be found in Tibet, where Buddhism was exposed to strong local influence and especially in the 15th century after Tsoṅ Kha-pa's reform it gained the form known in European literature as «Lamaism». Lamaism guaranteed emancipation to all believers, considering its main duty to lead the laity to liberation as expressed in its appeals to the masses of its followers in Tibet and later in Mongolia. This reformed religion made the abstract imaginations of Buddhism concrete and suited them to the level of the mostly illiterate uninitiated laity. Buddhist teachings speak about the several forms of rebirth, about the immediate reward and punishment, and expounding its theories, extended Lamaist literature gave a detailed representation of heaven and especially of hell imaginations as the main element of the subject. Mongolian literature concerning hells is rather extensive and contains a large number of works incorporated into the Buddhist Canon,[1] as well as a lot of others belonging to so-called folk-Buddhism. As a part of the Buddhist cosmological model,

[1] L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol imprimé*, vol. I, Budapest 1942—44, No. 103—104, 107, 109, 745.

the representation of hells also occurs in Buddhist cosmological works.[2] Later when shifted into Mongolia, these imaginations were further changed, but not to the extent that occurred in Tibet. Some of the authors of didactical works, when representing hell, evidently modelled Tsoń Kha-pa's Lam-rim čhen-mo, that has been translated many times into Mongolian, and was popular with the Mongols, just as much as the Canonical works. It is not by chance that detailed descriptions of hell occupy a central position in Tsoń Kha-pa's and his followers' work. Tsoń Kha-pa himself wrote that: «Fear of suffering, results in a strong religious feeling».[3] In Tibeto-Mongolian literature, a number of special works were written in the literary genre called «peregrination stories» as a means of describing hell. All these works form a special part of literature and are called *das-log* in Tibetan meaning «coming back» in a close translation, i.e. coming back from the intermediate stage of souls between death and the next rebirth (Tib: *bar-do*, Mong.: *ǰayuradu-yin oron*). There are some well-known pieces of this kind: *Karma dbaṅ-'jin*, *Khams-pa a-sruṅ*, *Pama ob-bar*, *Gliṅ-bza' čhos-skyid*. All these stories are popular in Tibet, however, in Mongolia only one of them happened to come to light: *Gliṅ-bza' čhos-skyid*, the full Tibetan title of which is: *Gliṅ-bza' čhos-skhyid-kyi rnam-thar* «Legendary History of Lady Choijid of Gliṅ». In Mongolian translation it is better known as: «Story about Choijid Dagini» (*Čoyiǰid dagini-yin tuyuǰi*).

The representation of hell also forms the subject of the «Story of Molon Toyin» and that of the «Story of Lady Naran Gerel» («Story of the White Tara Eke»). In the first narrative the hero, Molon toyin, when searching for his deceased mother, visits all the spheres of the Buddhist world, including the hells as well. In the «Story of Lady Naran Gerel» the dead heroine also wanders through hell, before being reborn in the world of people. It must be mentioned here that the work does not give the usual sequential representation of the different sections of hell as accustomed in Lamaist literature, but only the description of the outer hell occurs, also forming a part of the hell. In addition, the river (one of the small hells) and the second section of the cold hell are spoken about, and the existence of the hell of fire is referred to only. A more complete and colourful picture of hell is given in the «Story of Choijid Dagini». In contrast to the «Story of Molon Toyin» and the «Story of Lady Naran Gerel» the plot of the whole «Story of Choijid Dagini» is set in hell, and the heroine not only visits all the sections of the Buddhist hell, but she appears in the hell-court of the souls of dead people presided over by Erlig nom-un khan. The description of this court is the main part of the «Story of Choijid Dagini», and certainly it was of special interest to the readers of this work.

[2] *Čiqula kereglegči tegüs udqa-tu šastir orosiba. Eril-i qangyayči erdeni-yin šastir neretü sudur orosiba.* Cf. O. Kowalewski, *Buddijskaja kosmologija*, Kazan' 1837, pp. 13—14 (hereafter: Kowalewski).

[3] G. C. Cybikov, *Lam-rim čhen-po*, 2nd edition, vol. 1, Vladivostok 1913, p. 118.

When characterizing the persons appearing in front of the throne of Erlig nom-un khan, the description of the court gives a detailed picture of every strata of Mongolian society of that age : priests, simple members of the laity, princes, the lama-doctor and hunter, i.e. all those whom the reader could always meet in everyday life. These persons' stories about their wordly life and the evaluation of their wordly actions from the point of view of Buddhist morals are clearly realistic and show the «intimate details of life, of customs, and the different levels of consciousness»,[4] in brief, represents the social relations in 17th—19th century Mongolian society.

The examination of the story from this point of view could be the subject of another special investigation, but now, in this paper we should like to point out how the non-canonical Mongolian literature represented hell and we make an effort to trace back the changing of the subject compared to the Indian and Tibetan imaginations.[5]

Buddhist authors with one accord place hell under the earth and generally give a detailed description of its situation. In Lam-rim čhen-mo it is also said : «From here (from Vajrāsana of India)[6] downward 32,000 miles (Mong. *ber-e* = 2 km) is the «again reviving» (compartment of hell) ; a further four thousand miles from one another the seven other ones (compartments) are situated.[7] (Cybikov, p. 119.) A lot of works give the same set up, and further describe sub-divisions of the hot hell — perhaps the only exception is the «Story of Choijid Dagini», where we not only come across the description of

[4] W. Baruch, *Un mystère tibétain* ; *La dame Tchokyid de Ling* : *Cahiers du Sud* XXXV (1948), p. 318.

[5] The hell imaginations of the Mongols are given in three versions of the «Story of Choijid Dagini» kept in the Manuscript Section of the LO IVAN in the Soviet Union : C 24, No. 436, *Erdeni Čos-skyid yögini-ber Erlig-ün yaǰar-a eldeb ǰobalang-tan-i üǰigsen kiged Erlig nom-un qayan-u ǰakiǰu ilgegsen üges-i endegürel ügei ügülegsen čidag orosiba* (hereafter : C 24) ; I3 No. 2891, *Erdeni Čoyiǰid dagini Erlig-ün yaǰar očiyad iregsen-ü namtar. Mungqay-un qarangqui-yi geyigülügči bilig-un ǰula kemekü šastar* (hereafter : I3) ; Q 35 No. 3395, *Čoyiǰid dagini-yin tuyuǰi orosiba* (hereafter : Q 35). Cf. Ce. Damdinsürüng, *Monyol uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰayun bilig orosibai* : *CSM* XIV, Ulayanbayatur 1959, pp. 227—247 (hereafter : Damdinsürüng). — Literature concerning the sources of the Indian and Tibetan hell imaginations : *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, vol. XI, New York 1920, pp. 830—833, 854 (hereafter : Encyclopaedia) ; L. A. Waddell, *Tibetan Buddhism*, New York 1972, pp. 89—100 (hereafter : Waddell) ; G. C. Cybikov, *Lam-rim čhen-po*, 2. ed., Vladivostok 1913, pp. 119—127 (hereafter : Cybikov).

[6] Skr. *Vadjrâsana* (Mong. *Vačir-sayuri*) ancient city in Magadha, today it is a district around the town Gaya in Bihar state.

[7] Other works describe the whereabouts of the hells differently : (hells) «stand in tiers, one upon another, beginning at a depth of 11,900 miles below the surface of the earth, and reach to a depth of 40,000 miles» (Waddell, p. 92). «According to the Abhidharmakoša the deepest hell is situated in a depth of 20,000 liga (1 liga = 4.8 km) (Encyclopaedia, p. 831). The «Erili qangyayči» reports that the «Fearful hell» can be found in a depth of 60,000 *ber-e* under the ground.

the main compartments in which the dead persons' souls reside, but also the path leading to this underground world is narrated. Here is how the heroine of the story describes it : «I went along a white road crossing a splendid desert, where neither a single tree nor a single blade of grass grew. Only a sandy steppe around without a single hill or mound. It would have taken 20 days to ride across this waste. In this desert the water of a river flows lazily, the breadth of which was the same everywhere : a bowshot distance. A bridge crossed it. At this side, where the mountains met the plain, a huge wonderful town sprang up with a crowd of men and women swarming like a disturbed ant-hill. One of them was well-dressed and looked nice, others were badly dressed and sad-looking as if they had all suffered some terrible grief». (Q 35, 8a—9a).

Inquiring further Choijid dagini realizes that she happens to be among the souls in the stage between death and a new birth (*ǰayuradu-yin oron*). Those who looked nice and were well-dressed, had committed good deeds in their worldly life, and as their life-time had been terminated they were waiting here for 49 days. During this time their parents made sacrifices and the lamas celebrated death ceremonies to prepare the souls for appearance in front of the severe Erlig nom-un khan, who determined the place of their next rebirth. Those badly dressed, damned with sorrowful faces, had reached here though their life-time was not terminated yet, but «the envoys of death made mistake»[8] so they have to wait here for the judgement, lingering in misery for 10, 15 or even for 23 years. In the «Story of Naran Gerel» a more detailed explanation is given of the circumstances concerning the longer stay of the souls in the «intermediate stage». «Some kind of high castle appeared. Catching sight of it, Naran Gerel asked questions about it. The devils answered : The souls of people drowned in water or in a well, killed by a sharp knife, hung, poisoned, or who died when they fell off a horse — all those who died an untimely death are shut up here.» (Damdinsürüng, p. 238a).

This fact is supported by the scene of Erlig nom-un khan's judgement on the girl in the «Story of Choijid Dagini» (Q 35, 51a). The horse threw this girl into water and she drowned at the age of 21. As her life-time was considered terminated at 63 years, Erlig nom-un khan ordered her to spend her left-over life-time in the intermediate sphere. Buddhists evidently regarded this stage to be a severe trial, and that is why some of their prayers are finished with the words : «When I am reborn in the *orčilang*[9] consent to elevate me, consent to save me from the crags of the intermediate stage» (*ǰayuradu qabčaγay-ača*).[10]

[8] W. Baruch, *Un mystère tibétain*; *La dame Tchokyid de Ling*: *Cahiers du Sud* XXXV (1948), p. 317.

[9] Mong. *orčilang*, Skr. *sansâra* — material world in which the rebirth of the living beings takes place; circle of rebirths.

[10] A. M. Pozdneev, *Očerki byta buddijskih monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii*, St. Petersburg 1887, p. 458.

In the second half of the 19th century, special prayers were published in xylograph versions in the Buriat datsans begging for deliverance from sufferings of the «intermediate stage».[11]

An episode missing from other hell-descriptions occurs in the peregrination story of Choijid dagini concerning the underground hell. When the heroine of the story arrived at a bridge leading to the throne of Erlig nom-un khan, she caught sight of a person laying on his back across the bridge. A book had been placed on his chest as huge as a mountain. Hell-servants poured molten iron into the mouth of this damned fellow. Choijid dagini asked why this man was being punished in this way? It was explained to her that while living he had stolen the food and drink of others, and in the meantime he repeated: «I never steal». But as he promised to keep this heavy holy book on him, he could fulfill his punishment here and not in hell. Evidently this episode was to serve as an illustration of one of the most important dogmas of Buddhist morals concerning the necessity and extensive use of penance.

A description of Erlig nom-un khan is then given, in the company of his helpers, sitting on his golden throne as a severe judge. The characterizing of his attributes, and that of the procedure in his court do not add anything new to the picture given by other Lamaist works. However, it must be mentioned here that according to the «Story of Choijid Dagini» the court of Erlig nom-un khan was not situated in the first section of the hot hell as usually depicted on the *sansar-un kürdün*.[12] Here it is a separate place where the souls of the deceased are condemned and their way to future rebirths is decided. The hell itself — as stated in the story — was set somewhere in another place, so that the heroine had to go upstairs along a long black ladder to get there, and only after that «she caught sight of the burning land in flames, encircled with iron fences from every side extending for three day's walking distance.[13] There were gates in all four walls» (Q 35, 54a).

All the eight sections of this «Fearful hell» (*ayus tamu*) are situated on different levels, and the lower the section is placed, the more terrible sufferings awaited those who were condemned. The Mongolian names of the hells as given

[11] In the Manuscript Section of the LO IVAN two Buriat xylographs are preserved containing this kind of prayer: *Ene qoyitu ǰayuradu-yin ayul-ača aburaγči ǰalbaril qarangqui-yi arilyaγči ǰula kemegdekü.* «Prayer that saves from the sufferings of the intermediate period called the torch annihilating darkness»; *J̌ayuradu-yin qabčaγai-ača getülgegči ǰalbaril ayul-ača tonilyaγči bayatur kemegdekü.* «Prayer that saves from the rocks of the intermediate period, called the hero defending us from fears».

[12] Mong. *sansar-un kürdün* — drawing of a circle representing in its sections all the forms of the Buddhist existence. Depiction of hell as represented on the *sansar-un kürdün* is spoken about in detail: A. M. Pozdneev, *Očerki byta buddijskih monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii*, St. Petersburg 1887, pp. 73—75.

[13] In other sources: every side goes as far as 20,000 miles (Kowalewski, p. 136).

in some descriptions correspond to the Sanskrit and Tibetan names, and they seem to be the simple translation of them :

Sanskrit[14]	Tibetan[15]	Mongolian[16]
1. Sañjīva	Yaṅ-sos	Dakin edegegči (Again reviving)
2. Kālasūtra	Thig-nag	Qar-a siγumtu (Black lines)
3. Saṃghāta	Bsdus-'gžom	Quriyan tarqaγči (Concentrated destroyer)
4. Raurava	Ṅu-'bod	Ukilaγči (Weeping)
5. Mahāraurava	Ṅu-'bod čhen-po	Yeke ukilaγči (Loud weeping)
6. Tāpana	Cha-ba	Qalaγun (Hot)
7. Pratāpana	Rab-tu cha-ba	Yeke qalaγun (Very hot)
8. Avīchī	Mnar-med	Γoodasi ügei vačir-tu qalaγun (Unbearably hot)

Similarities characterize the descriptions of the sufferings in these hells, however, in a number of cases there are some differences, e.g. here is how the different works represent the anguish in the seventh hell of the «Very hot» section :

1. «Here the living beings are thrown upon burning iron hills on burning poles.» (Encyclopaedia, p. 830).

2. «Here three-spiked burning spears are thrust into the bodies of the wretches that are then rolled up within red-hot iron plates». (Waddell, p. 95).

3. «(Here) three-spiked spears are thrust into the damned so that the sharp points pierce him : the right and left ones across his shoulders, and the middle one across his skull. As a result, tongues of flame burst out of his mouth and his other openings, and nearly all his body is covered with burning red flaming iron plates. He is then thrown head downward into a big iron pot full of boiling water burning all around. When the water is boiling, they (these living beings) swim up and down, and all around. During this time, their skin, flesh and blood are boiled to a pulp, so that only the naked bones remain, that are pulled out and laid on an iron plate. Regaining their skin, flesh and blood, they are then thrown back again into the pot» (Cybikov, pp. 120—121).

4. «The *erlig*s pierce the guilty ones with three-spiked spears, then rolling them onto burning iron plates, and cook them in boiling iron (Kowalewski, p. 136).

[14] Encyclopaedia, p. 830.
[15] Waddell, pp. 93—95.
[16] I3, 16b.

5. «Most of the men and women lay on their back on the hot iron ground, their hands and foot bound together with four iron-chains. They were cut up with swords, sabres, sawn with saws, pierced with arrows and spears, cut up with axes and hatchets, perforated with a drill and sliced up with knives». (Q 35, 57a).

Comparing the different ways that the works represented the suffering in the same hell, we can realize how the different authors filled the traditional patterns using their own creative imagination. Tsoń Kha-pa also evidently combined the large variety of similar descriptions of the sufferings in hell, but at the end of his own detailed text he adds : «They (enumeration) evidently are tortured only in the usual way, but there are many different tortures». (Cybikov, p. 121).

Buddhist authors remarked that bordering the hot hell there were also small hells situated at the four sides of the subdivisions of the hot hell, thus forming altogether 128 small hells. They are divided into four sections :

1. Fiery pit (Waddell, p. 96, Kowalewski, p. 138), or pits with hot ash (Cybikov, p. 122, Encyclopaedia, p. 830).
2. Marsh of filth (Kowalewski, p. 138), or filth of excrements (Cybikov, p. 123, Encyclopaedia, p. 830).
3. Forest of shalmali trees with sword-leaves.
4. Rivers.

The main similarity among the different descriptions of these hells can be found in the case of the rivers. Thus, in the different works we come across the expressions : «river of bitter water» (Encyclopaedia, p. 830), «unfordable river full of hot sand» (Kowalewski, p. 139.), and «river of freezing water» (Waddell, p. 96). Lam-rim čhen-mo mentions a river without any ford that is full of dirty boiling water (Cybikov, p. 123). Another version can be found in the «Story of Naran Gerel» : «A river appeared to flow with blood». Naran Gerel put questions about it, and the devils answered : «In this river women are suffering, who while living in the world of living beings, i.e. in their life-time ; delivering a child dropped blood on the goddess, who put their dirty dresses near to a holy book, or who washed their dirty rags in flowing water.» (Damdinsürüng, p. 238).

The Buriat xylograph version of the «Story of Choijid Dagini» represents the small hells in a different way. Only three forms of them are given there : «Here, some persons are deepened in filth up their chin. Poisonous insects eat their flesh causing unbearable pain. The tongues of others are stretched out and ploughed with a burning iron plough as if they were fields. Other victims getting out of the hot hell, find a forest in front of them with razors, where they are cut up, enduring terrible torment. (Q 35, 57b—58a).

Another method to describing the small hells is provided by the South Mongolian version of the «Story of Choijid Dagini» «Suddenly they saw a

number of women stretched out on the ground with iron nails thrust into their bodies. Unfaithful wives were punished here. They also caught sight of some men who were pulling carts and the erligs had torn off their penis with a hook. The unfaithful men were tortured here. Afterwards they noticed many men and women sunk in a large lake of urine, excrement and blood. They were constantly suffering from the water-insects that bit their flesh. These persons had desecrated monasteries and *suburgans*, had committed disgusting acts during the ceremonies offered to Buddha and great lamas, or had tainted the air in the presence of holy books and priests» (C 24, 64a—64b).

The cold hells are situated to the north of the hot hell and the small hells. They are said «to be found (they are at a distance) more than 10,000 measures from the corresponding eight (sections) of hell of the living beings and from here downward 32,000 measures from the setting of the «Blisters» section. At a distance of 2,000 measures from this, the other seven sections are arranged» (Cybikov, p. 124). All the eight sections of the cold hell are situated in a snowy desert encircled by snow covered mountains, otherwise their lay-out is similar to that of the hot hells.

The appearance of the cold hells in Buddhist literature occurs much later than that of the hot hells. As L. Waddell mentions, the cold hells were evidently introduced by northern Buddhists, because the Indian people were not familiar with the cold. (Encyclopaedia, p. 854). Later, supporting this idea, he wrote that the imaginations of the cold hells can be traced only in Tibet, because the inhabitants of Tibet always suffered from arctic cold, and could imagine heat as something rather pleasant and a convenient thing. Anyhow, the conception of the cold hells seems to originate in India, but it was strenghtened and incorporated into the Canon once and for all by the Tibetan Lamaists. The descriptions of cold hells occurring in Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian works are strikingly similar. The sections of this hell differ from each other only in the intensity of the cold hells is an evident repetition of other Buddhist works, and only at the end is it slightly different, where the erligs drag out the frozen guilty ones from time to time and aks them : «What do you want ?» — and they trembling from cold answer : «We feel cold». Then these inhabitants of the cold hell are transported to the eight hot hells and the inhabitants of the hot hell are pushed into the cold ones. And so, they are always carried from one into the other» (Q 35, 59a—59b).

Most of the versions of the «Story of Choijid Dagini» finish the description of hells at this point, however, some other variants mention the so-called «quickly passing» or the innumerable «external» hells as well.[17] In these scenes, the Lamaists expressed the Buddhist teaching that any form of existence means suffering. These hells are situated either in the environment of the hot and cold

[17] Actually their number is 84,000 (Waddell, p. 96).

hells, or in the main on the earth, in rivers, mountains, and deserts, etc. The «Story of Choijid Dagini» does not refer to the external hells at all, however, one of the versions after giving the description of the hells, goes on rendering an episode known before only from the «Story of Lady Naran Gerel». Here it is told in the story : «When (Choijid dagini) went on, she caught sight of an old woman, who boiled tea in a brass pot. A crowd of men and women with cups in their hand pushed each other around her. The old woman poured tea into their cups. Looking at Choijid dagini she asked her : «Haven't you drunk yet? Why don't you try this tasty drink?» Choijid dagini answered : «I am very thirsty» — but the tiger-headed erlig explained that if she drank that tea, she would not be able to return to the world of people, because it was poison that made one completely forget life» (C 24, 65a—65b.).

This episode evidently has some explanation : the old woman, mentioned just at the end of the description of hell, invites all those who intend to come out of the hells to do nothing else, but take the «drink of forgetfulness» that causes them to forget the previous births, and also everything seen by the victims in the hell. It is why people do not remember any event of their previous life, and only sometimes in their dream do they see places, as clearly as if being awake, places where they have never been, but which at the same time really exist. According to Buddhists this is evidence of the teaching about the real existence of the living beings' rebirth.[18] Choijid dagini had to return to the earthly world, with the order of Erlig nom-un khan that she should not forget anything of the after-death sufferings of the people in the hell, and that she should explain to the believers the teachings of the ruler of the Hell about the necessity of strictly following the prescriptions of Buddhist morals. Evidently, this is why the tiger-headed *erlig* accompanying Choijid dagini on her way through the hells did not let her try this drink.

Descriptions of hells as they occur in Mongolian literature of folk-Buddhism are not always identical with the representation of this part of the Buddhist world as given by the Indian and Tibetan authors. There are a number of special characteristics of these peregrination stories about hell. The «Story of Choijid Dagini», e.g. contains a colourful, rather detailed description of the spheres of hells that helps us to gain a full picture of hell represented in other works and it also provides some special features compared to the Indian and Tibetan parallel imaginations.

[18] Cf. in detail : I. A. Podgorbunskij, *Buddhizm, ego istorija i osnovnye položenija ego učenija*, Irkutsk 1901, pp. 10—11.

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LUNAR GREEN AND SOLAR GREEN: ON THE AMBIGUITY OF FUNCTION OF A COLOUR IN ISLAM

BY

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Quite recently,[1] while dealing with «sects and heresies» in Muslim Iran, I have had the chance of tackling the problem of the encounter between an «Aryan» (solar) and a «Semitic» (lunar) culture — as is still said, quite schematically — from the point of view of the confrontation between «lunar» and «solar» perception. Thus considered, the problem appears to be essentially that of an often reciprocal «nominal usurpation» between Sun and Crescent, moon and sun playing similar roles, without any substantial change in their functional attributes, which however fails to alter the contents of the single myths. But this postulate may be considered widely plausible as an indication of method in the analysis of some religious expressions in the Iranian-Islamic context.

A religious experience of the solar type, or better, centered on the (mithraic) «victorial luminosity», non substantially modified in the images which represent its contents, but rather in the sign and the function attributed to these images, tends to cause a reappearance of particular mythological forms even where the «lunar» character of Semitic religions seems to have found its point of most refined elaboration, Islam. Islam, seemingly a-mythological, is in fact a «kneading» of mythical material, proceeding from different cultures,[2] and restored in a new systematization, Islamic obviously, but also such *par excellence*, destined to historicize the phases of *ġayba* and *żuhūr* («absence» and «presence» of divine manifestations) of which the prophetic theory is blended, and which set the cyclical rhythm to human history on the way to salvation.

I would like to deal with this problem proceeding from a secondary aspect — in any case one which has been hitherto rather neglected[3] — of the

[1] B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Sects and Heresies*, in «Cambridge History of Iran», vol. IV, Cambridge 1975, pp. 481—519.

[2] A significant case — within the postulate brought forth above — is the one analyzed by A. M. Piemontese, *Note etimologiche e morfologiche su al-Burāq*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari», Serie Orientale 5, 1974, pp. 109—133.

[3] In a philosophical context cf. H. Gätje, *Zur Farbenlehre in der muslimischen Philosophie*, in «Der Islam», 43, 1967, pp. 280—301. The volume *The Realms of Colour*,

process by which previous religious contents were inserted in the body of Islamic experience : the motif of colours and their use. In an analysis of this aspect, I believe it likely to point out a few elements which indicate — despite the possible absence of alterations of the «contents» — the shift of sign to which the mythological fact was subjected, when set in a different context. Since I shall be dealing with a working hypothesis — and certainly not with a well-established thesis — I should like to proceed with a case study, in my view paradigmatical, i.e. the motif of *green*.

The significance of the preference given to green — it is the colour of Islam proper — may be clarified forthright by two texts, among the many materials at our disposal for an examination.

The Qur'an states :[4]

. . . ٱلَّذِى جَعَلَ لَكُم مِنَ ٱلشَّجَرِ ٱلْأَخْضَرِ نَارًا فَإِذَآ أَنتُم مِنْهُ تُوقِدُونَ
أَوَ لَيْسَ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٱلسَّمَوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ بِقَادِرٍ عَلَىٰٓ أَن يَخْلُقَ
مِثْلَهُم بَلَىٰ وَهُوَ ٱلْخَلَّاقُ ٱلْعَلِيمُ . . .

A Shi'ite commentary of the 12th century[5] glosses the verse, referring the various opinions in exegetical literature on the presence or absence of the possibility of intrinsically «possessing» fire, among the potentialities of the different tree-types. But attention must be rather given to a point which, in the commentary under examination, would seem a secondary one. The attribute *green* (*aḫḍar*) is the word that becomes principally charged with significance ; it is the word that identifies the context. And the context is expressed in the verses 32—33 and again in verse 26, which deal with the creative quality of God, through the normal paradox employed by that religious text, i.e. the expression of underlying interconnections between seemingly unrelated concepts by means of logical shifts : in this case, relevant to the green tree and

«Eranos Jahrbuch», vol. 41, 1972—74, comprises among other things an article by H. Corbin, *Réalisme et symbolisme des couleurs en cosmologie shi'ite*. In point of fact, we may find here the analysis of the conception of the *šayḫī* Muḥammad Karīm Ḫān Kirmānī (died 1870) ; a theosophical conception in Corbin's interpretation of the text, but perhaps merely a heterodox one on the traditional imamite doctrine. In any case, despite the many interesting suggestions it offers, the quoted article cannot constitute the basis for an interpretation of colours in the Islamic milieu. Much removed from the problems dealt with here is B. Lewis' *Race and Color in Islam*, London 1971, which attempts to bring forth the racist and anti-racist elements in Islamic context.

[4] Qur'an, XXXVI, 79—80, Cairo ed. The whole sūra from verse 30 must be considered a «unity», in this respect: position of sun and moon, themes of water, fire, etc.

[5] *Ǧild-i haštum az Tafsīr-i šayḫinā al-aǧall Abū'l-Futūḥ-i Rāzī*, Tehran, 1321/1942, p. 285 ff.

the creation of mankind, of «other men» on the part of God who intervenes, as the Super-creator, to overturn the inanimate/dead materiality of the elements recalled by the fire, by the tree : earth, by the green: water.

The second text is a *ḥadīṯ*, which goes back to one of Muḥammad's women and is referred by Buḫārī[6] in the *Kitāb al-ǧihād*, in one of the chapters dealing with the merits of one who fights in God's path.The chapter is concluded by a list of believers who will surely find their place in the group of the blessed. Umm Ḥarām relates : «One day the Prophet was sleeping by me. He awoke smiling, and I asked him : wherefore do you smile? I saw — he answered — among my community, people who were advancing on the green sea (*al-baḥr al-aḫḍar*), as kings on prisoners. May God set me among them, I said . . .». The context has little variance from that of the Qur'an. There, we found the creative power of God, here the force of salvation of Islam. The green sea is the pathway that must be victoriously overcome to arrive at a new existence, beyond the day-by-day character of human events ; although salvation is also tied to the latter, as is the flame to the green tree.

The two texts limit the space within which the concept of *green* functions : material and spiritual birth. Obvious is the connection between the first type of birth with nature, vegetation, earth : it is the motif of fertility. This motif, however, finds an ideal parallel in the heavenly world ; at least, judging by the literature of tradition, according to which green is the colour of the gentle and of the angels, and green are the robes of the blessed.[7]

But it would be somewhat hasty to consider this context as vital, active, possibly even solar. The central idea here is not so much the resurgence to a new life, but rather the fact that, for resurgence, the chosen way is that of death leading to self-annulment.[8] In fact, the use of the motif of *green* in a mystical milieu appears to fit without any break inside the traditional Islamic conception. In general, green is the heart, and all that refers to the sphere of life,[9] whereas red, the colour of fire, expresses rather the idea of power (*qudra*), and becomes the symbol of the exhaustion of the battle against instinct and the Devil. In other words, we have to deal with a «moment» of interiorization — corresponding to *green* — and with the active explosion — *red* — ; although the latter is functionally and securely related to the greenness of the heart, source but not protagonist of mystical action. Even that which Corbin calls «le symbolisme des couleurs dans la théosophie isla-

[6] al-Buḫārī, *Saḥīḥ*, Cairo, vol. 2, 1289/1873, p. 112.

[7] Cf. F. Meier, *Die Fawā'iḥ al-Ǧamāl wa-Fawātīḥ al-Ǧalāl des Naǧm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 121.

[8] B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Nota a Corano XVIII, 94*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari», Serie Orientale 1, 1970, pp. 13—14.

[9] Meier, *op.cit.*, p. 6 (Arabic numbering), paragraph 13 ; *fa-lawn al ḫuḍra ʿalāmat ḥayāt al-qalb.*

mique»[10] does not alter the terms of the relationship here brought forth. The degradation of light, which passes from white to green, in the progression of descent toward the netherworld — to refer the specific example quoted by Corbin — means a *regressus ad uterum*: and this is equivalent to admitting the presence of the feminine element at a «pole» which presupposes, as its opposite, the solarity of the epiphany centered on the Throne, first element of Being.

In parallel, according to a tradition going back to the tenth *Imām*, ʿAlī al-Naqī,[11] green is associated to black in the scale of colours and represents *Malakūt*, the world of the soul, immediately above our own, which is dominated exclusively by black. And *Malakūt* is defined a «green belt of emerald, with which God maketh the sky green; veil, beyond which God possesseth seventy thousand worlds, the inhabitants of which are more plentiful than demons and humans together». It is the key of the celestial vault. The reading is more exoterical, but certainly in no contradiction with the verse of the Qur'an quoted above. Here, it must be added, interpretive proceeding can only stem from a depassing of the explicit meaning of the terms, so as to grasp and identify the symbol, functional in the corporal representation of Creation in its passive, feminine sense, in which the act is reduced to fertile acceptance — albeit in a non-bodily space, in a space not defined in its limits by Matter. Simnānī (died 1336) reformulates, in turn, the entire process through his theory of the colouring of the veils which surround each of the f i n e c e n t r e s (*nuqṭāt laṭīfa*) in the ideal succession of stages covered by the mystical pilgrim. Each of the centres has a prophet assigned to it. The last centre, the divine centre (*laṭīfa ḥaqqiyya*), which follows upon the black-coloured centre of Jesus, is green, and the corresponding prophetic figure is that of Muḥammad. If black indicates the arcane, green has the significance of the mystery of mysteries (*sirr ġayb al-ġuyūb*).[12]

Even when the Islamic prophetic conception shows no elements of exception, the verdant prophet holds the secret of the water of life. The negative connotation which the colour assumes in relation to the prophet as «he who lays barren», and in this form comes to bring the new and authentic message, derives exactly from a specific shift of «sign» undergone by the mythological material taken on by Islam: we therefore assist to a sort of dialectical process, by which the original life-bearer becomes a negative figure, and is superseded by the original causer of barrenness, tied to death, as positive aspect.[13] In this way, the cycle connecting death to real life is concluded, with the con-

[10] H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 2, Paris 1971, p. 222.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 282—283.

[12] H. Corbin, *op.cit.*, vol. 3, Paris 1972, p. 290.

[13] Perhaps it would be more appropriate to speak of the «guide» rather than of the «verdant prophet», since the Qur'anic Ḫiḍr, the Verdant, represents the figure of the guide

sequent apotheosis culminating in its denial, and with a further evidentiation of receptive femininity, which bears the mystery and may also symbolize it, but is distinct from it as regards the intensity of its essence.

On the other hand, it is in the popular Iranian milieu, a milieu of recent conversion to Islam, that the primitive Semitic conception becomes charged with contradictory elements, of difficult classification, due to its contact with a religious experience going back to a «solar» typology. In our case, green, the colour of ʿAlī (and thus of the Prophet's family through his *daughter*), takes on new, and not consistently passive, attributions.

For example, we may observe the constant by which a holy place in Iran[14] is almost in all cases to be sought on the basis of two elements, water and trees, thus in both cases green, and tied to the concept of life. Certainly, this pertains also to the primeval sphere of the verdant prophet, but its positive function remains totally explicit. The vitalistic aspect motivates the process of sanctification of the site,[15] whereas its opposite, represented by the prophet who creates barrenness, is minimally left in shadow.

One example among the many possible will be sufficient, even leaving out the legend of ʿAlī-al-Riḍā,[16] which is so paradigmatic in this sense as to be excessive. In the description of some public works in Yazd during the Mongol period, it is stated that a martyr's tomb was discovered:[17] the figure, almost intact, was of terrifying aspect, and it was wrapped in green and white robes. A Qur'an was open on its breast, which showed a deep wound ; by introducing a wad of cotton, flowing blood could be detected. The perturbed excavator left the place,

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par excellence. For the aspect of the prophet as causer of barrenness, cf. B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Un'interpretazione iranistica di Cor. XXV, 18 e L, 12*, in «Rivista degli Studi Orientali», XLIII, 1968, pp. 43—45.

[14] In this respect, there is no typological difference — at least as far as the theme under examination is concerned — between a Muslim and a Zoroastrian sacred place. It is not always the case of a simple succession — Mazdeism superseded by Islam —, since the same place may be used for cultural purposes by both religious confessions quite often, where Zoroastrian minorities are present. Rather we have to deal with a «seeing eye to eye», as is demonstrated by this example: The pilgrimage site of Pīr-i sabz (the Old Green) is to the north of Kerman, near the guebre quarter. It is well known that during the Afghan attack to this region . . . in this exact place a green banner appeared, and was the cause of the defeat and the escape of the Afghans. For this reason the place is famous by this name», cf. *Farhang-i bihdīnān*, by Ǧamšīd Surušīyān, Tehran 1956, pp. 208—209.

[15] Cf. B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Nascita di un Emāmzāde (1973)*, in «Oriente Moderno», anno LIV, n. 4, aprile 1974, pp. 169—171.

[16] Cf. Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibnʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummī, known as Šayḫ Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn aḫbār al-Riḍā*, lit. Tehran, 1275/1858—59, bāb XVI, pp. 132—135.

[17] Ǧaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Ǧaʿfarī, *Tarīḫ-i Yazd*, Tehran, ed. Afšār, 1338/1959—60, pp. 126—127.

but was reached by death, and at nighttime tongues of fire appeared on the martyr's tomb. Basically the same story is given with a variant by a different source :[18] instead of the green robes, we find a green inscription on a green background. Green, white, and red — of blood or of fire — witness here not only the prophetic mission, salvation that can come only through death, but also something more : the green inscription, symbolizing the living *logos*, holds life in itself, with no difference from another inscription, i.e. the word *raqīm* in the Coranic Sura of the Cavern, in itself the prototype of Iranian insertions into the tissue of the sacred book.[19]

We have to deal here with ambiguity, with multiplicity of values. Perhaps more explicit is the permanence, or the renewed cropping up, of Iranian themes in Islamic context in the case, e.g., of the so-called Iranian heresies ; especially those of the first ʿAbbāsid age (8th century), when presumably the conversion of the peoples of the Iranian plateau to Islam was still far from constituting a well-accepted fact. Islam, the «black religion» is here set against the «white religion», simplistically identified with Zoroastrianism,[20] but more correctly to be considered the equivalent of «Iranian religious experience», despite the generical character of such a definition.[21]

The named dychotomy indicates a rough line of division ; the latter, however, does not always allow us to distinguish the elements of one field from those of the other. The result is an interpenetration, within which — at all events — Iranian elements of the «solar» type are clearly recognizable.

In two heretical movements the colour green is present in an important function : the movement of Bihāfarīd and that of Muqannaʿ. Bihāfarīd «disappeared at the beginning of his career and was in China for seven years. Upon his return, he brought back — among Chinese curios — a green shirt, so light and thin that it could be fitted within the palm of the hand when folded. He went up at nighttime to the heights of a temple, and was seen by a farm-labourer descending from it the following morning . . . He said he had been in the sky during his absence, that Heaven and Hell had been shown to him, that God had inspired him, and dressed him in that robe, and that he had come back that minute proper. The farm-labourer believed him, and testified among the people of having seen him descend from the sky . . .»[22]

More complex is the structure of the tale regarding Muqannaʿ. He «used to veil himself in green silk, since he possessed only one good eye. He

[18] Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī Kātib, *Tarīḫ-i ǧadīd-i Yazd*, Tehran, ed. Afšār, 1345/1966—67, pp. 187—189.

[19] Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. XV, ed. Cairo, 1328/1910, p. 130.

[20] Cf. Gholan Hossein Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II et III siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, p. 220.

[21] B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Sects and Heresies*, pp. 513, 482.

[22] Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig, II, 1878, pp. 210—211.

maintained that he was God, that God had manifested Himself in his person, to the point that before this event nobody had been able to view Him».[23] According to another tradition, «since he was sick, one-eyed . . . he never showed his face but kept it hidden by a veil of gold . . . He had acquired his influence over his countless followers with deceptive miracles made apparent to them by means of magic and spells». Further, «he made a well . . . from which a moon rose. The people saw it as if it had been real».[24] In both cases, as regards the green material of Bihāfarīd or the green (or golden) veil of Muqanna', the presentation is that of signs of the unworldly. The secret is there, and it consists in that affected eye. However, the symbolized element does not correspond to the secret itself, but rather to a divine solar epiphany placed under the cover of the veil, not as expression of a passive «lunar» choice of self-obscuration but as additional proof of its power. This is confirmed by the fact that not only gold and white are associated with green in these contexts, but red may be substituted — albeit in an ambiguous fashion — to green itself.[25]

Of course the Messianic element is a mainstay in the heresies under discussion; and here again we find the passage from the black colour of the Mahdī or Messiah of Islamic tradition, to the Iranian vision in which the Saviour will recreate life through his sperm of a brilliant colour.[26]

And the many different hypostases of the *Mahdī — Saošyant* (Messiah-Saviour) present him as hidden in the Rayy mountains,[27] or in the castle of copper;[28] identifying him with the *kūdak-i dānā*, the wise child, who remembers the cyclical birth of the sun, rising in the morning and progressively *prevailing*;[29] or further symbolizing him with the white dove, an indication of the progressive return to original matter,[30] in fact a marker of «cosmic suspension»[31] as made explicit on two distinct levels, that of the will to be absorbed by the feminine element, and the reappearance of the male primary function.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[24] Ibn Ḫallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, trans. De Slane, Paris, 1843, II, pp. 205—206.

[25] Cf. the case of the Muḥammira and in particular the story of Bābak; cf. B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Sects and Heresies*, p. 514.

[26] G. Gnoli, *Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel mazdeismo e manicheismo*, in «Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli», XII, 1962, p. 102 ff.

[27] On the theme of the mountain, in specific connection with the colour red and tied to metal, cf. G. Vercellin, *Leucippi e Dioscuri in Iran*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari», Serie Orientale 1, 1970, pp. 54—57; and G. Scarcia, *Sulla religione di Zabul*, in «Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli», XV, 1965, p. 136, for the suggestions of connections with Sistān through the theme of the mountain.

[28] J. Darmesteter, *Le Mahdi*, Paris 1885, p. 43.

[29] S. Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Ḫurrāmdīn*, Tehran 1342/1963—4, p. 23.

[30] C. G. Jung, *Psychologie et Alchimie*, Paris 1970, p. 437.

[31] G. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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CHRONICA

THE KŐRÖSI CSOMA SOCIETY 1975—1978

After the annual plenary session of the Society in April, the first ordinary meeting of the following yearly period was held on May 13th, 1975, by M. Hoppál on «Mythology and World View (New trends in the comparative research of mythology)». This methodological lecture provided a short outline of the related research in Hungary and abroad from the beginning of the 19th century, and concluded with an appeal for a modern mythological discipline based on the best recent achievements of the new *theory of text*.

Those who attended the ordinary meeting on June 10th could share the instructive experiences of a colourful travel account in «The Eternal Benares», with the guidance of Gy. Wojtilla assisted by projected pictures. The history and character of this ancient city and important religious centre was propounded by the lecturer upon old Indian literary sources, describing its Buddhist and Brahmanist traditions, the sacred places of pilgrimage, as well as the famous universities, libraries and present day museums of Benares.

An unusually long summer interval — due to an international Congress of Finno-Ugristic Studies in Budapest — was followed by the lecture of a guest of the Society from the Soviet Union (Kazan), Diljara G. Tumaševa on «The Language of Siberian Tatars», in Russian, on October 14th, providing a contribution to Turcological linguistic map of the territory concerned.

Before the following ordinary meeting on November 11th, General Secretary G. Kara announced the resignation of Academician L. Ligeti from his post as President of the Society, because of health reasons and owing to the pressure of his numerous other engagements. According to the statutes of the Society, a committee meeting decided that the Vice-President K. Czeglédy should perform the duties of Managing President until the next general assembly meeting, in April, 1976. After this resolution K. Czeglédy delivered his lecture on the «New Researches Concerning the Ancient History of Turkic Peoples», showing the network of tribes and tribal confederacies of the Turk Empire, starting from the central parts of Asia as far as to Eastern Europe.

The last ordinary meeting of the year, on December 9th, was devoted to folkloric problems of the Mongolian peoples. L. Lőrincz read a paper on the «Grandson of the Son (The ancient Mongolian myth of the sun)».

On January 13th, 1976 I. Mándoky Kongur gave a thorough description of «The Written Records of the Coman Language in Hungary» that aroused lively interest in this martial guest of 13th century Hungary and the increasingly peaceful pasturing population of the subsequent centuries in the Great Plain.

The territory of the Caucasus in the first half of the 7th century was the centre of the ordinary meeting on February 10th. M. Bíró interpreted «Georgian Sources on the Khazars» concerning the campaign of Heracleios.

A large audience was attracted, on March 16th, by the topic «Mayas, Toltecs, Aztecs». The popular novellist L. Passuth gave a suggestive speech, with projected pictures,

about the historical background and artistic relics of Pre-Columbian life and the traditional culture of Mexico.

The assembly meeting was held on April 13th, 1976. The introductory words of the chairman K. Czeglédy were followed by the gala lecture on the Tibetan books of the eponym of the Society, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (or Kőrösi Csoma Sándor, as called in Hungarian) held by J. Terjék.

The annual report of General Secretary G. Kara was followed by the report of the Treasurer A. Fodor. Finally the participants of the meeting unanimously elected K. Czeglédy the new President of the Society. Zs. Kakuk was appointed the new Vice-President and M. Tatár the new Minutes Secretary of the Society. Then the assembly adopted a decision to the effect that the fruitful activites of the founding President L. Ligeti should be acknowledged by an official letter.

The first ordinary meeting of the following annual period on May 11th was devoted to recent discoveries of Soviet archaeology in the field of «Ruined Towns in the Crimean Peninsula». The lecture reflected the personal experiences of the reader I. Erdélyi and was illustrated by projected pictures.

At the ordinary meeting preceding the summer interval on June 15th, G. Erdős contributed to the history of Hungary's oriental connection by analyzing a Japanese political novel of the last century and pointing out its Hungarian connections, under the title «Tōkai Sanshi and Lajos Kossuth».

The programme of the autumn session was introduced by an ordinary meeting on September 14th. K. Czeglédy gave a lively and detailed account of his recent studies concerning «South-Western Siberian Peoples as Reflected in the Inner-Asian Sources».

In the following week, on September 21st, officials of the Budapest City Council were present when a memorial tablet was unveiled on the building that was formerly the home of the famous Orientalist of Hungarian origin Sir Aurel Stein. After the introductory words of Academician J. Szentágothai and the memorial speech of Academician L. Ligeti a wreath was laid at the memorial tablet on behalf of the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Kőrösi Csoma Society and the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

On September 24th, an international scholarly session that lasted a week (until September 30th) began in Mátrafüred. This was the first Kőrösi Csoma Memorial Symposium with fifty lectures by scholars from many European countries, India and from the USA. It was agreed that the next Symposium should be also held in Hungary in September, 1979.

An ordinary meeting was held on October 12th, when E. Schütz surveyed the territory to the north of the Black Sea in the stormy past few centuries, both from an Armenist and Turcologist viewpoint, with respect to linguistic, historical, and cultural-historical problems : «The Crimea and the Armeno-Kipchak Question».

On November 16th, a lecture was given by T. Iványi on «The Arabic Script, Its Origin and Structure».

On December 14th, É. Apor gave a report about her study-trip in Iran, accompanied by projected pictures and music on tape.

That same day, there was a sad loss for the Society : academician J. Németh, Honorary President of the Society died at the age of 87, on December 14th. After the last honours on December 23rd, his funeral took place in his native town Karcag.

On January 18th, a literary historical and aesthetic analysis of modern Chinese fiction and its social and historical background was outlined by A. Galla : «Imitation and Recreation. The Novel 'Midnight' by Mao Tun».

On February 15th, K. U.-Kőhalmi held a lecture on «The Fishing of the Mongolian Peoples». She gave the historical information of the chronicles, as well as the recent ethnographical data and the related terminology.

On March 15th, the paper of G. Dávid concerned a dark period of Hungarian history when about a third of the country was occupied by the Ottoman Empire, dividing these territories into new tributary units for the Ottoman administration : «The Sanjak of Simontornya in the Ottoman Empire».

The general assembly meeting of the year was held on April 12th. The official paper of the day was delivered by B. Csongor on a classic of Chinese Taoist philosophy «Chuang-tzu». This poetic exposition of Lao-tzu's doctrine, a masterpiece of literary essay, was expounded by the lecturer in its connection and contrast with other trends and schools of Chinese philosophy.

In his annual report General Secretary G. Kara gave a detailed report about the Society's activities in the past year. After his report was accepted by the assembly, President Czeglédy submitted the proposal that the rank and title of the deceased Honorary President should be conferred on L. Ligeti. The assembly approved the suggestion. Finally K. Czeglédy informed the assembly about the foundation of a «Kőrösi Csoma Award». An anonymous donator had presented 100,000 Forints as permanent fund, and the two years' interest of the fund would be awarded every second year to an eminent Hungarian scholar younger than 40 years of age, who had displayed erudition in the fields of Tibetan, Altaic or Buddhist research. This year the award was presented to J. Terjék, Tibetologist. Then President Czeglédy presented the Kőrösi Csoma Commemoration Medal, to be awarded again after the due three years' period, to L. Rásonyi, Professor Emeritus in Turcology.

On May 17th, F. Mártonfi gave a lecture «On Early Korean Poetry (Hyangga)». The lecturer succeeded in revealing the Chinese roots of this poetry as well as its Korean flowers, i.e. a character of its own in Korea and in Korean.

On June 14th, L. Rásonyi gave a Turcological survey of the ethnic and cultural history of the South Eastern region of the Carpathian Basin, under the title «Bulaqs and Oghuzs in Mediaeval Transsylvania».

On June 21st, a special meeting was held in the Council Hall of the Eötvös Loránd University (Philological Faculty). A. Magomedov (Ordžonikidze, Soviet Union) gave a speech in Russian on «The Ossetic Society after the Age of the Mongols».

In the summer interval, on July 26th, another special meeting was organized in the Inner Asian Chair of the Eötvös Loránd University. Professor S. V. Shastri (India) lectured on «The Concept of Time in Ancient Indian Thought».

In the autumn, on September 13th, the lecturer of the ordinary meeting was G. Kara who dealt with «Money and Writing in Inner Asia».

The southernmost part of ancient India was brought closer to the Hungarian public on October 11th, when the ordinary meeting of the month was devoted to «The Beginnings of Tamil Literature» by I. Major.

On November 15th, the public was invited to hear a colourful travel report «On a Research-trip in Kazakstan» by I. Mándoky Kongur.

On November 24th, a colour film of the rich landscapes and fauna of Mongolia was projected, in commemoration of the foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

On December 13th, S. Józsa recalled the 50th anniversary of a revolutionary moment in South China, led by the Chinese Communist Party, as reflected by the contemporary illegal Hungarian press : «The Commune in Canton and its Echo in Hungary».

In 1978 the first ordinary meeting, January 17th, provided an opportunity for the Society to share the instructive travel experience of E. Schütz gained during his recent study trip in Soviet Armenia.

The earliest written record extant of the Tungusian language spoken in the Soviet Union, i.e. the so-called Tungus Lord's Prayer was analysed on February 14th, by K. Melles.

On March 21st, I. Vásáry delivered a paper about the history of research and ideas, and their influence on one another in the first half of the 19th century, i.e. on the «Research of Ancient Hungarian History in the Reform Era».

On April 18th, F. Tőkei, Vice-president of the Society delivered a gala speech on «The Prospects of Oriental Studies». He elucidated the new prospects based on the Marxist theory of history, in his own Sinological sphere as well as in the other fields of Oriental research.

General Secretary G. Kara presented the annual report about the previous year of the Society, and resigned from the post of General Secretary. K. Czeglédy accepted G. Kara's report and resignation, and expressed the Society's thanks for his painstaking and self-sacrificing work of a decade. The new directing board was then elected as follows: L. Ligeti—Honorary President, K. Czeglédy — President, Zs. Kakuk and F. Tőkei — Vice-presidents, J. Terjék — General Secretary, T. Iványi — Secretary, A. Fodor — Treasurer. Afterwards a new honorary member of the Society was elected in the person of Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Indologist. President Czeglédy's concluding words ended the third three-year cycle of the Kőrösi Csoma Society.

Ildikó Ecsedy

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CRITICA

Some recent publications on Chuvash

The interest in the Chuvash language has recently considerably grown. This is due to the key position of this language spoken by about 1,7 million people (census of 1970), from which 856.000 live in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic, 153.000 in the Tatar AR, 113.000 in the Kuybishev region and the rest scattered over the other territories of the Soviet Union. The Chuvash language has a special position within the network of the Turkish languages because it shows a series of features not common with the other Turkish languages, and some of these have interesting parallels in Mongolian. Most of the special Chuvash features have been recognized by Klaproth, Schott, Budenz and others, but J. Németh was the first who tried to determine the position of Chuvash. According to Németh's early opinion[1] Chuvash and Yakut underwent a common secondary development. Later on Németh himself abandoned this hypothesis, but insisted that most of the Chuvash peculiarities are secondary developments.[2]

In 1922 appeared the fundamental work of G. J. Ramstedt with the title *Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen.*[3] In the debated question whether Chuvash is a Turkicized Finno-Ugrian language or a genuine Turkish one, Ramstedt followed the opinion of scholars like Klaproth, Schott, Budenz, Paasonen, Gombocz, Németh and others. He clearly declared that Chuvash is «eine regelrechte Entwicklung der Türk-Sprache» (*op.cit.*, p. 34). But in contradiction to earlier opinions he considered the well-known Chuvash-Mongolian parallels (among others the rotacism and lambdaism) as preserved archaisms reflecting a pre-Turkish (Vortürkisch) stage. According to Ramstedt these pre-Turkish features do not reflect an early Turkish-Mongolian contact.[4]

[1] *Az ősjakut hangtan alapjai* [The outlines of the Proto-Yakut Phonology: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 43 (1914), p. 278.

[2] From the 30's of this century Németh already abandoned this hypothesis in his university lectures. A good survey of his Turkological views can be found in: *Special'nye problemy tjurkskogo jazykoznanija v Vengrii*: *VJa* 1963: 6, pp. 126—136 and *Obščie problemy tjurkskogo jazykoznanija v Vengrii*: *VJa* 1964: 6, pp. 119—125.

[3] *JSFOu* 38 (1922—23), pp. 1—34.

[4] «Es genügt hier klargelegt zu haben, dass das Tschuwassische eine regelrechte Entwicklung der Türk-Sprache ist und zwar ohne jede direkte Berührung mit dem Mongolischen» (p. 34). He writes, however, a few lines earlier: «Damit kommen wir aber schon auf eine andere Frage, die nach dem Lautbestand des Vortürkisch-Vormongolischen und auf die Geschichte der altaischen Ursprache. Diese Frage lasse ich aber hier absichtlich beiseite» and then he adds: «Sie kann ja nichts liefern zur Erklärung der Stellung der Tschuwassischen und des Tschuwassischen zu den Dialekten der übrigen länger zusammengebliebenen Türken».

1. The accumulation of knowledge on Chuvash and the continuing debates on its position inspired N. Poppe who, after more than 50 years and a series of important works written by himself on this and connected questions, returned to the problem of the position of Chuvash. It is not a mere chance that even the title of his paper is echoing that of Ramstedt: *Zur Stellung des Tschuwaschischen*.[5] Poppe has outlined the position of Chuvash in one of his earlier works as follows[6]

Pre-Turkic

Proto-Chuvash — Proto-Turkic

Chuvash — Presently existing Turkish languages

I II III IV V

Here I. is Yakut, II. the Northern or Siberian languages (Tuva, Karagas, Abakan dialects, Baraba, Altai, Teleut), III. Western group called also Kipchak (Kirgiz, Kazak, Nogai, Karai, Kuman, Tatar, Bashkir, Kumyk, Karachai-Balkar), IV. Eastern group (Modern Uigur or East Turki, Uzbek), V. Southern group (Turkmen, Anatolian Turkish or Osman-Turkish, Azerbaijan). Though there are some inconsequencies in this grouping (e.g. why is Kuman, an old language, included and other old Turkish languages not?), for the time being this seems to be the only acceptable one if this type of grouping can be maintained at all.[7] The fact that Poppe calls the whole group not Turkic or Turkish but Chuvash-Turkic (for the reason that «Chuvash is the descendant of a *r-* and *l-* language (. . .) which was close to Common Turkic (otherwise called Proto-Turkic) but not identical with the latter»), can give the impression that there are four Altaic languages (Chuvash, Turkic, Mongolian, Manchu-Tunguzian). But if he calls the stage before Proto-Chuvash: Pre-Turkic, it becomes clear that Poppe's opinion is essentially the same as that of Ramstedt and we are confronted only with a blur of terminology. This is also clear from Poppe's concluding words: «Wenn man das Čuv. zu den Türksprachen zählt, so muss dies mit einem gewissen Vorbehalt getan werden, denn das Čuv. verhält sich nicht so zum Tatarischen wie das Türkmenische sich zum Tatarischen verhält» (*op. cit.*, p. 147). One can only but agree with the description of the situation. Quite another question is, how we do interpret it.

The special Chuvash features can be devided into three groups. To the first group pertain those which are due to the influence of the surrounding languages and to the substratum influence of languages earlier spoken on the territory where the Chuvash people lives. The most important are the influence of the Finno-Ugrian languages (Permian and Volga-Finnish) and the Volga Kipchak languages (Kazan Tatar, Misher, Bashkir). Poppe has a great merit in investigating the latter[8] and in the main lines the former is also clear. The distinction between the second and the third group of the Chuvash pecularities is more difficult. To the second group pertain those innovations which are due to the inner history of this language and came

[5] *Central Asiatic Journal* 18 (1974), pp. 135—147.

[6] *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 33.

[7] J. H. Greenberg (*Essays in Linguistics*, 1957, p. 66) has put forward very reasonable arguments in favour of the fact that the genetic classification of the languages is not only for practical purposes but also theoretically the best way of their grouping. However in all branches of historical linguistics the areal aspect is gaining ground and if it is used for refining the genetical classification new insights can be gained. The main task in the work of classification of the Turkish languages is to detect the oldest isoglosses which crossed the ancient Turkish languages.

[8] *Die Tschuwassischen Lautgesetze*: *AM* 1 (1924), pp. 775—782; *Türkisch-Tschuwassische vergleichende Studien*: *Islamica* I (1925), pp. 409—427; *Die tschuwassische Sprache in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Türksprachen*: *KCsA* 2 (1926), pp. 65—83 and the most important paper: *Die türkischen Lehnwörter im Tschuwassischen: UJb* (1927), pp. 151—156.

into being after its separation from the other Turkish languages. From these innovations those features have to be separated which are preserved archaisms.

According to Poppe: «Es ist anzunehmen, dass das Čuv. in vielen Fällen die ursprünglichen, vortürkischen Akzentverhältnisse widerspiegelt» (*op.cit.*, p. 137). Poppe reconstructs the original (Altaic) stress-system as follows: in words which had only short syllables the accent was on the first syllable. This can be observed in Chuvash and in the present Mongolian languages. The stress moved (verschob sich) to one of the following vowels if the latter was long. This is once more the case both in Chuvash and in Mongolian.

In the present Chuvash language we find incompletely articulated reduced vowels and vowels with full articulation. If the word only has vowels with full articulation than the syllabic stress is on this last syllable as in all Turkish languages. If this last syllable happens to be a reduced one, the syllabic stress is on the penultimate vowel if it is not reduced. If this is also reduced, the stress shifts to the ante-penultimate, etc. vowel if it is fully articulated. If there is no fully articulated vowel in the word, the syllabic stress is on the first syllable. Already these facts make it suspicious that the present Chuvash syllabic stress system could be a primary one. In words such as e.g. *xĕremeslenter-* «to make reddish» according to Poppe's law the stress should be on the second syllable, though it is on the last. The secondary character of the Chuvash syllabic stress system is made clear, however, if we bear in mind that the present *reduced*: *fully articulated* opposition does not go back to an earlier *short*:*long* opposition but to a *closed*:*open* one. The originally closed vowels became reduced, and this is the natural cause why the last syllable lost its stress if it was originally (or secondarily) a closed one. A reduced vowel can bear a syllabic stress only if there are only reduced vowels in the word. In the word *xĕrĕx* «forty» the syllabic stress is on the first syllable, but in *xĕrĕxri* «the one being in its forties» the stress is already on the last syllable. Thus the present Chuvash syllabic stress system is not «vortürkisch», it is a secondary Chuvash innovation and developed after the closed vowels had become reduced.

According to Poppe Chuvash *čul* «stone» goes back to an earlier **tɨ̯āl* which cannot be doubted. But he then adds that this earlier **tɨ̯āl* goes further back to a **tīl* which would be the Altaic form from which Mongolian *čilaγun* resulted. We have here two possibilities. The *-i-* of Mongolian *čilaγun* has always been a front vocalic vowel or it was originally a back vocalic one and the Mongolian front vocalic *-i-* is secondary. If we opt for the first possibility, we have to assume that the vowel harmony was not a characteristic feature of Altaic. This is in contradiction with all evidence, furthermore we know that the preclassical Mongolian orthography has preserved some hints to the fact that the *-i-* in back vocalic words was a back vocalic *ï*. (preclassical *qï-* in place of later *ki-*). If we had to depart from a once more earlier *tīl-a* it would lead to contradiction. A long back vocalic *ī̈* was a separate phoneme and had another development as **ɨ̯a*. Thus *qī̈n* «sheath» is in Chuvash *yĕnĕ* < **qʲïni* < **qʲï̈ni*, while Chuvash *yul-* «to remain» is going back to **qʲal* and the latter to **qāl*. The only possible solution of these contradictions is that Mongolian *čila-γun* is a borrowing, where Mongolian *-i-* is a substitution of a foreign *ɨ̯a* (*-γun* is a Mongolian suffix). Thus Chuvash *ɨ̯u* < **ɨ̯a* reflects an ancient Turkish **ā* and not an Altaic or pre-Turkish **ī* or **'ī̈* and also in this case we are confronted with a special Chuvash innovation.

One of the great merits of Poppe's paper is that he called attention to the pecularities of Chuvash morphology. In some cases it is beyond doubt that Chuvash preserved archaic morphological features. Thus e.g. the Chuvash pronouns *epĕ*, «I» *esĕ* «you» preserved the original Turkish nominative stems **bi* and **si* (*e-* is a deictic particle going back to earlier *a-* which

figures also in *akă* «this» < **a-ku* < **kü*, *avă* «that» < **a-bu* not **egü* as Poppe supposes), while in all other Turkish languages the oblique stem *ben* > *men* intruded into the nominative case and pushed out the original **bi* and **si*. One of the most striking Chuvash pecularities is that the plural marker *-lAr* known to all Turkish languages is absent in Chuvash while the Chuvash plural marker *-sem* in unknown in the other Turkish languages. Whatever the etymology of Chuvash *-sem* is,[9] it has to be of relatively late origin for two reasons. In the Anatri dialect and the literary language this plural marker is only front vocalic also in back vocalic words. This would be impossible if it were a very old suffix. In all Turkish languages the personal possesive suffixes follow the plural marker, *e.g. at-lar-ïm* «my horses», while in Chuvash first comes the possesive suffix and only after it the plural *ut-ăm-sem*. This means that the Chuvash plural marker appeared in Chuvash after the full development of the system of the personal possesive suffixes i.e. relatively late.

It is true that the Chuvash interrogative pronoun *měn* seems to have no parallels in the other Turkish languages. It is a methatetic form of an earlier **něm* which goes back to the Turkish interrogative pronoun *ne* with the enclitic *me* which is common in most Turkish languages as *neme*, *nime* etc. in place of the earlier *ne*.

The Chuvash prohibitive particle *an* is not the Altaic negative verb *e-* and the suffix of the second person *-ŋ* as Poppe supposes, because this structure would be possible only in the future tense. Furthermore if this would be a second person form, it should have a plural as *kilĕn* «you will come(sing)» *kilĕr* «you will come(plur)» (< *kel-iŋ*, *kel-iγiz* < *kel-iŋiz*). Chuvash *an* is — as Ashmarin has pointed out — a loan from Votyak which is corroborated by the structural parallelism: Votyak *en mĭn* «don't go»: *en mïne* «don't go (plur)» Chuvash *an pïr* and *an pĭrăr*.

Finally I would like to stress once more that it is not possible to say that the sound changes $r_2 > z$ and $l_2 > š$ did not occur in Chuvash while they did in the other Turkish languages. Whatever the phonetic pecularities of r_1 and r_2 and l_1 and l_2 were in Proto-Turkish, they were respectively in phonemic opposition, that is Proto-Turkish had four phonemes. This fourfold opposition is preserved in all Turkish languages while r_1 and r_2 and l_1 and l_2 respectively converged in Chuvash, thus also in this case Chuvash reflects a secondary development.

In conclusion one can say that Poppe is right when he supposes that Chuvash has separated from the other Turkish languages earlier than the remaining ones from each other. During its long separate life Chuvash has preserved only very few features of the common Ancient Turkish linguistic stock that the others did not. Most of the «Chuvash pecularities» are special Chuvash innovations. Perhaps the greatest merit of Poppe's paper is that he called attention to the morphological peculiarities of Chuvash.

2. To this important aim is devoted the second work to be reviewed. In 1976 appeared the major work of L.S. Levitskaja: *Istoričeskaja morfologija čuvašskogo jazyka*.[10] It is regrettable that her former work on the historical phonology of Chuvash remained unpublished and is accessible only in the form of an *avtoreferat*[11] though its manuscript is constantly used by Soviet scholars. The book under review deals exhaustively with the morphological features of Chuvash. Its main chapters are: I. Inflection, 1. Substantives, a. plural, b. possessive inflection, 2. Vocative forms, 3. Declension, 4. Pronouns, 5. Numerals, 6. The verb, 7. Participles, 8. Converbs,

[9] On the various theories on the origin of the plural suffix *-sem* see Levitskaja's work cited below, on pp. 9—10 of the cited work.

[10] Moscow 1976, 206 p.

[11] *Istoričeskaja fonetika čuvašskogo jazyka*. Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata filologičeskih nauk, Moscow 1966, 28 p

9. The infinitive(supine), 10. Adverbs, 11. Postpositions, 12. Particles. II. Word formation: 1. Substantives, 2. Verbs.

The work is a great step forward as compared to earlier publications. In every case the author discusses earlier opinions on the origin and functions of the given morphological feature. She includes the accessible Chuvash dialectal material and places the Chuvash data into the framework of the other Turkish languages which may offer a help to the solution of the question of the origin and development of the Chuvash data. The author is conscious of the requirement that the origin of a morphological feature can be given only if it is investigated as a part of a system, thus in many cases not isolated suffixes but their system, their modifications in the several declensions or conjugations are likewise treated. In such a work where practically the entire morphological stock has to be dealt with, it is understandable that in some cases there is no evident solution for the time being, in other cases more possibilities are of equal value at the stage of our present knowledge. It is also a merit of the book that in such cases the author does not give forced and unconvincing solutions but leaves open the yet unsolvable questions. This gives an impetus to further studies and at the same time a greater authority to those cases where Levitskaja is giving a positive solution. Levitskaja is taking into account also the possible influence of the neighbouring Finno-Ugrian languages which is realized sometimes indirectly.

One can only but regret that the rich data and the many new and good solutions are not generalized in a concluding chapter. This would have been a good help in giving answer to the important question put by Ramstedt and Poppe: what is the position of Chuvash among the Turkish languages.

For this reason, of course, attention has to be payed to those features which are present in all (or most) Turkish languages but absent from Chuvash. To this questions scattered remarks can be found in Levitskaja's book.

In some cases it is very difficult to state whether an absence in Chuvash is an original lack or due to a secondary disappearence. I would like to give only one example. The suffix *-r* of the aorist is a common Turkish feature but it seems to be absent in Chuvash. Levitskaja deals with this question and she has three strong arguments in favour of the fact that the *-r* aorist was earlier part of the Chuvash verbal system.

1. The praesens futurum in Chuvash has the marker *-t-* (*-D-*). Levitskaja quotes Ashmarin, Benzing and Ramstedt according to whom this goes back to an earlier **turur* (i.e. the *-r* aorist of the verb *tur-*, to this see also Z. Gombocz: *KCsA* I, 921—25, pp. 262—266). She points to a series of Turkish paradigms where the stages **turur* > *tur* > *tu* > *t* can be well observed.

2. The origin of the negative particle after substantives *mar* is reconstructed by her as the aorist of the negative stem of the verb *er-* «to be»: **ermä-r*, > **emär* > **mär* > *mar*.

3. The simple future in Chuvash has no special tense marker: *kalăp*, *kalăn*, *kalĕ*, *kalăpăr*, *kalăr*, *kalĕs*. Already Ashmarin and later Räsänen expressed the opinion that here the original marker was the *-r* of the aorist, which has been dropped. Benzing and Pritsak reconstructed a suffix **γu/gü* where *-γ/g-* in postconsonantal position has been dropped. Levitskaja quotes some Turkish languages where the *-r* of the aorist has been dropped (Tatar and Bashkir dialects, Karaim, Karachay-Balkar). But this occurred in these languages only after stems ending in *-r* or *-l*. Levitskaja points to the fact that the marker of the categorical past **d* became *r* (with exception of stems ending in *-n*, *-l*, *-r* where it is *-t-*, cf. Volga Bulgarian **erti* > *eti* ~ *eči* «he was», **ölti* > *velti* «he died»). Thus the paradigm of the categorical past became: *kalarĕm*, *kalarăn*, *kalarĕ*, *kalarămăr*, *kalarĕś*. The fact that

the phonetical shape of the marker of the categorical past and that of the aorist coincided (both *r*) could be one of the reasons why the *r* has been elided. One question remained however open. Why is the vowel in the simple future form reduced before the personal suffixes (surely this was the cause why Benzing and Pritsak supposed here a *-γu/gü* where *u/ü* > *ă/ĕ* is normal). We find however the same reduced vowel in the concessive and the conditional. In the concessive *kală-p-in* etc. and not **kala-p-in* and in the conditional *kalăttăm*, etc. This second is the more instructive because it goes back to *kala* (< **kele*) + *erti* + possessive suffix, and nevertheless we do not find **kala-tt-ăm*. That we have here to do with **erti* is corroborated by the Viryal dialects where the conditional is not *kalăttam* but *kalăpčĕ* from *kala-p-erti*, *kalănčĕ* from *kala-n*(< *η*)*-erti* etc.

I think that the above arguments are strong enough that we accept Levitskaja's interpretation. But if this is so then the lack of the *-r* aorist in present Chuvash is not an original absence but a secondary disappearence of something which was common to ancient Chuvash and the other Turkish languages.

In ancient Turkish there were two ways of expressing temporal or modal functions. The first model had the structure : stem + marker + possessive pronoun, the second : stem + gerund + auxiliary verb in aorist + possessive pronoun. It is clear that the second model developed much later since the «auxiliary verb in aorist» is nothing else but the first model. In the praesens futurum *paratăp* «I give» we have a PT **ber* + *e* + *turur* + *beniη* where *-e-* is the gerund. Here we have two possibilities. Either the whole structure is inherited from the common ancient Turkish verbal system or Chuvash has developed its system paralelly to the other Turkish languages. It seems to be very likely that we have to do with the second possibility because in the case of the preasens futurum most other Turkish languages have not the gerund *-a* but the gerund in *-p*, as e.g. Tuva *körüp tur men* «I see» < **körüp turur meniη* < *beniη*. In this case Chuvash was structurally rooted in the common Turkish verbal system and therefore developed the same structural way.[11a]

Chuvash has two «cases» which express functions for which other Turkish languages use postpositions. The instrumental with the suffix *-pA* (*lašapa* «with the horse») developed from *birle*, and the purposive *-šĂn* (*lašašăn* «for the horse») is *üčün* in the other Turkish languages. On the other hand the old instrumental in *-n* is only rudimentally preserved (e.g. *uran* «with the foot» cf. *allăn par ma uran ut* «give with the hand but go with the feet, i.e. by foot» (This *-n* is used also in temporal function : *kunăn-šĕrĕn ĕš-* «to work by day and night». The fading out of the old instrumental and the development of a new one from a common Turkish postposition gives a clear example how the peculiarities of Chuvash came into being.

The overwhelming majority of Chuvash morphology is of genuine Turkish origin and we can observe a regular development. However, there are loan morphems too. As we have already seen the prohibitive particle is of Votyak origin. A stronger influence can be observed from the Kipchak or more precisely from Kazan Tatar. It is according to the expectation that this influence is the greatest in the field of word formative suffixes. Levitskaja enumerates a series of such suffixes (e.g. the deverbal suffix *-kăn/kĕn*). The Chuvash participle in *-akan/-eken* is now one of the most productive suffixes (*vulakan* «reader», *šĭrakan* «writer» etc.). It is beyond doubt that this suffix is a loan. In this case Tatar

[11a] *Proof note:* After having given into print this review article, I got the excellent paper of L. Johanson, *Das tschuwaschische Aoristthema: Orientalia Suecana* 22—23 (1974—1975), pp. 106—158. This paper raised so many questions that it deserves a special review. Concerning the problem dealt with here, Johanson is also of the opinion that the absence of the *-r* aorist in Chuvash is due to a secondary development.

has *-γan/gen* (*barγan* ~ Chuv. *pĭrakan* «goer, walker»). This suffix had to be borrowed after the Chuvash development $q > x$, $g > \gamma > \emptyset$ but before the elision of *-a* in Kipchak.

There are some conclusions in the book which can be debated, as e.g. the assumption that the origin of the ordinal suffix *-měs* is a merger of an original *-m* and a substantivizing *-ši* (← *si* of the third person). The Chuvash *-měš* is a regular development of an older *-minč(i)* which is quoted also by Levitskaja but only as a «structural parallel».

I think that the above remarks show clearly that Levitskaja's work is a great step forward not only in the study of the history of the Chuvash language but also in comparative-historical Turkology. We came nearer to the reconstruction of the ancient Turkish morphological structure in the working out of which Chuvash will always play a key role.

3. All competent scholars, including Poppe and Levitskaja are aware of the fact that a large amount of the «Chuvash peculiarities» are due to the complicated history of the language during the 8th—20th centuries. To these complicated problems is devoted R. G. Ahmet'janov's book: *Sravnitel'noe issledovanie tatarskogo i čuvašskogo jazykov.*[12] Ahmet'janov is investigating the historical phonology and lexicology of the two languages and comes to the conclusion that the ancient Bulgarian language separated from the other Turkish languages in very early times. After the Bulgarian tribes moved to the Middle Volga region they came under the influence of Ugrian and especially under the strong influence of early Kipchak languages. Later one part of the «Kipchakized» Bulgarians under the influence of the local Finno-Ugrian languages underwent further changes and so emerged the present Chuvash language. The remaining part of the already «Kipchakized» Bulgars changed their language and in the 9th—13th centuries took over an old Kipchak-Tatar dialect, and at the same time their language was also influenced by Karluk, Oguz dialects and the literary Turkish language of Moslem impact. Chuvash is the direct continuation of the Old Bulgarian language, more precisely of one of its dialects («*Drevnečuvašskij jazyk — odin iz dialektov srednebulgarskogo*» *op.cit.*, p. 83), this is reflected in its consonantism, vocalism, and in a not too great, but basic lexical stock. In Tatar the traces of Old Bulgar are reflected in its vocalism and a relatively great amount of lexical items.

The book consists of four parts. In the Introduction a brief sketch of the earlier investigations and the outlines of the aim of the book is given. The second part deals with the problems of phonetics, the third with that of the lexical stock. In the concluding part the historical background and the results are summarized.

The results of the chapter on phonetics are the following:

1. The phonological (in Ahmet'janov: phonetical) system of the ancient common Turkish language underwent such an essential change that it caused a breach (*narušenie*) even in the lexical system which resulted in emerging of homonyms. This is not the case with Tatar. This essential change in the phonological system of Chuvash is owerwhelmingly due to foreign influence.

2. If we compare the phonological systems of Chuvash and Tatar on one hand and the ancient Turkish on the other then the Chuvash language has more traits preserved from the ancient Turkish than Tatar has.

3. The Chuvash secondary developments are due to the local Finno-Ugrian substrate in the cases of Chuvash syllabic stress, the disappearance of the opposition voiced: unvoiced consonants, the development $q > x$ and $k > x$ further $s > š$. The causes of the development $ä > a$ and the disappearance of the phoneme η are not clear but they are surely of foreign origin. All other phonetical pecularities of Chuvash

[12] Moscow 1978, 248 p.

are common with that of the neighbouring Kipchak languages (here only the secondary developments are meant).

4. Ahmet'janov reconstructs three phonological systems: a. Viryal Chuvash, b. Bashkir and Tatar, c. Anątri Chuvash. Their difference is characterized by the word stress, the system of the vowels and the synharmonical sequences.

5. Chuvash *ś-* is due to the local Finnish (Volga-Finnish) languages, while the reduced labials *ŏ* and *ŏ̈* are due to Ugrian influence.

Ahmet'janov works with an excellent command on the material and a good knowledge of the earlier literature. His not always clearly formulated investigations contain a lot of keen observations. E.g. Ahmet'janov notes that the open *ä* in Arabo-Persian loanwords developed into *i* in case of early borrowings, while remained *ä* in later ones (p. 31) or thinks that one of the possible reasons of the existence of initial *ǰ-* in the central Tatar dialects was the influence of the Bulgar language (p. 77). These examples show that Ahmet'janov is aware of the requirement that the complicated interrelationship between the Chuvash and Tatar languages can be solved only with the help of a strict historical method.

The most interesting and new in Ahmet'janov's work is his attempt to demonstrate the early Ugrian and Kipchak influence on Volga Bulgarian. The early presence of Ugrian and Kipchak-Turkish groups in the Middle Volga region is the object of a vivid discussion among the archeologists. The arguments of those who deny the existence of the pre-Bulgar groups speaking a Turkish idiom are more convincing[13] but methodologically it has to be stressed that in questions of the language of a population only linguistic arguments are of decisive value. Ahmet'janov is aware of this and tries do give some.

According to Ahmet'janov the emergence of the reduced labial vowels *ŏ* and *ŏ̈* is due to an Ugrian influence (*op.cit.*, p. 19). This is however unacceptable. Ahmet'janov describes the process himself quite clearly. In case of the process of narrowing of *o* to *u*, *ö* to *ü*, the original *u* and *ü* had to move forward and become *ŏ* and *ŏ̈*. If the choice of *ŏ* and *ŏ̈* would have been done under Ugrian influence this would be possible only in case of borrowing a great number of Ugrian words which had these phonemes. Neither Ahmet'janov nor anybody else could demonstrate a considerable Ugrian lexical borrowing in the Volga Turkish languages.

One of Ahmet'janov's arguments in favour of an early Kipchak influence on Bulgar is, that the labialisation of PT *a* occurred under such influence. He points to the Russian rendering of Cumanian words, where the old Russian sources show an interchange *a* ~ *o* (*Altunopa* ~ *Oltunopa*). The labial *å* in Cumanian would be due to a Schytian-Sarmatian influence. That this «okanie» is of old age would also be corroborated by the Turkish loanwords in Hungarian where such doublets as *alma* ~ *olma*, *balta* ~ *bolta* etc. do exist. The Hungarian *o*-forms are special Hungarian dialectal variants and have nothing to do with Turkish. The alternation of *a* ~ *o* in the Russian sources is due to the South Russian «okanie» and if anything then only the origin of this «okanie» can be the object of investigation (in Cumanian there does exist a kind of labialization but only under the influence of the following *-w-*: *ovuč* «Handvoll» < **avuč* < *abuč*).

Without going into further details one can state that none of Ahmet'janov's arguments in favour of an early Ugrian or Kipchak influence on Volga Bulgar is convincing. I would, however, suggest not to take off the question of the gender in hope that in the run of further investigations

[13] A recent and good overview of the question is I. Fodor, *Altungarn, Bulgarotürken und Ostslawen in Südrussland* (*Archäologische Beiträge*) mit einem Vorwort von S. Szádeczky-Kardoss: Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archeologica Tomus XX, Opuscula Byzantina IV, Szeged 1977, especially pp. 18–21.

more convincing arguments and data can be found. If so, it will be Ahmet'janov's merit who initiated this trend.

There are some questions of detail where one cannot agree with the author. The development of Chuvash *ĭ* in place of Turkish *a* in the first syllable cannot be ascribed to the change in the syllabic stress: the treatment of the *e*-vowels do not take account of the fact that ancient Turkish had long open and closed *e* sounds; in case of Mountain Cheremiss *ä* ~ Meadow Cheremiss *a* the former is a late secondary development and not a preserved archaism; the lack of the third person possessive suffix *-si* in Chuvash can not be explained by a development *s* > *z* > *y* > Ø, the grapheme *g-* on place of Chuvash initial *y-* before *i* in old Chuvash wordlists (*girana* = *yărana* «stirrup») is not due to a Misher component in Chuvash, but an orthographical feature of Russian, where the initial *yi-* was impossible, and in foreign words rendered by the graphic solution using *g-*. In some other cases Ahmet'janov's contrastive examples are misleading. E.g. when comparing Chuvash *ĭ* with their Tatar parallels he finds that it can be represented by *a, u, ŏ, i* and *e*.This is confusing. In such cases as e.g. Chuvash *vĭr-* «to mow» ~ Tat. *ur-* «id.» Chuvash *ĭ* is only seemingly corresponding to Tatar *u*. The original PT **or-* became first **vȧr-* in Chuvash, then this *ȧ* regularly developed into *ĭ*. Chuvash *tĭt-* «to hold» is not the corresponding form of Tatar *tŏt-*, the first is Turkish *tart-*, the second Turkish *tut-*. If we exclude the Tatar loanwords in Chuvash as *kilčik* → *xĭlčăk* «awn» and a few special developments as *yĭtă* «dog» < *iyt*, it becomes clear that Chuvash *ĭ* developed only from *ȧ*, and that beyond a seemingly variegated correspondence a very simple one is hidden.

The third chapter deals with the following questions: a quantitative-statistical comparison of the Chuvash and Tatar lexical stock, the comparison of ethnonyms and anthroponyms, terminology of relationship, sex and age, terminology of customs, mythology and calendar, terms of the material culture, social life, folklore. The material is very rich and one can only but regret that Ahmet'janov does not quote the sources of his data (mostly dialectal ones and not fixed in the dictionaries). It seems that in many cases the words are from his own collection (e.g. some Kazan Tatars call some Misher Tatars *Mačar*, while Russians use also *Mažar* in place of *Mišar*, p. 130). Nevertheless without a possibility of a controll one is hesitating to use these data. The more is regrettable that there is no index to the lexical material, which hampers the use of data elsewhere not to be found.

Sometimes a greater criticism to earlier opinions would have been advisable. Ahmet'janov quotes Jusupov, according to whom in the Eastern regions an ethnonym *Nogor* ~ *Logor* exists, and this would be the remnant of the ethnonym Onogur. If it were true this would be of great importance. In fact, however, no such ethnonym exists. Jusupov in his cited paper[14] investigated the ethnonym *Nokrat* ~ *Nukrat*, which he analyzed as consisting of the components *Nokr* and *at*, the latter a suffix. In some Misher dialects living behind the Kama river the local population is called *Lokor*. From these two data Jusupov supposed an ethnonym **Nokor* ~ *Lokor* (and not *Nogor, Logor*), which he connected with the name of the Onogurs.

Following Jegorov, Ahmet'janov quotes a few Chuvash-Mongolian parallels, among them such as Chuv. *kakaj* «meat» ~ Mong. *yaqai* «pig» which were according to him borrowed not earlier and not later than the first centuries A.D. (p. 122). The comparison of Chuv. *kakaj*, which is a word of the children's language, with Mong. *yaqai* is impossible because of serious phonetical problems. Thus such conclusions as «In early times, with all probability, the ances-

[14] G. V. Jusupov, *Bulgaro-tatarskaja ėpigrafika i toponimika, kak istočnik issledovanija ėtnogeneza kazanskih tatar: Voprosy ėtnogeneza tjurkojazyčnyh narodov srednego Povolž'ja*, Kazan' 1971, pp. 217—231.

tors of the Chuvash bought pork from the Mongols» (p. 121) fall.

Notwithstanding such and similar problems Ahmet'janov's work is the first serious attempt to make a systematical comparison between the Chuvash and the Tatar lexical stock. We have to consider his work as a serious step forward in the areal linguistics of the Volga region.

4. Another book is devoted to an aspect of the history of the Chuvash language which is not of less importance. B. Scherner's book: *Arabische und neupersische Lehnwörter im Tschuwaschischen. Versuch einer Chronologie ihrer Lautveränderungen*[15] has as its aim, as is stressed by its subtitle, to use the Arabic and Modern Persian loanwords in Chuvash as a help for the chronologization of the special Chuvash sound changes. The work was inspired by Professor Benzing and concluded in 1974.

In comparison with the earlier works, discussed by the author on pp. 4—7, one of the merits of the book is that Scherner takes into account the way how and the time when the loanwords were borrowed. He duely recognizes that the great majority of the A. and MP. loanwords came into Chuvash by Tatar mediation. In cases where it is possible he also tries to distinguish between loans transmitted through Tatar dialects and those which were borrowed through the Tatar literary language. For Scherner, Chuvash is a direct descendant of the language of the Volga Bulgars — as reflected in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions — and thus a third possibility, the mediation of another Middle Chuvash or Bulgar dialect remained out of the scope of his work.

Scherner divided the history of Chuvash into three periods:

I. 8/9th centuries—12/13th centuries: Old Chuvash
II. 13th century—15/16th centuries: Middle Chuvash
III. 16th century—20th century: New Chuvash.

One can only agree with this periodization. It was however not a good idea to avoid the question what was before the 8/9th century. Thus we read that the sound change $š > l$, $(z > r)$ occurred in Old Chuvash. This late chronology of the rotacism and lambdaizm proposed by Benzing, in view of the r and l forms in Samoyed, Mongolian and Hungarian has not been accepted by any scholar, independently of their opinion about the priority of z versus r or $š$ versus l or whether they are in favour or against the «Altaic theory». According to Scherner the changes $č > ś$ $š^2 > ś$ (*baš* «head» > *puś*) and $ǰ > ś$ occurred «ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit im Altčuv.». In face of this opinion the testimony of the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions, where $ǰ$ and $č$ are preserved is put aside with the assumption «Die Wolgabolgarischen Grabinschriften des 13/14 Jhs. spiegeln nicht den Sprachstand des Bolgarischen des 13/14 Jhrs. wider, sondern vermutlich den einer älteren Zeit» (p. 10). This opinion goes back to Jusupov's views[16] and is shared also by Hakimzjanov[17] according to whom the language used in the inscriptions was already a dead one. This conclusion is impossible. The Volga Bulgarian inscriptions are written in Arabic, and Turkish words are used only for those parts of the epitaphs the understanding of which was important for the family of the deceased. Mereover we have a few but important facts which point to the spoken language standing behind the normative orthography used for rendering the Turkish words. Further, it is inconsequent to quote the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions as a source of

[15] Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Komission, Bd. XXIX, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1977, 232 p.

[16] G. V. Jusupov, *Vvedenie v bulgarotatarskuju ėpigrafiku*, Moscow—Leningrad 1960.

[17] F. S. Hakimzjanov, *Jazyk ėpitafij volžskih Bulgar*, Moscow 1978. On p. 23 Hakimzjanov writes: «Vidimo, arhaičnyj drevne-bulgarskij jazyk uže v XI v. ne primenjalsja v celjah kommunikacii, a liš' u masterov po tradicii peredavalsja iz pokolenija v pokolenie.»

the change $q > x$ (quoting هير *hir* < *qïz*) but suppose that the *ǰim* in *večim* «third» is reflecting an *ś* or *ś́*. The Arabic had a series of letters for denoting spirants. It is impossible to suppose that the sound change *si* > *ši* occurred in Middle Chuvash, because Hungarian is reflecting this change in such words as *seper* «to sweep» < **sipir*, *serke* «nit» < *sirke* (Hung. *s* is denoting *š*). The change *ti* > *či* is relatively late, as Scherner correctly states, but it is reflected in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions (*erti* > *eti* ~ *eči* «he was») and thus in the terminology and system of Scherner it should be Old and not Middle Chuvash.

Though Scherner is not discussing the problems involved here he is aware of them which fact can be seen in his attempt to give some arguments in favour of the late data of the Chuvash rotacism. Since this question is of importance for the whole history of the «Chuvash peculiarities», I have to deal with them in detail.

Scherner demonstrates that the A, NP *z* is represented in the overwhelming majority of the loanwords by *s*. Then he follows «Wenn auch der Lautwandel gtü. **z* > čuv. *r* (bis jetzt noch) nicht durch eine grosse Anzahl von ar.np. Lehnwörter gestützt werden kann, so reichen die wenigen Tatsachen doch aus, einen solchen zu bejahen» (p. 67). Scherner quotes six examples. The first is Chuv. *pir* which is according to Scherner a Greek word which came into Chuvash either directly or through Arabic *bazz* or through a further Turkish mediation. From our point of view it is of no importance that the word seems to be ultimately of Old Egyptian origin.[18] The fact remains that the immediate source of this word had a *z*. For understanding the existence of the final *r* in this word we have to distinguish between the two kinds of rotacism. In the first case PT *z* has an *r* representation, in the second to PT *d* an *r* does correspond in Chuvash. This second «rotacism» made through the way $d > ð > z > r$ and we know that this happened between the 9th and the early 12th centuries, i.e. in Old Chuvash. This means that Old Chuvash, for a time had a *ð* or *z*. If a word with *z* was borrowed in this time, it underwent the same change as all other words having then a *z*, originating from an earlier *d*. Thus Arabic *bazz* had the same fate as NP *adina* which became *arna* in Volga Bulgarian and *erne* in Chuvash.

According to Scherner Chuvash *xïr(ă)* «pine tree» is a loanword from the local Finno-Ugrian languages. The PU form of the word in question is **kowse*. All Finno-Ugrian languages of the region have a labial vowel in the first syllable from which Chuvas *-ï-* cannot be explained (Mordv. *kuz*, Cher. *kož*, Zyry. *koz*, Voty. *köz*). The Chuvash word is in fact a Uralic word, but it is of Old Samoyed origin. The Proto Samoyed form has to be reconstructed as **kâ3t* + *3yə* and the intermediate form borrowed was **kadi* (cf. Enetz *kari*, *kadi*, Nenetz *xadï*, Selk. *kādě* etc.).[19] We find the word in Tuva as *qadï*, Hakass *xazï*, Tofalar *hadi* and Nižne Iyus *xayi*.[20] Thus in this case we have to do with the «second rotacism», the $d \gg r$ development. According to Scherner two other words should be Turkish loanwords. Chuv. *tăvăr* «narrow» has to be a loanword, because *t-* before the original *i* (cf. Turkish *tïqïz*) did not become *č-* as in original words. First we have to state that the *ti-* did not become in all cases *či*, as e.g. in Chuv. *ultă* «six» < **altï* while Chuv. *sičě* is from **yēti*. This clearly shows that *tï* became *či* only if earlier *ï* became *i*, which is very frequent in Chuvash, but not without exception. Moreover in Old Chuvash texts (Sočinenija, Višnevskij) we find *tuvir*" which

[18] Cf. *Böz in the Altaic World*: *Altorientalische Forschungen* III, Berlin 1975, pp. 155—163.

[19] See the data in detail in: J. Janhunen, *Samojedischer Wortschatz. Gemeinsamojedische Etymologien*, Castrenianumin toimitteita 17, Helsinki 1977, p. 61.

[20] The Chuvash word has been connected with the Tofalar and the Nenec word by V. I. Rassadin in: *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan-ude 1971, p. 185.

points to the fact that the first vowel was labial. I have collected in the Viryal dialect of Morgauš *tuvăr*, *tŏvŏr* and *tŏr*. Thus, whether the word has to be connected with Shor, Sagay *tobïr* «blunt» or not, it is sure that the *t-* remained preserved because the following vowel was not *-i-*.

The Chuvash word *tir-* «to thread» can go back, if it is not a very recent loanword, only to an earlier **ter-*, because *i* in original and early loanwords developed into *ĕ*. It is true that the word in most of the early documents and the present Turkish languages has the form *tiz-*, but in an early Uigur document (Hsüen-tsang 12 : 151) we find *tüz-*, and this form survived in Türkmen, Azeri and Osmanli (*düz-*). Ramstedt (*JSFOU* XXXVIII, p. 21), Poppe (*UJb* VI, pp. 100, 113) have connected the word with Mongolian *dürü-*. The supposed *-e-* can be found in Turki (*tez-*, *tɛz-*) and in the dialect of Lob Nor (*tez-*).

The two remaining examples of Scherner are personal names: *Pinever* and *Minever*. These names are dealt with by Scherner in detail on pp. 161—162 and 168—169 respectively. According to Scherner Minever would be *min*, «Muttermal» + NP نیاز *niyāz* «Bitte, Bedürfnis», while Pinever would consist of Tatar *biy* < *bäg* and the same *niyāz*. It is doubtful that personal names, the meaning of which we do not know can be used for such purposes at all. Further neither Tatar *Miŋniyäz* nor *Biyniyäz* are attested (Scherner quotes an Uzbek *Meŋniyaz*). An intervocalic *-y-* in non-labial environment remains *-y-* (cf. Turkish *ayaz* «bright, clear weather» Chuv. *uyar*). From the parallel forms *Pinever*: *Pinepi* and *Minever*: *Minepi* it is clear that the first part of the name is *Pine-*, and *Mine-* (*-pi* is the same as in *Narspi*) and not *Pin-* and *Min-*. Finally from the parallel names *Pinever*: *Pinemer* it is also clear that *-v-* is going back to *-b-*.

Scherner concludes his investigations: «Die wenigen Beispiele (. . .), die deutlich für den Wandel **z* > *r* sprechen, werden die «Anhänger» der umgekehrten Entwicklung urtü. *r* > čuv *r*, tü. *z* nicht völlig überzeugen können, doch genügen sie, ihr Lehrgebäude zu erschüttern». The case on the gender is here not the problem of the rotacism but its chronology.

In some other cases Scherner made not only valid but also very important observations. Among these I would call attention to the Chuvash representation of MP *ǰ* and *č*. In early loanwords both are represented by *ś* in Chuvash. For the chronology of the Chuvash vocalism it is of relevance that in the oldest loanwords Arabic and New Persian *a* became *ï*.

As I have pointed out above it is of great methodological importance that Scherner separated the direct and indirect loanwords. The second group gives a great help to put the Tatar loanwords of Chuvash in a more exact chronological framework.

Altogether Scherner's work is an indispensable aid for everybody who whishes to investigate the complicated history of Chuvash. Scherner writes on p. 8, in note 2: «Die restlichen ar.np. Lehnwörter, darunter auch čuv. PN ar.np. Herkunft wurden schon mitausgewertet, sollen aber später noch gesondert erscheinen». One can only but hope that this will happen in a not very far future.

5. Chuvash in the narrower sense has literary monuments only from the 20s of the 18th century on. In Chuvashia a very important enterprise has been undertaken to work up these early monuments. N.P. Petrov's new book: *Čăvăš literatura čĕlxin istoriye. Jakovlevčĕnhi tapxăr*[21] is a university manual with the scope to outline the early history of the Chuvash literary language until the orthographical reform in 1871 and the activity of Jakovlev. The first chapter deals with the concept of «literary language». The second chapter tangles the problem of the Runic and Arabic scripts used to render early Chuvash texts. It is only to be regretted that the Runic monuments in the western Turkish region have not been dealt with. The Volga Bulgarian inscriptions are treated without taking into

[21] Šupaškar, 1978, 110 p.

consideration that they could reflect another dialect than the direct ancestor of present-day Chuvash. Together with many valid observations some old opinions have been maintained which cannot be upheld. A rather obscure statement of Katanov gave the basis to some scholars to suppose that the *alif* and *fatha* in the inscriptions can be read as *o*. A labial *å* is possible but not an *o*.

The most instructive and insteresting part of the book is the chapter which deals with the early Chuvash texts. We get a good picture of the literary activities of the missionaries, the main characteristics of the works translated by them and composed in original. The differences in the style of the religious and offical texts are analyzed and contrasted to the folklore texts the collection of which began also in this period. The book will surely inspire young Chuvash students to devote themselves to the elaboration of questions of detail of several early monuments. It can only be hoped that in the near future we shall possess scholarly written monographs on the separate monuments of 18th—19th century Chuvash.

6. Though it has only an indirect impact on Chuvash linguistic studies, last but not least, I would like to review the book *Chuvash Folksongs*[22] by L. Vikár and G. Bereczki. Following their earlier monograph on the *Cheremis Folksongs*[23] the musicologist Vikár and the linguist Bereczki offer a solid and rich treatment of the Chuvash folkmusic. The brief sketch of the ethnic origin and history of the Chuvash, the description of the earlier collections and the history of the Hungarian studies in Chuvash folkmusic is followed by a chapter on the dialects and the melody types. Further the most important musical features (note-sets, forms, melodic lines, metre, rhythm, syllable number) are dealt with. A short chapter reports on the experimental measurement of the musical material. The main part of the work consists of 350 Chuvash folksongs collected by the authors all over Chuvashia. The musical material is accompanied by the Chuvash text in Latin transcription and at the end of the book the English and the Hungarian translations are given.

For the texts a phonemic transcription was elaborated and used by the authors, the same which they used for the Cheremis folksongs. Though this system is somewhat differring from that used by linguists it will not make much difficulties. It is, however, to be regretted that the voiceless media character of the consonants is not noted (as it is neither in the official orthography). It is true that the medialization of the fortis consonants is in most cases allophonic, there are, however, some cases where this is not the case. E.g. in such words as *śăxan* «raven» the intervocalic *-x-* is, against the expectation, not voiceless media but fortis, which is due to the fact that before *-x-* there existed earlier a *-t-* (PT. **yutqan*). The media pronunciation is also emerging if the word initial consonant is in sandhi position, i.e. if the former word ends in a vowel and the two words are spelt as one unit. This would have made possible to separate the phraseological units, which could be of importance also for the musicologists.

The Chuvash folkmusic is pentatonic, and thus pertaining to the Turkish folkmusic structure. As Vikár states: «The characteristic musical tradition, reflecting a long past history among the Turkish people, still preserves its pentatonic nature, and the influence of the neighbouring Finno-Ugric and Slav peoples has not modified this essentially» (p. 51). The joint investigation of the musical «language» and the prosaic one is thus corroborating each other. One thing is, however, of paramount importance. As is known Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language, while its folkmusic is of Turkish type, it is pentatonic like Chuvash folkmusic. The Turkish impact

[22] Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979, 580 p.

[23] Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1971, 544 p.

on the Hungarian folkmusic was greater than the Turkish influence on the Hungarian language. Therefore the comparison of the Chuvash and Hungarian folkmusic is of great historical importance. For this reason the study of the Chuvash folkmusic is essential. It can only but hoped that the Tatar and Bashkir collections of the same authors will be published soon and enable to make a comparative study on the history of the folkmusic of all Turkish peoples in the Volga region. This will help to solve some aspects of the interrelationship among the Volga Turkish and Finno-Ugrian peoples.

A. Róna-Tas

A. Ïybatov, *Qutbtïng «Ḫusraw wa Širin» poėmasïnïng sözdigi* (*XIV ǧasïr*). Qazaq SSR-ning «Ġilim» baspasï, Almatï 1974, 279 pp.

The findings made so far confirm the fact that the oldest Turkic literary piece, written in the time and area of the Golden Horde, was the epic poem *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* by Quṭb. This work not only has a significant position among the Turkic linguistic records, but as the first Turkic translation of the similarly entitled work of Nizāmī (altogether 21 translations have been revealed so far), it is also of outstanding importance regarding Turkic literary history. Quṭb's poem of 4730 couplets, written in 1341—42, did not survive in the original version, only the manuscript of its translation compiled in Egypt in 1383 by the *faqih* Berke of Kipchak origin, which is available today in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under the reference Mss. Turcs, Anc. F. 312. The facsimile and the text of the manuscript were first edited by A. Zajączkowski, who was also the first to publish the record's vocabulary (*Najstarsza wersja turecka* Ḫusräv u Širīn *Quṭba*. Część I, Tekst, Warszawa 1958; Część II, Facsimile, Warszawa 1958; Część III, Słownik, Warszawa 1961). A. Zajączkowski deserves eternal credit for his research into this outstanding literary and linguistic remnant of the Golden Horde, because so far Turcologists relied almost exclusively on his editions to support their research, nevertheless it is a fact that he could not accomplish the complete scientific examination of this work from both the literary, historical, cultural historical, and linguistic aspects.

M. N. Hacıeminoğlu is the scholar who made a thorough and precise philological analysis of this record from the linguistic viewpoint. He corrected several of Zajączkowski's mistakes and errors, summarized the major orthographic, phonetic and morphological features of the poem and re-edited its complete text (*Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri*, İstanbul 1968, 477 pp.).

M. N. Hacıeminoğlu's very helpful volume could have earned even more credit if the author had published the complete vocabulary of the record, thus supplementing A. Zajączkowski's rather out-dated vocabulary of hardly half of the words in the record. This gap has been recently bridged by the valuable dictionary of A. Ïybatov, a researcher of the Koman-Kipchak linguistic records in Alma-Ata, whose work comprises the entire vocabulary of Quṭb's poem *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* in about 4,410 entries.

In the introduction, A. Ïybatov gives a detailed analysis of the history of this record, the major philological problems and the positions of researchers — A. N. Samojlovič, A. Zajączkowski, A. M. Ščerbak, Ė. N. Nadžip, Ė. Fazylov, N. A. Baskakov — concerning the nature of the language of the *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* (pp. 9—18). He points out that former classifications rested either solely on phonetic or lexical aspects. All the researchers working on a phonetic basis agreed that the language of the *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* belongs to the *d* group of Middle Turkic, or at least it manifests several features characteristic of the Middle Turkic literary language, while some of those who took the lexicon as their starting-point regard the language of

this record as Kipchak, or Oguz, or as a «mixture» (dialect) of the Kipchak-Oguz or the Oguz-Kipchak languages, depending on which language's (dialect's) lexical influence is thought to be dominant in the vocabulary of the record. He correctly states that the only way to decide on the classification of its language is to analyze all the phonetic, morphological and lexical characteristics at the same time. The author selected a morphological phenomenon seemingly suitable for distinguishing the language from others: calculating the frequency of the accusative suffix attached to the 3rd person sing. genitive suffix, he attempted to prove that the language of the *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* is morphologically nearest to the Kipchak tongue, because *-ï + n*, *-i + n*, characteristic of Kipchak tongues, has 538 occurrences in the text, *-ï + nï*, *-i + ni*, a feature of Oguz and Qarluq languages, has 211, and similarly, *-sï + n*, *-si + n* has 38, while *-sï + nï*, *-si + ni* only 9 (pp. 17—18). The data seem convincing, yet it is impossible to define the character of a language on the basis of a randomly chosen morphological phenomenon; a thorough comparison of all the morphological (and phonetic and lexical) features must be concluded, which, however, is not the task of the author.

It is to the credit of A. Ïybatov, that in analyzing the Arabic-Persian words, personal, ethnic and tribal names, patronyms, place names and various derivatives in separate entries, he more than doubled the number of head-words compared to the 1,950 items in A. Zajączkowski's dictionary. The author presents the head-words and the illustrating material partly in the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, partly in the Cyrillic script modified to suit the Kazak tongue. However, it would have been more consistent to use the Kazak Cyrillic script throughout, thereby unifying the transcription of the linguistic material. (It is hard to comprehend why he did not use the Kazak *ä* for *ä*, the Kzk. *u* instead of the Russian *u* to denote *u*, the Kzk. *w* instead of the Russian *v* to denote *w*.) The head-word is followed by the abbreviated definition of its grammatical category, the number of occurrences in the text in brackets, then by the meaning given in the Kazak tongue. Then comes a quotation from the text containing the given word with the place of occurrence in brackets, and the exact Kazak translation rounds off the entry. An entry does not include equivalents from other Turkic records or the present Turkic tongues, although it would have amplified the scientific value of his dictionary.

Apparently, the author closely follows the transcription or transliteration of A. Zajączkowski's vocabulary, neglecting the correction of even the most conspicuous mistakes, such as *čab-*, *qab-*, *qab qadaš*, *qabsa-*, *qob-*, *sab*, *tab-*, *tebsi*, etc., instead of the correct *čap-*, *qap-*, *qap qadaš*, *qapsa-*, *qop-*, *sap*, *tap-*, *tepsi*, etc., or the word *ongur* instead of the correct form *ün͡gür* 'cave, pit; den' (cf. Kom.-Kip. of Hungary and Kzk., Kkalp., Kirg. etc. *ün͡ggür*, *ün͡ggir*, *ün͡gkör* 'id.'). Likewise, the form *örk-* 'to fear' is unwarranted, because the form of the verb both in Old and present Turkic is expressly *ürk-*. Errors of this sort could have been avoided by comparing the data of the record to other linguistic data, producing the surplus result that several words (e.g. see: *čayan* 'scorpion', cf. Kom.-Kip. of Hungary, and Nog., Kzk., Kkalp., Kirg. *šayan*, *čayan* 'id.'; but Uigh. *čaḏan*, Kāšġ. *čaḏan*; the word *qoltqa* 'question' with equivalents only in the Kom.-Kip. of Hungary and Kar., or the words *alïs* 'far away' and *öte* 'particularly, extremely, very', which are extant only in the Kom.-Kip. of Hungary, modern Kzk. and Kirg. apart from the record) would have indicated signs characteristic of either the Kipchak, the Oguz or the Qarluq tongues.

To summarize, the so far most complete vocabulary of Quṭb's *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn* edited by A. Ïybatov is a very thorough and useful volume, especially helpful for scholars whose field of interest encompasses the Koman-Kipchak linguistic records

and the literary language of the Golden Horde, with specail emphasis on the language of the *Ḫusrāw u Šīrīn*.

István Mándoky Kongur

E. KOJČUBAEV, *Kratkij tolkovyj slovar' toponimov Kazahstana*. AN KazSSR, Institut jazykoznanija. Izdatel'stvo «Nauka» Kazahskoj SSR, Alma-Ata 1974, 275 pp.

Research into Turkic onomatology, and into its particular field, toponymy, gained considerable momentum in the past decades. The increasing number of relevant publications by scholars working in the Turkic republics, autonomous republics and autonomous regions of the Soviet Union, is especially pleasing. Toponymic research in Kazakstan can confidently be described as having a long past, as numerous articles and studies on the toponymy of Kazakstan have been published since the works of N. A. Aristov and N. O. Konšin, i.e. since the end of the last (1896) and the beginning of the present century (1903). Comprehensive works have also come to light in the past two decades (A. Äbdiraḫmanov, *Qazaqstannïñ žer-suw attarï*, Almatï 1959; G. K. Konkašpajev, *Slovar' kazahskih geografičeskih nazvanij*, Alma-Ata 1963; E. M. Murzaev, *Toponimika v Kazahstane*: *Izvestija AN SSSR, serija geografičeskaja*, vyp. 6. [1964]). These rich traditions live on in the works of E. Kojčubaev, who recently undertook the collection of the most important place names of Kazakstan in an encyclopaedia-like volume following his previous articles on the subject.

His small etymological-defining dictionary contains explanations regarding over 2,000 geographical names of Kazakstan. In the introduction, he briefly outlines the layers of these geographical names, classified according to origin, distinguishing five major groups:

1. the oldest layer, containing denominations derived from «old, unknown» languages;

2. place names developed from «Turkic-Mongolian», «Turkic-Persian» words and suffixes;

3. Turkic layer, containing names derived from various Turkic tongues and dialects;

4. geographical names reflecting the characteristics of present Kazak, Kirghiz, Altay Turkic, Karakalpak, Bashkir, Uzbek and Uighur languages;

5. place names of Russian origin (p. 5.).

In the introduction (pp. 8—9), the author also draws attention to the fact that colour names included in geographical names, such as *aq*, *ala*, *žiyren*, *qara*, *kök*, *sarï*, *šubar*, etc., often have no meaning of colour, just as the figures 3, 7, 9, 40, 70, etc., denote only the concept of «many».

The author included the geographical head-words in very peculiar spelling, and the transcription of etymons and various linguistic equivalents is rather heterogeneous in the explanations, if any transcription is used at all. It would appear that he decided to adopt the presently accepted Russian transcription (it might be the case in the majority of words) (e.g. p. 39: *Arharbasy*, Kazak: *Arqarbasï*; p. 79: *Džusaly*, Kazak: *Žosalï*; p. 155: *Kul'tokken*, Kazak: *Kültökken*, etc.), but he fails to use it consistently, as there are several names that resemble their present Kazak transcription rather than the Russian form, although the Cyrillic letters adopted to Kazak spelling are replaced by Russian Cyrillic letters in the print, lacking any diacritical signs or modifications (e.g. p. 68: *Bozajgyr*, correctly: *Bozaygïr*; p. 154: *Kulan*, correctly: *Qulan*; p. 209: *Tansyk*, correctly: *Taŋsïq*, etc.). In other places, although neglecting some Kazak consonants and vowels deviating from the Russian script, he considers it necessary to use the *ö*, *ü* letters also missing from the Russian alphabet, but instead of using the relevant letters of the Kazak alphabet available, he borrows the letters *ö*, *ü* as used in some Soviet linguistic works. However, consistence in their usage is also at fault, thus curious mixtures of transcription re-

sulted by coupling the Russian and the so-called scientific scripts (e.g. p. 185 : *Örten'*, correctly *Örteŋ̂*; p. 233 : *Ůl'kenkol'*, correctly : *Ůlkenköl*; p. 237 : *Ůškokše*, correctly : *Ůškökše*; p. 239 : *Ůšuzek*, correctly : *Ůšözek*, etc.). It would have been more reasonable to include the words in the Kazak script as the names are located in Kazakstan and in the main they are in fact of Kazak origin, or to use the Russian script, but give the Kazak forms as well in brackets.

A large number of the author's etymologies are correct or indicate the correct solution. His basically justifiable etymologies are at times impaired by minor errors, and in some cases the over-explanation impairs the etymology, e.g. he traces the name of a border area *Azǧïr* in Üyšik (today Gur'ev) region back to the *Az* ethnonym and the attached word *qïr*, meaning — as the author thinks — 'heap', thus the name would mean '*Az* heap', 'the heap of the *Az*s' (p. 17), although a simpler and less adventurous explanation would derive the name from the personal name evolved from the 2nd person sing. imperative of the Kazak verb *azǧïr-* 'excite, agitate'; similarly, it would be more advisable to trace back the place name *Bozbiye* to the Kazak word *bozbiye* 'light grey mare' also mentioned by the author, than to presume an Old Turkic(?) root *bi* 'high' in the second part of the name (p. 68).

The vast material now published will be of considerable help to onomatologists, in particular researchers into the Old Kipchak names will find an ample variety of data, thus the survey of the Kipchak names in Hungary will be enhanced by the identical or similar Old Kipchak geographical names, such as *Aqbiyke*, *Alaayǧïr*, *Arqa*, *Bayǧut*, *Boz*, *Bozaral*, *Börili*, *Ïytišpes*, *Qarasaz*, *Qorgantas*, *Maylï*, *Šïbïqtï*, *Taldï*, *Tekeli*, *Uzïnaǧaš*, etc.

The reviewed dictionary of E. Kojčubaev is of outstanding merit as the geographical names of Kazakstan had never been collected so thoroughly before. It is to be hoped that similarly useful or even more valuable dictionaries of names will be published by the onomatologists of the other Turkic republics of the Soviet Union.

István Mándoky Kongur

Ä. NURMAǦAMBETOV, *Türikmenstandaǧï qazaqtardïŋ̂ tili*, Qazaq SSR Ǧïlïm Akademiyasï, Til Bilimi Institutï. Qazak SSR-ning «Ǧïlïm» baspasï. Almatï 1974, 167 pp.

Naturally, the basic objective of the scholars carrying out research into Kazak dialectology is to thoroughly survey all the dialects of the Kazak people living within the area of the Kazak SSR. Having accomplished that, they can move on to examine and describe the tongues of the Kazak people living in adjacent republics and neighbouring countries. For the past 10—15 years, the scholars of the Linguistic Institute of the Kazak SSR have been regularly conducting expeditions to survey dialects in the Orenburg region, the Mountainous Altay autonomous region of the Russian Federative SSR and the Karakalpak ASSR. The author of the reviewed volume was a member of a similar dialectological tour in 1962—63, collecting data in the Turkmen SSR, especially among the Kazaks around Krasnovodsk, Nebitdaǧ and in the districts of Köne-Ürgenč and Taḫta in the Tašawïz region. The present volume contains the material gathered during that tour, except for the bulk of the dialectal vocabulary that was published in the dialectal dictionary entitled *Qazaq tilïniŋ̂ dialektologiyalïq sözdigi* (Almatï 1969).

In the introduction, the author briefly surveys the history of the Kazak people living in the area of present day Turkmenistan. The first record on Kazak occurrence there dates back to the early 18th century, revealing that in those days they lived only in the eastern parts of the Khanate of Khiwa, but records dating from the late 19th century mention that

the Kazaks belonging to the *Aday*-clan resided along the western border of Khiwa. The waves of continual Kazak migration into Turkmenistan lasted up to the 1930s (pp. 14—22). The author discloses very valuable data concerning the ethnic composition of the Kazaks in Turkmenistan and their division according to tribes and clans (pp. 23—24). It is regrettable that as this issue is not the major target of his volume, he does not expound this very important and substantial problem of dialectal history.

The volume is divided into three major sections corresponding to the most significant features of the dialect:

1. phonetic features (pp. 28—58);
2. lexical features (pp. 59—105);
3. grammatical (morphological and syntactic) features (pp. 106—162).

In the section on phonetic features, he thoroughly and systematically explores the alterations and changes, first of various vowels then of consonants, always clearly marking off the characteristics that apply only for the dialect of the Kazaks in Turkmenistan thus separating it from the other Kazak dialects (e.g. *o/u*, *u/ï*, *ï/a*, *s/š*, etc.), from those evolved under Turkmen influence (e.g. *a/ä*, *š/č*, etc.). He treats the lexical features similarly: first he deals with the words of domestic development characterizing only this very dialect (e.g. the word *ilgek* 'button' bears the form *tüyme* in the Kazak literary language and in the other Kazak dialects, or the word *baytaba* 'footrag' has the counterpart *šulġaw* in the literary language and the other dialects, etc.), he then goes on to observe the words borrowed from the Turkmen language (e.g. *pendir* 'cheese', *mašqala* 'family', *taza* 'new, callow, fresh', etc.). The vast material surveyed convinced the author that the vocabulary of the Kazak dialect in Turkmenistan contains a far greater amount of Arabic-Persian elements than either the literary language or any of the other dialects, and the proportion of loan words coming from the Karakalpak and Uzbek tongues is also higher. Similarly to the area of phonetic and lexical features, few data separating the given dialect from the others could be detected in syntax, but distinguishing morphological features abounded, e.g. some nominal suffixes (*-šïlïq*, *-šilik*; *-keš*; *-šaŋ͡*, etc.), some modal and verb forming suffixes (*-malï*, *-meli*; *-ir*, etc.), confirming the influence of the Turkmen language.

The author is oversuccinct at some points apparently due to lack of space, nevertheless the volume constitutes the most comprehensive survey so far of the Kazak dialect in Turkmenistan. In addition to being a work of scientific insight, the book also deserves merit for its rich and variegated Kazak linguistic material and for its enjoyable style.

István Mándoky Kongur

Qazaq qolžazbalarïnïŋ͡ ġïlïmïy sïypattamasï. Qazak SSR Ġïlïm Akademiyasïnïŋ͡ Ortalïq Ġïlïmïy Kitapḫanasï men M. O. Äwezov atïndağï Ädebiyet žäne Öner Institutïndağï qazaq qolžazbalarï. 1-tom, 1-kitap. *Batïrlar žïrï*. Žalpï redakciyasïn basqarġan M. G. Ġabdullin. Qazaq SSR Ġïlïm Akademiyasï, M. O. Äwezov atïndağï Ädebiyet žäne Öner Institutï. Qazaq SSR-ninŋ͡ «Ġïlïm» baspasï. Almatï 1975, 352 pp.

A welcome process was initiated in Soviet oriental studies in the early 1960s: the scientific descriptions and catalogues of the abundant Turkic, Persian, and Arabic etc., manuscripts, kept in major libraries, collections and archives of the oriental sciences, were published in rapid succession. (*Tatar ädipläre häm ġalimnärenenŋ͡ qulyazmalarï*. 2-bülek, X-čïġarïlïš. Qazan 1962; A. M. Muginov, *Opisanie ujgurskih rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii*. Moskva 1962; L. V. Dmitriev, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tjurkskih rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii*. N- 1. Istorija. Pod redakciej A. N. Kononova. Moskva 1965; S. I. Baevskij, *Opisanie*

persidskih i tadžikskih rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii. Moskva 1968). The latest issue of the publications is the reviewed book, which — as the first book of the volume on the Kazak folklore — also constitutes the first edition of a planned series of catalogues containing the Kazak manuscripts kept in the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazak SSR and in the M. O. Äwezov Research Institute of Literature and Art. The present book of the first volume surveys the manuscripts on the Kazak heroic songs and folk epic poems.

Although the scientific description of certain Kazak manuscripts appeared earlier (cf. S. P. Radzievskaja, *Opisanie rukopisej naučnoj biblioteki imeni N. I. Lobačevskogo*, Kazan 1958, pp. 5—7), no such work has been published similar to the first book of the first volume of the catalogues planned in 1965, which aims at completeness considering, at the same time, the most minute details and characteristics of each manuscript with precision. In undertaking the disclosure of the manuscripts covering one of the richest epic genres of the Kazak folklore, the volume gives the scientific description of 68 heroic poems and their 133 variations, altogether 201 manuscripts. It considerably enhances the merit of the book that in addition to the most popular and often published Kazak heroic poems, e.g. *Alpamïs*, *Qoblandï*, *Er Targïn*, *Qambar batïr*, etc., it contains the descriptions of heroic poems not only unrevealed, but also unheard of so far, e.g. *Oraqtï batïr*, *Žetigen*, *Kürenǧbay batïr*, *Baraq batïr*, *Begen batïr*, *Qaztuwgan*, etc. They were never included earlier in any scientific or popularizing collection on Kazak folklore or heroic poetry.

Bearing in mind over 30 aspects in surveying the major characteristics, the editors of the catalogue analyzed questions concerning both form, explicit structure and the implicit structure, also touched upon bibliographical curiosities, and provided clues to the problems of scientific research. To illustrate the volume, they attached a compilation of facsimile samples of various styles of script (pp. 323—334), followed by an index listing the titles of heroic poems, the names of their authors, collectors, translators, the names of animals (especially the names of the protagonists' horses), then the geographical names occurring in the poems given in the Arabic, Latin and Kazak Cyrillic letters (pp. 337—347). The annotation of each heroic poem surpasses those of former collections by revealing the system of Kazak heroic poems and their interrelations, and serve as a firm basis for future research into the comparative study of Turkic heroic poetry. Thus, for instance, certain Kazak epic poems so far dated back to the 17th—18th centuries, can be related to certain Crimean and Dobr. Tatar heroic and epic poems, ballads and folk tales on the basis of their plot and the names of heroes and other characters, therefore, the date of their creation cannot be later than the extinction of the Golden Horde (e.g. the Kazak heroic poem *Esekey batïr* and perhaps the *Aqžanas ulï Er Keńges*). Some Kazak heroic poems (e.g. *Alpamïs*, *Qoblandï*, *Bögen batïr*, etc.), certain details and specific features of whose content or plot reflect a conspicuous similarity to the respective aspects of the Hungarian Kipchak epic poems, sagas, legends and tales, and in fact to the names of several heroes, can be traced back to even earlier times (to the mid-13th century at the latest).

Not only does this excellent catalogue of the manuscripts of Kazak heroic poems, which were composed in various historical periods, or borrowed their motifs and certain features of plot from different ages, assist Kazak folklorists, ethnographers, historians and linguists, but it also substantially enlivens international research. The continual publication of the subsequent volumes of the series is rather urgent as international Turkological research is in need of such profund books of a high academic level.

István Mándoky Kongur

LARRY WILLIAM MOSES: *The Political Role of Mongolian Buddhism*. Indiana University Uralic Altaic Series Vol. 133. Bloomington, Indiana, 1977. X + 299 p.

«This book is a study of the fate of the Buddhist church of the Mongolia[n] People's Republic» — says the author in his preface (p. IX), but in fact only the second half deals with the fate of Buddhism in Mongolia after the proclamation of the People's Republic in 1924.

The subject is most significant which may be marked by the terms raise, prospering and waining as well as disappearing of a large and autonomous social institution introduced according foreign patterns and based on a borrowed ideology, alliance and fight between secular and religious organizations, religion as a political factor etc. and all this in a country where in the first third of this century not less than one third of the male population lived a monastic — though not necessarily pious — life.

In the introduction (pp. 1—12) the author expounds his views on the role and importance of Buddhist Church in Mongolian history (which is, in a certain degree, similar to that of Christianity in Medieval Europe, a parallel which could have been valuable for the study under review; another, antithetic, parellel could have been found in Chinese history, in the fate of Buddhism during non-barbarous dynasties.) The first six chapters: *Introduction of Buddhism in Mongolia* (pp. 13—41, with a probably larger than necessary recapitulation of non-Mongolian history of Mongolia), *Mongol* [Lamaist!] *Buddhism in the Imperial Period* (pp. 42—82), *The Dark Age* — 1368—1580 (pp. 83—107), *Introduction of Lama Buddhism to Mongolia* (pp. 108—123), *The Church Structure* (pp. 124—143), *The Church in the Autonomous Period* (pp. 144—160) extend over the period before 1921; the rest after the extent preamble comprises *The Promise of Conflict* — 1921—1928 (pp. 161—187), *The Initial Onslaught* — 1928—1932 (pp. 188—220), *The Legal Campaign* — 1932—1936 (pp. 221—247), *The Final Solution* — 1937—1940 (pp. 248—261) and gives an account of the battle with and destruction of the political power of the economically organised Buddhism in Mongolia. In the *Epilogue* (pp. 262—266) we find some data on the «Lama Church to-day» with an obituary of the «dual principle». The author states that in Mongolia «Religious authority will not again be a prop for a secular government or a power in its own right» and that «it seems doubtful that the forces necessary to generate a religious revival will come from or be permitted to thrive within Mongolia, unless it serves the needs of the Party» — indeed, this latter part of the conjecture now seems to be quite improbable.

As footnotes (pp. 267—299) show, the work is a useful compilation based mostly on second hand sources, no original material is quoted and important monographs like Pozdneev's *Očerki byta buddijskich monastyrej* seem to be unemployed. As for the Khitans, the author should have used *The History of Chinese Society, Liao* (ed. by K. Wittfogel and Feng Chiasheng) beside H. Perlee's study. For a special bibliography of Soviet works on Lamaism see now N. L. Žukovskaja's *Izučenie lamaizma v SSSR* (1917—1976) in *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1977: 2, pp. 187—196, transl. by T. Schwarz in *The Canada-Mongolia Review*, vol. V, no. 1, pp. 37—50.

Chronological, genealogical and statistical tables, lists of monasteries etc. as well as maps summarize data or illustrate the content. (But some tables like that concerning *Suggested Origin of the Mongols* seem to have little to do with the matter of Buddhism.)

Inconsequence of transcription — cf. *zhas* for *jas*, Küvsügül for Köbsögöl or modern Höwsgöl, *Öbör Qangai* with *Q* and *khoshun* with *kh*, Mongol names in Russianized forms etc. show the influence of the second hand sources. (To p. 266: the *mkhan-po*, Modern Mong. *khamba* lama retired in 1961 was not Erdenebal, but

Erdenepel (or Erdenipil, cf. Tib. *'phel* «to increase»).

There are many points — theses and facts — in this book that are at least disputable — and this is one of its merits. One point under question is the continuity of the «dual principle» (Mong. *qoyar yosun* translating Tib. *lugs gñis*) since the 4th century A.D. (cf. p. 266). This duality of the secular and of the monastic power was in fact never a duality of two equal parts: what powerful Mongol rulers like Qubilai or Altan qaγan needed was the political support of an ideological system with a centralized, hierarchic organisation, and it was they who administered the might of this organisation. The «rather black role» of Altan qaγan (p. 100 sq), an opinion ascribed to «traditional or Marxist» analyses, is rather dubious; the author seems to be unaware of the evaluation given in the three volume Ulan Bator History of the MPR (vol. I, 1968, pp. 452—454). Political rule needs everywhere the support of an ideology, whether religious or not, and so putting blame on Qubilai and his later descendants for their politically backgrounded Lamaist «conversion» would mean to condemn similar attempts of medieval Western rulers who, fighting for power, converted to Christianity.

As for the last, modern period of Lamaism in Mongolia, the dramatic history of its unavoidable seclusion from the State, a good deal of honest work remains to be done.

G. Kara

Researches in Altaic Languages. Ed. by Louis Ligeti. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* XX. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1975, 338 p. 220,— Ft

This is a very late notice of the collection of 37 *Papers read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held in Szeged, August 22—28, 1971* (as in the subtitle). About the meetting itself I gave then a short communication to our journal, with some references on the subjects discussed.

The papers are mostly of linguistical nature concerning Altaic comparative studies: *On the Common Origin of the Categories of Person and Personal Possesion* ... by N. A. Baskakov, *On Some Common Semantic Indices of Root Elements* ... by T. A. Bertagaev, *The Role of Altaic Languages in the Reconstruction of the Turkic Syntactic Archetype* by N. Z. Gadzhieva, *The Altaic Non-Obstruents* by E. P. Hamp, *Lexicostatistics and Altaic theory* by L. Ligeti, *Japanese-Altaic Lexical Evidence and the Proto-Turkic «Zetacism» — «Sigmatism»* by R. A. Miller, *Further Evidence for «Zetacism» and «Sigmatism»* by Talât Tekin, *Some Regular Changes of the Phonetic Structure of Root* ... by S. N. Muratov, *Altaic Components of Japanese* by S. Murayama, *On Some Plant Names* ... by K. M. Musaev, *The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loan Word in Chuvash* by A. Róna-Tas, *On the Pre-Altaic System of Consonants* by V. I. Tsintsius, *Dictionaries in Reverse Listing in Altaic Research* by H.-P. Vietze.

Turco-Mongolian problems are concerned in the following papers: *The Mong. suffix -lig and Its Turkic Origin* by E. Hovdhaugen, *Kazak-Mongolian Lexical Correspondences* (Family and Anatomy) by S. Kenesbaev and Š. Sarybaev, *A Mongolistic Reconstruction of Turkisms* by G. D. Sanžeev, *Mongol and Turkic Ethnonyms in the Secret History* by N. P. Šastina, *Comparison of the Vowel Harmony in Turkish and Mongolian* by A. Trétiakoff.

Uralo-Tunguz Lexical Correspondences are presented in D. Sinor's paper; *The Foreign Elements in Early Turkish* are reviewed by Sir Gerard Clauson, *Mutual Contacts and Foreign Influences in Turkish in Bulgaria* are examined by P. Mijatev, *Problems of Arabic and New Persian Loan Words of Tatar* are outlined by B. Scherner.

A few papers deal with internal problems of one Altaic language: *The Verbal Noun in Mongolian* by Marie-Lise Beffa and Roberte Hamayon, *The Phonemic*

Structure of the First Syllable in Several Turkic Languages by L. Hřebiček, *The Turkish Vowel System and Phonological Theory* by John Lotz, *Some Special Gerund Form in Turkish* by Nuri Yüce. An evaluation of some early records is given in E. Fazylov's *Turkish Languages in the Works of Oriental Philologists* (11th—18th cc.).

Folklore, history and adjacent areas are concerned in the papers *Some Additional Notes of the Mongolian Names in the History of the Nation of the Archers* by J. A. Boyle, *Two Translations of the Secret History of the Mongols in the Ulanbator State Library* by L. Manaljaw, *Mongol and Turkic Ethnonyms in the Secret History . . .* by N. P. Šastina, *An Epic Song in the Secret History* by L. Lőrincz ; *Uzbek Female Folk Healer* by Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, *Ütügän among the Yakuts* by Evelyne Lot-Falck, *Ethnocultural Relations of the Tribes of the Mongol Altai* by E. A. Novgorodova, *On the Changes of the Eastern Frontier of the Sphere of Avar Domination* by S. Szádeczky-Kardos, *Lexical Material as a Source of Studying Agricultural Traditions of the Ottoman Empire* by A. S. Tveritinova and *An Uigur Text concerning Economy of Manichean Monasteries in the Uigur Empire* by Peter Zieme.

It is sorrowful to remember those of the authors and participants of the Szeged meeting who have passed since then : T. A. Bertagaev, John Andrew Boyle, Sir Gerard Clauson, Evelyne Lot-Falck, John Lotz, Y. Rinčen and A. S. Tveritinova.

G. Kara

Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium Held at Mátrafüred, Hungary 24—30 September 1976. Edited by Louis Ligeti. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* XXIII. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1978. 586 p. 950,— Ft.

The volume contains 41 papers about Tibetan, Buddhist and Central Asian Studies. They were presented by researchers from 16 countries at the Mátrafüred Symposium dedicated to the memory of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, the Hungarian (according to his own term : Siculo-Hungarian) founder of modern Tibetan philology. Naturally his work is mentioned in several papers of this collection, but one of them which is occasionally the first among the articles arranged in the alphabetical order of the author's names, is fully devoted to Csoma's activities. This paper entitled *Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in Ladakh* written by G. Bethlenfalvy, one of the inspirers of the Mátrafüred Symposium, gives a short account of Csoma's life and utilizes a hitherto unedited document concerning Csoma's sojourn in Ladakh as well as some results of a recent visit in Zanskar (pp. 7—25, with a facsimile of Moorcroft's lengthy letter of 1823).

Tibetan and partly Sino-Tibetan linguistic problems are discussed in seven papers. Betty Shefts Chang deals with *Tibetan Prenasalized Initials* (pp. 35—46) using Sino-Tibetan, Miao-Yao and Tibeto-Burman comparative materials which suggest a greater variety of compound consonantal initials than that of the later languages, nevertheless it remains questionable whether reconstructions like Nishida's **z-bdli* for «four» have historical reality or represent mere symbols marking sets of possibilities. The same topic is continued in Prof. Kun Chang's paper, *The Tibetan Role in Sino-Tibetan Comparative Linguistics* (pp. 47—58) focusing mainly Tibeto-Burman cognates. In a third paper on comparative studies Prof. R. A. Miller gives a negative answer to the question : *Is Tibetan Genetically Related to Japanese?* (pp. 295—312), rejecting Prof. Nishida's audacious theory. E. Richter and D. Mehnert survey the nature and role of the aspiration in the modern Tibetan dialects (with 36 sonogrammes ; pp. 335—352), R. Kaschewsky revalues the usage of the Tibetan *la-don* and relying on a good many examples, he denies the existence of an inherent accusative meaning of the morpheme in question. His argumentation is convincable, however, his quotations from

a Tibetan work which labels sentences like *lug-la bsa'* «to kill the sheep» to be wrong, show that even Tibetans may wrongly use *la-don* (pp. 169—188). Two papers concern Tibetan lexicology: R. E. Emmerick examines *Some Lexical Items from the Rgyud bži* (pp. 101—108), J. Terjék describes some dictionaries explaining preclassical words (pp. 503—509).

Buddhist and secular, Tibetan, Uigur and Mongolian literature and folklore is another field covered in several papers. Ts. Damdinsüren treats of the late origin of the Kālacakra-tantra and of the Śambhala-myth (pp. 59—63), Hilda Ecsedy dwells *On a Few Traces of Ancient Sino-Tibetan Contacts in the Early Chinese Mythic Tradition* (pp. 89—99; with Sino-Na-khi parallells), W. Heissig gives here a folklore and literary analysis of a Mongolian text in which Geser Khan appears as a healing deity (pp. 125—152), J. Kolmaš (pp. 189—203) summarizes the literary significance of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Legs-bšad*. In a large paper full of important notes Prof. L. Ligeti explains several difficult passages in the parallel Uigur, Tibetan and Mongolian texts of the Chü-yung-kuan inscription (the two main points: «the merit of erecting a stūpa» and «the story of the golden elephant»; pp. 223—284). L. Lőrincz discusses some aspects of the classification of Tibetan tales (pp. 285—288). Y. Rinčen's contribution (pp. 353—355) is a brief notice on the Mongolian oral translation and recitation of Buddhist scriptures. L. Savitsky treates of the *Secular Lyrical Poetry in Tibet*, namely of the 6th Dalai Lama's love songs (pp. 403—409). J. Takasaki reflects *Some Problems of the Tibetan Translation of Chinese Material* (pp. 459—467). Erika Taube traces the origins of a Eurasian tale (Puss in Boots < Fox? — pp. 473—486).

Religious and cultural history as well as arts represent here a third major and complex field. F. A. Bischoff questions the historicity of Padmasambhava (pp. 27—34), R. A. Stein presents ancient documents concerning the ceremonial dagger *phur-bu* (pp. 427—444), L. Petech deals with *The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh* (pp. 313—326), Pema Tsering — with the Rñiṅ-ma-pas in the Yüan court (pp. 511—540), D. S. Ruegg considers *The Study of Tibetan Philosophy and Its Indian Sources* (pp. 377—392), E. Steinkellner's remarks concern Tantristic Hermeneutics (pp. 445—458). S. Dylykov's short communication reviewed the history of Buddhism in Russia and in the U.S.S.R. I. Kania's paper is a *rapport préliminaire* on objects of Tibetan medicine in the Cracow Museum of Ethnography (pp. 153—160) with a list of relevant Tibetan terms. A similar subject is presented by H. Roth (about description of Tibetan and Mongolian objects in West-European Museums, pp. 265—376). Alice Sárközi describes a painted scroll brought from Mongolia, with a feminine Kuan-yin as goddess of fecundity (pp. 393—401; for this *Burci lha-mo* see also A. Grünwedel's *Obzor* of Prince Ukhtomski' collection), Magdalena Tatár draws attention to some syncretistic features in the Lamaist cult of obos in Mongolia (pp. 469—472), Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark outlines the destiny of *Tibetan Oracles in Dharamsala* (pp. 317—324).

Although in the Tibetan and Mongolian Middle Ages it is not always easy to make a clear distinction between history and religion, the following topics belong mainly to the first. Eva Dargyay analyzes the structure of the power in traditional Tibet in the relation of landlords and subordinate peasants. Hsi Hsia sources are exploited by E. Kychanov for a better knowledge of *Tibetan Culture in the Tangut State Hsi Hsia* (pp. 205—211). Kristina Lange studies the *Geschichtsbild* of the Tibetan State in the 17th—20th centuries (pp. 213—222), A. Martynov dwells *On the Status of the Fifth Dalai Lama* according to Chinese sources (pp. 289—294), T. V. Wylie deliberates the thesis *Reincarnation: a Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism* (pp. 579—586). D. Schuh considers the aspects of Tibetan diplomatics (pp. 411—425), M. Taube discusses some names and titles

found in the Tibetica of the Berlin Turfan Collection (pp. 487—502). Two papers concern problems of Old Tibetan historical sources: A. Róna-Tas, *On a Term of Taxation* . . . (pp. 357—363; about *phyiṅ-rild*) and G. Uray's fundamental study of *The Annales of the 'A-ža Principality* (pp. 541—578).

Last but not least, one paper covers a very modern subject: *Tibetan Studies by Computer* by E. Grinstead (pp. 109—123, computer in analysis of Tibetan script; some problems of Tibetan calendar).

Finally, here I have the last good chance to correct a passage in my own *Uiguro-Tibetica* (pp. 161—167): on p. 167, read, please, *p(ï)šaŋčʿup (ï)rïnpočʿi* for the Jewel-like Enlightened Soul.

G. Kara

Li Chi, *Anyang*. Dawson (Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd, Cannon House, Folkstone, Kent, England, 1977, University of Washington Press). XX + 304 p.

The laconic title i.e. the name of the site Anyang alone may represent the Bronze Age in China, and the author Li Chi, the leading archaeologist of the discoveries concerned, is a guarantee that the reader is presented with paramount evidence of China's early past. Even a high expectation like this can be fulfilled, especially by the second part of the volume, although it does not render dispensable either Chêng Tê-k'un's *descriptive summary* of archaeological research made in the field and age (*The Archaeology in China*; *Shang China*, 1961), or Kwang-chih Chang's effort to write the *history* of prehistoric and early historic China upon the archaeological excavations made up the time of the work (*The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 1972[3]). The unparalleled merit of this book, however, lies in its personal background, the author being a unique witness and an attractive guide in the Honan area of ancient Chinese capitals around Anyang and in the related investigations from the 1920s on. This book is an excellent narrative of the *research*, regrettably written as late as now, but fortunately still published, enriching the report with the instructive experience of a long and successful scholarly career.

The first chapters of the work are devoted to the history of archaeological excavations in China and in Anyang in particular. They give a lively picture of the learned world around the author in a way that the reader may learn about the ironic or even tragic fate of an archaeologist leaving the *land* of his country and his discoveries. The shift from the *site* of Anyang to the *Collection* of Anyang, escaping from the war and saving the results of the excavations, determined the author's way to Nanking and to Taiwan, as it turns out from the narrative of an objective tone. (Professor M. B. Rogers, University of Washington, to confirm the author's credit, characterizes him in his Foreword (pp. V—VIII), pp. VII—VIII: «. . . he has never permitted political considerations to either permanently halt the project, or to color his findings as a scholar».)

The importance of the Anyang excavations in the period between 1928 and 1937, up to the Japanese invasion, is explained by the author in the Preface (pp. IX—XI). The change of views concerning the written or material heritage of Shang-Yin period i.e. the centuries prior to the turn of the 1st millennium B. C., the beginnings of their scholarly investigation and the birth of Chinese archaeology of prehistory and early history is traced by the subsequent chapters (in the first 8 chapters, pp. 3—157). We read the story how oracle bones got from the hands of curio-dealers to scholars, creating modern paleography in the first decades of this century («Oracle bone inscriptions, their first appearance and initial reception in the learned world»); how archaeology of prehistory developed in China upon Western patterns, parallel with the discoveries of early Man in China («Exploratory period. Collection, deciphering, and paleographic studies of the inscribed oracle

bones» and «Field method as demonstrated by Western geologists, paleontologists and archaeologists in China in the early twentieth century»). From 1928 on, the discoveries of Anyang are followed from year to year, from month to month («Early period of planned digging of Anyang» and «The royal tombs, their discovery and systematic excavation») until 1938, when war hindered further research («Last there seasons of field work in Hsiao-t'un before World War II» and «Wartime efforts to continue the Anyang research»). Finally we learn how the scholars fled with the collection from place to place, how they were dispersed from the dangers of war, and how those who — like Li Chi — tried to continue the studies concerned, left Nanking for Taiwan («Postwar academic working conditions and studies of the Anyang finds»).

The second part of the book, chapters 9—15 (pp. 158—264), summarizes these studies of the Anyang collection, in a disciplinary order, with references to major discoveries and works of the post-war period, too. After Chinese prehistory («Prehistoric remains and traditional accounts of ancient China») the representative findings of the Shang-Yin Capital are enumerated («Architecture. Structural remains and suggested reconstructions of surface buildings»). Then the daily life of the court and people are investigated as shown by the excavated objects («The economy, agriculture and artifacts»), with an analysis of the exterior of the objects concerned («Decorative art of the Yin-Shang Dynasty»). A few instructions of the «silent» objects as concerns early social life in China, with the due references to well-known written sources, are given in two chapters («Genealogy, *Chên-jên*, and some aspects of kinship», and «Worship of ancestors and other spirits»), while the last chapter contains information concerning human remains found in Anyang: «Notes on the physical anthropology of the Yin-Shang population» (confessing a lack of clear evidence distinguishing Shang's people e.g. from the buried human sacrifices who must have been their enemies).

The clear and captivating report is completed by condense notes (pp. 265—277), a general reference map (p. XX), 20 colour plates (after p. 44) and 65 black-and-white figures within the text, a bibliography (pp. 285—293), an appendix providing Chinese characters for proper names and other terms (pp. 279—284) and an index (pp. 295—304).

Ildikó Ecsedy

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