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INFLEXION IN THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE

I. N. KOMAROVA (Moscow)

The specific feature of the grammar system of the Tibetan language expresses itself in the fact that in the composition of the sentence syntactic or relative markers in order to express the syntactic relations between the words, are represented by separate free postpositional elements or by elements which are blended with a preceeding word.

The syntactic markers (SM) at a consonantal end of a word are distinguished by the agglutinative technique of connection and can be easily singled out. But at a vocalic end of a word they have the phenomenon of overlapping morphemes when they are blended into a single unit, the so called "portmanteau".

Blending or separate functioning of the postvocal syntactic markers on the synchronous level may be explained by the opposition of the open and closed syllables on the diachronic level.

In the modern Tibetan language (Lhasa dialect) syntactic markers and their variants having the agglutinative technique of connection depend on the specific quality of the final consonantal elements of the word: markers *la*^{2}, *na*^{2}, *thu*^{2}, *su*^{1}, named "*ladon*" in the national Tibetan grammars; ergative marker *khi*$^{?3}$ and its variants *khyi*$^{?3}$; *kyi*$^{?3}$; attributive marker *khi*^{2} and its variants *khyi*^{2}, *khyi*^{2}. Next we shall take up examples of the syntactic markers.

1) *khong*^{1}*ki*$^{?3}$ "he", ergative, subject of the action for transitive verb (*khong*^{1} "he", nominative, syntactic marker of the ergative *khi*$^{?3}$ is functioning separately).

2) *khong*^{1} *khi*^{2} "his" (*khong*^{1} "he", nominative, attributive marker *khi*^{2} is functioning separately).

Three relative markers — ergative marker *sa*^{1}, locative marker *ra*^{2} and attributive marker *'i*^{2} (its variant *yi*^{2}) — are blended with a preceeding word:

1) *ngɛ*$^{?3}$ "I", ergative, subject of the action for the transitive verbs, transliterated record — *ngas* (*nga*^{2} "I, me", nominative; syntactic ergative marker *sa*^{1} has been blended with a preceeding word).

2) *ngɛ:*^{2} "my", transliterated record of the word *nga'i*/*nga* "I", nominative, syntactic attributive marker *'i* has been fused with a preceeding word.

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In this paper we present an attempt to observe some problems, connected with the occasions of the fusion of the relative markers. I do not share the opinion of some scholars that inflexion in the Tibetan language is a poor one.

When the syntactic markers are used separately the morphological borders of the words which they serve are very clear and limpid. For example: *khong*^{1}*ki*$^{?3}$ "he" -ergative; *khong*^{1}*ki*^{2} "his" -attributive. But in such blocks as *ngɛ*$^{?3}$ "I, me" -ergative, *ngɛ*:^{2} "my" -attributive morphological division is impossible, because of the fusion of the words with the syntactic markers which has taken place (ergative in the first case and attributive in the second case). The formed sound complexes are regarded as one word-form.

Initial words in their turn undergo a change-phonematic and tonematic- which may be of four types as I try to show in this paper:

1) vocal quantitative, 2) vocal (quantitative and qualitative, 3) vocal and consonantal, 4) tonal.

Here are a few examples:

1) Vocal quantitative alternations:
   (o) - (o:) *tɛ*^{2}*mo*^{1} "the show" - *tɛ*^{2}*mo*:^{1} "at the show"
   (a) - (a:) *nga*^{2} "I, me" -*nga*:^{2} "at me"
2) vocal qualitative and quantitative alternations:
   (a) - (ɛ:) *tsin*^{2}*tša*^{1} "institute'/ - *tsin*^{2}*tšɛ*:^{1} "of the institute"
   (o) - (ø:) *lo*^{2} "year" - *lø*:^{2} "of the year"
3) vocal (qualitative and quantitative) and consonantal alternations:
   (o) - (ø), (0, zero of the sound) - (ʔ) *ko*^{2} "head" -*kø*$^{?3}$ "by the head"
4) tonal alternations:
   (1 tone -|Y tone) high level tone -high falling tone:
   kha^{1} "mouth" - *khɛ*$^{?4}$ "mouth", erg.
   (11 tone- 111 tone) low rising tone - low rising falling tone
   tšhu^{2} "mud" -*tšhy*$^{?3}$ "by the mud"

As we found out in the same morphemes there will be from one to three types of alternation:

one type:	(o) - (o:) *tɛ*^{2}*mo*^{1} "the show" -*tɛ*^{2}*mo*:^{1} "at the show"
two types:	(o) - (ø), (o) - (ø:) *lo*^{2} "year" - *lø*:^{2} "of the year"
three types:	(o) - (ø), (0) - (ʔ), (11 tone) - (111 tone): *ko*^{2} "head" -*kø*$^{?3}$ "by the head"

In the given examples we can see the changes of the phonemes and the tonemes in the various forms of the same word. Alternations of the vowels occur more frequantly. It is necessary to underline that the vocal gradation, representing alternations of the back vowels with the front vowels has a regular and systematic character.

1) alternations according to the nature of the row: back-front (a)-(ɛ), (o)-(ø), (u)-(y).
2) alternation on the opposition of feature shortness-longness: (a)-(ɛ:), (o)-(ø:), (u)-(y:).
3) tonal alternations on the indicatios: level-falling, rising =rising-falling (1 tone -1Y tone), (11 tone -111 tone).

Syntactic markers may be blended directly with the root morphemes (if the word is monosyllabic), or with the suffix morphemes (if the word is disyllabic).

Now we take the examples of the fusion of the SM with a root morpheme:
(a)-(a:) : (*rnga*) *nga*^{1} "a drum" - (*rngar*) *nga*:^{1} "on the drum"
(u)-(u:) : (*chu*) *qu*^{1} "water" - (*chu'i*) *qu*:^{1} "of the water"
(u)-(y) : (*mthu*) *thu*^{1} "power" - (*mthus*) *thy*$^{?4}$ "by the power"

Now we take some examples of the fusion of the syntactic markers with suffix morpheme:

(a)-(ɛ:) : (*nya-pa*) *nya*^{2}*pa*^{1} "fisherman" -(*nya-pas*) *nya*^{2}*pɛ*$^{?4}$ "fisherman", erg.
(a)-(ɛ:) : (*rnga-ma*) *nga*^{2}*ma*^{1} "dram" -(*rnga-mas*) *nga*^{1}*mɛ*$^{?4}$ "by the drum"
(a)-(a:) : (*njing-pa*) *jing*^{2}*pa*^{1} "neck" -(*mjing-par*) *jing*^{2}*pa*:^{1} "on the neck"
(a)-(ɛ:) - (*stag-pa*) *tak*^{1}*pa*^{1} "birch (tree)" -(*stag-pa'i*) *tak*^{1}*pɛ*:^{1} "of the birch"

In the group of the members of the syntagma marked by some grammar morphemes, we can see vocal alternations only on the right final member of the syntagma:

lak^{2}*pa*^{1} *yøn*^{2}*pa*^{1} "left hand" ("hand left")
lak^{2}*pa*^{1} *yøn*^{2}*pa*:^{1} "in the left hand"

Changes take place in the word *yøn*^{2}*pa*:^{1} "left", which occupies final right position in the syntagma.

Facts described above allow us to make the conclusion about the existence of an inflexional method of the connecting morphemes in the word forms of the Tibetan language to build syntactic relations between the words in the sentence.

As we stated the facts, inflexional method of connecting the morphemes in the word-forms in the composition of sentences is expressing ergative, attributive, temporary, locative, possesive and instrumental relations.

Here are a few examples:

1) to express ergative
the^{2} "this" -*tɛ*$^{?3}$ "this", erg.
kho^{1} "he" -*khø*$^{?4}$ "he", erg.
rang^{2}*re*^{1} "we" -*rang*^{2}*rɛ*$^{?4}$ "we", erg.

2) to express attributive
   kho^{1} "he" -*khø*:^{1} "his"
   tšun^{1} *ko*^{1} "China" -*tšung*^{1}*kø*:^{1} "of China"
3) to express locative
   ri^{2} "mountain!" -*ri*:^{2} "on mountain"
   tšung^{1} *ko*^{1} "China" -*tšung*^{1} *ko*:^{1} "in China"
4) to express possesive
   nga^{2} "I, me" -*nga*:^{2} "at me"
   kho^{1} "he" -*kho*:^{1} "at him"
5) to express instrumentalis
   ko^{2} "head" -*kø*$^{?3}$ "by a head"

According to George de Roerich [2], the graphic forms of the Tibetan words which follow the traditional orthography preserve everything which was lost by the phonetic system of the Chinese language. This opinion is much more correct when applied to modern Tibetan language, the phonetic system of which underwent considerable changes in the process of the long historical development.

When syntactic markers are presented by separate postpositional elements, the word-form in the written language consists of two syllabographemes, separated from each other by the point (*tsheg*). We shall take some examples in transliteration. The mark "plus" is a parallel to the point in the written language.

(*sdon*) "autumn"	-(*sdon*+*du*)	"in autumn"
(*beng*) "stick"	-(*beng*+*gis*)	"by the stick"
(*khung*) "cave"	-(*khung*+*gi*)	"of the cave"

When the Tibetan word is represented by a blended unit occuring due to the fusion of the root and auxiliary morpheme, then in the written language it is only one syllabographeme, which includes root morpemes as nuclear elements and syntactic markers as final elements. Naturally no points are used.

There are some examples in transliteration:

(*kha*) "mouth"	-(*khas*)	"mouth", erg.
(*dri*) "mud"	-(*dris*)	"by the mud"
(*rdo*) "stone"	-(*rdo'i*)	"of the stone"

We shall express the same examples by representations using the following figures: 1 = nuclear element, 2 = prepositional element, 3 = superpositional element, 4 = subpositional element, 5 = vowel element, 6 and 7 = postpositional elements.

Two syllabographemes divided by the sign "plus" correspond to the root word and the syntactic auxiliary marker.

	5		5	
	3		3	
(*sdon*) "autumn"	1 6	— (*sdon*+*du*) "in autumn"	1 6 +	1
				5

One syllabograph may represent an intergrated block (blended unit), in which has occured a fusion of the word and a syntactic marker; therefore it is not necessary to use the sign "plus".

	5			
(*beng*) "stick"	1 6	— (*beng*+*gis*) "by stick"	5	5
			1 6 +	1 6
				5
(*khung*) "cave"	1 6	— (*khung*+*gi*) "of the cave"	1 6 +	1
	5		5	
(*kha*) "mouth", nominative		— (*khas*) "mouth", ergative		1 6
(*dri*) "mud"		-- 5 (*dris*) "by the mud"		5
		1		1 6
		4		4
(*rdo*) "stone"		— 5		
		3 (*rdo'i*) "of the stone"		5
		1		3
				1 6

Types of the inflexion in the composition of the paradigmas of the nouns *nya²pa¹* "fisherman", *tšhok²mo¹* "girl-friend"

Types of inflexion / Grammema meaning	"fisherman"	"girl-friend"
nominative	*ny²pa¹*	*tšhok²mo¹*
ergative	*nya²pɛʔ⁴*	*tšhok²møʔ⁴*
attributive	*nya²pɛ:¹*	*tšhok²mø:¹*
addressive	*nya²pa:¹*	*tšhok² mo:¹*
object, adlative	*nya²pa:¹*	*tšhok²mo:¹*
instrumental	*nya²pɛʔ⁴*	*tšhok²møʔ⁴*
locative	*nya²pa:¹*	*tšhok²mo:¹*

The system of inflection of the nouns *nya²pa¹* "fisherman" and *tšhok² mo¹* "girl-friend" are given below:

Types of inflexion / The main gram-mema meaning	*nya² pa¹* "fisherman"	*tšhok² mo¹* "girl-friend"
nominative	—a	—o
ergative	—ɛʔ	—ø
attributive	—ɛ:	—ø:
addressive	—a:	—o:
object, adlative	—a:	—o:
instrumental	ɛʔ	—øʔ
locative	a:	—o:

List of the inflexion of the morphs of the nouns *nya² pa¹* "fisherman" and *tšhok² mo¹* "girl-friend" have comparatively limited inventory four types of inflexion.

Types of inflexion / The main gram-mema meaning	*nya² pa¹* "fisherman"	*tšhok² mo¹* "girl-friend"
nominative	—a	—o
ergative, instrumental	—ɛʔ	—øʔ
attributive	—ɛ:	—ø:
addressive, adlative locative	—a:	—o:

In comparison we shall examine the paradigms of the nouns of the Russian language, which has a developed inflexional system. In the six cases system of the declension of nouns no one paradigm has six types of inflexion (1, 163).

Here are types of inflexion in the composition of the first and second declension of the nouns "*госпожа*" "madam", "*линия*" "line" and "*поле*" "field", in orthographic notes:

Feminine gender	Feminine gender	Neuter gender
И. госпож-а	*лини-я*	*пол-е*
Р. госпож-и	*лини-и*	*пол-я*
Д. госпож-е	*лини-и*	*пол-ю*
В. госпож-у	*лини-ю*	*пол-е*
Т. госпож-ой	*лини-ей*	*пол-ем*
П. госпож-е	*лини-и*	*пол-е*

An examination of the inflexion paradigms of the nouns "*госпожа*", "*линия*", „*поле*" show us that the noun "*госпожа*" has five types of inflexion (*-а, -ы, -е, -у, -ой*), the noun "*линия*" has only four types of inflexion (*-е, -я, -ю, -ем*) and the noun "*поле*" has the same quality of inflexion.

It is necessary to underline the polyfunctioning character of some inflexion forms.

inflexion (-e) in paradigm of the noun "*госпожа*" dat., loc.
inflexion (-u) in paradigm of the noun "*линия*" possessive, dat.,loc.
inflexion (-e) in paradigm of the noun "*поле*" nom.,accus.,loc.

Now we can draw a conclusion.

The following has been said in order to explain the syntactic relations between the words in the sentence: along with the agglutinative method to connect morphemes in word-forms, there is also used a method which is inflexional in nature.

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THE LADAKHI LANGUAGE AND ITS REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

SANYUKTA KOSHAL (New-Delhi)

1.1. Genetic Position of the Ladakhi Language

The Ladakhi language genetically belongs to the Siamese—Chinese sub-family of the Chinese family of languages. The languages of the Siamese—Chinese sub-family are found on the northern and north-eastern borders of India, and extend in Southeast Asian countries up to Siam. Languages spoken in India belong mostly to Tibeto—Burman branch of this sub-family. Tibeto—Burman languages are spread in modern day Tibet, and India. In India these language are spoken in regions of Jammu and Kashmir in Ladakh, in parts of Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, northern parts of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Tibeto—Burman branch is traditionally divided into three sub-branches, viz. Tibeto—Himalayan, Assam Burmese (or Lohitic), and North Assam, (consisting of miscellaneous languages). The Tibeto—Himalayan sub-branch is further classified under Bhotia or Tibetan and Himalayan groups. The Himalayan sub-group is then classified into two divisions based on the linguistic feature of pronominal concord, viz. non-pronominalized and pronominalized ones. As far as the Tibetan group is concerned, it would be convenient to further divide it into an eastern sub-group and a western sub-group. The eastern sub-group consists of standard Tibetan and its dialects spoken in the present day Tibet and on the extreme northern borders of India and Nepal. The languages of the western sub-group are spoken in India and are Ladakhi, Balti, Purik, Spiti and Lahuli. This division of eastern and western groups can be viewed in terms of the retention and loss of tones. The languages of the western sub-group have lost tones, while those of the east retain them. The exact details of this retention vary in different languages of the eastern sub-group.

1.2. Ladakhi and Neighbouring Languages

The languages of the western sub-group, Ladakhi Purik, Balti, Spiti and Lahuli have a number of shared linguistic characteristics. Some of these languages like Purik and Lahuli have been more exposed to Indo-Aryan

influences than others. In the case of Purik religious conversion of its speakers may have started or accelerated the process of Indo—Aryan influence. Among these dialects there is a fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility. This is more true in case of Ladakhi and Purik, Ladakhi and Spiti, Purik and Balti pairs of languages which reflects the closeness of genetic relationship and greater contact among these communities.

1.3. Ladakhi and its Regional Varieties

Ladakhi is at present spoken in Leh, Nyu-ma, Nub-ra, Up-shi and Chu-shul tehsils etc. of the Ladakh district and in Zangskar tehsil of Kargil. Kargil has been declared as a separate district recently in 1975. It is only the Zangskar tehsil of the Kargil district which consists of Ladakhi speakers. In other parts of Kargil mainly Pu-rik is spoken. According to the provisional 1981 census figures, provided by the District census office, Leh, the number of Ladakhi speakers in the two districts is 76,697. Ladakhi speakers are spread mostly in rural areas (67,979 persons) and there are only 8,718 speakers in urban areas. The bulk of Ladakhi speakers (76,697) are found in Jammu and Kashmir, the others are spread in the rest of the country.

Ladakhi has five regional dialects:

1. Zangskar Ladakhi: It is spoken in the entire Zangs-kar Tehsil which lies in the west of Leh (Lhe).
2. Nub-ra Ladakhi: It is spoken in the Nub-ra Tehsil which lies in the northern part of the Lhe district. Nub-ra dialect attests two major sub-varieties spoken in the upper and lower tracts of the tehsil.
3. Stotpa dialect: This variety is spoken in the east of Lhe, mainly in Up-shi, Sak-ti, Cha-shul etc., and it extends up to Tibetan border. This variety is spoken in the higher altitude region, which is indicated by the word stot-pa which literarly means 'upper'.
4. Sham-ma dialect: It is spoken in the north-west of Lhe, in places like Khaltse, Ti-mis-gam, Sas-pol valleys etc.
5. Central Ladakhi: It is also known as Lhe Ladakhi and is spoken in Lhe and the neighbouring areas. This dialect of Ladakhi is accepted as the standard form and is, therefore, considered prestigious.

These regional dialects of Ladakhi vary along various linguistice parameters, e.g. phonologically, grammatically and lexically, although these differences are evident mostly at the phonological level.

Upper Ladakhi and lower Ladakhi are much closer to the Lhe dialect than Nub-ra and Zangs-kar dialects. The lower sub-variety of Nub-ra dialect

is closer to the Sham-ma variety than the upper variety which is somewhat closer to the Lhe dialect or Lhe Ladakhi.

As in most other speech communities Central Ladakhi and its regional dialects show perceptible differences based on socio-cultural variables.

2.1. The Phonology[1]

As it has been mentioned earlier[2] Ladakhi which belongs to the Tibeto—Himalayan group of languages is a syllabic language like most of the languages of Chinese family. It clearly manifests that its phonological as well as grammatical organisations are amenable to an appropriate description if syllable is accepted as the basic unit for the linguistic analysis of Ladakhi and other dialects of this group and for languages spoken in the neighbouring regions like Kargil, another district of Jammu and Kashmir state and for Lahuli and spiti of Himachal Pradesh of India.

By basic unit it means that smallest elements at different linguistic levels like phonemes and morphemes as well as sememes are monosyllabic and a polysyllabic sequence is a sequence of as many grammatico-semantic elements as the number of syllables it is comprised of. Accepting syllable as the basic unit of phonological analysis means that contrasts of phonemic entities are established within syllables only and the distributional terms-initial, medial, final-refer to syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final[3] respectively.

Central Ladakhi and its four dialects, *stot-pa*, *šəm-ma*, *nub-ra*, and *zəŋs-kər-ri*, attest an overall inventory of 52 sounds — 9 vowel sounds, and 43 consonant sounds.[4] Central Ladakhi has only 42 consonant sounds, as it does not attest labio-dental voiceless fricative *f* which is found in *zəŋs-ker-ri* dialect. On the other *zəŋs-kər-ri* does not attest the murmured lateral ɬ, and hence *zəŋs-kər-ri* dialect also has 42 consonant sounds. As far as vowel-sounds

[1] Data of Ladakhi language and its dialects have been analysed and the grammatical description presented herein follows the structural-distributional model of linguistic analysis. The principles of opposition and contrast in form and in function have been the basic tenets of the analysis at all linguistic levels.

[2] Sanyukta Koshal, *Ladakhi Grammar*, 1979, Motilal Banarsi Dass.

[3] Ladakhi writing system, which is taken over from Tibetan writing system, also attests the syllabic nature of the language. The script marks syllable boundaries. Graphemic-phonemic relationships consistently and systematically reveal the syllabic nature of the language.

[4] The phonetic details and their phonemic analysis are based on a comprehensive body of data of Central Ladakhi. However, statements about phonetic as well as phonemic facts about other dialects are tentative, and require a more detailed work for making final statements.

are concerned, there is no evidence that these dialects show any specific differences at phonetic or phonemic levels.

The Central Ladakhi consonant sounds can be analysed into 33 phonemes, while the 9 vowel sounds into 5 vowel phonemes. The total number of phonemes is thus 38 in Central Ladakhi, *Stot-pa, šəm-ma, nub-ra.* In case of zəŋs-kər-ri some of the fricative sounds seem to have resulted from the simplification of earlier consonant clusters and need to be treated as phonemes, thus increasing the number of consonant phonemes to 36 in *zəŋs-kər-ri* dialect. The number of vowel phonemes remains 5 in each of the five dialects of Ladakhi. The phonetic labelling of each sound is not being given in detail as the same can easily be deduced from tables, 1, 2 and 3 given below.

Table 1

Ladakhi Vowel Sounds

		Front	Central	Back
Higher	High			
Lower		i		u
Higher		e		o
Mean	Mid	E	ə	ʌ
Lower				
Higher			ɜ̊	
	Low			
Lower				ɜ̊

Table 2

Ladakhi Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low			

Stotpa and Shamma dialects

As stated earlier in this paper these two dialects are quite close to Central Ladakhi. There is one striking feature, viz. retention or loss of final *s*. While Stotpa and its regional forms favour more of deletion of final *s* and consequent change of the preceding vowel to *-e*, Shamma dialect favours the retention of *-s*.

Table 3

Consonantal sounds of Central Ladakhi and other dialects

Manner of Articulation	Point of Articulation 1	Labial 2	Labio-dental 3	Dental 4	Alveolar 5	Retroflex 6	Palatal 7	Velar 8	Glottal 9
STOPS									
Voiceless		p		t		ṭ		k	k >
Voiceless aspirate		ph		th		ṭh		kh	
Voiced		b b		d ḍ		ḍ		g g	
AFFRICATES									
Voiceless					t͡s		č		
Voiceless aspirate					t͡sh		čh		
Voiced					d͡z		ǰ		
FRICATIVES									
Voiceless			f△	ȯ	s	ṣ	š		
Voiced		ß			z		ž	ɣ	h
TRILLS									
Voiceless					r				
Voiced					r				
LATERALS									
Voiceless					l				
Voiced					*t*				
MURMURED-LATERAL					ɬ□				
NASAL		m		n			ñ	*η*	
SEMI VOWELS		w					y		

△ = found only in Zangskar dialect

□ = not found in the dialect of Zangskar.

As far as *-s* is concerned Central Ladakhi attests variation with a very high frequency. In Central Ladakhi *-s* is completely lost in some forms while in other cases it is still in process. In Central Ladakhi *ne* → *nəs* "from" both the forms are attested. A word like *ŋəes* "1st person pronoun, ergative case" in Shamma dialect is always *ŋe* in Central Ladakhi.

Nubro dialect

Nubra dialect shows the development of (i) palatalisation of stop consonants, and (ii) nasalised vowels. Further work is required to establish the details of their phonemicity and occurrence.

Zangskar dialect

Zangskar dialect shows the greatest amount of divergence from Central Ladakhi. The three main differences are as follows:
(i) Zangskar dialect has lost all the consonant clusters and the simplification of these clusters has resulted into independent sounds. To illustrate:

Central Ladakhi	Zangskar Dialect
sk	h
sp	f
rd	δ
rb	β
rg	B
zg	γ

These voiced fricative sounds are significant phonemically in Zangskar dialect as they contrast with their corresponding voiced stops. It has been stated earlier that these fricatives are allophones of their corresponding stops in Central Ladakhi.
(ii) Final clusters with *-s* as their second member have been simplified by the loss of *-s* in Zangskar dialect.
(iii) The murmured lateral ɬ of Central Ladakhi has changed into alveoler lateral in Zangskar; e.g. [ɬə-mo] Central Ladakhi: (lə-mo) Zangskar dialect "Goddess".

It is significant that although there are only three points of differences between the two dialects, they are pervasive enough to affect the mutual intelligibility negatively.

The above differences of the Zangskar dialect have been analysed on the basis of a field trip of two months in 1975 when data was collected for this purpose. However, more intensive work is required to determine the differences between these dialects at various levels of language organisation.

2.2. Lexical Differences

There are peculiarities in each of the dialects. For illustration, one example can be cited: *i-ču* "bird" is found only in Shamma dialect, and *či-pa* in Central Ladakhi and Nubra dialects, while in Zangskar dialect *ča* is used. For giving on exhaustive list of such forms further lexicographical work is needed to be done.

2.3. Consonant Clusters

Overall pattern of consonant clusters is given below. As it has been indicated earlier consonant clusters have been undergoing a change through the process of simplification. This process of change, viz. simplification of consonant clusters has manifested itself in different directions.

In Zangskar dialect all the clusters (initial as well as final) have been simplified; in this process the first member of the cluster results into a zero and the second one is either retained or changes to a different sound.

In Stotpa dialect the entire consonant cluster system is being simplified in most of the cases. In this process, the first member of the initial clusters and the second member of the final clusters have been lost. However, they are occasionally heard before an open syllable.

In Shamma dialect the consonant clusters, initial or final, are mostly retained.

Nubra dialect shows variation in this regard, but the extent of variation can only be stated after a detailed quantitative study of the data.

Initial clusters with "stop and semi-vowel" have been retained in all the dialects. Such clusters are mainly the following:

ky -
khy -
gy -
ñy -

It is important to note here that some clusters having a stop as its first member occur in syllable initial position only after a preceding open syllable in Central Ladakhi, Shamma and Nubra dialects. In these three dialects such clusters also show variation, e.g. -

ži-bču — ži-ču	ži-bču	"forty".
ču-kšik — ču-šik	ču-kšik	"eleven"
etc.		

Such clusters have been simplified by the loss of the first consonant in other dialects.

Central Ladakhi	Stotpa dialect	Shamma dialect	Nubra dialect	Zangskar dialect
rg —	g	rg	rg	r
rb —	b	rb	rb	β
rd	d	rd	rd	δ
rǰ	ǰ	rǰ	rǰ	ǰ
rd͡z —	d͡z —	rd͡z —	rd͡z —	d͡z —
rt͡s —	t͡s —	rt͡s —	rt͡s —	t͡s —
rt —	t —	rt —	rt —	t —
lg —	g —	lg —	lg —	g —
ld —	d —	ld —	ld —	δ
lǰ —	ǰ —	lǰ —	lǰ —	ǰ —
lz —	z —	lz —	lz —	z —
lt —	t —	lt —	lt —	t —
lp —	p —	lp —	lp —	p —
lč —	č —	lč —	lč —	č —
sk —	k —	sk —	sk —	h —
sp —	p —	sp —	sp —	f —
st —	t —	st —	st —	t —
sm —	m —	sm —	sm —	m —
sn —	n —	sn —	sn —	n —
sñ —	ñ —	sñ —	sñ —	ñ —
sŋ —	ŋ	sŋ —	sŋ —	sŋ —
zb —	b —	zb —	zb —	b —
zd —	d —	zd —	zd —	d —
zg —	g —	zg —	zg —	g —
ṣt —	t —	ṣt —	ṣt —	t —
ṣk —	k —	ṣk —	ṣk —	k —
ṣm —	m —	ṣm —	ṣm —	m —
ṣñ —	ñ —	ṣñ —	ṣñ —	ñ —
ṣn —	n —	ṣn —	ṣn —	n —
ṣŋ —	ŋ —	ṣŋ —	ṣŋ —	ŋ —

Three consonant clusters "s + stop + semi-vowel" attest the some pattern that is exhibited in the case of two consonant clusters. First member of such clusters is optionally dropped in some of the dialects, while the rest are retained, e.g.,

[skyon] → [skyon] — [kyon] "Fault"

Final clusters with *-s* as the second member are simplified by the loss of *-s* in Stotpa and Zangskar dialects. Other three dialects attest a variation between its retention and loss.

Central Ladakhi	Stotpa dialect	Shamma dialect	Nubra dialect	Zangskar dialect
— ks	— k	— ks	— ks	— k
— ps	— p	— ps	— ps	— p
— ŋs	— ŋ	— ŋs	— ŋs	— ŋ
— ms	— m	— ms —	— ms	— m
— ts	— t	— ts	— ts	— t
— ns	— n	— ns	— ns	— n
— rs	— r	— rs	— rs	— r
— ls	— l	— ls	— ls	— l

3.1

Languages in their normal course of development and change absorb a lot of linguistic elements from other languages. Not only are lexical items borrowed, grammatical elements and processes are also taken over from other languages and adapted structurally. Ladakhi happens to be one of those rare languages which has externally borrowed the least in course of its development. Even when Ladakhi has borrowed lexical items from other languages they have been adapted in the language in terms of the phonological constraints of Ladakhi, mainly its syllabic nature. Hence, such lexical borrowings have not affected the phonological system either qualitatively or quantitatively. Thus Skt. *dharma* when borrowed in Ladakhi is adapted as *dər-ma*, Skt. *bharata* as *bərət*, Skt. *saṃsāra* as *sən-sa-ra* etc. Thus diffusion as a vehicle of language change has had minimal effect in the case of Ladakhi language.

With the advent of Indian Independence Ladakh has also been exposed to external influences in the process of social and economic development. Compulsory education, use of vernacular in education, and also as language of mass communication by the mass-media have brought about an awareness of the importance of Ladakhi among its speakers. It has also stimulated a sense of identification and loyality to the native language, i.e. Ladakhi, among the Ladakhi people.

Ladakhi has also been exposed to forces of language standardization. With an increase in communication — intra-group as well as inter-group — the form of language is being subject to more and more uniformity and prescription.

Development of science and technology has ushered an era of modernization in the Indian society. Ladakhi has not remained untouched by such forces. At the linguistic level there has been an increasing need for lexical creation. Ladakhi, rather than borrowing words, seems to have opted for the most part, for the strategy of utilising native resources and the maximum utilisation of

derivational processes. For example *nəm-ḍu* 'aeroplane' < *nem* = sky, *ḍu* = '(to) move', *łok-khang* 'power houses' < *łok* = electricity, *khang* = house. Thus modernization has revitalized the native resources of Ladakhi and has also reaffirmed the native speaker's sense of belongingness and identity through their native language.

It is surprising that very little attention has been paid to Ladakhi and other languages of this genetic group up to this time. It is high time that such languages, even though spoken by a small number of speakers, are duly studied and analyzed. It is all the more necessary to study these languages early before they, under the pressures of the momentous socio-economic and technological development in the country, undergo such rapid and far-reaching structural changes that may lead to basic changes in the structure and usage of Ladakhi and may even end in its total loss. As it is, some of the core areas of Ladakhi language use like the use of honorific system is being significantly affected among the younger speakers who not only neglect their learning and use but consider it superfluous. The linguistic study of Ladakhi and such minor languages may have theoretical implications for linguistic theory and for the formulation of language universals. It will also yield the background research results for various applied linguistic purposes in the areas of language teaching, dictionary making, translation, language development and planning and the intricate inter-relationships of societal behaviour and language use in the Ladakhi community.

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ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM *ZHAL-SNGA-NAS [MDZAD-PA]* AS USED IN TANJUR COLOPHONS

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The colophons of the Tibetan Canon are still the least studied field of Tibetology. In my paper I try to interprete the term *zhal-snga-nas* [*mdzad-pa*], which is often used in colophones of canonic and later works. We hope that an analysis of this word-group will allow a more precise understanding of the meaning of authorship in medieval Tibetan culture.

In the colophons of the Tanjur this combination of words is used after the name of an "author" and, more rarely, after the name of a "paṇḍit". As for example in the following phrases, which are quoted along with the usual translations:

1. *slob-dpon Stong-ba-nyid Ting-nge-'dzin-snying-po'i zhal-snga-nas mdzad* — "[the translation was] made in the presence (with a nice shade of politeness) of the Teacher Śunyatā-Samādhi-Hṛdaya", (or " [. . .] done from the mouth of the Teacher")
2. *rgya-gar-gyi slob-dpon Padma'i zhal-snga-nas Rgyal-ba Chod-dbyangs-kyi bsgyur* — "Translated from mouth (or "in the presence") of the Indian teacher Padma by the lotsava Rgyal-ba Chod-dbyangs".

Mongol translators have dealt with this term long before the first translations in European languages appeared. J. W. de Jong remarks: "L'expression *źal-sńa-nas* semble avoir causé des difficultés aux traducteurs mongols qui l'ont rendue par *dergede*, *emün-e*, *emün-e-eče*, *niγur-un nide-eče*, *niγur-un emün-e niden* (?), *aman-ača* et *pāda* ou *bhā-da* (skt. *-pādāḥ*)." Cf. J. W. de Jong, Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur, *ZAS*, 1972, p. 511.

Rinchen Nomtoev's Dictionary gives the following Mongolian translations of the term *zhal-snga* — "gegen", *zhal-snga-nas* — "gegen-ü", "gegen-ü emüne", "gegentei". (Cf. *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, tomus VI, p. 682.)

All available translations ignore the independent meaning of the second formant of the idiom *snga* — "former", "previous", "preceeding". In the Dictionary of S. Ch. Das *snga*, in combination with other words, it preserves an independent meaning or actively influences the other parts of a disyllabic word, attaching to it a shade of precedence. *Snga* is often used independently

in forms *sngar* and *sngar-ma* in colophones of works done by the same authors, paṇḍits or translators, as the preceeding one, in order to avoid the repetition of names, e.g., *sngar* — "like the preceeding". *sngar-ma 'dra'* — "the same [author, paṇḍit, etc.] as in the previous work". (In the Lhasa edicts of the 8th—9th centuries synonymic *sngar bzhin* was written instead of *sngar-ma 'dra'*. Cf. H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts of Lhasa*, London, 1952, p. 30.)

So the word-combination under review can be translated as "from the preceeding mouth" or "from ancient oral [tradition of the text]". But this translation also does not reflect the whole cultural and historical context in which this idiom functioned.

A more exact and complete meaning can be found by analysing the idea of authorship as understood by the Tibetans, and their concept was not as underdeveloped as in the case of the European medieval man. The Tibetans shifted the emphasis in the perception of authorship on the basis of their philosophic and religious conception of relationship between world and man.

The author, the maker of the text, was regarded as an important but not universal factor in the transmission of a tradition, as one of the elements of a stream, which strengthtens tradition and provides it with vitality. Thus, regarding "authorship" the Tibetans put the idea of *transmission* in the first place. Consequently the idiom under consideration meant, that a particular teaching was transmitted by a person, mentioned in the colophon, and it included a long row of preceeding masters, the whole tradition of transmission of the text. This special sense of authorship gave to the real author of a work the opportunity to conceal himself in the flow of tradition or (what apparently often happened) to ascribe the authorship to the author's deceased teacher.

It is known that sometimes the most typical features of a culture are not realized by its bearers as these features form organic parts of their life style and way of thinking. In this sense it should be emphasized that the Mongolian translators of canonical texts were completely integrated in the cultural world of Tibetan Buddhism. Thus, in their interpretation of the idiom under discussion they were taking spontaneously into consideration the ancient precept:

"When perceiving the essence of a phenomenon
Do not analyse its separate elements."

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ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE GARBHADHĀTU MAṆḌALA

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The Ryōbu 兩部, i.e., two-part maṇḍala consisting of the maṇḍalas of the Womb World (Garbhadhātu; *Taizōkai* 胎藏界; hereinafter *WM*) and of the Diamond World (Vajradhātu; *Kongōkai* 金剛界; hereinafter *DM*) serve as the focus for the ritual and meditative practices of the Shingon ('True Word', i.e., dhāraṇī) School of Japanese esoteric Buddhism.[1] This pair was drawn in the T'ang capital of Ch'angan 長安 in the year 805 following the instructions of the then Chinese patriarch of that school, Huiko 惠果 (745—805) to be presented to his disciple, a Japanese monk Kūkai 空海 (774—835), who became the founder of the Shingon School in Japan. The pair of maṇḍalas has survived in Japan through a process of copying and recopying in a form that is believed to represent closely the original versions brought from China.

In Shingon teaching these two maṇḍalas are held to reveal but two different aspects of the cosmic Buddha Mahā-Vairocana (Dainichi 大日) — his compassion and wisdom, respectively — and are found in the abhiṣeka halls of Shingon temple complexes. Historically, these two maṇḍalas are the visual legacy of two different esoteric traditions with their own ritual practices and sets of scriptures which found their way to China from India during the first half of the eighth century and were merged into a new esoteric school a few decades later. The tradition focusing on the maṇḍala of the Diamond World is not only based on a more stable iconographic tradition but is also more widely known in the esoteric traditions of other countries, particularly in Tibet. But the *WM* is not only practically unknown outside of Shingon Buddhism, it is also one of the most complex maṇḍalas found in esoteric Buddhism. This paper attempts to explore the process leading to the formation of this maṇḍala and to review some of its structural features on the basis of its Genzū

[1] The best short introduction to this school is Minoru Kiyota, *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice* (Los-Angeles—Tokyo, 1978). On the two maṇḍalas, pp. 81—104. The best detailed description of the two-part maṇḍala in a Western language is still Ryūjun Tajima, *Le deux grands mandalas et la doctrine de l'ésotérisme Shingon* (Paris—Tokyo, 1958). The standard work in Japanese, but now rather dated, Toganoo Shoun 栂尾祥雲 *Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅 尾 研究 (Tokyo, 1927).

version[2] and a number of other versions preceding the Genzu version which were reconstructed by modern Japanese scholars. Such approach does have its drawbacks and limitations but it does help to focus attention on a number of changes occurring within the *WM*'s internal alignment during the decades preceding the fashioning of the Genzū *WM* which cannot be fully accounted for by studying the texts on which this maṇḍala is based.

The Genzū *WM* contains a total of 414 *son* 尊 [3]which are placed in a number of separate enclosures — called *in* 院 (yard) — grouped around a central yard called *chū-tai hachiyo-in* 中台八葉 | (yard of the central eight-petalled lotus seat). This central yard houses the image of Mahāvairocana tathāgata (Dainichi nyorai 大日如來) — the *honzon* 本尊[4] of the entire Maṇḍala — placed in the center of an eight-petalled lotus. He is surrounded by four tathāgatas (occupying the petals of the lotus at the cardinal points) and four bodhisattvas on the remaining four petals. Around this central yard are grouped ten yards containing a host of Buddhist *son*. These yards, in turn, are encircled by an outer yard, called the *saigebuin* 最外陪 | outermost yard), which displays over two-hundred non-Buddhist, "mundane" *son*.[5]

The ten yards placed in the area between the core zone and the enclosing outermost yard are named after their particular *honzon*. They are:

I. along the vertical axis to the East of (above) the core zone in ascending order
   1. the yard of the universal knowledge (Sarvatathāgatajñāna; *henchi-in*; 遍智 |)
   2. the yard of Śākyamuni (*Shaka-in* 釋迦 |)
   3. the yard of Mañjuśrī (*Monju-in* 文珠 |)

II. along the vertical axis to the West of (below) the core zone in descending order

[2] Tajima, *op. cit.*, p. 58 translates the term as "réalisé graphiquement", i.e. a maṇḍala turned into a visual image. The term should be understood as a contracted version of a phrase signifying a maṇḍala whose visual image is now (i.e. during the ninth century in Japan) the most popular. See Ishida Hisatoyo 石田尙豐 "Genzu Mandara no seiritsu to tenkai 現圖曼荼羅 no 成立 to 展開", p. 196, in *Mikkyō Bijutsu Daikan* 密教美術大觀, edit. by Sawa Ryūken, et al. (Tokyo, 1983), pp. 196—207. Chigyō Yamamoto, *Introduction to the Mandala* (Kyoto, 1980), p. 16 states: "The term 'Genzu' means the maṇḍala that is prevalent at present."

[3] This term is of Sino-Japanese usage. Its literal meaning is "the venerated one(s)", Sanskrit devatā; this term will be used to refer to the sacred figures appearing in the maṇḍala to avoid cumbersome references to their specific status (such as tathāgata, bodhisattva, deva, etc.) whenever there is no need to be specific.

[4] The central sacred entity of a maṇḍala or yard of a maṇḍala.

[5] See appendix I. The best pictorial material concerning the varieties of *WM* and *DM* in Japan can be found in the above mentioned (note 2) *Mikkyō Bijutsu Daikan*, color plates on pp. 9—72, 97—120, 153—161 and black and white photographs and sketches throughout the text.

4. the yard of Vidyārājas (*Jimyōō-in* 持明王院)
5. the yard of Ākāśagarbha (*Kokūzō-in* 虛空藏院)
6. the yard of Susiddhi (*Soshitsuji-in* 蘇悉地院)

III. along the horizontal axis to the North of (left from the viewer's vantage point) the core zone in the order of growing distance from the center

7. the yard of Avalokiteśvara (*Kannon-in* 觀音院) or, more accurately, the yard of Padmapani.
8. the yard of Kṣitigarbha (*Jizō-in* 地藏院)

IV. to the South of (right) the core zone

9. the yard of Vajrapani (*Kongōshu-in* 金剛手院)
10. the yard of Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkaṃbhī (*Jogaishō-in* 除蓋障院)

This *WM* is based on a tantric text known in Japan under the abbreviated title as *Dainichikyō* 大日經, i.e., Mahāvairocana Sūtra. The full Sanskrit title, reconstructed from the transcription in the Tibetan version, is *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhisthāna-vaipulya-sutrendra-rāja* which was rendered into Chinese as Ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-pien chia-ch'ih ching 大毘盧遮那成仏神變加持經[6]. However the Genzu *WM* is far more elaborate than the text of this tantra. It reflects ritual and doctrinal elements that were inspired by sources traceable in texts that form part of the Dainichikyō tradition and in those that are outside of this tradition. In the alignment of its parts and in the number and content of its *son*, this *WM* reveals a heritage which has still to be fully explored. Such exploration has therefore to rely to a large degree on an iconographic analysis.

The Sanskrit text — now lost save the few text fragments mentioned above — was translated into Chinese in Loyang's Tafuhsien temple by the Indian monk Śubhākarasiṃha (636?—735) with the assistance of his Chinese disciple I-hsing (683—727) in the year 725.[7] This date and the date of the painting of the mandala (805) provide two fixed points for attempting a survey of the evolution of the Genzu version. They allow us to suggest:

1. an "Indian phase" extending from the formulation of this particular tantric text in the middle of the seventh century to its transmission to China and eventual translation into Chinese;

[6] *Taishō edition* of the Tripitaka, XVIII, No. 848. The first six fascicles are nearly identical with the Tibetan translation even though the order of the sections is different in parts.

[7] The most detailed survey of esoteric Buddhism in China is still Chou Yiliang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VIII (1944/45), pp. 241—332. For two accounts of Shingon ritual see Erwin Rouselle, "Ein Abhiseka-Ritus in Mantra Buddhismus," *Sinica-Sonderausgabe* (1934), pp. 58—90; (1935), pp. 1—23; and Maria Marega, "Saggio sui riti esoterici della setta Buddhista Giapponese Shingon-shu," *Annali Lateranensi* XIII (1949), pp. 105—128.

2. a "Chinese phase" between 725 and 805 during which this tantric tradition was established in China and during which the Genzu version evolved;
3. a "Japanese phase" dating from the transmission of the maṇḍala and a host of tantric texts to Japan in the years 805/806 during which the external form of the Genzu version was not substantially altered but a number of standard interpretations emerged.

The "Indian phase" in the evolution of this *WM* — in this paper outside the focus of our attention — is difficult to trace since no original material save a few textual fragments from this period has survived. If we follow the general scheme in the development of a mandala suggested by the Mircea Eliade student Reginald Ray[8], we could postulate that the "classic" form of the *WM* which emerged from a period of tentative formations and re-formations is that found in the 725 Śubhākarasimha translation; the commentary on the sūtra, the Dainichikyōsho 大日經疏 recorded by I-hsing according to oral instructions received from Śubhākarasiṃha[9], which includes the detailed description of a WM called the "Maṇḍala transmitted by the Ācārya" (*Ajarishoden Mandara* 阿闍梨所伝 M.) containing over seven hundred *son*[10]; a collection of iconographic sketches, the *Taizōzuzō* 胎藏圖像 (Iconographic Sketches of the Womb World Maṇḍala)[11]; and a number of ritual handbooks.[12] No painted version of this "classic" form exists but the TZZZ provides the oldest surviving iconographic sketches of many a *son* found in the Genzu *WM*. These sketches place the TZZZ near the end of the postulated "Indian" phase or at the beginning of the "Chinese" phase.

These materials formed the core of an esoteric tradition in China which made major contributions to the formation of the Genzu Mandala because the author of the Genzu version, Hui-ko, was initiated into the teachings and practices of this schoo lby a disciple of Śubhākarasiṃha, Hsüan-ch'ao 玄超 in the year 767. But the Genzu *WM* did not simply continue in the "classic" form of this tradition. It became a hybrid, evolved maṇḍala which is much more complex than that described in the Dainichikyō system. It came to include

[8] Reginald Ray, „Maṇḍala Symbolism in Tantric Buddhism," unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago (1973), p. 200ff.

[9] *Taishō edition*, XXXIX, No. 1796.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 636ff.

[11] Iconographic section of the Taishō edition (herein after cited as *TaishōZ*), II, pp. 333—476. For two studies on iconographic sketchbooks see Hamada Takashi 濱田隆, *Zuzo* 圖像 (Nihon no bijutsu, vol. 12) and Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 *Hakubyozuzō no kenkyū* 白描圖像 no 研究 (Kyoto, 1982).

[12] These are the *Shōdaigiki* 攝大儀軌, Taishō edition, XVIII, No. 850 and the *Kōdaigiki* 廣大儀軌, Taishō edition, XVIII, No. 851. These, together with two other ritual handbooks, are commonly referred to as the *Taizōshibugiki* 胎藏四部儀軌 They provide the necessary information about the ritual observances focussing on the *WM* .

elements based on texts from other traditions as well as entirely new elements which, for lack of evidence to the contrary, have to be attributed to Hui-ko. Such attribution is, by necessity, problematical and has to rely on internal evidence which is rarely conclusive. Future detailed studies are therefore very desirable and may force certain reassessments.

One tradition making major contributions to the evolution of the Genzu *WM* is that linked to Vajrabodhi (670—741) and his disciple Amoghavajra (705—774) who came to China in 720 and began translating sūtras into Chinese. The tradition established by these two monks had as its core texts from the vajrayana tradition and shows strong southern Indian influences since Amoghavajra visited Southern India upon the death of his master only to return to China in the year 746 where he continued his massive translation work. Tradition credits him with the translation of 110 works of 143 fascicles. These new translations seem to have exerted considerable influence on other esoteric schools, including that established by Śubhākarasiṃha, whose own Chinese disciple I-hsing is said to have studied under Amoghavajra. This fact may serve as an example of the trend to blend separate esoteric traditions in China — a trend to which the Shingon School and its two-part maṇḍala owe their existence, Hui-ko, the founder-patriarch of its Chinese prototype, also studied under Amoghavajra and was initiated into this tradition in 766. The major legacy of this dual tradition with respect to the *WM* is the heavy influx of elements from the Vajrabodhi-Amoghavajra tradition — an "updating", so to speak, of its classic form.[13]

The Genzu version of the two-part maṇḍala represents therefore the visual expression of the joining of two traditions — both with Mahāvairocana as their *honzon* — which are now joined and held to express but two different aspects of the cosmic Mahāvairocana. But one of these visual images, i.e., the *WM*, had by this time come to incorporate numerous elements from the other tradition, while the other, i.e., the *DM*, retained its traditional form without a corresponding influx of elements from its counterpart.[14] It is for this reason that the *WM* in its Genzu version reached the degree of complexity and departure from the textual basis and established iconographic patterns which we will attempt to trace below.

A final complication should also be noticed. Individual elements found in the Genzu *WM* can also be detected in the Chinese translations of texts dating from the centuries preceding the fashioning of this maṇḍala. However, no coherent link between these elements — scattered as they are throughout sūtra texts from various dynasties beginning with the Later Han — and the

[13] See Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō Jiten* 密教辭典 (Kyoto, 1975), p. 589 a/b.

[14] The best short survey of this process is found in Ishida Hisatoyo, "Genzu Mandara no seiritsu to tenkai," (see note 2).

Genzu *WM* has as yet been established.[15] Japanese scholars tend to favor a generally descriptive classification into a "hybrid" (*zōmitsu* 雜密) and "pure" (*jummitsu* 純密) stage in the development of esoteric Buddhism in China.[16] Under this aspect the term *zōmitsu* is used to refer to the older forms of esoteric Buddhism in contrast to the "pure" later stage where the often bewildering number of *honzon* found at the earlier stage had finally given way to rise of Mahāvairocana as representing the dharmakāya of esoteric Buddhism.

The Genzu *WM* belongs to the later stage and can be considered one of the major images ever fashioned of this dharmakāya. However, such classification does not substantially advance our understanding of the way in which the various individual elements constituted a viable tradition that actively helped to shape the Genzu version, other than that we may assume the existence of a number of maṇḍala prototypes and iconographic conventions which must have been familiar to the author of the Genzu version. We owe it to the careful iconographic analysis by Ishida Hisatoyo that we have come to have at least a more detailed understanding of the conflux of various inconographic elements in the decades preceding the fashioning of the Genzu Maṇḍala.[17] This analysis is based on two prototypes of the *WM* which may be reconstructed from two iconographic sketch books copied in China by the Japanese monk Enchin 丹珍 (d. 891) in the mid-850s and brought to Japan where their early Kamakura period copies have survived to the present. As mentioned earlier, the oldest of these sketch books, entitled *Iconographic Sketches of the Womb World Maṇḍala* (Taizōzuzō, *TZZZ*)[18], can be dated with some accuracy. It contains iconographic sketches of the *son* appearing in the Śubhākarasiṃha system *WM* together with their dhāraṇī. These sketches were produced at the time Śubhākarasiṃha translated the Dainichi-kyō (725) but appear to contain iconographic material predating the sūtra translation. The sketches display Indian characteristics, particularly in the Vidyarāja and Deva sections. One of the images most strikingly different from its counterpart in the Genzu *WM*, how-

[15] Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄, "Taizōkai 胎藏界 in *Mikkyō no Rekishi* 密敎 no 歷史 (Kōza Mikkyō 講座密敎 vol. 2), pp. 117—132 suggest a diversified heritage — divided into what he labels "main" and "side" currents — for the Esoteric Buddhism of the T'ang period. His approach may provide important clues but has not yet been widely accepted.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 196f. See also Yamamoto, *Introduction to the Mandala*, pp. 1—16.

[17] Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, passim; Ishida Hisatoyo, 濱田尙豐 *Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅 no 研究 (Tokyo, 1975) and *Mandara no chie* 曼荼羅 no 智慧 (Tokyo, 1979. For four recent listings of the *son* found in the *WM* See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyu*, appended volume of illustrations; Manabe Shunshō and Yamamoto Chigyō 眞鍋仏照; 山本智敎, Den Shingon-in Ryōkai Mandara 伝眞言大兩界曼荼羅 (Tokyo, 1977); Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄, *Mandara no sekai* 曼荼羅 no 世界 (in *Gendai Mikkyō Kōza* 現代密敎講座 vol. V, Tokyo, 1977), pp. 3—8, Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō Jiten*, pp. 34—361.

[18] *TaishōZ*, II. see note 11.

ever, is that of the *honzon* Mahāvairocana who appears in the *TZZZ* in the austere form of a tathāgata while the Genzu image shows him in a most splendid form — styled in the manner of a bodhisattva.

Our conclusions rely on an analysis of the differences between these two prototypes and differences between them and the Genzu Maṇḍala for an understanding of the confluence of various iconographic elements in the decades preceding the fashioning of the Genzu *WM*. An analysis of such differences will focus on

1. the basic structure of the maṇḍala
2. the location of the Śakyamuni, Mañjusrī, and deva yards.
3. the number of *son* and some iconographic features of their images.

The basic structure of the *WM* found in the *TZZZ* is reconstructed by Toganoo and Ishida as that of a regular square-shaped maṇḍala in the Indian tradition and place the individual *son* in five concentric zones (including the core zone).[19] Such reconstruction reflects a choice since iconographic sketchbooks, like the *TZZZ*, contain no sketch of the maṇḍala in its entirety while the written sources list only the *son* names and the general location of these *son*. They provide therefore only imperfect guidance but are helpful in pointing out basic alignments within each maṇḍala.

The most obvious differences between the *TZZZ* and the Genzu *WM* in terms of their internal alignments are two. Most intriguing of these is the placement of the Śakyamuni yard in the fifth zone and of the Mañjuśrī yard in the fourth zone (counting, as always, from the center). This placement puts the Śakyamuni yard on the same level with a host of devas, i.e., in that zone of the maṇḍala which symbolizes the world of samsara. That this particular alignment of the Śakyamuni and Mañjuśrī yard is no accident is shown by the fact that this feature is shared by other maṇḍalas in the sources of the Śubhākarasiṃha system, most notably in the *Ajarishoden* Maṇḍala included in the *Dainichikyō-sho* and in the maṇḍalas of two ritual handbooks, the *Shōdaigiki* 攝大儀軌 and the *Kōdaigiki* 広大儀軌.[20]

The other structural difference between the *TZZZ* and the Genzu *WM* is the existence of a separate zone (the third) devoted to the Four Guardian Kings (*catvara mahārājikahi*; *shi gotennō* 四護天王). In the Genzu version, these four have lost their exalted status completely and appear, together with all the other *son* of lesser than tathāgata and bodhisattva status, in the outermost zone enclosing the entire maṇḍala.

The number of *son* in the *TZZZ* is 276 which is substantially lower than that of the Genzu version (414). Moreover, many of the *son* appearing in the *TZZZ* are not based on the *Dainichikyō* but rather on passages in two older

[19] See note 17.

[20] See notes 10, 11, 12.

sūtras, the Amoghapāśasūtra (*Fukūkenjakukyō* 不空羅索經)[21] and the Ekākṣara-budhoṣṇiṣa-cakravartimsūtra (Ichijibutchōrinnōkyō 一字仏頂輪王經)[22] which were translated in the sixth century by Bodhiruci and belong therefore to a tradition other than that transmitted by Śubhākarasiṃha. The link to these two sūtras is important not only because it suggests the existence of a relatively stable stock of iconographic repertoires but also because it provides the opportunity to check on mistakes made in the transmission of the individual *son*.

The second prototype, the *TZKZY* Taizōkyūzuyō 胎藏舊圖様, "Old-style Iconography of the Womb World (Maṇḍala)"[23] shows differences to both the *TZZZ* and the Genzu versions. These differences place the *TZKZY* at a stage of development somewhere between the *TZZZ* and the Genzu but the process of copying and recopying in Japan (and possibly also in China) appears to have altered the surviving versions to a degree that makes it difficult to be more definite in the dating of this sketchbook (other than the date Enchin copied it in China 854). These sketches may even have been based on Indian (Gupta-style) prototypes judging from the appearance of their *facial features*.[24] There is, however, no doubt that they had been subjected to a process of "signification" something that is particularly obvious in the appearance of their Chinese-style robes. Its iconographic sketches are virtually identical with the images appearing in the Genzu *WM* thus making it very likely that the *TZKZY* tradition served as a basis for the painters of the Genzu version.

The *TZKZY*, also reconstructed by Toganoo, Ishida, retains the concentric five-zone structure of the *TZZZ* but reverses the order of the Śakyamuni and Mañjuśrī yards. In addition to this realignment, the beginning of a shift in the placement of all the deva to the outer enclosure can be noticed. The zone of the four guardian kings has ceased to exist as a separate zone in its own right while the Śakyamuni yard has now been moved from the outer (fifth) zone to the third zone previously reserved for the guardian kings. But here it occupies only the Eastern side and thus shares this third zone with a host of devas now placed in the other three sides of this zone. The outermost fifth zone is now exclusively filled with devas leaving in its wake a kind of awkward redundancy whose vestiges can still be found in the Genzu in the form of some duplication of individual deva.

Another factor supporting the assumption that the *TZKZY* represents a kind of transitory stage is the fact that the basic structure of the maṇḍala in this sketchbook, while still resembling that found in the "pure" Śhubhākara-

[21] Taishō edition, XX, No. 1092 and No. 1095. See also Sawa, *Mikkyō Jiten*, p. 591 a.

[22] Taishō edition, XIX, No. 951.

[23] *TaishōZ*, II, pp. 477—565.

[24] See Ishida, "Genzu Mandara,", p. 199/200. Yamamoto, *Introduction*. p. 15.

siṃha tradition, bears also a close resemblance to that described in the *Tobudaranimoku* 都陪陀羅尼目 of the Vajrabodhi-Amogharajra tradition which seems to have been very popular in China in the second half of the eighth century.[25]

The number of *son* in the *TZKZY* — 256 — is somewhat smaller than that in the *TZZZ* placing it third among the major *WM* sampled in this paper (*Dainichikyō* 94, Ajari maṇḍala 741, *TZZZ* 276, *TZKZY* 256, Genzu 414).

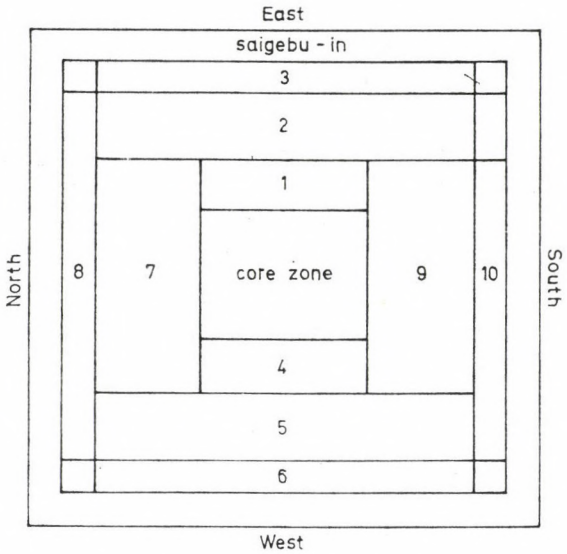
The *TZKZY* departs from the *TZZZ* also in another important detail. The central Mahāvairocana is shown in his splendid form. His hair is tied upward, he is wearing a crown and is displaying splendid ornaments on his body. This image resembles closely that found in the Genzu version and hence marks another point of departure from the Śubhākarasimha system.

Viewed in the context established by the preceding comments, the distinguishing features of the Genzu version of the *WM* come now into sharper focus:[26]

1. The square concentric five-zone structure is abandoned in favor of a slightly rectangular-shaped, irregular pattern that retains a five-zone division along its vertical (East-West) axis but only a four-zone division along its horizontal (North-South) axis. The entire design is now clearly that of a hanging scroll in the Chinese manner.
2. The deva are now clearly separated from the tathāgata and bodhisattva and occupy the outermost zone all by themselves.
3. With the exception of this outermost enclosing zone the basic structural elements grouped around the square core zone are clearly marked elongated rectangles, designated as yards (*in* 院), each of which occupies only one side of the maṇḍala.
4. Each of these yards is carefully structured around its own central *son* (with the exception of the susiddhi yard which does not have a central *son* of its own) and thus displays an internal order which is in marked contrast to the somewhat irregular placement of images in the outermost enclosure. The exact relationship of all the *son* in each yard to their *honzon* is still unclear in some instances — particularly in the Kongōshu-in — but there it is quite obvious that great care was taken to align them in strictly symmetric patterns, i.e., that their visual impression was of great concern to the artists who painted the *WM*. It is generally held that the section of padmapani expanded rapidly

[25] Taishō edition, XVIII, No. 903.

[26] I have attempted to describe the basic patterns of the Genzu *WM* in a paper entitled "*Imago Mundi* — The Ryōbu Mandara of Shingon Buddhism and Its Symbolic Patterns," presented at the XXXI CISHAAN (formerly International Orientalist Congress) at Tokyo in September of 1983. The following comments are based in part on this paper.



APPENDIX I
Structure of WM (Genzu)

(Yamamoto, *Introduction to the Maṇḍala*, p. 98)

Diagram of the quarters in the Garbha-maṇḍala

core zone	Central quarter with eight-petalled lotus
1	Quarter of universal knowledge
4	Quarter of Vidyādharas
7	Quarter of Avalokiteśvara
9	Quarter of Vajrapāṇi
2	Quarter of Śākyamuni
3	Quarter of Mañjuśrī
10	Quarter of Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin
8	Quarter of Kṣitigarbha
5	Quarter of Ākāśagarbha
6	Quarter of Susiddhi
saigebu-in	The outermost quarter

during the period under review and forced a corresponding expansion of the Vajrapani section if the pictorial balance was to be preserved. This may explain why the relationship between the *son* and *honzon* in this particular yard presents problems of interpretation; but the matter deserves more detailed analysis.

5. The number of *son* has increased to 414.
6. New images, labelled *ajari igyozō* — images fashioned by the āchārya in the Japanese tradition, which are not supported by textual traditions have been fashioned and included into the various yards of the man-

APPENDIX II
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dala.[27] Many of these new images are multi-armed and multi-faced images which show influences from the Vajrabodhi-Amoghavajra tradition. They are effectively used to convey complex doctrinal positions without either disrupting the basic symmetric structure of the maṇḍala nor unduly increasing the number of *son*. One example is particularly revealing in this context to illustrate how the author of the maṇḍala made use of newly fashioned images. The image in question is that of the Prajñāpāramitā-bodhisattva which is placed in the center of the yard of the Vidyarajas directly below (i.e., to the West of) the core zone.[28] An analogous position is occupied by the patriarch himself

[27] Ishida refers to them as *ajari igyozō* 阿闍梨意樂像 in his *Mandara no kenkyū*. See my paper on the "The Iconography of Ācārya-designed Images in the Garbhadhātu (Womb World) Mandala of the Ryobu Mandara of Shingon Buddhism," presented at the *International Seminar on Buddhist Iconography*, Tibet House, New Delhi, March 31—April 2, 1984.

[28] Mammitzsch, "Iconography . . .", p. 8/9. See Appendix II.

during major ritual observances. This image is made the *honzon* of the yard. It is that of a bodhisattva and therefore clearly distinct from the four vidyarajas flanking it on both sides who are depicted in their typical angry forms. Seated on a lotus throne, the Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva is dressed in the manner of a mendicant monk but displays armor on the upper part of his body. The sleeves of his garment are drawn up to the elbows and flutter loosely. This type of robe, suggesting activity, is frequently called "karma robe" (*katsuma-e* 羯擘衣). The image has three eyes and six arms, in contrast to earlier images of the same bodhisattva which had only two eyes and two arms. In one such earlier image the bodhisttva is made to hold a sūtra box in his left hand and to form the "preaching of the law" mudrā (setsubō-yin 說法印) — raised palm towards the viewer and thumb and index fingers bent to form a circle — with his right. The sūtra box held in his left hand though not specifically identified, may be assumed to contain the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra. The newly fashioned six-armed image in the Genzu *WM* reinforces this assumption. Each of its six arms may be interpreted as pointing out one of the six practices one is to engage in during the quest for attaining prajñā.

These six practices are:

1. dāna (fuse 布施) — charity;
2. śīla (jikai 持戒) — keeping commandments;
3. kṣānti (ninniku 忍辱) — patient endurance under insult;
4. vīrya (shojin 精進) — zeal and spiritual progress;
5. dhyāna (zenjo 禪定) — meditation;
6. prajñā (hannya 般若 or chie 智慧) — wisdom

These six may be related to the six arms of the image in the following manner: the right arms (from the bottom)

— hand extended outward towards the viewer in the "wish-granting" mudrā — charity
— hand pointing straight up with all but the ring finger straightened — keeping of commandments
— hand raised before the chest in the "absence of fear" mudrā — patient endurance of insult;

and the left arms (from the bottom):

— hand resting on the lap in the "meditation" mudrā — meditation
— hand raised and extended toward the viewer in the "wish-granting" mudrā — zeal and spiritual progress
— hand holding a sutra before the chest — wisdom

The difficult path described in terms of the six prajñāpāramitā is one of ascending order. It leads to a mental state where one sees the world "as it is."

The image personifies therefore the process of attaining this wisdom. The three eyes may be interpreted as seeing this reality under the aspects of Mahāvairocana's three mysteries (meditation, compassion, wisdom). The iconographic repertoire of this figure is therefore a symbolic representation of Mahāvairocana's "virtues" and of the practical way of attaining them. This intent is also manifested by the flanking vidyarājas who point to the lotus and vajra parts of the horizontal axis. It is also reflected in the karma robe and the body armor which symbolically join compassion (lotus) and the dispelling of ignorance (vajra) in the exalted meditative state of Mahāvairocana.

7. The lotus and vajra sections flanking the core zone on both sides are substantially expanded but their symmetric balance is carefully preserved.

These brief remarks will have to suffice to show how the author of the maṇḍala altered its structure and content to suit his particular purpose. We have to rely on conjecture to fathom this purpose since the written transmission does not directly address this problem. We know that the maṇḍala was fashioned as part of the transmission of the teachings of this esoteric tradition from patriarch (Hui-ko) to disciple (Kūkai) and was, as we may assume, accompanied by lengthy oral instructions. A part of this oral instruction may be reflected in the writings Kūkai completed after his return to Japan, particularly in the *Hizōki* 秘藏記.[29] Since this work has recently been translated by Roger Goepper we will soon gain new insights in the particular vantage point of patriarch and disciple at the time of this transmission.[30]

During the "Japanese" phase in the evolution of the Genzu *WM* the maṇḍala experienced no significant reshaping of its structure but was subjected to numerous efforts to interpret it in the light of then current Shingon practices and beliefs. A great deal of attention was paid to the correspondence of its individual parts to well known concepts in Shingon teachings — such as that of the three mysteries (mind, speech, body), the three factors of dharma gate (cause, root, skillful means), and the three (or four) bodies of Mahāvairocana.[31] Such attempts have produced a voluminous literature of secondary comments with frequently quite ingenious constructions and conjectures.[32] But it should

[29] *TaishōZ*, I, No. 2921. For a general introduction to the life and works of Kūkai and some sample translations see Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kukai. Major Works*. Translated with an account of his life and a study of his thought. (New York, 1974).

[30] This translation has not yet been available to me

[31] Tomita Kōjun 富田學純, *Himitsu hyaku wa* 秘密百話 (Tokyo, 1913) is representative of such efforts. This work has been partially translated by H. Smidt, „Eine populare Darstellung der Shingon-Lehre, „*Ostasiatische Zeftschrift* V/VI (1916—18), pp. 45—61; 180—211; VII (1918/1919), pp. 103—121. See also Ryūjun Tajima, *Etude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dainichikyō*) *avec la traduction commentée du premier chapitre*) (*Paris, 1963*).

[32] For a survey of these efforts see Yamamoto Chigyō 山本智教 "Mandara no kenkyū shi 曼荼羅 no 研究史, "*Mikkyō Bunka*. 密教文化 no. 87, pp. 66—91.

be noticed that all these efforts argue, so to speak, from the "inside" since they take the Genzu version of the *WM* and Kūkai's comments as a given entity and tend to treat lightly the general movements within Chinese esoteric Buddhism and the particular ways in which Hui-ko (and Kūkai) may reflect these movements according to their own preferences and understanding. Since virtually all of the relevant texts are not yet available in translations or even summary digests, comments on this important aspect of our understanding of this *WM* can reflect only impressions rather than confirmed findings.

A most stimulating conceptual approach has recently been suggested by Lokesh Chandra for unlocking its basic structural alignments.[33] Lokesh Chandra takes his clue from the lengthy original Sanskrit title of the sūtra on which this maṇḍala is based. This title contains the designation of this sūtra as being a vaipulya text. Such sūtras, also known as sūtras of "measureless meaning" (muryōkikyō 無量義經), belong to those Mahāyāna scriptures in which the Buddha, finally dispensing with all concessions to the limited understanding of his audiences, reveals the ultimate truth to those "sons" of the Buddha who have done their duty (kṛatādhīkara).[34] He reveals to them that they will become Buddhas — a goal formulated in the Shingon tradition as the terse formula of "becoming a Buddha in this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 卽身成仏). These sons are the śravaks who have listened (śruta) to his supreme teaching; one single verse (gāthā) heard or borne in mind (dhārita) will lead all of them to enlightenment — something that, in Shingon, is now couched in terms of the particular ritual and meditative practices of that esoteric system.

Applying the characteristic features of the vaipulya sūtras to the structure of the Genzu *WM*, Lokesh Chandra postulates the following interesting fit: Mañjuśrī elucidates the auspicious signs indicating that the time for the final revelation has arrived; Śākyamuni enters into a state of samadhi from which the new vision — indicated by the ray of light emanating from his urna — emanates in the form of Mahāvairocana in the center of an eight-petalled lotus on which the four tathāgatas and four bodhisattvas are placed. This vision forms the core zone of the *WM*. It is flanked in the traditional manner by two acolytes, Padmapāni and Vajrapani. Below the zone contain-

[33] Lokesh Chandra, "The Structure of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala," New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1984).

[34] See Andrew Rawlinson, "The position of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the development of Early Mahāyāna," in *Prajñāpāramitā and related systems: Studies in honor of Edward Conze*, edit. by Lewis Lancaster (Berkeley, 1977, pp. 3—34, p. 9 where Rawlinson quotes the Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra, chapter 2, vv 48—53. See also F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 55.

ing the eight-petalled lotus is the yard of the Vidyarājas with the image of Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva symbolizing the doctrinal position concerning the teaching and practice of attaining the goal of becoming a Buddha — represented by the yard of Akasagarbha and the eight susiddhi symbolized by the eight *son* in the yard of the susiddhi directly below — through the prajñāpāramitā-yāna. The eight *son* of the susiddhi quarter reflect the eight susiddhis of the Haṭha-yoga Patañjali but are integrated into the iconographic repertoire of the maṇḍala and, in groups of four each, are made responsive to its left-right (N-S) division into a lotus and a vajra part.[35]

Such sweeping interpretation of the structure underlying the internal alignment of the individual parts of the *WM* could help to explain a number of its particular features. It would, for example, explain the sequence of the Śakyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Universal Wisdom yards in the Eastern (upper) part of the vertical axis; the elevation of Śakyamuni in the Genzu version to a status just short of that of a tathāgata[36]; the continuation of the vertical axis in its Western (lower) part, and, finally, the location of the lotus and vajra sections to the North and South of the core zone. Moreover, it may enable us to explain the absence of a *honzon* in the yard of the susiddhis.[37]

From the visual appearance of the Genzu *WM* it is also worth noticing that the images of three *son* dominate the entire maṇḍala: that of Mahāvairocana at the center and those of Sāhasrabhujāvalokiteśvara and of Astottaraśatabhujavajra to the lower left and right respectively. The latter two images appear to summarize the ritual practices of the lotus and vajra parts and may enable us to postulate yet another way of looking at the *WM*.

Its emphasis is on the practical and external means of becoming a Buddha in this very body and fits well with the characteristics of the second group of tantras in the Tibetan tantras — the group of Caryā tantras. This classification, though formulated later than the times of Hui-ko and Kūkai, identifies the sūtras as emphasizing both external (ritual observance) and internal (meditation) practices.[38] They are seen as an earlier preparatory stage for entering the more profound stages of the Yoga tantra and Anuttarayoga tantra. It seems that Hui-ko (or Kūkai) simply brought the two mandalas which reflected successive stages into a horizontal alignment. Such explanation would help to

[35] See Mammitzsch, "Imago Mundi," passim, for comments on what I call a "system of bifurcation and integration".

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 11—13.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 21. My comments made on this occasion would have to be revised in view of Lokesh Chandra's new interpretation. From this vantagé point the lack of a *honzon* would appear to serve a very meaningful purpose.

[38] F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (Delhi, 1978²).

view the numerous changes traceable in the *WM* during the "Chinese" phase as reflecting the changes of actual practices in tantric practices as they occurred in China in response to the blending of new Indian imports and the blending in already available traditions. Such change would be more noticeable at the level of carya tantric practices since these practices served as preparation for the more profound stages of tantra yoga. A detailed study of the evolution of the *WM* would therefore contribute a good deal to our understanding of the way in which Chinese Tantras evolved.

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THE *PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDACAKRA* ASCRIBED TO NĀGĀRJUNA*

MAREK MEJOR (Warsaw)

Nāgārjuna is credited with the authorship of a large number of various works[1]. In the Tanjur there are more than one hundred texts attributed to him. In the section on medicine (*gso ba rig pa*) is found the *Pratītyasamutpādacakra* (henceforth abbreviated *PC*)[2].

The PC is mentioned by Bu-ston in his *Chos 'byuṅ*, among Nāgārjuna's independent treatises[3].

It is known that in the Tanjur there are still two other works dealing with the *pratītyasamutpāda* (abbr. *pr.s.p.*) and also ascribed to Nāgārjuna.

* I am much obliged to Dr. H. Eimer, Dr. Chr. Lindtner, Rev. Bhikshu Samdhong Rinpoche, and especially to Prof. J. May for their assistance in preparing the final version of this paper.

[1] Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana. Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna. Indiske Studier* IV. Copenhagen 1982. Cf. p. 11sqq.

[2] Peking Tg No. 5811, Go, fol. 32b3—42b8; Narthang Tg No. 3803, Go, fol. 31b5—42a5.
Not found in Derge and Cone.
The section on medicine was described in:
G. Huth, *Verzeichniss der im tibetischen Tanjur, Abtheilung mDo (Sūtra), Band 117—124, enthaltenen Werke. SPAW* 1895 pp. 267—286; ditto, *Nachträgliche Ergebnisse bezügl. der chronologischen Ansetzung der Werke im tibetischen Tanjur, Abtheilung mDo (Sūtra), Band 117—124. ZDMG* xlix (1895) pp. 279—284;
P. Cordier, *Introduction à l'étude des traités médicaux sanscrits inclus dans le Tanjur tibétain. BEFEO* iii (1903) pp. 604—629. (Quoted after: C. Vogel, *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. Wiesbaden 1965, p. 18 n. 5).

[3] Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism (Chos 'byuṅ)*. Tr. Obermiller, vol. II, p. 126.
Bu-ston himself wrote a commentary on the pr.s.p. based on the āgamas: *Rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba'i bśad pa luṅ kun las btus pa//* (in: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1971. Vol. VA(20), fol. 749—771).
Bu-ston referred explicitly to the *Śālistambasūtra, Daśabhūmikasūtra, Abhidharmakośa, Munimatālaṃkāra* and quoted the names of Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna.
The quotations from Nāgārjuna refer to the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* XXIV. 19 (fol. 753.6—7; 769.1; 770.4—5 with a reading *ma gtogs pa'i* instead of *ma yin pa'i*. Cf. J. May, *Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 239 n. 847) and to the *Catuḥstava*: *Lokātītastava* 22a—b (fol. 770.5. Cf. Chr. Lindtner, *op. cit.*, p. 136; J. May, *op. cit.*, p. 237 n. 840).

The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā*[4], which is a genuine work of Nāgārjuna, is not found on Bu-ston's list.

The *Śālistambakakārikā*[5], which can with some probability be ascribed to Nāgārjuna, is mentioned by Bu-ston among Nāgārjuna's commentaries[6].

Both texts, the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Śālistambakakārikā*, are listed in the *Lhan dkar ma* catalogue, the latter one being explicitly named as a work of Nāgārjuna[7].

The *PC*, which can hardly be believed to be the work of the great Madhyamaka philosopher[8], deserves our attention because it is a curious applica-

[4] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, Gand 1913, p. 122—123; C. Dragonetti, *The Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā and the Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna of Śuddhamati. WZKS* 22, 1978, p. 87—93; Chr. Lindtner, *Adversaria Buddhica. I. The Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā. A Reply. WZKS* 26, 1982, p. 167—172; Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, p. 11 and esp. p. 170—171.

[5] Cf. D. S. Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 29 n. 65; Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, p. 12 ("*perhaps* authentic") and n. 21.

Stanza 18a of the *Śālistambakakārikā* is in common with the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* I. 1a:

(Peking Tg, No. 5485, Gi, fol. 213b7—8)
/ bdag las ma yin gźan las min /
/ gñis daṅ byed po dus las min /
/ de bźin dbaṅ phyug sogs byas min /
/ raṅ bźin las min rgyu med min //
MMK I.1 (ed. LVP, p. 12. 13—14)
na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutaḥ /
utpannā jñātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana //
/ bdag las ma yin gźan las min /
/ gñis las ma yin rgyu med min /
/ dṅos po kaṅ dag gaṅ na yaṅ /
/ skye ba nam yaṅ yod ma yin /
Cf. also LVP, *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 84. 18—85.1 (for Skt. text of the *Śālistambasūtra*), p. 103.4—6 (Tib.); *Mahāyāna-Śālistambasūtra*, ed. Gokhale (in: P. L. Vaidya, *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Saṃgraha*. Part I, Darbhanga 1961), p. 112.22—23.

[6] Bu-ston, *Chos 'byuṅ*, tr. Obermiller, vol. II, p. 127.

[7] M. Lalou, *Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan. JA* ccxli, 1953, p. 313—353.

No. 549: *Sā lu ljaṅ pa'i mdo tshigs bśad du bsdus pa'i 'grel pa / slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa //*

No. 596: *Rten ciṅ 'brel bar 'byuṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i tshig le'ur byas pa daṅ / de'i rnam par bśad pa //*

[8] E. Lamotte, *Sur la formation du Mahāyāna. ASIATICA*, p. 388: "En ce qui concerne Nāgārjuna, il est scientifiquement incorrect de retirer de leur contexte pour les grouper artificiellement ses prétendues attaches avec le pays Andhra. Les biographies et notices qui lui sont consacrées fourmillent de légendes, plus ahurissantes les unes que

tion of one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism to a popular belief[9]. We already know the pictorial representation of the *pr.s.p.* in the form of a "wheel of life" (*bhavacakra, srid pa'i 'khor lo*). Here we find the twelve links of the wheel of dependent origination mixed with h o r o s c o p y.

Our text opens with a formula of invocation to the Vāgīśvara (*gsuṅ gi dbaṅ phyug*), which is an epithet of Mañjuśrī. It is divided into 13 chapters with the following titles:

1. *skye ba brtag pa* = examination of birth,
2. *las brtag pa* = examination of deeds,
3. *'gro ba brtag pa* = examination of journeying,
4. *rkun ma brtag pa* = examination of theft,
5. *nad brtag pa* = examination of disease,

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les autres et qui concernent au moins quatre Nāgārjuna différents: un philosophe mādhyamika, un alchimiste, un médecin et un auteur tantrique. Le désaccord est complet relativement à sa date de naissance (. . .), son pays d'origine (. . .), les théatres de son activité (. . .) et la durée de son existence (. . .)".

D.S. Ruegg, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "Of primary importance is the still embroiled question of the figure of Nāgārjuna as a person and the author of certain works, and of the relationship between the various compositions ascribed to the masters who have borne this great name; for it is hardly to be doubted that there lived in India more than one person having this name and belonging to different periods in the history of the Madhyamaka". Cf. also n. 17.

The PC may be therefore ascribed perhaps to a Siddha Nāgārjuna, but this is merely a guess and I cannot pronounce for or against his authorship.

In this place it should be observed that the information given by S. Ch. Das in his Tibetan Dict., p. 537 sub *rten 'brel gyi 'khor lo* (*pratītyasamutpādacakra*) is not correct:

"In the tractate Rten-'brel-gyi-'khor-lo-mi-'dra-ba-bco-brgyad (Ati-śa'i rnam-thar, 35) there are eighteen different descriptions of the wheel illustrating the cycle of Pratītya-samutpāda, the earliest one having been designed by Nāgārjuna as contained in Tanjur mdo Go 32. In it are contained indications of human destiny, luck, happiness and misery, which are drawn up in set formulas".

The relevan fragment of Atiśa's biography, as far as I can see, is found in the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, ed. Tashilhunpo, fol. 35b6—7 (= siglum C in: H. Eimer, *Berichte über das Leben des Atiśa* (*Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna*). Eine Untersuchung der Quellen. Wiesbaden 1977), but I failed to trace a connecting link between the information passed by Das that the earliest description of the pr.s.p. is that of Nāgārjuna and is found in the PC (Tg mdo Go 32 = Peking Tg No. 5811, Go (123), fol. 32b3—42b8):

de las gyes pa sde pa bco brgyad kyi rten 'brel gyi 'khor lo mi 'dra ba bco brgyad / sdom pa gtoṅ /7/ thob mi 'dra ba bco brgyad yod pa de thams cad ma 'dres par mkhyen gsuṅ ṅo //
Cf. also H. Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa. Materialen zu einer Biographie des Atiśa* (*Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna*). Wiesbaden 1979. §§ 086 & 087.

[9] Cf. S. Schayer, *Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Buddhism. Bulletin International de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences et Lettres*, Cracovie 1934, No. 1—3, p. 55—65, esp. p. 62 sqq.

6. *mig 'gul ba* = examination of eye movements,
7. *rna ba 'du ba brtag pa* = examination of inclining one's ear,
8. *mgrin pa'i sgra brtag pa* = examination of sounds from the throat,
9. *rkan 'gul ba brtag pa* = examination of movements of the palate,
10. *ltogs pa brtag pa* = examination of hunger,
11. *rkaṅ pa sbrid pa brtag pa* = examination of numbed legs,
12. *phyi'i ltas brtag pa* = examination of external signs,
13. *bsam pa brtag pa* = examination of thought.

The concluding part summarizes the contents of the whole work.

In the colophon the title of the work is changed: *Yan lag bcu gñis kyi rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba'i 'khor lo* (**dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda-cakra*).

The PC is ascribed to the ācārya-Nāgārjuna-pādānām (slob dpon Klu sgrub kyi źal sṅa nas).

The translator/s is/are unknown.

The PC opens with a stanza of salutation to the Buddha. In another stanza the purpose of the work is proclaimed.

Next comes an introductory section, belonging formally to the first chapter, in which the special method of the wheel of dependent origination is outlined.

It is said that the application of the *pr.s.p.* reflects a conformity of the necessary process of the coming into existence of animated beings, in virtue of their actions (*karma*) and afflictions (*kleśa*), to the arising of such signs (*nimitta*) as "good" (*sukha*) etc. (fol. 32b5—7). This may be called a doctrinal background of the method discussed in our text.

Next follows a detailed scheme of the application of the twelve months of a year to twelve links of the *pr.s.p.*[10]. First comes a calendar component of the scheme (fol. 32b7—33a1). Accordingly, the division of a year into twelve months and the division of a month into thirty days and two fortnights of fifteen days each, with the additional remark that the third, the fourth and the fifth day is equal to the thirteenth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth day respectively, is described. This makes a basis on which the parallelism between both cycles — the calendar and the pr.s.p. — is established.

For the reader's convenience the special arrangement of these two cycles will be presented here in the form of a list. This corresponds to sections 8—19 in my division of the text (fol. 33a1—34b1).

[10] Cf. *varṣa-pramāṇa* in the *Abhidharmakośa* III. 88—89c (La Vallée Poussin, *Kośa*, III, p. 180 and n. 2).

Twelve links of the pr.s.p. cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* § cxiii (Nos. 2241—2253), twelve months cf. ibid., Nos. 8261—8272.

Month	*Day*	*Link of the pr.s.p.*
I. *pauṣa*	1. *avidyā* (i)	(ignorance)
	2. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)	(old age and death)
	3. *jāti* (xi)	(birth)
	4. *bhava* (x)	(existence)
	5. *upādāna* (ix)	(attachement)
	6. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)	(desire)
	7. *vedanā* (vii)	(feeling)
	8. *sparśa* (vi)	(contact)
	9. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)	(six bases)
	10. *nāmarūpa* (iv)	(name and form)
	11. *vijñāna* (iii)	(consciousness)
	12. *saṃskāra* (ii)	(karmic formations)
	13. = No. 3	
	14. = No. 4	
	15. = No. 5	
II. māgha	1. *saṃskāra* (ii)	
	2. *avidyā* (i)	
	3. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)	
	4. *jāti* (xi)	
	5. *bhava* (x)	
	6. *upādāna* (ix)	
	7. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)	
	8. *vedanā* (vii)	
	9. *sparśa* (vi)	
	10. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)	
	11. *nāmarūpa* (iv)	
	12. *vijñāna* (iii)	
III. phālguna	1. *vijñāna* (iii)	
	2. *saṃskāra* (ii)	
	3. *avidyā* (i)	
	4. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)	
	5. *jāti* (xi)	
	6. *bhava* (x)	
	7. *upādāna* (ix)	
	8. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)	
	9. *vedanā* (vii)	
	10. *sparśa* (vi)	
	11. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)	
	12. *nāmarūpa* (iv)	

IV. *caitra*
1. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
2. *vijñāna* (iii)
3. *saṃskāra* (ii)
4. *avidyā* (i)
5. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
6. *jāti* (xi)
7. *bhava* (x)
8. *upādāna* (ix)
9. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
10. *vedanā* (vii)
11. *sparśa* (vi)
12. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)

V. *vaiśakha*
1. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
2. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
3. *vijñāna* (iii)
4. *saṃskāra* (ii)
5. *avidyā* (i)
6. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
7. *jāti* (xi)
8. *bhava* (x)
9. *upādāna* (ix)
10. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
11. *vedanā* (vii)
12. *sparśa* (vi)

VI. *jyeṣṭha*
1. *sparśa* (vi)
2. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
3. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
4. *vijñāna* (iii)
5. *saṃskāra* (ii)
6. *avidyā* (i)
7. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
8. *jāti* (xi)
9. *bhava* (x)
10. *upādāna* (ix)
11. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
12. *vedanā* (vii)

VII. *āṣādha*
1. *vedanā* (vii)
2. *sparśa* (vi)
3. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
4. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
5. *vijñāna* (iii)

6. *saṃskāra* (ii)
7. *avidyā* (i)
8. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
9. *jāti* (xi)
10. *bhava* (x)
11. *upādāna* (ix)
12. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)

VIII. *śrāvaṇa*
1. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
2. *vedanā* (vii)
3. *sparśa* (vi)
4. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
5. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
6. *vijñāna* (iii)
7. *saṃskāra* (ii)
8. *avidyā* (i)
9. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
10. *jāti* (xi)
11. *bhava* (x)
12. *upādāna* (ix)

IX. *bhādrapada*
1. *upādāna* (ix)
2. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
3. *vedanā* (vii)
4. *sparśa* (vi)
5. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
6. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
7. *vijñāna* (iii)
8. *saṃskāra* (ii)
9. *avidyā* (i)
10. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
11. *jāti* (xi)
12. *bhava* (x)

X. *aśvini*
1. *bhava* (x)
2. *upādāna* (ix)
3. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
4. *vedanā* (vii)
5. *sparśa* (vi)
6. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
7. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
8. *vijñāna* (iii)
9. *saṃskāra* (ii)
10. *avidyā* (i)

11. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
12. *jāti* (xi)

XI. *kārttika*
1. *jāti* (xi)
2. *bhava* (x)
3. *upādāna* (ix)
4. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
5. *vedanā* (vii)
6. *sparśa* (vi)
7. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
8. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
9. *vijñāna* (iii)
10. *saṃskāra* (ii)
11. *avidyā* (i)
12. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)

XII. *mṛgaśīrṣa*
1. *jarāmaraṇa* (xii)
2. *jāti* (xi)
3. *bhava* (x)
4. *upādāna* (ix)
5. *tṛṣṇā* (viii)
6. *vedanā* (vii)
7. *sparśa* (vi)
8. *ṣaḍāyatana* (v)
9. *nāmarūpa* (iv)
10. *vijñāna* (iii)
11. *saṃskāra* (ii)
12. *avidyā* (i)

After having thus established the method, the following chapters of the PC contain the specific application of the twelve-membered wheel of dependent origination to horoscopy, prescribing accordingly the lucky (*kuśala*) and unlucky (*akuśala*) days in set formulas.

In the Appendix A. chapter I is translated with the omission of sections 8—19, i.e. fol. 33a1—34b1 (vide supra). The translation of the rest of the text follows the avidyā-cycle, i.e. is confined only to the avidyā-day in each of the 13 chapters.

The Appendix B. contains an edition of the Tibetan text.

It is hoped that though preliminary our contribution will direct the attention of scholars to this curious text.

APPENDIX

A. Translation

1. Having paid obeissance to the Buddha, the ocean of qualities, (I) tell accordingly this circle which is the ultimate reality, (with regard to) past, future and present, for the benefit of the world.

2. The circle of twelve members, considered as agreeable or disagreeable, is designed for a designer ('dri byed = 'bri byed) who has settled in a delightful, solitary place.

3. Here, (I shall) explain in conformity with the method of the twelve-membered wheel — ignorance (avidyā) etc. — originating in dependance, that the coming into existence of animated beings is necessarily a consequence of actions and afflictions, and (that) in what manner there arise the marks, such as "good" etc., so also do these (animated beings).

4. Twelve months — pauṣa (December—January) etc. — make one year. If by degrees parallely proceeded into both directions, it (ends) with one month too.

5. In this, an additional month (which is obtained) after summing up together all the additional days of (all) the months, is not counted.

6. (I) did not say (too) to undertake actions then, either due to the arising of undesirable effect or due to the lack of effect.

7. Fifteen days make half a month; the third (day) is equal to the thirteenth, the fourth (day) is equal to the fourteenth, the fifth (day) is equal to the fifteenth; the dark half of a month is equal to the light half of a month.

8—19. (. . .)

I. BIRTH

20. A child born on the avidyā-day, provided it does not die on the ninth day, in the ninth month or in the ninth year, will be happy, wealthy, possess grain, be famous, quarelling with relatives, free from disease, unchangeable; it will live for 81 years and die on the saṃskāra-day.

21. A child born on the saṃskāra-day, provided it does not die on the eighth day, in the eighth month or in the eighth year, will be rich, endowed with two brothers, a little sick, longlived, have many friends, lead an honest life, skilled in (the art of) arguing; it will live for 88 years and die on the vijñāna-day.

22. A child born on the vijñāna-day, provided it does not die on the fifth day, in the fifth month or in the fifth year, will be tolerable, brave, unhappy, (possessed of) a little of wealth, make the learned people glad; it will live for 64 years and die on the nāma-rūpa-day.

23. A child born on the nāma-rūpa-day, provided it does not die on the sixth day, in the sixth month or in the sixth or ninth or twelfth year, will be a little sick, of little livelihood, have many enemies, his children will be of little livelihood, fearful, afflicted in the middle (of his life), later will grow rich; it will live for 81 years and die on the ṣaḍāyatana-day.

24. A child born on the ṣaḍāyatana-day, provided it does not die on the fifth day, in the third or fourth month and in the eighth or tenth year, will be avaricious, always diseased, brave, unhappy, desirous, long for food; it will live for 64 years and die on the sparśa-day.

25. A child born on the sparśa-day, provided it does not die on the second, the third or the fifth day, in the third, fifth or ninth month, or in the ninth year, will always

suffer from disease, will be skilled, pleasantly speaking, talented, self-respected, will steal, be skilful, long for women, envious and become wealthy; it will live for 63 years and die on the vedanā-day.

26. A child born on the vedanā-day, provided it does not die on the second or the tenth day, in the second or the eighth month, or in the eighth year, will be of great honour, very respected, possessed of money and grain, rich, expert in the methods of mechanical work, fearless; it will live for 64 years and die on the tṛṣṇā-dav.

27. A child born on the tṛṣṇā-day, provided it does not die on the tenth day, in the third or the fifth month, or in the ninth year, will be chief of a village, will have many children and grandchildren, great riches, will be a little sick, have many enemies and many friends; it will live for 84 years and die on the upādāna-day.

28. A child born on the upādāna-day, provided it does not die on the ninth day or in the second, the eighth or the ninth year, will not be good, will be weak minded, with out imagination, changeable (under the influence of friends), always having a desire, for love will break his vows, and will live for 64 years and die on the bhava-day.

29. A child born on the bhava-day, provided it does not die on the ninth day, in the second or eighth month, or in the ninth year, will enjoy a sexual union with another wife, sleep little, be of high descent, owner of an army, wealthy, very honoured, rich, understand the methods of mechanical work, possessor of two wives; it will live for 60 years and die on the jāti-day.

30. A child born on the jāti-day, provided it does not die on the fifth day or in the ninth month, will always be sick, rich, protector of a country, respected by the rich people; it will live for 70 years and die on the jarāmaraṇa-day.

31. A child born on the jarāmaraṇa-day, provided it does not die on the second day or in the ninth year, in (his) childhood will be ill, as a youth — free from sickness and prudent, will please its relatives, have many enemies; it will live for 64 years and die on the avidyā-day.

II. ACTIONS

32. As for the actions to be done on the avidyā-day, it is prosperous for offering, for (works) in the field, for beginning (to build) a house, for preparations (of an undertaking), for making the top of the head unvisible for the master (?), and for taking a bath, while it is not proper for wearing a new dress.

III. JOURNEYING

33. If one travels on the avidyā-day to the east, he will fair well; if one goes towards the south, he will meet with a speech and the purpose of his journey will not be attained; if one travels to the west, he will not attain the purpose of his journey; if one travels to the north, he will hear friendly speech.

IV. THEFT

34. If property is stolen on the avidyā-day, (it means that) a thief came from the north and on that day he will enter an eastern mansion and stay; the thief, short-haired, will be staying as not a very great distance from that mansion; on the ninth day he will certainly be caught.

V. DISEASE

35. One who is seized with a disease on the avidyā-day, being well taken care of, will be saved; provided he does not die in the first half of the month, after five nights from that (moment) he will be released.

VI. EYE MOVEMENTS

36. If (you observe that) on the avidyā-day that the left eye moves, the parenst will be frightened.

VII. INCLINING ONE'S EAR

37. If one inclines his right ear on the avidyā-day, he will meet with a woman, if one inclines his left ear, he will obtain food and drink.

VIII. SOUNDS FROM THE THROAT

38. If one produces sounds out of (his) throat on the avidyā-day, there will come a guest of low position.

IX. MOVEMENTS OF PALATE

39. If one moves (his) palate on the avidyā̄-day, a dear guest will come.

X. HUNGER

40. If one is hungry on the avidyā-day, at that time there will be a quarrel.

XI. NUMBED LEGS

41. If one has (his) legs numbed on the avidyā-day, it is a good omen.

XII. SOUNDS OF LEGS

42. On the avidyā-day, if one makes sounds with his legs, he will acquire a great treasure or a guest will quickly come; if a dog eats, someone will come from a distance; if a dress is burnt, an ill-luck will occur; if a rat eats a dress, there will be a great quarrel; if a crow utters sounds, (someone) of noble birth will ask something; if a dress is soiled with oil, one will hear about someone's death; if there is an earth-quake, a king possesses a power.

XIII. THOUGHT

43. If on the avidyā-day news (is told), I shall fully explain something in thought (or by means of thought or imagination).

B. Text

The text of the PC — the whole of chapter I, the rest confined to the avidyā-cycle (vide supra) — is given according to the Peking Tanjur (P), ed. Suzuki et al., No. 5811: vol. Go (= 123), fol. 32b3—42b8; this corresponds to the Narthang No. 3803: vol. Go, fol. 31b5—42a5. Unfortunately, the copy of the Narthang Tanjur in the possession of Cambridge University Library, which I consulted, is hardly legible and therefore

cannot be used for the present edition. The PC is found neither in the Derge nor in the Cone Tanjur.

(P: Go, 32b3) rgya gar skad du / pra-ti-tya-sa-mu-tpā-dā-nāma-ca-kra /
bod skad du / rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba'i 'khor lo źes bya ba / bcom ldan (4) 'das gsuṅ gi dbaṅ phyug la phyag 'tshal lo //

1. / dam par gyur pa'i 'khor lo yon tan mtsho /
/ saṅs rgyas la ni spyi bos rab btud de /
/ 'das daṅ de bźin ma 'oṅs da ltar ni /
/ 'jig rten phan phyir de bźin (5) de ñid bśad /
2. / dben pa'i sa phyogs ñams dga' bar /
/ 'dri byed ñe bar 'oṅs pa la /
/ dge daṅ mi dge rnams brtag pa'i /
/ yan lag bcu gñis 'khor lo bri /
3. 'dir ṅes par las daṅ ñon moṅs pa'i (6) dbaṅ gis srog chags rnams kyi skye ba 'byuṅ ba la / ji ltar bde ba la sogs pa rnams mtshan ma skye bar 'gyur ba de ltar de rnams la / ma rig pa la sogs pa rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba yan lag bcu gñis cho ga bźin ñe bar (7) bśad par bya'o //
4. dgun zla 'briṅ po la sogs pa zla ba bcu gñis la lo gcig go // de yaṅ rim gyis 'jug pa'i sbyor bas phyogs gñis la zla ba gcig go //
5. de la zla ba rnams kyi ñi ma lhag pa thams cad brtsis pa'i (8) zla ba gcig lhag pa ni mi brtsis te /
6. 'bras bu mi bzad pa skyed pa 'am yaṅ na 'bras bu med pa'i phyir der bya ba brtsam par ma gsuṅs so //
7. źag bco lṅa la zla ba phyed ste / ji ltar gsum pa de ltar bcu gsum pa'o // (33a1) ji ltar bźi pa de ltar bcu bźi pa'o // ji ltar lṅa pa de ltar bco lṅa pa'o // ji ltar nag po'i phyogs la de ltar dkar po'i phyogs la'o //
8. dgun zla 'briṅ po'i tshes gcig [pa] la ma rig pa'o // tshes gñis [pa] (2) la rga śi'o // tshes gsum [pa] la skye ba'o // tshes bźi [pa] la srid pa'o // tshes lṅa [pa] la len pa'o // tshes drug pa la sred pa'o // tshes bdun pa la tshor ba'o // tshes brgyad pa la reg pa'o // tshes dgu pa la skye (3) mched drug go // tshes bcu pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes bcu gcig pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la 'du byed do //
9. dgun zla tha chuṅ gi tshes gcig [pa] la 'du byed do // tshes gñis (4) pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes gsum pa la rga śi'o // tshes bźi pa la skye ba'o // tshes lṅa pa la srid pa'o // tshes drug pa la len pa'o // tshes bdun pa la sred pa'o // tshes brgyad pa la tshor ba'o // tshes (5) dgu pa la reg pa'o // tshes bcu pa la skye mched drug go // tshes bcu gcig pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes bcu gñis pa la rnam par śes pa'o //
10. dpyid zla ra ba'i tshes gcig [pa] la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes (6) gñis pa la 'du byed do /, tshes gsum pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes bźi pa la rga śi'o // tshes lṅa pa la skye ba'o // tshes drug pa la srid pa'o // tshes bdun pa la len pa'o // tshes brgyad pa la sred pa'o // (7) tshes dgu pa la tshor ba'o // tshes bcu pa la reg pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la skye mched drug go // tshes bcu gñis pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so //
11. dpyid zla 'briṅ po'i tshes gcig [pa] la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // (8) tshes gñis pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes gsum pa la 'du byed do // tshes bźi pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes lṅa pa la rga śi'o // tshes drug pa la skye ba'o // tshes bdun pa la srid pa'o // tshes brgyad (33b1) pa la len pa'o // tshes dgu pa la sred pa'o // tshes bcu pa la tshor ba'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la reg pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la skye mched drug go //
12. dpyid zla tha chuṅ gi tshes gcig pa la skye mched drug (2) go // tshes gñis pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes gsum pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes bźi pa la 'du byed do // tshes lṅa pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes drug pa la rga śi'o // tshes bdun pa la skye ba'o //

(3) tshes brgyad pa la srid pa'o // tshes dgu pa la len pa'o // tshes bcu pa la sred (P: srid) pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la tshor ba'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la reg pa'o //

13. dbyar zla ra ba'i tshes gcig pa la reg pa'o // (4) tshes gñis pa la skye mched drug go // shes gsum pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes bźi pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes lṅa pa la 'du byed do // tshes drug pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes bdun pa la rga śi'o // (5) tshes brgyad pa la skye ba'o // tshes dgu pa la srid pa'o // tshes bcu pa la len pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la sred pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la tshor ba'o //

14. dbyar zla 'briṅ po'i tshes gcig [pa] la tshor ba'o // (6) tshes gñis pa la reg pa'o // tshes gsum pa la skye mched drug go // tshes bźi pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes lṅa pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes drug pa la 'du byed do // tshes bdun pa la ma rig pa'o // (7) tshes brgyad pa la rga śi'o // tshes dgu pa la skye ba'o // tshes bcu pa la srid pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la len pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la sred (P: srid) pa'o //

15. dbyar zla tha chuṅ gi tshes gcig [pa] la sred (P: srid) pa'o // tshes (8) gñis pa la tshor ba'o // tshes gsum pa la reg pa'o // tshes bźi pa la skye mched drug go // tshes lṅa pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes drug pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes bdun pa la 'du byed do // (34a1) tshes brgyad pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes dgu pa la rga śi'o // tshes bcu pa la skye ba'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la srid pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la len pa'o //

16. ston zla ra ba'i tshes gcig [pa] la len (2) pa'o // tshes gñis pa la sred pa'o // tshes gsum pa la tshor ba'o // tshes bźi pa la reg pa'o // tshes lṅa pa la skye mched drug go // tshes drug pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes bdun pa la rnam par śes (3) pa'o // tshes brgyad pa la 'du byed do // tshes dgu pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes bcu pa la rga śi'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la skye ba'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la srid pa'o //

17. ston zla 'briṅ po'i tshes gcig [pa] la (4) srid pa'o // tshes gñis [pa] la len pa'o // tshes gsum pa la sred pa'o // tshes bźi pa la tshor ba'o // tshes lṅa pa la reg pa'o // tshes drug pa la skye mched drug go // tshes bdun pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // tshes (5) brgyad pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes dgu pa la 'du byed do // tshes bcu pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la rga śi'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la skye ba'o //

18. ston zla tha chuṅ gi tshes gcig [pa] la skye ba'o // tshes gñis (6) pa la srid (P: sred) pa'o // tshes gsum pa la len pa'o // tshes bźi pa la sred pa'o // tshes lṅa pa la tshor ba'o // tshes drug pa la reg pa'o // tshes bdun pa la skye mched drug go // tshes brgyad pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // (7) tshes dgu pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes bcu pa la 'du byed do // tshes bcu gcig pa la ma rig pa'o // tshes bcu gñis pa la rga śi'o //

19. dgun zla ra ba'i tshes gcig [pa] la rga śi'o // tshes gñis [pa] la skye ba'o // tshes (8) gsum pa la srid pa'o // tshes bźi pa la len pa'o // tshes lṅa pa la sred pa'o // tshes drug pa la tshor ba'o // tshes bdun pa la reg pa'o // tshes brgyad pa la skye mched drug go // tshes dgu pa la miṅ daṅ gzugs so // (34b1) tshes bcu pa la rnam par śes pa'o // tshes bcu gcig pa la 'du byed do // tshes bcu gñis pa la ma rig pa'o //

20. ma rig pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma dgu pa daṅ zla ba dgu pa daṅ lo dgu pa la gal te ma śi na / de'i tshe bde bar 'gyur źiṅ nor daṅ 'bru daṅ ldan pa daṅ / maṅ du smra ba daṅ / raṅ gi skye bo la rtsod pa daṅ / nad med pa daṅ mi 'gyur pa ste / lo brgyad cu rtsag gcig tu ['tsho źiṅ] 'du byed kyi ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //

21. 'du byed ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma brgyad [pa] daṅ zla ba brgyad [pa] daṅ lo brgyad pa la gal te ma śi na / phyug pa daṅ de spun gñis su 'gyur ba daṅ nad ñuṅ ba daṅ / tshe riṅ ba daṅ grogs maṅ ba daṅ tshaṅs par spyod pa daṅ (4) mkhas pa daṅ bgro śes te [/] lo brgyad cu rtsa brgyad du 'tsho źiṅ rnam par śes pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //

22. rnam par śes pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma lṅa pa daṅ zla ba lṅa pa daṅ lo lṅa pa gal te ma śi na / (5) bzod pa daṅ dpa' ba daṅ sdug bsṅal ba daṅ nor ñuṅ ba daṅ mkhas pa dga' bar byed de / lo drug cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ miṅ daṅ gzugs kyi ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //

23. miṅ daṅ gzugs kyi ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma drug [pa] (6) daṅ zla ba drug [pa] daṅ lo drug pa daṅ lo dgu pa daṅ lo bcu gñis pa la gal te ma śi na [/] nad ñuṅ ba daṅ / 'tsho ba ñuṅ ba daṅ / dgra maṅ ba daṅ 'di'i bu yaṅ 'tsho ba ñuṅ ba daṅ / 'jigs pa daṅ ldan pa daṅ bar du sdug ciṅ phyis phyug par (7) 'gyur te / lo brgyad cu rtsa gcig tu 'tsho źiṅ skye mched drug gi ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
24. skye mched drug gi ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma lṅa pa daṅ zla ba gsum pa daṅ </> bźi pa daṅ lo brgyad pa daṅ bcu pa la gal te ma (8) śi na / ser sna caṅ daṅ rtag tu nad daṅ ldan pa daṅ dpa' ba daṅ sdug bsṅal ba daṅ sred pa daṅ zas la rkam par 'gyur te / lo drug cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ reg pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
25. reg pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni [/] (35a1) ñi ma gñis pa daṅ gsum pa daṅ lṅa pa daṅ zla ba gsum pa daṅ lṅa pa daṅ dgu pa daṅ lo dgu pa la gal te ma śi na / rtag tu nad kyis (P: gyis) gzir ba daṅ mkhas pa daṅ sñan par smra ba daṅ blo daṅ ldan pa daṅ mṅon (2) pa'i ṅa rgyal can daṅ / rku ba daṅ spyaṅ ba daṅ bud med la rkam pa daṅ / phrag dog can daṅ nor daṅ ldan par 'gyur te / lo drug cu rtsa gsum du 'tsho źiṅ tshor ba'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
26. tshor ba'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i (3) bu ni / ñi ma gñis pa daṅ bcu pa daṅ zla ba gñis pa daṅ brgyad pa daṅ lo brgyad pa la gal te ma śi na / rim gro che ba daṅ śin tu mchod pa daṅ nor daṅ 'bru daṅ ldan źiṅ phyug pa daṅ bzo'i gnas kyi cho ga śes pa daṅ 'jigs (4) pa med pa ste / lo drug cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ sred pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
27. sred pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma bcu pa daṅ zla ba gsum pa daṅ lṅa pa daṅ lo dgu pa la gal te ma śi na / groṅ khyer gyi dpon po daṅ (5) bu daṅ tsha bo maṅ ba (P: po) daṅ loṅs spyod che ba daṅ nad ñuṅ ba daṅ dgra maṅ ba daṅ grogs po maṅ ba ste / lo brgyad cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ len pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
28. len pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma dgu pa /6/ daṅ lo gñis pa daṅ brgyad pa daṅ dgu pa la [gal te] ma śi na [/] mi sdug pa daṅ sems chuṅ ba daṅ bsam pa gtiṅ riṅ ba daṅ grogs po'i tshul du sbyar ba daṅ / rtag tu 'dod pa la chags pa daṅ 'chal ba'i tshul khrims can te //7/ lo drug cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ srid pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
29. srid pa'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma dgu pa daṅ zla ba gñis pa daṅ brgyad pa daṅ lo dgu pa la gal te ma śi na [/] gźan gyi bud med daṅ 'khrig pa /8/ la dga' ba daṅ / gñid chuṅ ba daṅ rigs mtho ba daṅ / dpuṅ gi (P: pa'i) bdag po daṅ nor daṅ ldan pa daṅ śin tu mchod pa daṅ phyug pa daṅ bzo'i gnas kyi cho ga rig pa daṅ chuṅ ma gñis daṅ ldan pa ste / lo drug cur (35b1) 'tsho źiṅ skye ba'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
30. skye ba'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma lṅa pa daṅ zla ba dgu pa la gal te ma śi na / rtag tu na ba daṅ phyug pa daṅ yul 'khor skyoṅ ba phyug pos mchod pa ste / lo bdun cu'i /2/ bar du 'tsho źiṅ rga śi'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //
31. rga śi'i ñi ma la skyes pa'i bu ni / ñi ma gñis pa daṅ lo dgu pa la gal te ma śi na [/] byis pa la na ba daṅ / gźon nu nad med pa daṅ yid gźuṅs pa daṅ / gñen rnams /3/ la dga' ba daṅ dgra maṅ ba ste / lo drug cu rtsa bźir 'tsho źiṅ ma rig pa'i ñi ma la 'chi bar 'gyur ro //

skye ba brtag (P: rtag) pa rdzogs so // (35b3).

32. (35b3) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la bya ba'i las rnams ni / mchod sbyin daṅ źiṅ sa daṅ khyim /4/ brtsam pa daṅ ñer bsṅogs daṅ / spyi bo'i gnas bdag pos mi mthoṅ bar bya ba daṅ / khrus byas na dga' ba daṅ / gos gsar (P: gos sar) pa bgos na las ma yin par 'gyur ro //

. . . . . .

las brtag (P: rtag) pa rdzogs so // (36b6).

33. (36b6) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la śar phyogs su 'gro na legs par 'oṅ ṅo // lho'i phyogs su 'gro na smraṅ daṅ phrad par 'gyur ba daṅ don gaṅ gi phyir 'gro ba de mi /7/ 'thob bo //

nub kyi phyogs su 'gro na don gaṅ la 'gro ba de mi 'thob bo // byaṅ gi phyogs su 'gro na tshig sñan pa thos so //

. . . . . .

'gro ba brtag (P: rtag) pa rdzogs so // (37b8).

34. (37b8) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la nor stor na rkun ma byaṅ phyogs nas 'oṅs nas ñi ma de ñid la śar gyi khyim du 'jug ciṅ gnas te / rkun ma de skra thuṅ ba khyim de las ha caṅ mi riṅ ba na gnas pa'o // (38a1) ñi ma dgu pa la ṅes par rñed par 'gyur ro //

. . . . . .

rkun ma brtag pa rdzogs so // (38b4).

35. (38b4) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la nad kyis btab na śin tu 'bad de bsruṅs par bya ste / gal te zla ba phyed na ma śi na / de'i 'og tu mtshan mo lṅa na grol bar /5/ 'gyur ro //

. . . . . .

nad brtag pa rdzogs so // (39a3).

36. (39a3) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la mig g.yon pa 'gul na ma daṅ pha skrag go //

. . . . . .

mig 'gul ba brtag pa rdzogs so // (39a8).

37. (39a8) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la rna ba g.yas pa du na bud (39b1) med daṅ 'phrad par 'gyur ro // rna ba g.yon pa du na bza' ba daṅ btuṅ ba rñed par 'gyur ro //

. . . . . .

rna ba du brtag pa rdzogs so // (39b7).

38. (39b7) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la mgrin pa nas sgra 'grag (P: grag) na / byaṅ phyogs nas mgron po 'ga' źig 'grib 'oṅ ṅo //

. . . . . .

mgrin pa'i sgra brtag pa rdzogs so // (40a2).

39. (40a2) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la rkan 'gul na mgron po gces pa 'oṅ ṅo //

. . . . . .

rkan 'gul ba brtag pa rdzogs so // (40a5).

40. (40a5) ma rig /6/ pa'i ñi ma la ltogs par 'gyur na der rtsod pa 'byuṅ ṅo //

. . . . . .

ltogs pa brtag (P: rtag) pa rdzogs so // (40b1).

41. (40b1) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la rkaṅ pa sbrid na bzaṅ por 'gyur ro //

. . . . . .

rkaṅ pa sbrid pa brtag pa rdzogs so // (40b5).

42. (40b5) ma rig pa'i ñi ma la rkaṅ pa'i sgra 'grag (P: grag) na gter chen po rñed pa 'am mgron po myur du 'oṅ ṅo // khyi za na riṅ po nas 'ga' źig 'oṅ ṅo // gos tshig na don ñams (P: ñam) /6/ par 'gyur ro // byi bas gos zos na rtsod pa chen po 'byuṅ ṅo // bya rog skad sgrog na rigs can 'dri ba 'oṅ ṅo // gos la snum 'bags na 'ga' źig 'chi ba thos so // sa 'gul na rgyal po nus pa /7/ daṅ ldan no //

. . . . . .

phyi'i ltas brtag pa rdzogs so // (42a3).

43. (42a3) / gal te ma rig ñi mar rig /
/ bdag gis bsam par rnam par bstan //
. . . . . .

bsam pa brtag pa rdzogs so // (42a5).

. . . . . .

Colophon:

(42b7) yan lag bcu gñis kyi rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba'i 'khor lo / slob dpon klu sgrub kyi źal sṅa /8/ nas kyi mdzad pa rdzogs so //

* * *

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PERCEPTION AND REALITY OF SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL MOBILITY IN TRADITIONAL TIBET

BEATRICE DIAMOND MILLER (Madison)

It is a truly humbling experience to read about — and contemplate — the difficulties, tribulations, and triumphs that Alexander (Sándor) Csoma de Kőrös experienced when he first undertook "to pierce the Himalayas, and to reveal to Europe what lay behind the mountain wall".[1] Certainly all subsequent students of Tibet — its language, its religions, its people, and its social institutions — must acknowledge their great debt to "Sikandar Beg".

My own involvement with Tibet and Tibetans predates the increased access that many westerners have enjoyed as a result of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising and the subsequent flights of almost 100,000 Tibetans to India and much of the rest of the world. My "pre-Uprising" perspective may offer somewhat different insights from those acquired since 1959.

My researches started in Calcutta, where Csoma de Kőrös had spent the last four years of his life. Certain aspects of Tibetan life that I encountered there in 1953 seemed incompatible with much of the literature then available to me. Most of that material described Tibetans as people who suffered from the worst aspects of a harsh, feudal regime — terrified by "superstition", controlled by overbearing ecclesiastic and aristocratic lords to whom they were bound, and fearful of any contact with "outsiders".[2] To what extent was this perception valid even before 1953?

Basically, all western anthropologists' Tibetan informants have experienced voluntary, or more-or-less involuntary, mobility. Thus, my first informant in Calcutta was a young woman who had come down from Tibet with her "uncle" on a trading mission. Self-assured and open, she bore no resem-

[1] W. W. Hunter, 1885 "Csoma de Körös: a Pilgrim Scholar" in *The Pioneer* Allahabad, (as quoted in *The life and teachings of Buddha* by Alexander Csoma Körösi, Susil Gupta, 1957, 2.)

[2] Miller, B. D., 1953 "A Selective Survey of Literature on Tibet", *American Political Science Review*, xlvii, 4: 1135—51. Cf. also G. Tucci, *The religions of Tibet* (tr. by G. Samuel) Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980 for a more recent portrayal of the Tibetans' fearful responses to "ubiquitous threats", p. 172—73. As an alternative interpretation, might not people feel less frightened if they "know" they have "tried and true" procedures for alleviating such threats?

blance to the people I had anticipated. Neither she nor her "uncle" were affiliated to any governmental, monastic, or aristocratic trading institution. Neither were they themselves aristocratic estate holders. Her "reality" was quite a blow to a socialist who decried the fate of "serfs": a fate which did *not* and *could not* include the possibility or prospect of social and/or physical mobility!

My naivete wore off as I encountered more and more Tibetan entrepreneurship during my subsequent work in the Darjeeling District, both west and east of the Tista River (Darjeeling and its environs, and Sakyong and Pedong in what was once known as "British Bhutan") and in Sikkim. The Tibetans encountered in the field all demonstrated the existence of physical and social mobility, whether they were muleteers, "ex-monk" artists, other sorts of skilled craftsmen, tradespeople, restauranteurs, or landlords.

Most of these "earlier" Tibetans in India retained ties with their homeland and returned to Tibet with some regularity. Unlike the refugees who followed them across the borders after 1959, they customarily had come down to India as individuals, or with one or two companions. Regardless of their original status at home, they usually had achieved considerable social and economic standing in the Darjeeling District. To my stupefaction, the Tibetans and other (non-Tibetan) District residents proudly pointed out the various "self-made" men (and women) among them.[3] Folklore abounded about how one could lend a Tibetan 500 rupees for a year and receive back 5,000 — in contrast to a Sikkimese to whom you could lend 5,000 and receive back 500. (I was in no position to test this.)

Twenty-five years ago, the escape of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and the subsequent flight of tens of thousands of Tibetan refugees provided many more *tragic* examples of physical and social mobility. Unlike their predecessors, some came as almost intact *communities*. Thus, Aziz's "Dingri wa" journeyed just a short distance to cross the border into Nepal.[4] Others experienced harrowing privations as they attempted to flee to India.

As a consequence of this influx, fellow anthropologists and other western scholars,[5] and — with increasing frequency — Tibetan scholars,[6] have all

[3] Miller, B. D. 1956 "Ganye and Kidu: Two Formalized Systems of Mutual Aid among the Tibetans" *SWJA*, v. 12: 157—70; p. 168. Cf. also, "Bhutanese Marriage and Residence Patterns and Murdock's 'Universal Requirements'" (unpublished, presented at AAA Meeting, Santa Monica, CA.) and "Field Notes-Darjeeling, 1953—4." (unpublished.)

[4] Aziz, Barbara N., 1978 *Tibetan frontier families: Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-ri*, Vikas Publishing House, Pvt., Ltd., New Delhi.

[5] The list includes Aziz, Dargyay, Goldstein, Miller, Rauber-Schweizer, Samuel, Snellgrove, Stein, Petech, and the numerous other westerners who have been working toward understanding Tibetan society.

[6] Among the Tibetans, D. Norbu, T. Norbu, N. Nornang, W. D. Shakapba, D. N. Tsarong, P. Tsarong, and S. Wahid deserve special mention.

wrestled with this same problem — the *existence*, the *degree*, and the *nature*, of social mobility in *traditional* Tibet. All agree that the principal route to acquiring higher social status was through joining the ranks of the Sangha (a term which avoids the need to specify "monk", "nun", "serkhyimba", "incarnation", etc.). We all know about the humble origins of successive Dalai Lamas, and of many other discovered incarnations. We also know about monks from poor families, who, by dint of their diligence, intelligence, ability, and/or loyalty have risen to high positions in the Government, as well as in the ecclesiastic hierarchy.

We also agree that there were other routes whereby a Tibetan could change his/her *economic* well-being, although there may be disputes as to whether that connoted changed *social* position as well.[7] Still, there are numerous anecdotal accounts of lowly fathers' sons who attracted the attention of powerful sponsors by virtue of their personal abilities. Their sponsors' support set them on the road to achieving high social status, sometimes even surpassing-or usurping-that of their sponsors. While these instances were exceedingly rare, many of us have uncovered far less dramatic examples of similar social mobility Highly-skilled craftsmen were rewarded with official rank (but not with estates).[8] However, these, like their monastic counterparts, all rested upon a combination of exceptional circumstances. The *individual* in question had to have been in the right place at the right time. Opportunity to attract the attention of a powerful personage was also a prerequisite.

In contrast to these individual "exceptions", this paper concentrates on the question of what — if any — routes to social and/or physical mobility were present in Tibetan *social organization*. Certainly, included most prominently among *these* routes must be the formal institution known as *mi bogs*, a contractual "lease" arrangement between a tenant and landlord, which permitted the tenant to leave the land — (and, if he so desired, to *reclaim* his position — and his land — upon return?). Goldstein (1971a) has explored

[7] Cf. Goldstein, 1971 (hereafter cited as 1971a) "Serfdom and Mobility: An examination of the Institution of 'Human Lease' in Traditional Tibetan Society", JAS, xxx: 521—34. See also Aziz, op. cit., p. 72—3; Dargyay, 1982 *Tibetan village communities: Structure and Change*. Aris & Phillips, Ltd., p. 20.

[8] Tsarong, D. N. (with B. D. Miller) 1983: "A Tibetan Government Official's Life History and Government Responsibilities" (ms.) [presented to the 12th Annual South Asia Conference, Madison, Wi. 1983] Highly skilled craftsmen who worked for the government mint were accorded titles of the 5th, 6th, etc. ranks. These and their accompanying salary (but *no* "entitlement" or estate) were "earned", and not inherited. p. 7—9. Tsarong also recounted the rise of Tsarong II's tenants' sons who, by exhibiting their "intelligence and ability" in a local (Lhasa) school earned the right to a western education in Kalimpong, and then returned to assume major- and prestigious- employment on various Tsarong estates.

the nature of these "human lease" arrangements in considerable detail. He concluded that:

> ". . . in reality, one of the most salient features of Tibetan social organization was its incorporation of a significant potential for personal mobility . . . *mibogs* or 'human lease' afforded a critical channel for personal mobility . . .
> ". . . when an individual . . . obtained 'human lease' from his lord, he . . . obtained control over the item leased . . . the . . . body as a physical resource . . . The serf remained a serf and was still linked hereditarily through an estate to his lord. But . . . the 'human-lease' holding serf was free to decide how and for what purpose to commit himself as a resource . . . He could work . . . for contracted *wages* or lease rather than as corvee service . . . The basic obligation of the 'human-lease' . . . serf . . . was the payment of an annual sum in cash that was stipulated by the lord . . . it was typical for the 'human-lease' . . . serf to be liable for . . . open-ended corvee services . . . *But the heart* of the obligation . . . was the annual *money fee*, and . . . the burden of this type . . . was not overly oppressive . . . 526
> ". . . The 'human-lease' serf . . . could move to another village if the taxpayers abused him . . . a form of *market competition* for *labor* resources existed . . ." 528
> ". . . a 'human-lease' serf-wherever he might reside-was *within his rights to request aid from his lord* even in cases of disputes with other lords since . . . the lord was expected to protect his serfs from outside injustices . . .
> ". . . 'human-lease' status, even at a high cost, was considered by those who sought it as being better than remaining a 'tied' *dud chung* . . . [However] the 'bound' status . . . [offered] greater security, and this was one of the main restraints limiting the size [sic] of serf runaways . . ." 531[9]

Aziz, in contrast, seems to regard *mi bogs* as the equivalent of *dud chung* (a tenant on an estate), specifically someone who had lapsed from the position of "dr'ong-pa" (*khral pa* = "tax payer", or commonly called "tre-ba").[10] This suggests *downward* mobility as a primary cause of *mi bogs* status.

Dargyay gives the *mi bogs* institution, which she called "man tax", primary relevance for a person who sought to join his/her spouse in another locale. Alone of these social scientists, she has indicated that there was still another — although a considerably less frequent and far more expensive — route: ". . . to become a *free* man . . ."[11]

More or less along the same lines, Chie Nakane, indicates that:

> „. . . a *noble* family occasionally took a *commoner* as an adopted son-in-law. The *vertical integration* between elite and commoners was *greater* than one might have thought in the Tibetan case."[12]

[9] Goldstein, 1971, "Serfdom and Mobility: An Examination of the Institution of 'Human Lease' in Traditional Tibetan Society" JAS, xxx, #3: 521—34.

[10] Aziz, op. cit., p. 71

[11] Dargyay, op. cit., p. 20.

[12] Nakane, Chie, 1978 "Cultural Implications of Tibetan History", in *Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface*, ed. J. F. Fisher, Mouton, the Hague. p. 37—43; p. 40.

(It is extremely unlikely that sheer coincidence accounts for the fact that colleagues who suggest the possibilities of "vertical integration" or "freedom from dependence" reject "serf", as a totally inappropriate English term for *mi ser*, and instead use "commoner", or "subject". Happily, this rejection is becoming far more widespread as we have become more familiar with Tibetan society.)

It is highly possible that some of the disagreements concerning the positions and roles of *mi bogs*, e.g., between Aziz and Dargyay, reflect differences between those communities on which their reports were based.

In Dargyay, the discussions on social mobility largely involve people who were *physically* immobile; i.e., they were operating within the general areas to which they were attached. Moreover, she suggests that individuals *without* local agricultural ties tended to be held in contempt.[13]

In Aziz, "d'u-ch'ung" (*dud chung*, or "small smoke") refers to:

> ". . . transient people . . . [with] their unspecified economic role, their low economic status and their exemption from taxation . . . These conditions allow the *d'u ch'ung* to move about with relative freedom and we find them exhibiting considerable social mobility . . . socially welcomed by all groups . . ." and constituting ". . . a fluid social rank where people enter on their way into and out of other less ambiguous statuses."[14]

Perhaps because they both were dealing with relatively small agricultural communities, the social position of the transient or "landless" rested solely upon the *local* population's perception of them. Aziz's "transience" in fact, seems derived from the individuals having "lost"— or not yet acquired — positions in the local agriculture-based community.

However, what does emerge even from these distinctions is the fact that the Tibetan *government* traditionally had recognized at least one *formal mechanism* for permitting — even if not encouraging — social mobility. Through *mi bogs* contracts, even lowly *dud chung* could improve their economic (and by implication *social*) conditions.

One area of almost universal agreement among Tibetan, European and other western scholars and anthropologists is that "wealth" was both a goal, and a criterion. Thus, according to Goldstein:

> ". . . Power, esteem, and in indirect ways, authority, derived primarily from *wealth* . . . The orientation of governmental rule in Tibet (on all levels) was to regularize a steady flow of wealth . . . So long as this was realized, they had little interest in interfering . . ." [italics BDM][15]

[13] Dargyay, loc. cit. Cf. Richardson, H. 1983 "review of Dargyay's *Tibetan Village Communities*, (JRAS, #2, 1983: 333—34). p. 334 ". . . one might qualify a few generalizations: contempt for the young man who deserted his village was *probably reserved for the failures* . . ."

[14] Op. cit., p. 72—3.

[15] 1971b "The Balance between Centralization and Decentralization in the Traditional Tibetan Political System" CAJ, XV: 170—82, 174.

(This whole question of wealth — as a goal in itself, but even more as a means for climbing a social ladder — has implications beyond the scope of this paper.)

However, in Tibet *physical* mobility often had a direct bearing on the question of *social* mobility. Thus, *engaging in trade* — or its variations, such as pilgrimage or "trade/raid", — was a major avenue for attaining wealth. All the authors also agree that it was perfectly possible — and permissible — for *mi ser* (even without a *mi bogs* contract) to absent themselves from their local responsibilities for the purpose of trade/pilgrimage even for a period of years.[16]

In fact, although most authors have distinguished among "agriculturists", "herders", and "traders", it is probably more accurate to recognize that "trade" was an activity which engaged *all* Tibetans, regardless of their *formal* occupational and/or social category — or their sex. True, some confined their movements to a relatively small area adjacent to their official locale. However, many were prone to travel great distances, both within Tibet and beyond its borders.[17]

Whether officially journeying on pilgrimage, or overtly setting forth on a trading mission, would-be *physically* mobile Tibetans required far more than *mi bogs* arrangements as support systems. At the very minimum, they required safe places along their routes where they could obtain food and shelter for both themselves and the animals that carried their goods.

Some necessities they could obtain by affiliating with a major trade mission, sponsored by the government or by a monastic institution. Although not entitled to the mission's *lam yig* (requisition privileges),[18] they could offer cash, some of their trading stock, or their services in return for the generosity of their hosts.[19]

[16] Dargyay, op. cit., ". . . a temporary absence, even if it lasted for years, was in common use . . .", p. 31.

[17] Samuel, G. 1982 "Tibet as a Stateless Society and Some Islamic Parallels", JAS, xli, #2: 215—30., p. 219. Cf. also B. D. Miller, "On Tibet as a Stateless Society" JAS, xli, #4: 803—04, p. 803. Other material would include C. Beckwith, 1977. "Tibet and the early Medieval *Florissance* in Eurasia . . ." CAJ, xxi: p. 89—104; and the numerous accounts of *re-encounters* between travellers, such as Heinrich Harrer, *Seven years in Tibet*. et al.

[18] D. N. Tsarong, op. cit., p. 7.

[19] David-Neel, A. 1927 *My journey to Lhasa*, Harper & Bros., N. Y; Combe, G. A. 1975 *A Tibetan on Tibet*: *Being the travels . . . of Mr. Paul Sherap (Dorje Zodba) . . .*" Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu: Tsybikov, G. Ts. 1953 *A buddhist pilgrim to the holy places of Tibet, from diaries kept from 1899—1902* (trans. R. Shaw) IAP, and HRAF, Inc. Seattle (typescript.) Among many others, these accounts clearly illustrate the specific advantages to travelling with a member of the Sangha, who can exchange religious services for the trip's necessities.

Without the sort of "endorsement" demonstrated by their being permitted to be "hangers on" to an official mission, other itinerants still had the same needs as above. For them, there were *informal* methods for meeting them. Thus, it was possible for an individual/group to find similar wayfarers with whom to band together. Frequently, some of these travellers were members of the Sangha, who could turn to their colleagues in various parts of the country for their own — and their comrades' — requirements.

Moreover, there was at least one other mechanism for those who were not affiliated with a major trade mission and who lacked the Sangha's protection. This was a system of mutual aid called "ga nye" (*dga' nye* or "associates"),[20] first mentioned in 1956. Aziz has done what is probably *the* definitive study of the roles of *dga' nye* in the rural setting.[21] However, these informal "mutual aid" relationships also played a major role for caravaneers and other — non-agricultural — people.

Along well-travelled routes, a trader from even the most remote parts of Tibet — or of its neighbors — usually could find someone(s) who originally had hailed from that same area, or who had *dga' nye* ties with a previous wayfarer.[22] As "ga nye" of "ga nye" a certain presumption of reliability was established. In the absence of any formal, or official hostels (or of unofficial chains of commercial "motels"), networks of private "ga nye"-operated, Tibetan "muletels" greatly facilitated physical mobility for countless travellers who followed the major trade routes to neighboring countries, and within their own land.[23]

A trading/pilgrimage journey could last for several months. When the destination had been reached, it was highly probable that the weary traveller had no desire for a rapid "turn around." In fact, some might prefer to stay in the new locale for years, especially if they had an extremely profitable trade or some sought-after skills.

As Dargyay noted:

> "There were two opposing tendencies concerning [physical] mobility: the preference for a permanent residence with a respectable farm was challenged by the deeply rooted inclination for long and distant travel . . ."[24]

Within Tibet there was a strong tradition of "*wage labor*",[25] especially for those who had special skills in the crafts, or in handling caravans, coupled with a shortage of such labor. Skilled itinerants who desired to remain in one

[20] Miller, op. cit.
[21] Op. cit., p. 189—97.
[22] Miller, op. cit., p. 179, ftnt. 7.
[23] Cf. Tsybikov, op. cit.
[24] Dargyay, op. cit., p. 30.
[25] Tsarong, op. cit. p. 8—9. Cf. also Goldstein, 1971a, loc. cit.

location for a long period were almost guaranteed a market for their services. Yet without any mechanisms whereby they could find a niche for themselves in the new setting, even the most skilled laborers' ability to profit from any physical mobility would be very limited.

Especially in major trade and/or pilgrimage centers another extra-governmental mechanism *did* exist. The laity from different regions had their own "voluntary associations", called "kidu" (*skyid sdug* ="happiness and misery", "good and ill luck.") In some respects these were somewhat similar to the monks' "dra-tsangs" ("colleges" or "dormitories" in the major monasteries to which monks were assigned on the basis of their regional origin).[26]

"Kidu" meet all the criteria for recognition as "a fully corporate form" as suggested in *Principles of Social Structure* by the structural anthropologist, D. E. Brown.[27] They have "identity" — a formal name; "presumptive perpetuity" — although individual members may come and go, the *association* is expected to continue its existence; "closure" — criteria for accepting/rejecting prospective members; and "membership" — individuals/family units are distinguishable from their non-member (non-dues paying) counterparts. In addition they have "exclusive common affairs" — some "kidus" dedicate themselves to the needs of members who practice a particular craft. In her discussion of a smiths' "kidu" in Lhasa, Rauber-Schweizer noted that that "kidu" had formal governmental recognition, and represented its members in dealings with officials.[28] Other "kidu" draw their membership from people who have come from the same region. Still other "kidu" are formed by followers who desire to support a particular sect lineage, or to support some specific religious observance.[29]

Although the stated purposes of particular kidus might involve them in various other activities, they all served to provide their members — regardless of the basis for membership — with a refuge and support, and companions with whom to share their "joy and sorrow". These groups were especially important to members who were attempting to cope with urban life or strange surroundings. (When I first encountered them in 1954, I almost expected to see the Tibetan equivalents of the signs that greet the traveller who approaches

[26] Miller, op. cit., p. 160—8. Cf. also Rauber-Schweizer, H. 1976 *Der Schmied und sein Handwerk im traditionellen Tibet*, Tibet Institut, Rikon, p. 96 "*Die Schmiedezunft in Lhasa.*"

[27] Brown, D. E. 1976 *Principles of social structure*, Duckworth & Co., Ltd., p. 20—22.

[28] Rauber-Schweizer, op. cit., p. 96—110. Cf. also Miller, op. cit.

[29] Rauber-Schweizer, loc. cit., Miller, op. cit., p. 164. Dargyay's "Mani-brotherhood" (p. 24, 26) sounds suspiciously similar to a "Cho Tog (*chos grogs* = 'religious friends') "kidu", despite its rural setting.

a village or town in the United States — "Kiwanis meet every 4th Tuesday", "Rotary Club monthly meetings on . . ." etc.)

More seriously, in point of fact, "kidus" could — and did — perform similar vital functions for their members. They gave them a group of people upon whom they could depend in emergencies and with whom they could celebrate joyous events or pursue common interests. Desirable even in rural settings, this sort of support system was indispensable for town and urban dwellers far removed from their places of origin and devoid of "lord" or"family" who could come to their rescue.

Thus, Tibet presents a fascinating picture of *mobility*, despite many of our assumptions as to "what *should* be" present there. In traditional Tibet, there were "bonds" that seem peculiarly flexible, and "bound" individuals who could absent themselves for years. We find *formal* institutions sanctioned by government and/or by custom, which opened paths for individuals who were willing to gamble their security on the chance that they could improve their lot. Moreover, we have also discovered that informal, extragovernmental, corporate and non-corporate systems of mutual aid had been created to "improve" those chances. Whether or not a particular individual took full advantage of the possibilities, their existence was known and — to a large extent — the choice was there. In short, all these mechanisms conspire to demonstrate that we still have far to go and much to study, before we can claim to fully understand the nature of physical and social mobility in Tibet.

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PROLEGOMENA TO A READING OF THE SECOND TIBETAN GRAMMATICAL TREATISE

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1. The second of the two presumably ancient grammatical treatises that Tibetan tradition has long attributed to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa in his quasi-mythic role as inventor of the Tibetan script and founder of Tibetan literary culture, the *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa* (hereafter: *R*),[1] has yet to be studied, either in Tibet or in Japan and the West, with anything approaching the care and detail that have rightly been lavished upon its companion-text, the *Sum cu pa* (hereafter: *S*). In striking contrast to the substantial body of generally informative indigenous commentaries and modern secondary studies by Western, or Western-trained, scholars that we are in a position to lay under contribution when we undertake to read *S* as an ancient linguistic treatise, particularly as a text in its own right, we cannot but be negatively impressed, if not actually discouraged, by the comparatively niggardly resources at our command when instead we turn to *R*. We discover, e.g., that such otherwise generally (even if not genially) informative exemplars of the indigenous exegetical literature as the second-hand epitome of the commentary of the Mahapaṇḍita of Si-tu translated by Bacot in 1928 virtually admit defeat when confronted with the task of elucidating a number of the thornier passages in *R* (although by the same token, as we shall suggest infra in the present contribution, §§ 3.4, 4.1, 4.2 on *R* 16, 17, even such uncharacteristic silence may in its own way actually have something to teach us about the textual genesis of *R* itself). And even Inaba Shōju, our usually most reliable cicerone to both these two early texts, barely mentions *R* in only a few scattered passages,[2] nor does he ever venture

[1] We use throughout the traditional śloka numbering for both *R* and *S*, even though in the case of both texts these were obviously assigned relatively late and as a consequence frequently have but little-or no-connection with the content and sens of the passages to which they are attached; thus, e.g. *R* 1.2 = line 2 of śloka 1 of the received text of *R*, etc.

[2] The few brief passages where Inaba treats portions of *R* (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12—15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27—28) are listed in his *Shomei sakuin*, p. 17; but all are disappointing. Durr 1950 studies the Situ commentary on *R* 12, 13, 14, 15 and 25, but tells us virtually nothing about *R* itself.

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an integral translation of a single line of *R* itself. Earlier we have made bold enough to suggest that the study of *S* had indeed advanced to that stage at which it had become feasible to describe in certain specific detail not only the linguistic devices and techniques (cf. *LDT*) but also the text structure and rule ordering that characterize that document (cf. *TSR*), particularly when we approach the ancient treatise that surely is *S* as an ancient treatise, reading it as far as possible in calculated isolation from the interpolations of the later scholastic tradition—never of course ignoring the commentators, but by that same token never (or so one hopes) permitting their frequently uninformed views unduly to obscure our view of the text itself.

For the moment at least, with *R* virtually none of this is possible. The title of the present contribution is intended to indicate the current situation with respect to the internal (or, the higher) text-critical study of *R*: we are still far from being able to discuss in any significant detail the linguistic devices and techniques of this text—though it is obvious that *R* makes elaborate and even at times subtle employment of both—nor can we speak with authority on the topic of rule ordering in terms of the text's internal structure, so long as the later remains, as it does today, still largely uncharted.

In part, this is due to the comparative neglect of *R* by the later commentators, but only in part. We can hardly pursue our avowed goal of reading our text as a text, and of studying what we find that it says as a text, but at the same time lay all responsibility for the obscurities of content and presentation that continue to trouble us there solely at the feet of the Tibetan commentators: to do so would involve us in a near-fatal circularity of approach. In other words, the fault can hardly all be that of the commentators on *R*, unsatisfactory and incomplete though they indeed tend to be—and that frequently just at those points where we most sorely need their assistance. The answer is more involved than that. *R* itself as a text harbors formidable difficulties of interpretation and understanding, and these must at least in broad outline be clarified before we can come directly to grips with such specifics as linguistic devices and techniques, not to mention the interrelationship of its (still mostly obscure) text structure and rule ordering. Nevertheless, any text, no matter how difficult or how specialized (and *R* is both) may and must, inter alia, be read as a text. What we bring to our reading of a text always colors what we find there to read: and this truism is all the more true when the text in question is one as enigmatic if not orphic as *R* in many of its passages. All this is merely by way of glossing the title of the present contribution; here we seek merely to bring together a few roughly arranged preliminary observations on what now appear to be the principal problems of *R*, with a view to making these remarks serve, if possible, the needs of the subsequent studies that remain to be undertaken on this text, on other occasions and, it is also to be hoped, by other hands.

2. Nothing else becomes so clear, in a preliminary survey of *R* as an integral text, as does the enormous gulf that in almost every way separates it from *S*, sharply and immediately contradicting the traditional view that both were written by a single historical individual at a single time in history. Indeed, the more carefully we isolate our reading of *R* from the scholastic beliefs that have always insisted upon Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's authorship of both *S* and *R*, the more striking become a veritable constellation of elements that intervene to keep the one of these texts apart from the other. Nothing in *R*, we shall conclude, actually speaks in favor of a common authorship for these two texts, or even for a common chronological horizon for the two.

2.1 *R* is entirely lacking in passages providing intrinsic evidence of striking antiquity, in sharp contrast with *S*; e.g., we find in *R* nothing that clearly speaks for familiarity with pre-canonical, resp. pre-standard Written Tibetan forms as does *S* 8 (studied most recently in detail in *LDT* § 2). Together with this must also be weighed the evidence accumulated by Inaba in 1955, when he demonstrated, in a comprehensive study of the inflections of verb forms in the WT translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, that their morphology conforms exactly and precisely to that described in *R* 13—15 (*SGTT* 7a—JAOS 83, 1963, 491a). This is not to imply that *R* is modern, or even that it totally lacks evidence for older materials having entered into its compilation (specific examples of the same must especially be recognized in its phonetic descriptions, infra § 2.9, as well as in the phonological implications of much of its descriptive terminology, as already pointed out in 1963); but it is important to signal at the outset the absence from *R* of any hint of precisely those sorts of pre-WT forms that strike us today as providing the strongest evidence for the high antiquity of at least certain portions of the Urtext(e) underlying *S*.

2.2 *R* is almost entirely concerned with descriptive statements relative to the occurrence by sets, or sometimes to the non-occurrence, of certain of the consonant phonemes of WT in certain of their morphological usages in the language; yet it makes no employment of the distinctive *S* terminology for 'consonant' or, for that matter, for 'vowel' either. *R* thus knows neither *āli* nor *kāli*, neither *dbyaṅs* nor *gsal byed* (*SGTT* 33—56 = HJAS 26, 1966, 125—47). Instead, *R* treats its phonology in terms of *pho yi yi ge* (1.1) 'consonants' and *mo yi yi ge* (33.1) 'vowels'. Much remains to be said about both these terms, and especially about the orphic order of their introduction into *R* (*pho yi yi ge* at 1.1, but *mo yi yi ge* delayed until 33.1:); but for our present purposes, it is sufficient to stress that of the many other terminological distinctions between *R* and *S* that might be pointed to, this is at once the most striking as well as the most significant. The *āli-kāli* vowel — consonant dichotomy, particularly when we keep in mind the Vajrayanist implications of its terminology, is among the most important innovations of *S*. In *R* we find it either unknown or else disregarded, but at any rate, and in either instance

replaced by another quite different trope, that embodied in *pho* 'male' and *mo* 'female'.

2.3 How very differently *S* and *R* approach their common task of formulating descriptive statements involving details of the phonology of WT is well illustrated by a comparison of roughly equivalent passages from both, e.g., *S* 2, 3, 4, 5 against *R* 2. *S* 2 teaches that there is a set of ten *rjes-ḥjug* (on this term, *LDT* 3.1.3) phonemes; 3 divides the total inventory of consonants into seven and a half *vargas* of four each; 4 then specifically identifies the ten *rjes-ḥjug* as "the latter two (*mas gñis*) of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th *vargas*", i.e., *g ñ d n b m* plus "the 3rd of the 6th", i.e. ḥ, and "the 7th (*varga*) except for (*ma gtogs* 'not belonging to') *š*", i.e. *r l s*; finally, from among this now significantly ordered set of ten phonemes thus identified, *S* 5 further identifies the five *sṅon-ḥjug* (cf. *LDT*, loc. cit.) in terms of their numbers as they appear in *S* 4, i.e., the 1st, *g*, the 3rd, *d*, the 5th, *b*, the 6th, *m*, and the 7th, *ḥ*.

In contrast to this precise identification procedure, *R* 2 deals only in the most general of all possible generalities: one is taught only to "extract (*dbyuṅ, ḥbyin-pa* 'remove, draw out') the ten *rjes-ḥjug* from among (*naṅ nas*) the *mo yi yi ge*—which constitute a discrete set named but not identified in *R* 1.4—11; and similarly also with the five *sṅon-ḥjug* from among the ten *rjes-ḥjug*. As it stands, the received text of *R* on these questions at least is entirely dependant upon being elucidated by a separate, extra-textual tradition that will permit the identification of the constituent parts of the categories that it names but does not further identify. The text of *S*, by way of contrast, is self-contained, and capable of standing apart from secondary exegetical aids. Nor may it successfully be argued that placing *R* in its traditional role of one of the grammatical treatises originally written, along with *S*, by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, does anything of substance to solve the problem, for even if we take *R* 2 as somehow secondary to *S* 2, 3, 4, 5 (a juxtaposition that itself involves a number of serious terminological discrepancies if not contradictions), there is still lacking any genuinely overt textual clue as to what particular phonemes constitute the ten *rjes-ḥjug*, and as to what five of these ten must be understood as surviving into the *sṅon-ḥjug* set.

2.4 The single most striking feature of *R*'s descriptive format is also one that sets it sharply apart from *S*, i.e. its virtually absolute reliance upon the manipulation of covert categories (*pho, ma niṅ, mo, šin tu mo, mo gśam*) of phoneme inventory as against the specifically overt phoneme identification of *S* (e.g., *drug paḥi gsum pa* 'the 3rd of the 6th *varga*', *ḥ*). The categories of *R* are not only covert, they also approach the enigmatic, since there is nothing internal to the text itself that provides either (*α*) an inventory for the members of each set, or (*β*) an unambiguous indication of those points in the presentation at which (as, e.g., at *R* 3) their inventory shifts (whence Bacot's "cette nouvelle notation . . .", tsl. p. 52, though this corresponds to nothing either in the text

of *R* or in the commentary that he is translating, p. 144). An apparent (but probably not real) exception to this is *R* 1.8—12, which overtly lists *ts*$^{\text{etc.}}$, *č*$^{\text{etc.}}$, *w*, *b*, *r*, *l*, *h*, and ' (but this last only if *'a ni mtshaṅ med čes kyaṅ bya* is the older reading for *R* 1.12, and not *Z*'s *ma niṅ mtshaṅ . . .*, Laufer p. 540 : 13, which is anything but certain); still, this occurs only in the otherwise textually difficult first passage of *R* (cf. § 4.1 infra), and hence the anomaly it presents is more likely itself to be merely a further indication of the several levels of textual difficulty that trouble this particular passage.

2.5 Because of its virtually exclusive reliance upon its own intrinsic covert categories, it may well be argued that in an important sense *R* is less a text than it is a code or a cipher—a series of essentially meaningless, or at leas always (because purposely) obscure statements into which the user (resp., the reader) must somehow insert meaning, as one inserts meaning in the process of deciphering or decoding an arbitrary system of secret writing. In this feature *R* sharply sets itself apart from *S* (*TSR*, § 2.2). Shortly before his death, L. Renou summed up what he had learned of the relationship between Pāṇini and the later commentators: "The interpretation of Pāṇini is possible only with the help of commentaries, which does not mean that one should not make special efforts, as difficult as that may be, to get away at times from those commentaries" (Renou 1969. 486, § 9, cf. *TSR* § 4). Exactly the same may be said of *R*. Far more than is the case with *S*, in *R* we have an encoded, enciphered text that may be read only in so far as a separately transmitted body of exegetical lore permits us access to the text's covert content. With *R*, much more than with *S*, we are genuinely at the mercy of the schools; and when, as in the case of *R* 16, 17, the schools appear neither to have remembered nor to have learned anything of value to pass on to us, then little can be made of the text.

2.6 Any text—particularly a text the length of *S* or *R*—has structure, which is sometimes extrinsic, sometimes intrinsic, sometimes originating and imposed upon the text from without, sometimes wholly inherent within the text itself. The text-internal structuring of *S* is largely intrinsic, marked as it is by the text's own syntax, which overtly divides *S* into a number of major subordinate segments, each segment set off by the terminal enclitic *-Qo*; indeed, one of the major problems that we confront in our reading of this text today concerns the way in which the earlier translators customarily ignored these indications of internal structure, even though they are essential to identifying the rule-ordered presentation that is central to *S*'s technique of linguistic analysis (cf. *LDT* § 3.1.1). As we shall see in somewhat more detail shortly, the intrinsic structuring of *R* does not exploit the terminal enclitic *-Qo* to the same extent as does *S*. Instead, this morpheme is employed in *R* not to mark major subordinate segments, but rather to set off secondary subsets within major ones; and these major segments are in turn extrinsically imposed

upon the text by the agency of an elegantly balanced arrangement of the text along an armature of virtually classical symmetry.

Nothing could possibly be further removed from the text-structural devices of *S* than the carefully contrived symmetrical armature upon which *R* 4—23 reposes; and indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that virtually nothing else so sharply demarcates the enormous gulf that separates these two texts a s t e x t s as does the subtle symmetry of this feature of *R*.

The five major structural segments, I to V, of *R* are discussed at § 3 infra; here our concern is only with II and III of the five, and especially with their extrinsically marked symmetrical structure. II = *R* 4—15 and III = *R* 16—23 is each a subordinate structure that depends upon an introductory or 'framing' passage, *R* 4 for II, *R* 18 for III. These two passages are themselves virtually identical; actually, in the (probably early) text variant preserved in *Z*'s citation of *R* 4 (Laufer, p. 541) they are even closer to one another. Both Laufer and Bacot were struck by the elegance of this device, Laufer calling it "diese Disposition" (p. 542), Bacot remarking on how closely "Ce questionnaire répond a l'énumération classique: *ubi* gaṅ la, *quo* gaṅ gis, *quomodo* ji ltar, *quando* ou *cur* čiḥi phyir" (p. 53 note 1). The passage is indeed very close to the classical *dispositio*, the rhetorical and logical arrangement of the matter or the discrete elements of a discourse in formal systems of rhetoric, and the term itself will hardly here be out of place.

In II, this *dispositio* provides the armature from which depends, in ordered subordination, *R* 5—15, according to the following scheme:

```
4 → 5—15
      4.1,2 → 5.                                  → = 'subordinates'
         5 → 6.3 _/ 6.5 _/                        _/ = -Qo
               6 → 7, 8 _/
      4.3 → 9
        9 → 10 _/
      4.4 → 11
       11 → 12, 13, 14, 15 _/
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In III, *R* 8 plays the same key role of announcing the *dispositio*; but thereafter the pattern of subordination, while still elegantly symmetrical, is somewhat altered, so that 18.1 → 19, 18.2 → 20, and 18.3 → 21; and *-Qo* only finds employment in two instances in the unit represented by *R* 22, 23, dealing with pronunciation (18.4 is suspended, to be dealt with later on in the text of *R* in the larger context of *don* 'artha' in IV), which again contrasts sharply, not only with its use in *S* throughout, but also in its employment within the subordinated partial segments of *R* II as sketched above.

Equally striking is the unmistakably audible tone of catechesis that distinguishes II and III, overt in their oft reiterated . . . *ča na* (5; 9; 11) of

II, but equally present for all that it is covert in the embodied interrogatives (*ji ltar . . .*, 21) and similar expressions in III. The catechistic tone of both II and III is redolent of the didactic, discussion-based frame work, with its propositions, objections, alternatives, and counter-objections, framiliar from the Indic grammatical literature, notably the *Mahābhāṣya*.

2.7 *R* 28 teaches, inter alia, statements concerning the WT case forms, and hence it is of particular significance for a text-critical confrontation of *R* with *S*, if only because its specifically ordered account of the morphological rules for the case suffixes is one of the more interesting and important portions of *S* (studied in detail in *TSR* § 3.1 sqq.). In *S* we find instructions governing the forms and relevant to the meanings of the WT equivalents of the numbered Indic cases, i.e. II acc., III instr., II dat., V abl., VI gen., VII loc., and the (unnumbered) voc.; but in S, (α) these are introduced in a different and characteristic order (II, IV, and VII in 8, VI in 9, 10, III in 11, V in 15, 16, and the voc. in 17), in order to facilitate the morphophonemics of the description, and also (β) there is no mention of the nom.

In *R* 28.3—5 we find the seven Indic cases plus the vocative arranged in the usual Indic order, e.g., the order of Pāṇini and all the grammarians as well as of *Mhvyt.* CCXI, § 4737 sqq., but with the startling addition of the Indic I case, the nominative, which *R* identifies as *čhos dṅos*. Unknown to *S*, this term *čhos dṅos* for nom. is transparently based upon the canonical Indic, i.e. Pāṇinian approach to this entity (cf. *Pāṇ.* II, 3, 46), where the nom. is treated as that case used when only the "blosse begriff des stammes . . . bezeichnet werden soll" (Liebich 1886. 227, § 84). Bacot's commentary (citing directly from the Situ commentary, ed. Das, p. 72, line 22) paraphrases the *R* text as *čhos dṅos ste, ṅo bo tsam brjod pa* 'to express solely the actual entity itself'; the commentary of Blo-bzaṅ tshul-khrims (1845—1915) has, somewhat less cryptically, *rnam dbye daṅ po čhos rnams kyi ṅo bo dṅos tsam brjod pa* 'the first cases expresses solely the actual entity of the *dharmas*', i.e., of things (ed. Peking 1957, 173).

Since a WT noun in the 'nominative' carries no overt morphological marker, it is not surprising that the description of this case plays no part in *S*, particularly since such silence happened to coincide perfectly with the virtual silence of the entire Indic grammatical tradition on the whole notion of 'grammatical subjects' (Cardona 1974), this last because such subjects do not find a convenient slot in the *kāraka* system in terms of which theory the Indic grammarians customarily present their description and anysis of case-forms in general. But by this same token, it is all the more surprising (α) that this unmarked WT 'case form' of the noun (which being unmarked is, after all, no form at all) finds a place in the list of *R* 28.3, and (β) that the nom. is alligned here with the other, overtly marked, WT cases as being one of the eight in which, even though the case-suffix is itself specifically qualified as being

de ñid raṅ gi sgra mthun pa 'par l'accord phonétique / des deux fins de mots', this same case-suffix (specifically named as a *sgra*, even though WT has no nom. suffix !) is *draṅ* 'stressed, accentuated' — further, all this then contrasted in *R* 28.6—9 with the enclitic partlices, e.g. *-Qo*, *-(s)te*, *-Qam*, *ni*, etc., where *sṅa šugs ḥdren pas byuṅ* 'the previous, first syllable is accentuated' (cf. Jäschke, Dict., 650a, from Csoma!).

The presentation of the WT enclitics in *R* 28.6—9 contrasts sharply with that of the case-forms; the enclitics are ordered in the same fashion as they appear in *S*, so that we find *slar-bsdu*, i.e. *-Qo* (= *S* 7), *lhag-bčas*, i.e. *-(s)te* (= S 13), *ḥbyed-sdud*, i.e. *-Qam* (= *S* 14), *brnan*, i.e. *ni* (= S 18), *bdag-po*, i.e. *-p/m/ba/o* (= S 22), and *dgag*, i. e. the negatives (= *S* 23). The conclusion that this portion of *R* was drawn up with prior knowledge of the presentation of the enclitics in *S* can not be avoided, any more than one can overlook the evidence that the compilation of the presentation of the case-forms in the prior section of this same passage was conducted either in ignorance of, or at the very least by studiously ignoring, the statements in the relevant portions of *S*. (Even so, Indic sources are not totally absent from the *S* statements for the enclitics: *brnan-paḥi tshig*, *S* 18, with vars. *bsnan* . . . , see Inaba, ed. Dharmabhadra, p. 26, may well reflect the *vīpsā* of *Pāṇ.* VIII, 1, 4, 'désir d'atteindre simultanément (tels objects)', Renou, La gr. de Pāṇ., 105.)

R 28 is also of textual importance because it is one of several passages in the treatise that either include, or have as their end, specific statements concerning matters of the pronunciation of WT (cf. § 2.9 and § 4.2 infra); but it is particularly significant for our present purposes for the manner in which its categorization of the WT case-forms opens the question of whether perhaps one of the early text-strata to be detected in this treatise did not, at the outset at least, refer not to Tibetan but to Buddhist Sanskrit instead (cf. § 4.3 infra on Q_3).

2.8 Although both *S* and *R* treat the dat., they employ different terms for this, IV of the Indic cases: *R* 28.4 *sbyin*, but *S* 8.9 *čhed*. Both terms appear to go back to *Pāṇ.* II, 3, 13—17, *saṃpradāna* (Liebich, 1886. 214 ff; Renou, 'dation'), probably through the intermediary of *Kāt.* II, 26—28 (Liebich, 1919. 46); as usual, the later commentators to the *R* passage conflate the two terms into a single gloss (e.g., *phan-paḥi don sbyin-pa dgos-čhed brjod-pa* . . . , Blobzaṅ tshul-khrims, ed. cit., 173), in the process most likely obscuring a potentially important early distinction in these texts.

2.9 More than any other single feature, the frequent, repeated, and obvious concern of *R* for questions of pronunciation sets this text off sharply from *S*. In the main, these pronunciation-oriented portions of *R* remain to be investigated satisfactorily, even though scholarly attention was directed toward them as early as A. H. Francke's "Kleine Beiträge . . ." of 1903.

Some of these statements appear to offer impressionistic descriptive accounts of a pronounciation of Tibetan presumably contemporaneous with *R*, or at least with those portions of *R* in which these accounts appear; others appear to refer to pronunciation in the course of internal word-play that exploits partial phonetic similarities between the specific items in the metalinguistic terminology of the text and the phonetic shape of allied terms and definitions; additionally, there may possibly also be a further and third category that conflates these two essential varieties of statement.

Representative speciments of these three categories of pronunciation-oriented portions of *R* include, for (1) impressionistic descriptive accounts, *R* 28.6, and 28.9; for (2) word-play definitions, *R* 12 (cf. *SGTT* 7); and for (3) conflated, *R* 10.

R 9, 10 was the text to which Francke was making (unidentified) reference when he wrote in 1903 that "Die tibetischen Grammatiker sprechen zunächst von vier Tönen, dem starken (*dragpa*), dem schwachen (*zhanpa*), dem mittleren (*ranpa*) und dem gleichmässigen (*mnyampa*)" (*ZDMG* 57, 1903, 294). Today this seems less likely, although not for the reasons advanced by S. Wolfenden in his ill-advised critique of Francke (Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology, 1929, 14, note 2); and the possibility that the text is here indeed concerned with four levels of tone, as Francke suggested, deserves further consideration (cf. also in this connection our description of a modern variety of Central Tibetan in terms of five phonetic tone levels, to be understood as constituting however only two contrasting tonemes, JAOS 75, 1955, 46; if tones are actually involved, it may also be that the terms employed by *R*, i.e. *drag-pa* 'strong', *ran-pa* 'weak', *žan-pa* 'middle', and *mñam-pa* 'even' are not only descriptive but mnemonic as well, as being themselves pronounced in the several tones being described.) But the overall sense as well as the language of the passage seem to suggest that this is a description not of tone but rather of specific segmental pronunciation of the prefixes, more or less along the lines of the later exegetical texts that we studied twenty years ago (*SGTT* 68, TP 51, 1964, 83) and that describe a pronunciation as [r] for WT prefixed *g-* and *d-*. Such a reading at the same time would by no means rule out a simultaneous mnemonic intent to the text, since words with both *g-* and *d-* are described as *ran-pa*, itself in *r-*, and hence itself possibly both descriptive and mnemonic for words pronounced with initial [r].

2.10 This is of course hardly the first time in the literature that attention has been drawn to the differences separating *S* from *R*. J. Schubert was obviously (and properly) struck by these same facts, so tha he wrote, both of the descriptive system of *R* and in particular of what we are here calling its metalanguage, that both features "einzig und allein nur diesem zweiten Teil angehört und für das Sum-cu-pa überhaupt nicht in Frage kommt" (MSOS 31, 1928, 9); but he did not elaborate on the question, nor did he suggest any of

the now more or less obvious conclusions to be drawn from this situation. The Tibetan tradition that has long assigned both *S* and *R* to the same individual author has been a powerful force working against the recognition of what these texts actually say, as contrasted with what they have been supposed to say. Now that the tradition has finally been put into serious question, we are at last able to acknowledge at least some of the implications of these striking differences that separate *S* and *R*.

3. In the light of what has been said above, it is not entirely premature to essay a summation of the content of *R* in the light of what we now understand of its internal textual structure. To date, only Inaba (pp. 9—10) has attempted such a summation (the tabulation by J. Schubert, MSOS 31, 1928, 15—17, supplies a useful guide to the ordering of the text in the exegetical schools, but follows them also in not recognizing the internal subordination of minor to major units within the text). While we differ in a few, mostly minor, points with the Japanese scholar in what follows, his work has been of great assistance in preparing the account infra; otherwise, and without Inaba, we would be left adrift amid the commentaries, with their all-but-endless breakdowns and refinements. As Inaba pointed out three decades ago, these do fully as much to obscure our view of the overall structure and content of *R* as they do to help us understand the text (the same being true of the Western translators, particularly Schubert, when they follow the breakdowns of the Tibetan tradition over literally).

3.1 Higher text-critical content analysis of *R* reveals the presence of five major subordinate segments, hereafter denominated as I, II, III, IV, and V (cf. the three major subordinate segments I, II, III of *S*, in *LDT* § 3.1.1, and *TSR* § 2.3), and further permits us to draw up, in general outline, the following schema for our text (§§ 3.2—3.6). In proposing this segmentation, we follow in outline the proposals of Inaba, pp. 9—10, but part company with him on the following specific points: he would see *R* 1 only as the prefatory *Śiva-sūtra* (though he does not use that term), assigning *R* 2, 3 to his next major segment; and he sets apart *R* 29—31 as an independent segment, dealing with the relationship between the meaning of verbs "etc." and the case-suffixes and other grammatical elements preceding them.

3.2 *R* I = 1, 2, 3. This segment is in effect the *Śiva-sūtra* prologue to the text, to be compared with *S*'s I = 1—6, which in the first treatise has a parallel role (*LDT*, passim; *TSR* §§ 1, 2.2.1). As with *Śiva-sūtra* presentations in the Indic grammarians' tradition generally, the function of I in *R* is "the formation of *pratyāhāras* to be used in rules" (*TSR* § 1.3.3; Cardonna 1969. 12, § 2.1), i.e. in the remainder of *R*.

3.3 *R* II = 4—15. This segment treats the prefixes earlier identified at *R* 2; the entire segment is both grammatically and logically subordinate to the *dispositio* of *R* 4, cf. § 2.6 supra.

3.4 *R* III = 16—23. This segment treats the suffixes earlier identified at *R* 2. *R* 16, 17 are difficult, but appear to serve both as a link between I and II, and also as an introduction to II, which otherwise properly begins with its own *dispositio* in 18. The remainder of III is subordinate both grammatically and logically to this second *dispositio*.

3.5 *R* IV = 24—31. This segment treats *don* = *artha*, hence it is in contrast with I, II, III, which concern themselves instead with *sgra* (on this dichotomy, *LDT*, note 15).

3.6 *R* V = 32—36. This segment treats several questions of linguistic theory of some (but certainly not of primary) relevance to the remainder of the text. Inaba, p. 10, has already pointed out the significant parallel between this segment and *S* III = 26—29 (*TSR* §§ 2.2, 2.3.1).

4. Over and beyond the basic issues explored in § 2 supra, much remains to be learned about the textuality of *R*, particularly as we confront this treatise with *S*. Nevertheless, it is even at this point possible to suggest a tentative scenario that will establish the putative principal steps or stages that appear to have transpired in the course of the genesis of this, the second Tibetan grammatical treatise. The text-critical rationale for such a scenario is largely self-evident, particularly in the light of § 2; the hypothesis of an ordered series of multiple, chronologically sequential steps or stages in the course of which our received text of *R* gradually assumed the form in which we have it today is the only working assumption available that permits us to take the necessary cognizance of the important internal evidence for composition and compilation by different hands at different times that *R* so richly preserves.

The hypothesis further necessitates the assumption of a redactor (R), whose work included compilation, editorial changes in and the harmonization of the earlier materials with which he (or they) worked, along with the prior existence of three now-lost sources (Q_1, Q_2, Q_3).

4.1 First of all we must reckon with Q_1, a relatively short and concise orthographic manual or spelling book. This text epitomized the essential orthographic conventions that by the time of the compilation of Q_1 had become necessary to remember in order to write Tibetan correctly, i.e. in conformity with the Skad gsar bčad and the norms of the *Mhvyt.* (*SGTT* 7a, JAOS 83, 1963, 491a). This spelling manual Q_1 was more or less identical with those portions of *R* that are cited in *Z*, i.e. *R* 1, 4, 5, 6, 11—15. *Z*, compiled in 1514 by Dharmapālabhadra (1441—1528), today represents our earliest independent textual evidence for *R*, and it is hardly without text-historical significance that the citations of *R* now appearing in *Z* taken in and of themselves form a short but for its own purposes complete orthographic manual, in which *R* 1 is the necessary and introductory *Śiva-sūtra*, *R* 4 the *dispositio* from which depend *R* 5, 6, the basic statement of the essential combinations of the consonant phonemes of WT as then restated in the text's metalanguage (i.e. as

rtags, cf. § 5 infra), and *R* 11—15 an integrated section teaching the meanings of the prefixes found with the verbs in mnenomic terms associated with the pronunciation of the terms involved (*SGTT* 7).

While *Z*'s citations in this fashion do provide a clue to the nature and content of the early spelling manual here identified with Q_1, as the earliest textual stratum underlying *R*, it is unfortunately unclear whether Dharmapālabhadra copied out this source integrally or intact (or, whatever version of it he had before him, which need not necessarily have been identical with Q_1 intact). The abrupt and inconclusive nature of the *incipit* of his first citation (Laufer, p. 540, line 2), properly struck Laufer's attentive eye, and he wrote as a consequence, "Dieser Vers scheint eine spätere Interpolation zu sein, da sein Inhalt, wenig sinnreich an sich, schon ohne jeden Grund vorwegnimmt, was erst im folgenden seine richtige Stellung und Erklärung findet; er scheint nach dem Muster von V. 8 gemodelt zu sein" (p. 540, note 1). Unfortunately, Laufer did not go on to share with us the text of this "V. 8", so until the text-critical edition of *Z* of which he wrote in 1898 (p. 523) is finally available, not much more can be said about all this. Nevertheless, while for the present remaining frustratingly beyond our immediate grasp, the point that Laufer made in 1898 is still valid: *Z*'s citation of *R* (which we are now assuming to have been instead a citation of Q_1) does truly begin abruptly and strangely—and both this abruptness and strangeness have now survived to be reflected in the unsatisfactory *incipit* of our received text of *R*, leading to the question of whether perhaps much of our received text of *R* was in fact only copied out of *Z* between the time of Dharmapālabhadra and the codification of the two grammatical treatises? Moreover, *Z* has a major variant, and also a more difficult reading (*ma niṅ mtshan med* . . .) in its citation of *R* 1.12. for the easier, and hence probably also the later, reading of our received text (*'a ni mtshan med* . . .), which is possibly a further specific indicator of the relative antiquity of the now-lost Q_1 from which the *Z* author extracted—if he did not cite in their entirety—his citations of the Ur-*R*.

R 2, 3 and *R* 7, 8 are likely to have been the work of R, the redactor or harmonizing editor, fashioned in the course of the work of compiling the received text of *R*. *R* 2, 3 are necessary, and hence were fashioned by R, in order to gloss the *Śiva-sūtra* of *R* 1 in such a manner that it would harmonize with what now follows; *R* 7, 8 are mirror-image negative statements to *R* 4, 5, 6 as drawn from Q_1. The hand of R is also relatively simple to detect in *R* 16, 17 (in which however there is also further textual involvement by Q_2, cf. § 4.2 infra). More difficult is the question of the genesis of *R* 18, 19, 20, 21, which may have been part of Q_1, dealing with the suffixes (though if it was, the question of why *Z* ignores it is difficult), or with equal plausibility assigned to the hand of R, who fashioned it to provide a balanced parallel with Q_1 on the prefixes.

4.2 Second, we must reckon with Q_2, a pronouncing manual for the same written language that was the concern of Q_1; materials from Q_2 were, subsequent to the time of Dharmapālabhadra, conflated with Q_1, in the initial stage of the compilation of *R*. Traces of Q_2 are to be identified today in *R* 9, 10, 22, 23, and also (to a less clear degree) in *R* 16, 17 and *R* 28 (cf. the discussion of the phonetic-descriptive passages of *R* at § 2.9 supra). Each of these, the surviving textual remains of Q_2, requires future detailed study; particularly difficult will be disentangling the original phonetic description of each (when that is more fully understood) from the traces of (the necessarily later) hand of R, whose work of editorial harmonization was probably considerably facilitated by his lack of precise understanding of the original phonetic basis underlying these passages.

4.3 The third major source for the received text of *R* with which we must concern ourselves was Q_3, an early linguistic-speculative treatise concerned with a then-new Buddhist theory of language and grammar, originally composed in some language other than Tibetan, and originally also having reference not to WT but to some variety of Indic employed by the Buddhist schools of Central Asia. This linguistic treatise Q_3, which was translated into Tibetan before R foraged among its pages in his search for materials with which further to conflate Q_1 and Q_2, developed a then "theory of grammar . . . founded on two sources, the Pāṇinian vyākaraṇa and the speculations on language as they are to be found in the buddhistic texts on dogmatics (e.g. Abhidharmakośa by Vasubandhu" (Simonsson 1983b: 287; more in Simonsson 1983a passim); what we can recover of Q_3 is found in *R* IV, V = 24—36, a reworking, resp. conflation of excerpts from Q_3 by R. The focus of this stratum is *R* 32, about which center the speculations of Simonsson concerning the growth of an early Buddhist theory of language and grammar as reflected in *R* (Simonsson 1982a: 532 ff.; 1982b: 286 ff.). His suggestions await detailed verification, but in the meantime, it is impossible to deny that, even in their present form, they represent a major break-through in our study of the entire Tibetan grammatical tradition.

Most unclear—and unfortunately also most important—is whether or not Q_3 also included passages on metalinguistic markers and membership of phonemes in metalinguistic marker subsets (cf. § 5 infra); there is also the further possibility, awaiting separate exploration, that in materials dealing with these topics—whose importance is reflected in the received, albeit late, title of *R* — one is able to trace a fourth original textual source, something along the lines of a tantristic treatise on metalinguistic markers and their groupings. But for the present, and infra, we ignore the possibility of this Q_4.

In the main, the entire question of the extent and nature of Buddhist innovations within the Indic grammatical tradition remains a difficult one. Simonsson finds significant differences between "the *pada* of the Buddhist

philosophical speculation" and "the verb-centeed *vākya* . . . of the Pāṇinian tradition" (1982a: 537). But at least the *Kaumāralāta*, a representative text-example of the Buddhist-Sanskrit tools daily laid under contribution by the Buddhists of Central Asia, has *pada* defined precisely in the sense of *Pāṇ.* I, 4, 14 (Lüders 1930: 686, 708). And it is difficult to overlook the magisterial study of the putative innovations in the grammar of Candragomin by Renou (1936), who found virtually nothing along these lines except in matters of fairly inconsequential detail. If, as Simonsson suggests, *R* 32 does incorporate a Buddhist world-view-centered approach to language and grammar, then we are more likely to have here (and by implication also in III and IV that surround this specific passage) evidence for a Tibetan, rather than merely for a Buddhist, adaptation of Indic original materials.

Finally, it is to be noted, even at the risk of repetition, that with IV, V = *R* 24—36, *R* 28 has preserved internal evidence for editorial conflation and harmonization by R on two different levels — its description and listing of the case-forms is clearly more Indic than it is Tibetan, while its concern for pronunciation of the noun when followed by case-forms, resp. enclitics, shows R's familiarity, at the same time, with Q_2.

4.4 The tentative findings of § 3 and § 4 supra may conveniently be summarized in the following Schema, displaying the major subordinate segments (I ~ V, § 3) together with the principal textual sources (Q_1, Q_2, Q_3) and the traces of the work of R (§ 4):

Schema

Major Subordinate Segments	Traditional *R* śloka Numbers	Textual Sources
I	1	Q_1
	2, 3	R glossing Q_1
II	4, 5, 6	Q_2
	7, 8	R glossing Q_2
	9, 10	Q_3
	11, 12, 13, 14, 15	Q_1
	16, 17	R harmonizing his text as now conflated
III	18, 19, 20, 21	? R ?; ? Q_1 ?
	22, 23	Q_2
IV	24, 25, 26, 27 . . .	Q_3 (as earlier conflated with Q_4?)
	. . . 28 . . .	O_2, with partial conflation from Q_3
	. . . 29, 30, 31	Q_3
V	32—36	Q_3

5. Finally, we are in a position to consider the questions posed by the two titles that our text bears today, one in WT, the other in Buddhist Sanskrit. Of these Bacot writes, "Le titre sanscrit et tibétain . . . sont de Situ" (p. 51, note 1), apparently recording the view of Bkaḥ-čhen don-grub, the *dge-šes*[3] with whom he had originally read *R*. As it stands, Bacot's note is somewhat ambiguous, and even a little tantalizing: did Bacot's mentor mean to allege that the two titles of this text (and there are two at issue, *pace* Bacot's "Le titre . . .") were composed by the author of the Situ commentary; or did he mean to say that the sub-commentary that he was reading with Bacot had taken these two titles over intact from the Situ commentary? If the second, then the fact was in and of itself hardly remarkable; Bacot already knew very well that the text he was translating had taken over much, much more from the same source (cf. Bacot, p. 75, note 2, " . . . une grande partie du commentaire a été empruntée littéralement au texte de Situ"), so that one suspects that under the circumstances he would hardly have bothered to write the note earlier cited from his p. 51. This leaves only the second possibility; but if this is what Bacot's teacher meant, he was clearly wrong, because the Tibetan title *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa* at least demonstrably predates the Situ commentary.

The title *R* as such is significantly absent from the critical passage in Bu-ston's *Čhos-ḥbyuṅ* in which we find preserved the earliest form of the tradition concerning Thom-mi Sambhoṭa and his grammatical treatises (*SGTT* 2b, JAOS 83, 1963, 486, with documentation in note 9); but for all that, the title was known to Bu-ston, who even while avoiding it in his canonical account of Thon-mi, does register it elsewhere (ed. L. Chandra, Coll. Works of Bu-ston, Part 24, Ya, New Delhi 1971, no. 1048, lines 3—4; but C. Vogel 1981 note 36 exaggerates when he writes that in this passage Bu-ston knows both *S* and *R* "by title and content", since he lists only the titles, and says nothing about the content of either). Of equal significance is the fact that the Tibetan title is known from a commentary on *R* by Dharmapālabhadra, *Vyākaraṇaḥi rtags kyi ḥjug pa rnam par gsal baḥi legs bšad*, Tōhoku Extracanonical catalogue no. 7072 (with details in Inaba, rev. ed. 1966, 38); it is also encountered, e.g., in the commentary translated and studied by J. Schubert, Tibetische Nationalgrammatik . . . , 1937, pp. 29, 34 and passim. So there can be no doubt that the Tibetan title of *R* at least is not the creation of the Mahapaṇḍita of Situ.

Even the translators who have undertaken to render both *S* and *R* — and generally in company with one or more commentaries — have tended to avoid specific translations of the collocation *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa*. Bacot, p. 2, once rendered it simply "l'orthographie" but otherwise somewhat more completely, p. 51, as "addition de flexions". J. Schubert has "das Setzen (oder besser Anwenden) der Geschlechter" (MSOS 31, 1928, 9), but later, "Das

[3] Sic, throughout Bacot 1928, for *dge-bšes*.

Anwenden des Rtags, d. h. die Artikulation der Laute gemäß ihrer Stellung (bzw. Funktion) im Komplex der Silbe (bzw. des Wortes)" (MSOS, 32, 1929, 37). In Japanese scholarship, *R* has always traditionally been rendered with Sino-Japanese *seinyūhō* 性入法, var. *seinyūmon* 門, with 性 *sei* 'sex' for *rtags*, and 入 *nyū* 'enter' for *ḥjug-pa*, providing an exactly literal but totally meaningless calque.

The principal problem with the Tibetan title of *R* — and the principal reason for delaying its consideration to the latter portion of the present contribution — has to do with the curious anomaly that the grammatical term *rtags* = *liṅga* 'mark, characteristic' is itself never once employed in this same text that presumably is entirely devoted to its description, statement, and analysis. The later commentators, always eager to engage in their favorite occupation of terminological conflation, are quick to interlard their remarks with the term *rtags*; but this cannot disguise — nor should it lead us to overlook — the fact that *rtags* is itself unknown, and unexploited, by the ślokas of *R* itself. The most attractive explanation for this rather striking anomaly is the hypothesis that the Tibetan title of *R* represents a later accretion, postdating the final compilation of the received text at the hands of R, but added to it sometime before the time of Bu-ston and of course also of Dharmapālabhadra; as such, the accretion is one that accurately enough epitomizes the text's content; but it is highly unlikely to be either from the same period or from the same hand(s) as the text itself.

The same must surely be concluded about the Sanskrit equivalent of *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa* as *Liṅgāvatāra*, found today e.g. in the Situ commentary (ed. S. C. Das, 1915, p. 37, 1. 3), and Blo-bzaṅ tshul-khrims, ed. cit., p. 119, 1. 4 sqq.). This Indic title for *R* appears unlikely to be coeval with our received text; indeed, one wonders if it is earlier than the Situ commentary; but nevertheless it tells us important things about how at least the later Tibetan scholiasts have understood the sense of the Tibetan title of *R*, and by implication also much about how they have understood the sense, and evaluated the importance of, this text.

For *rtags* = *liṅga* as a grammarians' term there are few outstanding problems; the two are to be understood as designating the metalinguistic markers of the Indic grammatical tradition (Cardona 1969. 10b with note 20). H. A. Jäschke, Dict., 212b was exactly on the mark when he defined *rtags* in his sense 6 as "any mark for denoting grammatical distinctions, such as terminations etc.", and the "ni f[allor]" that he cautiously appended to this definition was hardly necessary. For *ḥjug-pa* = *avatāra* the question is slightly more involved. Jäschke, loc. cit., continued with the same definition to render *rtags ḥjug-pa* "using such marks, making grammatical distinctions", adding that this "seems to imply about the same thing as our etymology, the etymological part of grammar;" but he apparently did not recognize the ex-

pression as the title of this, or of any, text. S. C. Das, Dict., 535a, noted *rtags kyi ḥjug pa* together with its equivalent as *Liṅgāvatāra* as "a grammatical treatise . . . by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa", and goes on to copy Jäschke's definitions as cited above; but earlier in this same entry, Das ran into difficulties by listing *rtags ḥjug* "the description of the distinction of the sexes", and by further involving the *rtags kyi ḥjug pa* in this misunderstanding by claiming that it is "a grammatical treatise on the same . . .". With this, Das begins a long and troubled history of misunderstandings both of the title and of the content of *R*, all growing out of the essential miscomprehension that *rtags*, *liṅga*, basically mean 'sex', 'gender', or even 'sexual organ'; for both, the basic sense is 'mark, characteristic', with sexual gender, and the sexual organs that determining it, being only secondary developments from this meaning. But in the case of *R*, the temptation into which Das fell (despite the example of Jäschke's entirely correct definitions, which he had before him, indeed which he copied out separately) is a particularly powerful one, since *R* employs the words *pho* 'male', *mo* 'female', etc., as its metalinguistic markers (*rtags*); so that, beginning with Das, but afterwards generally in Japan and the West, the correct metalinguistic technical-term interpretation of *rtags* in the title of *R* has almost universally been overlooked, when not actually confused with its all-but-irrelevant secondary sense of gender.

Whoever devised this Indic translation-equivalent for the title of *R* was, we may now understand, employing *ḥjug-pa* along two related, but for all that different, semantic axes simultaneously. One was the metalinguistic technical-term sense of *ḥjug-pa* as 'appear, occur (of specifically designated phonemes)', notably as a verb that describes or teaches specific morphological processes of the item-and-arrangement type throughout *S* (*LDT* § 3.1.1, with note 48). But the other, and in the case of the Indic title for *R*, in a sense the more important of the two, took *ḥjug-pa* = *avatāra* as 'intellectual penetration, comprehension' (F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Dict., 71a, s.v. *avatāra*, mg. 2); and this is the juxtaposition of terms that throws the greatest amount of light on the way in which the Tibetan title of *R* has been understood, at least in the latter Tibetan scholastic tradition.

One minor issue attends the reading of this Indic title, but it is easily disposed of. Both the Sde dge (Tōhoku Univ. Cat., 1934, No. 4349) and the Peking (Ōtani reprint, 1957, vol. 144, no. 5835) prints of the canon have a longer form, *Liṅgāvataraṇa*, which presumably stands for *Liṅgāvatāraṇa*. This reading is by no means out of the question, since Buddhist Skt. has both *avatāra* and *avatāraṇa* in virtually the same sense; Edgerton (BHS Dict., 71b) registers the second as 'the causing to penetrate (intellectually), bringing to comprehension, usually in comp., preceded by the thing taught', so that this too would fit excellently both into the language and sense of the title. But in view of the fact that the major late commentators, e.g., the Mahapaṇḍita

of Situ and Blo-bzaṅ tshul-khrims, know only the shorter form, with *avatāra*, it seems quite suitable to dismiss the longer variants in *-tāraṇa* as fairly obvious instances of dittography, growing out of the collocation of the word *vyākaraṇa* in prior position in most versions of the Indic title.

In other words, whoever added the title *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa* to this text, after it had finally taken its received form as a text, as well as whoever rendered this Tibetan title into Indic — and the two might well have been the same person—sought to designate the text as a treatise that facilitates the intellectual comprehension (*ḥjug pa* = *avatāra*) of the specific metalinguistic markers (*rtags* = *liṅga*) with which this text is concerned; and these markers are of course the metalinguistic categories *pho*, *ma niṅ* and *mo* that are manipulated, and subdivided, in various ways in various portions of the text.

In support of such a reading of the two titles of *R*, a variety of evidence may be cited, including, as it happens, two sources that span virtually the entire chronological range of the Tibetan schools devoted to the grammatical tradition.

Blo-bzaṅ tshul-khrims (1845—1915) clarifies his understanding of these titles for us in a remarkably unambiguous passage: . . . *pho mo ma niṅ gi rtags kyi khyad par las rjod byed sgra daṅ brjod byaḥi don la ḥjug paḥi rim pa mi ḥdra baḥi tshul gsal bar byed paḥi gžuṅ žes bya ba nid do* / "[the titles] only mean that [*R*] is a text that explicates the various methods for the ordered comprehension of the linguistic forms (*sgra*) constituted by phonemes and of their semantic content (*don*) as utterances, on the basis of set-differentiation among the metalinguistic markers *pho*, *mo*, and *ma niṅ*".

But even four centuries earlier than this, the same concept of *avatāra* = *ḥjug pa* is plainly evident in the titles that Dharmapālabhadra assigned to his commentaries on the two treatises attributed to Sambhoṭa. His commentary on *S* (Tōhoku Extracanonical Catalogue 7071, Inaba revised ed. 1966, p. 38) is entitled, *Slob dpon 'a nus mjod paḥi Bod kyi skad kyi gsuṅ rab la ḥjug tshul sum cu paḥi rnam ḥgrel*, i.e. it describes itself as a commentary on *S*, which treatise is in turn designated as constituting a method for penetrating into, i.e. for the intellectual comprehension, *avatāra*, of the canonical scriptures of the Tibetan language compiled by Master 'A-nu; at the same time, his commentary on *R* (Tōhoku Extracanonical 7072, Inaba, loc. cit.) calls itself *Vyākaraṇaḥi rtags kyi ḥjug pa rnam par gsal baḥi legs bšad*, i.e. a commentary that explicates *R*, but with *rtags kyi ḥjug pa* modified by *vyākaraṇa*, thus unambiguously indicating that *rtags* here has its sense as in the grammarians' tradition, i.e. that it means *liṅga* 'grammatical marker, metalanguage', as in the *vyākaraṇa* generally.

But independently of this explicit evidence of the Tibetan sources, the bad seed sown by S. C. Das when he defined *rtags ḥjug* as 'the description of the distinction of the sexes' has unfortunately sprouted, grown, and flourished,

to becloud the understanding not only of the two titles of *R*, but also of its content, both in the West and in Japan as well. One need look no further than S. N. Wolfenden's ill-advised attempt to understand the metalanguage of *R* literally "as purely relative designations for the softness and hardness of letters", taking, e.g. *pho* 'male' as 'harsh' and *mo* 'female' as 'soft', etc. (Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology, 1929, § 9, pp. 13—15). Not only did such theories impose upon *R* much that was never there; they also badly obscured the function of the text's metalanguage, particularly its essential role as a device to facilitate descriptive, and particularly morphophonemic, statements. J. Schubert's paraphrase of the sense of the Tibetan title of *R*, cited supra, probably comes closest in the Western literature to a useful approximation of the original; but even Schubert, in rendering *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa* as "das Setzen . . . der Geschlechter", gives evidence of the enduring damage done by Das's inaccurate and misleading translation of the same.

There have, of course, been exceptions. R. Lepsius, over a century ago, not only correctly understood the metalinguistic-terminological implications of *R*, but after recapitulating the major set-arrangements of the text, then went on to make the startling proposal that, by applying to *R*'s statements what we today would call the principal of complementary distribution, it would be theoretically possible to reduce the five WT prefixes to a total of only two phonologically contrasting entities: "Während es also die Grammatiker mit 5 praefigirten Partikeln zu thun zu haben glaubten, giebt es deren im Tibetischen nur z w e i" (1860 : 483). And in 1933 F. K. Li again took up this same approach, in his well-known phonological-structural analysis of the occurrences of the WT prefixes. But these are exceptions, and as such only go to prove the rule that, by and large, contemporary scholarship on *R* has, on this point at least, mostly lagged behind the Tibetan understanding of the text, and as a consequence has failed to represent the level of linguistic sophistication that *R*, for all its problems, actually embodies. It must also be recalled that part of the problem lies with *R* itself, particularly with its use of unaltered lexical units of the language it is describing as metalinguistic markers within its description. Even though early Western students of the Indic grammars were neither at home in nor pleased with such statements as "*i*k replacing *yaṇ*" and the like, they were at least never tempted to translate, and understand, such terminology literally. The Pāṇinian tradition governing the shapes of metalinguistic markers effectively ruled out such blunders; unfortunately, the Tibetan one did not.

At any rate, and as we already have frequent occasion to remark in the course of our consideration of *S* (e.g. *LDT* § 3.3), the investigation of both these early Tibetan grammatical treatises in more than one way recapitulates the history of Pāṇinian studies. The more we learn of the original intent and expression of these texts, and the more carefully we learn to distinguish

between what the texts themselves say and what the frequently ill-informed views of certain of the later commentators have forced upon the texts, the more clearly we begin to comprehend, and admire, the high level of linguistic sophistication of the originals — a sophistication with which Western scholarship in Tibetan linguistics a generation ago, much like Pāṇinian scholarship in the days of Whitney, was but ill equipped to cope.

Abbreviations

LDT	= Miller 1984a
SGTT	= Miller 1976
TSR	= Miller 1984b
Z	= *Zamatog*, apud Laufer 1898
R	= *Rtags kyi ḥjug pa*
S	= *Sum cu pa*
R	= Redactor (§ 4)
$Q_{1 \ldots 3}$	= Sources underlying *R* (§§ 4.1, 4.2, 4.3)

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SHA BA SHA KHYI 'CHAM — A BUTHANESE *'CHAM* ON THE CONVERSION OF THE HUNTER MGON PO RDO RJE BY MI LA RAS PA

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In the first part of this paper, I shall briefly evoke Mi la ras pa's association with Bhutan, then sketch the historical background of this *'cham* and mention some written sources. The second part, which was originally illustrated with a series of slides, is to deal with the circumstances and the description of its performance followed by a short conclusion.

In Bhutan, the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud school has been largely predominant since the foundation of the theocracy in the first part of the XVIIth Century by *Zhabs drung* Ngag dbang rNam rgyal. It is therfore not surprising to note the extreme amount of popularity surrounding the great saint Mi la ras pa (1040—1123), the second Tibetan Guru in the bKa' brgyud tradition.

Mi la ras pa is said to have meditated for three months in the sacred shrine of sTag tshang overlooking Paro Valley (Western Bhutan) and to have composed there one of the six songs of the *rDo rje mgur drug* compiled by lHa btsun Rin chen rNam rgyal, the chief disciple of gTsang smyon Heruka.[1] Besides his numerous representations in Bhutanese images and paintings, Mi la manifests himself in a *'cham* called *sha ba sha khyi — 'cham* of the deer and the hounds. This *'cham* is regularly performed during the annual festivals held in honour of Padmasambhava and called *Tshes bcu* or "Tenth Day", each of the Twelve Deeds of his life being supposed, as in the case of the Buddha Shâkyamuni's life, to have occured on the tenth day of a month. Consequently, those festivals always take place around the tenth day of a month determined by the respective *rdzong*, monasteries or temples.

According to a personal information due to Mynak Tulku, Director of Bhutan's National Museum, it is locally believed that the *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* was introduced in Paro by a son of *Pha jo* 'Brug sgom Zhig po (1208—1276). *Pha jo* was a disciple of Sangs rgyas dBon ras Darma Seng ge, second in the line of the prince-abbots of Ra lung and founder of the Bar 'brug or "mid-

[1] See Aris 1979: 166—7 and Lauf 1972: 84. According to Aris, lHa btsun Rin chen rNam rgyal based his compilation on the same material as his teacher, the well-known author of the biography and compiler of the songs of Mi la ras pa.

dle'' branch of the 'Brug pa established by gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rDo rje (1161—1211). *Pha jo* is credited by Padma dKar po to have "subjugated the Southern Region of Four Approaches",[2] that is to say the Western part of present-day Bhutan.

Mynak Tulku does not know which of *Pha jo*'s four surviving sons is thought to be the initiator of our *'cham* in Paro. What he definitely confirms is that to this day the dancers have to perform some ceremony before acting in the *'cham* and that this ceremony takes place in a house related with the son of a certain Drung Drung (alias rGyal mchog), the founder of Hûṃ ral *rdzong* later converted into the provincial fortress of Paro *rdzong*. Drung Drung's great-grandfather was Dam pa, one of *Pha jo*'s sons, who inherited his father's seat at rTa mgo, in Thimphu Valley, but also founded Nam mkha'i *lha khang* in Paro. We may well assume that Dam pa is the son meant in the local tradition. At least, there seems to be no reason to doubt the alleged association of the *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* performed in Paro with *Pha jo* 'Brug sgom Zhig po's lineage and more precisely with the Hûṃ ral — the most powerful family of the religious nobility in the Valley.[3]

Now whether the introduction of the *'cham* goes back as far as *Pha jo*'s son is indeed another question. That would imply a very early date: a little over a hundred years after Mi la ras pa's passing away (in 1123) and about two centuries before the *rNam thar* and the *mGur 'bum* were compiled by gTsang smyon Heruka (in 1488).[4] For the time being and until further sources have been studied, the attribution of this tradition to *Pha jo*'s son may look as doubtful as that of *Pha jo*'s biography to Dam pa and be part of the same glorifying process elaborated by later generations — as suggested by Aris (1979 : 170) — to the memory of both father and son.

As for the texts so far examined, the first to be mentioned is the *'Brug gzhung 'cham gyi bshad pa*,[5] an official guide to the sacred dances of Bhutan compiled by Dasho Nag'phel[6] which contains a narrative of Mi la ras pa's conversion of the hunter mGon po rDo rje. Fundamentally, it agrees with the much more elaborate version given in the *mGur 'bum* as translated by

[2] Aris 1979: 174.

[3] Aris 1979: 174, 177—8.

[4] Spanien-Macdonald 1978—79 to 1980—81: 249.

[5] Nag'phel 1971: 5—6, 2nd part (for whose copy I am indebted to Michael Aris)

[6] Who also wrote a *'cham yig* entitled *lo ltar 'dus tshogs so sor ser skya gnyis ka'i gar 'cham 'khrab ston bgyis pa rnams kyi 'byung khungs dang le'u rtsa tshig sogs sdeb tshan rang sar dbye ba bzhin gsham gsal du rim par gsal ba kun gsal me long zhes bya ba bzhugs* of which Mireille Helffer kindly let me have a copy of the 46 relevant pages. Circumstances have prevented me from making use of that text — received after the actual Seminar — for the final version of this paper but I intend to do so in a further study.

Garma C. C. Chang.[7] The songs sung in the *'cham* are not reproduced in the *bshad pa* and a few divergencies are noticeable which shall be later pointed out. Lastly, I must quote the translation by F. Pommaret-Imaeda of another Bhutanese text published in the Paro and Thimphu *Tshes bcu* programmes edited by the Department of Tourism. As compared to the *bshad pa*, this text is shorter and differs on certain points.[8]

After that brief survey of the historical background and sources, it is time to turn, in the second part of this paper, to the *'cham* itself as I saw it performed in 1979 at the Thimphu *Tshes bcu* and in 1981 at the Paro *Tshes bcu*. Slight differences between the two performances will be occasionally mentioned.

The stage is, in Thimphu, the main courtyard in the monastic part of bKra shis Chos *rdzong*; in Paro, an open area in front of a dependance of Rin spungs *rdzong*. The audience ranges from the abbot and monks to ministers and villagers often coming from relatively distant valleys. Indeed, to attend a *Tshes bcu* means a blessing and religious edification — also bestowed by some itinerant *ma ni pa* chanting prayers after setting up his *bkra shis sgo mang*, a portable shrine representing Padmasambhava's heavenly abode.[9] But a *Tshes bcu* further implies meeting with frends and relatives, putting on one's best clothes, shopping from traders. In brief, it is a religous holiday full of rejoicing, merry picnic-parties and often enough too much *chang* and "arra".

The *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* forms one of the several dance-dramas said *bod 'cham* normally performed on each day of the festivals after the ritual dances of offering and of destruction of evil.[10] Whereas the ritual dances are accomplished by monks, the *bod 'cham*, or attendants' dances, are executed by lay men belonging, in Bhutan's major festivals, to the Royal troup of dancers. The purpose of the latter dances primarily aims at edifying the audience while adding numerous comical notes which are sometimes quite crude. Such dances are of course very popular and most in favour is probably the story of Mi la ras pa converting the sinful hunter.

Strangely enough, the name of Mi la is not mentioned in the title which is simply *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* or *'cham* of the deer and the hounds. Still, everybody knows that the scenario is drawn from an episode of Mi la's life. The plot is divided into two parts, often distributed on two days: the first one[11], purely comical, is not included in the *bshad pa* or the *mGur 'bum*; the second part, starting with Mi la ras pa's coming, is essentially religious though interspersed with humorous incidents.

[7] Chang 1971: 275—86.
[8] Pommaret-Imaeda (Tashi Wangmo) 1982, 1983.
[9] On *bkra shis sgo nang*, see Montmollin 1991.
[10] Mynak Tulku 1980; Aris 1980: 46.
[11] On this part see Montmollin 1988: 293—900.

The first to enter the stage is the hunter's servant, not quoted in the above mentioned sources. He wears a dark-coloured mask proper to his social status — it may be reminded that the Bhutanese used to raid the Indian plain for captives. Like present-day farmers, he is crowned with leaves for sun-protection. He makes all sorts of jokes with the *a tsa ra* — jesters whose name derives from the sanskrit *âcârya* meaning teacher. The *a tsa ra* are said to personify Indian gurus who centuries ago contributed to the spreading of Buddhism in Tibetan and adjacent areas. Whatever their past-role (Nebesky-Wojkowitz sees in them Hindu and not Buddhist gurus)[12] their Indian origin is clearly expressed by their prominent noses and dark complexion and they normally assume in the *'cham* the part of jokers mimicking even the most sacred gestures.

Then come two "dogs" running and leaping like hounds eager to start chasing after their prey. The dancers acting the dogs wear reddish canine masks in accordance with the description in the Bhutanese *bshad pa* and the *mGur 'bum* and hold in their hands goat's feet to simulate quadrupeds. The one dog in the story is doubled in the *'cham*.

Now enters the hunter mGon po rDo rje with his large white mask expressing his "noble" extraction. He is fitted out with bow and arrow, quiver and sword and wears the archer's thumb-ring. His Bhutanese dress is cut in a beautiful imported brocade. Several comical incidents take place, stressing the servant's crude manners as compared with his master's. We can see, for instance, how, after a most clumsy dancing exhibition by his servant, mGon po rDo rje shows him how to dance in a proper way.

In the meantime, the dogs are getting more and more excited. Food is brought for them to their master. One *a tsa ra*, dressed for the occasion in a black gown, tries to steal some meat. The robber is popularly meant to be a raven — and indeed, raven are known to steal ordinary food or even offerings (*gtor ma*) as reported by Pozdnejev on North-East Tibetan and Mongolian *'cham*.[13] However, Mynak Tulku informs me that the black bird is supposed to be an eagle (he says "kite-eagle") implying that the scene takes place in a wild spot, far away from villages.

Once fed, the dogs leave in quest of their prey. Before following them, the hunter performs a ceremony of offerings in which the former "raven" is acting the priest. A small *gtor ma* is placed on a *da ma ru* and the whole ceremony, together with the usual musical instruments — trumps (*dung chen*), cymbals (*rol mo*) and hand-drum (*rnga*) — seems as a kind of parody of a Buddhist ritual of offerings. It is popularly believed to be a *bon po* ceremony, may be out of some unconscious wish to exalt Mi la ras pa's power of con-

[12] Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976: 83.
[13] Quoted by Filchner 1933: 328—9.

version. In reality, according to Mynak Tulku, who draws his information from the above quoted *'cham yig*, the deities addressed to are four of the five Tathâgata: rDo rje sems dpa' (East), Rin chen 'byung gnas (South), sNang ba mtha' yas (West), Don yod 'grub pa (North).

After the ceremony, mGon po rDo rje and his servant take their leave. This is the end of the first part of the *'cham*, the second part being usually played on another day of the *Tshes bcu*.

The second part of the dance-drama begins with Mi la ras pa's entering the stage. As on Bhutanese paintings, he is clad in white cotton by virtue of the epithet *ras pa* attached to his name and that of some of his followers. Such a light garment was admittedly worn by ascetics having mastered the *gtum mo* — heat produced by a yogic process first taught by Nâ ro pâ to Mar pa, the founder of the bKa' brgyud order. The Saint is normally pictured with his right hand near his ear, in the traditional attitude — common to the bards — expressing religious and poetic inspiration and symbolizing oral transmission.[14] (To-day's *ma ni pa* make the same gesture when chanting their prayers.) Further details are relevant: the red meditation belt of which it is said in the *Blue Annals* (1976 : 433) that "the Venerable One did not part with for forty years, till his death"; the white conical hat, called *sgrub zhva*, usually worn by Ras chung pa, Mi la's main disciple in the oral line of transmission. Of that particular hat, Tucci says[15] that it is exclusively reserved to the *sgrub pa* when interpreting the doctrine or preaching.

To the difference of Thimphu, in Paro Mi la does not wear the meditation belt and his hat is distinct from the *sgrub zhva* by its material — a rich flowery brocade — and its long lappets. The "Paro version" of the Saint's dress may be related to the ancestral tradition referred to in my introduction. The walking-staff, though not adorned with the ornaments described in the *mGur 'bum* (Chang 1977 : 192—3), symbolizes the union of Wisdom and Compassion and the crossing of the ocean of Saṃsâra (ibid. 217). As for his *da ma ru* or sand-glass shaped drum of the *mchod rnga* type, frequently carried by itinerant priests, it is often used to accompany the reciting of magic spells.[16]

Mi la ras pa is first joined by a "stag" wearing in Paro a dark blue mask, in Thimphu a dark brown mask with white antlers. If the mGur 'bum speaks of a black many-spotted deer, the *bshad pa* says: *sha ba dmar mo* or red hind. The deer is being chased after by two hounds personifying the "Redlightning Lady" of the *mGur 'bum* and the *sha khyi dmar po* of the *bshad pa*. So, in one case we have a stag and a bitch, in the other a hind and a male dog !

[14] Stein 1981: 239.
[15] Tucci and Heissig 1973: 166—7.
[16] Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 399.

Using alternatively his *da ma ru* and his songs, Mi la achieves the conversion of the deer and the hounds. The conversion is symbolized by a jump over the hunter's rope. The deer is advised to flee to the place of Bodhi instead of trying to escape from something in the outer world; the dogs to catch the Self-mind within instead of catching prey outside. We read in the *bshad pa* that the illusory formations of fear inhabiting the deer were thus dissipated and the defilements poisoning the dog's mind appeased to the extent that the animals, peacefully lying on each side of the Saint, "looked together like mother and son". The same image in the *mGur 'bum* as translated by Chang applies to "the *rJe btsun* looking like a mother with her sons".

The crowd's interest is nearing a climax — and accordingly people are encroaching more and more on the dancing area — with the arrival of mGon po rDo rje and his servant. The servant's presence — not mentioned, as I said, in the texts consulted — helps to impress a certain dynamic in the play: he is the one to carry the arrow supposedly shot by the hunter. Indeed, at the sight of his hounds peacefully lying next to their prey, the latter becomes full of anger and thinking that some magical spell had been cast on them, he cries to Mi la, according to the *bshad pa*: "You may well protect the hind and the hound; let us see whether you will protect yourself!" and shoots a poisonous arrow. The arrow is returned without even touching the *rJe btsun* (in the *bshad pa* it breaks into pieces as well as the bow and its string). Deeply shaken by three fruitless attempts, the hunter begins to wonder who that uncommon yogi may be.

"Listen to my song, says Mi la, you will have time for shooting arrows!" And again, introduced by the sound of the *da ma ru*, his song chanted in a falsetto voice brings about contrition and confession. Here also a transmutation is operated while mGon po rDo rje is requested to kill the Five Poisons within himself instead of killing game. In the *'cham*, the last songs of the *mGur 'bum* are shortened so as not to make the performance unduly lengthy. The hunter in succession offers his deer, his hounds, his bow and arrows and his rope, and prays to be led on the Path to Liberation.

Having received the teaching of the Dharma and the complete initiation, mGon po rDo rje is credited in the *bshad pa* to have obtained "in one single life and one single body the Perfection of Buddha". The *Blue Annals* (1976 : 435) mention him under his adopted name of Khyi ra ras pa of sNi shang as one of the "Eight Brothers clad in cotton" (*Ras pa mched brgyad*). In the next song of the *mGur 'bum* (Chang 1977 : 287), he is attributed the spreading of Mi la's fame in Nepal: meeting some huntsmen who had just witnessed several miracles achieved by a yogi, he tells them: "That was my Guru, the supreme Yogi of Tibet. These miracles have proved him to be an accomplished being; even animals understand his preaching!" As a result, the king of Nepal honoured the *rJe btsun* (Bacot 1971 : 299).

The last part of the Bhutanese *bshad pa* insists on the necessity to show mGon po rDo rje's life in the form of a *gar 'cham* for the edification of mundane beings: if such a sinful butcher could obtain Liberation in one single life, should they not also accomplish the excellent Dharma under the guidance of a *bla ma*? "As the Lord and all his retinue of noble possessors of the Ten Regions of fully accomplished Buddha and Bodhisattva act for the mere purpose of helping them, the greatest blessings and benefits are obtained".

To stay within the prescribed limits, I shall briefly conclude. The *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* observed in Thimphu and Paro differs in many points from the only documented Tibetan versions I have found so far: the descriptions given by Baradijn for bLa brang and by Vladimircov for Tibet and Mongolia, reported by Filchner and others.[17] A nearer version of the Bhutanese *'cham*, though considerably shorter and poorer, is mentioned in a publication by Siiger Halfdan on dancing pilgrims from Ri bo che met in Kalimpong; but here the scenario is not applied to a *'cham* but to a performance of the *A lce lHa mo* genre.[18]

Without entering into a detailed analysis of the above quoted Tibetan *'cham*, I should like to point out their major characteristic as compared with the Bhutanese one. In bLa brang, the true hero is not Mi la ras pa but mGon po rDo rje, or more precisely, the two mGon po rDo rje "brothers" who assume the rôle of satirists. They indeed openly criticize the conduct of high-ranking monks and officers after paying homage to the *rJe btsun*. The story of their "conversion" seems to be more or less left to the spectators' imagination.

We are thus confronted, for the time being, with two different trends: the Tibetan dance-drama, though called Mi la ras pa's *'cham*, appears to reduce the episode of the conversion to a mere pretext for social criticism whereas in the Bhutanese *sha ba sha khyi 'cham*, the first and purely comical part is but an introduction to the essentially religious second part. Mi la ras pa's presence obviously looks very real to those who press forward in order to touch him and obtain his blessing!

Before ending this paper, I should like to thank for providing me with precious informations and advice or with most useful documents several friends and colleagues, namely: Mynak Tulku, Michael Aris, Mireille Helffer, Anne-Marie Blondeau, Dan Martin, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Amy Heller. Their kind assitance has proved to be helpful in various regards.

The present contribution should be considered as an initial stage in the study of a field of notable interest owing to the exceptionally vivid tradition represented by the Bhutanese *'cham* in general and the *sha ba sha khyi 'cham* in particular.

[17] Filchner 1933: 332—7, 505—6; Bleisteiner 1950: 277—8; Lucas 1962: 101—2.
[18] Halfdan 1951.

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ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KŐRÖS AND CONTEMPORARY LADAKH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ZANSKAR

NAWANG TSERING SHAKSPO (Leh)

Alexander Csoma de Kőrös was born in Transylvania in the year 1784. After twenty years of study at the college of Nagyenyed and then at Göttingen University, having command over thirteen languages, he set out in search of the ancient homeland of the Hungarians, Yugurs[1] on November 28, 1819. Finally, after travelling all the way from Europe to Asia, Csoma arrived at the ancient trade centre, Leh, the chief town of Ladakh on June 9, 1822, on his way to Yarkend. But here when he saw no hope of proceeding any further, he decided to go back to Srinagar and find a new route to his destination. Accordingly after spending a couple of days in Leh, Csoma returned to Srinagar on the same old road. Travelling for several days from Leh towards Srinagar, on July 16, 1822 at the village called Drass, he met William Moorcroft, a high official of the British Raj, who was on his way to Leh. When Moorcroft met Csoma, it seems he discussed with him the purpose of his visit and so on. After listening to Csoma, it appears that Moorcroft advised him to study the literature of Tibet, which according to him could help him to attain his objective. (Moorcroft also seems to have agreed to supply him with certain primary materials relating to the Tibetan alphabet which, at the time, was very rare for an European to find in his language. Besides, Moorcroft proposed to help Csoma in finding a suitable teacher and to give him a letter of introduction so that Csoma would not have to waste time in Leh.)

At that time it appears that Csoma's knowledge of Tibetan language was almost nothing. But nonetheless Csoma accepted Moorcroft's offer. So in the end after obtaining the necessary letters of introduction, Csoma left for Srinagar and Moorcroft to Leh. The last meeting of Csoma with William

[1] There are two places named Yugur. One is in the Sinkiang region of China. In the past in Ladakh we used to get felt mattresses made in Yugur. Yugur is also the ancient name of the Tibetan province of Guge in Western Tibet. Sengey Namgial of Ladakh ruled Guge in the 16th century and he has been described as Sengey Namgial, the ruler of Yugur in the autobiography of the 5th Dalai Lama the great.

For this information I am greatly indebted to Shri Tashi Rabgias.

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Moorcroft took place in Srinagar on March 2, 1823. Csoma therefore left for Ladakh and arrived at Leh on June 1, 1823, along with the introductory note of Moorcroft in the name of Khalon Tsewang Tondup, the Prime Minister of Ladakh. When Csoma arrived for the second time in Leh, the Khalon and others received him well, gave him a passport, and about eight pounds of tea. Besides, in deference to the wishes of William Moorcroft, they wrote a letter of recommandation for Csoma to Lama Sangey Phuntsog of Zangla.

Now travelling from Leh along the central road popularily called, 'Junglam', Csoma reached his destination, Zangla on June 26, 1823 to learn the language and literature of Tibet. To get to Zangla, a small kingdom situated southwest of Leh, took nine days. In Zangla he met the teacher proposed by Mr. Moorcroft and the Khalon Tsewang Tondup and received royal patronage, allowing him to occupy a room in the palace. In this way his real task began. At the outset, Csoma thought that in about a year he would be able to collect enough material for a vocabulary to prepare a dictionary of the language of the people of Tibet and Ladakh, which in fact was literally the same. But when he started learning it in depth, Csoma found that the language and literature of the people of this part of the world was much richer then he had originally thought. He was thus left with no alternative, except to make an indepth study of the immense and rich literature forgetting his other plans.

Regarding Csoma's teacher Lama Sangey Phuntsog, very little documentary information is available. But from what we understand through interviews as well as reliable sources, he was an *amchi*, a local medical doctor by profession, enjoying a good reputation among the people of Zanskar and the upper class families (Skutaks) of Leh. Besides, he was a scholar having been to Tibet, and having had a chance to study the canons and works of other Tibetan scholars on various branches of knowledge. Besides, he himself was a well known writer of the time, having a wood carving script. It is said that some of his writings are still preserved in certain places in Zanskar. Regarding his family background Kaga Sonam Wangchook Lonpo of Karsha has said that Lama Sangey had houses and property at Tangkar, Steta and at Karsha. About his race, it is said that he was a decendent of an upper class family, popularily called Skutak in Ladakh. These facts are also revealed through his writings, currently preserved at Karsha and Steta. It is also said that Lama Sangey Phuntsog was an astrologer, possessing considerable literature on the subject. About his horoscope chart or Thanka which he used in his life-time it is thought that it came into the hands of an incarnation of the late Lama Staktsang Raspa of Hemis and later it passed into the hands of a Ladakhi astrologer and is said to have been preserved in Leh by an astrologer. It is also said that when Lama Sangey was staying at a place called Tangkar, belonging to Zongkhul Gonpa, he came in contact with Lama Kunga Chosleg, then the abbot of Zongkhul Gonpa, and became his disciple and the supporter

of the Gonpa. Around this time, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös visited Lama Kunga Chosleg, by the name of Sikander Beg.

On the other hand, it is said that Csoma's preference of Zangla was also due to the fact that the Zangla palace had had, from a very early period, a glorious history, having given birth to certain scholar Lamas, who not only became famous in Ladakh, but also received distinction in Tibet as well. In this connection, the names of two outstanding brother monks, belonging to the royal house of Zangla, Grupkhangpa dGelegs rGyatso and Drungpa rTagphugpa are worth mentioning. They were born around the 16th century and their biographies are available. However, they spent their whole life in Tibet and their status in the Lineage of the Gelugpa school is quite high. Besides, there are also some interesting stories about the Zangla palace where Csoma lived during his stay in Zangla. It is said that the palace was built on a rock which resembled an eagle, and inside the palace were two to theree holy footprints of worship. Besides, the palace had a large treasure of thankas, statues and books. All these factors made Csoma stay in the Zangla palace for a long time.

Later Csoma visited Zongkhul Gonpa, the seat of great meditation teachers of the past. Here Csoma seems to have spent considerably longer time learning more about the religion under the aegis of Lama Kunga Chosleg, the abbot of the Gonpa. It was the place where Lama Kunga has written a book in reply, to Csoma's questions which appeared under the title "The Questions of European Skandar". In this work the Lama had delt with three subjects: formation of the world, its existence and its ultimate destruction. I have, however, not been able to go through the book as yet. But when I was in Zanskar in the year 1983, I saw a copy of the book in the possession of Kaga Sonam Wangchook Lonpo of Karsha. Unfortunately until very recently the book was unknown to Ladakhi scholars. It was S. S. Gergan, who first mentioned this work in his history book saying that the original copy of the book was missing from the Gonpa, but he has since admitted being in possession of a copy of the book.

It is said that like his predecessors, Lama Kunga Chosleg also had a wife and two sons. Otherwise, in Ladakh an abbot having a family was quite unusual. But about Lama Kunga Chosleg, it is said that he become the abbot of the Gonpa by lineage, starting from his grandfather Ating Dupchen Ngawang Tsering (1717—1794), who was a great meditation guru and a scholar lama.

(About Dupchen Ngawang Tsering it is said that he was a poet of repute and wrote several books. Later his son Lama Jadpa Dorje, who became the abbot of Zongkhul Gonpa after his father, wrote the biography of Dupchen Ngawang Tsering and collected his compositions. Lama Jadpa Dorje too was a scholar besides being a reputed artist. His works survive in many Gonpas of Zanskar and in Stakna Gonpa of Leh. He was also an astrologer and master

of religion, and even today his writings can be found in Zanskar and Leh. After Lama Jadpa Dorje, his son Lama Kunga Chosleg became the abbot of Zongkhul and carried many sorts of renovation works alongwith his father Lama Jadpa Dorje. Regarding Lama Jadpa Dorje and Lama Kunga Chosleg it is said that near Sani they built a Gonpa called, "Gonchung Shila Tse", which is still in existence.)

As both Lama Sangey Phuntsog and Lama Kunga Chosleg were close friends of Csoma, it is probable that Csoma consulted both scholars to gain knowledge on various aspects of religion, medicine, astrology, astronomy and other branches of knowledge. According to Kaga Sodnam Wangchook Karsha Lonpo, while Csoma and Lama Sangey Phuntsog were residing at Steta, they must have discussed topics like medicine and astrology, because as far as medicine was concerned, Lama Sangey Phuntsog appears to have been an authority on the subject. But in the field of religion, no one was more scholarly than Lama Kunga Chosleg, the abbot of Zongkhul Gonpa.

About Lama Kunga Chosleg, it is said that he visited various Buddhist holy places in India and Nepal during a winter. Unfortunately, during the winter of his pilgrimages to various holy places, a smallpox epidemic spread in Zanskar taking a large toll. It is also mentioned that in that epidemic, Kunga Chosleg lost his two sons. When Lama Kunga returned to Zanskar and heard the news he was greathy upset and apprehended a break in their lineage in respect to the succession of the Zongkhul abbotship. So there was no alternative except to pray for their salvation and to build Chortens in the area.

About Lama Kunga Chosleg, it is also said that beside being a scholar lama, he had superb handwriting, especially the writing of U-Chen, the capital letters. Besides, he had a good knowledge of the Chorten art which he developed throughout Ladakh. He is said to have written many texts, and one of his writings preserved in Phe village in Zanskar, says that once in Zanskar many people lost their lives due to famine.

In a later period of his life Lama Kunga Chosleg was on pilgrimage at Karja Phagspa, the present Lahul, and had disciples throughout Ladakh and Karja. Among his disciples the foremost was Lama Norboo of Karja. It is recorded that this Lama did some renovation works at Zongkhul Gonpa.

Thus, not much information is available about Csoma's stay in Zanskar. But it appears to us that he never got tired with that sort of life. However, about his stay at Zangla it has been said "that he lived in an apartment nine feet square, sitting on a sheepskin cloak to protect himself from the freezing cold, reading the Tibetan canon."

After staying around a year in Zangla, Csoma and his teacher Lama Sangey Phuntsog decided to shift their residence from Zangla to a more convenient place, which suited both of them. They felt a change was necessary after working so hard at one place. Later they decided to go to Kulu and Csoma

left Zangla after hearing that the Lama would follow him. Unfortunately, because of some problem with a businessman, the Lama could not leave Zanskar. However, Csoma was optimistic that the Lama Sangey would join him soon. Csoma thought this because of the Lama's family relationship with the chief of Lahul. But the Lama never turned up.

In the absence of the Lama, the real difficulties in completing the research project began. Since he saw no hope of the Lama coming he had to think of alternatives. He visited various Gonpas of the nearby areas in search of a suitable person who could work with him to give the final shape to the collected works. But here all his efforts were in vain and finally he had to reach the conclusion that he must travel back to Zanskar to find his teacher. He then set out for Zanskar carrying all the collected works, alongwith a helper. After travelling for several days from Kulu, finally Csoma arrived in Phugtal in Zanskar via Lahul. After reaching at Phugtal, Csoma decided to stay at Phugtal itself instead of going to Zangla again. Here Csoma had to make a great effort to get the Lama. And, after much effort the Lama finally got back in contact with him. After that they worked very hard to put the materials together in order as well as in adding new materials. In this way after working for more than a year Csoma succeded in giving final shape to his long and demanding task, the Tibetan-English Dictionary, as well as a grammar of the Tibetan language.

The great Hungarian Csoma de Kőrös did good service to the promotion of Tibetan studies both in the Indian Himalayas and in the Western world. Therefore, with the passing of time, as more interest grows in the field of Tibetan Studies, the contributions of Csoma will become increasingly significant.

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DUṅ-REṅ

LUCIANO PETECH (Rome)

The Duṅ-reṅ were an ethnic group who played a certain role in southernmost Tibet from the late 13th to the middle of the 14th century. Very little is known about them, and the only Western author who touched upon this subject is Michael Aris.[1] I think it should now be possible, and indeed advisable, to collect the scanty evidence existing on this rather mysterious people.

The only accounts of any length on the Duṅ-reṅ are found in the *rGya Bod yig-ts'aṅ* (henceforward: *GBYT*) of 1434[2] and in the "Chronicle of Gyantse" of 1479—1481.[3] The former text is more detailed and informative than the latter; it offers, however, serious difficulties and seems to be corrupted in some passages. Besides terms translated or transcribed from the Mongol—Chinese official terminology, it contains several unknown words and vernacular expressions, so that my translations are merely tentative.[4]

Both sources deal with the Duṅ-reṅ in connection with the career of 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ (1316—1370), the founder of the principality or "kingdom" of rGyal-rtse and the grandfather of Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ-'p'ags-pa who built the great *sku-'bum* of rGyal-rtse. Some scattered mentions are found

[1] M. Aris, *Bhutan: the early history of a Himalayan kingdom*, Warminster 1979, 120—123; also "Notes on the history of the Mon corridor", in *Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 10—11.

[2] *rGya Bod yig ts'aṅ mk'as pa dga' byed*, Thimphu edition of 1979. The Chinese edition (Ch'eng-tu 1985) is apparently based on the same manuscript, and thus is of no help in difficult passages. As is well known, the Fifth Dalai-Lama drew heavily upon the *GBYT* in several of his historical and biographical works.

[3] *rGyal rtse c'os rgyal gyi rnam par t'ar pa dad pa'i lo t'og dṅos grub gyi c'ar 'bebs*; manuscript in the Tucci Tibetan Fund of the ISMEO Library, Rome. Translated by G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (henceforward; *TPS*), Rome 1949, 662—670, where, however, the page numbers inserted in the translation do not agree with the ms.

[4] A portion of the relevant passages is summarized briefly in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai-Lama. See G. Tucci's translation in *TPS*, 646.

in other works; the *Myaṅ-cʿuṅ*[5] is handy for the identification of place names.

They appear in history for the first time in 1281, when Sang-ko, then commanding a Mongol expeditionary force in Tibet and later to become the all-powerful finance minister of Qubilai Khan,[6] placed garrisons at lCag-rtse Gri-gu and in Yar-'brog, with the aim of keeping a watchful eye upon the Duṅ-reṅ (*GBYT*, I, 209a). The fact is mentioned also in the autobiography of Pʿag-mo-gru-pa Byaṅ-cʿub-rgyal-mtsʿan, the *Si-tu'i bka'-'cʿems* of 1360/1,[7] p. 323: "The cantonment (*kʿaṅ pa*) of lCag-rtse Gri-gu was built by the order of Se-cʿen rgyal-po (i. e. Qubilai Khan) for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion of the Southern clans" (*lho brgyud gi log gnon pa la brtsigs*). This allows us to locate approximately the Duṅ-reṅ; watching outposts at lCag-rtse on the Gri-gu (Trigu) lake and in the region of the Ya-'brog (Palti) lake imply that at the end of the 13th century they dwelt in Mon-yul and perhaps also in Lho-brag.[8]

After 1281, nothing is heard of them for half-a-century. During this period they not only enjoyed complete independence, but also encroached upon South Tibetan territory. As out text says, "in that period the Sa-skya-pa had imposed their sway upon dBus, gTsaṅ and Kʿams, but they absolutely did not become masters of Lho Mon. The various (*maṅ po*) Duṅ-reṅ, called Śar Duṅ and Lho Duṅ (Eastern and Southern Duṅ-reṅ), oppressed the people of various kinds in the South, as far as 'O-yug Gos-sṅon and Śaṅs sṄon-po-tʿaṅ".[9] (*GBYT*, II, 53a).

The havoc they wrought was unbearable, and in 1337 the Lamas and officials of Sa-skya presented to their chief abbot mKʿas-btsun a petition of the 'Brug Ra-luṅ abbot Kun-dga'-seṅ-ge (1311—1347) begging, on behalf of the Southern clergy, that action be taken to curb the Duṅ-reṅ and their de-

[5] On the *Myaṅ yul stod smad bar gyi ṅo mtsʿar gtam gyi legs bśad mkʿas pa'i 'jug ṅogs*, of unknown date, see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 42—44. A good edition has been printed at Lhasa in 1983, the work being attributed on the title-page to Tāranātha. There is no apparent reason for this; at least it is not included in Tāranātha's *gsuṅ 'bum*. I checked this edition with the two manuscripts extant in the Tucci Tibetan Fund, and found it correct and reliable. My quotations refer to the ms. used by Tucci in *Indo-Tibetica*, with the pages of the Lhasa edition between brackets.

[6] On Sang-ko's Tibetan campaign see L. Petech, "Sang-ko, a Tibetan statesman in Yüan China", in *AOHung.*, 34 (1980), 197—199

[7] Published by T. Tsepal Taikhang in *Lha rigs rLaṅs kyi rnam tʿar*, New Delhi 1974, pp. 212—866. There is a good recent edition (Lhasa 1986) with several interesting new readings.

[8] The geographical problem will be discussed at the end.

[9] On the Gos-sṅon side-valley in 'U-yug (or 'O-yug) see A. Ferrari, *mKʿyen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, 160 n. 618. On the Śaṅs valley see Op. cit., 159 nn. 600—610; but sṄon-po-tʿaṅ cannot be identified.

predations. In the following year the Ra-luṅ abbot betook himself to P'ag-ri in the Chumbi valley and promised redress against the raids of the Duṅ-reṅ.[10]

The situation was indeed serious, as these raids had extended as far as the valleys to the north of the g'Tsaṅ-po. To meet the emergency, "the Lama Dvags-po Raṅ-byuṅ-ba, then on his way as official envoy (*gser yig*) of Mongols and Tibetans [and] as the guardian of the law, issued the following instructions: 'Seven courageous officials (*druṅ skor*) of K'ams and gTsaṅ, headed by K'ams-pa dGe-'dun-rgyal-mts'an, shall go to Ñaṅ-stod (the upper Nyangchu valley) to suppress the Duṅ-reṅ. Whatever troops are necessary, will be supplied by each myriarchy and chiliarchy (*k'ri stoṅ*)'. Then to the other six men (i.e. except dGe-'dun-rgyal-mts'an) a thought [occurred, and they] said: 'We beg you to send a literate man as our attendant'. He (dGe-'dun-rgyal-mts'an?) said: 'This 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ, although still young, gives [sound] advice and counsel and is a knowledgeable man; take him along'. So he went out as their attendant" (*GBYT*, II, 53a—b).

This account is broadly confirmed by our second source: "Roṅ-po *dge bśes* dGe-'dun-rgyal-mts'an requested [the Sa-skya authorities] to give him ['P'ags-pa dpal-bzaṅ] as his attendant in the expedition against the Lho Duṅ. At the age of twenty-three, in the Iron-Dragon year (1340) he went out as a lay attendant to the *dge bśes*" (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 9a).

The campaign of 1340 met an unqualified success. The strategical setting is described as follows: "['P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ] passed on (*byas*)[11] to bŚol Luṅs-bzuṅs, where the central headquarters (*bžugs sa 't'il*) of the seven officials were situated. Above the eastern side of that place there was a site called Na-gžuṅ[12] on the edge (? read *c'a ga* for *p'ya ga*) of the Goṅ pass. As soon as the Duṅ-reṅ settled (or: reached) there, they encamped and waited. The [Sa-skya] men encamped in [a place] between three [sites, i.e.] Sa-dmar Goṅ-k'a to the north of that Na-gžuṅ, P'ra Goṅ-k'a to the south and Dhe-luṅ Goṅ-k'a to the east; thus the name Goṅ-gsum Śar-k'a-ba,[13] by which that site came to be called, derives from that [circumstance]. While the K'ams-pa remained there, the suppression of the Duṅ-reṅ was carried out" (*GBYT*, II, 53b—54a).

[10] *Rwa luṅ bka' brgyud gser p'reṅ*, Thimphu 1982, WA, 18b, 20a.

[11] The text is obscure and the translation is very uncertain. The verb *byas*, usually meaning "to make, to do", in several passages of the *GBYT* has evidently assumed the meaning of "to pass on, to pass through".

[12] This place is otherwise unknown. But the word may be simply an equivalent of *na t'aṅ* or *na k'a*, "pastures".

[13] On the Goṅ-gsum monastery see *Myaṅ c'uṅ*, 173b—174a (112). It is near the Nor-bu K'yuṅ-rtse mountain, on which see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 52.

No other details of the campaign are supplied. Our other source is equally abrupt: "The people called Lho Duń were destroyed (*ts'ar bcad*)" (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 9a).

The pacification and resettlement of the liberated areas took some time. "At the time when he had gone to take the census of the homesteads (read *dud grańs*)[14] as a means for counting the population in mGos-yul sTod-gsum, in 'Bri-'ts'ams Gań-sań dkar-po and in P'ag-sgań ts'o-drug,[15] and to establish the law there, K'ams-pa dGe-'dun-rgyal-mts'an died at Boń-nag mDo-c'en"[16] (*GBYT*, II, 54a).

The deceased leader had been particularly pleased with the work of his young attendant. "In his last will he laid down the following: 'Now, so that there may be no division (read *'byed* for *byed*) and quarrel (*k'a roń*) in your group,[17] since this secretary 'P'ags-pa-dpal is fit to be the chief officer, make him my successor and in this way perform your duty toward the Sa-skya-pa'. Then the group of six officers, headed by Lha-jo-k'rid and Nam-mk'a'-dpal-ldan-śri, assembled and said: 'Since there must be somebody after the K'ams-pa to tame the Duń-reń, if the divination (*mo p'yva*)[18] gives a favourable response, we will recommend him as the successor'. A-mo, the great steward (*gñer c'en*) of the C'u-mig family (? read C'u-mig for C'u-mag) performed the divination ceremony at Śel-mgo in a place where mountain, river and plain meet together. [Operating] upon the years of age of 'P'ags-pa-dpal, on the Citrā asterism (*bya'u* = *skar ma nag pa*) and the white day (? read *ts'es* for *ts'e* ?) and thirteen, a white (i.e. favourable) . . . . . (*diń diń k'a le*) resulted; so he was indicated as the top choice for official. The others bowed at his feet and eliminated all opposition (?), making the decision to be unanimous.[19] The first beginnings of

[14] On the census in Tibet in Mongol times see L. Petech, "The Mongol census in Tibet", in *Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 233—238.

[15] mGos-yul is a tract not far from P'ag-ri, at the head of the Chumbi valley. 'Bri-ts'ams in sGos-yul is mentioned in *Myań-c'uń*, 5b and 99a (4, 65). Gań sań dkar-po is Gań-bzań or Gań-dkar, the mountain to the north of P'ag-ri which marks the southern limit of Upper Ñań; *Myań-c'uń*, 6b and 12a (4, 8). The Six Districts (*ts'o drug*) of P'ag -sgań are the subdivisions of the P'ag-ri region, i.e. of the Chumbi valley. See also G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 50—51, 53.

[16] Boń-nag mDo-c'en is otherwise unknown, but may be the same as Dochen on the western shore of the Rham-tso; *Myań-c'uń*, 106a (70).

[17] The wording is unclear; the translation is more or less conjectural, based upon the context.

[18] On the expression *mo p'yva* (recte: *mo p'ya*) see e.g. S. G. Karmay, "L'apparition du petit homme tête-noire", in *J. As.* 1983, 82.

[19] As Professor Namkhai Norbu kindly informed me, this ritual belongs to one of the two-hundred variants of the *ju-t ig* divination (on which see R. Nebesky—Wojkowitz. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 461—462). But the technicalities of the ceremony are totally obscure.

dPal-ldan Śar-kʿa-ba's political status (*bstan pa*) started from here" (*GBYT*, II, 54b).

The choice was ratified soon after by the Sa-skya authorities. "In the 7th month of the Water-Horse year (July 1342) ['Pʿags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ] went to the See (i.e. Sa-skya) to present the funeral offerings (*'bul skal*) for the deceased *dge bśes*. The *bdag cʿen* Don-yod-rgyal-mtsʿan, who was staying in the bŽi-tʿog *bla braṅ*,[20] gave a share to all, beginning with the secretary (i.e. 'Pʿags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ). When the latter asked [for appointment as] the successor of the *dge bśes*, [the abbot] said: 'Although you deserve to be a *naṅ cʿen*,[21] you must [first] go to repress the Lho Duṅ'.[22] And he gave him a precious document (*bka' śog*) together with official letters (*bca' hu* and *bca' tse*),[23] appointing him the successor of the *dge bśes*" (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 9a—b).

This implied also another appointment. Formally, dGe-'dun-rgyal-mtsʿan had been in charge of Śar-kʿa, which was one of the four administrative agencies (*las tsʿan*) charged with the management of the Sa-skya ruling rights and estates in Amdo and Kʿams; they were Gon-jo (or Go-gyo), Gliṅ-tsʿaṅ, Śar-kʿa and lDan-ma.[24] Because of this, 'Pʿags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ, as the successor of the *dge bśes*, was known henceforward by the title of Śar-kʿa-ba (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 9b). It meant for him a return to his home country, as he had been born in upper lDan-ma on the 'Bri-cʿu.

In the same year 1342 he left for bZaṅ-yul.[25] Then in 1343 he founded Śol Bla-tsam.[26] Later he established the summer retreat at Cʿos-luṅ tsʿogs-pa, where the scholar Rin-cʿen-bsod-nams-bzaṅ-po held the abbotship.[27] In 1347

[20] 'Jam-dbyaṅs Don-yod-rgyal-mtsʿan (1310—1344) of the Rin-cʿen-sgaṅ branch of the 'Kʿon family of Sa-skya was chief abbot (*gdan sa cʿen po*) from c. 1341 to his death. The bŽi-tʿog palace was the official residence of the abbot.

[21] The *naṅ cʿen* (private secretary) was a high office in the Sa-skya administration, second only to the *dpon cʿen*.

[22] Text: *lho gduṅ kʿa gnon pa la raṅ re mi 'gro kʿa med yin gsuṅs*. The sentence is incomprehensible as it stands, unless *raṅ re* ("I myself") refers by exception to the second-person pronoun. The word is due to a correction by the scribe; it is, however, difficult to find out what was the original spelling.

[23] Chinese *cha-fu* and *cha-tzŭ*.

[24] Apparently the four agencies of Eastern Tibet were under the overall supervision of the Sa-skya *dpon cʿen* of mDo stod with headquarters at Gon-gyo, and of mDo-smad at Gliṅ-tsʿaṅ. On these two *dpon cʿen* see *GBYT*, II, 43a, and cf. *Myaṅ-cʿuṅ*, 135b (89), a passage misunderstood in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 83—84.

[25] bZaṅ- yul is in gTsaṅ, but cannot be located. It was connected with the lCe family and school, on which see G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 905—909.

[26] Śol is apparently the same region called bŚol in the account of the events of 1340.

[27] Cʿos-luṅ(-tsʿogs-pa) was the seat of one of the four teaching lineages descended from Kʿa-cʿe Paṇ-cʿen Śākyaśrī. It is barely mentioned in *Myaṅ-cʿuṅ*, 27a (18). According to G. Roerich (note so the Blue Annals, 1073), it is another name for the sPos-kʿaṅ monastery, described by G. Tucci, *TPS*, 201—204. The identity is established by the

the Sa-skya government appointed him steward (*gñer*) of Western Lho-brag (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 9b—10a).

In the meantime the Duṅ-reṅ had continued making trouble. In 1345 the Ra-luṅ abbot went again to P'ag-ri, but we do not read of any military measure being taken at that time. When in 1347 the *dpon c'en* rGyal-ba-bzaṅ-po, in the course of his action against P'ag-mo-gru-pa Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an, passed through Ñiṅ-ro, he summoned the southern leaders and clergymen of Ya-'brog and addressed them on the necessity of making preparations for eliminating the Duṅ-reṅ. Afterwards, however, the threat receded somewhat and no troops were collected.[28]

The emergency, however, arose again some years later, and at that point serious action became imperative. "As [the Duṅ-reṅ] were disturbing all the myriarchies (*k'ri skor*) of dBus and gTsaṅ, a conference was held (*bgros bsdus*) [on the problem of] putting down the Duṅ-reṅ". Accordingly, all the forces of Central Tibet were called upon to accomplish this task.[19] "The contingents of the dBus myriarchies assembled on the meadows (*na k'a*) of the P'o-ma [lake] in Ya-'brog.[30] P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ's men encamped at Goṅ-gsum Śar-k'a. The contingents of the gTsaṅ myriarchies, led by the *sku žaṅ* Kun-dga'-don-grub,[31] expelled the Duṅ-reṅ from 'O-yug Gos-sṅon. They passed on (*byas*) to Śar-ra gTsaṅ-k'a in the neighbourhood of gTsaṅ Bye-ma dkar-nag.[32] Then they concentrated in order to block [the route] (read *'c'ud bsdud* for *'c'ur 'dud*) at Ri-dpal-ldan zur-gsum in the region of Roṅ Ri-naṅ.[33] The Duṅ-reṅ chief Don-

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fact that C'os-luṅ was founded by Śākyaśrī's pupil Byaṅ-c'ub-dpal (*GBYT*, II, 148a) and on the other side the eulogy of sPos-k'aṅ (on which see *TPS*, 170) states that the monastery was founded by Byaṅ-c'ub-dpal in 1213. The renovation by 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ was carried out in the Fire-Tiger year 1350 (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 10a—b).

[28] *Rwa luṅ bka' brgyud gser p'reṅ*, WA, 35a, 36b—37a.

[29] It is surprising that this war, involving contingents from almost the whole of Central Tibet, is passed under complete silence in the *Si tu'i bka' c'ems*, which is otherwise so rich in information for that period. Apparently P'ag-mo-gru was not concerned by these events, or else carefully Kept out of them.

[30] The P'o-ma lake, or P'u-ma g.yu-mts'o, is the Chomo Changtang Tso of the maps, to the south-west of the Palti lake.

[31] *sKu žaṅ* (maternal uncle) was the title of the *k'ri dpon* of Ža-lu. It was due to the repeated matrimonial alliances with the 'K'on family of Sa-skya. Kun-dga'-don-grub patronized the compilation of the bsTan-'gyur in 1334; see Bu-ston's *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar c'ag*, 4a—b and 119a. On the other side, Bu-ston interceded for him in the famous letter adressed to Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an of P'ag-mo-gru in 1354 (?), translated in *TPS*, 673—674.

[32] I was unable so identify these sites.

[33] On the Ri naṅ valley see *Myaṅ-c'uṅ*, 66b—67a and 69a (43, 45); *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 60. The Ri dPal-ldan is called Ri-bo-c'e in the *Myaṅ-c'uṅ*.

grub-dar-rgyas[34] said: 'Do as I do and come with me' (?: *ńa bžin gyis śog*). And starting his march (*p'ol bas*)[35] he did not come out (*ma t'on*) in the direction of the Ža-lu-pa camp, but passed on (*byas*) to Gam-byań sBud-ri. Reaching the Gur-gža-ri, the Duń-reń assembled (read *'c'ud* for *'c'ur*). Realizing that the men of the Goń-gsum camp would engage in a pursuit to the end, Don-grub-dar [asked for a parley and] delivered the following speech: 'Oh lord 'P'ags-pa-dpal, if [you] are magnanimous, [you] will look upon the killing of my men and the slaughter of [my] horses as being against custom (*srol las*). Within the next month I will persuade (literally: I will cause) whatever is [still] alive of the Śar Duń, men and belongings, to come to tender their submission (*ńo lta ba*)'. ['P'ags-pa-dpal-bzań] thought that in this way a great advantage would accrue. He made a binding pledge and let them go unscathed. [The men of] the myriarchies greatly abused him [for his action]. From the Sa-skya side, however, it was said: 'Even if there has been a violation of the law, there exists a binding agreement entered with the Duń-reń. Until that date we must abide by it. After that, if [the promise] is not respected (? *t'og 'jog*), there will be no obstacle in not tolerating their crimes'. At the end of the month Don-grub-dar led [to 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzań] all sort of people, nobles and commoners (? *drag btus*), making up the whole of the Śar Duń. After having presented a substantial tribute, [he said]: 'You have acted correctly, so I too am going to act correctly. From now on I will exert myself in your service'. [Thus] he performed the act of submission (*ńed lta = ńo lta?*). From C'u-skyed luń-gsum of Eastern Lho-brag, Gya-ba-bžu of Lho-brag, P'u-'a-luńs-skyogs-mo up to mDa'-tsag-sa-wa-bžugs[36] ['P'ags-pa-dpal-bzań] destroyed all and every fort and refuge. He brought under his sway all the men, their belongings and powers. All the chiefs of the Śar Duń who submitted were accepted as his officials. The families of the Duń-reń to whom he allotted lands are numerous even today in Ñań-stod" (*GBYT*, II, 54b—56a).

After this success 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzań "planned the submission of the Lho Duń. He went to P'ag-ri Rin-c'en-sgań. He invited (read *bkug*) to a peace conference (*'jam 'gros*) the *slob dpon* called sTag-'od-zer, whom he had met when he was going to Lho sBas. He gave him copious supplies of food, headgear and clothes. As there developed an increasing competition (*'gran*) among them [for meeting 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzań], he summoned to P'ag-ri several prominent *slob dpon* of the Lho Duń. Having beguiled them with food and drink, he killed about one hundred and sixty men, nobles and commoners (*drag btus*). Numerous skulls, hands and hearts [of the killed men] are [preserved] in the

[34] The full form of the name occurs only here; otherwise it is always Don-grub-dar. On this onomastic pattern see M. Aris, *Bhutan*, 120.

[35] The verb *p'ol ba* is a vernacular expression not found in the dictionaries. I owe its meaning so Mr. Jampa Tsering.

[36] These places in Lho-brag cannot be located on the maps.

mgon kʿaṅ and under the threshold of the gates of Rin-cʿen-sgaṅ. After this he built the fort of Pʿag-ri rNam-rgyal, in compliance with the orders of the [Sa-skya] Lama. He brought under subjection all the lands of the Lho Duṅ, such as sPa-gro, Had sTag-luṅ etc. He created the great and small trade marts of Pʿag-ri. He appointed his own brother 'Pʿags-pa-rin-cʿen as the first fort commander (*rdzoṅ dpon*). In this way he subdued the Śar Duṅ and the Lho Duṅ in succession and pacified (*so 'jam*) the southern and northern territories as far as Sa-skya. He made the people contented and performed great service to the Lama, obtaining at the same time a great profit to himself" (*GBYT*, II, 56a—b).

The *Chronicle of Gyantse* gives no details, but supplies a much-needed chronological frame. The Pʿag-ri rNam-rgyal dkar-po fort was built in 1351.[37] The Lho Duṅ were exterminated (*tsʿar bcad*) at Pʿag-ri Rin-cʿen-sgaṅ in 1352. "In the following year (1353) the Śar Duṅ led by Don-grub-dar, as the Grum-pa *blon po* had blocked the Gur-la pass, asked to surrender, and [their leaders] were accepted as officials. In 1354 the younger brother 'Pʿags-pa-rin-cʿen went to Lho-brag and the Lho Duṅ were crushed (*btul*)" (*Chronicle of Gyantse*, 10b—11b).

The course of the events here differs from the narrative in the *GBYT*, but I think we can reconstruct the story on the following lines. After some preparations in 1351, a grand campaign against the general body of the Duṅ-reṅ was launched by the united forces of dBus and gTsaṅ. In its course the Duṅ-reṅ chief Don-grub-dar was forced to retire eastward and the two sections of his people became separated. In 1352 the Lho Duṅ were dealt a deadly blow by the treacherous massacre of their *slob dpon* (apparently ecclesiastical and political leaders) at Pʿag-ri Rin-cʿen-sgaṅ; they were finally subdued two years later. Don-grub-dar gathered the Śar Duṅ and asked for quarters; in 1353 an agreement was reached by which he surrendered and both he and the lesser leaders entered the service of 'Pʿags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ as petty officials. This was the final settlement of the Duṅ-reṅ question.

A last spark of trouble caused by the Lho'i Duṅ-reṅ in the Ri-naṅ valley is noticed in connection with the birth of Tsoṅ-kʿa-pa's chief disciple rGyal-tsʿab Dar-ma-rin-cʿen in 1364.[38] After that, there is utter silence.

From the texts cited above we can obtain a fairly clear outline of the geographical habitat of the Duṅ-reṅ.

The Lho Duṅ occupied the upland of Ñaṅ-stod and the southern slopes of the Himalayan range, i.e. the Chumbi valley and the Ha and Paro valleys of Western Bhutan.

[37] The same date is found in *Myaṅ-cʿuṅ*, 136a (90).
[38] *Myaṅ-cʿuṅ*, 69b (45).

The homes of the Śar Duṅ were in Lho-brag, extending probably to Mon-yul and Eastern Bhutan.

Remnants of the Duṅ are still found in the 'Bum-t'aṅ district of Bhutan, the name being spelt gDuṅ. They are "isolated patrilineal noble families preserving a lay, as distinct from a religious, character ..... No trace of an organization binding together these families is to be found today".[39] A connection with the Duṅ-reṅ is possible. Incidentally, Dr. Aris would "identify the Lho-duṅ with the ancestors of the present gDuṅ families of 'Bum-t'aṅ, and the Śar Duṅ with the Mon-pa people living in the neighbourhood of Tawang".[40] These hypotheses disagree with the results obtained in the present study; however, a shift of the Duṅ settlements in the course of these last centuries remains a possibility.

At the end of my research one fundamental problem remains unsolved. Who were the Duṅ-reṅ? An ethnic unit or a composite group of marauding clans? At present our sources do not allow us to suggest even a working hypothesis. Let us hope that further research may give us an answer in the future.

[39] M. Aris, *Bhutan*, 115, 116.
[40] Op. cit., 120.

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SHAMANIC AND RATIONAL RELIGION IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TIBET

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Some years ago I gave a paper on the early history of Buddhism in Tibet to the Seminar on Tibetan Studies at Columbia University[1]. I argued that, from the beginning, Tibetan Buddhism has included features characteristic of two contrasting approaches to the world. One of these was what I shall call the 'shamanic' approach. I should warn you that I am using the term 'shamanic' in a very wide sense. It refers here to a kind of religion, and a kind of culture, typical in varying degrees of many preliterate or tribal societies. I contrast it with an approach which I shall call 'rationalized'. The rationalized approach corresponds to the kind of religion and culture familiar to us in modern industrial society, and from the world's major religious traditions as we now know them. In this paper I shall look at the interplay between the two contrasting approaches during a particularly intriguing period of Tibetan history, the late fifteenth century.

The shamanic and rationalized approaches are outgrowths of different ways of being in the world. They develop out of different aspects of the single process of human consciousness. Human thought can be described as an alternation between two complementary moments or phases.[2] In the first of these, the mind discovers an appropriate framework for comprehending the situation in which we find ourselves. This framework is a cognitive structure, but it also involves a specific feeling or emotional orientation towards ourselves and the world. In the second phase, this framework structures and defines what we perceive within ourselves and within the world around us. Within it, logical thought about the world, and rational analysis of the problems of our everyday life, can and does take place.

So we have the choice of framework, and we have rational thought *within* the framework. Of course the two phases are both going on simultaneously all the time in ordinary human thought. They correspond in a general way

[1] Samuel, 1985.
[2] Samuel, 1990.

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to the activity of the right and left hemispheres of the brain. The first may be referred to as analogical or symbolic, and the second as rational or logical. Both are necessary for the complete process of human thought.

The *shamanic approach* emphasizes the first phase, the analogical process of finding the appropriate framework for the immediate situation. Shamanic religion is concerned with discovering the appropriate way to live in the world here and now. For the most part members of shamanic cultures do this with the aid of already created frameworks, which have associated moods, symbolism, ritual, technologies and ways of behaving. These frameworks are prescribed through systems of symbolic association for all aspects of life.[3]

Changes in the world ultimately lead to the creation of new frameworks and new understandings through various kinds of visionary technique. This is where the processes of shamanic vision and alternate states of consciousness have their place, as evidenced by many anthropological studies[4]. These techniques are also employed on a continuing basis in many shamanic cultures to deal with the unforeseen incidents and accidents of everyday life. Elsewhere I have discussed how these processes work; here I will merely note that they form an omnipresent part of Tibetan culture in the form of oracles, spirit-mediums and divination techniques.[5]

The other approach, the *rationalized approach*, only reaches its full development in societies which have writing. The rationalized approach works with scriptures and law-codes rather than with multi-valued symbols. Science and technology are its most familiar forms today.

The essence of the rationalized approach is the attempt to define once and for all an appropriate framework of explanation and action for all possible circumstances within each field of human activity. Once defined, the framework is taken for granted, and consequently the rationalized approach emphasizes the second or rational phase of the process of thinking over the first, analogical, phase. Yesterday's solutions are authoritative; today's experts can only provide extensions, reinterpretations and footnotes.

Of course change still does take place in rationalized cultures, and even within the scientific, legal and political structures that define contemporary society. If that change is real, in other words if it involves more than a mere shuffling around of predetermined mental building blocks, it is, necessarily, analogical rather than rational in nature. The rationalized mode is uncomfortable with change. Creativity in the sciences and elsewhere remains a mystery to us. Social change is threatening, and we have no real mechanisms for bringing it about consciously.

[3] Samuel 1990; Wagner 1978.

[4] Samuel 1990.

[5] Samuel in press cf. also Ekvall 1964, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, Radha 1981.

The two approaches have quite different social and political implications, as may be imagined. I have no time to spell these out further here, but they form an important part of the larger work from which this paper is derived.

I have said already that Tibetan religion includes aspects of both shamanic and rationalized approaches. Tibetan monasticism, with its complex and subtle philosophical understandings of the world inherited from mediaeval India, with its hierarchical politics of reincarnate lamas, its estate ownership and taxation systems, most fully developed in Central Tibet, seems a classic example of rationalized religion. Yet, within and alongside this system, the shamanic, yogic and visionary mode continued to thrive, and to provide a constant source of critique and renewal.

Here I am not only, or particularly, speaking about the folk religion or the so-called unreformed *Bon*. Tantric Buddhism itself, with its emphasis on the union of opposed terms, above all on the central polarities of *upaya* and *prajna*, means and wisdom, provided a framework for understanding, promitting and legitimating this constant dialectic between creativity and structure.[6]

Having introduced the basic polarity about which this paper is constructed, I shall now turn to Tibet in the fifteenth century. This century began in Tibet with the classic monastic synthesis of scholastic and visionary Buddhism in the work of *Tsong kha pa*, founder of the *dGe lugs pa* order which was eventually to dominate Tibetan religion and politics into modern times. The *dGe lugs pa* tradition retained an important place for Tantra and so for the shamanic and yogic approach, but the overall emphasis of *dGe lugs pa* thought was undoubtedly, in my terms, rationalized.

In this it was typical of much of what had happened in Tibetan religion over the preceding centuries, with the growth of large monasteries and the systematization of their various traditions. *dGe lugs pa* Buddhism was and is systematic, scholastic and literary. While the *dGe lugs pa* system is pervaded by the insights arising from *Tsong kha pa*'s own Tantric practice, the tradition emphasizes the academic study of Buddhist philosophy. Serious involvement in Tantric practice is left to a small group of elite students who have gone through many years of rigorous philosophical training in the large and hierarchically structured *dGe lugs pa* monasteries.

In the fifteenth century the shamanic side of Tibetan religion produced several figures who posed a direct challenge to this clerical orthodoxy. These were the crazy lamas (*bla ma smyon pa*) or mad yogins, of whom the best known are the Mad Yogin of *gTsang*, *gTsang smyon He ru ka* (1452—1507), author of the *Life* and *Collected Songs* of *Mi la ras pa*, and the Mad Yogin of

[6] The importance of analogical thought in the Tantras was noted many years ago by Alex Wayman (1961, 1973).

Bhutan, *'Brug pa Kun legs* (1455—1529) whose apparently scurrilous activities are a common subject for Tibetan folk stories.[7]

These 'crazy yogins' were not without precedent. The Tantric siddhas of India were known for their unconventional behaviour, and *Mi la pas pa* provided a Tibetan prototype. These people represented and acted out what can be called the 'trickster' aspect of the shamanic role, familiar from many preliterate cultures.[8] Thus *Mi la ras pa* is depicted in *gTsang smyon's* works as transforming himself into a snow-leopard and into a clump of flowers, consorting with the local mountain-goddesses, prophesying the future, engaging in magical competitions with a *Bon* shaman, and generally displaying typical shamanic abilities. His constant ridiculing of the pretensions of respectable society in general and of the *bKa' gdams pa* clergy in particular also suggest the trickster aspect of his role.[9]

gTsang smyon came from a village lama family. At the age of eighteen he had a vision which sent him off on a journey to meet his guru, under the guidance of whom he undertook the *bKa' brgyud* yogic practices in solitary retreat. He then spent some time at the *Sa skya* college at *rGyal rtse*, but eventually came to realize that the monastic life would not lead him to Enlightenment. He began behaving oddly, laughing and chattering without cause, and left the monastery after insulting and ridiculing the visiting Prince of *rGyal rtse*.

For the rest of his life he travelled around the Himalayas, collecting disciples, being supported by sundry lay patrons, and meditating in mountain caves and other remote places, especially those where *Mi la ras pa* was believed to have stayed. During these years he wrote his three well-known biographical works, the *Life* or *rnam thar* and the *Collected Songs* or *mgur 'bum* of *Mi la ras pa*, and towards the end of his life the *Life* of *Mar pa*. He also wrote other works, primarily on the *bKa' brgyud* oral tradition of the Tantras.[10]

gTsang smyon's writings about *Mi la ras pa* and *Mar pa* were based in part on earlier works, and the songs of both of these early *bKa' brgyud* lamas had evidently been in oral circulation for centuries. *Tsong kha pa*, for example, in his own work on the 'Six Teachings of Naropa', quotes from the songs of both *Mar pa* and *Mi la ras pa*, in versions somewhat different from those given

[7] Dowman and Paljor 1980; Stein 1972.

[8] Radin 1955; Samuel 1990.

[9] Cf. Chang 1977 = Text 1.

[10] For *gTsang smyon*'s life cf. Smith 1969, which also includes a catalogue of works by *gTsang smyon* and his circle. The *Life of Milarepa* (= Text 2) has been translated into French (Bacot 1925) and English (Evans-Wentz 1969, Lhalungpa 1979). There is a complete English translation of the *Collected Songs* (= Text 1) by Chang (1977). There is a partial translation of the *Life of Marpa* (Text 3) in French (Bacot 1937) and a complete translation in English (Trungpa 1982).

by *gTsang smyon*.[11] The narrative framework within which *gTsang smyon* sets the songs is however certainly a reflection of the author's own attitudes and perspective.

These works are like nothing before them in Tibetan literature. *gTsang smyon* transformed the *rnam thar* form into something close to the modern novel; a *Bildungsroman*, in fact, concerned with the gradual progress to Enlightenment of the central character. Like some of the *rNying ma* biographies, his works are teaching-stories, intended to convey instruction as well as moral uplift. Unlike the *rNying ma* texts, however, they are written in a straightforward colloquial style, and portray recognizable contemporary human types and behaviour.

These works were the vehicle for a critique of the practices of the contemporary monastic tradition. *gTsang smyon* himself had taken a female consort and lived the life of a hermit-yogi, not that of a celibate monk. He describes *Mi la ras pa* as performing the sexual practices of the Anuttarayoga Tantra with the Himalayan mountain-goddesses, who were among the most powerful of the old folk-religion deities. Rather than claiming a lineage of teachings that derived from *sGam po pa*, *Mi la ras pa*'s foremost monk-disciple and the founder of the *bKa' brgyud* monastic tradition, *gTsang smyon* and his followers claimed to continue the oral tradition (*snyan rgyud*) of *Ras chung pa*, *Mi la ras pa*'s foremost lay yogin disciple.

gTsang smyon clearly aligned himself with the shamanic approach, not with the rational and academic approach. Perhaps in view of the many wealthy lines of reincarnate lamas that existed in his time, he is reported as refusing to allow himself to be recognized as a reincarnation of Tilopa (Naropa's guru), although later historians came to describe him as a rebirth of *Mi la pas pa* or *Mar pa*.[12]

In *gTsang smyon*'s *Life* of *Mi la ras pa* an incident occurs, in which *M la ras pa* is asked by one if his disciples whether he is an incarnation He replies:

> 'I never heard whose incarnation I am. Maybe I am the incarnation of a being from the three lower realms, but if you see me as Buddha you will receive his blessing by virtue of your faith.[13]

and he goes on to describe the belief in incarnations as an impediment to practice and as a distortion of the true Dharma.

The clerical figures in *gTsang smyon*'s writings, who are mostly early Kadampa monks, are at best well-meaning fools and at worst thoroughly evil characters such as the *dGe bshes rTsag phu ba* who poisons *Mi la ras pa* out of

[11] Muses 1961 = Text 4.
[12] Smith 1969: 5.
[13] Lhalungpa 1979: 144—5.

jealousy.[14] The academic knowledge of these clerics is meaningless next to the yogi's realization[15].

sGam po pa himself, as one of *Mi la ras pa*'s two leading disciples and the founder of the *bKa' brgyud* monastic tradition, is of course not displayed in such a negative light. *Mi la ras pa* nevertheless has to go to some trouble, in *gTsang smyon*'s account, to free *sGam po pa* from the obstacles of his pride, his attachment to the monastic rules, and his tendency to overintellectualize and overrate his meditation experiences[16].

While *gTsang smyon* advocates the shamanic over the academic tradition, he has little respect for the village shamans with their rituals to control the weather and to cure petty ailments. Their techniques may work, as does *Mi la ras pa*'s destruction of his wicked uncle's household, but what is really important is the attainment of Enlightenment.

Mi la ras pa was undoubtedly an important figure before *gTsang smyon*'s time, but the *Life* and *Songs* gave an immense boost to his popularity, and are still among the best-known works in Tibetan literature. *gTsang smyon*'s students continued his literary activities, and some of their works have been translated into Western languages.[17]

Gene Smith comments on the *smyon pa* or 'crazy yogins' that

> the evidence is fairly conclusive that the *smyon-pa* phenomenon was, at least partly, a reaction against the hereditary lineages with their great prestige and wealth. It was an attempt so reinvest the Dkar-brgyud-pa tradition with some of its former religious fervor, the incandescent spirituality of the early yogis. The chief symbol of this movement was Mi-la-ras-pa who had never been a monk, the mystic poet who had founded no monastery or school, a saint who remained a legend.[18]

The *bKa' brgyud* monasteries in fact accepted much of *gTsang smyon*'s critique, if at the same time perhaps rendering it harmless by incorporating it into the monastic and academic context. The Eighth *rGyal ba Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje* (1507—1554), complied a selection of songs by *Mar pa, Mi las ras pa* and other *bKa' brgyud* lamas for liturgical use, borrowing heavily from *gTsang smyon*'s work.[19] *Mi bskyod rdo rje* was a scholar and a prolific author, and his work, like that of other 16th century lamas outside such the *dGe lugs pa* tradition, such as *Padma dKar po* (1527—1592) and Taranatha (b. 1575), can be regarded as an attempt to reintegrate the shamanic tradition of the Mad Yogins and the other non-monastic practitioners with the rational,

[14] Lhalungpa 1979: 153—167.
[15] E.g. Chang 1977, vol. 2: 375—395.
[16] Chang 1977, vol. 2: 463—497 = Trungpa 1980: 217ff.
[17] Guenther 1963, Kunga and Cutillo 1978, cf. Smith 1969: 26—7.
[18] Smith 1969: 3.
[19] Trungpa 1980.

academic approach to Buddishm, so producing a synthesis which gave a much more central place from the earliest stages to Tantra and the shamanic vision than had *Tsong kha pa*'s synthesis.[20]

'Brug pa Kun legs, the other figure among the 'Crazy Yogins' to be mentioned here, has had quite a different place in Tibetan culture from *gTsang smyon*. However he too demonstrates the affection and respect which the Tibetans give to the shamanic approach.

'Brug pa Kun legs wrote no books, although his songs and exploits have been narrated in several *rnam thar*. Like *Mi la ras pa*, he became a popular figure in folklore. The stories about him centre on his outrageous sexual exploits — all of course the genuine activity of a fully enlightened Buddha — and on his ridiculing of respectable monastic Buddhism. For all of the humour in these stories, *'Brug pa Kun legs* is by no means just a figure of fun. His critique of hierarchy, monastic pretensions and 'rationalized' thought is meant seriously.

Of the two different *rnam thar* available in translation, that of Rolf Stein in French and that of Keith Dowman and Sonam Paljor in English, the English version, made from a recent Bhutanese biography, captures more of the flavour of *'Brug pa Kun legs* in the folk tradition.[21] One of the stories in the Dowman—Paljor version tells how *'Brug pa Kun legs* visits the Academy of Palkhor Stupa where he watches the monks debating. His attention is held by a beautiful woman sitting on the edge of the stupa and when a monk rebukes him for not prostrating to the stupa he prostrates to the woman instead, with appropriate verses.

The monks are scandalized, but he reminds them that woman in the Tantric teachings has the nature of wisdom, and that when they entered the mandala they symbolically passed between a woman's thighs; why should he distinguish between the girl and the stupa as objects of refuge? In response to their further protests he sings a song using imagery straight from Tibetan folk-poetry:

'Proud Kongpo stallion, matchless in style and
elegance,
Black Tibetan horse, lifting high its white socks,
Both racing together on the wide open plains —
Aku's Stableboy bear witness —
See which is first to pass the flag!

'Bengali peacock, matchless in fine feathered
display,
Tibetan vulture, bird-lord with the wide wings,

[20] *Padma dkar po*'s works have recently been republished in India (Text 5). Some of Taranatha's yogic manuals are included in the *gDams ngag mdzod* (Text 6), in the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud and Jo nang pa sections.

[21] Stein 1972, Dowman and Paljor 1980.

Circling high in the empty sky —
Snow Mountain Heights bear witness —
See which bird has the bird's eye view!
... ...
'Palden Stupa abbots and professors of the robe,
matchless Pandisas,
And I, Drukpa Kunley of Ralung, relaxing in the
stream of events,
All examining our moral performance —
Incontestable Truth bear witness —
See who finally gains Buddhahood!'[22]

It is perhaps inevitable that Western scholars, and for that matter many Western practitioners of Buddhism, being products of a highly rationalized culture, are often tempted to take the rational aspects of Tibetan religion as central. We ignore or minimize the shamanic creativity which pervades Tibetan Buddhist history, and which appears throughout the work even of great scholarly lamas such as *Tsong kha pa* himself.

If we do this, we see only those parts of Tibet which most closely mirror our own prior experience. As a result, we miss half of the dialectic which makes up the continuing process of Tibetan religion. We also miss the opportunity to become aware of aspects of our own consciousness which, for most of us, lie unexamined, hidden in the shadows cast by the light of rational thought.

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[22] Dowman and Paljor 1980: 76—79.

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Text 3. Sgra bsgyur Mar-pa Lo-tsa'i rNam-par-thar-pa mThong-ba Don yod bZhugs-so. The Biography of Marpa the Translator. Published by E. Kalsang, Varanasi, n. d.

Text 4. zab lam nā ro chos drug gi 'khrid rim yid ches sum ldan. Included in the Collected Works of Tsongkhapa in the Peking bka' 'gyur and bstan 'gyur. *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking Edition. General editor, D. T. Suzuki. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto, 1955—61. Volume 160, pp. 208ff.

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SOME REMARKS ON P. T. 795 AND 796[1]

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These two manuscripts constitute together a complete specimen of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*'s Tibetan translation. This short philosophical treatise,[2] composed in the second century by the Indian master Nāgārjuna (c. 150—200.), belongs to the famous *rigs tshogs drug*, namely the Nāgārjuna's six philosophical treatises which form the doctrinal *corpus* of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhism in Tibet[3].

In M. Lalou's 1939 *Inventaire* she apparently was not absolutely certain of the identification of P.T. 795 and 796. She did not notice that together they constitute the complete text of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*. The physical description which follows will explain why M. Lalou failed to identify the text. Moreover, in 1957[4], M. Lalou herself noted that her method of classifying together only

[1] I am deeply indebted and grateful to Prof. Katsumi Mimaki who drew my attention to P. T. 795 and 796 and to the Dunhuang MSS in general.

[2] The *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*, in its teaching, emphasizes the eminent part which the dependent co-production (*rten ciṅ 'brel ba 'byuṅ ba* = pratītyasamutpāda) plays in the way to salvation. By the way of reasoning (*yukti*) Nāgārjuna explains why the true understanding of the *pratītyasamutpāda* has to be considered as the very core of Buddha's teaching. We do not enter in a detailed analysis of the treatise here. On this see Ruegg, D. S., *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981, pp. 19—20. Lindtner, Chr., *Nagarjuniana. Studies in the writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna*. Copenhagen, 1982. *Indiske Studier 4*, pp. 100—101. Uryūzu, Ryushin, *Nāgārjuna kenkyū (1): Kūshō to Engi ni tsuite* (Studies on Nāgārjuna (1): with regard to *śūnyatā* and *pratītyasamutpāda*). *Meijō Daigaku Jimbun Kiyō*, Vol. 14, s. l., October 1973. *Nukizuri* (offprint), pp. 13—39. Uryūzu, R. *Nāgārjuna kenkyu (2)* (Nāgārjuna Ssudies (2)). *Jimbun Ronsō*, Nr. 23, (Kyōto), 1974, pp. 134—160 (M. Uryūzu renders the Sanskrit of *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā's kārikā* 1 to 12.). See also *infra* n. 16.

[3] Ruegg, D. S., *Le Dharmadhātustava de Nāgārjuna. Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. Paris: Maison-neuve, 1971, p. 448 and n. 2; Ruegg, D. S., 1981, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[4] Lalou, Marcelle. *Les plus anciens rouleaux tibétains trouvés à Touen-houang. Rocznik Orientalistyczny*. Polska Akademia Nauk, Kom. Orient., Warszawa, 1957, T. XXI, p. 150.

homogeneous appearing scrolls had occasionally led to error. Of course, we realize that when faced with the enormous task of cataloguing, she was obliged to adopt the most obvious method of classification, which in most cases proved successful.

Formal Characteristics

The physical description of a manuscript is not to be neglected nor underestimated. As the Japanese scholar *Fujieda* Akira pointed out in 1979[5], the methodical rearrangement of the Dunhuang manuscripts will certainly prove fruitful in the comprehension of this important library as a whole. We know that the library was sealed off in the caves of the Thousand Buddhas (千佛洞 Qiānfódòng), at the beginning of the 11th century[6], and discovered in the early part of the 20th century.

The physical descriptions of P.T. 795 and 796 have to be corrected as follows: first of all they must be reversed.

Nr. 796: the beginning of the treatise. This manuscript consists of two folios; each one appears to have been the result of two pasted sheets. The first *folio* includes verses 1 to 16d. The form is slightly irregular. The two holes in the middle of the sheet — the manuscript is in the *poṭhi* shape[7] — are placed at a distance of 18 *cm*[8]. The paper is lined with red ink, as well as the margins and the central holes. This sheet is ruled with 5 lines on both sides. The second *folio* of P.T. 796, includes verses 16d to 40c. The size is identical with the preceeding *folio*, however there are 6 lines of text on the *recto* and 5 lines on the *verso*. The writing in black ink is absolutely regular, probably by reed-pen.

[5] Fujieda, Akira. *Une reconstruction de la "Bibliothèque" de Touen-Houang. Journal Asiatique*, T. CCLXIX, 1981, *Fasc.* 1 et 2, p. 68; Drège, Jean-Pierre. *Papiers de Dunhuang. Essai d'analyse morphologique des manuscrits chinois datés. T'oung Pao*, Vol. LXVII, 3—5 (1981) p. 305.

[6] Fujieda, Akira, op. cit., p. 65. It is noteworthy that the first attested name of these caves is in fact "Nagao dn", recorded on a stele dated 698, see Soymié, Les Peintures murales et les manuscrits de Dunhuang, Colloque franco-chinois organisé par la Fondation Singer—Polignac. Paris: ed. de la Fondation Singer—Polignac, 1984, II.

[7] On the shape of Buddha's writing see Buehler, Georg. *Indian Paleography* Calcutta, New Delhi: New Age Publ., 1962, pp. 19—20. Ib. p. 113: "A buddhist tradition, preserved in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, asserts that the Canon was written on palm-leaves at the first Council held after Buddha's death." Cf. *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li* (. . .), trsl. by Samuel Beal. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973 (Repr. 1911 ed.), pp. 116—117.

In India the *poṭhi* were usually made on palm-leafs. Probably from the *tāḍa* or *tāla* (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and the *tāḍī* or *tāli* (*Corypha umbraculifera*, or *C. taliera*). Cp. Buehler, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Buehler calculated also the size between cg. 3.25—10 *cm* by 30.48—93.6, *ib.* p. 114.

[8] In fact the central holes divide the folio into 3 parts. See table p. 595.

Date	*Nr.*	*vv.*	*l.*	*b.*	*th.*	*w.-m.*[9]	*c.*	*Remarks*
non dated	796. 1 *fol.*:	1 —16c	53.3	8.6	0.15	5.3	beige	*Poṭhi* shape. The central holes divide the *fol.* into three slightly different parts; from left on: 18, 18 and 17 (*cm*).
	796. 2 *fol.*:	16d—40c	53.3	8.6	0.15	5.3	beige	The borders have been restored by the BN, in Paris. The two folios are red-ink margined. No Sanskrit title.
non dated	795 1 *fol.*:	40d—60	52	8.7	—*	4.2	beige	*Poṭhi* shape. The *fol.* is divided in three parts by the central holes; from left on: 17.4, 17.3 and 17.3 (*cm*). Restored with fine silk by the BN*. It presented a tear on the left side of the *verso* (*ca.* 11.5 *cm*). Red-ink margined. No colophon. See also p. 126. * The measure of *th.* is then spurious.

Abbreviations

Nr. = Catalogue number of the Dunhuang **mss** kept at the BN in Paris, Département des manuscrits orientaux. Collection Pelliot tibétain. See M. Lalou, *Inventaire*.
vv. = verses of the treatise (skr. *kārikā*, abr. *kār.*).
l. = length.
b. = breadth.
th. = thickness.
w.-m. = wire-mark (on laid paper)[12].
c. = colour.
fol. = folio.

[9] *W.-m.*, indicates the measure (in *cm.*) of the space occupied by 20 wire-marks. On this method of *w.—m.* calculation, see Drège, 1981, *op cit.*, p. 316 and n. 35.

Nr. 795: end of the treatise. This **ms** is composed of one single sheet. It covers verses 40d to 60, followed by the Tibetan title and the Tibetan name of the author. The distance between the central holes is here slightly smaller than in P.T. 796 (see table on p. 595). Itis evident that the writing used in P.T. 796 and P.T. 795 does not belong to the same scribe. This indication, together with the size difference, is presumably the reason why the two **mss** were considered as fragmentary parts of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā* instead of being considered as a whole.

The preceding table is an attempt at a more detailed description of P.T. 795 and 796[10]. The manuscripts are not numbered[11]. Ordinarily the numerotation is placed on the left side of the *recto*, with Tibetan numbers and/or letters[12]. Concerning P.T. 795 a fine silk, consolidating the sheet is visible through the central holes: its colour is absolutely true white. Therefore we may affirm that it was restored by the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) in Paris.

The History of the Tibetan Translation of the Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā

P.T. 796 and 795 together constitute the earliest known translation of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā* to date. Curiously, there is no Sanskrit title nor colophon. Therefore it is impossible to know the name of the translator or translators. The catalogue of lHan kar, compiled in 824[13], mentions a translation of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*, existing at this time, *rigs pa drug cu pa'i tshig le 'ur byas pa*, in 62 *śloka* (Lalou's Nr. 591). Could the treatise described in the lHan kar be the same as P.T. 795 and 796? We must indicate that the two titles are dif-

[10] First I was inclined to suppose that the folios had been cut from a paper having the size of the so called China hemp paper (小麻紙 xiǎomázhǐ: on this paper see Fujieda, Akira. *The Tunhuang Manuscripts. A general Description. Part I.* Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyōto University, *Zinbun*, Nr. 9, 1966, pp. 16—17). As inviting this may be — this paper has the size of *ca.* 26 by 52 *cm*; cut into 3 pieces it could give 3 sheets having a size very close to our **mss** —, I was obliged to give up this conclusion after having meet Prof. Fujieda at the Csoma de Körös Symposium. Moreover Dr. Drege has explained to me that actually we do not know exactly how the Tibetans cut the paper.

I express here my gratefulness for the kindness of Prof. Fujieda and Dr. Drège. Their precious help and advice are entirely responsible for the codicological analysis given here. Nevertheless any errors there may be are only mine.

[11] Lalou, Marcelle. *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-Houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale.* (Fonds Pelliot tibétain nos. 1—849). T. I, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1939, p. 174.

[12] Fujieda, A., 1966, *op cit.*, p. 31.

[13] Cp. Mimaki, Katsumi. *Blo gsal grub mtha'. Ch. IX (Vaibhāṣika) et XI (Yogācāra) édités et Ch. XII (Mādhyamika) édité et traduit.* Kyōto: Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo — Université de Kyōto, 1982, p. 9, n. 21 (*ref*).

ferent; specifically, that the lHan kar title uses a more correct translation for the *skr.* word *ṣaṣṭikā* which is rendered in P.T. 795/796 as *drug pa*, rather than *drug cu pa*. This may be attributed to a refinement in the translation which would have occurred prior to the compilation of the lHan kar catalogue. Our manuscripts could be situated in the beginning of the 9th century[14], and prior to the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Mvy), date 814.

The Tibetan translation of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*, as it is known by the canonical editions, was translated by the Indian scholar Muditāśrī and the *lo tsā ba* Pa tshab Ñi ma grags. Therefore, it is not difficult to date it. Pa tshab Ñi ma grags was born in the year 1055[15]. This version then belongs to the second diffusion of the Law in Tibet (*phyi dar*), while the Dunhuang version dates back to the *sṅa dar*.

There exists a third version of this text: the verses of Nāgārjuna as included in Candrakīrti's commentary (Candrakīrti = Zla ba grags pa, 600—650 A.C.)[16]. This treatise, entitled in Tibetan *Rigs pa drug cu pa'i 'grel pa* (Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā-vṛtti), was also recorded in the lHan kar catalogue (Lalou's Nr. 592). More exactly, the catalogue mentions two commentaries, but judging by the number of *śloka* enumerated in it, we may conclude that Candrakīrti's commentary is equivalent to Lalou Nr. 592, which has 760 *śloka*, in other words 2 *bam po* and 160 *śloka*. Thus it is probably the same treatise as the one included later in the canonical editions; its colophon allows us to determine accurately the date of the Tibetan translation. The *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā-vṛtti* of Candrakīrti was translated by the well-known team formed by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Dānaśīla and the *lo tsā ba* Ye śes sde. Needless to say, they were active at the time of the compilation of the *Mvy* (*Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po*). Hence we date it at the beginning of the 9th century. This version, included in the commentary of Candrakīrti, dates from the time of P.T. 795 and 796.

Furthermore we observe that the original Sanskrit of both, the text and the commentary of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*, are lost. Chr. Lindtner collected 12

[14] We suppose that the translation of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā* into Tibetan occurred after the foundation of bSam Yas, date 779, cp. Demiéville, Paul. *Récents travaux sur Touen Houang. T'oung Pao*, Vol. LVI, (1—3), 1970, pp. 43—44. Further considerations based on the physical description of P.T. 795 and 793 will perhaps allow specialists to date more exactly these Dunhuang mss.

[15] Naudou, Jean. *Les Bouddhistes kaśmiriens au Moyen Age*. Paris: PUF, 1968, pp. 172—173. Ruegg, D. S. *La théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra*. Paris: PEFEO vol. LXX, 1969, p. 37, p. 59. De Jong, Jan W. *Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur. Zentralasiatische Studien*, Wiesbaden, 1972, Vol. 6, p. 514.

[16] A critical edition, collecting all the Tibetan materials and the Sanskrit fragments actually extant, appears in Scherrer Schaub, Cristina A. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā-vṛtti*. Bruxelles: Institut belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1991, Mêlanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. 25.

verses, quoted in other treatises, to which he refers in his *Nagarjuniana*[17]. Because we have no Sanskrit original, the thorough investigation of the Tibetan translations, as they presently exist, is all the more important.

Texts A, B and C Shortly Compared

Text A = P.T. 796 and 795. *Ca.* 9th century. Belongs to the *sña dar.*

Text B = Tibetan *trsl.* of the *YṢ* as included in the canonical editions. *Ca.* 11th century. Belongs to the *phyi dar.*

Text C = *YṢ* as included in the *YṢVṛ* and transmitted by the canonical editions. *Ca.* 9th century. Belongs to the *sña dar.*

1. Text A and C are similar. Of course text C has been revised and the old classical particularities of the Dunhuang **mss** (see hereafter) disappear.

2. Text B is distinct from texts A and C. Although some verses are identical, sometimes the choice of terminology and the syntax are different. Particularly, A and C make use of a less usual terminology. What do we mean by "less usual or different terminology"? First, a terminology not always corresponding to that of the *Mvy.* Then a terminology which is a result of an attempt to translate in Tibetan a Sanskrit expression by a kind of "one-to-one correspondence" of its elements[18]. But this is not successful in every case and we notice here and there some wavering. Especially in the case of rendering Sanskrit verbal prefixes. Inspite of all, the underlying Sanskrit expressions are quite easy to guess. These peculiarities of the texts, rather invite us to reflect upon the application of the methods of translation in use in Tibet at this time. But the analysis of an isolated text is not sufficient as a working hypothesis. Careful study of this document, in conjunction with its contemporaries, will maybe permit further knowledge of the terminology and the practice of translation, in use prior to the codification of the *Mvy*[19].

[17] Lindtner, Chr., *op. cit.*, *pp.* 102—119, See also Ruegg, D. S., 1981, *op. cit.*, p. 19 and n. 43.

[18] This is not surprising. It was commonly in use and suggested. Cf. *Madhyavyutpatti* (sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa), Simonsson, Nils. *Indo tibetische Studien, I.* Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1957, p. 250.

[19] This text concerns also the study of the way of diffusion of Dharma in Tibet, during the *sña dar.* On this argument cp. Blondeau, Anne-Marie. *Les religions du Tibet,* In: *Histoire des religions,* Encyclopédie de la Pleïade, T. III. Paris: Gallimard, 1976, pp. 255—257. Snellgrove, David and Richardson, Hugh. *A Cultural History of Tibet.* Boulder: Prajna Press, 1980 (Repr. of the 1968 ed.-, pp. 78—94. Tucci, Giuseppe et Heissig, Walther. *Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie.* Paris: Payot, 1973, p. 27. Tucci, Giuseppe. *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings.* Roma: ISMEO, 1950, Ser. I, p. 49.

Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana,* p. 265: "*YṢ* (*Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*), VS (*Vyavahārasiddhi*) and PK (*Pratītyasamutpādahṛdāyakārikā*) are contributions to Buddhist exegesis."

Text

We reproduce herewith the Dunhuang **mss** as they are. All classical particularities will then appear: namely, the reversed *gi-gu*[1], the *ya* subscript to *ma* before vowels *a* ('greṅ bu) and *e* (gi gu); the *'a chuṅ* at the end of a verse; the *da-drag* (only 1 time); the writing *stsogs* instead of *sogs*, etc.[2] Its exact reproduction is indispensable in order to make use of this little contribution for further studies.

corr., means: the correct form is . . .
inserted, means that the term omitted is inserted between the lines[3].
. . ., indicate illegible.
?, indicates probably but not sure.

*, indicates the change of the line.

796.1a rgya gar skad du ( ) bod . . .[4] skad du //
rīgs pa drug pa[5] 'ï tshĭg le'ur byas pa // 'jam
dpal gźo nur[6] gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo //

gaṅ gĭs skye daṅ 'jĭg pa dag //
'dĭ'i tshul kyis rab spaṅs pa' //
796.1a[2] rten cĭṅ 'byuṅ ba gsuṅ * ba' ī //
thub dbaṅ de la phyag 'tshal lo // **0**[7]

gaṅ blo yod daṅ myed pa las[8]
rnam par 'das śĭṅ myi gnas pa' //

In the *prastāvanā* of the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā-vṛtti*, Candrakīrti explains the main subjects and purposes of this treatise: the true understanding of *pratītyasamutpāda* free from the two extremes of affirmation and negation; the *pratītyasamutpāda* which gives rise to the faith, the accumulation of merits and knowledge, and so on. It is interesting to note that the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā vṛtti* is the one and only treatise of Candrakīrti, translated during the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet.

[1] The reversed i-vowel sign is transcribed by ĭ. See Miller, Roy Andrew. *Early evidence for vowel harmony in Tibetan. Language*, 1966, p 260. On this topic, *i.e.* the reversed i-vowel in old Tibetan, see Miller, R. A., *op. cit.* and Miller, R. A. *Phonemic Theory and Orthographic Practice in Old Tibetan. The Journal of the Tibet Society*, Vol. 1, 1982, pp. 45—62.

[2] Cp. Ruegg, D. S. *Autour du lTa ba'i khyad par de Ye śes sde (version de Touenhouang, Pelliot tib. 814)*. Journal Asiatique, 1981, pp. 213—214.

[3] This follows the Indian paleographical tradition. See Buehler, Georg. Indian paleography. Calcutta, New Delhi: New Age Publishers, 1962, p. 110.

[4] One reads a *źabs khyu*.

[5] corr.: *drug cu pa*. See *supra* p. 596.

[6] corr.: *gźon nur*.

[7] *kārikā* **0**: preliminary verse.

[8] Add the *gñis śad*

de dag zab mo dmyïgs myed pa yi //
rkyen kyi don la rnam par sgom // **1**

ñes pa thams cad 'byuṅ ba'ï gnas //
myed pa rnam par bzlog zin kyis //
796.1a[3] rïgs pa gaṅ gis yod pa * yaṅ //
bzlog par bya ba mñan par gyis // **2**

cï ltar byis pas rnam brtags bźïn //
dṅos po de ste bden gyur na //
de dag dṅos myed rnam thar du //
gaṅ phyir myi 'dod rgyu de ci // **3**

yod pas rnam par myi 'grol te //
myed pas srid pa 'dï la myin //
796.1a[4] dṅos daṅ dṅos * myed yoṅs śes pas //
bdag ñid chen po rnam par 'grol // **4**

yaṅ dag ma mthoṅ 'jïg rten daṅ //
mya ṅan 'das par rloms sems te //
yaṅ dag mthoṅ ba 'jïg rten daṅ //
mya ṅan 'das par sems[9] rloms sems myed // **5**

srïd pa daṅ nï mya ṅan 'das //
796.1a[5] de gñis * yod pa ma yïn no //
srïd pa yoṅsu[10] śes pa nï //
mya ṅan 'das śes brjod pa yïn[11] // **6**

dṅos po skyes pa zïg pa la //
cï ltar 'gog pa brtags pa bzïn //
de bźin sgyu ma byas pa ltar //
mkhas pa dag gis 'gog par dgoṅs // **7**

796.1b rnam par 'jïg pas 'gog * 'gyur kyi //
'dus byas śes pas ma yïn na //
de ni su la mṅon sum 'gyur //
źïg ces pa de cï lta bu // **8**

gal te phuṅ po ma 'gags na //
ñon moṅs zad kyaṅ 'das myï 'gyur //
gaṅ tshe de 'ï de 'gags pa //
de'ï tshe na grol bar 'gyur // **9**

[9] Dittography: delete.
[10] corr.: *yoṅs su.*
[11] Ditto of the n-graph, inserted between the following *gñis śad.*

796.1b[2] ma rïg rkyen kyis byuṅ ba la // *
yaṅ dag śes pas rnam brtags na //
skye ba daṅ nï 'gag pa 'aṅ ruṅ //
gaṅ yaṅ dmyigs par myï 'gyur ro // **10**

mthoṅ ba'ï chos las mya ṅan 'das //
bya ba byas pa yaṅ de ñid do //
chos śes de'ï 'og tu ni //
'dï la bye brag dbye yod na // **11**

796.1b[3] śïn tu phra ba'ï dṅos la yaṅ // *
gaṅ gis skye bar rnam brtags pa' //
rnam par myï mkhas de yis nï //
rkyen las byuṅ ba'ï don ma mthoṅ // **12**

ñon moṅs zad pa'ï dge sloṅ gi //
'khor ba gal te rnam ldog na //
rdzogs pa'ï saṅs rgyas rnams kyis kyaṅ //
796.1b[4] cï phyir de rtsom myi * bśad // **13**

rtsom pa yod na ṅes par yaṅ //
lta bar la[12] gyur pa yoṅs su 'dzïn //
rten cïn 'brel par gaṅ 'byuṅ ba //
de la sṅon daṅ tha ma cï // **14**

sṅon skyes pa ni cï lta bur //
phyi nas rab du[13] ldog par 'gyur // **15ab**

[15]rtsom pa yod na ṅes par yaṅ //
796.1b[5] lta bar[12] gyur pa * yoṅs su 'dzïn //
rten cïn 'brel par gaṅ 'byuṅ ba' //
de la sṅon daṅ tha ma cï //[14]

sṅon daṅ tha ma'i mtha' spaṅs pa //
'gro ba sgyu ma bźïn du snaṅ // **15cd**

gaṅ tshe sgyu ma byuṅ źe 'am //
gaṅ gï na[15] tshe na 'jïg 'gyur źes //
sgyu ma śes pa der myï rmoṅs //
796.2a sgyu ma myi * śes yoṅs su skom // **16**

[12] Delete.
[13] corr.: *tu*.
[14] Dittography of *kār*. **14**. Here **14b** is better (*metri causae*), see n. 13.
[15] Delete.

srïd pa smyïg rgyu sgyu 'dra bar //
blo yïs mthoṅ bar gyur na nï //
sṅon gyï mtha' 'am phyï ma'ï mthar //
lta ba yoṅsu[16] bslad myï 'gyur // **17**

gaṅ dag gïs nï 'dus byas la //
skye daṅ 'gag par rnam brtags pa //
de dag rten 'byuṅ 'khor lo yi //
796.2a² 'gro ba * śïn du[17] myi śes so // **18**

de daṅ de brten gaṅ byuṅ ba //
raṅ gi dṅos por de ma skyes //
raṅ gï dṅos por de gaṅ[18] ma skyes //
de ni skyes śes ci skad bya // **19**

rgyu zad pa'i źi ba nï //
zad ces bya bar mṅon ba ste //
raṅ bźïn gyis nï gaṅ ma zad //
de la zad ces cï skad brjod // **20**

796.2a³ de ltar gaṅ yaṅ skye ba myed // *
gaṅ yaṅ 'gag par myï 'gyur ro //
skye ba daṅ nï 'jig pa'ï lam //
dgos pa'ï don du bstan pa'o // **21**

skye ba śes pas 'jig pa śes //
'jïg pa śes pas myi rtag śes //
myi rtag ñïd la 'jug śes pa //
des ni chos kyaṅ rtogs par 'gyur // **22**

gaṅ dag rten cïn 'brel 'byuṅ ba //
796.2a⁴ skye daṅ * 'jïg par rnam spaṅs par //
śes par gyur pa de dag nï //
lta gyur srid pa'ï rgya mtsho rgal // **23**

so so'ï skye bo dṅos bdag can //
yod daṅ myed par phyin cï log //
ñes pas ñon moṅs bdag gyur pa' //
ran gï sems kyis bslus par 'gyur // **24**

796.2a⁵ dṅos la mkhas pa rnams kyis ni // *
dṅos po myi rtag slu ba'ï chos //

[16] corr.: *yoṅs su.*
[17] corr.: *śin tu.*
[18] Inserted between the lines by means of a cross.

gsog daṅ stoṅ pa bdag myed pa //
rnam par dben par rab tu mthoṅ // **25**

gnas myed dmyigs pa yod ma yin //
rtsa ba myed ciṅ gnas pa myed //
ma rīg rgyu las śīn tu byuṅ //
thog ma dbus mtha' rnam par spaṅs // **26**

chu śīn bźin du sñiṅ po myed //
796.2a[6] drī za'ī groṅ khyer * 'dra ba ste //
rmoṅs pa'ī groṅ khyer myī bzad pa[19] //
'gro ba sgyu ma bźin du snaṅ // **27**

tshaṅs la stsogs pa'ī jig rten[20] 'dī //
bden par rab tu gaṅ brjod[21] pa //
'phags la de yaṅ brdzun źes gsuṅs //
de las gźan nī ci źig lus // **28**

'jīg rten ma rīg ldoṅs gyur pa //
796.2b srīd pa'ī rgyun kyi rjes * 'braṅ daṅ //
mkhas pas sred [22] daṅ bral ba'ī //
dge ba rnams lta ga la mñam // **29**

de ñīd tshol la thog mar nī //
thams cad yod ces brjod par bya' //
don rnams rtogs śiṅ chags myed nas //
de'ī 'og tu dben pa'o // **30**

rnam par dben don myi śes la //
thos pa tsam la 'jug byed ciṅ //
796.2b[2] gaṅ rnams bsod nams myī byed pa // *
skyes bu tha śal de dag brlag // **31**

las kyi 'bras bu yod pa daṅ //
'gro ba rnam kyaṅ śīn tu brjod //
de'ī raṅ bźin yoṅs śes daṅ //
skye ba myed pa dag kyaṅ bstan // **32**

dgos pa'ī dbaṅ du rgyal ba rnams //
ṅa daṅ ṅa'i źes gsuṅs ltar //
phuṅ po khams daṅ skye mched rnams //
796.2b[3] de bźin dgos pa'ī dbaṅ gis gsuṅs // * **33**

[19] pa is inserted under line.

[20] corr. *'jig rten*. Remark: the scribe who forgot the *'a chuṅ* did not use the I-graph, as usually, for *'jig rten*.

[21] *brjod na* ?

[22] Scribe's wavering: *sred* and *srīd*.

'byuṅ ba che la stsogs bśad pa //
rnam par śes su yaṅ dag 'du //
de śes pas ni 'bral 'gyur na //
log par rnam brtags ma yin nam // **34**

mya ṅan 'das pa bden gcig du //
rgyal ba rnams kyis nam[23] gsuṅs pa //
de tshe lhag ma log pa źes //
mkhas pa su źĭg rtog myi byed // **35**

796.2b[4] cĭ srid yĭd kyi * log g-yo ba //
de srid bdud kyi spyod yul te //
de lta yĭn na 'dĭ la yaṅ //
ñes pa myed par cĭ myi 'thad // **36**

ma rĭg rkyen kyis 'jĭg rten źes //
'dĭ ltar rdzogs pa'ĭ saṅs rgyas gsuṅs //
de phyir 'jĭg rten 'dĭ dag kyaṅ //
rnam par rtog pa cĭ myi 'thad // **37**

ma rĭg 'gags par gyur na ni //
796.2b[5] gaṅ rnams 'gags[24] * par 'gyur ba rnams //
de dag myĭ śes kun brtags par //
cĭ'i phyir na gsal myi 'gyur // **38**

rgyu yod pa las gaṅ 'byuṅ źiṅ //
rkyen myed par nĭ gnas pa myed //
rkyen myed phyir yaṅ 'jĭg 'gyur ba //
de ni yod par cĭ ltar[25] śes // **39**

gal te yod par smra ba rnams //
dṅos la źin par gnas pa nĭ //
795a lam de ñid la gnas pa ste // *
de la ṅo mtshar cuṅ zad myed // **40**

saṅs rgyas lam la brten na nĭ //
thams cad myĭ rtag smra ba rnams //
spyod pa yĭs nĭ dṅos po la //
chags gnas gaṅ yĭn de rmad do // **41**

'dĭ daṅ de źes gaṅ dag la //
brtags na rab tu myi dmyigs pa //

[23] corr.: *rnam*.
[24] Suffix *sa* added in margin
[25] Inserted by means of a cross.

'dï dań de yań bden pa źes //
795a[2] rtsod pas mkhas pa su * źig smra // **42**

ma brten par ni gań dag gis //
bdag gam 'jïg rten mńon chags pa' //
rtag dań myï rtag stsogs lta bas //
kye ma de dag 'phrogs pa yïn // **43**

gań dag brten nas dńos po rnams //
yań dag ñïd du grub 'dod pa //
de dag la yań de'ï skyon //
795a[3] rtag stsogs cï ltar 'byuń * myï 'gyur // **44**

gań dag brten nas dńos po rnams //
chu'ï zla ba lta bur ni //
yań dag ma yïn log myin par //
'dod pa de dag ltas myi 'phrogs // **45**

dńos por khas len yod na ni //
'dod chags źe sdań 'byun ba'ï //
lta ba myi bzad ma ruńs 'dzïn //
795a[4] de las byuń ba'ï rtsod par 'gyur // * **46**

de nï lta ba kun kyi rgyu //
de myed ñon mońs myi skye ste //
de bas de nï yońśes[26] na //
lta dań ñon mońs yońsu[27] 'byań // **47**

gań gis de śes 'gyur źe na //
rten cïn 'byuń ba mthoń ba ste //
rten cïn skyes pa ma skyes śes //
795a[5] yań dag mkhyen pa'i mchog gis gsuńs // * **48**

log pa'i śes pa zil non pa //
bden myin la byed pa 'dzïn pa'i //
yońs su 'dzïn dań rtsod stsogs kyi //
rïm pa chags las śïn du byuń // **49**

rtsod myed ces[30] pa'i bdag ñid can //
de dag la ni phyogs myed do //
gań rnams la nï phyogs myed pa //
795a[6] de la gźan phyogs * ga la yod // **50**

[26] corr.: *yońs śes*.
[27] corr.: *yońs su*.

gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ ba'i gnas rñed nas //
ñon moṅs sbrul gdug g-yo can kyis //
zĩn par 'gyur ro gaṅ gi sems //
gnas myed de dag zin myi 'gyur // **51**

gnas daṅ bcas pa'ĩ sems yod la //
ñon moṅs dug cen[28] cĩs myĩ 'byuṅ //
795a[7] gaṅ * tshe tha mal 'dug pa yaṅ //[29]
ñon moṅs sbrul kyis zin par 'gyur // **52**

byĩs pa bden par 'du śes pas //
gzugs brñan la nĩ chags pa bźin //
de ltar 'jĩg rten rmoṅs pa'ĩ phyir //
yul gyĩ gzeb la thogs par 'gyur ro // **53**

dṅos po gzugs brñan lta bur ni //
795a[8] ye śes * myĩg gis rab mthoṅ na //
bdag nĩd chen po de dag nĩ //
yul gyi 'dam la myĩ chags so // **54**

byĩs pa rnams nĩ gzugs la chags //
bar ma dag ni 'dod chags bral //
gzugs kyĩ raṅ bźĩn śes pa'ĩ //
blo mchog dag ni rnam par 'grol // **55**

795b sdug ces[30] pa las chags * par 'gyur //
de las bzlog pas[31] 'dod chags bral //
sgyu ma'ĩ skyes bu ltar[32] dben par //
mthoṅ nas mya ṅan 'das par 'gyur // **56**

log pa'ĩ śes pas mṅon gduṅ ba'i //
ñon moṅs skyon[33] rnams gaṅ yin de //
dṅos daṅ dṅos myed rnam rtogs pas //
795b[2] don śes gyur la myĩ 'byuṅ ṅo // * **57**

gnas yod na nĩ 'dod chags daṅ //
'dod chags bral dmyigs 'gyur na //
gnas myed bdag ñid chen po rnams //
chags pa myed cĩn / [34] chags bral myin // **58**

[28] corr.: *chen*.

[29] This verse is omitted in all the canonical editions of *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā* which we have take into account, namely sNar thaṅ, Peking, sDe dge and Co ne.

[30] corr.: *ches*.

[31] Suffix *sa* under line.

[32] Inserted.

[33] Inserted.

[34] Delete the *śad*.

gaṅ dag rnam par dben pa la //
g-yo ba'ī yid kyaṅ myī g-yo de //
ñon moṅs sbrul kyis dkrugs pa'ī //
795b[3] myī bzad * srīd pa'ī rgya mtsho rgald [35] // **59**

dge ba 'dīr yis skye bo kun //
bsod nams ye śes tshogs bstsags [36] te //
bsod nams ye śes las byuṅ ba'ī //
dam pa gñīs ni thob par śog // **60**

rīgs pa drug pa[37]'ī tshīg le 'ur * byas pa / da[38] slobs[39] dpon klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa / . . .gs[40] so //[41]

[35] *da-drag.*
[36] corr.: *bsags.*
[37] corr.: *drug cu pa.* See *supra* n. 5.
[38] *da?*, corr.: *de.*
[39] corr.: *slob.*
[40] corr.: *rdzogs.*
[41] Final remark. Concerning n. 14 and 18: there are other exemples; see interalia **25d; 26c; 32b; 42b; 49d.** Frequently we come across with *yoṅsu* and *yoṅśes* instead of *yoṅs su* and *yoṅs śes.* But the correct forms are also used. See **4c, 14b, 16d, 32c** and **49c.**

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A DOHĀ-INTERPRETATION ACCORDING TO ǰO-NAŃ-PA KUN-DGA' SÑIŃ-PO

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A monastic order which took its name from the J̌o-mo-naṅ monastery — west of Bkra-šis lhun-po — founded by the anchorite Thugs-rǰe brcon-'grus (1243—1313)[1] flourished in Tibet from the 14th to the 17th century, that is for almost four hundred years.

In their teachings they laid great stress on the study, interpretation and handling of the Kālacakra-system.[2] Notable students of the system included Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, who stressed its importance and Coṅ-kha-pa, the great renewer of Tibetan spirituality.

[1] According to the J̌oč̌h [*Dpal-ldan ǰo-naṅ-pa'i čhos-'byuṅ; Rgyal-ba'i čhos-chu gsal-byed — Zla-ba'i sgron-me* (An historical account of the Jo-naṅ-pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism by the 'Dzam-thaṅ Bla-ma Nag-dbaṅ-blo-gros-grags-pa, Reproduced from a rare print from the 'Dzam-thaṅ blocks brought to Nepal by Sprul-sku 'Od-gsal-rdo-rje, Delhi 1983.)] Padmasambhava had visited this place, too, and later Snubs-čhen Nam-mkha'i sñiṅ-po, Dam-'bre Klu'i rgyal-mchan and Sna-nam-pa Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas. The latter two founded a meditation school here. After them 'Brog-mi locāba's pupil, the great yoginī Dkon-mčhog spent many years in J̌o-naṅ where she created her rainbow-body. 80 years after her Ma-čig Saṅs-rgyas ro-ma [in BA, chapter pha, f. 15a his name is given as Ma-gčig Saṅs-rgyas Re-ma.] arrived in this place and having stayed there for many years established a meditation school according to the *bka'-gdams* and *rjogs-čhen* system. Not much later siddha 'Dar-phyar Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po also visited J̌o-naṅ for the purpose of practicing meditation, see [18a] *gnas-mčhog dpal-gyi J̌o-naṅ žes grags-pa der sṅon slob-dpon Padma 'byuṅ-gnas-kyi žabs-kyis bčags-so | de-rǰes Snubs-čhen Nam-mkha'i sñiṅ po | Dam-'bre Klu'i rgyal-mchan | Sna-nam-pa Chul-khrims 'byuṅ — gnas-sogs-kyis sgrub-gnas mjad-čiṅ | de-nas 'Brog-mi locāba'i slob-ma rnal-'byor-ma čhen-mo Dkon-mčho, žes-bya-ba gnas 'dir yun-riṅ bžugs-šiṅ mthar 'ǰa'-lus grub | de — rǰes lo-brgyad-ču skor-na | Ma-čig Saṅs-rgyas ri-ma gnas 'dir pheb-te yun-riṅ bžugs-nas* [18b] *bka'-gdams daṅ rjogs-čhen-gyi sgrub-grva bskyaṅs | de-nas mi-riṅ-bar grub-thob 'Dar-phyar Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po byon-nas thog-mar sgrub pa mjad skabs |* — In BA we can find only a short reference to foundation [chapter tha, f. 9b] (*Thugs-rǰe brcon-'grus*) *khyad-par J̌o-mo Nags rgyal-gyis J̌o-naṅ-du draṅs-pas lo-gsum-na 'byon-par žal-gyis bžas-te dus-la bab-par byon-nas dgon-pa btab |* — In J̌oč̌h [ff. 19b—20a] we find more details concerning the foundation of J̌o-naṅ.

[2] See J̌oč̌h, f. 16b sqq.

This school of thought held specific views, its nature can be best expressed by the term substantialism.[3]

I do not propose to discuss these basic notions in this article because I wish to devote the few pages at disposal, to one way in which Jo-naṅ-pa thought was applied in practice.

Tāranātha Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po (1575—1635) was one of the outstanding members of the Jo-naṅ-pa school. He too spent most of his time in the Kālacakra system but he nevertheless became best known for his historical works, which included a biography of the Buddha[4] and an instructive history of Dharma in India.[5]

He met many masters,[6] who in his time still fled into Tibet from Western India, among them Buddhagupta (the biography of whom is written by Tāranātha)[7], Premānanda, Pūrṇānanda, Pūrṇavajra from Western India, and Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa of Benares, a master of grammar.[8]

It was thanks to these masters he became familiar with the teachings of *Bka'-babs bdun-ldan-gyi khrid čhen-mo, Jalandhara'i dohā daṅ man-ṅag, Jalandhara'i lugs* and *Dohā-mjod.* These doctrines influenced him greatly. So Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po devoted a number of works to the *dohā*-tradition and their authors, showing a special interest in Kṛṣṇācarya's life and works.[9] As his

[3] One can study further details of this subjects in D. S. Ruegg's article, (*The Jo naṅ pas: a School of Buddhist Ontologists according to the Grub mtha' šel gyi me loṅ*, in *JAOS* vol. 83/1 (1963), pp. 73—91.)

[4] *Bčom-ldan-'das thub-pa'i dbaṅ-po'i mjad-pa mdo-cam brjod-pa mthoṅ-bas don-ldan rab-tu dga'-ba-daṅ bčas-pa, Dad-pa'i ñin-byed phyogs-brgyar 'čhur-ba*

[5] *Dam-pa'i čhos rin-po-čhe 'Phags-pa'i yul-du ji-ltar dar-ba'i chul gsal-bar ston-pa Dgos-dod kun-'byuṅ.* Otherwise Tāranātha's *gsuṅ-'bum* appears in reprint in India.

[6] This lineage includes some famous figures of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. It was known in Europe at the end of the 18th century, see P. S. Pallas' *Sammlungen historischen Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften* II (St. Pbg. 1803), pp. 420—423. Later A. M. Pozdneev discussed this subject in two works (*Urginskie chutuchty, Istoričeskij očerk ich prošlogo i sovremennogo byta*, in: *Travaux de la Troisieme Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, St. Pétersbourg 1876*, St. Pbg. 1879—1880, pp. 371—408, and *Mongolija i mongoly* I—II, St. Pbg. 1898, pp. 473 sqq). See also S. Hummel, *Die lamaistischen Malereien und Bilddrücke im Linden — Museum*, in: *Tribus*, Nr. 16, July 1967, Stuttgart, pp. 126—127. Further Tibetan sources: *Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma'i gsuṅ 'bum*, vol. za, f. 22ab, *Rje-bsun Tā-ra-nā-tha'i 'khruṅs-rabs, gsol-'debs, smon-lam-daṅ bčas-pa* (7 f.) by Öndür Gegen Blo-bzaṅ bstan-pa'i rgyal-mchan or Ye-šes rdo-rje, the first Rje-bcun dam-pa Qutuγtu; etc. I intend to write in detail about this subject elsewhere in the near future.

[7] *Grub-čhen Buddha-gupta'i rnam-thar*, Rje-bcun ñid-kyis žal-luṅ-las gžan-du raṅ-rtog-gi dri-mas ma sbags-pa'i yi-ge yaṅ-dag-pa'o / It covers 21 folios and is in my possession.

[8] See Tucci, TPS, p. 164.

[9] Tāranātha wrote the biography of Kṛṣṇācarya in two works: *Slob-dpon čhen-po Spyod-'čhaṅ dbaṅ po'i rnam-par thar-pa Ṅo-mchar sñan-pa'i sgra-dbyaṅs* and *Slob-dpon*

biography shows, Kṛṣṇācarya was a vagrant monk who lived during the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. He formulated his teachings and mystical experiences not only in prose but also in verse and song.

According to his legendary biography[10] [18b] Kṛṣṇācarya declaimed the following *dohā* when he converted king Gobicandra to Buddhism.

The path of meditation, those that are firmly supported,
The irrepressible *ḍamaru* sing a heroic song.
Kāhna became a *kapālika*-yogin.
Operating the city of the body, in this way he called it a family.
The sound of the bells of paths cannot be suppressed,
It uses the sun and moon as an aural ornament.
Desire, disgust and confusion cover in ashes.
He wears satisfaction as a decorative chain round his neck.
The cakras being empty, extinguish feeling, and consciousness is extinguished as well.
In this way the being of Kāhna becomes powerful.[11]

There seem to be a number of commentaries to this *dohā*. We know of at least one for certain, and that is of Munidatta which has been included in the *Bstan-'gyur*.[12]

In his commentary Tāranātha explains the poem as follows:

In order to examine the absolute truth of the song above I express the highest quality of satisfaction.

Nādi is none other than the previously established structuring process and the end product of it. This is a characteristic of mental strength. NB! The Tibetan particle *mo* in the text has long been in use for Indian long *i*.

The most important of the 32 processes is that which has an effect on the intellectual and spiritual growth of man; it is the most outstanding. Its name is also *gco-mo* or *avadhūtī*.

Spyod-'čhaṅ dbaṅ-po'i rnam-thar-gyi 'phros don Kha-skoṅ-la ñe-bar mkho-žiṅ grub-thob gžan maṅ-po'i byuṅ-chul rtogs-par byed-pa'i yi-ge (published in *Five Historical Works of Tāranātha* by the Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery, Tezu 1974). He also discussed the songs of this master in two of his writings: *Grub-čhen Nag-po spyod-pa'i do-ha'i 'grel-pa Zab-don lde-mig* and *Kahna-pa'i do-ha thor-bu rnams kyi 'grel-pa Ṅo-mchar snaṅ-ba.*

[10] The xylograph entitled *Jātakamālasugītikatha* or *Skyes-pa'i rabs-kyi phreṅ-ba, Legs-par brǰod-pa'i gtam* contains 12 legendary biographies, the second one relates the life story of Nag-po spyod-pa (of which the title runs: *Nag-po spyod-pa'i rtogs-pa brǰod-pa'i yal-'dab*).

[11] S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, London 1969, pp. 57—58: a different translation of this text on the basis of the Dohākoṣa's text.

[12] See P. Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, Oslo—Bergen—Tromsø 1977, pp. 119—122.

In the circle of the sacred focal point, the two processes which earlier appeared separately are united and linked, as a result the central process, which is the most important, is widened.

The expression "keeping firm" refers to the inner *khatvaṃga*.

Once the central process is widened, the voice of the indivisible and irrepressible emptiness-nothingness is heard. This is the singing of those of strong soul who appear in the song. It is strong in soul because it represses all the voices of the karma and of the phenomena.

As a result of all this, what truly appears in the poem is the expression "*ḍamaru*-voice" (*ṅes-don-gyi ḍa-ma-ru sgrog-pa*).

Kāhna, or rather the noetic nothingness, is now the soul purified from every sin in the crowning cakra, caught in the practice of the 32 processes and in the creation of inner heat.

This is how radiating experience and nondiscursive transcending awareness finished. In this way he meditated on the true meaning of feeding out of the skull, on the five differing orders of the spheres that crop up in the city of the body, and on the currents that shine red hot as fire and white as metal. In this way he visited every house of the five orders of the city [that is the heat passed through all the five cakras] — this is the correct interpretation.

The *āli* indicates the movement of the *rkyaṅ-ma*, and the *kāli* that of the *ro*. When, in the two central processes [*dbu-ma* or *avadhūtī*] they are melted in each other, an irrepressible sound comes about. This is the meaning of the peal of bells and of the sound of anklets.

Lunar whiteness and solar redness, intruding in the central process and melting into it and each other, further multiply this irrepressible sound because it is continuously audible.

Decorating his ear with the most outstanding ornaments, he hangs his attention on the *maṇipura-cakra*, as it is penetrated by *ro-ma* fire (*gtum-mo*), and so the passionate desires concentrate on the skull-cakra, *rkyaṅ-ma* penetrates the *gtum-mo*, and so does hatred or aversion; at the same time the *gtum-mo* penetrates the *dbu-ma* concentrating on the heart-cakra, and thus inconsiderateness or bewilderment, the burning ashes of these three (i.e. passion, aversion and bewilderment), cover the body. The other processes become the causes of transcending awareness.

What is involved here is that the incendiary flaming light of the inner heat of transcending awareness — it was described as being red — which fills it — becomes a weapon. In the same way the light which shines with the metallic whiteness of transcendental consciousness — which also fills it — becomes a weapon too, then the three reaction potentialities, that is "passion-lust", "aversion" and "bewilderment" are already sent on their way.

This is the meaning of the cleansing of the three spheres or cakras.

The *vajrasattva* has achieved the liberation of the *mahāsukha*. That is like the tune of a string of pearls around one's neck, since the bodhisattva is stored up by creative energy. These are the true meanings of the ornaments.

As far as belonging to the *kapāli* is concerned:

In the world of the subject the *kapāli* is surely only some kind of tiller of the soil, a yoginī, a carnivore, like the *rakṣasa*. Since they transgress the prohibition against meat they harm those who have no protection, and even kill them.

The mother-in-law is extinguished by the creative activity (*rtog-pa*), the father-in-law by the five senses in the house of nothingness. This is the inner meaning.

And also that a state of consciousness resembling the mother-in-law, is extinguished by the spread of the light of transcendent consciousness.

Kāhna, on the other hand, will achieve tremendous strength.

These were the metaphors used as general terms whose clarified meaning was expounded above.

Kalyanaṃ.

Transcription

[bži-pa Paṭahamañjari žes bya-ba'i glu-dbyaṅs gsum-pa ni/]

nā-ḍi nus-ldan brtan-bzuṅ kha-tvāṃ-ga //
gžom-med ḍa-ma-ru sgrog dpa'-bo'i gdaṅs //
Kāhna thod-čan rnal-'byor bžugs-nas spyod //
lus-kyi groṅ-khyer žes-byar rigs-čig brǰod //
ā-li kā-li dril-bu rkaṅ-gdub-čan //
zla-ba ñi-ma rna-rgyan brgyan-du byas //
'dod-čhags že-sdaṅ gti-mug thal-bas byugs //
mčhog-gi thar thob mu-tig do-šal bčiṅs //
sgyug-mo a-ni skud-po'i khyim-du gsod //
ma ni gsod-pas Kāhna ka-pā-li // čes-so //

don-dam rab-tu rtog-pa'i phyir bde-ba čhen-po čhe-du brǰod-pa-ste / nā-dī ni rca-ste dpa'-mo'i bdag-ñid-kyi phyir / mo rtags ī riṅ-po smos so //

rca sum-ču-rca-gñis-po-rnams-kyi naṅ-nas / nus-pa mčhog-daṅ ldan-pa'i gco-mo ni / avadhutī-ste de-yaṅ gsaṅ-ba'i 'khor-lo-la ro rkyaṅ-gi rca bčiṅs-pa'i nus-pas dbu-ma rgyas-pa de brtan-par bzuṅ-ba ni naṅ gi kha-tvāṅ-ga yin-la / dbu-ma rgyas-pa-las gžom-med stoṅ-pa'i sgra sgrog-pa ni dpa'-bo'i gdaṅs-te / las snaṅ ma-dag-pa'i sgra thams-čad zil-gyis gnon-pa'i phyir dpa'-bo'o //

ṅes-don-gyi ḍa-ma-ru sgrog-pa ni de yin-la / Kahna raṅ-sems da ni thod-pa spyi-bo'i 'khor-lor daṅs-ma sum-ču-rca-gñis daṅ / gtum-mo sbyor-ba'i rnal-'byor žugs-nas gsal-stoṅ mi-rtog-pa'i ye-šes spyod-par byed-la / čes-pa thod-pas zas-la loṅs-spyod-pa'i ṅes-don daṅ / lus-kyi groṅ-khyer 'dir khams 'byuṅ-ba lṅa'i rigs sna-chogs-pa-rnams / dmar-po 'bar-ba'i gsal-snaṅ daṅ / dkar-po žu-ba'i bde-ba'i ṅo-bor mñam-ñid rigs-gčig-tu spyod-par byed-de / groṅ-khyer-du rigs-lṅa'i khyim so-sor 'khyam-pa'i ṅes-don-no //

āli rkyaṅ-ma'i rluṅ daṅ / kāli ro-ma'i rluṅ dbu-mar thim-pas / gžom-med-kyi sgra 'byuṅ-ba ni / dril-bu g-yer-ka'i 'phreṅ-ba daṅ / rkaṅ gdub sgra-čan-gyi ṅes-don yin-la / zla-ba khams dkar-po daṅ / ñi-ma dmar-po'i bsgrod-pa dbu-mar yaṅ-yaṅ 'dres-pas [8a] kyaṅ / gžom-med-kyi sgra 'phel-ba ni / rtag-tu thos-pa'i phyir / rgyan-gyi mčhog rna--rgyan-du [byas?]-pa yin-čiṅ / lte-ba daṅ / ro-ma gtum-mos khyab-pas 'dod-čhags daṅ / spyi-bo daṅ / rkyaṅ-ma khyab-pas že-sdaṅ daṅ / sñiṅ-ga khyab-pas / gti mug-rnams bsregs-pa'i thal-bas lus-la byugs-pa-ste / rca dbu-ma daṅ 'khor-lo gsum sbyaṅs-pas / rca gžan thams-čad kyaṅ ye-šes skyed-pa'i rgyur 'gyur-pa'i don-no [//]

'dir ye-šes-kyi gtum-mo 'bar-ba'i 'bar-snaṅ-gis khygb-pa ni mchon byed-de / žu-ba'i bde-bas kyaṅ khyab-pa yin-la / ñon-moṅs lam-du gnas 'gyur-ba yaṅ / rca-gsum spyaṅs-pa'i don-gyis-so //

rdo-rǰe-sems-dpa'i bde-ba mčhog-gi thar-pa thob-pa ni / mu-tig-gi do-šal dbyaṅs--pa-daṅ 'dra-ste / byaṅ-čhub-kyi sems thig-le'i 'phreṅ-ba brsan-pa'i phyir-ro //

de-dag ni rgyan-gyi ṅes-don-rnams-so //

grogs thod-pa-čan-ma bsten-pa čes-pa / 'ǰig-rten kun-rjob-tu thod-pa-čan-ma ni žiṅ-na spyod-pa'i rnal-'byor-ma / srin-mo ša-za-mo-rnams-so //

de-dag ni dam-chig 'dral-ba-sogs bag-med-pa-rnams-la 'khu-žiṅ gsod-par byed-pa yin-te / de naṅ-don-du sbyar-na / sgyug-mo yid rtog daṅ / skud-po dbaṅ-šes-lṅa-rnams stoṅ-pa'i khyim-du gsod-par byed-la / ma daṅ mchuṅs-pa'i rig-pa yaṅ ye-šes-kyi snaṅ-ba rgyas-pas gsod-par byed-pa'i phyir / Kahna-pa bdag ni stobs-daṅ ldan-pa'o //

čes-pa-ste / 'di-dag phal-čher 'jin-pa'i sbyor-ba yan-čhad-la sbyaṅ-bar bya-ba yin-no //

ka-lya-naṁ //

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HÜLEGÜ AND TIBET

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The name Hülegü is not unknown in the pages of Tibetan historical literature. The first Il-Khanid ruler of Mongol-dominated Iran appears in a number of Tibetan sources in which his name is generally transcribed as Hu-la-hu or Hu-la. Some of these works refer to him, furthermore, as the patron of the Phag-mo gru-pa subsect or as the "Stod-Hor king."[1] The information thus provided has not, however, been fully accepted. On the contrary, Hülegü's connections with the Phag-mo gru-pa have been described as questionable,[2] and it has been implied that the Tibetan transcription of his name might in fact be an erroneous rendering of someone else's name.[3] The question of

[1] See, for example, *Brlangs-kyi pu-ti bse-ru*, in *Kha-rag Gnyos-kyi gdung-rabs khyad-par 'phags-pa dang Rlangs-kyi gdung-brgyud pod-ti bse-ru* [= *The History of the Gños Lineage of Kha-rag and a Version of the Rlaṅs Po Ti Bse Ru Containing the Geneology of the Rlaṅs Lineage*], Dolanji 1978, f. 7v; G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa Dpal-'byor bzang-po [= Śrībhūtibhadra], *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig-tshang mkhas-pa'i dga'-byed chen-mo 'dzam-gling gsal-ba'i me-long*, Thimphu 1979, I f. 182v and II f. 167v; Padma dkar-po, *Chos-'byung bstan-pa'i padma rgyas-pa'i nyin-bysd* [= *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*], New Delhi 1968, f. 282r; George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi 1976, p. 580; and Giuseppe Tucci, *Deb T'er Dmar Po Gsar Ma*, Rome 1971, p. 204. It should also be noted that the variants of Hülegü's name which one encounters in Tibetan sources (i.e., Hu-la and Hu-la hu) are parallelled by the variants found in Chinese sources, Hsü-lieh and Hsü-lieh-wu. See Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959—1973, p. 866.

[2] See János Szerb, "Glosses on the Oeuvre of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa: II. Some Notes on the Events of the Years 1251—1254," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XXXIV (1980), p. 265; and Turrell V. Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XXXVII (1977), pp. 108 and 124—125.

[3] Luciano Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols," in Morris Rossabi, ed., *China Among Equals*, Berkeley 1983, pp. 189 and 20, cites Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 187, and states that "a certain sTod Hor king Hu-la" is said to have supported the 'Bri-gung-pa in the turbulent period after 1285, a period long after the death of Hülegü. Petech concludes that this "King 'Hu-la' can only be Du'a (1274—1306), the staunch ally of Khaidu and head of the house of Chaghadai." It must be pointed out, however, that Hu-la is not mentioned on p. 187 of Tucci's translation of Bsod-nams grags-pa's *Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma*. He does appear on p. 204, though, as "Hu la the king of upper Hor" [i.e., *Stod-Hor-gyi rgyal-po Hu-la*; see f. 68v of the Tibetan text], but in a context that poses no obstacles (chronologically or otherwise) to our identification of him as the Il-Khan Hülegü.

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Hülegü's connections with thirteenth-century Tibet has thus become an issue of sorts. I believe, however, that its resolution will not only clarify certain facts about the first Il-Khan, but will also tell us something about the early position of Tibet within the Mongol world empire.

To a large extent the controversy surrounding Hülegü's relationship with Tibet has arisen out of his connection with the term "Stod-Hor", a term which has been shown to be associated in Tibetan sources with the Central Asian Čaqatai Khanate of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[4] The Mongol troops that are said to have intervened on the side of the 'Bri-gung-pa during the strife between that subsect and the Sa-skya-pa in the late thirteenth century are described as Stod-Hor troops in several Tibetan sources.[5] Attention has been focused on the fact that these soldiers ought logically to have come from the Čaqatai Khanate, not only due to the fact that "Stod-Hor" has been shown to refer to that realm, but also because Qubilai and his Sa-skya-pa allies were far more likely to come into armed conflict with Čaqatai forces, allies of Qaidu with whom Qubilai maintained openly hostile relations, than with troops from Il-Khanid Iran, a realm with which the Yüan court entertained friendly ties.[6]

All this has tended to cast shadows over the seemingly facile identification of Stod-Hor Hu-la-hu with Hülegü of Iran, the first Il-Khan.[7] As a result, it has become necessary for us to reexamine the issue of Hülegü and his connection with Tibet. In so doing, let us first look at the question of his ties to the Phag-mo gru-pa, and then say a few words about the Stod-Hor problem.

One of our main sources for information on Hülegü's ties to Tibet has been the history completed by the 5th Dalai Lama in 1643, large sections of

[4] Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 and 202, cites the example given by Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für Tibetische Geistliche*, St. Augustin 1977, p. 144.

[5] See Padma dkar-po, *op. cit.*, f. 283r; Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Rome 1962, p. 134; and Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Za-Hor-gyi bande Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho'i 'di snang-'khrul-pa'i rol-rtsed rtogs-brjod kyi tshul du bkod-pa du-kū-la'i gos-bzang*, Solan 1983, *ka* f. 21v. Cf. also 'Bri-gung chos-rje Kun-dga' rin-chen, *Dpal-ldan bla-ma Kun-dga' rin-chen gyi rnam par thar-pa dang bka'-'bum 'thor-bu'i dbu-phyogs* [= *Miscellaneous Writings* (*Bka' 'bum thor bu*) *of 'Bri-gung chos-rje Kun-dga' rin-chen*], Leh 1972, f. 58v; and Che-tshang sprul-sku Bstan-'dzin padma'i rgyal-mtshan, *Nges-don bstan-pa'i snying-po 'Bri-gung-pa chen-po'i gdan-rabs chos-kyi byung-tshul gser-gyi phreng-ba*, Bir 1977 ,f. 90v. It must be emphasized that none of our sources claim that Hülegü himself had any connection with this campaign. As pointed out in note 3, above, these troubles occured long after the first Il-Kkan's death.

[6] Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 189; and Wylie, *op. cit.* (1977), p. 132.

[7] Concerning the life and reign of Hülegü (d. February 8, 1265, in his forty-ninth year), see J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," in J. A. Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, vol. 5, pp. 340—355; and Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Amsterdam 1968, vol. 1.

which were made available in English more than thirty-five years ago with the publication of Giuseppe Tucci's massive work, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.[8] It is from the 5th Dalai Lama that we learn that some of the Bka'-brgyud-pa subsects aligned themselves in the middle of the thirteenth century with different Mongol patrons (all sons of Tolui and princes of his *ulus*): the 'Bri-gung-pa with Möngke; the Tshal-pa with Qubilai; and the Phag-mo gru-pa with Hülegü.[9] These were not nominal alignments, if we accept the account of the 5th Dalai Lama. Each prince is said to have become the overlord of certain territories in Tibet as a result of a common agreement between all of them. By extension these lands fell under the sway of the subsects they patronized. The Dalai Lama makes this explicit point with regard to Hülegü and the Phag-mo gru-pa; he enumerates a list of more than fifteen places belonging to Hülegü which were considered by extension to be under the Phag-mo gru-pa.[10]

The 5th Dalai Lama relied upon the testament of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302—1364), the most prominent political figure of the Phag-mo gru-pa, for much of his account of the subsect's fortunes. He tells us as much by citing the work several times in the course of his remarks on the Phag-mo

[8] For a translation of various portions of the history of Tibet composed by the 5th Dalai Lama, Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo [= Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho], *Gang-chen-yul-gyi sa-la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris-kyi rgyal-blon gtso-bor brjod-pa'i deb-ther rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu'i dga'-ston dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyangs*, Peking 1981, see Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, pp. 625—651.

[9] Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (translated by Tucci, *op. cit.* [1949], p. 629).

[10] Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 105:

Individually, King Möngke (Mon-gor) took the 'Bri-gung-pa, King [Qubilai] Sečen (Se-chen) took the Tshal-pa, and Hülegü (Hu-la-hu) took the Phag-mo gru-pa, as priests; i.e., the various kings who divided up the Tibetans [among themselves] and ruled over them allotted to each of their priests [authority] based upon the example of [the following regions:] from Mon Lug-mgo-steng hither, Gnyal-stod [and Gnyal]-smad, Gru-shul, Lo-ro dkar-[po and Lo-ro] nag[-po], Byar-po, Lesser E from among [the regions of] Greater E, Thang-po-che, 'Phyong-rgyas, 'Phyos, Mon-mkhar, Mkhar-ltag do-bo, Sregs-lte, 'On-sna, Nam-zhal-lnga, and down to the front of the east gate of Bsam-yas; and from the (area) east of Lho-brag, Mchod-sde and Ba-zhi, the two Tibetan pasture lands; and (the area) from Mnga'-ris up to Ko-ron-mdo and down to Spu-rig La-rtsa, [all of] which were, in the sense that they belonged to Hülegü, the king, under the Phag-mo gru-pa. . . . . (*de-yang Mon-gor rgyal-pos / 'Bri-gung-pa / Se-chen rgyal-pos Tshal-pa / Hu la-hus Phag-mo gru-pa-rnams so-sor mchod-gnas-su bzung-ste / Bod-rnams rgyal-po so-sos ris-su bcad-de bdag-po mdzad-pa-rnams mchod-gnas so-sor sbyar-ba'i Mon Lug-mgo-steng tshun-chad / Gnyal-stod-smad / Gru-shul / Lo-ro-dkar-nag Byar-po / E che-ba'i nang-nas E-chung / Thang-po-che / 'Phyong-rgyas / 'Phyos / Mon-mkhar / Mkhar-ltag do-bo / Sregs-lte / 'On-sna / Nam-zhal-lnga / Bsam-yas shar-sgo-gdong man chad-dang / Lho-brag shar-nas / Mchod-sde / Ba-zhi Bod-'brog-gnyis / Mnga'-ris nas Ko-ron-mdo yan-chad / Spu-rig La-rtsa man-chad rnams rgyal-po Hu-la-hur gtogs-pa'i don-gyi Phag-mo gru-pa'i 'og-tu yod-pa dper-mtshon-te. . . . .*) Cf. Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), p. 629.

gru-pa.[11] It is therefore fortunate that Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's testament, the *Si-tu bka'-chems*, has become accessible in the West as a result of its publication in India in 1974.[12] By drawing upon it we are now able to add significant details to the information provided by the 5th Dalai Lama concerning the relationship between Hülegü and the Phag-mo gru-pa. It should be emphasized that Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's intimate connection with the subsect's political affairs and his relative proximity in time to be period with which we are dealing make the *Si-tu bka'-chems* an invaluable source for our purposes. The passage from it which follows provides a clear illustration of this. It relates, with regard to the period following the enthronement of Möngke in 1251, that

> . . . at that time, here in the realm of Tibet, when Köden (Go-dan), the prince, was the master of Byang-ngogs [i.e., Byang-ngos], inasmuch as Köden took his priest (from) among the Ya-ka [*sic*; i.e., Sa-skya (-pa)], so the 'Bri-khung-pa [i.e., 'Bri-gung-pa] knew King Möngke (Mo-'gor) [as their patron]; the Mtshal-pa [i.e., Tshal-pa] knew King [Qubilai] Sečen (Se-chen) [as their patron]; the Phag-mo gru-pa knew Hülegü (Hu-la-hu), the prince, [as their patron]; and the Stag-lung-pa knew Ariγ Böke (Ya-ri Bo-kha) [as their patron]. And those four [Mongol lords of] royal lineage acted as masters over their own interests within their own myriarchies. After this, when King Möngke died, and when King [Qubilai] Sečen was seated upon the throne, all of the lieutenants (*yul-bsrungs*) of Tibet [serving under the aforementioned Mongol lords] were recalled, at which, since the interests of King [Qubilai] Sečen and Hülegü, his brother, were in harmony, our lieutenant [i.e., the lieutenant sent by Hülegü and associated with the Phag-mo gru-pa] remained in residence here. (The areas) belonging to Hülegü, from Mon Lug-sgo-stengs hither, Gnyal-stod [and Gnyal] -smad, Gyu-shul [i.e., Gru-shul], Lo-ro dkar-[po and Lo-ro] nag[-po], Byar-po, and, from within Greater G.ye, Gcung-pa [i.e. Gcung-po], are even now contained in the edict of appointment [i.e., relating to the lieutenant]. The (people) of Lesser G.ye had us [i.e., the Phag-mo gru-pa] as their lords . . . Thang-po-che, 'Phyong-rgyas, 'Phyos, Mon-'gar-phyin, Mar-stag, Do-bo, Sregs-te, 'On-rna nam-zha-lnga, and down to the front of the east gate of Bsam-yas; and from the (area) east of Lho-brag, Shang-sde and Ba-shi, the two Tibetan

[11] Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 129, 130, and 135. Only the reference on p. 109 is mentioned by Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), p. 630.

[12] *Lha-rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, New Delhi 1974, ff. 217—866. I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Tashi Tsering of Dharamsala (who has examined the copy of the *Si-tu bka'-chems* kept in Gangtok) for information regarding the pagination of Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's testament within this volume.

pasture lands; and (the area) from Mnga'-ris bskor [i.e., skor-gsum] up to Sko-ron-mdo and down to Spo-rig [i.e., Spu-rig] La-rtswa, (these) belonged to Hülegü.[13]

This passage presents us with several points that are worth noting. We see Ariγ Böke, another son of Tolui, added to the lists of Mongol lords allied with Bka'-brgyud-pa subsects by means of his association with the Stag-lung-pa; this accords with information found elsewhere.[14] Of particular interest, however, is the reference to the existence of lieutenants in Tibet (whom we may assume were posted at the sectarian bases associated with the different ecclesiastical allies of Tolui's sons) during the period when Köden was based in Liang-chou (Byang-ngos)[15] and Qubilai had not yet ascended the throne. While the 5th Dalai Lama remarks that the Mongol lords were able to exercise political power in the territories they assigned to themselves by mutual consent, Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (upon whom the 5th Dalai Lama based his comments) provides us with a more specific idea of how this was done, pointing to the use of lieutenants to represent the interests of each Mongol lord. It should be noted that these lieutenants were obviously sent into Tibet from other areas; how else could they later have been recalled?

We must also note that the original agreement appears to have functioned only until Qubilai's accession to the throne. The disappearance from the Tibetan scene of Möngke's and Ariγ Böke's respective lieutenants is understandable.

[13] *Lha rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, ff. 232—234:
de-dus Bod-phyogs 'dir / rgyal-bu Go-dan Byang-ngogs sa-bdag-par 'dug-pa-la / Go-dan Ya-ka-la bla-mchod blangs-pas / 'Bri-khung-pa Mo-'gor rgyal-por shes / Mtshal-pa Se-chen rgyal-por shes / Phag-mo gru-pa rgyal-bu Hu-la-hu shes / Stag lung-pas Ya-ri Bo-kha shes-par 'dug-cing / rgyal-brgyud bzhi-pos / khri-bskor so-sor dgos-bdag byas-par 'dug / der-rting Mo-'gor rgyal-po gnam-la gshegs-dus / Se-chen rgyal-po rgyal-sar bzhugs-dus / Bod-kyi yul-bsrungs thams-cad phyir bsdus-pa-la / Se chen rgyal-po dang Hu-la- (233) *hu sku-mched dgos mthun-du 'dug-pas / rang-re'i yul-bsrungs tshang-'di bzhag-pa yin-par 'dug / rgyal-bu Hu-la-hu-la gtogs-pa / Mon Lug-mgo-stengs tshur-bcad Gnyal-stod-smad Gyu-shul Lo-ro dkar-nag Byar-po G.ye-che-ba'i nang-nas Gcung-pa da-lta-yang sko-'ja'i nang-na yod / G.ye-chung-rnams rang-re bdag-par 'dug / . . . . .* (234) *Thang po-che dang / 'Phyong-rgyas 'Phyos Mon-'gar-phyin Mar-stag Do-bo Sregs-te / On-rna nam-zha-lnga / Bsam-yas shar-sgo-gdong mar-bcad dang / Lho-brag shar-nas shang-sde Ba-shi Bod-'brog gnyis Mnga'-ris bskor-nas Sko-ron-mdo yar-bcad Spo-rig La-rtswa mar-bcad-rnams / Hu-la hu-la gtogs-par 'dug /*

[14] See, for example, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba, *Chos-byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, New Delhi 1961, p. 794. See also, Szerb, *op. cit.*, pp. 264—265.

[15] Byang ngos is identified with Liang-chou: 涼州 (which is located in the present-day province of Kansu) in the Ming dynasty Tibetan-Chinese vocabulary studied by Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, *Saibankan yakugo no kenkyū* 西番館臚語 *no* 研究, Kyoto 1970, p. 112.

Möngke, Qubilai's predecessor was dead, while Ariγ Böke considered himself to be the legitimate Qaγan and was openly hostile to Qubilai.[16]

Hülegü, however, remained on good terms with Qubilai and thus, as seen in the testament of Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, he continued to maintain an official in Tibet to look after his interests. As mentioned, this included jurisdiction over a number of areas in Tibet. These areas (mentioned in the passage from the *Si-tu bka'-chems* quoted above) cannot all be identified with certainty, but enough of them can to allow us to form an idea of the range of Hülegü's authority in Tibet. Mon Lug-sgo-stengs, Gnyal, Gru-shul, Lo-ro and Byar-po can all be located in the region between Mon-yul and Dwags-po.[17] To the west of Dwags-po lies the region of G.ye, perhaps more commonly written as E.[18] Thang-po-che, 'Phyong-rgyas, and 'Phyos are further to the west, beyond G.ye.[19] The locations of Mon-'gar-phyin, Mar-stag, Do-bo, Sregs-te, 'On-rna nam-zha-lnga, Shang-sde, and Ba-shi, cannot be determined at present (although it can obviously be said that Shang-sde and Ba-shi must lie somewhere to the east of Lho-brag).[20] Sko-ron-mdo must not be too far from

[16] See Thomas T. Allsen, "The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century," in Rossabi, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[17] Lug-mgo stengs, which the 5th Dalai Lama writes as "Lug-mgo-steng" (see note 10, above), obviously falls within the confines of the Mon-yu area east of Bhutan. A reference in Roerich, *op. cit.*, p. 304, seems to indicate that it can't be too far from Bya-yul. Concerning Gnyal, Gru shul, Lo-ro, and Byar-po, see Alfonsa Ferrari, *Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, pp. 51 and 126—127. Gnyal and Lo-ro are also described by Wylie, *op. cit.* (1962), p. 174. The spelling Gyu-shul has been amended to Gru-shul on the basis of the passage by the 5th Dalai Lama quoted in note 10. Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan also mentions Gnyal, Lo-ro, and Byar-po among the areas subdued at the time of Dor-rta's incursion into Tibet; see *Lha-rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, f. 231. Concerning Dor-rta's campaign, see Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 181; and Wylie, *op. cit.* (1977), pp. 104—112.

[18] Concerning G. ye (= E, or E-yul), see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 126; and Wylie, *op. cit.* (1962), pp. 92. The 5th Dalai Lama renders G. ye as "E" (see note 10, abave). Both forms are apparently acceptable. Thus, Ferrari, *loc. cit.*, notes that "E is the Yêe of Desideri."

[19] Concerning Thang-po-che and 'Phyong-rgyas, see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 129—130; and Wylie *op. cit.* (1962), pp. 169—170. Thang-po-che is the site of the monastery referred to in these two works as Yar-lung Thang po-che or Sol-nag Thang-poche. Cf. the Thang-po-che gling-smad in Rgyal-ba lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 125, and the Thang-po-che'i gling-smad in G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 170v. 'Phyos is located in the same general vicinity; see Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 438, 1030, and 1059 ("'Phyos of Yar-kluńs").

[20] These names pose various problems. The form Mon-'gar-phyin is given, it would seem, only by Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan. Variants are found in Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 ("Mon-'gar"), 238 ("Mon-'gar-rgyal-bzaṅs"), 653 ("Mon-'gar"), 657 ("Mon-'gar Mgon-po-gdoṅ"), and 975 ("Mon-'gar-ba"). The reference on p. 653 indicates that Mon-'gar was close to the monastery of Gdan-sa-mthil. The 5th Dalai Lama writes "Mon-mKhar" in the passage quoted in note 10, above, and refers to the place in various other contexts. See Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ("Mon-mkhar Bkra-shis gdong"), 127

the lands comprising Mnga'-ris skor-gsum,[21] and while the specific location of La-rtswa cannot be determined, there is no reason not to accept Tucci's identification of Spu-rig (as found in the 5th Dalai Lama's list) with the district of Pu-rig in Ladakh.[22] To these areas we can add the domain of the G.ya'-bzang-pa subsect of the Bka'-brgyud-pa, which both Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan and the 5th Dalai Lama describe as being subject to Hülegü.[23]

It must be emphasized that references to Hülegü's role in Tibet depict it as having continued not only after Qubilai had had himself proclaimed Qaγan, but well after Hülegü had departed from Inner Asia and established his base in Iran. Hülegü had been appointed to rule Iran at the *quriltai* of 1251 that had chosen Möngke as Qaγan. He entered Iran to begin his rule as the first Mongol Il-Khan of that country at the beginning of 1256.[24] Tibetan sources tell of his continuing links to Tibet during this period, and up until his death in 1265. According to several works, Hülegü sent offerings to the Phag-mo gru-pa abbot, Rgyal-ba rin-po-che Grags-pa brtson-'grus. The last presentation of offerings seems to have arrived in Tibet in early 1267, two years after Hülegü's death and, we are told, seventeen days before the death of Rgyal-ba rin-po-che.[25]

("Mon-mkhar"), and 134 ("Mon-mkhar mda'"). It should be noted that the 5th Dalai Lama also mentions another place with a name written only slightly differently, "Smon-mkhar," on pp. 127 and 174 ("*gzhis-ka* Smon-mkhar"). Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba, *op. cit.*, p. 796, also has the form "Mon-mkhar," while G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 170v, mentions "Mon-mkhar Bkra-shis gdong." Mar-stag, Do-bo, and Sregs-te, are not clearly separated in the text of the *Si-tu bka'-chems*. It is therefore hard to determine how many names these syllables represent. We should note that the 5th Dalai Lama, in the passage quoted in note 10, above, writes "Mkhar-ltag do bo / Sregs-lte." 'On-rna nam-zha-lnga, which in similarly problematic, is rendered by the 5th Dalai Lama as "'On-sna / Nam-zhal-lnga." It is probably connected in some way with the 'On valley in Dbus, across the Gtsang-po from 'Phyong-rgyas and Yar-klungs; see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 119—120; and Wylie, *op. cit.* (1962), p. 170. Shang-sde and Ba-shi, as we have seen in note 10, above, are given by the 5th Dalai Lama as Mchod-ste and Ba-zhi, respectively. Cf., also, Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), p. 629, where the latter name is transcribed as "Ba-si." Cf. also Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 176 ("Pa shi," = "Ba-šis," in Tucci, *op. cit.* [1949], p. 646).

[21] As seen in note 10, above, the 5th Dalai Lama gives Sko-ron-mdo as Ko-ron-mdo.

[22] Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), pp. 329 and 688.

[23] *Lha-rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, f. 248, and Rgyal-dbang lnga-pa chen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Concerning the G. ya-bzang-pa, see Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 652—659; and Tucci *op. cit.* (1971), pp. 193—194.

[24] Boyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 340—341.

[25] Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, *Deb-ther dmar-po*, Peking 1981, p. 122:

Later, when [Spyan-snga rin-po-che Grags-pa 'byung-gnas] was acting as [abbot of] the see of 'Bri-khung [i.e., 'Bri-gung] his nephew, Rgyal-ba Thog-rdugs-pa [i.e., Rgyal-ba rin-po-che Grags-pa brtson-'grus] was appointed to [the abbotship] of Phag-[mo] gru. In the latter portion of his [i.e., Rgyal-ba rin-po-che's] life he accepted great

Evidently routes existed between the non-contiguous realms of Tibet and Il-Khanid Iran, probably traversing Kashmir. In this regard it should be borne in mind that Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's list of places under the aegis of Hülegü includes areas in Western Tibet. A further piece of evidence on this point comes to us from biographies of the famous thirteenth-century Tibetan traveller, O-rgyan-pa Seng-ge dpal, wherein it is recounted that O-rgyan-pa came upon a *vihāra* (*gtsug-lag-khang*) erected by Hülegü just west of Kashmir, not far from where he had begun encountering Mongols and mixed Mongol—Indian populations.[26]

Hülegü was certainly well-known to Tibetans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; he appears in enough sources to allow us to conclude so. More importantly, we must note that there can no longer be any doubt, when Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan writes of Prince Hülegü, the brother of Qubilai, that our sources are clearly dealing with the Mongol ruler who took the throne of Iran as the first Il-Khan.[27]

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offerings from Hülegü (Hu-la-hu), the king, and then, in seventeen days, Rgyal-ba rin-po-che passed away. (*phyis 'Bri khung-gi gdan-sa mdzad-dus khong-rang-gi dbon po Rgyal-ba Thong-rdugs pa Phang-grur bskos / de'i sku-tshe'i smad rgyal-po Hu-la-lu'i 'bul-mo-che blangs-nas zhag bcu-bdun-na Rgyal-ba rin-po-che grongs-so*)

Cf. G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II ff. 167r—167v; and Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 580, which speak of several instances of Hülegü making offerings to Rgyal-ba rin-po-che. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 183, citing the passage from the *Deb-ther dmar-po* quoted above, states that it was Spyan-snga rin-po-che Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1175/1176—1256) who received Hülegü's gifts. However the reference to the death of Rgyal-ba rin-po-che (1203—1267; according to Roerich, *loc. cit.*, he died on the 18th day of the Fire-Female-Hare year, i.e., February 13, 1267) in this passage does not permit such in interpretation, as Spyan-snga rin-po-che died twelve years before Rgyal-ba rin-po-che. Concerning Spyan-snga Grags-pa 'byung-gnas, see 'Bri-gung chos-rje, *op. cit.*, ff. 45?—46v (fol o 45 is missing from the edition currently available); Che-tshang sprul-sku, *op. cit.*, ff. 81r—82r; and Roerich, *op. cit.*, 571—579. Concerning Rgyal-ba rin-po-che Grags-pa brtson-'grus, see Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 579—580. The uncle-nephew relationship between the two clerics is also mentioned by Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan; see *Lha-rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, f. 234. See also note 36, below.

[26] Zla-ba seng-ge, *Grub-chen O-rgyan-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa byin-brlabs-kyi chu-rgyan*, Gangtok 1976, ff. 25 (*'og-ma*)r 25 (*'og-ma*)v. Cf. Giuseppe Tucci, "Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat valley," in Giuseppe Tucci, *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, pp. 395 and 412. Tucci rejects the identification of the Hu-la-hu who erected the *vihāra* with the first Il-Khan, maintaining (p. 395) that a later reference to its destruction by the Moghuls proves that it must have been a Hindu, rather than a Buddhist, structure. This argument is not very convincing, however. One can easily imagine Buddhist and Hindu structures being equally vulnerable to stringently applied principles of Islamic orthodoxy.

[27] This point must be stressed in light of the diverse expressions of doubt concerning the reliability of Tibetan references to Hülegü that have already been cited. We must emphasize that the various authors who penned these references knew quite well to whom they were referring.

We have seen that the links between the Phag-mo gru-pa and the ruler of Iran were not simply nominal. In Tibet these links were personified by the lieutenant posted there by Hülegü, a Mongol official whose name has fortunately been preserved for us in several Tibetan works. He is Kokoču (Go-go-chu). Mention of him first appeared in the West eighty years ago, when Sarat Chandra Das published his brief article, "A Short History of the House of Phagdu Which Ruled Over Tibet on the Decline of the Sakya till 1432 A.D."[28] In that article Das refers to "the son of Gogochu, named Dorje of Yarlung," who sat in a council that conducted the political affairs of the Phag-mo gru-pa. Das's source (which he did not name, but which we may now identify without any problem as the *Rgya-Bod yig-tshang*[29]) is slightly more precise, referring to this member of the Phag-mo gru-pa ruling circles as "Rdo-rje Yar-lungs-pa, the son of Kokoču, the lieutenant appointed previously by Hülegü."[30] Kokoču is mentioned in other works, including the *Si-tu bka'-chems*, and he is generally referred to in the same way; as the lieutenant appointed or sent by Hülegü.[31]

The references to Kokoču's son which we find in parallel passages in both the *Rgya-Bod yig-tshang* and the *Deb-ther dmar-po* add to the picture.[32] These show that Kokoču not only resided in Tibet as Hülegü's lieutenant but that his son was taking part in the political affairs of the Phag-mo gru-pa years later.[33] Thus, we can conclude that elements in the political arrangement established between the Phag-mo gru-pa and the first Il-Khan of Iran were still in place well after the latter's death.

This finally brings us to the Stod-Hor question. At the outset it must be said that there can be no doubt about the fact that the term "Stod-Hor" has been used by Tibetan writers to denote the Čaqatai Khanate. However, what should one make of the numerous references to Hülegü as the king or lord of Stod-Hor? What, moreover, can one say about the Stod-Hor soldiers who

[28] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* I (1905), pp. 202—207.

[29] Pp. 202—205 of Das's article essentially constitute a rough summary of G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II ff. 169r—175r. Cf. Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), p. 809.

[30] G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 171r: *sngar Hu-la-hus bskos-pa'i yul-bsrungs-pa Go-go-chu'i bu / Rdo-rje Yar-lungs-pa. . . . .*

[31] *Lha-rigs Rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, ff. 245 and 246 ("Go go-che" [*sic*]). See also Tshal-pa Kun-dga'rdo-rje, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[32] G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 171r; and Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[33] The references to Temür Buqa, the leader of the 1290 Mongol campaign against the 'Bri-gung-pa, in G.yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 171r (= The-mur Sbo-kha); and Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, *op. cit.*, p. 123 (=Thi-mur Sbo-kha), just before mention is made of Rdo-rje Yar-lungs-pa, allows us to assume that he was active in the subsect's affairs during the last decade of the thirteenth century. See also Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 189; and Tucci, *op. cit.* (1949), p. 710.

assisted the 'Bri-gung-pa during their revolt? These two problems must be briefly addressed.

With regard to the first question, let us note that it simply does not seem feasible that the references to Hülegü which we have mentioned could *all* be wrong in connecting him with Stod-Hor. It should be borne in mind that the sources from which these references come are quite varied and include Padma dkar-po's *chos-'byung*, the *Rgya-Bod yig-tshang*, a short *Brlangs po-ti se-ru* text, and others.[34] In fact, some of them are quite specific in linking Hülegü to Stod-Hor.[35] I would suggest that "Stod-Hor" has been used by Tibetan writers to refer to *both* Il-Khanid Iran and the Čaqatai Khanate. The name, in fact, may be more of a descriptive term than the name of a fixed political realm.

But from where did the Stod-Hor troops that assisted the 'Bri-gung-pa during the *gling-log* come? Frankly, that is something that we simply cannot decisively determine at present. Perhaps we may never solve this problem. Nevertheless, with regard to the 'Bri-gung-pa we should note certain facts. The relationship between the Phag-mo gru-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa at the time of Hülegü's first contacts with the Phag-mo gru-pa were quite close. Rgyal-ba rin-po-che, the abbot of Gdan-sa-mthil, was the nephew and disciple of the previous abbot, Spyan-snga Grags-pa 'byung-gnas, who had been the abbot of *both* Gdan-sa-mthil and 'Bri-gung.[36] It would have been neither illogical nor impossible for the 'Bri-gung-pa to have had contact with the Mongol patrons of the Phag-mo gru-pa, particularly after the death of their

[34] See the sources referred to in note 1, above.

[35] *Brlangs-kyi pu-ti bse-ru*, f. 7v, specifies Hülegü, the king of Stod-Hor, as the patron of the Phang-mo gru-pa and the G.ya'-bzang-pa, while G. yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, I f. 182v, states:

Since Hülegü (Hu-la-hu) was said to be an extraneous king, during the acquisition of kingdoms [for the various Mongol lords], he was sent to Stod, and thus from that [his] fame as "Stod-Hor" [Hülegü] arose. (*Hu-la-hu / 'di lhag-pa'i rgyal-po yin zer-nas / rgyal-khams tshol-ba-la / Stod-du btang-pas / de-nas Stod-Hor-du grags pa 'di byung-ba yin no /*)

[36] Concerning the lives of Spyan-snga rin-po-che and Rgyal-ba rin-po-che, see note 25, above. Two further points highlighting the close relationship at this time between the 'Bri-gung-pa and Phag-mo gru-pa subsects should be made. First, unlike the other abbots of 'Bri-gung during this period, Spyan-snga Grags-pa 'byung-gnas was not a member of the Skyu-ra family, the dominant family of the 'Bri-gung-pa, but rather a member of the Rlangs family, the dominant family of the Phag-mo gru-pa. Second, a further sign of the extent to which the two sees were united at this time is found in the reference in the *Rgya-Bod yig-tshang* to the fact that Shākya rin-chen, the *sgom-pa* or chief civil official of the 'Bri-gung-pa, "afforded general counsel" (*spyi'i kha-ta byed*), to both 'Bri-gung and Gdan-sa mthil. See G. yas-tu Stag-tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, II f. 169v; and Ariane Macdonald. "Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-chaṅ," *Journal Asiatique* CCLI (1963), pp, 149—150, who writes that for the 'Bri-gung-pa and the Phag-mo gru-pa, Shākya rin-chen "donnait des conseils pour les affaires exterieures". [i.e., *phy'i kha-ta?*]

patron, Möngke, and the withdrawal of his lieutenant. According to Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's account, Hülegü and Qubilai were the only remaining Mongol lords at that time with influence in Tibet.[37] In fact, a note in the *Rgya-Bod yig-tshang* specifically states that Hülegü maintained a connection with the 'Bri-gung-pa.[38]

The continued participation of Rdo-rje, the son of Hülegü's lieutenant, in the political affairs of the Phag-mo gru-pa, reveals a continuing link throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century between Il-Khanid Iran and Tibet. In this regard we should also remember that areas of Western Tibet had been under the aegis of Hülegü and probably constituted stages of a route between Central Tibet and Iran. All of this indicates that it may well have been possible for the 'Bri-gung-pa to have solicited aid from parties in Western Tibet or outside Tibet who might have been connected in some way with the Il-Khanid link to Tibet. The political situation in late thirteenth-century Tibet certainly does not preclude this possibility, for while the general situation in Tibet can be described as that of a country dominated by the alliance between Qubilai and the Sa-skya-pa, we should not be surprised to find specific situations on the local level showing varying degrees of departure from this general picture.

[37] Qubilai does not appear to have been very favorably regarded within Bka'-brgyud-pa circles. Several non-Karma-pa sources make note of the fact that he condemned Karma Pakshi, the 2nd Karma-pa, to death by immolation. See 'Bri-gung chos-rje, *op. cit.*, ff. 47v—48? (folio 48 is missing from the edition currently available); Che-tshang sprul-sku, *op. cit.*, ff. 83r—83v; Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, *Dpal Stag-lung-pa'i chos-srid-kyi byung-tshul zur-tsam brjod-pa ngo-mtshar kun-gsal me-long*, in *Rgyal-ba thams-cad-kyi sku-gsung-thug mi-zad-pa rgyan-'khor lnga'i bdag-nyid mtshung-bral chos-kyi rje rin-po-che Stag-lung Thang-pa chen-po mangga-la shrī'i rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar-gyi phul zab-rgyas-las brtsams-pa'i gtam mos-gus-kyi snye-ma dge-legs-su mngon-par dar-ba'i dpyid* [= *The Biography of the Founder of Byaṅ-Stag-luṅ Monastery, Stag-luṅ-thaṅ-pa Bkra-śis-dpal by Stag-luṅ-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal with Two Later Works on the History of the Tradition by Ṅag-dbaṅ-bstan-pa'i-ñi-ma*], Tezu 1979, f. 5r; and Stag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, *Chos-'byung ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho*, Tashijong 1972, *nya* ff 69r—69v. Concerning the life of Karma Pakshi, see Dpa'-bo, *op. cit.*, pp. 441—461; Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 485—487; and Si-tu paṇ-chen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas and 'Be-lo Tshe-dbang kun-khyab, *Bsgrub-rgyud Karma kaṁ-tshang brgyud-pa rin-po-che'i rnam-par thar-pa rab-'byams nor-bu zla-ba chu-shel-gyi phreng-ba* [= *History of the Karma Bka-'brgyud-pa Sect*], New Delhi 1972, I. ff. 38r—80r. Interestingly, the 'Bri-gung-pa sources relate that when Karma Pakshi was on the verge of succumbing to the flames, his strength and resistance were restored through an apparition of the 'Bri-gung-pa hierarch Gcung rin-po-che Rdo-rje grags-pa. The Stag-lung-pa sources relate a similar story, but designate the Stag-lung-pa hierarch Sangs-rgyas yar-byon as the figure who imparted renewed inspiration to Karma Pakshi. Regerding Gcung rin-po-che, see 'Bri-gung chos-rje, *op. cit.*, ff. 46v—51r; and Che-tshang sprul-sku, *op. cit.*, ff. 82r—85v. Regarding Sangs-rgyas yar-byon, see Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, *op. cit.*, ff. 4v—5r; Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 627—629; and Stag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, *op. cit.*, *nya* ff. 57r—71r.

[38] G. yas-ru Stag tshang-pa, *op. cit.*, I f. 182v.

We must not forget that we are dealing with Tibet during an epoch in which it would have been problematic for any ruling group to impose itself uniformly throughout the land. By the same token, the extent to which the Stod-Hor allies of the 'Bri-gung-pa were connected with a central authority in Il-Khanid Iran (or for that matter in the Čaqatai Khanate) cannot be determined either. Thus, although the Il-Khans had no quarrel with Qubilai, it is possible that the Stod-Hor troops, if they were from Il-Khanid domains, might themselves have had only a vague link to the central authorities in Iran.

We possess information that allows us to form an idea of the overall state of political affairs in the component parts of the Mongol Empire at this time, but which reveals far less than we might sometimes hope for about the complex array of "loose ends" existing in small local areas away from the centers of power of the empire's various segments. The alliance between the Stod-Hor and the 'Bri-gung-pa may well be one such loose end.

We should add that 'Bri-gung-pa sources appear to be of no help in this matter. Their descriptions of the *gling-log* are cursory, and tell us only that the 'Bri-gung-pa Sgom-pa Dbon-po brought in Mongol reinforcements from "Stod" to fight for the subsect.[39] Thus, the identity of the Stod-Hor troops involved in the fighting must still remain a mystery. While it is quite possible that they were from the Čaqatai Khanate, the possibility that they were connected with Il-Khanid Iran remains equally viable, at the very least.

Hülegü's connection with Tibet is not mysterious, however, and it leads to a final observation. The implications of Hülegü's ties to the Phag-mo gru-pa and his stationing of a lieutenant in Tibet point to an interesting status for Tibet within the Mongol world empire, until at least the death of Hülegü. Essentially, this leads to the conclusion that prior to 1265 Tibet was not dominated solely by Qubilai to the extent that is sometimes assumed. Although Qubilai was certainly the major Mongol figure in the mosaic of mid-thirteenth-century Tibetan politics, Hülegü nevertheless enjoyed authority over several areas of the country and was able to post his own representative there.[40] The effects of this arrangement continued to be felt after Hülegü's death, to the extent that the son of Hülegü's lieutenant was able to play a political role in the affairs of the Phag-mo gru-pa.

One last word is appropriate. There is another side to this subject. I have briefly discussed Hülegü's role in Tibet. At the same time we should remember

[39] See 'Bri-gung chos-rje, *op. cit.*, f. 58v; and Che-tshang sprul-sku, *op. cit.*, f. 90v.

[40] In this regard we should remember that the formal establishment of Mongol administration in Central Tibet, manifested by the organization of postal relay stations and the carrying out of a census, dates to 1267—1268, more than two years after the death of Hülegü; see Luciano Petech, "The Mongol Census in Tibet," in Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, p. 233.

that Tibetan culture exerted a strong influence and played an important role at the Il-Khanid court in Iran. Unfortunately, we know very little about this aspect of the relationship.[41] It is to be hoped that one of our colleagues, with the requisite linguistic skills, will one day take up and examine in detail this important question.*

[41] Very little, we must sadly note, has been added in the last hundred and fifty years to the remarks made by Quatremère, *op. cit.*, pp. 184—199, concerning Tibetans at the court of Hülegü. Cf., however, Samuel M. Grupper, "The Establishment of the Tibeto—Mongol Cakravartin Monarchy of 1264: An Exposition of the Events and Analyses of Texts," paper presented at the conference "Beginning a Third Century of Tibetan Studies," held in Bloomington, Indiana, April 17—19, 1984.

* Since this paper was completed number of studies have appeared that in one way or another mention or are relevant to some of the points raised here. See, for example, Leonard van der Kuijp, "On the Life and Political Career of Ta'i-si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302—?1364)," in Ernst Steinkellner, ed., *Tibetan History and Language. Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday* (Wien, 1991). pp. 277—327; Liu Zhong, "On the *K'ralpa* Manors of Tibet," *Social Sciences in China* VII.1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 199—218; and Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and Mongols* (Rome, 1990).

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ARABIC SOURCES ON THE AMDO AND A NOTE ON GESAR OF GLIṄ

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At the bicentennial anniversary of a man who made scholarly history I am, as a historian, honoured to have been invited. In the initial vein of Csoma de Kőrös I propose to explore literally far-reaching sources on and from the approaches to Tibet, albeit not the western ones, in Ladakh, but the eastern ones, in the Amdo. Pursuing what he believed to be the historical roots of the Magyar people, Csoma de Kőrös became a founding father himself, of European Tibetology. In the present paper sources pertaining to the Amdo will be sifted for their possible information on the historicity of that father figure of Tibetan national legend, Gesar of Gliṅ, 'king of the armies of the North'.

1: *mDo-smat*

In the anonymous geographical treatise Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam from 982 A.D. there is mention of the locality *Twsmt* in two contexts (Minorsky 1937, 61, 93): First, in connection with the Mānisā mountain range, which from the description may be understood as running from Burma and Assam through "the place where Hindūstān ends and Tibet begins. It follows again a northern direction between Tibet and China (*Chīn*) (. . .) Then (. . .) in a northwestern direction up to the farthest limit of Tibet; then between *Twsmt* and the confines of China to the farthest limit of the desert situated at the extreme end of Chīnistān", meaning Chinese Turkestan, with the Takla-Makan desert. Second, in the 'Discourse on the Country of Tibet and its Towns', mention is made of "Zava, a small village within the borders of *Twsmt*", and furthermore of "*Twsmt*, a land formerly held by the Chinese and now by the Tibetans. In it there are troops belonging to the Tubbat-khāqān."

In the book on pharmacy by al-Bīrūnī, aṣ-Ṣaydana, c. 1050 A.D. (Togan 1937, ١٣٦) there is an enumeration of the varieties of musk, including الطومستى aṭ-Ṭwmsty; name as well as context leave little doubt: This is musk 'from Ṭwsmt'. On the musk from Twsmt (= mDo-smat), cf.on al-Muqaddasī/al-

Yaʿqūbī below, and al-Marvazī (Minorsky 1940, 28—29, 91). The same toponymic crops up in the geographical tables of al-Bīrūnī's al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī, from 1030 A.D., entry ٥٧١, alongside Činānčāṭ (literally, "Chinatown"), "which is Qōčō, the residence of the Uiġur khān" (entry ٥٧٢). The text reads as follows, with critical note by Togan (1937, ٥٠):

٥٧١	توسمت[١٥] فی التبت[١٦] الخارج	قی	8	لط	ی	الترک
٥٧٢	چینا نچکث[١٧] وهو قوچو مستقر ایغر خان	قیا	≤	مب	١٨8	”

[١٥] كذا فی «ف» وحدود العالم [١٦] ب. آ: او سم. ب: لوسمت. ج: دوسمت وهو مطابق لما ورد في جيب العروس وريحان النفوس لمحمود بن احمد التميمی المقدسی (في ذيل كتاب البلدان لليعقوبی. طبع دی غويه، ٣٦٤). د: بوسمت. ی: نوشمت. يذكر في مصادر الصين وهو چير چين الخيالة و تَجرْ تَجانْ عند محمود الكاشغری ج ١، ص ٣٦٤.
[١٦] كذا فی ب. وفی «آ»: البيت. [١٧] فی الاصول بلا اعجام. اعجمناه علی الكرديزی و حدود العالم.

As noted by Togan, *Twsmt* corresponds to what is attested in the Ǧaybu l-ʿArūs wa Rayḥānu n-Nufūs by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at-Tamīmī al-Muqaddasī (d. 980 A.D.), quoted in an-Nuwayrī's Encyclopædia (ed. de Goeje, BGA VII, 364—370) and harking back to a work of al-Yaʿqūbī, now lost. Al-Yaʿqūbī (c. 890) says that the very best musk hails from "a place called Dwsmt, located at two months' distance from Tibet". On the basis of this passage as well as a passage from al-Ǧayhānī (c. 920), preserved in the Ṭabāʾiʿu l-ḥayawān of al-Marvazī (d.c. 1130), Minorsky (1942, 92) identifies the *Twsmt* of the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam and al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī with the north-eastern borderlands of Tibet: "Following Biruni the distance from Kan-chou to Twsm.t (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 km), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name Twsmat reminds one of Tibetan *'Mdo-'smat*, "The Lower Amdo". Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor. Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 km (. . .)".

Nevertheless, the *D*wsmt or *Twsmt* of al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Bīrūnī and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam does refer, well-nigh incontrovertibly, to the Lower Amdo; which as a place-name is attested already in the Dunhuang manuscripts (Bacot/Thomas/Toussaint 1940, 58 1.42, trsl 65), from 761 A.D. On the location of the 'réunion du conseil d'été de mDo-smad (Amdo inférieur)', cf. Stein (1961, 81—82). Minorsky (1942, 68—70) gives longitudes and latitudes in al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī on the basis of Br.Museum ms Or. 1997 "which is not very correct", along with some computations of distances (e.g., "Tūsmat — Kan-chou 327 miles" = 526 km) which consequently are equally untrustworthy. Even the tables reconstructed by Togan on the basis of 7 mss are not to be taken at face value; for one thing, al-Bīrūnī's longitudes are progressively exaggerated: Morocco 0° — Bagdad 50° (Greenwich 44,30°) — Kāšġar 95,35°

(Greenwich 76,10°) — Qōčō 111,20° (Greenwich 89,10°) — Sīlā (= Corea) 170° (Greenwich 125°); latitudes are less predictably hazardous (e.g., again, Sīlā = Corea 5° south, versus Greenwich c. 35—40° north), yet in general they are quite accurate save for locations in the extreme north, south and east; thus, e.g. Qōčō 42° north, compared with Greenwich 42,50° north. Al-Bīrūnī's coordinates 110° east 39,10° north do not fit *Twsmt* = *mDo-smat too well, the Kokonor being situated at 100° east 37° north; yet the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam description of the mountains skirting Tibet would seem to indicate the Kokonor region = *Twsmt*; the latter name is as good an Arabic and Persian approximation to mDo-smat as might be wished for; and Minorsky (1941, 92) is probably right that the original report behind al-Bīrūnī's coordinates "vaguely referred to the highlands forming the north-eastern corner of Tibet"; finally, *mDo-smat may have been mentioned as lying in the vicinity of 'the Uiġurs' — which may have been understood by al-Bīrūnī as referring to the main group of Uiġurs, centred on Qōčō, and not to those close to the Kokonor.

2: *Šara(yu)ġur*

This latter argument is all the more probable in that al-Bīrūnī's Qānūn carries an entry (no. ٥٧) on *Šrġwr* (variant Šrġwd), "in Chinese *Snqw*, which is Mahāchīn". Al-Bīrūnī evidently did not make this out to be a reference to the Kansu Uiġurs, close by the Kokonor, the Šara(yu)ġur, or literally "Yellow Uiġurs", 'pale' Yuġurs. The Šrġwr entry is given under the "First Clime", alongside Ḫānfū (= Canton, cf. Pelliot, T'oung-Pao XXI, 1922, 399—413; Minorsky 1937, 224, 227) and Ḫāndžū (= Hangchow, or Hankow?) I give the readings and notes by Togan (1937, ١٤):

٥٧	شر غور[12] وبالصينية سنقو[13] وهو مهاجين	قنه	ȣ	يه	ȣ	الصين
٥٨	خانفو[14] من ابواب الصين على النهر	قنز[15]	ȣ	يد	ȣ	"
٥٩	خانجو من ابوابهم ايضاً على النهر	قسب	ȣ	يج	ȣ	"

[12] كذا فى «آ» و «الجواهر» ٧٨ ب، ١٢٨ ب. غ: شرعود
[13] ج: سفو.
[14] كذا فى الاصول و «تحديد نهايات الاماكن» ٧ ب. ج: حانعوا.
[15] ج: قک. غ: قس.

Again, as with Sīlā above, the bearings must be treated with the greatest reserve: *Šrġwr* 155° east 15° north, Ḫānfū 160° east 14° north (Canton 113,15° east 23,15° north), Ḫāndžū 162° east 13° north (Hangzhow 120,5° east 30,20°

north, and Hangou 114,15° east 30,45° north). If we consider al-Bīrūnī's information pertaining to the First Clime as a whole, however, then what impresses itself upon us is its maritime nature: With a very few exceptions (in the Sudan and Yemen), from Ghana to Sīlā in Corea these are towns "upon the littoral", "by the sea", etc. Hence, discrepancies between latitudes and longitudes based on travel observations by land and by sea, and for that matter between generally 'land-locked' information under the Second to Fifth Climes on the one hand and what we are told of under the First on the other. Indeed, the 'maritime' character of the information on *Šrġwr* is manifest not merely from the context in the Qānūn, but also from a valuable piece of additional hearsay in another work by al-Bīrūnī, al-Ğamāhir fī Maʿrafati l-Ğawāhir, c. 1040 A.D. I quote from his entry on pearls (Togan 1937, ٧٧):

ورق ٧٨ به. اللآلي، وفي اغبابه (اى البحر الاخضر) وخلجانه مغاصات (اللآلى) معروفه كالذى فى غب سر نديب ثم الذى فى خليج فارس والبحرين ثم الذى فى دهلك والقلزم ثم المستحدث فى سفالة الزنج. والذى يسبق الى الغلن ان بحيرة شر غور فوق الصين هى ايضاً شعبة من هذا البحر من اجل ان بحر الروم افسح منها واعظم لكنه لما انفصل عن الاجصر عدم الصدف ذات اللؤلؤ ولكن لم اجد من المخبرين عنه من يتحقق ذلك ولو يجتهد فى تحققه. ثم يتفق فى المغاصات موانع عن الغوص فليس فيه مغاص بسبب الخيو انات الضارة كالتماسيح والقرش الذى هو احد اسباب تسمية قريش قريشاً باكلهم هذا القرش وانما حصول اللآلى القلزومية من الاصداف الميتة اذا القتها الامواج الى الساحل وقد فسدت فى الماء ثم احمتها الشمس فازدادت عفونة وتدودت فيجدها المترددون فى حلليها يابسة وما فيها من اللآلى مُجَوّفة متاكلة وعلى مثله الحال فى بحر شرغُور من وجود للآلى فى اجواف الاصداف الميتة المقدو فة الى الساحل اليابسة، بالر مال والرياح وعذا سبب كُمودة (٧٨ بم) للآلى القنابيه وجصيتها وعدم ماءها والمخبرون عنه يذكرون فى سبب امتناع الغوص فيه البردوبعد القعر وان لالبرد هو المانع عن التدود فلا نوجد لآلى تلك الاصداف الا صحيحة التدوير وغير متاكلة فاما البرد فهو ملعمرى عايق عن الغوص قوى الآ ان الموضع ليس من الامعان فى الشمال بحيث يمتنع الغوص فيه فى الصيف واما افراط العمق وقولهم ان قعر. (اى قعر بحر. شرغور) غير مدرك

"PEARLS: In the terminal recesses and the straits of the Green (encircling) Ocean there are diving-places (for pearls: maġāsātun) which are well-known, such as the one past Sarandīb (= Sri Lanka, HS); the one in the Gulf of Persia and al-Baḥrain; the one in Dahlak (Straits of Tiran, HS) and the Gulf of Suez; the one newly discovered in the Sofāla of the Negroes (near Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, HS); and this leads willy-nilly to the idea that the lake of *Šrġwr* beyond China is also a branch (šiʿbun, generally = 'mountain path, mountain trail; gorge, ravine, canyon) of this sea, for the reason that the Mediterranean is wider and greater than it (sc. the Šrġwr lake), yet when it separated from the Green Ocean (= the Atlantic, HS), the oysters with pearls disappeared, and I have not found any informant on it who confirms this, even though I have been wishing for them to try hard (wa-law yağtahidu fī taḥaqquqihī).

Furthermore, there is agreement as to the diving-places (that there are) impediments to the diving, so that there may occur no diving there (fīhī — sic) because of the noisome animals (there, bi-sababi l-ḫayawānāti ḍ-ḍārrati — sic), such as the crocodiles and the shark — which is one of the reasons for the Quraiš being called Quraiš, since they eat this shark.

Howbeit, the pearls of the Suez Gulf are obtained from dead oysters when the waves cast them ashore and they have rotted in the water, whereafter the sun has protected them, while their putridity has increased and they have become maggoteaten (wa-tadawwadat). Then the beach-combers (al-mutaraddidūn) find them in their search, dessicated, along with what they contain of pearls, hollowed out and eroded. The situation in the sea of *Šrġwr* is the same way: The pearls are present in the innards of the dead oysters flung upon the shore in a dried-out state by the sands and the winds; and this is the cause of the swarthy, dull tint (kumūdaṭun) of the pearls ('lqn'byh, read by Togan = al-qitāīiyya "from Qitāī'; or *alqanā bihā? = alqana bālan ilayhī "which we have been paying attention to", or *alqat bihā "which they (sc. the waves and sands) threw up") and their plaster-like quality (? waǧaṣṣiyatihā) and the lack of water in them. Those who have related about it (sc. the Šrġwr sea) mention that diving is impeded in it because of the cold and also (wa-baʿdu) the depth; and the cold is what hinders maggot-eatenness. Hence, pearls from those oysters are only found hygienically rounded and not worn. As for the cold, upon my life! — it's a potent hindrance to diving, although the locality according to close study is not in the north, so that diving in it forbids itself (even) in summertime. As for the excessive (literally: immoderate) deepness, their talk is that its bottom (sc. of the Šrġwr sea) is not to be attained. (. . .)"

This long-winded discourse on the pearls of the Šrġwr lake (buḥairatun) or sea (baḥrun) tells us several things: 1) This sea is salty, 2) overly chilly, despite its presumed southerly location, 3) beset by harsh winds and sandstorms, 4) and stretches far inland, like the Mediterranean, indeed its connection with the Ocean is a matter of speculation. If Šrġwr be read as Šara(yu)ġur (and there is no competing suggestion to date), then the above unmistakably refers to the Kokonor — a great (3780 km²) lake of salt water. Although not deep at all (7,5—37,5 m depth measurements in Kozlov 1925, 159), it may of course have been described as deep by non-diving and non-boating natives. Its waters are chill (August 15—16 measuring 11,8 °C in Kozlov 1925, 147, 153), in a setting of clay, loam and sand (same, 138, 141), beset by 'constant western storms' (same, 142). It has no outlets; and no pearls! The 'Šrġwr pearls', which to al-Bīrūnī were hearsay only, in all probability were simply water-rounded silex pebbles, found in abundancy in the littoral sands (same, 141, 157; cf. also on black turmaline crystals 155, and on mussel shells in bridal headgear 146).

Another passage from the same al-Ğamāhir fī Maʿrafati l-Ğawāhir by al-Bīrūnī is terser (Togan 1937, ٩٢): ويحكون عن شرغور ان بها عينا هى لواليهم الخان خاصة لا يقربها احد وهو يكسحها كل سنة ويستخرخ منها ذهبا كثيرا "They tell that in Šrġwr there is a spring which is the personal property of their ruler (wālīhim) the Khān. Nobody approaches it. Every year he sweeps it, extracting much gold from it." Togan has a lengthy footnote on this, likewise in Arabic, to the effect that al-Bīrūnī's entries on Šrġwr refer to the island of Hainan, near Vietnam, whereas the name itself is a 'Mongol nickname (based) on a Turkic name Ṣārī Ūġūr or Ṣārī Ūyġūr'.

3: *rMa-čhen*

We are not through with the Šara(yu)ġur. A last reference is found in al-Marvazī, c. 1120 A.D. (Minorsky 1942, 18, Arabic text *7): "Beyond China there is a nation known as *Šrġwl*; the inhabitants of China call them *Snqw*. They are at a distance of one month's travel from Qītāy (= the Kidan/Liao, HS), at the very end of the civilized world, between water and morasses. It is said that they are the ones called *Māčīn*, and the Indians call them the Greater China." According to Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī (Diwān luġat at-turk, I, 29), "the people of Māčīn and Čīn have a special language. In spite of this, their inhabitants excel in Turkic, and their letters to us are in Turkic script." "Chez les auteurs musulmans, Cīn et Macīn (<Mahācīna) désignent Khotan," according to Stein (1959, 283), who refers to Grenard (JA, 1900, 13 n., 14 n., 68: king of Khotan called king of Čīn) and Blochet (1925—26, 19 n.: Čīn and Māčīn = Khotan in legends). Cīna and Mahācīna have since been treated by Tucci (1965, 1971). Minorsky too reads Māġīn = *Māchīn. This however still begs the question: Why now are the Yellow Uiġurs, of all people, and not the Khotanese, called by this appellation?

The sole explanation at hand is that there was some 'peg' in local nomenclature upon which the pre-given Māčīn (<Mahācīna) concept might alight. That the term is pre-given is demonstrated by the words that it is said *they* are the ones called Māčīn, as against other possible candidates. The first syllable is homonymous with the Tibetan ethnonym (and place-name) rMa (cf. rMa-čhu = the Huangho river, the rMe-čhu, the rMa-sMad region, the rMa-čhen mountain, all south of the Kokonor, and rMa-ru = rMe-ru, Meru, at its eastern shore). "Or, les K'iang (appellation chinoise) se donnent eux-mêmes le nom ethnique rMa, rMe ou rMi" (Stein, BEFEO xliv 1/1951, 253, JA 1952, 101; 1961, 64—65).

The second element in Māčīn is as good a rendering as possible in Arabic of the Tibetan -čhen 'great'. Indeed, the name 'the Greater Tibet' applies to easternmost (and northeasternmost) Tibet, corresponding to 'the Outer Tibet'

(at-Tubbat al-Ḫāriğ) in e.g. the Qānūn. The perpetually contested Sino-Tibetan borderlands might be equally well termed 'the Outer (or: Greater) Tibet' and 'the Outer (or: Greater) China' (= Mahācīna). Cf. Stein (1961, 48): "Dans la région du mDo-smad (. . .) se trouvent les dGa', un des nombreux "grands clans" (*rus-čhen*) de ce Grand Tibet (*Bod čhen-po*, le Tibet oriental)."

Can the words rMa and čhen apply to the Yellow Uigurs of the Ganzu? One would think not. Yet already mention of the Šrġwr sea or lake = the Kokonor has indicated a more southerly position of the Šara(yu)ġur than would be expected. This may be explained. The passage on the Šrġwl/Snqw/Māğīn above "se refère à l'époque de Marvazi (ca. 1056 à ca. 1120", Stein says (1959, 313, n. 122), not quite correctly. The same information is given in brief by al-Bīrūnī, as we have seen, dating from before 1030 A.D. Indeed, al-Marvazī gives valuable information on the desperate attempt of the Yuġur khan to secure an ally in Sultan Maḥmūd of Ġaznā, by way of a letter written, it seems (Barthold 1935, 88—89), in 1024, yet received only in 1027 — Gardīzī gives the year as 1026 (Minorsky 1942, 76). In 1028 the Xixia (Si-hia) occupied Ganzhou, the Šara Yuġur stronghold north of the Kokonor and the Nanzhan mountains. For a couple of decades before this date, the Xixia had made the route from Ganzhou via Liangzhou and the Ordos to China unsafe, and the Šara Yuġur khan had had to rely on the more southerly Kokonor-Xining-Lanzhou route for his eastward contacts. After the debâcle in 1028 (which a printer's error has made 1038 in Stein 1959, 232) "les troupes d'élite des Ouigours de Kan-tcheou (. . .) se rallièrent alors à Koi-sseu-lo", the prince Jiusilu established due east of the Kokonor, in Miaochuan near Xining (Si-ning), 1012—1032. Miaochuan > Māchīn is of course not credible; yet there may have been some play on, or interplay between, Miaochuan, rMa + čhen, rMa as 'related' to sMar/dMar-yul the putative place of Jiusilu's origin (Stein 1959, 231, cf. Stein 1961, 51—54 on dMar/sMar in the west of Tibet as well as in the mDo-khams = Bod čhen-po, and on confusion dMar/sMar-sMa/rMa; on which latter also Stein 1959, 199; as to Ma-yul, see the Ḥudūd al-ʿAlam), and the 'free-floating' Mahācīna>Māčīn. The 'country of rMa' (rMa-yul) is the country of Gesar in the Tibetan national epic, and Gesar is also called "king of mDo-khams" or "king of rMa-khams" (*khams* signifying 'region', Stein 1959, 197); rMa-khams in turn being said to comprise, i.a., the bCoṅ-kha 'country' (= Xining area) = the mDo-smad. And 'the country of rMa-čhu' (rMa-čhu gliṅ) is mentioned in a Dunhuang ms (India Office no. 719, divination; same, 198).

Finally, of course, the name rMa-čhen itself is prestigiously present in the Amdo, in the holy mountain rMa-čhen sPom-ra, also known as the Amnye Machen, some 200 km south of the Kokonor. It and the adjacent A-čhen plain is associated not only with the Hor (= often, Mongols, sometimes = the Saraighol) but also with the Gru-gu (i.e., Turks); moreover, "c'est le dieu du

sol rMa-čhen sPom-ra (Amnye Machen) qui renferme les trésors destinés à Gesar" (same, 108, 198). This mention of the rMa-čhen may be a late reflection of a southerly trade route at the end of the Yuan and the beginning of the Ming period (same, 199); yet it cannot be excluded that the same rMa-čhen sPom-ra was hallowed by Amdowans of the times of Jiusilu as well. A direct association with the Šara Yuġurs is, however, utterly improbable.

4: *bCoṅ-kha*

The text in al-Marvazī, as well as the Qānūn al-Masʿūdī of al-Bīrūnī, affirms that the *Šrġwl* or *Šrġwr* are called *Snqw* by the inhabitants of China. The same name crops up in the Tārīkh-i Bayhaq, from 1164 A.D., by Abū-l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī (Teheran 1938, 18), where there is a reference "to S.nqū as the great town (!) of Mahāchīn" (inaccessible to me, cited from Minorsky, 1942, 75 n. 2). According to Minorsky, "the paragraph on the nation living 'among water and thin mud' called *S.nqu* (. . .) undoubtedly refers to the Sung state *Sung-kuo (A.D. 960—1279). No one except a Liao ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory." This is untenable, as pointed out by Stein (1959, 313 n. 122): "Minorsky, p. 75—76, n'a pas pu expliquer Sh.rghūl et pense que S.nqū répresente Song-kouo. C'est impossible. Sh.rghūl ne peut être que Shiraighol ou Sharaighol, les Šira- ou Šara-Yuġurs ou Hor de la région de Kan-tcheou et du Nan-chan (. . .). S.nqu doit être le Si-hia qui avait alors occupé Kan-tcheou depuis 1028. C'est peut-être Hia-kouo, à moins qu'on ne songe à Se-hu, nom de l'ancêtre du Mi-ñag en tibétain."

This latter opinion, however, is likewise untenable. Stein leaves not *Šrġwl* but *Snqw* unexplained. 'Among water and thin mud' is a questionable translation; the 'among' would rather have been rendered by Arabic *fī*, whereas the present text says these people lived *baina l-mā'i wa-l-aḥwāl*, literally 'between the water (= lake? sea?) and (the) morasses'. The latter is a feature of parts of the Amdo (Kozlov 1925, 142), but very much more so, of course, of the Tsaidam region — where the "Fair-haired Uiġurs" (= Šara-Yuġurs) are mentioned towards 1081 A.D. (Haloun, in Minorsky 1940, 77 n. 2). Furthermore, even given the intricacies involved in rendering a Chinese name into Arabic script, *Snqw* comes across as a dubious rendering of the Chinese *Song*; in particular as a form Songgwo (Song-kuo) is unattested in Chinese, and unthinkable to boot (the Song being a dynasty, whereas Songgwo would be 'the Song country').

In consideration of this dearth of suggestions, the reading *bCoṅ-k(h)a will not be amiss, if we begin with the Tibetan form. This was the realm of Jiusilu, who was installed there in 1012/1014, ruling until his death in 1065 and marshalling such power as to battle the Xixia emperor in 1058 while re-

ceiving a Kidan princess for his son. The story of him and his sons and grandsons may be followed up to c. 1100 A.D. in the Chinese sources (Stein 1959, 230—233); and in our context, it is the Chinese name *Snqw* (S.nqū) which is of interest. The Chinese sources speak of bCoṅ-kha as 宗哥 Zongge (Tsong-ko); the final vowel, pronounced as something between *e* and *o*, would be naturally rendered by ū in Arabic, and the whole name by *S.nqū*. Again, the 1028 victory of the Xixia over the Šara Yuġurs and the flight of the (élite of) the latter southwards, to the patronage of Jiusilu, explains the focus on S.nqū = bCoṅ-k(h)a/Zongge = Xining (Si-ning) area. "Dès lors, les textes y insistent, *le commerce d'Asie Centrale aboutit à Chan-tcheou* (*Sining*), la route normale par Leangtcheou ou l'Ordos étant barrée par le Si-hia", as Stein notes (same, 232).

5: *the Toba?*

The last source I venture to mention with regard to Tibet, with but dubious reference to the Amdo, admittedly, is the first in terms of chronology. It so happens that there are several poems by South Arabians in early Islamic times celebrating the exploits of the erstwhile rulers of South Arabia (the "seventy Tubbaʿ kings of Ḥimyar"), i.a. their military expeditions "to India and the Anbār" (ilā l-hindi wa-l-anbār), "to China and the Turks" (ilā ṣ-ṣīni wa-l-atrāk; von Kremer 1866, 61—63, 69—70, 74—76, 82; Arabic poems in von Kremer 1867, 14—18). There are also a couple of mentions of Tibet. Thus, Šammar (Ibn Ifrīqīs b.Abraha b. Dī l-Manār b. al-Ḥāriṯ ar-Rā'iš) is said to have reached, and given his name to, Samarqand. "Zuletzt zog er nach China, um auch dieses Land zu unterjochen." Yet the *wazīr* of the king of China meets Šammar on the way and guides him astray in the waterless sandy desert. "Der grösste Theil des Heeres ging in der Wüste zu Grund, einige tausend Mann nur fanden den Weg zu einem Lande, wo sie Wasser und Palmen antrafen Dieses Land hiess Tibet und dort siedelten sie sich an" (same 1866, 69—70).

One of Šammar's sons was called Rā'id or Tubbaʿ l-Akbar ("the Greatest Tubbaʿ"). "Viele Himjaren behaupten, er sei eine und dieselbe Person mit Dû-l-Ḳarnein. Er regierte längere Zeit in tiefem Frieden, zog aber zuletzt (. . .) nach Anbâr auf derselben Strasse, die Śemmer Jurʿ iś mit seinem Heere betreten hatte (. . .). In Tibet liess er eine grosse Besatzung zurück und (nach des ʿUbeid Ibn Śarjeh Angabe) stammt von dieser das Volk ab, das noch jetzt Tibet bewohnt. Der Chalife Muʿawijeh befrug ʿUbeid Ibn Śarjeh, woher er diese Nachricht habe, und dieser erwiderte, er habe sie nicht nur von Reisenden erhalten, sondern sei später im Religionskriege selbst in jene Gegenden gekommen" (same, 75).

The said 'events' are of course pure fiction; yet as with all fiction, it has its definite roots, partly in long-standing (mythological and historical) tradi-

tion, partly in contemporaneous events. Thus, on the one hand, the above mirrors the times of ʿUbayd or ʿAbīd b. Šarya (alive as late as 86 AH = 706 A.D., cf. Fihrist, 89 l.26; Nicholson 1969, 13) and his patron the caliph Muʿāwiyya I (d. 680 A.D.), with wars of the faith into India and north across the Oxus into what was the domain of 'the king of China', Samarqand being occupied in 710—12 A.D. On the other hand there are the allusions to that 'forerunner' of Islam, Dū l-qarnain ("the Two-horned" = originally, Alexander the Great), who subdued the same lands, even unto China and the borders of Tibet. There are several mentions of the exploits of "the Two-horned" in early Islamic sources, with reference to China, and Tibet as well (e.g. Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar, BGA — ed. de Goeje); and in the above Ḥimyarī legends the figure of the Two-horned shimmers through in several details concerning both Šammar and his son. What interests us here, though, are the sparse references to Tibet. "Seek ye wisdom, though be it in China!" the Prophet Muḥammad exhorted; and Muslims, be they Sunnī or Shīʿī, were early on their way, with interests in lucre and lore alike.

Now in times pre-Islamic there is no word of Tibet in connection with the "Two-horned" or the Alexander of history or legend; which is but natural, as Tibet expanded into a noteworthy state c. 630—640 A.D., and most dramatically through the conquest of the Zaṅ-zuṅ country, apparently (Macdonald 1971, 261, 310) before 634. In the Orkhon inscriptions (c. 700 A.D.) *Tüpüt* (= Tibet) is named, and at just about the same time (Stein 1959, 313 n. 124; same 1962, 12, n. 18, 265; Macdonald 1971, 191—192) Chinese sources cite a Tibetan ambassador as asserting that the Tibetans proper descend from 'un certain T'ou-fa Li-lou-kou des Leang méridionaux', from the Liangzhou region in Gansu. This Toba/Tofa appears, however, to have been confused with the clan of the same name from the Mi-ñag/Xixia region, i.e., eastern Amdo; cf. Stein (in Macdonald 1971, 192): "Je crois pour ma part qu'on a confondu deux noms (il y avait aussi deux tribus T'o-pa [mêmes caractères] une des T'ou-yu-houen et une des K'iang) et que c'est de là que vient le fameux Tübbüt etc. > Tibet." Cf. also Stein 1951 (BEFEO, 255).

Interestingly, the mention of *Tubbat* by ʿUbayd/ʿAbīd b. Šarya antedates the Orkhon inscriptions and the Chinese sources by several decades; there is no reason to question the assertion in the Fihrist that ʿAbīd b. Šarya was summoned to Damascus, questioned on his information about the past by Muʿāwiya, and made to have his answers written down and published under his name during the reign of the latter, i.e., 659—680 A.D. His work was spoken of as a well-known book, enjoying wide circulation, by al-Masʿūdī, in the early 10th c.A.D. (Murūǧ aḏ-Ḏahab, ed.de Meynard, IV, 89). This oldest written reference to the name of Tibet, however, seems to be something more than just that.

In the same way that the Toba of the Liang region, Gansu, came to be

confused with the Toba of the Amdo/Mi-ñag in the east, among the Chinese, there were grounds for similar confusion in the west, among the Arabs — or, more precisely, the South Arabians. Not only did they contribute important contingents to the armies of early Islam; they even had a compelling motif, not merely of a historical or South Arabian 'local-patriotic' nature but of a social one as well, in boosting their Tubbaʿ rulers of the hoary past: South Arabians were definitely second class, as the Diwān registry of pensions makes clear. Islam was primarily the revolution of (and hence, for) North Arabians, who until then had been but barbarians in comparison with the heirs of Ḥimyar and Saba. Through the mention in the Qur'ān, Dū l-qarnain "the Two-horned" was canonized, so to speak, as a hero of Islam long before Muḥammad. If it could be substantiated, or 'established', that the pious Two-horned hero of *sūra* 18 was in fact a king of Southern Araby, then his latterday countrymen would rise in stature; and this historical one-uppance could be continued on the battlefields, if South Arabians in Iran, or India, or Central Asia, or the borderlands of China and Tibet, could exclaim: "We were here first."

Hence, in contrast to the Chinese muddle of the Liang Toba v. the Mi-ñag Toba, there was a distinct South Arabian interest in a historical association with, e.g., easternmost Tibet. With the fall of Sāsānid Iran, and Khorasan, there were no great obstacles to Arab participation in the Silk Route trade; and the words of ʿAbīd b. Šarya that he had gotten information on Tibet by word of mouth from travellers, sound convincing enough. That he himself had taken part in wars of the faith in those reaches, meaning Tibet, is impossible; yet Arab troops had reached the Oxus and were not far from Kābul by 656, which may be taken to be close enough for ʿAbīd to have heard news of Tibet. (On Tubbat = Khotan in Islamic sources, cf. Grenard, JA 1900, 65, Petech 1947, 59; more correctly, Khotan was considered a gateway to, or beginning of, Tubbat/Tibet.)

What ʿAbīd reports is at base analogous to the Chinese reports, based on a Tibetan ambassador's words, from 700 A.D. and later: A clan called Toba had strayed on the way to, or on the marches of, China, and had settled in Tibet, dominating the land and giving rise to its inhabitants (or those of consequence, the rulers). The news struck a responsive chord in a South Arabian, in the generic term Tubbaʿ (pronounced irresistably close to Toba), of blest memory. That the Toba in question were in fact those of the Mi-ñag/Kiang, i.e., in the reaches of the Amdo, is strongly indicated by the Chinese; cf. Stein (1961, 64—65): "(. . .)deux affirmations(. . .). L'une d'elles(. . .) est propre aux auteurs tibétains: certaines 'tribus primitives' de la tradition, et notamment les lDoṅ liés aux dMu, sont considérées comme des aborigènes non 'tibétains' des marches sino-tibétaines. L'autre, constamment répétée par les auteurs chinois, est que les K'iang sont les 'ancêtres' des Tibétains T'oufan, c'est-à-dire des Tibétains du Tibet central. (. . .) D'autres faits confirment ces

relations(. . .)." On the clan Toba ("the strongest of the Dansian", i.e., Tangut) who moved on China, with a ruler Toba Či-tsi c. 640 A.D. (i.e., in the times of ʿAbīd), cf. Kyčanov (1965, 46—47, 1968, 24—25).

* * *

With the exception of the Toba name, which is a case apart by its very ancientness, the other names reviewed on the basis of Arabic sources above are proper to not merely a rather limited geographical field, but to a specific field of historical mythology as well: the names mDo-smad, Šaraiġol, rMa-čhen and bCoṅ-kha are refound as important points of reference in that national legend of Tibet, the epic on Gesar of Gliṅ. (The form *Šrġwl* in al-Marvazī is a perfect rendering of the standard forms Šaraighol/Širaġol/Širaiġol of the legend; the alternation -l/-r here coming as no surprise to Turcologists (or Mongolists). The form *Sh.rghud*, which Minorsky 194, 76 compares with the Mongolian plural in -d/-ūd, is based on a scribe's error in Br.Museum ms Or. 1997, and is to be dismissed.)

And yet, even poetry and mythology of Araby may prove to be a source not only *on*, ultimately, the Toba of the Mi-ñag/Amdo, but also a source, literally, flowing *to* the Amdo. As has been so brilliantly demonstrated by Stein (1959, 183—206, on linguistic evidence 136—137), the Amdo and the Kokonor region was the cradle of the Gesar legend (cf. also the Lamaic version, same 1956, 23: "Au pays des hommes qui est le continent du Sud, Jambudvīpa, se trouve le mDo-khams(. . .)."). When and why did the legend crystallize?

The last important word on the subject to date is in Uray/Harmatta (1979, 296—298), viz. the discovery by Humbach (1966) and Harmatta (1969) that a ruler 738—745 A.D. of the 2nd Turk Śāhi dynasty of Gandhāra bore the name Fromo Kesaro (in Bactrian), or Fu-lin-ki-*so in Chinese (*Piuət-liəm-ki-*sā*), a name he received in honour of the East Roman emperor on the occasion of the Byzantine victory over the Arabs in 718. Thus, the 8th c. Phrom-Ge-sar mentioned in the "Prophecy on the Li Country" (from c. 1046, according to Thomas 1935, 131) has now been identified. This, however, does not explain the (later) rise of a *legend* on the great king Gesar of Phrom, or Gliṅ (= 'Jambudvīpa'), also called Dru-gu or Gru-gu ('Turk') Gesar, lord of the armies of the North. Cf. Uray (1979, 297 n. 62): "Although the identification of Fromo Kesaro with Phrom-Ge-sar of the 'Prophecy' is regarded as proved, still certain problems connected with Phrom-Ge-sar, viz. that of Gru-gu-Ge-sar(. . .)require(. . .)further investigation on part of the Tibetologists. And, perhaps, on the part of Islamists?

For there *is* a missing link of logic and history alike between the mention (in the earliest Tibetan version of the so-called 'Catalogue of the Kings of the Four Regions of the World') of "the King of the many merchants of the Lion

land of the West, Phrom-Ge-sar" on the one hand and 'Ge-sar the Turk' of the North on the other. It is not sufficient to state, however correctly (same, 297—298): "By Phrom-Ge-sar, 'King of the many merchants of the Lion land of the West', we can understand much more the Byzantine Emperor, whose merchants in the 1st to 6th centuries travelled as far as the Indian ports, than the ruler of Gandhāra. Thus the old hypothesis, according to which Khrom-Ge-sar placed to the North is in reality the Roman (Byzantine) Emperor of the West, can be upheld, or even regarded as confirmed." Stein (1959, 273—278) asserts that "des événements historiques ont laissé leur trace dans les identifications, associations ou confusions entre Khrom (Rūm, Ta-ts'in) et Grugu ou Hor", there has been a "fusion des thèmes de Ta-ts'in(. . .)et des Grugu", "une confusion entre les thèmes propres à l'Ouest (richesses) et au Nord (hommes beaux, hommes valeureux): le Gesar des Grugu (Gesar de Phrom) et les bateaux et richesses venues des Grugu s'expliquent ainsi; une confusion s'est produite entre l'Iran et l'Orient Romain", etc.

All these 'confusions' may be reduced to a single *link*: Gesar of Phrom in the legend from the high middle ages to our days is and was indeed a figure of mythology and not a historical personality in the early 11th c. Amdo, viz. the prince Jiusilu, as has been suggested by Potanin (1893), Jen (1945) and Damdinsuren (1957); but, we may stress, *a* figure of mythology, and not a composite = the series of East Roman emperors *in toto*. Gesar is Qaisar; Phrom is an Iranian-transmitted form of Rūm (which in times Islamic designated the East Roman empire, and not *Roma/Rome*). And there is *a* Qaisar of Rūm who, to all Muslims, be they Arabs or Iranians, commanded supreme interest — and in particular along the Silk Route from Central Asia to China: "The Two-horned", Dū l-qarnain of the Qur'ān, a figure of composite legend clustered around a historical kernel, a 'peg' ancient yet durable in the minds of men, Alexander of Macedon. In a goodly number of mediaeval Muslim authors, he is qualified as a Qaiṣar of Rūm — and of course always as the one with relevance to the China route, which he opened up. What is more, as is evident in Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī (1075) and has been demonstrated by e.g. Dankoff (1975), he was adopted by Turkic tribes, and notably the Uiġurs, as a national hero and founding father of theirs. Thus, he is reported to have founded the cities of the Uigurs (mentioned alongside Šrġwr and Čīnānčkāṯ in al-Bīrūnī's Qānūn); there was good reason, for sure, for him to be regarded as *Gru-gu Ge-sar*. Cf. the pretensions as to descent from Dū l-qarnain among Turkic rulers and populations of Central Asia and the Hindukush/Pamir up to the 20th c.; and the words in the opening part of the poem by Navoi (Bertel's 1948, 149) on the two-horned Iskender:

Сенга турк аḳолимни айлаб раḳам
Авалда насиб айламиш як-ḳалам.

(Тебе приписаны тюркские страны,
Они в предвечности даны тебе в удел нераздельно.)

To you have been pre-assigned the Turkic lands,
They were given you in prehistory as an indissoluble fief.

One place-name which has gone untreated in the above review of Arabic sources is the Tibetan name of the Kokonor, viz. Khri-bço̧s or Khrom-bço̧s; and as Stein has noted (JA 1952, 84), "un Khrom de Khri-bço̧s (Kokonor) est déjà attesté dans la chronique de Touen-houang. Le terme *khri* (*khri-rce*) s'emploie à la même époque pour Liṅ-čhu, *alias* Leang-tcheou(. . .) .Il devait, dans les deux cas, indiquer une grande ville et avoir le même sens que *khrom* (les deux mots ont d'ailleurs été confondus précisément pour le Mi-ñag et le Kokonor(. . .). C'est dans cette plaine qu'un manuscrit de Touen-houang situe un *Khrom čhen-po* (grande ville, grande marché) (. . .)" (same, 1959, 293—294). Khrom is an unobjectionable rendering of an Iranian *Hrōm (cf the Paikuli inscription c. 294 A.D. 'Kesare, Hrome', Humbach & Schervø 1978—83), in the same way that Phrom renders an Iranian *Frwm. Nothing would seem more natural than for a major station on the Silk Route, frequented by Sogdian and other Iranian traders, to be called after the Hrōm/Frwm trade which was its raison d'être. In Tibetan, *khrom* has come to connote a number of closely related phenomena: "marché, ville, foule" (Stein 1959, 631), but also "military frontier province" (Uray 1981, Kværne 1980, 94 n. 30, 100 n. 68). The great hero figure in West and Central Asiatic historical mythology, renowned for having extended and reinforced the 'military frontier provinces' of Rūm and the civilized world was, again, Iskender D̲ū l-qarnayn.

The sources reviewed above have clustered, in space, around the Kokonor, in time, around the early 11th c., the time of Jiusilu. In 1006 A.D., Khotan was taken by the Muslim Qarakhanids. We may rest assured that, like other Turks (and especially Muslim Turks), they claimed to be the heirs of D̲ū l-qarnayn. As has been amply demonstrated by Stein (1959), there are numerous vestiges in the Gesar legend of one-time connections with the "Li" country (= Khotan). A couple of years after the establishment of the Islamic régime in Khotan, Jiusilu was casting about for ways and means to consolidate his own power, close by the Kokonor with its own Khrom (= Rūm) traditions. Whatever the geographical origins of Jiusilu and his bCoṅ-kha minister Li (li)dzuen, Jiusilu's son was succeeded by a certain Aligu from Khotan (1086—96). Local 'world-ruler' pretensions, or trappings, on the part of Jiusilu may have been inspired by the very name of Khrom, as well as by the example set by the Qarakhanids; in any case, Jiusilu as a newcomer from the west was in need of an imposing ideology. That he was a descendant of the old Tibetan royal house was of prime importance; yet the Khri-bço̧s and bCoṅ-kha region

was not merely a part of Tibet. If Jiusilu, hailing from the West, could claim some connection with *Khrom* (= the Kokonor region and the West alike), then all the better. World-ruler pretensions on the part of *some* ruler in the Amdo are evidenced by place-names such as rMe-ru (= Meru) by the Kokonor and Gliṅ (<J̌aṅ-Gliṅ< Jambudvīpa). As Stein says (same, 145), Jiusilu "n'est donc pas Gesar"; yet his role on the northeastern borderlands of Tibet "a été certainement considérable et a pu influer sur la cristallisation de la légende", meaning "son encouragement ou son rattachement à une lignée de chefs locaux à un certain moment de l'histoire". We cannot delve into details here. Nor is this the place to see whether in fact elements of the legend on Dū l-qarnain are refound in connection with Gesar of Gliṅ, albeit necessarily redefined in appropriate terms from Tibetan cultural ecology. With regard to the genesis of the Gesar legend in Tibet, considered as the interplay and fusion of ideological themes from the West and historical events involving the Śara-Yuġur, bCoṅ-kha and the Kokonor/amdo region, I suggest that we may have a pointer (but nothing more) from the times of Jiusilu, in the Arabic focus on the Amdo.

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A GROUP OF OLD TIBETAN LETTERS WRITTEN UNDER KUEI-I-CHÜN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF OLD TIBETAN LETTERS*

TSUGUHITO TAKEUCHI (Kyoto)

Introduction

Among the Old Tibetan texts unearthed from Tun-huang and East Turkestan one finds a great number of letters. Besides being historical sources of primary importance, the letters provide us with valuable data for both linguistic and philological studies; namely, they provide numerous parallel sentences in which different words occur in the same environment and vice versa. These data will certainly help us to determine the meanings of unknown words.[1] The letters also contain many stereotyped expressions which are important data for the process of idiomatization.[2]

* I wish to thank my colleagues, the members of the Young Turcologists' Society—Takao Moriyasu, Hiroshi Kumamoto, Tokio Takata, and Yutaka Yoshida—for their valuable advice.

[1] For example, in one type of letters (which I will call type I) the phrase (*bkye'i phyag rgya phog ste*) "having sealed the seal of dispatch" occurs in the introductory formula. (cf. § 1.3) In some cases, however, the phrase (*god gyi phyag rgya phog ste*) is found instead (e.g. Pt. 1113). The word *god* is found in dictionaries to mean "loss, damage". But it does not fit the context. Here, *god* stands in the same environment with *bkye* "dispatch" (which is derived from a verb *'gyed-pa* "to dispatch") and must hve a meaning of the same categoty. The distribution of *kbye* and *god* indicates that *bkye* is used to refer to the dispatch of a decision made by the royal court or the assembly, while *god* seems to refer to the order (from the lower or local offices) to execute (the decision in the dispatch). e.g. *steg zhing pa yang / god stsal lagste / / god kyi phyag rgya yang nos lang* "An order to execute was given to the peasants of ('A-zha-)steg, and (I : an official of 'A-zha-steg) received the seal of the order to execute." (Ch. Fr. 66) Thus, we may infer that *god* meant "order to execute", having been derived from the intransitive perfect form of a verb *'god-pa* "to project, set, place in order".

[2] Those stereotyped expressions are not always grammatically easily analyzable. The usages of some case markers, for example, do not conform to their normal usages. But the comparison of similar expressions reveals that they are the results of idiomatization, and should not be treated equally with other data. (e.g. *zha-snga-nas* ~ *zha-sngar* ~ *zha-sngar-nas* "in the presence of", see note 14 below; *bka'-stsal-pa tsam-du chi-gnang bka'-stsal-par tsam-du chi-gnang* "please grant (your) words", see note 15.)

The letters were written in certain formulae. It is always possible that these formulae were transferred from other languages through cultural contact. The employment of Chinese *hua-chih* 畫指 "finger-seal" method in both the Tibetan and Khotanese legal documents is well known.[3] It is also known that the expression such as "with a mind that is near towards (/from) a distant region" is shared by the letters written in Khotanese, Sogdian, and Uighur.[4]

It is therefore necessary to examine the letters extensively and find out what kinds of expression patterns and formulae exist.[5] Through examination I have realized that the letters can be classified into three types. The decisive criterion for classification is the form of introductory formula, to which conform their usages. Here I tentatively call them type I (— formal official dispatches) type II (informal [official] correspondences), and type III (personal correspondences). Type III is further divided into two groups according to the greeting pattern.

Letters
- type I: formal official
- type II: informal (official)
- type III: personal
  - greeting pattern 1
  - greeting pattern 2

The detailed survey of each letter type would surpass the space limit of this paper. Thus, I will focus here on letter type III, especially its second subgroup. In what follows, first the basic formulae of letter types I and II will be briefly outlined (§ 1—2). Secondly, the formula of letter type III and its subclassification will be demonstrated (§ 3). Lastly, the possible dates and characteristics of the letters of the last group, namely, those with greeting pattern 2, will be discussed (§ 4—5).

[3] In Tibetan the expressions such as *mdzub-(mo)-tshad-(gyis) btab-pa* "finger-measur is impressed" or *sug-yig-tshad-(gyis-btab-pa)* "hand-signature-measure is impressed" are used. See Pt. 1078, 1087, 1101, 1104, 1115, 1116, 1297, 2124, 2125, 2127; also F. W. Thomas *TLTD* II. 45, 46, 59, 66, 137, 141, 144, 149. As for the Khotanese "finger-seal" method, see Kumamoto (1982) 170—172. As for the Chinese *hua-chih*, see Niida (1939). The forms and characteristics of the Tibetan finger-seal methods will be discussed in my forthcoming paper on the Old Tibetan contracts.

[4] As for the Khotanese letters, see Emmerick (1975) 225—226; for Uighur see Tezcan & Zieme (1071) 456—457. Information on Sogdian letters came from Dr. Yutaka Yoshida.

[5] It will also help us identify fragmentary documents and recontructs the texts. For example, a fragmentary text in plate XLV of *An Archaeological Tour of Xinjiang* (1983) by Hung Wenpi, which is wrongly identified as an Uighur text, can be identified as a Tibetan letter (of type III) due to the remaining scarcely legible introductory formula.

I. Letter type I

1. *Use*: Letters of type I are official dispatches from the assembly *'dun-tsa/sa* or the royal palace *pho-brang* where decisions on various issues are made at each level.

2. *Formal characteristics*: The letters demonstrate a clear format.

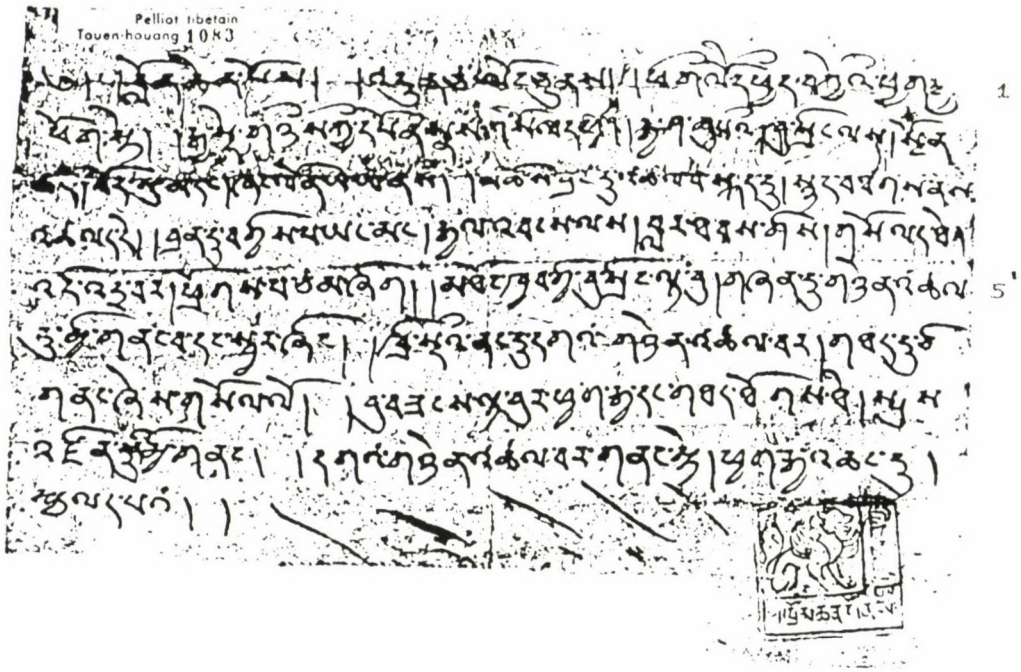

Plate I. *Letter type I*

The material is paper. One sees several creases which indicate that they were folded letters.[6] On the recto is impressed a red square seal at the right bottom corner. Oblique lines are written to fill the blank space so that no addition can be made. Below the lines a small part is cut off in a rectangular shape which probably was used as a tally. On the verso is written a short passage that indicates the content of the dispatch.[7]

[6] See M.I. ii. 40 in *Serinida* IV, plate CLXXI.

[7] E.g. *rgya dga' gnyen 'tshal ba' phyag rgya* "the seal (of the dispatch to allow) the Chinese (inhabitants) to search for good marital relations" (Pt. 1083 verso).

3. *Introductory formula*: A letter consists of two parts: the introductory part and the content. The introductory part follows the clear formula which is schematized as follows:

> ↘/:/ [A] gyis / [B] nas / [date]
>
> bkye'i phyag rgya phog ste / / [C] la mchid stsal(d) pa'

[B] : the office (assembly or royal palace); [A] : the official(s) who convoked the assembly; [C] : the addressee. There is no [A] , if [B] is the royal palace. [C] is sometimes omitted. The formula may be translated:

> "From the assembly [B] (convoked) by [A], on such and such date, the seal of the dispatch having been sealed, (this) letter is hereby given to [C]."

Bkye "dispatch" may be replaced by (*bka'*)-*rtags* "edict", *god* "order to execute"[8], or *rtsis* "accounting". The characteristic points are:

a) The sender is stated first.
b) The date is explicit.
c) The verb *mchid-stsal-pa* "to give a letter from someone higher to lower" is used.[9]

Examples:

> ↘/:/ pho brang lhan kar nas / / 'brugi lo 'i dgun sla 'bring po 'i ngo la / bkye 'i phyag rgya phog ste / sha cu 'i rtse rje la mcid stsal pa' / (Pt. 1085) "From the royal palace Lhan-kar, in the second month of the winter in the Dragon year, the seal of the dispatch having been sealed, this letter is hereby given to the rtse-rje councillors in Sha-chou;"
>
> ↘/:/ blon lha bzher dang / zhang legs bzang gis / / 'dun tsa zha'i bde sum tshal nas 'brugi lo'i dbyar / bkye'i phyag rgya phog ste / / zhang stag rma g.yu gong la mchid stsald pa / (Ch.Fr.67) "From the assembly at Bde-sum-tshal in Zha (convoked) by *Blon* Lha-bzher and *Zhang* Legs-bzang, in the summer of the dragon year, the seal of the dispatch having been sealed, this letter is hereby given to *Zhang* Stag-rma-g.yu-gong;"

4. *The content*: Though the content part has no rigid formula, the typical pattern is: first, a petition or a request from the local people or councillors is quoted. As a reply to the petition, an order is given to local councillors to

[8] See note 1.

[9] In Pt. 1113 and 1552 *spring-ngo* "send (a message)" (which is usually used in letter type II) is used instead.

operate in the way described in the dispatch. Thus, the letters conclude either with the imperative expression such as . . .*chig* (e.g. Pt. 1085, 1113, Ch. Fr, 67) or with the form: *phyag-rgya 'chang-du stshal-pa*' "the seal of dispatch is hereby given so that you execute it" (e.g. Pt. 1083, 1217).

5. *Seals*: An animal or human figure and the name of the dispatching office are inscribed. See a list of seals in the Introduction (p. 17) to *CDT* tome 2.

6. Some letters (— so far five have been identified —) were written after the Tibetan abandonment of Tun-huang or at the time of the Kuei-i-chün (848—ca. 1050). They differ from the others in two points:

a) The seal is inscribed in Chinese script.[10]
b) There is no cut off for a tally.

7. *Texts*: The following texts have so far been identified as letter type I:
Those written under the Tibetan control of Tun-huang: Pt. 1083, 1085, 1111. 1217; Ch. Fr. 67; Ch. Fr. 80; M.I. 28.0036; M.I. 44.0013; (exercise:)[11] Pt. 1113 A & B, 1173, 1294, 1552, 2123 etc.
Those written under Kuei-i-chün: Pt. 1081; Ch. 73 iv. 14; (exercise:) Pt. 1188 v.

II. Letter Type II

1. *Use*: Letter type II was probably a form for an informal (official) correspondence such as an invoice and receipt.[12]

2. *Formal characteristics*:

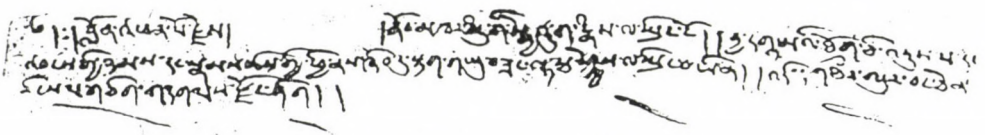

Plate II. *Letter type II*

Material is either paper or wood. On the recto are impressed small round seals in red. Some letters have oblique lines. But there is no cut off for a tally. On the verso are written the names of a sender (senders) and an addressee (addressees).

[10] In Pt. 1081 is impressed a big red square seal in Chinese which reads: 河西道觀察使印. See Introduction (p. 16) to *CDT* tome 2.

[11] "(Exercise:)" means that following texts are scribal exercises or practices.

[12] Judging from the words such as *'drul-ba* "post runner" (M. Tagh. b. i. 0096) and *bang-cen-ring-pa* "courier" (M.I. ii. 40) found in the letters, the letters of type II were probably carried by those express postmen.

A list of letters type I

Text Number	A (convoker)	B (office)	C (addressee)
Texts written under the Tibetan domination (—848)			
Pt. 1083	great minister	assembly at Long-cu	om.
Pt. 1085	om.	royal place Lhan-kar	rtse-rje councillors in Sha-chou
Pt. 1089	om.	assembly at Zha	lac.
Pt. 1111	lac.	lac.	lac.
Pt. 1217	great zhang minister	assembly of the great military government (held at) Tsong-ka rtsis-skyang-dgur	om.
Ch. Fr. 67 (damaged or incomplete)	blon-Lha-bzher & zhang Leg-bzang	assembly at Bde-sum-tshal in Zha	zhang-Stag-rma-g·yu-gong
Ch. Fr. 80	om.	royal palace 'O-cang-do	lac.
MI. 28, 0036	blon-Mtso-bzher & blon-Lha-bzher etc.	lac.	lac.
MI. 44, 0013 (exercise)	great zhang minister	(assembly) of the great military government	Commisioner for Setting the Fields etc.
Pt. 1113i	.....] and blon-Khrom-bzher	assembly at Long-cu	bde-blon
Pt. 1113ii	.....]zher	assembly at Bde-sum-tshal in Zha	functionaries in charge of collecting grain tribute at Sha-chou
Pt. 1173	blon Lha-bzher & zhang Leg-bzang	assembly at Zha	lac.
Pt. 1294	lac.	lac.	om.
Pt. 1552	om.	royal palace On-cang-do	bde-blon
Pt. 2123	om.	assembly at Zha	great and small country officials at Dra-ma in Khri-ga district (?)
Texts written during the time of Kuei-i-chün (848-ca. 1050)			
Pt. 1081 (incomplete)	shang-shu (尙書)	assembly of the great military government Sha-chou Kuei-i-chün	om.
Ch. 73 iv, 14 (exercise)	p'u-yeh (僕射)	assembly of the great military government at Leng-cu(i.e. ling-chou?)	tz'u-shihs (刺史) in Sha-chou (沙州) & Kua-chou (瓜州)
Pt. 1188 verso		royal palace of Tängri Uighur kaghan	stong-na-dbang-blon (an official holding power on thousand men)

N.B. lac.: illesible due to text damage
om.: omitted in the text

3. *Introductory formula*: The introductory formula is simple.

ང/:/ [A] gyis / / [B] la spring ngo /

"[A] is sending (this) message to [B]."

The characteristic points are:

a) The sender is stated first.
b) The date is unstated.
c) The verb *spring-ngo* is used in contrast to *mchid-stsal-pa* in type I.
d) [A] may be deleted. (e.g. *BTT* text 1)

4. The content: Because letter type II was used for a short message such as an invoice or receipt, the content part was usually brief.

5. Texts: M. Tagh b.i. 0096; M.I. ii. 40; M.I. xxi. 1,2A; M.I. i. 27,4; M. Tagh a. iv. 0018 (wood); Pt. 2204 pièce C; *BTT* (Berliner Turfansammlung) text 1, text 8; (exercise:) Pt. 1222, 1552, TD (Leningrad Malov Collection) 25, 28 etc.

III. Letter type III

1. *Use*: Letters of type III are personal correspondences or private letters mainly between officials and monks. They are numerous (more than three-fourths of all the letters).

2. *Formal characteristics*: cf. plate III

Material is either paper or wood. On the recto are often impressed several small round seals in red ink. In the case of letters written under Kuei-i-chün a square seal in Chinese script is put instead. There are no oblique lines like letter type I. Also there is no cut off for a tally. On the verso are written the names of a sender (senders) and an addressee (addressees).

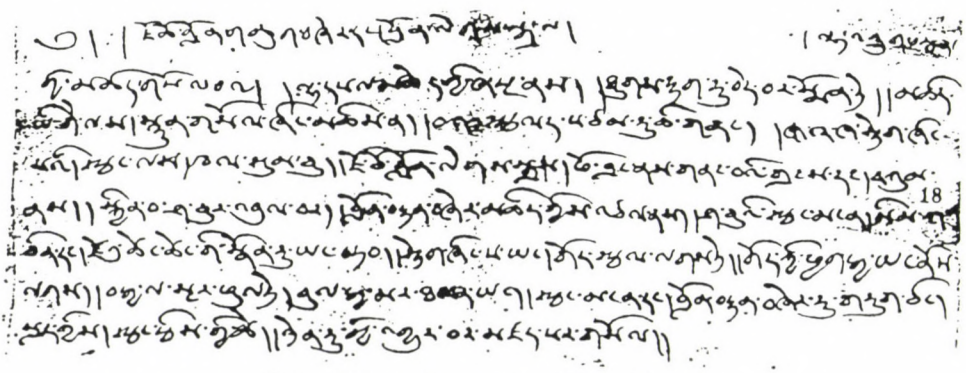

Plate III—1. *Letter type III, pattern 1*

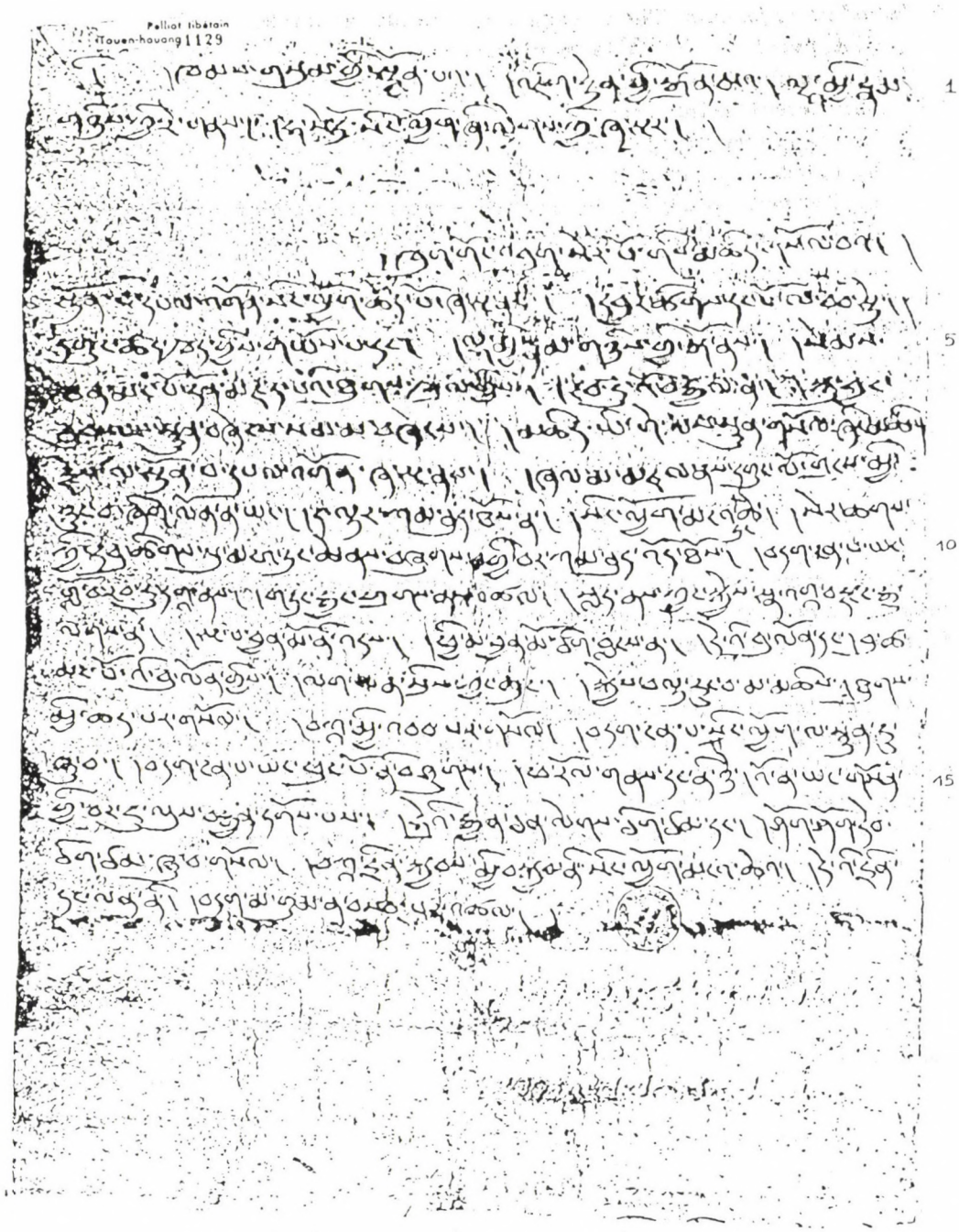

Plate III—2. *Letter type III, pattern 2*

3. *Introductory formulae*: The introductory formula consists of two sections: the form of address and the greeting.

The form of address: The form of address is schematized as follows:

> ↘ /:/ [A] la (*or* kyi zha sngar *or* kyi zha snga nas) / / [B] kyi(s) mchid gsol pa /
>
> "To (*or* to the presence of) [A], the letter of (*or* by) [B] is hereby submitted;"

Example:

> ↘/: nang rje po blon btsan bzang la // / / g.yu rmang brtsan gyi mchid gsol ba' (Pt. 1205)
>
> "To *nang-rje-po* [= a title of respect], *blon* Btsan-bzang, the letter of G.yu-rmang-brtsan is hereby submitted;"

Here, the characteristic points are:

a) The addressee comes first with a title of respect attached such as *nang-rje-po, jo-co, jo-bo* or *mkhan-po*, whereas in letter type I and II the sender comes first.

b) The date is usually unstated, whereas it is explicit in type I.

c) The verb *mchid-gsol-pa* is used to imply that the letter is sent from a person of lower rank to someone of the same or higher rank, in contrast to *mchid-stsal-pa* (in type I) which implies from higher to lower; and *spring-ngo* (in type II) which is neutral as to social rank.

Features (a) and (c) indicate that the letter type III is a letter of courtesy.

The greeting: The form of address is followed by the greeting, the existence of which is a defining characteristic of letter type III. The greeting is formed with stereotyped expressions such as inquiring after the addressee's health, wishing the addressee a peaceful mind, and asking for a reply. One finds two basic patterns — pattern 1 and pattern 2, with three basic variations in pattern 1 — among these stereotyped greeting expressions. The existence of these patterns is supported by many scribal exercises written in the margins, on the one hand, and by joking letters which use these patterns in a humorous way.[13]

The greeting pattern 1: Besides the expression "inquiring after the health" *snyun-gsol-zhin-mchis* which is common to both pattern 1 and 2, pattern 1 has the characteristic expression of "inquiry after or wish for the peacefulness of

[13] (/nang jhe po blon rkang [theng] la (/khyi'i mchid gsol ba khyi dang tshungs pa thugs bde 'am myi bde myi bde na rkyag pa la zo shig)
'To *nang-rje-po*, the minister 'Lamed (one)', the dog's letter is hereby sent to you; (in the presence of) the dog-like one; is your mind peaceful or not? If not peaceful, eat shit!" (I. O. vol. 53. fol. 49 verso).

mind" *thugs-bde*. The following three basic variations or expression patterns A, B, and C may be found in pattern 1.

A. / chen po dgung dang 'dra ba'i zha snga nas thugs bde 'am myi bde mchid yi ge las snyung gsol zhing mchis na bka' stsal par ji gnang / "In the presence of[14] the great divine [lit. heaven-like] one, (I am asking whether) your mind is peaceful or not, and I am hereby inquiring after your health with this letter; so please reply [lit. grant your words]." (Ch. 86. ii. verso)

Texts: Pt. 1092, 1132, 1184, 1205, 1210, 1222, 1290, 1552v; Ch. 77. xii; MI. i. 23; MI. xiv. 23; I.O. vol. 54. f. 47; *BTT* text 3, 4, 7, 13, etc.

B. / lha dpal mched gyi zha snga nas / / thugs rtag du bde bar smon te / / mchid yi ge las / snyun gsol zhing mchis na / / bka' stsald pa tsam du chi gnang /
"In the presence of the glorious divine brother, wishing that your mind is always peaceful, I am hereby inquiring after your health with this letter; so please reply [lit. grant your words].[15]" (Ch. Fr. 66)

Texts: Pt. 1119, 1202, 1204, 1172, 1142, 2123; M.I. xxviii. 005; M.I. xiv. 59, etc.

C. / mkhan po 'i zha snga nas / / snyun rnying ma 'bred thugs bde zhes g.yar du thoste / glo ba dga' zhing mchis /
"In the presence of the professor (*mkhan-po*), I am happy to hear in the presence that your mind is peaceful without fear of old illness." (Pt. 1201)

Texts: Pt. 1200, 1201; M. Tagh b.i. 0092; M. Tagh 0512; M.I. i. 23; M.I. xxx. 8; M.I. xxvii. 18; M.I. xxxiv. 11; I.O. vol 55. fol. 20, etc.

Of course the honorific modifier (e.g. *chen-po dgung dang 'dra-ba lha-dpal-mched*) can be replaced. Other modifications as well as combinations of these basic variations are found in the texts. But they are considered to be

[14] It may appear difficult to understand why *zha-snga-nas* is in the ablative case, being an indirect object of a verb *gsol-ba*. The situation is same in variation B below. But in variation C, it is logical for *zha-snga* to take the ablative case, being an object of a verb *thos-pa* "to hear". Thus, we may consider that the form in variation C was original and that the forms in A and B have been so called frozen in the process of idiomatization. In any case the point is that *zha-snga-nas* is used idiomatically without its original ablative case, function. And this is why the confused forms such as *zha-sngar-nas* (Pt. 1131) or *zha-bsngar-nas* (Pt. 1212) are found.

[15] *Bka' stsald pa tsam du chi gnang* does not make good sense as is. But if we look at the parallel phrase in variation A above, we find *bka' stsal par ji gnang*, where there is a dative locative marker *-r* for *par*; thus, the phrase makes sense: "please grant (your) words [i.e. reply]." Therefore, the form in variation B must have dropped the case marker *-r* in the process of idiomatization.

modifications or derivations of these three basic variations or expression patterns.

The greeting pattern 2: Pattern 2 is quite different from pattern 1 and is characterized by the seasonal greeting and the expression of "inquiry after the fatigue (*'o-rgyal*) of the addressee due to the mental load (*thugs-khral*) of doing something . . ." Let us see an example:

> / ston [pa] dpal 'gon sing lyog ched po zha snga nas / / dbyar tshigs dang po la bab ste / / dgung tshad khad gyis g.yos pa dang / / lha myi gnyis gyi sgo nas / / sems can mang po don mdzad pa'i thugs khral gyis / / rab du 'o rgyal na / / sku byang cub las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs / / mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis /
>
> "In the presence of the teacher, the glorious protector, the great *sing-lyog* [i.e. Chinese *tu-seng-lu* 都僧錄], coming down to early summer, heat has gradually started [lit. moved]; being extremely exhausted due to the mental load of benefiting [i.e. relieving] many sentient beings through (your) two aspects of deities and human beings, (I wonder whether) an illness is raised from your Boddhisattva body [i.e. you fell ill] or not; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health with this letter." (Pt. 1129)

Texts: Pt. 1003, 1082, 1125, 1129, 1131, 1189, 1212, 1220, 1225, 1284. (A translation of the greetings in these texts are given in the Appendix.)

4. The content: The greeting is followed by the content section. There is no rigid formula in the content section. Some letters have no real content; they were sent just to "mark-time".[16]

IV. Letters of type III with greeting pattern 2

1. *Dates*: Letters with greeting pattern 1 are numerous, and, most of them were, as we expect, written under the Tibetan control of Tun-huang and East Turkestan, while the letters with greeting pattern 2 are limited in number; so far I have found ten of them; among them nine seem to have been actually sent and one is an exercise (or pattern practice — Pt. 1225). Their dates are also quite restricted; we can limit their possible dates on account of the names and titles found in the texts.

Let us see *Table 1* on the next page, where a list of these nine letters together with the information on the addressee and sender, other key words for dating the letters, and possible date of each letter is presented.[17]

[16] Cf. Thomas TLTD II. 333.

[17] Pt. 1225 is an exercise and lacks the names of senders or addressees. So it is excluded from Table 1 but its greeting is listed in the Appendix.

Table 1

Pelliot no.	*addressee* / *sender*	*other key words for dating*
ca. 920-ca. 1050 (Kuei-i-chün of Ts'ao family)		ling-kung 令公 T'ien-p'ing-chün 天平軍 the seal of 河西 □□ 鎮 (?) 道 (?) □ □ 之印
Pt. 1082:	Sha-chou 沙州 täŋri uyγur qaγan (in Kan-chou 甘州)	
Pt. 1189:	Ho-hsi-chieh-tu T'ien-ta-wang 河西節度天大王 szu-t'u 司徒, the ruler of Su-chou 肅州	
Pt. 1284:	Khotanese king Ho-hsi-chieh-tu Ts'ao-t'ai-pao 河西節度曹太保	
848-ca. 1050 (Kuei-i-chün)		
Pt. 1003:	Li-seng-cheng 李僧政 > Tib. *lising-je* in Sha-chou 沙州 Li-seng-cheng 李僧政 > Tib. *li-sing-je* in I-chou 伊州	t'ai-pao 太保 > Tib. *the'i-pou*
Pt. 1129:	Ho-hsi-tu-seng-lu 河西都僧錄 (> *ha-se-to-sing-lyog*) *Co* 張 *Zhi-legs* in Sha-chou 沙州 *Khug-gong-'bug-ser-po* in Su-chou 肅州	
Pt. 1131:	*Chab-srid-blon-che la-tshin-sre* (< lo-chen-shih 羅鎮使?) Chang-ya-ya 衙張押 (> Tib. *am-'gra*) *Mang-'gu*	
Pt. 1220:	tu-seng-t'ung 都僧統 (> Tib. *sing-tong-ched-po*), Chang-seng-cheng 張僧政 (> Tib. *cang-sing-je*) etc., the monks at Ling-t'u-ssu 靈圖寺 (> Tib. *le-tu-zi*) Chang-tu-t'ou 張都頭 (> Tib. *cang-to-di'u*) *Dzin-sheng*	An incomplete Chinese letter on the verso with the phrase ying-kuan-nei-wai 應官內外 a term which started to be used in ca. 910.
probably 848-ca. 1050		
Pt. 1125:	Great *tshin-kā-kong pye-'[b]ā-shi* (< Chin. ping-ma-shin 兵馬使 ?); *blon phu-shi* (< Chin. fu-shih 副使 ?); & *tshin-kā-kong tshin-kā-kong yeng-den* (< Chin. ying-t'ien 營田 ?)	
Pt. 1212:	Rev. *'Bye-(sha?)n*; Rev. *Yo-shan*; & Rev. *Dpal-mog* in Sha-chou 沙州 *Yon-shan* in Su-chou 肅州	

The first three letters (i.e. Pt. 1082,[18] 1189, 1284) have already been discussed by Prof. Uray and have been ascribed to the time of Kuei-i-chün of Ts'ao family 曹氏歸義軍 (ca. 920—ca. 1050) or later period of Kuei-i-chün.[19] (A chronological table is given in *Table 2*.) As for the other texts I have succeeded in rendering the names and titles of the senders and addressees of each letter, most of which are phonetic transliterations of Chinese words, into the

Table 2

A chronological table of ruling powers in Tun-huang

T'ang 唐
—786/7
Tibet *Bod*
—848
Kuei-i-chün of Chang family 張氏歸義軍
—910
Hsi-han-chin-shan-kuo 西漢金山國
—920
Kuei-i-chün of Ts'ao family 曹氏歸義軍
—ca. 1050
Hsi-hsia 西夏

********* ********** *********

original Chinese. Now according to the research by Prof. Chikusa entitled "The clergy in Tun-huang in late T'ang", the titles such as tu-seng-lu 都僧錄 (in Pt. 1129), and ya-ya 押衙 (in Pt. 1131) are restricted in their occurrences to the time of the Kuei-i-chün 歸義軍, namely, after 848. Tu-seng-t'ung 都僧統 (in Pt. 1220) was used either in the beginning of Tibetan control of Tun-huang or under the Kuei-i-chün. T'ai-pao 太保 in Pt. 1003 clearly points to the time of the Kuei-i-chün.

In this way we can limit the earliest possible dates of the texts. As a result three out of nine (i.e. Pt. 1082, 1189, 1284) are dated as 10 c. to early 11 c., four (i.e. Pt. 1003, 1129, 1131, 1220) as the second half of 9 c. to early 11 c. Two (i.e. Pt. 1125, 1212) remain undatable because I have so far been unable to firmly identify the addressees and senders in Chinese, but I have

[18] Pt. 1082 has a peculiar form of address. Prof. Uray pointed out to me at the Bicentenary Csoma de Kőrös Symposium that Pt. 1082 was written due to the influence of Uighur letter forms. The comparison with the Uighur letter forms needs to be done when Prof. James Hamilton's forthcoming book on the Uighur letters is published.

[19] See Uray (1981).

little doubt that these two belong to the same period as the other seven. Although I myself am inclined to date all of them as in Ts'ao-shih Kuei-i-chün 曹氏歸義軍 or mainly 10 c., yet there is not enough evidence to do so. But we can safely assume that these letters with greeting pattern 2 were written under Kuei-i-chün or after the Tibetan abandonment of Tun-huang.

2. *Other characteristics*: When we look at these texts again we notice that besides greeting pattern 2 they share the following two features: See plate III—2.

a) After the addressee's name is written, a rather long space, sometimes for two or more lines, is kept blank. And the sender's name is written from the middle of the line.

b) The script is rather round and close to *dbu-med* style.[20] It still retains *ya-btags* on the bilabial nasal with front vowel (i.e. *myi* for Classical Tib. *mi*) and sometimes inverted *gi-gu*,[21] although the disapperance of these features have generally been considered to be characteristic of the Old Tibetan writing of a later period.

Since the letters with greeting pattern 2 were exclusively written during the second half of the 9 c. to the early 11 c., we could conversely assume that if we find a text which shares all these *three* features, the text can be ascribed to the same period.[22]

V. Introduction of greeting pattern 2 under the Kuei-i-chün

As we have seen, the letters with greeting pattern 2 were written exclusively at the time of the Kuei-i-chün, while the letters with greeting pattern 1 were written before it except in a few cases (e.g. Pt. 1211). In other words, although greeting pattern 1 continued to be used under the Kuei-i-chün, it was soon replaced by greeting pattern 2. Other parts of letter type III formula were, however, retained.[23] Thus, greeting pattern 2 was introduced to modify letter type III, which is parallel to the situation that letter type I (official dispatches) was modified under the Kuei-i-chün (cf. § 1.6).

[20] But the texts which follow the style of writing Buddhist texts use square shaped *dbu-can* script, even though written in a later period. E.g. Pt. 1225 — an exercise of the greeting pattern 2, written on a pothī, and ruled with horizontal lines; also Ch. 77. ii. 3— a colophone of the Chinese A-mi-t'o-ching (Small Sukhāvatīvyūha) in Tibetan script.

[21] E.g. Pt. 1082, where all *i* are inverted except two.

[22] Some other letters (Pt. 1103, 1188, 1211) written in the same period share features (a) and (b). But tho other letters written also in that period share neither of them. Therefore, these two features alone are not sufficient for dating, though their presence increases the possibility that the text was written in that period.

[23] Of course the seals were changed to Chinese style. cf. § III. 2.

Greeting pattern 2 differs distinctly from pattern 1 in that it begins with seasonal greetings, which in turn resemble the greeting formulae of Chinese letters.[24] The Chinese ones, however, do not have the expression of "inquiring after the fatigue of the addressee", which is another key expression of greeting pattern 2. Thus, we cannot consider pattern 2 to have been fully modelled after the Chinese form. But from the circumstances in which they were written, namely, under the local Chinese ruler, we could assume some Chinese influence.

We may conclude that greeting pattern 2 was introduced under the Kuei-i-chün to modify the form of letter type III, having been invented due to the influence of Chinese letter form, but nevertheless based on the traditional Tibetan letter formulae.

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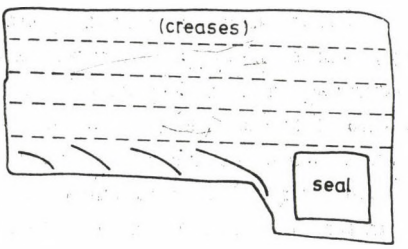
[24] To give a typical example of the greeting form in Chinese letters:

孟秋猶炎　　伏惟
都頭尊體　　勤止萬福　即日
蒙恩　不審近日
尊體何似

"In early autumn (it is) still hot. (I) humbly think, (in) the presence of tu-t'ou, whether (your) body is well or not. Always I owe a (great) favour to you. I wonder these days how you are getting along." (Stein 4920)



Appendix

Greeting Pattern 2 : seasonal greetings

(Pt. 1220) "coming down to early spring, a blunt cold wind is (still) strong [lit. great]; being extremely exhausted due to the mental load of watching over the dominion of blessing (sentient beings) through (your) two aspects of deities and human beings, (I wonder) whether (an illness) is raised or not from your powerful and honorable body; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health with (this) letter."

(Pt. 1225 A) "coming down to early spring, a cold wind gradually has disappeared (or come out?); being (exhausted due to the (extreme mental load of watching over the dominion, (I wonder whether) an illness is raised or not from your precious body..."

(Pt. 1225 B) "coming down to midspring, a blunt cold wind is (still) strong [lit. great]; being extremely exhausted due to the mental load of watching over the dominion, (I wonder whether) an illness is raised or not from your body. . ."

(Pt. 1131) "coming down to early summer, warmth and moisture rise; as for [lit. among or from] the members of administration, they (may) be exhausted; thus, I am inquiring after your health with the letter from a distant land."

(Pt. 1212) "the time of strong heat has come; being extremely exhausted by practicing the relief of many sentient beings, (I wonder whether) an illness is raised or not from your powerful and honorable body; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health with the letter from a distant land."

(Pt. 1003) „at the time when the fall fruits change color [i.e. riped], being exhausted on account of (practicing) a major (*cher-ni*?)-religious ceremony for the t'ai-pao 太保 (*the'i-po'u*) and benefiting all sentient beings, (wonder whether) you got ill [lit. illness in your body] or not in your residence; (thus,) I am respectfully inquiring after your health, so please reply [lit. send your words]."

(Pt. 1284) "coming down to midwinter, the wind is strong [lit. great]; being extremely exhausted due to ascending to and working at (?) the throne, Oh ! precious one, (I wonder whether) an illness is raised or not from your powerful and honorable body; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health respectfully with this letter."

(Pt. 1125) "in the midst (or depth) of winter, the wind is strong [lit. great]; being extremely exhausted due to the raised [. .] of inside and outside ([*sla*]*d-nang*), (I wonder whether) your powerful body got ill or not; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health with this letter."

(Pt. 1189) "coming down to late winter, the wind is still (*da-cung*) strong [lit. great]; being extremely exhausted due to the mental load of ruling many mighty subjects in the North district [i.e. Ho-hsi-pei-tao 河西北道], (I wonder whether) an illness is raised or not from the powerful body of yours, the precious one; (thus,) I am inquiring after your health with this letter."

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE MONGOLIAN VERSIONS OF THE *MAHĀMEGHASŪTRA**

LODE TALPE (Brugge)

I. Introduction

The *Mahāmeghasūtra* or 'Sūtra of the Great Cloud' exists in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. None of these texts have deserved the necessary attention of scholars.

In this paper I will confine myself to a brief introduction to the main sources of the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan texts and thereafter to the Mongolian texts and their linguistic features. These linguistic features will allow us to have a better insight into the original chronology and mutual relation among the texts.

(1) The Sanskrit texts have partially been edited by C. Bendall[1] and Moriguchi K.[2] However none of these texts is complete and the manuscripts which served as a base for their study were slightly different. The text edited by Bendall is dated *Saṃvat* 494 i.e. 1374 A.D. Petech L. in his *History of Nepal*[3] has a more precise date for this text nl. Thursday of August 1374 and this text was written under the reign of *Jayārjunadeva* (1361—1382). It speaks for itself that a complete edition of these texts and a study of the other versions is highly desirable. For my study I relied only on Moriguchi's edition.

* As a Ph. D.-student in the Department of Linguistics of Kyoto-University the research could be done with a Monbusho-scholarship. I wish to express my gratitude to the following institutions for their material help and encouragement. The Universiteitsbibliotheek van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). Hōbōgirin, (Kyoto), Kyoto-University, Library of Congress Washington D. C. Tōyō Bunko. I have also received some suggestions from Prof. Dr. A. von Gabain for which I 'd like to thank her.

[1] 'The Mahāmeghasūtra', *J. R. A. S.*, 1880, p. 287—311. Devanāgarī-text with translation. Great parts of the text have been omitted. The author used two manuscripts (A) and (B). Only (A) is dated *N. S.* 494 i.e. A. D. 1374.

[2] 'Mahāmeghasūtra' 3 64, I. *Taishōdaigaku zōgōbukkyō kenkyūsō nenpō*, nr. 2, (*Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism Taishō-university, nr. 2*) 1980, p. p. 43—60. Text in transcription. About half of the text is given as well as variants from 6 different versions have been included. Comparison with the Chinese texts has also been done. We will however not discuss the Sanskrit texts here.

[3] *History of Nepal* (750—1480), *S. O. R.* X, Rome 1958, p. 126.

(2) The Chinese texts have been studied by Forte A. in his *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*, Napoli, 1976.

(3) The Tibetan texts have not been edited yet. I have prepared a study of them too but I will refrain from discussing them here. We referred only once to one version of the Peking-edition[4].

(4) *Mongolian texts*:

For our study we used altogether 6 texts. Three of them are Zungdui. Two are from the Dandr-a section and one from Eldeb.

i. *Zungdui* (Tib. *gzuṅs bsdus*, Sanskrit *Dharāṇīsaṃgraha*)

(1) Heissig W. (1954), p. 46 paragraph 64: *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen-ü mandal-ača qura oruγuluγči-yin ǰiran dõtüger bõlüg-ün ǰang üile-lüge selte*: This text corresponds to the *Zungdui* from the Tõyõ Bunko[5] nr. 63, p. 53—54. fol. 119a 13—134a 27. The title of the incipit (119a 18—19) *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen-ü sudur*. Terminatur (134a 24—25): *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen-ü yeke kölgen sudur-ača qur-a-yi oruγulqu kei-yin mandal-un bõlüg neretü ǰiran dõrben ǰang üile-lüge nigen-e tegüsbe*. This text is further referred to as (A).

(2) Farquhar, D. M., *A description of the Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in Washington D. C.*: *Central Asiatic Journal* I. 3, p. 183, nr. 64.[6] fol. 160r 14—181b 15.[7] The title of the incipit and terminatur respectively are exactly the same with (A). We refer to this text as (B).

(3) Ligeti L. *La Collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt*: *T'oung Pao*, XVIII (1930), p. 13 describes also one *Mahāmeghasūtra*. Unfortunately I could not obtain this xylograph by now.

(4) Another *Zungdui*-collection belongs to the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.[8] We refer to this xylograph as (C). The index (*yarčag*) of this collection has not been published. The Colophon of this collection was, due to the circumstances, not at our disposition.

We will give now a short description of the *Zungdui*:

[4] Suzukii D. T. (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*. Peking-edition kept in Otani University, Tokyo-Kyoto, vol. 7, 1961, nr. 334.

[5] Poppe, N., Hurvitz, L., Okada, H., *Catalogue of the Manchu Mongol Section of the Tokyo Bunko*. Tokyo, 1964.

[6] I could obtain a microfilm from the Library of Congress, Washington D. C., I would like to thank again Mr. Dunn, R. (Chinese and Korean Section) for sending me the requested materials.

[7] The folio number is not given in the catalogue. The reference to Ligeti 704 should be corrected to 705. 宗 *tsung* is written in the right margin.

[8] A part of this collection has been described in Heissig, W. (1957a) The present writer prepares a catalogue of the newly found and obtained manuscripts and xylographs now belonging to the University Library of the Catholic University of Leuven. A first list is soon to appear in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. J. Roegiers for putting the xylograph of the Mahāmeghasūtra at my disposition.

Size: 58.5 cm × 21 cm, frame: 50 cm × 15 cm; 30 to 31 lines per folio.
Chinese and Mongolian pagination on the left side. The left margin has Tibetan *ha*. The text runs from 129a 1—145b 12.
The title of the incipit and terminatur respectively are completely identical with (A) and (B). The title of the *yarčag* is *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen-eče mören-ü mandal-i bayulyayči* and thus differs from the other ones.
The text can be divided into four parts.

(a) 119a 13—129a 30.
(b) 129a 30—130a 26.
(c) 130a 26—133b 11. end of the main text.
(d) 133b 14—134b 27. rain ritual.

Between (a) and (b), (b)—(c), (c)-and (d) the so-called *dörbeljin čeg* or square points which indicate chapters or paragraphs are inserted. However the *dörbeljin čeg* do not follow (d). It is not clear on what this division is based, since a Tibetan original of the Zungdui is not known yet. The *Zungdui* has no colophon and we know nothing about a possible translator or author of the text.[9]

ii. *Dandr-a section* (Ch. 秘密經, *pi mi ching*. Tib. *Rgyud*)
For this section of the Kanjur we used two versions. The references are taken from Ligeti L. *Catalogue du Kanjur imprimé*, Budapest, 1942. Section, volume and number are given unless otherwise indicated.

(1) *Dandr-a*, vol. 14, 339 (50), fol. 242r—259r.: *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen-tü*. We used the Indian reprint of the Tōyō Bunko,[10] *Dandr-a*, vol. 15, fol. 483, 11—516, 29 . . . The title of the incipit and terminatur respectively are completely identical with the *Zungdui*. We refer to this text as (E).

(2) *Dandr-a*, vol. 24, 705 (119), fol. 266r—283v.: *qutuγ-tu yeke agülen-tü*. We used the Indian reprint of the Tōyō Bunko, *Dandr-a*, vol. 24, fol. 531, 19—565, 17. The title of the incipit is identical with (E) but is slightly different in the terminatur where we have: *Qutuγ-tu yeke egülen neretü yeke kölgen sudur-ača qur-a oruγulqui kei mandal neretü jiran dörben bölüg kiged jang üile selte tegüsbe*. We underline words which indicate differences with the terminatur of (A). Further referred to as (D). The colophons for (D) and (E) are the same.[11]

[9] It should be noted that some colophons of this Zungdui are preserved. We find names of translators which do also appear in the Zungdui of Paris. Ligeti, L. (1930). Cf. also: Manfred Taube, Zur Textgeschichte einiger Gzuns bsdus Ausgaben, *Zentral Asiatische Studien*, I, 1968, p. 55—66.; Meisezahl, R. O., Über zwei Mdoman Redaktionen und ihre Editionen in Tibet und China, *Z. A. S.*, I 1968, p. 67—150. Taube M. thinks that the Mongolian edition of 1727 by *Fu Dalai* (Ligeti's description) is much closer to the Tibetan edition of 1691/1729 than to the Tibetan edition of 1731.

[10] I would like to thank here again the Toyo Bunko for the microfilms from the Mongolian Kanjur described here and also those further below.

[11] There is no difference between the colophons of the Toyo Bunko and those described by Ligeti, L. (1942).

They indicate that these sūtras were translated from Tibetan by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-šes-sde, and on their turn were translated into Mongolian by Kun dga' 'od-zer by order of Lindan Qan (1604—1634)[12]

(3) Finally we consulted *Eldeb* (Ch. 諸品 *chu p'in*, Tib. *sna tsogs*). Vol. 80, 992 (5), fol. 329—345. We used the text from the Toyo Bunko, vol. 80, fol. 658—690.[13]

The part of the colophon which speaks about the translation from Tibetan is identical with (D) and (E) of the Dandr-a section. Thereafter the colophon says that Erdeni γončin, relying on Kun dga' 'od-zer Mañjuśrī, translated into Mongolian.[14]

II. Comparison of the texts[15]

Immediately below a few passages taken from the different sections in the canon, where our text belongs i.e. Dandr-a and Eldeb, will be given. They can easily be compared with the extra-canonical Zungdui. It is not our intention to discuss or explain those lines. The only aim is to show what kind of differences there are among the texts.

It must be noted that besides the differences in wording and expression the length is not always the same, so that words and sentences that appear in one text do not appear in the other. I have listed all the missing words and lines but I will not include them here.

(i) ELDEB (F) 661, 12—13

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan qamiγ-a (12) *bükü tere ǰüg bökü-yin alaγaban qamtudqaǰu* (13) *yekede ergün kündülekü ber . . .*

DANDR-A (E) 486, 20—23

ilaǰu tegüs (21) *nögčigsen burqan qamiγ-a bükü tere ǰüg-tür* (22) *alaγaban qamtudqan sögüdčü bür-ün . . .*

[12] For the problems related with the translation activities under Lindan Qan see Heissig, W. (1957b), idem, (1962), idem, (1973). For the Peking edition of 1717/1720 and the relation with the Mongolian Kanjur see Imaeda, Y. (1977). I am preparing a study on the different Tibetan versions.

[13] The text is classified under Eldeb (Ch. 諸品 *chu-p'in, Tib. Mdo sna-ts'ogs*. cfr. Ligeti, L. (1965), p. 264. and thus belongs to the sūtra section. The Mongolian Kanjur of Paris (Ligeti, L. (1965)) includes the texts of Eldeb also under sutra. However Bischof, F. A. (1968), p. 479—481 includes only Ligeti, L. (1965), nr. 989, 990, 991 — also *Mahāmeghasūtras* — but not 992 (5) the xylograph that we are discussing now. !.
See also Heissig, W. (1973), p. 478 for *Eldeb*.

[14] For Erdeni γončin see Heissig, W. (1954), p. 41. His name appears in the Colophon of the Mongolian Kanjur but is spelled Erdeni qončin. The latter spelling is also in Heissig W. (1954), p. 41.

[15] After the presentation of my paper Prof. S. Bira (Ulan Bator) gave some comment and 2 corrections to the text below. I have included them. I would like to thank Prof. S. Bira for his remarks.

ZUNGDUI (A) 120b 16—18
ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan qamiγ-a (17) *bükü tere ǰüg-tür bökeyin* (22) *alaγaban qamtudqan sögüdčü bür-ün degeǰilen* (23) *kündeleküi kiged . . .*

(ii) ELDEB (F) 664, 24—28
dalai metü egüled dabqurliγ ger-ün egüden (25) *bügüde-dür čečeg-ün tooran-a qonggas-un* (26) *tour-iyar unǰiγuluγsan dalai metü egüled kiged-iyer* (27) *oγtaryu-yin töb bügüde-dür bürigdügül-ün* (28) *adistid orusiγuluγad dalai metü burqan kiged . . .*
DANDR-A (E) 490, 9—13
qamuγ qaγalγan-dur čečeg-üd-ün (10) *toran-a*[16] *kiged tourlaγsan qangyan-i unǰiγuluγsan-u* (11) *dalai metü egüled-iyer qotala oγtaryu-yin* (12) *töb-üd-i bürküküi qutuγ orusiγuluγad* (13) *dalai metü qamuγ burqan . . .*
ZUNGDUI (A) 122a 23—26
qamuγ qaγalγ-a-dur čečeg-ün (24) **gerüger qonggu-yin tour-i delgegsen dalai-yin egülen-* (25) *-nügüd-iyer oγtaryu-yin mandal bügüdeyi bürkün* (26) *adistid orusiγulǰu qamuγ burqan . . .*

(iii) ELDEB (F) 663, 3—4
ülesi ügei (4) *ülesi ügei-eče qoličaγsan-iyar . . .*
DANDR-A (E) 488, 16—17
ülesi ügei ügülesi ügei ese qoličalduγsan-iyar . . .
ZUNGDUI (A) 121a 6—7
ülesi ügei (7) *ügelesi ügei-eče üneker nögčigsen . . .*

(iv) ELDEB (F) 672, 8.
yab yaγun küsegsen-iyen asaγundqun . . .
DANDR-A (E) 498, 8
ab ali küsegsed-iyen asaγtuγai . . .
ZUNGDUI (A) 125b 8.
aliba yaγun-i taγalaγsan-iyan asaγuγtun . . .

[16] *toran-a*. At first I hesitated between reading *doran-a?* and *toran-a* but Prof. Bira suggested me to read *toran-a* meaning 'net'. Actually *toran-a* is also found in the Sanskrit original which runs as follows: *samanta-mukha-puṣpa-toraṇa-ghaṇṭā-jālāvambita-samudra-meghaiḥ*. (Moriguchi (1980), p. 52).
Monier-Williams (1982), p. 456a has 'an arch, arched doorway, portal, festooned decorations over doorways', and Edgerton (1977), p. 257 gives *toraṇā* — with long vowel-*ā* — 'portal, archway'.
The corresponding text in Tibetan (Pek. 335, fol. 384a5) reads as follows: / *sgo kun du me tog gi rta babs dril bu'i dra ba sbyaṅ pa rgya mtsho sprin. . .* where *rta babs* renders *toraṇa* (cfr. Chandra Das, *Tibetan—English Dictionary*, 3d ed., Kyoto, 1977, p. 532 who also gives *toraṇa* for *rta-babs*). It is hard to say whether this word was directly borrowed from the Sanskrit text or through another intermediate language. One might think of Uighur but such a version is not known to me.

III. Linguistic aspects of the texts

In the following lines we will describe the main linguistic features of the texts. Special attention will be paid to morphology. Besides giving examples of the pre-classical language we will also make some general observations.

A. *ZUNGDUI* (A) (B) (C)

(a) *Dative-Locative*:

In Written Mongolian (WM) the dative-locative is in *-dur/-tur(-dür/-tür)*. In pre-classical language however *-da/-ta* or *-a/-e* were more frequently used.[17]

In (A) and (B) *-da/-ta* or *-de/-te* respectively occur 10 times, while only 4 times in (C). Besides (A) has 22 times *-tur/-dur* (*or -tür/-dür*). The suffix *-tur/-dur* is added to the stem according to a certain rule.[18] In (A) this rule is not followed 18 times. In (B) this rule is followed 25 times. (C) has 62 times the suffix *-dur/-tur* (*or -dür/-tür*) and 59 times the rule for adding the suffix is not followed for *-dur* while for *-tur* this rule is always followed.

	-da/-ta(-de/-te)	*-a/-e*	*-dur/-tur*
(A)		10×	22×/(18×)*
(B)		10×	25×/25×
(C)		4×	62×/(59×)*

* ( ) rule is not followed.

In the *Secret History* we see also that a number of suffixes do not follow the suffix-rule. Such discrepancies are frequently found in pre-classical language.[19]

(b) In (A) (B) and (C) we find the form *čimadur*. This is the dativ-locativ of the second personal pronoun *či* 'you'. This form occurs once in the respective Zungsui-texts. For comparison we may refer again to the *Secret History* where we find *čimadur* 5 times.[20]

(c) In (A) and (B) but not in (C) we have a very seldom occuring suffix *-iyer-en*. This is the reflexive-possessive suffix in the instrumental case, meaning 'by (his/her) own'. Compare this form with *iyer-iyen* the usual suffix.

[17] Poppe, N. (1974), par. 287., idem, (1955), par. 137. Weiers, M. (1969), p. 71 sq.

[18] Poppe, N. (1974), par. 285. Weiers, M. (1969), p. 71 sq.

[19] Weiers, M. (1969), p. 78 has the following example from the Secret History.

-tur	*-dur*
59(45)	47

When the rule is not followed the number is given between brackets. Only chapter 1—103 of the *Secret History* have been taken into account as is indicated by Weiters, M.

[20] II, 29b3—4 (spelled (*čimatur*), VI, 25b5—26a1 (*čimatur*) and VI, 30a1—2 (*čimatur*), VI, 24a2—3 (*čimadur*), VIII 18a4—b1 (*čimadur*).

We find 2 examples in the *Secret History*[21] and also in the Inscription in memory of Prince Hindu of 1362[22] and the letters of Aryun and Öljeitü to Phillipe le Bel.[23]

In (A) as well as in (B) we find the suffix *-tayan/-dayan* being irregularly added to the stem once.[24]

Below follow some general observations.

(a) In (A) (B) and (C) there are examples of suffixes which do not follow the rule of vocalic harmony. Twice we find *-nügüd*, a front vocalic-suffix, added to a back vocalic stem: *takil-nügüd, qoličaysan-nügüd*[25]

(b) The suffix of the genetive case *-yin* which follows vowels or diphtongs, follows, contrary to this rule, in (A) 4 times, in (B) and (C) each once, a consonant.

B. *DANDR-A* (D) (E)

The pre-classical features which appear in (D) and (E) can be summarized as follows.

(a) *dative-locative suffix*:

We had already occassion to refer to the dativ-locativ in *-a/-e* and *-ta/-da(or -te/-de)* which is typical for pre-classical Mongolian. The Written Mongolian equivalent is *-tur/-dur*.

(E) has 87 times *-a/-e* and *-ta/-da* (or resp. *-te/-de*) against 123 times *-tur/-dur* (*or resp. -tür/-dür*). Of the latter we have 72 times *-tur* (resp. *-tür*) and 51 times *-dur* (*resp. -dür*). Both follow the rule as explained for the *Zungdui*-texts.

(D) has 43 times *-a/-e* and 54 times *-da/-ta* (resp. *-de/-te*) against 73 times *-tur* and 52 times *-dur* (resp. *-dür*). The suffix *-tur* is only in one case irregular.

	-da/-ta (-de/-te)	*-a/-e*	*-dur/-tur*
(D)	54×	43	*-dur* 52/*-tur* 73 (1)*
(E)	53×	44	*-dur* 51/*-tur* 72 (0)*

* ( ) irregular suffix.

Another example of the dative-locative form is that of the second personal pronoun *či*, 'you', namely *čimada*.[26] The Written Mongolian form is *čimadur*.

[21] III, 35a 3—4 and III, 36a 2—3.

[22] Cleaves, F. W. (1969), p. 21. Weiers, M. (1969), p. 112.

[23] Mostaert, A. Cleaves, F. W. (1969), p. 112. For the XV—XVIIIth Century there is also one example in the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* Commentary. 17v3, cfr. Weiers, M. (1969), p. 112, 220.

[24] Poppe, N. (1974), par. 309.

[25] Such examples can also be found in pre-classical language: e.g. *Lalitavistara* (fol. 52v.3): *olan töröl-nuyud-un* Poppe, N. (1967), p. 56, or the Inscription of Prince Hindu, 1.23: *čöl-nuyud-i* Cleaves, F. W. (1969), p. 64.

[26] Poppe, N. (1955), par. 154, par. 134.

In (D) and (E) *čimada* occurs once. *Čimada* occurs 17 times in the *Secret History*.[28]

The Dative-Locative of the first personal pronoum (*bi*) *nadur*, appears once in (D) and (E). In the *Secret History* we find 13 examples of *nadur*.[28]

The Passive:

In Written Mongolian the logical subject of a passive sentence has a suffix *-tur/-dur*. In pre-classical language this suffix was *-a/-e* or *-ta/-da*. (*resp. -te/-de*).

We find examples of the use with *-a/-e* or *ta/-da* in the *Secret History*,[29] (SH V, 16a 23): *qan-a ele nilbuqdaǰu* "(They were but) spat upon by the qan",[30] (SH V, 42b 5—43a 1): *tenggeri-de ülü ta'alaqdaqun bida* "We shall not be loved by Heaven",[31] and in the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu: *ken-e ber mayui ese kemegdebei* (line 52) "They have not been called bad by anyone."[32]

(b) Other pre-classical elements are the use of the converbum perfecti of the verb *ki-* 'to make, to do', namely *kiged*, which as an oblique case, could have suffixes in pre-classical Mongolian.[33]

In (D) there are 5 examples of *kiged* with the instrumental case, *kiged-iyer*, against 6 in (E). There is one example with the accusative case, *kiged-i*, in (E) but not in (D). Finally there are 3 examples with the genetive case *-un*, *kiged-ün*, in (D) and (E).

Similar examples appear in the *Lalitavistara*.[34] For the genetive case we have e.g.

tengris-luus kiged-ün terigülegči (fol. 64v. 17) "the leaders (. . . .) among the gods and the nagas".[35]

We have them as well in the *Haneda-Manuscript*: *čoyčas nisvanis* . . . . . *šimnus kiged-iyer* (fol. 17b) "by skandhāḥ or by kleśāḥ . . . . . or by Māra",[36]

[27] I 4a 3; 9a 4—b1; II 39b 5—40a 1; III 1b 2—3; VI 24b 4—5; 5—47b 1; 47b 5—48a 1; X 16b 3—4; S. I. 23a 1—2; 2—3; 47a 3—4; S. II. 5—3b 1.

[28] III 37b 4—48a 1; 39a 2—4; VI 40b1 —3; 40b 4—41a 1; VIII 36a 4—b1; IX 8a 3—4; 11b 4—5; 17a 3—4; 23b 3—4; 25a 4—5; 31b 2—4; S II 4b 4—5; 29b 1—2 (VIII 31a 2—4, natur).

[29] Transcription always according to Ligeti, L. (1971).

[30] Cleaves, F. W. (1982), p. 81.

[31] Cleaves, F. W. (1982), p. 91.

[32] Cleaves, F. W. (1949), p. 68.

[33] Poppe, N. (1955), p. 277, and Poppe, N. (1974), par. 432.

[34] Ligeti, L. (1974), p. 284. There are 3 examples with the accusative (*kiged-i*) and four with the genetive case (*kiged-ün*).

[35] Transcription according to Poppe, N. (1967) and translation idem, p. 68.

[36] Higuchi, K. (1980), p. 197. The translations are always tentative.

and in a text from *Olon-Süme*:
qaltar imayan kiged-iyer eldeb (OS I/10r 18) "white-mouthed goats and with different . . .".[37]

Four examples, one with the accussative and three with the dative-locative appear respectively in the *Vajracchedikā* translated by *Siregetü Güši Čorǰi* in 1612. With the accussative we have *kü bütügekü surun toγtayaqui kiged-i bi čimadur nomlasuγai* (fol. 2b) "I shall teach . . . they are to accomplish and they are to learn and memorize"[38] and with the dative-locative:
tegüncilen kü dayun ünür amtan kürtekü nom kiged-tür ber barimt alaqu (fol. 3a) "Likewise . . . being supported by sounds, by smell, by the taste, by the touch and (even) by the dharmas",[39] *dayun ünür amtan kürtekü kiged-tür ber oroysan busu* (fol. 6a) "He has no sound, no smell, no taste, no touchables",[40] *dayun ünür amtan kürtekü nom kiged-tür ber ülü . . . barimtalaqu* (fol. 7b) "which is not supported by sounds, smells, tastes, touchables, even dharmas".[41]

(c) A very exceptional form is the *nomen perfecti* of the auxiliary verb *bü-*, namely *bügsen*. *Bü-* is a defective verb and the number of the suffixes which can follow this verb stem are very limited.[42] In pre-classical language this verb is less defective and we find then a few forms which do not occur in the classical period. Among them is the form *bügsen*.

Up till now it is only attested in 10 instances. Once in the *Secret History* (SH V, 23a 1—2): *egeči činu čimadača sayin büksen* "your elder sister was better than you"; the older translation of the *Vajracchedika*, i.e. *Banča Dirista's* translation: *ayulas-un qayan sümbir ayulas kedü toyatan bügsen bügesü* (fol. 41a—b) "(collect) as many (heaps) as there are Sumerus, Kings of mountains",[43] and *Siregetü Güši Čorǰi*'s translation of 1612: *ayulas-un qayan sümbir ayula kedü bükü ele bügesü* (fol. 17a) "as large as the king of mountains Sumeru".[44] The *Haneda-Manuscript*, from which we quoted already, provides also some examples:[45] *arilya edügü endegüregsen sedkil kedü bügsen bügesü . . . edeger amitan-i ibegetügei* (fol. 1a) "how much a thought not even pure has gone astray . . . let (it) protect these human beings", *sayin mayui ǰayayan yambar bügsen bügesü ünen mayad busu* (fol. 11b) "to what extent a good or bad destiny may be it is not real truth", *tere bayši tere oyira bügsen bügesü ber . . . ariγun yabudaldur todqar bui bolbasu bayši ügei medegdekü* (fol 21b) "that teacher even he is

[37] Heissig, W. (1976), p. 413.
[38] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 101 for the text and p. 128 for the translation.
[39] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 101 for the text and p. 128 for the translation.
[40] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 104 for the text and p. 132 for the translation.
[41] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 105 for the text and p. 132 for the translation.
[42] Poppe, N. (1974), p. 102—103.
[43] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 29 for the text and p. 66 for the translation.
[44] Poppe, N. (1971), p. 114 for the text and p. 140 for the translation.
[45] Higuchi, K. (1980), p. 199. The translations are always approximative.

near . . . when there is about to be a hindrance for a pure conduct there will be no teacher is what one has to know".
The older versions of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*:[46]

OS I/8r /// *nigen ber bügsen bügesü* (IX, 56, 1)
L6 *ker be bi kemekü nigen ber bügesü ele*
M 480 *ker be kemekü nigeken ču bügesü ele*
T 1748 *ker be kemekü nigen ber bügsen bügesü*
K *ker be bi nigeken ber bügesü ele,*

and 3 times in the versions of the *Prajñāparamitā-ratna-guṇa-samcaya-gāthā*.[47]

Finally 3 examples in our texts:
(E) 487, 30. *bodhi-saduva-nar-un dalai metü egüled yambar bügsen* (31) *bügesü tegünčilen kü . . .*, (D) 535, 30 *bodhi-saduva-nar-un* (30) *bey-e-yin dalai metü egüled-iyer yambar bügsen bügesü* (31) *tegünčilen iregsen . . .*, 553, 29 *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen-e nomlaydaysan ali bügsen* (30) *tedeger qur-a-yin. Bügsen bügesü* is an idiomatic expression which occurs only once in the *Secret History* (V, 23a 1—2), but we find the expression *ali bügsen* here for the first time.

(d) The lexicon, which can only be touched upon very briefly, conserves a few archaic orthographies like e. g.,
degel instead of *debel*
linqu-a instead of *lingqua*
Degel appears 3 times in (D) and (E) while *linggu-a* 5 times in (E) and twice in (D).[48]

For similar versions we may refer to the older version of the *Bodhicāryāvatāra*[49] and a pre-classical text from Olon-Süme.[50]

Rather exceptional is *kkiib* (in (D) 534, 26) with the initial cluster of *kk-* and the double vowel *-ii-*. On the other hand *kiib* is at least attested twice. Once in the Leuven Ms. 33a[51] edited by Bawden Ch.[52] where we find *keyib*. This is most likely a corruption of *kiib* which is attested in Leuven Ms. nr. 38 also edited by Bawden Ch.[53]

[46] Heissig, W. (1976), p. 55 and p. 124. Abbreviations: *OS* Clon Sűme, *T* Tanjur, *K* Ms. Kowalewski, *M 480* Ms of Northern Mongolia (*ibid.* p. 65).

[47] Higuchi, K., 'Hōtokuzōhannya' no mōkugōyaku ni tsuite, *Tōyogakuhō*, 68,1—2, 1987, p. 01—027.

[48] *degel*: (E) 486, 19; 511, 24; 515, 14—(D) 534, 20; 559, 31; 563, 25. *linggu-a*: (E) 490, 21; 491, 5; 492, 13; 493, 18; 496, 25. — (D) 538, 22; 544, 23.

[49] Heissig, W. (1976), p. 25. OS IV/5r6.

[50] Heissig, W. (1976), p. 410. OS I / 10r4.

[51] Heissig, W. (1957), nr. 33a.

[52] Bawden, Ch. (1963), p. 285. This text was corrected and reedited by Heissig, W. (1966), p. 110 (*keyib* is in line 39).

[53] Bawden Ch. (1961), p. 170.

The historical development of this word can be reconstructed as follows:

kkiib > *kiib* > *kib* 'silk'.

where *kib* is the Written Mongolian form. It may be interesting to quote them again in their context:[54]

(E) 486, 25 *qubčid sikür tuγ bančid manǰily-a kögǰim*
(D) 534, 26 *qubčad sikür tuγ bančid kkiib-ün manǰily-a*
(A) 120b 19—20 *qubčad sikür tuγ* (20) *baday kiib-ün orungy-a*
(F) 661, 17 *sikür ilayuysan* (17) *tuγ bančid kiib-ün unǰilaya*

C. *ELDEB* (F)

In our description we follow the same scheme as before.

(a) *dative-locative*:

(F) has 46 times *-ta/-da(or -te/-de)* and 62 times *-a/-e*, and 73 times the dative-locative on *-tur/-dur* (*or -tür/-dür*). Thus the pre-classical forms number as high as 108.

the passive:

In (F) we find 2 examples of, a passive with its logical subject in *-a/-e*. Noteworthy is certainly a passive sentence with its logical subject in the instrumental case; (F) 673, 6 *yal-iyar tülegdeyü*. The Sanskrit original has also the instrumental case: *agninā na dahyante*.[55] The *-ā* of *agninā* indicates the instrumental case. The Tibetan version reads: mes mi ts'ig (Pek. 334, 188a 1).

(b) *converbum praeparativum*: *-r-un*

The *converbum praeparativum* is an instrumental case of the verbal noun **-r* by origin. The suffix of the converbum is *-run*. It has lost its instrumental function in Mongolian but preserved it in this converb.[56]

We have 6 examples combined with 4 different roots.

(a) *bü-* (d) *iregü-* (c) *üǰü-* (d) *ǰalbari-*

There are 3 examples with *bü-*, and one with (b) (c) and (d) each.

(c) (F) preserves also examples of the converbum perfecti kiged with case-suffixes as already explained earlier.:

6 examples with the instrumental case	(*kiged-iyer*)
1 example with the dativ-locativ	(*kiged-tür*)
1 example with the genetiv-case	(*kiged-ün*)

[54] There are also a few examples of *kkiib* in the *Badma yatang sudur* (Heissig, W. (1957), nr. 32a): I did not search for them systematically, ex. fol. 189, 5; 241, 25; 243, ?; 244, 3.

[55] Moriguchi, K. (1980), p. 59, l. 5—6.

[56] Poppe N. (1955), par. 237. Weiers, M. (1969), p. 184—189.

Conclusion

All Mongolian texts which were discussed here, were gathered and carved on blocks in the same period, namely during the reign of *Lindan Qan* (*1604—1634*), except for the *Zungdui*.

From the above data we can tentatively put forward a hypothesis for the original chronological order of the original Mongolian versions. Assuming that the form *bügsen* is a sure indicator for a high antiquity we can suggest that (D) is our oldest text, then followed by (E). Text (F) certainly preserves more pre-classical features than the Zungdui (A) (B) or (C). The occurrence of the passive sentence with the logical subject in *-a/-e* or *-ta/-da* as well as the converbum *kiged* which takes case-suffixes may probably point to that. It may also be noted that from the comparison of the variants, (F) seems to have more variants in common with (D) and (E) than with (A) (B) or (C).

Thus we can surmise the following chronological sequences for the original Mongolian *Mahāmeghasūtra*.

(A) (B) (C)
(F)
(D) (E) — — — — — — 14th Century.

It is thus clear that the *Dandr*-a section preserves the oldest versions of this sūtra and preserves linguistic features of 14th-century Mongolian.

In our study we touched only upon the main features of the texts. There are still problems which remain to be solved but we hope to discuss them in the future.

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WAR EIN KANJUR VON 'JAṄ SA-THAM DIE VORLAGE DER YONGLE-EDITION?

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Im *dkar-chag* des Si-tu Paṇ-chen gTsug-lag-Chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba (1700—1774) zum Derge-Kanjur (111r 5—6) findet sich der Passus: . . . *cī-na'i yul-du goṅ-ma tā miṅ g-yuṅ-lo chen-pos bka'-'gyur-ro-cog-gi par bźeṅs-pa-daṅ | de ñid-kyi ma-phyi sa-tham rgyal-pos bźeṅs-pa ('di sogs-las . . .)* (". . . der früher in China von dem großen Kaiser gYuṅ-lo der (Dynastie) Tā Miṅ hergestellte Kanjur-Druck und die Vorlage von diesem, welche der Sa-tham-König herstellen ließ, . . ."). Diese Stelle erweckt auf den ersten Blick den Eindruck, "that the first Peking print of the Tibetan Kanjur made under the reign of the emperor Yongle was based on a copy of the manuscript prepared by a king of 'Jaṅ Sa-tham[1] who lived about 1400",[2] wenn man einmal davon absieht, daß nach den Regeln der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache anstelle des *'di* eher ein *de* zu erwarten wäre — aber für diese "Verwechslung" gibt es ja zahlreiche Belege.

Folgende Fragen tauchen in diesem Zusammenhang auf:

1) Ist es möglich, daß eine Art Vorlage des zwischen 1608 und 1623 in 'Jaṅ Sa-tham gedruckten Kanjurs (= Li-thaṅ-Kanjur) bereits um 1400 in Sa-tham vorhanden war?

2) Spricht der "historische Kontext" dafür, daß um 1400 eine Kanjur-Ausgabe von 'Jaṅ als Vorlage für die erste Pekinger Druckausgabe in die chinesische Hauptstadt gebracht wurde?

3) Ist eine andere Deutung der zitierten *dkar-chag*-Stelle möglich?

[1] Dieser „king of 'Jaṅ "könnte nur Mu Chu 木初 (auch Qi-yuan 啓元 oder Shi-chun 始春) gewesen sein, der 1349 geboren wurde, ab 1391 regierte und 1426 starb (nach Rock, F. W.: The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China. I. Cambridge/Mass. 1947 [= Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series 8], 101—106).

[2] So Eimer, H.: Results of Recent Kanjur Researches, in: Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung, Heft 1 [St. Augustin 1983], S. 12.

Zu 1

Die diversen Pekinger Kanjur-Ausgaben weichen — soweit das Material, das ich zur Hand habe, Auskunft gibt[3] — in ihrem Aufbau nicht unbeträchtlich voneinander ab. Das etwa im ersten Drittel unseres Jh. geschriebene,[4] von Badaraev publizierte tibetisch-sprachige Manuskript aus Urga[5] mit kurzen Inhaltsangaben verschiedener Kanjur-Editionen gibt für die *Śer-phyin*-Abteilung im Yongle-Kanjur 24 Bände, im Kangxi-Kanjur (1684/92?)[6] 26 Bände (Otani [= Kangxi 1717/20]: 25 Bände); für *rGyud-'bum* bei Yongle 24 Bände, bei Kangxi 22 Bände (Otani: 25 Bände); *Dus-'grel* fehlt bei Yongle (ebenso bei Otani), ist aber in Badaraevs Kangxi-Liste genannt (1 Band). — Allerdings stimmen die Angaben in Badaraevs Manuskript nicht immer mit uns bekannten Sammlungen oder *dkar-chag*s überein: Für Li-thaṅ sind die Teile *Śer-khri*/*brGyad-stoṅ* und *dKon*/*Phal* in anderer Folge angeordnet als in dem von Imaeda veröffentlichten Sa-tham *dkar-chag*,[7] für Derge weicht die Folge der Teile von *dKon-brtsegs* bis *Dus-'grel* von den bekannten Verzeichnissen ab,[8] und selbst für den Urga-Kanjur, der dem Autor des von Badaraev publizierten Manuskripts mit Sicherheit zugänglich gewesen sein muß, sind *Phal-chen* und *dKon-brtsegs* vertauscht und wird für *Dus-'grel* nur 1 Band (statt 2 Bände) angegeben. In Rechnung stellen muß man, daß tibetische Autoren bei der Zusammenstellung solcher Listen mitunter etwas großzügig verfahren: So widerspricht im *dkar-chag* von Sa-tham die Reihenfolge der Titel auf Blatt 22r 5 (*khri-pa khri brgyad* . . .) eindeutig der auf Blatt 2v 3 (. . . *khri-brgyad stoṅ-pa* . . .) bis 2v5 (. . . *śes-rab khri-pa* . . .) genannten Reihenfolge.

Bei einem Vergleich der Grobgliederung der Yongle-Ausgabe (nach Badaraev) mit der des Li-thaṅ-Kanjur ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

[3] Nicht zugänglich ist mir Imaeda, Y.: Mise au point concernant les éditions chinoises du Kanjur et du Tanjur tibétains, in: Essais sur l'art du Tibet, Paris 1977.

[4] Nach 1910, denn der in diesem Jahre fertiggestellte Urga-Kanjur ist mit verzeichnet; für eine relativ späte Abfassungszeit spricht auch die Zitierung des Qualqa bsTan-dar sṄags-ram-pa (1835—1915). Interessieren würde mich, welche Quelle dem Autor dieses Urga-Manuskripts für die Darstellung des Inhalts des Yongle-Kanjurs zur Verfügung stand.

[5] Badaraev, B. D.: Notes on a List of the Various Editions of the Kanjur, in: Acta Orientalia Hungarica 21, 1968, 339—351.

[6] Badaraev, a.a.O., 348 Anm. 19: bDe-skyid = Kangxi.

[7] Imaeda, Y.: Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l'édition de 'Jang Sa-tham. 1, 2. Tokyo 1982, 1984 (= Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior IIa—b).

[8] Vgl. etwa Kolmaš, J.: The Iconography of the Derge Kanuur and Tanjur, New Delhi 1978 (= Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, 241), 33.

	Yongle		Li-thaṅ	
	lfd. Nr.	Bd.-zahl	lfd. Nr.[9]	Bd.-zahl
rGyud-'bum	1	24	11 (11)	24
Yum-'bum	2	14	2 (2)	16
Ñi-khri	3	4	3 (3)	4
Khri-brgyad-stoṅ	4	3	4 (4)	3
Śer-khri	5	1	5 (5)	1
brGyad-stoṅ	6	1	6 (6)	1
Śer-phyin sna-tshogs	7	1	7 (7)	1
dKon-brtsegs	8	6	10 (9)	6
Phal-chen	9	6	9 (10)	6
mDo-maṅ	10	32	8 (8)	32
'Dul-ba	11	13	1 (1)	13
Dus-'grel	—	—	12 (12)	1 (2)
	insgesamt	105 Bände		108 Bände

Die Abweichungen zwischen Yongle und Sa-tham betreffen einmal die Anordnung der Abteilungen (Yongle 1. Abt.: *rGyud-'bum*; Li-thaṅ 1. Abt.: *'Dul-ba* usw.) — darauf bezieht sich sicher die Mitteilung im tibetischen Kolophon zum Sa-tham-Kanjur (30v7f.), daß das *gsan-yig* (*thob-yig*) des dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreṅ-ba (1500—1566) als Grundlage eben dieser Sa-tham-Ausgabe verwendet wurde. Dies kann wohl nur meinen, daß die Reihenfolge des *gsan-yig* als maßgebend betrachtet wurde — eine Mitteilung, die nur sinnvoll ist, wenn sie beinhaltet, daß eine ältere, andere Abfolge der Abteilungen oder Texte geändert wurde. Eine solche Änderung ist ohne allzu große Mühen zu vollziehen, sie besagt also nicht sehr viel über die Filiation der Ausgaben. Etwas schwerer wiegen zwei weitere Abweichungen, betreffend die Zahl der Bände der Abteilung *Yum-'bum* (14 und 16) und das Fehlen des *Kālacakra*-Kommentares (*Vimalaprabhā*) in der Yongle-Edition. Diese Differenzen scheinen mir doch dafür zu sprechen, daß die Vorlagen der beiden Ausgaben, Yongle und Sa-tham, nicht identisch sind, daß der Sa-tham-/Li-thaṅ-Kanjur nicht auf einem Manuskript basiert, welches bereits vor 1410 in Sa-tham vorlag. — Dies spricht nicht gegen den oben angeführten "ersten Eindruck" — es würde lediglich bedeuten, daß sich — falls Yongle auf Sa-tham zurückgeht — in 'Jaṅ zwei verschiedene Kanjur-Fassungen befanden, eine um 1400 oder vorher hergestellte, eine andere aus der Zeit nach 1600.

Nur am Rande sei vermerkt, daß das auf der letzten Seite (430) der Das'schen Edition von Sum-pa mKhan-pos *chos-'byuṅ*[10] enthaltene Inhalts-

[9] Li-thaṅ: laufende Nummer nach Badaraev, in Klammer nach Imaeda.

[10] Das, S. Ch.: Pag sam jon zang ii: History of Tibet from Early Times to 1745 A. d. by Sumpa Khan-po Yeçe Paljor . . . Calcutta 1908, S. 430, Fußnote.*

verzeichnis eines Li-thaṅ-Kanjur-Druckes eine ganze Reihe von Abweichungen zum Sa-tham-*dkar-chag* (ed. Imaeda) aufweist. Dies könnte den Anschein erwecken, als liegen unter dem Ortsnamen Li-thaṅ zwei Kanjur-Ausgaben vor. Eine Gegenüberstellung des Das'schen Textes mit dem von Imaeda veröffentlichten *dkar-chag* der Sa-tham-Fassung zeigt folgendes Bild:

Li-thaṅ par-na	Sa-tham (nach Imaeda)
ka-nas pha'i bar / 'Dul-ba	*'Dul-ba*: Bd.1 (*ka*) — 13 (*pa*)
(*pha'i* ist Fehler für *pa'i*)	
ka-nas tsa'i bar Śer-mdo /	*Śer-mdo*: Bd.14 (*ka*) — 39

(Richtig wäre: *ka-ba, a, ka-ṅa, ka-ṅa* + 2 Bände ohne Signatur, insgesamt also 26 Bände; bei fortlaufender Zählung demnach *ka-nas la'i bar*.)

(*ka-nas*) *ha a aṃ aḥ aḥ bar /*	
bsKal-bzaṅ rGya-rol sogs	*bsKal-bzaṅ*: Bd.40 (*ka*)
mDo sna-tshogs	*rGya-rol*: Bd.41 (*kha*)
(Einmal *aḥ* zuviel)	*mDo sna-tshogs*: Bd.40 (*ka*) — 71 (Ende: *ha a aṃ aḥ*)

(*Phal-chen* (Sa-tham Bd.72—77) und *dKon-brtsegs* (Sa-tham Bd. 78—83) werden in der Das'schen Ausgabe nicht genannt.)

ka-nas ja bar sṄags Bla-med /	*Bla-med*: Bd.84 (*ka*) — 90 (*ja*)
ña ta rNal-'byor rgyud /	*rNal-'byor*: Bd.91 + 92 (*ña ta*)
tha-nas tsha bar	*sPyod-rgyud, Bya-rgyud*:
sPyod-rgyud Bya-rgyud /	Bd.93 (*tha*) — 101 (*tsha*)
dza-nas ya'i bar	*rÑiṅ-rgyud*: Bd.102 (*dza*) — 104
rÑiṅ-rgyud	(*ża*)

(Das folgende *za* zeigt, daß *ya'i* ein Fehler für *ża'i* ist; *ya'i bar* gehörte hinter das folgende *za*.)

za gZuṅs-'dus	*gZuṅs-'dus*:
sogs sna-tshogs yod-do //	Bd.105 (*za*) — 107 (*ya*)

(Richtig wäre: *za-nas ya'i bar*)

(Nicht verzeichnet ist bei Das das *Dri-med-'od*, falls man nicht unterstellen will, daß es unter *sogs sna-tshogs* mit enthalten ist.)

Es sieht so aus, als seien alle Abweichungen der Das'schen Textausgabe durch Unachtsamkeit oder Nachlässigkeit des Autors oder des Herausgebers zu erklären. Dies hieße: Die in Sum-pa mKhan-pos *chos-'byuṅ* angeführte Li-thaṅ-Version ist vermutlich doch identisch mit der von Imaeda behandelten Sa-tham-Ausgabe.

Zu 2

Bei der Untersuchung der Frage nach Beziehungen zwischen der lamaistischen Kirche Tibets zum Gebiet von 'Jaṅ entstehen einige Schwierigkeiten dadurch, daß die Schreibung dieses Toponyms wechselt (z.B. *Deb-ther sṅon-*

po[11] [im folgenden: DT] schreibt stets lJaṅ) und daß das Wort *'jaṅ ~ ljaṅ* ("grünes [Gebiet]") in der tibetischen Toponymik öfter vorkommt. Belegt ist es z.B. als Name eines Dorfes am sKyid-chu,[12] etwa 30 km unterhalb von Lhasa. Trotz der Entfernung von etwa 1000 km zwischen diesen 2 Örtlichkeiten ist mitunter nicht ganz sicher, welches lJaṅ ~ 'Jaṅ gemeint ist. DT 565 bezieht sich sicher nicht auf das Königreich: rṄog Seṅ-ge-kha-pa "established a monastery at lJaṅ Seṅ-ge-kha . . . Thinking that this new monastery might harm the monastery of (his) teacher (= Phag-mo-gru-pa) he dispersed the monks . . ." Ein Kloster im heutigen Yunnan hätte gDan-sa-mthil wohl nicht schädigen können. Und dGyer-sgom Tshul-khrims-seṅ-ge (1144—1204), der im Tale von lJaṅ mit dem Siddha Mal Ka-ba-can-pa zusammentraf (DT 891), ist vermutlich ebenso wenig am Oberlauf des Yangce gewesen wie der Autor des DT, 'Gos-Lo gŹon-nu-dpal (1392—1481), der sich 1465 in einem "monastery of bKra-śis of lJaṅ" aufhielt (DT 190; vgl. Das, Dictionary 469b). —Eindeutig auf das Gebiet des Königreichs 'Jaṅ beziehen sich folgende Angaben des DT:

DT 486: "He (= Karma Pa-kṣi, 1204—1283) exhibited his magic power as far as the country of lJaṅ."

DT 212: "He (= Ye-śes-'byuṅ-gnas von Sa-skya, 1238—1274; ein Neffe des Sa-skya Paṇḍita) died . . . [1274] at lJaṅ-yul." Vgl. dazu z.B. *Re'u-mig* unter 1274 oder *Deb-ther dmar-po*[13] S.49: "Ye-śes-'byuṅ-gnas . . . rgyal-bu Hu dkar che'i bla-mchod-la lJaṅ yul-du byon / sum-cu-so-drug-pa chu-mo bya-la der 'das /" (Dieser Prinz Hu aus lJaṅ muß wohl A-liang A Hu 阿良阿胡 sein.)[14]

DT 545: Chos-rje Dri-med-pa, Schüler des 'Ger-nag (!) rTogs-ldan Chos-dpal-ye-śes (geb. in sGaṅ-chuṅ in sPom-po [Khams] [DT 545], gestorben 1406 oder vorher [DT 456f.]; Schüler des II. Źva-dmar mKha'-spyod-dbaṅ-po, 1350—1405), "was the spiritual preceptor of the king of lJaṅ nag".

DT 648: "He (= Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa, Abt von sTag-luṅ, 1418—1496) was successful in all his works, as far as the kingdom of lJaṅ, without leaving his mat."

Aus diesen Angaben geht hervor, daß bereits im 13. Jh. von den Sa-skya-pa und im 15. Jh. von den Karma-pa (wenn man die vage Andeutung über

[11] Roerich, G. N.: The Blue Annals. 1, 2. Calcutta 1949, 1953 (= Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Monograph Series VII); vgl. auch Wylie, T. V.: Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals, Roma 1957 (= Serie Orientale Roma XV).

[12] Wylie, T. V.: The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad, Roma 1962 (= Serie Orientale Roma XXV), S. 75 und 146 n. 290.

[13] Mir stand nur die Pekinger Ausgabe zur Verfügung: *Deb-ther dmar-po-rnams-kyi daṅ-po Hu-lan deb-ther 'di bźugs-so.* Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rjes brtsams. Duṅ-dkar Blo-bzaṅ-'phrin-las-kyis mchan-'grel bkod. Peking 1981.

[14] Nach Rock 1947, plate 14 und S. 96f.

Karma Pa-kṣi außer Betracht läßt) Beziehungen zu den Königen von 'Jaṅ angeknüpft wurden, daß zumindest die Angehörigen des Königshauses von Sa-tham Interesse an den buddhistischen Lehren zeigten. Die Tatsache, daß an keiner einzigen weiteren Stelle des DT das Gebiet von 'Jaṅ auch nur erwähnt ist, scheint mir jedoch nicht für engere Kontakte zwischen den lamaistischen Klöstern Tibets und dem Reich von 'Jaṅ vor der Zeit der Abfassung von DT (1476—78) zu sprechen.

Diese Schlußfolgerung wird durch die verschiedenen chinesischen Nachrichten, die F. W. Rock übersetzt oder ausgewertet hat, weitgehend bestätigt. Aus ihnen geht hervor, daß "in Li-chiang [Lijiang] territory [= 'Jaṅ] the Bön cult held undisputed sway for no Yellow Church was permitted in the territory, and it was only during the Ming Dynasty about 1627 A. D., that the Karma-pa Church, much more tolerant than the Yellow Church, became settled. They were however never strong and influential".[15]

Der früheste datierbare buddhistische Tempel, Bai-sha Da-bao-ji Gong, wurde zwar bereits unter Mu Wang erbaut (geboren 1551, regierte ab 1580, gestorben 1596), zwei weitere, Jin-gang Tian und Da-ding Ge, vermutlich vor 1587.[16] Aber es bestanden offensichtlich keine engeren Verbindungen zwischen Sa-tham und dem tibetischen Buddhismus bereits vor oder um 1400. In etwas größerem Maße wurden Angehörige der Karma-pa erst im 17. Jh., unter Mu Ceng 木增 (auch Mu Sheng-bai 木生白, geboren 1587, regierte ab 1598, gestorben 1646),[17] aktiv, der selbst die Mönchsweihe empfing (Mönchsname Karma Mi-pham [-tshe-dbaṅ] bSod-nams-rab-brtan). Etwa in dieser Zeit (vermutlich unter Wan-li, 1573—1619) wurde bKra-śis chos-'phel gliṅ errichtet,[18] bald darauf gründete der X. Źva-nag Chos-dbyiṅs-rdo-rje (1604—1674) das größte Kloster in 'Jaṅ, Jie-tuo-lin (tibet. 'Og-min-rnam-glin [?], chines. auch Wu-mei-nao-du-lin),[19] und verschiedene andere buddhistische Tempel verdanken ihre Entstehung Mu Ceng selbst.[20]

Dazu kommt, daß eben dieser Mu Ceng der erste Na-khi-Herrscher ist, von dem ausdrücklich berichtet wird, daß er zahlreiche tibetische buddhistische Texte drucken ließ.[21] Und ebenso ist er der erste und einzige unter den 'Jaṅ-Königen, dessen Aktivitäten um die Verbreitung des Kanjur nicht nur aus dem Kolophon der von ihm veranstalteten Druckausgabe hervorgehen, sondern auch in den chinesischen Berichten genannt werden, wenn auch die einschlä-

[15] So Rock, F. W.: The Na-khi Nāga Cult and Related Ceremonies I, Roma 1952 (= Serie Orientale Roma IV), S. 4; vgl. Rock 1947, 28 + 40.

[16] Rock 1947, 210.

[17] Rock, a.a.O., 125, 130, 161; vgl. auch Rock: The Life and Culture of the Na-khi Tribe of the China-Tibet Borderland, Wiesbaden 1963 (= VOHD, Suppl. 2), 20.

[18] Rock 1947, 209.

[19] Rock, a. a. O., 205.

[20] Rock, a. a. O., 160, 162.

[21] Rock, a. a. O., 160.

gigen Angaben wegen ihrer Kürze nicht geeignet sind, genauere Aufschlüsse über die Geschichte der tibetischen kanonischen Sammlungen zu geben.

Rock schreibt darüber: "Mu Tseng also built the Hsi-t'an Ssu [Xi-tan Su] . . . in the year [1617]. In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics . . . In 1629 he built the Fa-yüan Ko [Fa-yuan Ge], and in it placed the Classics . . . Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573—1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko [Hua-yan Ge], in the temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavillon. In 1597 the pavillon was destroyed by fire . . .".[22]

Und an anderer Stelle:[23] "On Chi-tsu Shan [Ji-zu Shan] . . . he erected in 1615 a pavillon called the Ts'ang-ching Ko [Cang-jing Ge] in the temple Hua-yen Ssu [Hua-yan Su], in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu [Xi-tan Su] and in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien [Wan-shou Dian] . . . In 1628 he sollicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall." — Imaeda[24] bemerkt zum ersten Satz dieser Stelle: "Bien qu'il n'ait précisé ni dans quelles langue ce Tripitaka était écrit, ni s'il était imprimé ou manuscrit, il est tout à fait possible étant donné la date qu'il s'agisse là de l'édition imprimée du Kanjur tibétain."

Fassen wir zusammen: Die mir zugänglichen tibetischen und chinesischen Berichte sprechen nicht dafür, daß vor oder um 1400 der Buddhismus im Gebiet von 'Jaṅ Sa-tham so verbreitet war, daß eine in Sa-tham befindliche Kanjur-Ausgabe zum Ausgangspunkt der ersten Pekinger Druckausgabe von 1410 gewählt wurde.

Zu 3

Es bleibt noch die Frage zu klären, ob der oben angeführte Passus aus dem Derge-*dkar-chag* des Si-tu Paṇ-chen (111r) auch anders zu deuten ist. Im vorangehenden Teil dieses *dkar-chags* (109r/v) wurde berichtet, daß bei der Herstellung des Derge-Kanjurs als Hauptquelle, als wichtigstes Vorbild, der Li-thaṅ-Kanjur verwendet wurde, d.h. eben die Kanjur-Fassung, deren Blöcke auf Veranlassung eines 'Jaṅ Sa-tham-Königs (nämlich Mu Cengs) geschnitten wurden. Ich halte es für wahrscheinlich, daß dieser Gedanke auf Blatt 111r nochmals aufgenommen wird, so daß wir zu übersetzen haben: " . . . der früher in China von dem großen Kaiser gYuṅ-lo von der (Dynastie) Tā Miṅ hergestellte Kanjur-Druck und der vom Sa-tham-König hergestellte (Druck), die Vorlage eben dieser (d.h. die Vorlage der mit diesem *dkar-chag* abgeschlossenen Kanjur-Fassung von Derge) . . ."

[22] Rock, a. a. O., 160, n. 19.
[23] Rock, a. a. O., 162.
[24] Imaeda 1982, 14 n.7

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NARRATIVE ELEMENTS USED IN TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN COMMENTARIES

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There are many works in Tibetan literature that have one common feature: they are collections of fable narrations — tales, parables, anecdotes — meant to interpret a certain well known writing. I have in mind the commentaries on such works as "The Drop That Nourishes the People" by Nāgārjuna, "Subhāṣitaratnanidhi" by Sa skya pandita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, "The Bunch of White Lotuses" by bSod rnams grags pa, "Lamrim" by Tsong kha pa, "Book of examples" by Po to pa and other works. The traditional manner of using in commentaries tales and stories, apparently has its roots in the written literature of India. In turn, it has greatly influenced Mongolian literature: the above mentioned works, written in the Tibetan language, were very popular in Mongolia, and were often translated into Mongolian, which gave rise to a number of imitations. A cursory acquaintance with the works and their different variants in the Tibetan language, and with their translations and books influenced by Tibetan traditions in Mongolian, allows one to make interesting observations. They were created for practical purposes, but as the readership growth increased thus lost their utility and became just an entertaining collection of tales and stories. Such commentaries represent one of the few forms in which the traditions of Mongolian Fiction rose. So for the common investigation of Mongolian literature it is very interesting and important to examine the commentaries using fables, tales and stories. I would like to dwell briefly on their composition.

Commentaries including fables and stories represent a type of frame-composition, so well known in Tibetan and Mongolian literature, originating from ancient Indian literature — let us recall the Jātaka collection and framed stories. But the compilation of stories and tales into one book, in commentaries, is done on the basis of the treatise being commented upon, in contrast to framed stories and Jātaka collection where the compilation is done according to the frame-subject and tale narrated by Buddha.

The usual composition of such commentaries is simple, and in the main adheres to the rules of śāstra composition. In the beginning we have the introduction, in which the purpose and the task of the work is explained, also

information is given about the author and so on; then, we have the main body of the work, and finally, the conclusion. Tales and stories are introduced in the following manner: an excerpt from the work to be commented upon is cited, and as confirmation some short narration. Of course, deviations and variants can occur.

What is the specific mechanism of "linking" tales and stories to the main treatise? There is the well-known method of using in sermons not the whole subject of a popular tale or story, but just making a hint or reference to the story in mind, when the preacher wants to confirm the notions he is talking about. Here is an example from the famous Tibetan writing "The Book of the Son": "Atīsa said: He who cannot use force, resorts to cunningness. The tiger is superior to all in the forest as to dexterity and strength, and yet he cannot conquer the lion. But a mouse by its wisdom lifted an elephant". In this excerpt Atīsa lauds his pupil Brom ston pa rGyal pa'i 'byung gnas. He is obviously referring to the well known story about the noble mouse, which together with the help of its friends dug under the sick elephant and thus helped him to stand up.

Such references, contained in the works of well-known learned lamas, were usually explained in the commentaries. The subject cited by the author was given in full. For instance, in the work "The Drop That Nourishes the People" it is said:

"With a foul friend do not be friends.
Who is friendly with a foul friend,
Will suffer just as the lice,
That were friendly with the flea Makutani".

In the commentary on this work this four-line verse is cited first, then it is followed by the story about lice living in the clothes of the hermit and having suffered from a flea that bit the hermit durind prayer which the flea was forbidden to do.

Not all tales are introduced just to explain the reference used in the treatise commented on. This treatise can contain not only a reference to the subject, but some comparison or a moral phrase. To confirm what has been said a certain story is mentioned. For instance, in "Subhāṣitaratnanidhi" it is said:

"Really wise people follow their own considerations.
The stupid follow the words of others.
When an old bitch, all of a sudden, begins to bark,
Other dogs follow suit barking loudly".

As an illustration to this four line verse, in a commentary written by Rin chen dpal (13th c.), translated into Mongolian by Chakhar-gebshi Lubsan Tsultim (1740—1810), a well-known story is quoted: A hare, frightened by the noise made by a fallen fruit, runs away and is followed by many other animals.

One should attribute to the organising elements in such commentaries the conclusion made at the end of each tale. The conclusion usually repeats the first above mentioned phrase from the main treatise. Quoting it, the author first of all logically ends the narration of one story, and secondly, returns to the work commented on, which allows him to smoothly go over to the narration of another story.

According to this principle (the tale is quoted for uncovering the reference or for confirmation of the exhortation or religious notion contained in a certain work) most of the commentaries are based using fictitious stories. The difference depends on the actual ideas and which subjects they reveal. But there are certain commentaries which in all their stories are meant to confirm only one certain notion of the main treatise. This group is less significant and less interesting from the artistic point of view, and yet deserves being mentioned. To mention just a few: commentary on "Vajrachedika", "Golden rosary" by Tā rā nā tha — original commentary to the prayer to Goddess Tara. According to the plot, all the stories in these commentaries should convince the readers and listeners in favour of reading the works commented on. The stories relate how reading them had saved this or that person from death etc.

The tradition of using fictitious stories was practiced in Mongolia. Besides this, Mongolians were very well acquainted with the above mentioned works of Tibetan literature, and used these forms in their writings. This tradition was all the more productive in Mongolia. The Mongolian Lubsan Tseren (19th c.) based his composition on sGyo ra yongs 'dzin's (19th c.) commentary to "Lam rim". The Mongolian Lubsan Nyandag (18th c.) wrote in the Tibetan language "The Bright mirror of The Fruits of Labour" in which he included several tales on the inevitability of Karma in the life of man. To disclose the references contained in the writings of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648—1722) the Mongolian learned man Tubden-rabjamba (19th c.) wrote his commentary in Tibetan. As an illustration here is an example from his writings. In his treatise "Investigating the Limits of Paramita" 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, speaking of stupid men, who failed to comprehend the greatness of the Teaching, compares them with those who try to measure the ocean with the amount of water in the well. Tuvden-ravjamba at first discloses the meaning of these words, as he understands them, then he cites the well-known parable that 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa had in mind:

"Long long ago, there lived a blind tortoise in a well. Once, an ocean wave reached the well bringing with it another tortoise. The blind tortoise showed the other tortoise part of its well asking: "Is Your ocean the same as this part?" "Bigger" answered the other tortoise. The blind tortoise added a little bit more and asked again: "Like this bit?" "Bigger than this!" answered the tortoise. The blind tortoise added still more and asked: "As big as half the well?" The ocean tortoise got angry and said: "You are stupid, you blind crea-

ture! The ocean has no bottom, no limits. It is difficult to imagine its size. One cannot compare the ocean to a well". Then the blind tortoise thought: "She is simply praising her home. But in reality, can the ocean be compared with my well?"

Such are the stories and tales contained in the commentary of Tubden-rabjamba, explaining the references made in the work of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa.

I have mentioned in this paper just some of the commentaries, using short fictitious stories. It can be safely assumed that this review does not embrace all their diversity, but only a small part. On the basis of everything said, I consider that certain conclusions can be made. Here is one of them: With the above mentioned methods, in commentary literature, a great number of tales, stories, parables, anecdotes, mythology, legends, epic fragments (mostly of Indian sources), were used and all had introduced elements of entertainment and amusement. In this way, the tradition of using parables and tales for commentation opened up new possibilities in promoting elements of fiction in Tibetan and Mongolian literature.

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THE OLD NAME OF LADAKH

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1. Several opinions have been put forth on whether the country name 秣邏娑 *Mo-lo-so*,[1] AC *muât-lâ-sâ*,[2] recorded in the early 7th century by the Chinese pilgrim 玄奘 Hsüan-tsang has a Tibetan correspondent, and if it has, what it may be like.

A. Cunningham was the first to point out that Mo-lo-so "must certainly be Ladāk" but he took the syllable 娑 *so* of the name for a lapsus calami in place of 婆 *p'o* and concluded that *Mo-lo-*⌜*p'o*⌝ was a reflection of Tib. **Mar-po-yul* 'red land', an alleged name of the province of Ladakh.[3] A. H. Francke opined that it was right to identify Mo-lo-so with Ladakh but to change the last syllable from *so* to *p'o* was unnecessary as *Mo-lo-so* corresponds to Tib. **Mar-sa* 'low-land', which according to him is synonymous with *Mar-yul*, a well-known Tibetan name of Ladakh.[4] Similarly to Cunningham, Tucci read *p'o* instead of *so* and assumed that *Mo-lo-*⌜*p'o*⌝ was the transcription of Skt. *Mālava*, a name to denote Himalayan tribes according to the *Abhidharma-vidhāṣā*.[5] Pelliot was of the opinion that *Mo-lo-so*, AG *muât-lâ-sâ*, could be traced back to **Mrǎ-sa*, **Mar-sa* or **Marāsa*, tilting thereby the balance in favour of Francke's hypothesis according to which the original of the name must be a Tib. **Mar-sa*.[6]

More recently the question has been placed under thorough scrutiny by L. Petech who has concluded that it is nearly impossible that *Mo-lo-so* renders a Tib. **Mar-sa*. Firstly, it is quite unlikely that in Hsüan-stang's time, i.e. in the second quarter of the 7th century, Tibetan was already spoken in or around Ladakh. Secondly, as a rule Hsüan-tsang uses 羅 (correctly 邏) *lo*, AC *lâ*,[7] to transcribe foreign *-la-* and *-ra-*, while he usually renders the preconsonan-

[1] *TTHYC*, p. 890a9; transl. and comm. Beal 1884/1958a, p. 211; Watters 1904, p. 299; 1905, p. 324. Cf. also the summary of *TTHYC*'s report in *SCFC*, p. 956c7.

[2] *GSR*, No. 277/c + *KYSH*, p. 1045 + *GSR*, No. 16/e.

[3] A. Cunningham, *Ancient geography of India* (not available to me) quoted in Beal 1884/1958a, p. 211, n. 33; Watters 1904, p. 299; Francke 1908, pp. 188—189; Tucci 1956, p. 94, n. l.

[4] Francke 1908, pp. 188—189.

[5] Tucci 1956, p. 94, n. l.

[6] Pelliot 1963, pp. 706—707.

[7] *GSR*, No. 6/a and *KYSH*, p. 1045.

tal *-r-* with 剌 *la*, AC *lât*.[8] This leads Petech to assume that *Mo-lo-so* is derived from **Malasa*, **Marāsa* or **Mrāsa*. In addition, Petech cites data from the *Royal Annals of Tibet* which claim that in the winter of 719/20 there was "a census of Žaṅ-žuṅ and Mar(d)," and compares them with the expression *Žaṅ-žuṅ-Smar* in the Bon-po texts and the phrase *Smra-Žaṅ-žuṅ* in the *Ladvags-rgyal-rabs*. With reference to R. A. Stein's and E. Haarh's comments he contends that in the expressions in question *Smar/Smra* is a proper name and an epithet of *Žaṅ-žuṅ*. As in the Žaṅ-žuṅ language *mar* means 'gold', it serves to explain the *Mard* of the *Annals*: "Mar, the land of gold, i.e. Suvarṇabhūmi, was a part of Žaṅ-žuṅ, of course the *Annals* are inaccurate in listing Žaṅ-žuṅ and Mar as different countries." So Petech concludes that although there is a similarity between the name *Smar*, *Mar* of the land of gold on the one hand, and Ladakh's name **Marasa*, **Mrāsa* on the other, it may be a sheer coincidence.[9]

It appears, however, that Professor Petech himself is somewhat sceptical about his own exposition. This may have induced him to comment before referring to the data in the *Annals* and the epithets of Žaṅ-žuṅ that these investigations "lead us into a slippery terrain." And he concludes his discussion saying: "Anyhow, I felt bound to introduce these new elements even if they do not help us overmuch in clarifying the problem."[10]

I believe that the scepticism with which my highly esteemed colleague and old friend regards his ideas entitles me to suggest a solution to the problem somewhat different from his.

2. The geographical data that can be gleaned from Hsüan-tsang's account makes it unequivocally clear that Mo-lo-so is really identical with Ladakh or a part of it. These data having been thoroughly examined by Pelliot,[11] it suffices to confine ourselves to the essential points.

In a passage in book 4 of his work Hsüan-tsang recounts his experiences in the country of 屈露多 Ch'ü-lu-to, mentioning from hearsay at the end that north of Ch'ü-lu-to is a country called 洛護羅 Lo-hu-lo, north of which the land of Mo-lo-so can be found.[12] *Ch'ü-lu-to*, AC *kịuət-luo-tâ*[13] represents Skt. *Kulūta*, the name of an ancient Indian country which in broad outlines coincides with today's district of Kulu in Himāchal Pradesh. According to Pelliot, *Lo-hu-lo*,

[8] *GSR*, No. 272/a—d.

[9] Petech 1977, pp. 7—9. Cf. also Stein 1959, pp. 50—54; Haarh 1968, pp. 8—9.

[10] Petech 1977, pp. 8 and 9.

[11] Pelliot 1963, pp. 706—707.

[12] *TTHYC*, pp. 889c27—890all; cf. Beal 1884/1958a, pp. 210—211; Watters 1904, pp. 298—299. See also *SCFC*, pp. 956c2—7.

[13] The common pronounciation of the first mark is *ch'ü*, AC *k'ịuət* (*GSR*, No. 496/k). In the name in question, however, it is to be pronounced according to a recurring gloss of the original (*TTHYC*, pp. 888b5, 889c25) as 居 + 勿 AC *k*{*ịwo* + *m*}*ịuət* (*GSR*, nos. 49/c' — *d'* + 503/a—g). For the other characters of the name see *GSR*, Nos. 766/t' + 3/a—c.

AC *lâk-γuo-lâ*,[14] implies a Sanskritized variant **Laghūla* and in the final analysis is identical with the name *Lahul* that both the inhabitants of Kulu and the present-day Indian administration use to designate an area north of Kulu around the upper Chandrā and the river Bhāga. North of Lahul starts the territory of Ladakh: first of Zaṅs-dkar, then of Ladakh proper.

3. It has not been quite unanimously decided what forms Chin. *Mo-lo-so*, AC *muât-lâ-sâ*, stem from.

Pelliot weighed the forms **Mră-sa*, **Mar-sa*, **Marāsa*; Petech added **Malasa* but questioned **Mar-sa*. He is quite right in stating that 羅邏 *lo*, AC *lâ*, mostly stand for *-la-* or *-ra-* in Hsüan-tsang, and that the preconsonantal *-r-* is transcribed with the character 剌 *la*, AC *lât*. But Petech himself admits that at least once, in 羯羅拏蘇伐剌那 *Chieh-lo-na-su-fa-la-no*, AC *kịvt-lâ-ńa-suo-b'ịwvt-lât-nâ*,[15] the transcription of Skt. *Karṇasuvarṇa*, Hsüan-tsang uses the character 羅 *lo*, AC *lâ*, to render a preconsonantal *-r-*.[16] For this very reason, I think, one ought not to preclude the possibility that the 邏 *lo*, AC *lâ*, in *Mo-lo-so* represents a preconsonantal *-r-* or *-l-*, and that eventually *Mo-lo-so* may be a transcription of **Marsa* or **Malsa*.

One must keep in mind, however, that Hsüan-tsang mostly transcribed Sanskrit names or the Sanskritized forms of native names, and that the adaptation of the vernacular names to the morphology of Sanskrit often took place by the addition of the thematic vowel *-a*.

Therefore the following alternatives to *Mo-lo-so* can be reconstructed: **Marasa*, **Malasa*, **Marsa*, **Malsa*, **Mrasa*, **Mlasa*, and more distantly **Mars*, **Mals*, **Mras*, **Mlas*. (The occasional quantitative difference in the vowels has been disregarded here.)

4. However, the key to the problem is the clarification of the phrase *žaṅ.žuṅ.d͡aṅ:mard.* included in a report dated the winter of 719/20 in the *Annals*.[17]

I cannot subscribe to the view that Žaṅ-žuṅ and Mard are only mistakenly mentioned in the quoted expression as two different countries and that *Mard* is an epithet of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* just as *Smar* is in the Bon-po texts and *Smra* in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. As far as I can judge both *Smar* and *Smra* occur as the epithet of *Žaṅ-žuṅ* only in very special contexts. So *Smra-Žaṅ-žuṅ* can only be detected in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs'* version of the peoples' genealogy, but it is customary in the peoples' genealogy to attach epithets to the names of

[14] See *GSR*, Nos. 766/k—m + 784/k + 6/a.

[15] *KYSH*, p. 113 + *GSR*, Nos. 6/a + 94/b' + 67/c—d + 307/a—e + 272/a—d + 350/a. Cf. *TTHYC*, pp. 926a7, 928a16, 17; Beal 1884/1958b, p. 408; Watters 1905, pp. 191, 321.

[16] Petech 1977, pp. 7—8.

[17] *Ann. I*, l. 213; facs. Spanien and Imaeda 1979, pl. 587, l. 162. Cf. Bacot *et alii* 1940—1946, p. 22, l. 13.

other old peoples, too, living in the outer aerias of the Tibetan highlands. Besides it is also debatable whether the correct reading is *Smra* or *Smu*.[18] With a view to the quotations and passages accessible to me I would venture the assumption that the expression *Žaṅ-žuṅ-Smar* (less frequently *Smrar*) is only used concerning the holy language of the Bon-po and the related script, mostly occurring in enumerations where the other languages also have epithets.[19] As against that, the country Žaṅ-žuṅ is always mentioned without an epithet in the lapidary reports of the *Royal Annals* on administrative measures and campaigns. This, to my mind, provides sufficient evidence that the *Annals* correctly mention Žaṅ-žuṅ and Mard as two different countries. But as according to the report the census was carried out in these two countries at the same time, the two must have been adjacent.

Obviously, *Mard* might be in connection with the familiar country name *Mar-yul*. The omission of *-d* poses no difficulty as already at the end of the 8th century *da-drag* was no longer pronounced and not always indicated in writing. The attachment of the common name *yul* 'land' to country names is a device commonly used in the Tibetan mode of forming place names. In Tibetan literature *Mar-yul* alternates with *Maṅ-yul* as designations of Ladakh. The alternation of the two names led to the speculations that *Maṅ-yul* might denote Central Ladakh and *Mar-yul* the Western Tibetan kingdom.[20] Tucci, however, proved that originally *Maṅ-yul* only referred to the region around Skyi-roṅ /Skyid-roṅ/Skyid-groṅ ("Kirong Dzong" and "Kyerong Dz." of the maps) in southwestern Gcaṅ north of Nepal, and only later — as a consequence of the similarity between the letters *ṅ* and *r* did it replace *Mar-yul*, which is the older name of Ladakh used in ancient inscriptions and historical works.[21] This is borne out, for instance, by references to *Mar-yul-du Ñar-ma* 'Ñar-ma in Mar-yul', *Mar-yul-gyi Ñar* 'Ñar of Mar-yul' and *Mar-yul-pa* 'people of Mar-yul'[22] which were made in *Šel-phreṅ lu-gu-rgyud*, the biography of Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po (958—1055) written by Gu-ge-Khyi-thaṅ-pa Dpal-ye-šes, an immediate disciple of the great translator, around the middle or the latter half of the 11th

[18] *LDRR*, ed. p. 20, l. 30 and p. 21, l. 21; tsl. p. 65, l. 27 and p. 66, l. 25; Stein 1959, pp. 50—51 as well as the comparative table on pp. 18—19; Petech 1977, p. 8.

[19] Stein 1959, p. 51 and the examples quoted there; *SDSS*, p. 1, l. 7; p. 6, 11. 16 and 19; Haarh 1968, pp. 8—9. According to Daniel Martin, "An Altic sacral kingship complex in the Bon-po Mother Tantra literature?" (contribution to the Bicentenary Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, Visegrád, Hungary, September 17th, 1984), *Žaṅ-žuṅ Smar* may simply mean "'good' Zhangzhung" and refer to "a lingua franca of the administrative centres" of the "three Zhangzhungs."

[20] Francke 1926/1972, Index, p. 298.

[21] Tucci 1933, p. 15; cf. also Tucci 1956, pp. 72—74.

[22] *ŠPLR*, ed., p. 106, 11. 4, 9, 11; tsl. p. 91, 11. 16—17, 24 and p. 92, l. 3; as well as notes of textual criticism on p. 114. Tucci's MS has a hypercorrect *Myar-ma* instead of *Ñar-ma*; Tucci 1933, pp. 63—64. Cf. also Panglung 1983, p. 282 and n. 4.

century.[23] Similarly, inscription no. 3 in the monastery of ʔA-lči (Alchi) which perhaps dates from the mid-11th century or from the early 12th c. the latest, makes mention of *Mar-yul-Ñar-ma čhos-kyi pho-brań* 'the palace of religion (of) Ñar-ma (in) Mar-yul,'[24] while inscription no. 7 of approximately the same age contains the phrase *Mar-yul-smad-kyi La-dags-ʔA-lči 'dir* 'here in ʔA-lči (of) La-dags in Lower Mar-yul.''[25] These data leave no doubt that around the 11th century *Mar-yul* encompassed Lower and Central Ladakh.

5. The *Mard* of the *Annals*, however, is not only in relation to the later Tibetan name of Ladakh, *Mar-yul*, but is in a regular phonemic correspondence with **Mars* or perhaps **Mras* that we have included among the alternative reconstructions of Hsüan-tsang's *Mo-lo-so*.

With relevance here is first of all the recognition that both in Old Tibetan and in Written Tibetan only *d* and *s* may occur in so-called post-final position which means that at the end of a syllable only one of these two consonants may occur as a second consonant. It has been an established fact for over half a century now that the two post-finals are in complementary distribution: *d* comes after the final *n*, *r* and *l*, while *s* after the final *g*, *ṅ*, *b* and *m*.[26] One would tend to assume that *s* and *d* were different realizations of one and the same post-final archiphoneme, had Coblin in his thorough analysis of the morphophonemics and morphology of the Tibetan verbal system not proved that originally there were two different suffixes, *-d* and *-s*. The phonemic opposition between the two suffixes became eliminated after consonants only as a result of later development, as it is shown in the below table:[27]

[23] Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980, p. 83. Cf. Tucci 1933, p. 53 where another, seemingly more corrupted, MS of the same work is described.

[24] Ll. 10—11, see ed. and tsl. Denwood 1980, pp. 129 and 146; cf. also Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977, p. 30; Panglung 1983, p. 282. For the dating see Denwood 1980, pp. 151—152; cf. also Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977, pp. 30—31; Petech 1977, pp. 165—166.

[25] Ed. and tsl. Denwood 1980, p. 138, l. 23 and p. 148; cf. also Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977, p. 48.

[26] Wolfenden 1929, p. 19; Snellgrove 1954, p. 199; Li Fang-kuei 1959, p. 58, n. 3; Róna-Tas 1966, p. 156, n. 386; p. 157 and n. 393.

[27] Coblin 1976, pp. 49—50, 58—59 and esp. 61—62. The responsibility for the table rests with me.

-V-d (**-' -d*) > *-Vd* **-ṅ-d* > *-nd* (exceptionally *-ṅs*)	*-V-s* (*-' -s*) > *-Vs* *-ṅ-s* > *-ṅs*
**-d-d* > *-d* *-n-d* > *-nd* *-r-d* > *-rd* *-l-d* > *-ld*	**-d-s* > *-d* **-n-s* > *-nd* **-r-s* > *-rd* **-l-s* > *-ld*
**-g-d* > *-gs* **-b-d* > *-bs* **-m-d* > *-ms* **-s-d* > *-s*	*-g-s* > *-gs* *-b-s* > *-bs* *-m-s* > *-ms* **-s-s* > *-s*

In the same way, the final consonant cluster *-rd* may equally stand for an earlier *-rd* or an **-rs*. Accordingly, the country name *Mard* of the *Annals* could also be the borrowing of a pre-Tibetan **Mard* or **Mars*.

Neither should one preclude the possibility that the *Mard* of the *Annals* goes back to a pre-Tibetan **Mras*. Prior to the date of writing of the oldest surviving Tibetan literary monuments the initial consonant cluster **mr-* became *rm-* through metathesis, as has been proved by Coblin.[28] Nevertheless, when the **mr-* > *rm-* change had been over, a foreign **mrV-* may as well have been borrowed by Tibetan in the form **mVr-* produced by another type of metathesis.

6. By way of summing up one may assert that Ladakh used to have been called **Mars* or perhaps **Mras* some time in the past. This was the name that was on the one hand recorded through a Sanskritized intermediate as *Mo-lo-so*, AC *muât-lâ-sâ*, by Hsüan-tsang in the early 7th century, and was on the other hand borrowed by the westward-pushing Tibetans in the form of *Mard* conforming to the Tibetan phonemic system. *Mard* had been by the mid-11th century at the latest transformed into *Mar-yul* which in later Tibetan literature was often mistakenly replaced by *Maṅ-yul*, the name of the region of Skyi-roṅ.

It is to be noted that besides *Mo-lo-so* Hsüan-tsang recorded another name of Ladakh, namely 三波訶 *San-po-ho*,[29] AC *sâm-puâ-χâ*.[30] The efforts to find equivalents of this name in sources independent of Hsüan-tsang have been to no avail so far.[31]

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[28] Coblin 1974, pp. 124—125. Cf. also Simon 1975, pp. 246 and 250—251.

[29] *TTHYC*, p. 890a9, gloss; p. 892c13; cf. Beal 1884/1958a, p. 211 and n. 33; p. 227 and n. 101; Watters 1904, pp. 299, 330; 1905, p. 326; Petech 1977, p. 7. See also *SCFC*, p. 956c7, gloss; p. 957b6.

[30] *GSR*, Nos. 648/a—c + 25/1 + 1/k—l.

[31] The deficiencies of earlier attempts to explain this name were proved by Pelliot 1963, pp. 706—707. Cf. also Petech 1977, p. 8 and n. 1.

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SDSS = Rnal-'byor Ñi-ma-grags-pa, *Sgra-yi don-sdeb snaṅ-gsal sgron-me / Sgra-yi sdeb-sbyor mthoṅ-ba don-gsal*. Ed. in: *Tibetan Źang źung dictionary*, New Delhi [1965], pp. 1—22.

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MYTHIC LORE AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS FROM NUBRA VALLEY IN LADAKH

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Field Work was conducted in Nubra during the autumn of 1983.[1] The route taken was over the Khardung La into the Nubra valley and with Diskit as the point of departure further journeys were conducted. The area first covered was that following the river Shyok, from its junction with the Nubra river, to the point of its entry into Baltistan at which point the most interesting settlements of Turtuk and Tyakshi exist. Upon returning to Diskit the next phase of the journey was intended to be to the source of the Nubra river where there is a settlement at Yarma mGon-bo. This objective could not be fulfilled due to technical difficulties and the last settlement along the Nubra river to be visited was the village Sa-soma. From Sa-soma the river Nubra turns left to its source, the Siachen glacier, while to the right rise the rocky defiles over which leads the caravan route to Yarkand.

The total population of Nubra is only 10,771. There are 2380 families with 5436 males and 5335 females. Until 1971 almost the whole of Nubra was populated by Buddhists but since then Muslim villages west of Bogdang along the Shyok river came to be included. The total Muslim population is about 2800 and except for a few families at Hundar (Ladakhi) all of their villages lie in the Čhorbat area whose cultural belief system shows a mixture of Ladakhi and Balti influences.

The earliest phase of the history of Nubra is shrouded in darkness. It is however possible to draw from myths and other oral traditions, clues to the earliest cultural contacts.

The area now termed Nubra was in earlier times divided between a number of local chiefs. The numerous fortresses (mKhar) attest the possibility of posing such a hypothesis. These fortresses lie in ruins and the last of them to be inhabited by the local ruler was abandoned following the total suzerainty

[1] A preliminary report on the field trip with a list of the documents is press under the title: 'Historical Documents from the Nubra Valley,' Part 1: Facsimile Edition of the Stone-Inscriptions and of the History of bDe-skyid-Monastery. In: Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung, Heft. 7, 1985, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag. St. Augustin.

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of Nubra under the rGyalpos of Ladakh. This latter phase is attested by epigraphic and other documents about which more will be said later. The different parts of Nubra bore separate names and there are six such areas: *Gyen* is the the inhabited part along the river Shyok prior to the latter's junction with the Nubra river. *Shama* extends from the junction of the Nubra and Shyok rivers until the latter's entry into the *Chorbat* area which borders on the chiefdom of Khapalu.[2] *Yarma* is that part of the valley of the Nubra river which extends above the village Panamik to its source. The Nubra river below Panamik village on the right bank is called *Tšurka* while the valley on the left bank of the river south of Kobet village is known as *Farka*.

There are ruins of fortresses at Charasa in the Farka area. The fort of Teb-Lé lies between Tirit and Sumur in the Tšurka area and has been converted into a monastery. There are two fortresses in the Shama area; One is located on the hill above Hundar and the other lies at the side of the road between the villages of Tirčhé and Skāru. At Turtuk village in the Čhorbat area lies the large fortification in which the entire village lived and which was in the earliest times inhabited by Brog-pa Dards.

The Mythic Lore of Čo Bong Skang

Once at Teb-lé there lived a wicked ruler Čo Bong Skang who had come from a distant land. He was invincible as his body was made of steel and he terrorised the local population. Contemporary to his rule in the Tšurka area, where he had his fort, there was also the fortress of the more benign ruler of Charasa in the Farka area.

As the sun shone very late on his fort at Teb-lé, due to obstruction by a hill, he demanded forced labour from the local people who had to level it. The people were fed up of the ruler and his undue demands. He wanted to have shoes made and the villagers engaged themselves to make shoes for him but non of the shoes would fit him. Ultimately an old woman made a pair of round shoes which fitted his feet which were like those of a donkey as also is indicated by his name Čo Bong Skang (Chief Donkey feet).

As a regular tribute each household from the village had to provide him with a kid for his royal meals. One day when the cook prepared the usual dish of goat meat it tasted somewhat different and unusually good to him. He immediately summoned the cook and demanded to know as to what meat it

[2] The precise dividing point from where the Chorbat area can be demarcated is at present not possible. The Chorbat area, during the last three centuries, continuously changed hands between the rulers of Khapalu and Ladakh. Hashmatullah Khan reports that according to early tradition the area was first settled by people coming from Ladakh. 1939, p. 630, 633—634; For the other parts of Nubra see, Drew, 1875, foot note on p. 273

was that tasted so good. The cook replied that it was meat from the kid provided as tribute by the poor woman of the village whose child had recently died. As to why the flesh had tasted so good he could provide no answer. So Čo Bong Skang demanded that the woman be brought into his presence at once. The poor woman was alarmed and in fear appeared before the chief at the fortress. But when Čo Bong Skang spoke gently and asked the cause of the meat tasting so delicious, she was relieved. She replied that since the birth of the kid her only goat had died so she had fed the kid with her own milk. Upon learning that the flesh of the kid tasted so delicious after being fed on human milk he wondered how good the flesh of young babies would taste.

Following this incident he began to demand young babies as tribute from the villagers instead of a kid. Thus each household had to deliver a child in rotation to Čo Bong Skang for his meals.

The people were weary of their human flesh eating chief and wanted to get rid of him but as he was made of steel they were at a loss as to how they would accomplish this task.

Then an old woman who knew the secret of Čo Bong Skang's vulnerability appealed to the chief of Charasa on behalf of the villagers. She then conspired with him and revealed that Čo Bong Skang's heart (also used in the sense of the soul) was made out of Lac (Tib. La-cha). It was due to this that he had a great fear of fire as it would melt his heart and this was the only way that he would die since his body was of steel.

The ruler of Charasa then planned to have a hole dug inside the door of the fort when next Čo Bong Skang went to collect the tribute of a child. So on the next moonless night as Čo Bong Skang left his fort to collect the tribute in the village, one party of the villagers dug a large hole and covered it with branches and leaves.

Another party of villagers was assembled in the village with bundles of Juniper (Tib. Shukpa) branches and upon the approach of Čo Bong Skang they lit the branches and chased him. As he ran to take shelter in his fort the villagers followed him with their lit Shukpa torches. Upon crossing the threshhold of the fortress door he fell into the hole prepared for him and the villagers threw their torches into the ditch. Čo Bong Skang died in agony and was then buried with stones thrown into the hole.

In the memory of getting rid of the human flesh eating evil Čo Bong Skang, the festival *Dong-me* is celebrated. This is on the first day of the New Year (Lo-gsar) when the villagers make the sun and the moon out of flour (Sattu) in their houses to deter evil. Then in the evening they make a procession of torches lit out of Shukpa and in this manner commemorate the driving away of evil.

I was informed that there are more detailed versions of this myth which are recited in Charasa village during the winter months. These need to be

recorded in detail to get a proper insight as an almost identical version of the above myth is available from Gilgit. Sri Badat is supposed to have been the last Buddhist ruler of Gilgit[3] about whom oral traditions were recorded by several authors as early as in the mid — 19th century. The basic theme of the myth runs that Sri Badat was an oppressive ruler who was put to death by a neighbouring chief in connivance with a woman and the local population. The characteristics of Sri Badat are identical with those of Čo Bong Skang as both had feet like those of a donkey,[4] they were oppressive and ate human flesh,[5] their soul was made of a substance which melts and therefore they had a great fear of fire.[6]

The incidents which take place in both the myths are of indisputable identity. Both oppressive chiefs are regularly supplied by the villagers with a lamb or kid as tribute. Once in the kitchen the kid which had been fed on human milk by a woman who had lost her own child is cooked. Eating this flesh he inquires as to the cause of the meat tasting so good and after this commands that instead of a kid he should be provided a child in its tender years for his meals. Thus both rulers are accidentaly brought to enjoy the taste of human flesh.[7] The oppressive rule cannot be tolerated any longer and a woman who comes to know the secret of the chief's soul (as he is made of iron or steel)[8] connives with a neighbouring chief and the people dig a pit into which the chief falls while being chased by a fire procession and thus he dies.

In memory of this event, at the beginning of the New Year, a fire procession with lighted torches of Juniper (Tib. Shukpa; Shina. Chilli) branches takes place whereby the memory of when the evil chief was driven away is revived.[9] This is not only the case in Nubra (Ladakh) and Gilgit but a very similar notion is attached to the fire procession carried out by the Binan speaking Lahulis, during the New Year (Lo-gsar), when they in a song curse the former evil ruler.[10] Leaving aside the connection of the fire procession with the driving away of a former wicked ruler, the area of the Himalaya mountains

[3] Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 42; Leitner, 1978, p. 9—16; Hashmatullah Khan, 1939, p. 768, he gives the approximate date 1080—1120 A. D. Jettmar, 1975, p. 200; Müller-Stellrecht, 1973, p. 5—13; Biddulph, 1880, p. 21, 109, 134.

[4] Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 39; Jettmar, 1975, p. 242.

[5] Leitner, 1978, p. 9—16; Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 41; Biddulph, 1880, p. 109; Jettman, 1975, p. 240—244; Müller-Stellrecht, 1973, p. 5—13.

[6] Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 47; Leitner, 1978, p. 9—16; Jettmar, 1975, p. 241; Müller-Stellrecht, 1973, p. 5—13.

[7] Leitner, 1978, p. 9; Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 41.

[8] Leitner, 1978, p. 16; Jettmar, 1975, p. 240—241.

[9] Leitner, 1978, p. 16; Ghulam Muhammad, 1907/1980, p. 47; Biddulph, 1880, p. 100—101; Jettmar, 1975, p. 242, 265; Müller-Stellrecht, 1973, p. 5—13.

[10] Asboe, W., 1933, p. 191.

has several communities where fire during the New Year plays the role of driving away the evil of the past year. This we can note among the Kalash-Kafirs[11] to the west of the Dards,[12] the Ladakhis and the Tibetans.[13]

Oral Traditions Regarding the Rule of Brog-pa Dards

I was able to collect oral traditions from Haji Abdullah (House name Khar-mang-pa) and Kurban Ali (House name Mon-cho-pa) regarding the earliest rulers of the Čhorbat area. At Turtuk there is the fortress of the Brog-pa Dards, called Brog-pai mKhar, which is a large area on a hill overlooking the settlement of Turtuk. The fortification is in ruins but one can still see the massive walls and rooms spread over the hillock. It appears that the entire village lived in the fort and there are still the water canals which had supplied the fortress. The water from the canals was collected in a tank just below the fort and used to be drawn up in vessels using ropes. Upon climbing up to the fort one can see the approximately three square meter rooms and on the floor of the rooms are holes covered with a flat slab of stone which were used for storing grain or other precious possessions. The village headman who had climbed with me to the hill located a room whose walls had not fallen but the roof had collapsed into the walled structure. From the collapsed roof between the stones the Go-pa pulled out a large I bex horn which is of the same type as those kept at the shrines (Brog-skad. Deüha) of the Buddhist Dards of mDa and Garkun.[14]

It is related that the rGya-po and his followers used to go every week hunting to Tebe Nullah where there was another settlement of the Brog-pa Dards.[15] The Brog-pa Dards, it is claimed, were Buddhist and lived in the fort as, during those times, life was very insecure and there was constant danger of attack. In the event of being besieged they had enough fresh water resources and to prevent an army scaling the fortress they had a large wooden pole at the ends of which were two large round stones (like the ones used in grinding mills). This contraption was rolled down the hill if any attack took place. The ruler of the Brog-pa Dards had his guards posted at Tyakshi, which was a frontier post, and received information on any impending danger. During those times there often occured skirmishes with the chief of Pranu.

According to another version it was the ruler of Gopus (near Gilgit) who first came to this area for hunting. At Tyakshi he found a fresh water spring and

[14] Vohra, 1982, p. 83.
[15] According to another informant Kurban Ali they also went for fishing.
[11] Jettmar, 1975, 379—386.
[12] Jettmar, 1975, p. 261—266.
[13] Stein, R. A., 1972, p. 220, 217.
[14] Vohra, 1982, p. 83.
[15] According to another informant Kurban Ali they also went for fishing.

drank from the water as well as taking some with him when he returned via Skardu. Nowhere could such good water be found and later this area was settled by the people from Gopus and Bagrot.

Some time later two warriors, Chulli and Yandrung, came from the west. There are different opinions as to where they came from. Some say that they came from Iraq while other more reliable accounts relate that they came from Gopus and Bagrot. At Tyakshi they were able to bribe Dudo and Dado,[16] who were the guards of the rGya-po of Turtuk, and lived by the fresh water spring. Chulli and Yandrung gained the confidence of Dudo and Dado and with their help wished to dethrone the ruler at Turtuk. Through the help of Dudo and Dado they were introduced to on old woman who lived in the fort and used to come to Tyakshi with rations. Once when the rGya-po of Turtuk and his followers were out on a hunt the old woman informed Chulli and Yandrung telling them that it was a good opportunity as they were to celebrate a festival after the hunt. Chulli and Yandrung then proceeded by a secret route which went over the hill from Tyakshi via Nilé thang (or Niyalo thang) up the Sigda Nullah to Stak-pa hill and from there they descended into the fort. Here the old woman informed Chulli and Yandrung as to where all the weapons were kept. When the rGya-po and his followers returned Yandrung began to play the war beat on the drums and this caused great confusion as they thought that their fort had been occupied by a large army. The rGya-po and his followers made a defence position on the opposite bank of the Turtuk stream at a place called Wadok. From here they then attempted to besiege the fort. The old woman informed Chulli that the rGya-po could be recognised easily as he had a large silver Milong (a round disc) on his chest. When Chulli shot the rGya-po with a Mačhadar (a gun of the old type into which gun powder is poured into the barrel) all the followers dispersed and fled to Tebe Nullah.

After some time Chulli and Yandrung collected forces and not being comfortable with the fact that the Brog-pa Dards were at Tebe Nullah they decided to attack them once again. Upon being besieged by Chulli and Yandrung the Brog-pa Dards assembled in a room and decided to die, by pulling down the central pillar of the room, rather than surrender. Some of those who survived then fled over the Ladakh range to the villages of Hanu and mDa and settled there among their kin.

The inhabitants of Turtuk village are divided between the Chulli-pa and the Yandrung-pa. Later some fifteen households came from Khapalu and also some others from Marol and Kharmang. The Bogdang and Turtuk people still call the inhabitants of Tyakshi, Brog-pa, as they are supposed to be descended from Dudo and Dado.

[16] Dudo and Dado are kinship terms for grandfather among the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh.

Summary translations of songs were taken down which tell us about the deeds of their ancient rulers. There are also songs about Su Malik[11] the ancient ruler of Gilgit, then there are songs about the rulers of Baltistan and Purig. All these along with other ethnographic and cultural data are intended for a separate publication.

There are other oral traditions which tell us about the powerful Lama who lived at Tyakshi and the magical powers he possesed. At some later date (16 th—17th century) the Islamic missionaries came, for example Amir Kabir, who in a contest was able to defeat the Lama and convert the people of Tyakshi and Turtuk to Islam. Another saint, Sayyad Nur Baksh, also came and converted the people to the Nur Baksh sect of Islam and most of the Nur Baksh are living in Bogdang though there are a considerable number at Turtuk, Chullungkhar and Tyakshi as well.[18] In the late. 18th century the Čhorbat area was given by the ruler of Khapalu, Yagbo Yahya Khan, to his son Yagbo Nasir Khan who came to live at Turtuk and from him the present village headman traces his descent. A detailed geneological chart was taken down and again this part of the oral history will be treated separately.[19] The Mosque at Turtuk was constructed with the wood brought from the ruins of the fort. The mosque is beautifully decorated with the four carved pillars of walnut wood and the floral designs on the planks which decorate the interior. These attest to the skill of the ancient craftsmen which has been copied by the craftsmen of today but which fails to match the quality of the old craftsmanship. Among the floral designs is also one walnut wood placard designed with a number of anti-clockwise running Swastikas attesting to the religious conviction of the Brog-pa Dards who were driven away. The Swastika is a symbol which is still in use among the Buddhist Brog-pa Dards of mDa and Garkun.[20]

Early Traces of Buddhism

As to whether the Brog-pa Dard inhabitants of Turtuk had received early Buddhist influences is difficult to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge of the area. It is however certain that Buddhist influences came to Nubra area in a comparatively early phase as is attested by the deeply cut bas-relief images on the rocks. These date from the same period as the images of Chamba[21] found at Mulbek and Kartse and the one near Hambuting La in the old Sod chiefdom.[22] The bas-relief image near Digar and the two at Hundar,

[17] An ancient ruler of Gilgit.

[18] Detailed version of their oral traditions regarding the conversion from Buddhism to I slam will be published seperately.

[19] The geneological data has to be compared with that of Hashmatullah Khan

[20] Vohra, 1982, p. 86.

[21] Snellgrove, 1977, p. 6—8; 1980, p. 9—11.

[22] Vohra, 1985, p. 8.

of which only one is left, have been dated to the late first millennium A.D. and must be seen in the context of similar images not only in Ladakh but also the image a few kilometers above Gilgit.[23]

The image of Chamba Gang-skyal is ten and a half feet tall and four feet wide according to the approximate measurement done in 1983. It is located on the right side of the road one kilometer away from Tirčhé village enroute to Skuru village. The image is carved approximately one to one and half inches deep and is to be clearly differentiated from the above mentioned group of images. The image is carved on a large rock lying in a field and in earlier times the rock stood in a manner so that the image stood on its feet. A Mongol invader tried to take posession of the fort near the image but failed and in his anger tilted the rock so that the image is now seen lying on its back. The field in which the image lies is called Neung-thang-sa and was in earlier times a camping place for travellers but recently a couple of houses have been built and the land is owned by the Bang-pak-pa household.

The earliest Tibetan Buddhist influences were those of the Ka-gyü-pa (bKa-'brgyud-pa) sect. There is a long tale about the present settlement at Yarma Gon-bo (mGon-pa) of monks belonging to this sect who live a married life. It is beleived that Kushok Pirang Ral-chen came from Tibet and prayed for several years and thus emerged the image on the rock called Gon-bo Čhag-ji-pa. In his later incarnation he come again to look for the place where he had prayed during his former birth and went from Bago (where two rooms were dug up of his previous residence) to Piya where he later died and there a shrine can be found. There is another Gon-bo (mGon-po) near Utmaru village which is the next most important place of worship.

Francke in his work "Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft" gives the names of eight other mGon-pos of Nubra and points out that these have temples belonging to the 'Brug-pa sect.[24] These are affiliated to Hemis Gompa. Later in the 15th century came the influence of the dGe-lugs-pa sect and this is also the period following which the bigger monasteries were established as they exist today.

Post 15th Century History of Nubra

A summary recollection of information provided by the Documents.

The Historical Documents from Nubra Valley[25] consist of 13 rock and temple inscriptions as well as the Mss. of the History of bDe-skyid Monastery

[23] Jettmar, 1975, p. 244.

[24] Francke, 1921, p. 125—126, foot note. 1.

[25] The Historical Documents from the Nubra Valley is at press, see. foot note 1, above. In this summary recollection I am aware that I have not been able to consult the source material which is in Tibetan and therefore as such the data must be corrobarated.

(Title: *Nub-ra bde-dgon gyi chags-rab snon-byun rin-po-che'i phren-ba*). These have been published in a Facsimile Edition and here a recollection of the contents has been attempted.

The epigraphic evidence that was gathered consists of inscriptions on Votive Tablets which together number 9 and will be called Nubra Votive Tablet Inscriptions (Nu. V. T. I.). The four temple inscriptions will be called Nubra Temple Inscriptions (Nu.T.I.). All the epigraphic evidence comes from the Hundar village and is found above the village and across the newly constructed road.

From the comparison of the evidence provided in the Diskit Monastery Mss. and the independent evidence of the epigraphic records we can conclude that until the 17th century local chiefs ruled in Nubra though recognising the overlordship of the rulers of Ladakh. In the post 17th century evidence we gather that Nubra must have acknowledged at about Hristime complete suzerainty of the rNam-rGyal Dynasty ruling at Leh.

The inscription of Votive Tablet — 1 possibly refers to the earliest native ruler of Nubra known to us. Francke had already received an eye copy version of an inscription referring to the same king.[26] The inscription (Nu. V. T. 1) refers to *King Bhag ram mir* and the Queen sTeng-žhal whose merit for the promotion of religion is praised and a long life is wished to them in their fortress bDe-čhen rtse-mo. There are several Mani stone slabs which refer to the fortress of Hunder and lie on the hill above and behind the Lha Khang dMar-po, Lha Khang dKar-po and the old Gompa which is called Gyapo mGur-Lha. It would be hazardous to identify the King Bhag ram mir until further evidence comes to light as we find this name used for several rulers of the neighbouring regions dating to about the same time.[27]

We know from the Ladakh chronicles that *King Grags-'bum-lde* had received envoys from T son-k'a-pa (1357—1419) during the early half of the 15th century and did much for the spread of the dGe-lugs-pa sect.[28] At the time of reception of the envoy of T son-k'a-pa, *King Grags-pa-'bum*, with his capital at gTin-mo-sgan, was in Nubra and refused to entertain the envoy.[29] The Mss. from Diskit monastery relates that King Grags-'bum-lde, in order to spread the doctrine of the dGe-lugs-pa sect, invited *Lama sTod Šes-rab-bzaṅ-po* who was from among the six groups of Tson-k'a-pa pupils promulgating the religion. He founded the 'Stag-mo Lha Khang gser-po' and in Spiti the 'Nor-bu dge phel.' He later went to Nubra where the local ruler *King Ñyi-ma-Grags*

[26] Francke, 1926/reprint 1972, p. 274—275.

[27] Petech, 1977, p. 25, 26; Hashmatullah Khan, 1939, for the Rajas of Khapalu, p. 625—626; Parmu, 1969, p. 167, Zain-ul-Abiden, the King of Kashmir's youngest son was Bahram Khan; also see Dutt, 1898, p. 86.

[28] Francke, 1926/reprint 1972, p. 99—100; Petech, 1977, p. 22.

[29] Francke, 1926/reprint 1972, p. 99.

received him and cooperated with him in the spreading of religion.[30] He founded the Diskit monastery the 'Bde dgon Bka shis chos-ling' and later went to lCags-ra-sa (Carasa) and blessed the place. He then founded the monastery 'dBen-sa dgon-pa' (Ensa) building a statue of Tson-k 'a-pa there. Later upon his visit to Zanskar he founded the 'dGon mo che' monastery and at dKar-sha (Karsha) the 'Byams pa ling.' He passed away at Phug-tal monastery.

The next abbot of Diskit monastery was *Pan-chen Nubra Lha-btsun Blo-bzaṅ bstan-pa* also known as *Pan-chen Nubra-pa*. He was born in a well-to-do family of Utmaru village (on the banks of the Shyok river) and went for his higher education to bKra-sis-lhun-po in Tibet. At this monastery there is a shrine of the goddess Tara. His teacher advised him to do his lessons circling the Cha-Khang. Inspite of heavy rain he bailed to get wet and upon hearing about this the teacher went to see for himself and as it began to rain the pupil's head was sheltered by a white umbrella.

He received further education from the teacher Jam-dbyaṅs Blo-bzaṅ. Later he was appointed the abbot of bKra-šis-lhun-po monastery[31] and subsequently he even became successor to the seat of Ge-'dun-grub who was the first Dalai Lama. For some time he even remained the abbot of the Bu-ston monastery in Ža-lu.

bKra-šis rnam-rgyal is mentioned as contemporary ruler. We, however, also find that the Lha Khang bar-po at Hundar provides two wall inscriptions (Nu. T. I. 10 & 11) which mention the ruler of Hundar, *Nam-rgyal bKra-šis*, during whose time the Lha Khang was constructed. The temple inscription (Nu. T. I. 10) mentions his wife rNam-rgyal Skid and their son Thi-chun rgyal and daughter Putit rgyal-mo. The temple inscription (Nu. T. I. 11) is a longer one mentioning rNam-rgyal Skid Putit rgyal-mo, Gon-bo rNam-rgyal and the father (Yab-chok) rNam-rgyal bKra-sis and Thi-chun rgyal. The Nu. T. I. 11 commemorates the drawings made for the salvation of the above and seems to be a later one in comparison to Nu. T. I. 10 which mentions the construction of the Lha Khang dMar-po during the reign of rNam-rgyal bKra-šis. Above we find also mention of Gon-bo rNam-rgyal who appears to be the grand son of rNam-rgyal bKra-šis about whom more will be said later.

Mirza Haidar informs us that when a rebellion broke out in Nubra, Tashikun failed to support his officers and was put to death for this. He was, in all likelihood, the above mentioned rNam-rgyal bKra-šis.[32]

The Diskit monastery Mss. next informs us that Pan-chen Nubra-pa later come to Nubra where he visited Kya-gar, Sumur (Sum-yur) and then

[30] It appears that when sTod Šes-rab-bzan-po went to Nubra at that time Grags-'bum-lde was no longer ruling.

[31] Panchen Nubrapa appears as the 5th Abbot in the list of abbots from bKra-sis-lhun-po, see Tucci, 1949, p. 72—73.

[32] Ross, E. D. 1895, p. 423; Petech, 1977, p. 26.

finally settled down at the Diskit monastery 'bde-dgon bkra-šis chos-gliń. His main pupil was 'Jam-dbyaṅs Shanti-pa Blo-gros rGyal-mchan who wrote many works. Pan-chen Nubra-pa passed away with the astonishing feature that his body was found cut in two halves. The upper half of his body was kept at the Kur-gon in Kya-gar while the lower part was kept in the Ser-dung at Charasa where it still exists.

Following Pan-chen Nubra-pa, the IV Khen-gyut of K'rig-se monastery, *Chos-rje dpon dPal-jor* came as abbot to Diskit monastery. At this time Nubra was ruled by King *Tshe-dbang brtan-pa* and his wife Tunru who sponsored the abbot's stay. With the assistance of the king the temple with eight pillars was constructed, a statue of Buddha and that of Tson-k'a-pa as well as numerous wall paintings by rDor-rje skyabs and his son. King Tshe-dbang brtan-pa and Jo-mo Tunru rgyal and the people requested the writing of a dKar-chag on the wall of the Chang Khang.[33]

Belonging to the same period are two inscriptions on Votive Tablets (Nu. V. T. 2 & 3) mentioning the King *Tshe-dbang brtan-pa* who is mentioned with his wife rGyal-mo rNam-rgyal Skid. The name of the queen on the inscriptions differs from that given in the Diskit monastery Mss. where the name is Jo-mo Tunru rGyal-mo and indicates that the king may have had two wives. The inscription (Nu. V. T. 2) mentions Čhos-rgyal čhen-po Tshe -dbang brtan-pa, rGyal-mo rNom-rgyal Skid, the prince (lha-sras) lon-čhen rNam-rgyal and Putit čhon-mo. The inscription (Nu. V. T. 3) mentions Čhos-rgyal čhen-po Tshe-dbang brtan-pa, Gyal-mo rNam-rgyal Skid and Gon-bo Tshe-brtan rGyal-po. Here we find mention of the prince rNam-rgyal who is mentioned as Gon-bo rNam-rgyal in the Lha Khangd Mar-po (Nu. T. I. 11) and at the time of writing of the inscription was the son of Thi-chu rgyal (later called Thse-dbang brtan-pa). The name is also available from the inscription found by Francke and which Petech with greater likelihood ("the prince (lha-sras) mGon-po-rnam-rgyal, son of a local ruler of Nubra called c'os-rgyal c'en-po Ts'e-dbaṅ-brtan-pa")[34] identifies with Gonbu Namiguel mentioned by the Jesuit brother Bento de Goes as a captive prince from Tibet brought to Yarkand in 1600—1601.[34a] The invasions from the north were a familiar feature for the rulers of Nubra.[35]

[33] The approximate translation: Paying homage to the Buddha and to Tson-k 'a-pa. Praise of Diskit village whose people are simple and follow the ten virtues of Buddhism. There are no troubles and there is enough for all. King T she-dbang brtan-pa be praised and both king and queen have a long life. Following this are names of people who had paid towards the construction of the chapel and those who contributed for food and drink.

[34] Petech, 1977, p. 33

[34a] Petech, 1977, p. 32.

[35] There are several invasions from Yarkand and Kashgar area about which local

The Yarkandi traders were also involved in keeping the trade route open and involuntarily acting as agents providing the Khan of Yarkand with information on the prevailing political situation in Nubra.

The ruler of Ladakh bKra-šis-rnam-rgyal (1555—1575) is said to have invaded Baltistan and Nubra among other areas in an inscription (F. 185) found by Francke[36] but it fails to provide any detailed data on which part of Nubra. The next ruler of Ladakh, Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, according to the chronicles, wanted to invade the northern Turks (Hor), i. e., the Khan of Yarkand, but was persuaded by the people of Nubra to avoid such an adventure as it would affect trade with Yarkand.[37]

We find that with Thse-dbang brtan-pa we have the name of the last local ruler of Nubra.

The Diskit monastery Mss. provides the name of the next abbot as Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan, who was from Jasang-pa household in Diskit, and went to bKra-sis-lhun-po for higher education and became abbot of Dkyil-Khang grva-tshang. Upon returning he made his residence at Diskit monastery and later passed away there. A statue made in his honour is still kept at his Tashak called Spon Khang.

As to other evidence of influence from the rulers of Ladakh we hear nothing. There are two Mani walls which are claimed to have been built by rGyal Khatun for the peace of 'Jam-dbyaṅs rnam-rgyal's soul. Hashmatullah Khan confirms that rGyal Khatun was given a piece of land in Nubra at Hundar and that the Raja of Khapalu had received tribute.[38]

Hashmatullah Khan saw the grave of rGyal Khatun at Hundar in a dilapidated condition, encircled by a small garden. There had been a mosque there earlier and he was informed that rGyal Khatun had lived in the castle. A landslide had later destroyed even the ruins of the grave which does not exist any more. The place where the grave is supposed to have been was shown to me by the school master of Hundar who traces his descent on one side from Mr. Johnson.

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traditions are available and particular sites are identified with the oral lore. These are intended for a separate publication.

Mirza Haidar's history of the area relates about the ruler of Kashgar, Abu Bakr, whose commander Min Yali brought under his power the districts of Balur (Baltistan) and Tibet (referring to Ladakh) and the plundering of the area by the Emirs of Sa'id Khan in 1516. See, Ross, E. D., 1895, p. 320, 327—328, 408; Petech, 1977, p. 32, 58.

[36] Petech, 1977, p. 30.

[37] Petech, 1977, p. 32.

[38] Hashmatullah Khan, 1939, p. 286 ff, 640. The Raja of Khapalu received 2 maunds of Pholi (a kind of Saltpeter) and Salt as tax from the land belonging to rGyal Khatun after her death. Later, during Mr. Johnsons time, this had been reduced to 32 Khal of corn and one sheep annually. Subsequently even this was stopped.

It appears that Nubra came under complete suzerainity of Ladakhi kings at the beginning of the 17th century and this state of affairs continued until the Dogra invasion in the 19th century.

The first Ladakhi king, about whom epigraphic evidence is found, was bDe-ldan rnam-rgyal who is mentioned with the dowager queen bsKal-bzang (who acted as a regent for her sons[39]) and the chief minister, with the full title (c'os-blon c'en-po[40]), A-gu 'Gar-mo. The king is mentioned as being a young (see Votive Tablet. Nu. V. T. 4) prince. Though bDe-ldan rnam-rgyal ruled from 1642—1694 we may assume that the inscription originates from the early part of his reign as we know that A-gu 'Gar-mo died in 1646 and the queen bsKal-bzang died in 1650 at bZang-la in Zanskar enroute to Kailasa and her body was brought to Sheh where the funeral rites were performed.[41] During the reign of bDe-ldan rnam-rgyal the dGe-lugs-pa sect was promoted and acquired greater control in Ladakh.[42] The next ruler bDe-legs rnam-rgyal was probably never a full king, dying three years before his father, and ruled as a prince associated with his father, as the Chronicles do not give him the royal title nor are any inscriptions known.[43]

In the next inscription (Nu. V. T. 5) the Chos-rgyal chen-po Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and bKa'-blon chen-po bSod-nams-lhun-grub are mentioned. Ñi-ma rnam-rgyal ruled Ladakh from 1694 to 1729 and bSod-nams-lhun-grub came from the chiefs of rGya's family and slowly attained the highest rank in government service.[44]

We do not hear any more about Nubra and the relations with Ladakh except for military help sent through Ts'ul-k'rims rdo-rje for the ruler of Khapalu, Hatim Khan, when the army marched through Nubra in the midst of winter.[45] Then we find that bDe-skyong rnam-rgyal (1729—1739) married for a second time, a girl from bDe-skyid (Diskit) in Nubra called Bu-k'rid dbang-mo who bore him the son P'un-ts'ogs rnam-rgyal.[46]

An inscription from Hundar (Nu. V. T. 6) mentions the King Chos-rgyal chen-po P'un-ts'ogs rnam-rgyal (1739—1753) and his wife Muthi rgyal-mo. We do not hear the name of this queen from any other source and even the marital circumstances of the king are not very clear.[47] Further the inscription

[39] Petech, 1977, p. 55—56, 57.
[40] Petech, 1977, p. 54—55, 57.
[41] Petech, 1977, p. 59, 68.
[42] Petech, 1977, p. 66, 84, 85—86.
[43] Petech, 1977, p. 69, 70.
[44] Petech, 1977, p. 81—82, 91—94, foot note on p. 102.
[45] Petech, 1977, p. 92—93.
[46] Petech, 1977, p. 99.
[47] Petech, 1977, p. 108.

mentions the name of bKa'-blon Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs who was later, for sometime, the prime minister along with Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje.[48]

The Diskit monastery Mss. informs us that during the reign of Ñi-ma rnam-rgyal (1694—1729) the Dka'-chen Blo-bzang brtson-'grus came to Diskit and remained there. He was also a contemporary of Ts'e-dbang rnam-rgyal (1753—1782).

There is a long wall inscription belonging to the period, when Ts'e-dbang rnam-rgyal ruled in Ladakh, commemorating the construction of the Chamba monastery of Hundar. It begins with an introduction on Buddhism following which there is mention of Ts'e-dbang rnam-rgyal, as the ruler of Ladakh, and his wife Ts'e-ring dbang-mo.[49] There is also mention of the Tibetan kings, the priests and the mKhar-dpon of Nubra who at that time was Ga-ga Blo-bzang bsTan-'dzin, then the names of the Lamas who paid for the writing of the inscription and the name of the painter. Ga-ga Blo-bzang bsTan-'dzin is also mentioned with others in another inscription (Nu. V. T. 9). In the wall inscription, Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin is mentioned with his son bSod-nams bsTan-'dzin (Nu. T. I. 13) of whom we hear often during the reign of Ts'e-dpal-don-grub rnam-rgyal (1802—1837; 1839—1840) and the Dogra wars.[50]

Ts'e-dbang rnam-rgyal (1753—1782) had a second wife called Khatun Ts'e-ring who bore him one son, 'Jigs-med rnam-rgyal.[51] He was the king's half-brother and took holy orders at K'rig-se monastery.[52] 'Jigs-med rnam-rgyal is the last abbot mentioned in the Diskit monastery Mss. who came from the line of learned scholars of K'rig-se monastery. With this ends the account of the Diskit monastery Mss. as well as the epigraphic evidence.

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[48] Petech, 1977, p. 101.

[49] Petech, 1977, p. 118.

[50] Francke, 1926/1972, Vol. II, p. 236—241; Petech, 1977, p. 126—129, 133, 140 f. n.

[51] Petech, 1977, p. 118.

[52] Petech, 1977, p. 123.

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WORDS FOR 'FIRE' IN DPAL-'DSIN-SDE'S *ABHIDHĀNAŚĀSTRA*

ALEX WAYMAN (New York City)

As a topic appropriate for the anniversary of the great Hungarian Csoma de Kőrös, the pioneer lexicographer of the Tibetan language, it occurred to me to work over a list of names of Agni, the 'fire' deity of India. This long list is in a work on lexicography.[1] Dpal-'dsin-sde's *Abhidhānaśāstraviśvalocana* is located in the miscellaneous section of the Tibetan Tanjur, Vol. Po in both the Peking and Derge Tanjurs. The author's original Sanskrit name is probably Śrīdharasena. The original Sanskrit of the text has never been edited, although I have been informed that there exists a possibly unique manuscript of the original.[2] There appears to be a value in studying the Tibetan list as an independent lexicographic evidence, even in a determination as much as is possible of the original, or feasibly original Sanskrit words, even if at some future time this Sanskrit manuscript should become available and furnish more information, especially since it probably would be hazardous to try to edit such a manuscript without fully utilizing the Tibetan version. Besides, many of the original Sanskrit terms are established without any doubt through the Sanskrit-Tibetan versions of the celebrated lexicon *Amarakoṣa*.

My interest in this list of words for 'fire' goes back many years, when once I copied out in transcription this list from the Derge edition of the Tanjur. But it had a formidable appearance, and I did not have the means to grapple with the numerous difficulties until rather recently, when studying the *homa* (fire offering) chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*.[3] For the treacherous list of Agni lineage in this Tantra I used the *Amarakoṣa*—Sanskrit and Tibetan

[1] The lexicons have three types of vocabulary for 'fire': 1. The names of the 'fire god' (Agni); 2. The names of Agni's consort, frequently called Svāhā; 3. Miscellaneous words for 'fire' such as 'burning twigs', etc. In this essay, I shall present what are known as the '108 names of the fire-god', and in an appendix discuss some names of Agni's consort.

[2] Lokesh Chandra mentioned this to me some years ago, and reminded me of it at the time of my reading a form of this paper at the Bicentenary Csoma de Kőrös Symposium at Visegrád, Hungary in September 1984.

[3] Part of my study of this Tantra for a work to be published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, India.

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— and the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, containing words left out of the *Amarakoṣa*'s three parts — both works having been compiled by Buddhist authors.[4] I also employed the Agni chapter of the *Vāyupurāṇa* and the *Gṛhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa* among Hindu works. Thus, I gained an idea of the Agni names, learning at the same time that the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the Sarat Chandra Das Tibetan-English dictionary were of little help for such researches. Thus I was encouraged to try my hand at the Agni names in the Dpal-'dsin-sde lexicon. I added the edition of the Peking Tanjur, and am happy to report that this version is in very good shape (Photo ed., Vol. 149, p. 55—1—5, ff.).

In treating the present 'fire' list, my study took the form of trying to figure out in each case what would be the original Sanskrit or else a feasible Sanskrit original. For this purpose, it was stipulated that the presumed Sanskrit names be attested names of Agni and correspond philologically to the Tibetan names. I first used the *Amarakoṣa* and its *Śeṣa*, then Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and its *Śeṣa*.[5] Then noticed the list of 'fire' in the English-Sanskrit dictionary of Monier-Williams, but this contains far fewer such names than the original Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary. Then I used the work called *Uṇādi-sūtras* which was perhaps known to the great grammarian Pāṇini.[6] I gradually filled in the remaining names by deciding what would be normally the Sanskrit equivalents for such words and then consulting the Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary to see if such forms were indeed names of Agni.

May I explain that such lexicons contain deity names for the other main deities, as well as the names or terms for natural objects; but the words for 'fire' have a particular value. This is because the fire cult is probably the oldest one in the world, and in India entered into a host of rituals. One may see by the splendid entry for 'Agni' in M. Winternitz, *A General Index* to *Sacred Books of the East*, the remarkable ramifications of this cult and the attendant mythology.

As to the Tibetan translation, the catalogs omit the translators' names, but Cordier's catalogue suggests the great Lotsaba of Shalu, Chos-skyoṅ

[4] The Sanskrit-Tibetan text of the *Amarakoṣa* as edited by Satis Chandra Vidyābhuṣaṇa was published at Calcutta in 1911; the same editor published at Calcutta in 1912 the portion translated into Tibetan of the commentary called *Amara-ṭīkā-kāmadhenuḥ*. The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* by Sri Purushottamadeva, with the commentary *Sārārtha Candrikā*, was edited by C. A. Seelakkhandha Maha Thera, Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay, 1916.

[5] Hemacandra (1088—1172) authored the well-known *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, which is usually published along with the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi-pariśiṣṭa* (which I refer to as the '*Śeṣa*').

[6] I employ the large chapter "The Uṇādi Suffixes" in *The Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita, translated into English by Śrīśa Chandra Vasu (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, Part II, pp. 145—333.

bzaṅ-po.[7] The standard of the translation is certainly satisfactory. The mistranslation in no. 39, 'who does not guard his body', is copied from the Tibetan *Amarakoṣa*, for the Sanskrit Tanūnapāt, which really means 'the son of himself'. The rendition in no. 1, meaning 'no bent course at all' is a false etymology for Agni, but this word is cognate with Indo-European words like English *ignite* and *igneous*. No. 2, meaning 'without a continuity', taking the name Anala as *an* + *ala*, is debateable, since *ala* is not recognized with the meaning 'continuity', but *āli* is. As to the remainder, assumed to agree with the original Sanskrit words it is still not possible to imagine the Sanskrit just from the Tibetan. Thus, it should be of interest to those scholars who try to restore Sanskrit from its Tibetan translation, to observe how the translators of this lexicon have employed the Tibetan syllable *za* or *zan* as last member of a compound to translate these names. These are epithets of the Fire God emphasizing what he eats up. There are nine such *za* words, in nos. 4, 12, 13, 23, 31, 43, 50, 61, 63; and one *zan*, in no. 40. If one had only the *Mahāvyutpatti* to consult, one can use its *bhuj* equivalent for nos. 13, 23, 50, and 63; and its *aśana* for no. 43, that is, five out of the ten. The *Amarakoṣa*, Sanskrit and Tibetan, accounts for four more: no. 4, *āśa*, in *āśrayāśa* ('who eats the basis'); no. 12, *hotra*, in *vītihotra* ('invited for a feast'); no. 31, the Tibetan compound *rñed za* rendering *vahni* ('who consumes by drawing to itself,' e.g. as when drying up the water); no. 40, where the Tibetan *rtsva zan* appears to mean 'eats the grass', the Sanskrit being *āśuśuṣkaṇi* ('who quickly dries up'). The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* solves the tenth one, no. 61, where *za* reflects Sanskrit *psā* in the name *viśvapsā* ('who eats anything').

My list of the Tibetan names amounts to 108. An introductory note to the Tanjur work, probably supplied by the translator, states that these are the "107 names of 'fire' (Agni), master of the S.E. direction". I should mention that there was a repetition of no. 15, *'od nor can* between my nos. 19 and 20, where the Tibetan text has a translator's note that it is a mistake, namely, careless repetition in the Sanskrit manuscript; in agreement I omitted it, and the Tanjur remark that the total number is 107 is not due to this necessary omission. Rather, my extra number, bringing up the total to the no. 108, is because my nos. 89 and 90 make two names out of the single corrupted transcription which was apparently insoluble for the translators. The second of these, no. 90, is the Sanskrit Kuṣāku (in the Hemacandra-*Śeṣa*) meaning a scorching fire. No. 89 can be solved by noticing that *tsi tra* transcribes the Sanskrit *citra*, with four compounds in the Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary identified as names of Agni. These are, Citra-kṣatra ('whose domain is brilliant'); Citra-dhrajati ('having a bright course'), Citra-bhānu ('of varie-

[7] P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1909), Troisième Partie, p. 510.

gated lustre') and Citra-ratha ('having a bright chariot'). The first two are irrelevant to the context and the corruption form. As to the Citra-ratha, there is already a chariot entry, no. 81, with Sanskrit Jyotī-ratha, also meaning 'having a bright chariot'. Citra-bhānu must be the name. Not only is *bhānu* susceptible of being corrupted into the form found in no. 89, but also Citrabhānu is in the *Amarakoṣa*, Svargavarga, k. 51, as an Agni name, translated *sna tshogs 'od zer*, which is nowhere in the *Abhidhānaśāstra* list of Tibetan names. Besides, the name Citrabhānu cannot otherwise be identified with a Tibetan name in this list.

Granted that the number 108 is used for names of other deities in the India tradition. As to how it would be subdivided, there is a suggestion that here it is four times 27, because the set of three Skt. *pitta*, are nos. 25—27; these are the *pitta* in water in general; the *pitta* in drinking water; and the *pitta* in streams.[8] This enables me also to evaluate the remark in Cordier's catalogue: he says that the *Amarakoṣa* is the principal source of vocabulary for the *Abhidhānaśāstra*.[9] In fact, the *Amarakoṣa* accounts for slightly over 1/4th the 108 names, spread over the first half of the names. As a conclusion of my study of the list, I suppose that the *Amarakoṣa* and its *Śeṣa* works (of which there may have been several available) were responsible for the first two 27's. I suppose the third and the fourth 27's were compiled just from *Śeṣa* and *Uṇādi-sutra* works. This observation can serve as a corrective to Cordier's remark.

The few cases where the translator simply transcribed the Sanskrit name indicate some difficulty of interpretation. Nos. 89 and 90 were discussed above. Besides, no. 9 reflects the celebrated Agni name Vaiśvānara. No. 32, *pa rba ri ka*, was for the Sanskrit Parparīka found in the *Śeṣa* to the *Amarakoṣa* as well as in the *Śeṣa* to Hemacandra's lexicon; it appears to be a name for the solar fire. Of more interest is no. 95, *pra dā ku*, which reflects the corrupt Sanskrit form Pṛdāku, which is not a name of Agni. The corrupt form occurs in the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* and in the Hemacandra-*Śeṣa*. However, the commentator on the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* mentions the correct form as Sṛdāku, and this correct form is found in the *Uṇādi-sūtra*, iii, 78, where, among other explanations, it is given as a name of

[8] As I wrote in the Introduction to the English translation by Dr. Ram Karan Sharma and Vaidya Bhagavan Dash of the *Carakasaṃhitā* with Cakrapāṇi Datta's commentary (Varanasi, 1971): "I believe that the translators are quite justified in leaving untranslated certain terms, notably the triad of vāta, pitta, and kapha . . ." Cf. also Vd. Bhagavan Dash, *Concept of Agni in Āyurveda* (Varanasi, 1971), pp. 21, ff. for the fire-like character of *pitta*, which when produced by the liver is called 'bile'. But in the three Agni names here *pitta* of course cannot be rendered 'bile' since the word is employed in a generalized sense.

[9] Cordier, *Catalogue*, Troisième, p. 510.

Agni. It appears that the *Uṇādi-sūtra* is the source of this name for later lexicons. As a fire, this appears to be the one rapidly spread by wind.

The foregoing should show, even though this paper is restricted to the Agni names, that the *Abhidhānaśāstra* is a remarkably rich work, but also requires much carefulness in its utilization. The translators were obviously beset with numerous problems, and the Tibetan translation is a precious repository of language.

The chief difficulty of the Tibetan list is the various identical or near identical pairs allowed by the translator, although reflecting different Sanskrit originals. Thus, there is the pair no. 10 and 72, *'bar byed*, where the first is definitely the Sanskrit Jvalana, and the second possibly Samidha. There is the pair no. 12 and 50, *byin za*, where the first is the important name Vītihotra, and the second probably Havir-bhuj. No. 59 and 104 are both *za byed*; here are feasibly the two Agni names, Ghāsi ('voracious') and Aśira ('consumer'), in whatever order. Finally, no. 80 and 87 are both *'od byed*; one reflects Vibhā-kara, the other Prabhā-kara. This pair goes with the only Sanskrit words with last member *-kara*, although *byed* is the standard Tibetan translation and *byed* is frequent among the Tibetan names of the list. For the near identical pairs, it is difficult to discriminate between 35. *sel ba* and 51. *sel byed*; as possible solutions I found Dhvaṃsī for one, and for the other Sṛṇīka (from verb *sṛ-* with suggestion of *srj-*). And it is hard likewise with 68. *mun pa sel* and 76. *mun pa 'joms*, for which I assign Tamohan and Tamoghna.

Finally, there are some cases where the solutions are reasonably Agni names in Sanskrit although not admitted as such in the Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary. Thus, no. 49, *sgrol byed* is probably Tāra. No. 52, *khri can* ('having a seat') is probably Pīṭhaka; notice in Hemacandra-*Śeṣa* the corrupt form Pītha. 62. *'od kyi tog* fits Skt. Dīptiketu perfectly. No. 65. *za ba po* should be Bhakṣaka; but the Monier-Williams dictionary does mention 'heat' for this. No. 77. *bu gar 'gro* should be Bilaṃ-gama, identified in dictionary only for 'snake'. No. 100. *nor skyes* should be Dhanajāta.

Since my aim is to show that the list represents 108 different Sanskrit names of the 'fire god', the fact that some of the identifications are only feasible is still a success of this aim. If, as is hoped, the original Sanskrit for Dpal-'dsin-sde's comprehensive lexicon is recovered and properly edited; and in addition covers this 'fire' list, I could predict that it would improve especially my solutions for the identical or near identical pairs, and the final cases of Agni names not admitted as such in the dictionary.

In the following list, I shall indicate the thirty-one cases of *Amarakoṣa* words by AK, the fifteen cases of *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* words by TS, five further ones from Hemacandra by H, four further ones from Hemacandra-*Śeṣa* by HS, a total of fifty-five from these sources. My English translation takes into account both the Tibetan and its Sanskrit identifications.

The 108 names of 'fire' from the Abhidhānaśāstra

AK 1. 'khyog 'gro cuṅ med (= Agni, master of the S. E. direction)
2. rgyun med (= Anala), 'continuous'.
3. gtsaṅ byed (= Pāvaka), 'purifying' (the fire on earth).[10]
AK 4. rten za (*Āśrayāśa*), 'feeding on the basis'.
5. rab mchod ldan (prob. = Narā-śaṃsa), 'who has the praise (of men)'.[11]
AK 6. rluṅ gi grogs po (Vāyusakha; also, Marut-sakha), 'friend of the wind'.
7. phud can (Agri; or possibly Agreṇī, masc.), 'foremost one'.
AK 8. śiṅ 'phel (Barhi or Varhi), 'promoting the trees' (the fire in the middle region).[12]
AK 9. bi-śva-nare'i bu (Vaiśvānara), 'offspring of the sun'.
AK 10. 'bar byed (= 'bar ba can, Jvalana), 'blazing'.
AK 11. dag byed (Śuci), 'cleansing' (the fire in the sky).[13]
AK 12. byin za (Vītihotra), 'invited for a feast'.
AK 13. sreg za (Hutabhuj), 'oblation-eater'.
AK 14. nor rgyal (Dhanañjaya), 'winning wealth'.
AK 15. 'od nor can (Vibhāvasu), 'whose wealth is light'.
AK 16. 'od chen (Bṛhad-bhānu), 'shining brightly'.
AK 17. rta dmar (Rohitāśva), 'whose horses are red'.
AK 18. rig byed skyes (Jātavedas), 'who knows the births' [alternate tr. in AK].
HS 19. 'od bkra (possibly Pṛṣṇi, Un, IV, 52), 'variegated light ray' [HS has the corrupt form Pṛṣṭa].
AK 20. chu yi skye gnas (Kṛpītayoni), 'born in water'.
AK 21. sreg byed (Dahana), 'burning'.
22. draṅ sroṅ me'i bu [Ārṣeya), 'descendent of the ṛṣi-fire'.
23. mtshun za (Havyabhuj), 'oblation-eater'.
AK 24. mtshun gyi thob byed (Havyavāhana), 'oblation-bearer'.[14]
AK 25. chu mkhris (Appittam), '*pitta* in water (generally)'.
26. chab mkhris (Jalapitta), '*pitta* in drinking water'.
27. chu rnams mkhris (Apāṃpitta), '*pitta* in streams'.
28. gsal byed (possibly Jyotis), 'illuminating' (the fire on earth).
29. sbyin sreg (possibly Homi), 'burning the oblation'.
30. dga' ba (Āpra), 'being an Āprī' (12 forms of Agni).
AK 31. rñed za (Vahni), 'who consumes by drawing to itself'.
TS 32. pa-rba-ri-ka (Parparīka) (name of the solar fire).
33. 'dor byed (possibly Utsarjana), 'donation'.
34. nor bu (probably Nidhi), 'treasure'.
35. sel ba (possibly Dhvaṃsī), 'dispelling'.
AK 36. gser gyi khu ba (Hiraṇyaretā), 'golden semen'.
AK 37. 'od bdun pa (Saptārci), 'seven rays'.

[10] Cf. Deo Prakash Patanjal Shastri, *A Critical Study of Rigveda* (*I. 137—163*) (Patanjal Publications, New Delhi, 1963), p. 166.

[11] Patanjal Shastri, *A Critical Study*, p. 166: the *nara* are the Wind Gods (Marut).

[12] Patanjal Shastri, *A Critical Study*, p. 167: the gods in the intermediate space help Agni perform the water-making sacrifice.

[13] Patanjal Shastri, *A Critical Study*, p. 166.

[14] This name goes back to a celebrated Vedic hymn, *Ṛg-Veda*, X, 52 (The Gods Install Agni as Oblation Bearer); and in X, 52, 3: *devāḥ dahire havyavāham* ("The gods have appointed him the bearer of the offering").

AK 38. lam nag (Kṛṣṇavartmā), '(who leaves a) black path'.
AK 39. lus mi skyoṅ ba (Tanūnapāt), 'son of himself' [Tib. mistranslates 'who does not guard the body'].
AK 40. rtsva zan (Āśuśuṣkaṇi), 'who eats the grass', or 'who quickly dries up'.
AK 41. skems byed (Śuṣmā), 'who dessicates'.
42. sbyin byed [= sbyin sreg byed] (Juhūvat), 'tongued'.[15]
43. sbyin sreg za (probably Hutāśana), 'oblation eater'.
AK 44. sṅa dro sad (Uṣarbudha), 'who awakens at dawn'.
AK 45. źi byed (Damunāḥ), 'pacifying'.
AK 46. mya ṅan (byed) (Śukra), 'morbidly affecting' (the eyes).
AK 47. 'bar ba'i skra (Śociṣkeśa), 'his hair on fire'.
TS 48. 'phrog byed (Graha), 'who seizes'.
49. sgroi byed (should be Tāra, but not identified as Agni in dictionaries), 'who brings across (to liberation)'.
50. byin za (probably Havir-bhuj), 'who devours the oblation'.
51. sel byed (possibly Sṛṇīka, from *sṛ-* with suggestion of *sṛj-*), 'dispeller'.
HS 52. khri can (probably Pīṭhaka; notice HS corruption Pītha), 'having a seat'.
H 53. gñid sad (Jāgṛvi), 'awake'.
54. grub pa (possibly Karka, Uṇ, iii, 40), 'useful,' hence 'doing the job'.
55. sgrub pa la źon (probably Ghṛtapṛṣṭha), 'having his back to the working principle' (i.e. to ghee).
HS 56. slu byed (Vañcati), 'deceptive'.
57. 'gro byed (Jaganu or Jagannu), 'who makes live'.
H 58. maṅ po 'dsin (Bahula), 'abundant' (i.e. multiplying).
TS 59. za byed (possibly Ghāsi), 'voracious'.
60. 'bar ba'i lce ldan (Jvālā-jihva), 'whose tongue is ablaze'.
TS 61. sna tshogs za (viśva-psā), 'who eats anything'.
62 'od kyi tog (possibly Dīptiketu, but not identified with Agni), 'tip of flame'.
TS 63. kun za (Sarvabhuj), 'who eats everything'.
TS 64. lce bdun (Saptajihva), 'having seven tongues'.
65. za ba po (probably Bhakṣaka; Mon-Will mentions 'heat'), 'the eater'.
66. za phod (Ghasmara), 'voracious' (i.e. eager for food).[16]
67. nag 'phro (Kṛṣṇārcis), 'dark-flamed' (i.e. through smoke).
68. mun pa sel (Tamohan), 'darkness-dispelling'.
TS 69. sṅags bdun (Sapta-mantra), 'having seven incantations'.
TS 70. mar ldan (Ghṛta), 'given butter'.
TS 71. gser ldan (Svarṇa), 'golden'.
TS 72. 'bar byed (possibly Samidha), 'fueled'.
73. rgyal byed (probably Rājanya), 'Kṣatriya'.
TS 74. 'tshol byed (Iṣi; possibly also Uśij, Uṇ. ii, 71), 'seeking'.
AK 75. gtsug phud can (Śikhāvān), 'having a crest'.
H 76. mun pa 'joms (Tamoghna), 'defeating darkness'.
77. bu gar 'gro (probably Bilaṃ-gama; but dictionary says 'snake'), 'entering hole'.
78. lta la rdeg (probably Dhṛṣṇu), 'strikingly bold'.

[15] Cf. *Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit*, by Tshe-riṅ Dbaṅ-rgyal, published by J. Bacot (Paris, 1930), under the entry for *sbyin sreg byed*.

[16] The Sakaki edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti* has at no. 2203 for Ghasmaraḥ the Tibetan Lto-che-ba 'am za-phad-pa (*sic.*), while the Csoma de Kőrös *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 305, gives only Lto-che-ba. The form *za phod pa* is evidently correct.

79. kha ba'i sgra (possibly Mukhāgni, fire put into the mouth of a corpse), (Tib.:) 'mouth-sound'.
80. 'od byed (Vibhā-kara), 'light-making'.
81. 'od kyi siṅ rta (Jyotī-rathā), 'chariot of light'
82. du ba'i tog (Dhumaketu), 'smoky tip'.
83. bźon pa dkar po (Śubhra-yāvan), 'going in a white chariot'.

TS 84. gnas byed (Avasita, from ava-*so*-), 'brought to his abode'.
85. skyed byed (probably Māruta), 'promoted' (i.e. by wind, Marut).
86. graṅ ba sel (Himā-rati), 'enemy of cold'
87. 'od byed (Prabhā-kara), 'light-making).
88. rnam gsal byed (Vaidyuta), 'proceeding from lightning'.

AK 89. tsi-tra-tīṃda (Citrabhānu), 'of variegated lustre'.

HS 90. ku-ṣa-ku (Kuṣāku), 'scorching'.
91. char pa g'yo (possibly Vṛṣṇi, as a form of rain, vṛṣṭi), 'who comes in the rain'.[17]
92. sbyin sreg lag (probably Hotracamasa), 'Agni's hand' (i.e. ladle of the fire offering).
93. ser po (Piṅgeśa), 'the yellow lord'.
94. sbyor byed (Yojaka), 'nuptial fire'.

TS 95. pra-dā-ku (Sṛdāku), 'forest conflagration'.
96. gcod byed (Chidira), 'cutting through'.

H 97. snaṅ byed (Virocana), 'shining'.
98. snun pa 'dsin (Tigma-bhṛṣṭi), 'sharp-pointed'.
99. gser 'bar (Hema-jvāla), 'golden blaze'.
100. nor skyes (probably Dhanajāta; but not for Agni in dictionary), 'born from wealth'.
101. rdo las skyes (Aśmanaḥ), 'born from stones'.
102. 'gro 'dsin (probably Mārutātmaja), 'son of the wind'.[18]
103. mun gnas (probably Dhāma-cchad), 'hiding his abode'.

TS 104. za byed (possibly Aśira), 'consumer'.
105. dkar las (Sviṣṭakṛt), 'maker of good offerings'.
106. gźan 'gro (Añcati), 'turning to the other'.
107. gyen me lce (Ucchikha), 'haing the flame pointed upwards'.

H 108. źi bar gnas pa (probably Śami-garbha), 'born in the śami'.

Appendix: The Fire God's Consort

Without trying to work out the list of Agni's consort in the foregoing sense of Agni's 108 names, a few remarks should be of interest; and for the purpose I abbreviate Dpal-'dsin-sde's *Abhidhānaśāstra* (accessible in Tibetan) as AS, the *Amarakoṣa* (accessible in Sanskrit-Tibetan) as AK, and the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (accessible in Sanskrit) as TS. The TS, p. 13, names three female consorts of Agni (Agni-yoṣit): Svāhā, Agnāyī, and Dahanapriyā. Of these three, only Dahanapriyā is clearly in AS, Tib. *me'i dga' ma*. My study of these three suggests the remarkable conclusion that they amount to three 'female fires' going with the Trimūrti, the three forms of deity called Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

[17] Cf. A. A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology* (Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1963), p. 94.

[18] Cf. *Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit*, entry for *'gro 'dsin*, with a Sanskrit corruption that begins with *Māru*. Evidently the translators of our lexicon were faced with a manuscript corruption which they interpreted as "being assisted in going (elsewhere)" (*'gro 'dsin*), which agrees with "son of the wind".

Svāhā: Sahai's article on Agni iconography cites the *Viṣṇudharmottara* description of Agni where he has his consort Svāhā on his left lap (or thigh);[19] and this agrees with the name in AS, *brla skyes* ('born from the thigh'). Sahai also points out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents Kārttikeya—the general of the gods—as the son of Agni from Gaṅgā; while the *Mahābhārata* represents this general as the son of Agni from Svāhā.[20] Indeed, the AS name Tib. *gzugs maṅ ma* (S. *Bahurūpinī, 'multiformed') agrees with a chapter in Sivaramamurti's book on Gaṅgā, "Gaṅgā's Many Forms".[21] Such names represent Svāhā as a 'mother', hence going with the creative lord Brahmā.

Agnāyī: This form of the goddess presumably goes with the preservative lord Viṣṇu. The AS list begins with *chags sdig can* ('sinful fire of lust'). But AK's term Vahnidvaya, Tib. *lha mchod gñis po*, the sexual fire of the two (= the pair of sex organs)[22] considered as deity worship, or a sacrament, is not to be counted as sinful.[23] And this is symbolized (also in AK) by Kīla, Tib. *yal me* ('lambent, or flickering, flame'). Presumably here is also the AS *mar me ma* ('lady of the lamp'), probably S. *dīpikā*, suggesting the votive lamp used to adorn the sanctuary; and represented in more modern times by a graceful female holding a lamp, called "Deepa Lakshmi".[24] This votive fire must be kept up, i.e. preserved.

Dahanapriyā: Dahana as a name of Agni stands for the destructive fire. This presumably covers the dreaded submarine fire, even though AK gives the words by masculine nouns, thus Aurvas, Tib. *braṅ skyes* ('born from the chest'); Vāḍava, Tib. *rgod ma skyes* ('born from the mare'); Vaḍavānala, Tib. *ma rta'i me* ('mare's fire'); while AS has *rgod ma kha* (S. *Vaḍavā-mukha, 'mouth of the mare'). Thus the name Dahanapriyā ('beloved of Dahana') suggests the consort of the deity of destruction, in the Trimūrti called Śiva, who has the old Vedic name Rudra.

Accordingly, we can accept the suggestion of TS that the three goddesses so named, Svāhā, Agnāyī, and Dahanapriyā, are distinct deities. And further conclude that they are the goddess counterparts of the Trimūrti, but in the sense of goddess fires. On this account, it is well to mention the distinct likelihood that these three goddesses have descended from a Vedic triad of goddess fires called Sarasvatī, Iḍā, and Bhāratī. In the old literature these three were associated with three realms—Bhāratī, sky; Sarasvatī, intermediate space; and Iḍā, earth.[25] However, while the three goddesses Svāhā, Agnāyī, and Dahanapriyā may have descended respectively from the ancient triad Sarasvatī, Iḍā, and Bhāratī, they no longer appear to have the three-world respective associations of the Vedic triad.

[19] Bhagwant Sahai, "Agni in North Indian Art," *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LIII, Jan.—Dec., 1967, p. 144.

[20] Sahai, "Agni . . .," p. 149.

[21] C. Sivaramamurti, *Gaṅgā* (Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1976), pp. 35—42.

[22] The *Amarakoṣa* commentary by Liṅgayasurin, the *Vivṛti* (ed. by A. A. Ramanathan, *Amarakoṣa* [I] *With the* [two] *Unpublished South Indian Commentaries*, The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 1971), p. 40, comments on the 'two' (*dvaya*) as 'female' (*strī*), 'male' (*puṃs*), and unaccountably adds 'eunuch' (*na-puṃsaka*) which would make a third. The *Amara-ṭīkā-kāmadhenuḥ* (n. 4, above), paragraph 52, clarifies that the 'two' means the male and female sex organs.

[23] Cf. the procreation ceremonies in *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 4, 1—28.

[24] See the lovely booklet *Lamps of India*, by D. G. Kelkar (Publications Division, Govt. of India, 1961) for illustrations of the "Deepa Lakshmi" lamps.

[25] Cf. Shyam Kishore Lal, *Female Divinities in Hindu Mythology and Ritual* (University of Poona, 1980), p. 39.

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THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION OF *DE-NYID*

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In the Tibetan language there exist seven particles known as *La-don rnam pa bdun*. It is the practice of Tibetan grammarians to classify the functions of these particles along the lines of the eight cases in Sanskrit, but strictly speaking this is incorrect. This is because the complementary particles closely linked to the functions of the verb, and usages such as the locative and dative, which are not directly linked to the functions of the verb itself, belong to separate grammatical categories.

Las, i.e. verbal complement, as described in the *Sum-cu-pa*, the grammatical treatese ascribed to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, must include part of the functions of *ched* i.e. the dative, and of *rten-gnas*, i.e. the locative. Therefore, having clarified separately the usages of *ched* and *rten-gnas*, unrelated to the functions of the verb, togather with the locative of time (*tshe-skabs*), one must realize that there exists *de-nyid*, with functions quite different from either of these two varieties of *la*-particles, in accordance with J. Bacot's precise interpretation.[1]

The meaning of *de-nyid* is not specified in the *Sum-cu-pa*,[2] and as a result the examples given of *de-nyid* show signs of considerable confusion. For example, in the *sMra-ba'i sgo*, *Gate of Speech*, said to have been composed in the tenth century, it is stated simply[3] that, ⟨*de-nyid* differ (in function from *la*)⟩,

[1] J. Bacot: *Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa avec leurs commentaires*, Paris 1928. cf. pp. 12, 17, 19, 21. Bacot notes: Dans le *de nyid* lui-même, que nous appelons déterminatif, toute l'action, verbe et complément, n'est en réalité qu'une seule idée, traduite généralement par un seul verbe dans une autre langue plus évoluée que le tibétain, ou par un seul monosyllabe en chinois. C'est pourquoi dans le *de nyid* le verbe et le prédicat ne sont pas indépendants l'un de l'autre. L'un et l'autre sont le même: *de nyid*. Quand verbe et prédicat reprennent leur existance indépendante, ils reprennent également leur sens propre différent de celui qu'avait leur combinaison (op. cit., p. 17, n. 1.)

[2] — — — las dang ched dang rten gnas dang / *de nyid* tshe skabs *la sgra* yin / (*Sum-cu-pa*) du la sogs pa la dang mthun // *de nyid* dag ni lhag pa yin // de bzhin lhag bcas la (/ dag [No. 5785]) la'o (bsTan-'gyur, P. Ed., Vol. 140, No. 5784, f. 277b$^{7-8}$, No 5785, f. 299a^{8}—b^{1}. Cf. Note 7).

and the commentary[4] gives examples which are not in fact examples of *de-nyid* This would suggest that *de-nyid* is prone to misunderstanding.

In the present paper, I wish to move forward in time to the eighteenth century and, with the help of the rules laid down in the *mKhas-pa'i mgul-rgyan, Scholars Necklace*[5] by Si-tu Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas, famous as a commentator of the *Sum-cu-pa*, I would like to correct the explanations and examples given by Tibetan grammarians in recent years in connection with *de-nyid.*

But first let me explain one or two terms I shall use. When the "subject of a deed (doer)" (*byed-pa-po*) effectuates the "action" (*bya-ba*) indicated by the verb on a particular "object of the action" (*bya-yul*), the object by which an integral "deed" is brought to completion in coordination with the "action" is known as the "object of the deed" (*las-su bya-ba*). This latter is also known simply as *las*, and is indicated by an accompanying *la*-particle. In this paper I shall refer to *las* as the "object of the deed" and distinguish it from *las-su bya-ba*, which for the sake of convenience, shall be referred to as the "verbal complement".[6]

Si-tu follows the *Gate of Speech*[7] in regarding *de-nyid*, here under discussion, as a special form of the "object of the deed", and explains it as follows:[8]

Since (in the case of *de-nyid*) the "object of the deed" is of the nature of (the verb) itself, (the *de-nyid la*-particles) are used with an "object of the

[4] *de nyid* du ston pa ni la'i don las lhag pa te(/ste [Chinese rec. ed.]/ *thog dgu 'phar du phub/ shing mig mangs ris su btang/ dbyibs gru bzhir brtsigs* zhes pa *lta bu la'i don* las lhag par ston pa yin no/ (No. 5785, f. 299b$^{2-3}$).

Smriti Jñānakīrti may cite these examples for showing the general usage of *la-don*, but not that of *de-nyid*, because he did not place *ni-sgra* between *lta bu* and *la'i don*. The first and last are examples of the *la-don* function indicating a state and an appearance of *bya-yul*, which has been wrongly interpreted as the *de-nyid* function by recent grammarians.

[5] Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (gTsug lag chos kyi snang ba, 1699—1774): *Sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i gzhung gi rnam par bshad pa mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan mu tig phreng mdzes*, 1744, sDe dge Ed. 86 fols (Sarat Chandra Das: *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language, with the text of Si-tu'i Sum-rtags*, — — — Darjeeling 1915, 88 pp.)

[6] Bacot does not take *las* as an abbreviated form of *las-su-bya ba*. cf. n. 17.

[7] Dran pa'i ye shes grags pa (Smriti Jñānakīrti: *sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu* (bs Tan'gyur, P. Ed. No. 5784, f. 273b^{8} — f. 278b^{4}), and *sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa* (bsTan 'gyur, P. Ed. No. 5785, f. 278b^{4}—f. 302b^{5}), Chinese text (*rtsa 'grel*), Peking 1980.

[8] rnam dbye gnyis pa'i bye brag, yul gang zhig la bya ba gang zhig byed pa'i tshe/(las kyi don la 'jug pa ni/[Das' text]) *las de kho na nyid* kyi ngo bor gyur pas, *las* dang *bya ba ngo bo gcig pa* yin pa de lta bu'i *las* kyi don la 'jug pa ni/ *mchog gsum la skyabs su shes/ lhar gsal / sra bar byed / brtan par gyur / sgrol ma tshe'i lha ru bsten / 'od du 'tsher / gcig tu gyur / (mang du 'phel / me ru 'bar / chu du dkyil / rlung du 'tshub / gzugs su grub /* [Das' text]) sogs su shes par bya ste / (*mKhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, f. 14b$^{3-4}$; Das' text, p. 13$^{5-8}$. *las kyi don la 'jug pa* ni is wrongly inserted)

deed" where the "object of the deed" and the "action" are of one nature (*ngo-bo gcig-pa*).

This explanation is followed by next examples, mchog gsum la skyabs su shes/ lhar gsal/ sra bar byed/ brtan par gyur/ sgrol ma tshe'i lha ru bsten/ 'od du 'tsher/ gcig tu gyur/ (mang du 'phel/ me ru 'bar/ chu ru dkyil/ rlung du 'tshub/ gzugs su grub'/[Das' text]).

The last five are found only in Sarat Chandra Das' text, and are missing from the sDe-dge Edition. Si-tu then continues his explanation as follows:[9]

In the case of a sentence such as *mchog gsum la skyabs su shes*, speaking generally, *skyabs su shes* is an "action (in compound form)" and *mchog gsum* the "object of that deed"; therefore, that which is indicative of the category "object of the deed" (*las-kyi rnam-dbye*, i.e. a *la*-particle) is attached to the latter. Furthermore, depending upon whether (the nature of) the "object of the deed" and (that of) the "action" are different or not, the object indicated by (the form of) the "verbal complement" is divided into two kinds, the "principal (object)" (*gtso-bo*) and the "other ordinary (object)" (*phal-ba*). The "principal (object)" is (the "verbal complement") itself, and the "other ordinary (object)" or that which is accompanied here by the meaning of *de-nyid* (is as follows). If one divides (by force) such an "action (in compound form)" into the "object of the deed" and the "action", *shes pa* becomes the "action" and *skyabs* becomes the "object of the deed" as the cause to be known; accordingly, a *la*-particle can be used, and this corresponds to *de-nyid*. This means that although *skyabs* and *shes pa* are generally held to be different, in a case such as this, where they are bound together in a single "action", it is said that *shes pa* itself arises in the nature of that which is regarded as *skyabs*. Therefore, one must not (on any account) mistakenly take *shes pa*

[9] 'di nyid rtogs dka' bas cung zad bshad na / *mchog gsum la skyabs su shes* zhes lta bu la / spyir btang / *skyabs su shes* pa ni *bya-ba* / *mchog gsum* ni *bya-ba* de'i *yul* yin pas, de la *lask-yi rnam-dbye* sbyor ba yin mod / bye brag phye na, *las* dang *bya-ba* tha dad mi dad kyi dbang gis *las-kyi rnam -dbye* 'jug pa'i yul *gtso phal* gnyis las *gtso-bo* ni de nyid [= las] dang / *phal-pa* 'am 'dir bstan *de-nyid* kyi don can ni, *bya-ba nyid* la *las* dang *bya-ba* gnyis su dbye ba'i / *shes* pa ni *bya-ba* / *skyabs* ni shes par bya (/bya ba [Das' text]) rgyu'i *las* yin pas, der *la-don gyi rnam-dbye* 'jug pa *de-nyid de* / *skyabs* dang *shes pa* gnyis spyir tha dad yin yang, *bya-ba* gcig la sbyor ba 'di 'dra'i skabs su(/skabs [Das' text]) *shes pa* nyid *skyabs* yin no snyams pa'i ngo bor skyes pa brjod pa yin pas, *shes pa yul-can* dang *skyabs yul* du mi gzung bar / *mchong gsum yul* dang / *skyabs* dang *shes pa* bsdom pa'i tshig *nus, yul can* gyi ngo bo gcig ston pa yin no / / des na *bya las* ngo bo gcig pa'i phyir, *la-don* 'di rigs la gzhung 'dir *de-nyid* kyi sgras bstan cing/ngo bo gcig (pa'i *bya las* [Yamaguchi's add.]) *bya-ba* dngos (/dbya dngos [Das' text]) mi 'byung bas / 'phags yul ba'i brda' sprod pa dag gis *las* kyi *gtso-bo* (/*las* kyis *gtso bo* [Das' text]) ma yin pa'am *phal-pa* zhes zer ro / / *la na* dag ni don 'di 'dra la nam yang 'jug pa ma yin pas / *sMra sgor la na* dag gi 'jug pa 'chad pa'i skabs su 'dir 'jug pa ma bshad pa dang / *du* la sogs pa *la* dang mthun / / *de-nyid* dag ni lhag pa yin (/de dag las ni lhag ma yin [Das' text]) / zhes 'byung ba ni legs par bshad pa'o (*op. cit.*, f. 14b^{4}—f. 15a^{2}; Das' text, p. 13$^{8-16}$).

as "that which has an object" and *skyabs* as an "object", *mchog gsum* is given as the "object (of the deed" [= principal object]), and the (compound) word combining *skyabs* and *shes pa* is given as that in which the "faculty (of the verb)'/ and "that which has an object" (i.e. the verb) are of one nature. Therefore, since it is stated that the "action" (*shes*) and the "object of the deed" (*skyabs*) are of one nature, the text of this *Sum-cu-pa* indicates this kind of function of the *la*-particle with the designation *de-nyid*, and since the concrete action of *shes pa* does not arise in regard to that (i.e. *skyabs*) which is of one nature (with *shes pa*), the Indian grammarian such as Smriti Jñānakīrti has also (distinguished this function and) referred to it as ⟨that which is not the "principal (object)" indicative of the "object of the deed"⟩ or as the "other ordinary (object)." Since the two particles *la* and *na* are never used in such cases, this usage was not set forth in the *Gate of Speech* when explaining the usages of these two particles *la* and *na*, and it is stated that, ⟨although *du*, etc. resemble *la*, *de-nyid*, etc. have a function going beyond (*lhag-pa*) them⟩. This is well expressed.

The purport of the above passage may be summarized as follows: the particles possessing the function of *de-nyid* are distinguished from the general functions of the *la*-particles indicating a "verbal complement" and others, they are used only with compound verbs or verbs treated similarly: and *la* and *na* are not employed in this manner.

However, if one examines the examples given by Si-tu, one finds that the majority run counter to his own stipulations. For example, in the examples *brtan par gyur* and *gcig tu gyur*, *brtan pa* and *gcig* are nothing other than the "principal" of the "object of the deed" for the verb *gyur* and its subject, though the verb is an intransitive.[10]

Again, in the case of *sgrol ma tshe'i lha ru bsten*, *tshe'i lha* indicates a characteristic of *sgrol-ma*, and is here placed in apposition with the former. *Bsten* is an intransitive verb deriving from the passive form of the transitive verb *sten*, and needs always a "verbal complement." Therefore, *tshe'i lha ru* cannot be regarded as an example of *de-nyid*.

The examples which Si-tu gives when criticizing the views of others and which he himself recognizes as examples of *de-nyid*[11] — e.g. *rgya gar du shes*,

[10] Bacot recognizes *mthar phyin par* (*pa ru*) *gyur* as an example of *de-nyid*, according to the explanation of the *Sum rtags gzhang 'chang legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba*, *op. cit.* (cf. Note 1) p. 19. But. "'*gyur*" always needs a *las-su-bya-ba* which indicates the result to arrive at by "'*gyur*" pa.

[11] 'dod pa lnga pa de'ang rigs pa ma yin te / khyed nyid kyis bkod pa'i 'di thad dper brjod du, *rgya gar du shes / stod du rig / 'og min du shes / dpal du 'dug /* ces 'byung ba rnams kyi *la-sgra* ni *las* dang *bya-ba* ngo bo gcig pa'i *las-kyi rnam-dbye* yin pas, nged 'dod pa'i *de-nyid* kyi dper rigs kyang, khyed rang gi zhen don du mi 'gyur te de dag nges gzung gi sgra ma yin pa'i phyir dang / (op. cit., f. 18a[6]—b[1]; Das' text, p. 16[17-20])

stod du rig and *'og min du shes* — are also obviously inappropriate as examples of *de-nyid*. The verbs *shes* and *rig* used in these examples may either take only an "object of the action" or in cases where the characteristics, contents, state, type, etc. of the "object of the action" are indicated, they may require an "object of the deed" i. e. a "verbal complement". Although it is the same *shes* and *rig* that are being used in these two cases, they must be dealt with as verbs with mutually different grammatical characteristics.[12]

In the case of such "objects of the action", their characteristics, state, contents, type, etc. are shown in fact in the form of a "verbal complement". However, in grammatical works written by Tibetan in recent times[13] it has become quite normal to find such usage being treated not as an "object of the deed" but as example of *de-nyid*. In order to show the fallaciousness of such views, let us examine the explanation given in one such work. The work in question is a recent work entitled *Bod kyi brda sprod rig pa'i khrid rab gsal me long*,[14] and the rules governing the usage of *de-nyid* are laid down as follows:[15]

Its (*de-nyid*'s) meaning is rather difficult to comprehend, so let us explain it with a readily understandable example. The sentence ⟨rgya yig gi yig cha rnams bod yig tu bsgyur⟩ may be analyzed as follows: *bsgyur* is an "action" such as when the "object of the action" and "subject of the deed" are different (i.e. it is a transitive verb); and although after the "translator" has transferred the "work to be translated" i.e. a Sanskrit passage, into the "object as foundation to be translated and transferred" i.e. Tibetan, the "original" and "that into which it has been transferred" do not have the same form, their nature is in this case considered to be one.[16]

As is clear from this explanation, that which is regarded here as being "of one nature" is the "object of the action" (*bya-yul*) and the "object of the

[12] khong gis *gang shes pa* de bshad / khong gis *rgyal rigs mi'i rigs kyi mchog* tu shes / *stong pa nyid* mig gis dngos su rig go / *chos thams cad bdag med* du rig / (cf. ibid.)

[13] dMu dge bsam gtan: *Bod kyi yi ge'i spyi rnam blo gsal 'jug ngogs*, Cheng-tu 1979. dMu dge bsam gtan: *brDa' sprod blo gsal dga' ston*, Lan-chou 1980.

[14] skal bzang 'gyur med: *Bod kyi brda' sprod rig pa'i khrid rgyun rab gsal me long* Chen-tu 1981.

[15] de don cung zad go dka' bas dper brjod go bde dang sbrag nas bkral na / ⟨rgya yig gi yig cha rnams bod yig tu bsgyur⟩ zhes par cha mtshon na / ⟨bsgyur ni bya byed⟩ the dad pa'i bya ba yin zhing / sgyur ba pos bsgyur bya'i las ⟨rgya yig⟩ de bsgyur gzhi'i yul ⟨bod yig⟩ gi thog tu phab nas, de gnyis *ma gzhi* rnam pa mi 'dra yang, skabs 'dir ngo bo gcig tu mthong ba 'am *byed las kyi 'bras bur mngon pa'i go ba chags pa ni la don gyi sgra sbyar yod pa'i rkyen* gyis red / (*op. cit.*, p. 68).

[16] "bsgyur" is the transitive form corresponding to "'gyur", of which we have observed an example in Note 10. "bod yig" is nothing other than the result to be produced by "bsgyur pa" and should be indicated as a *las-su bya-ba*.

deed" (*las*),[17] and not, as was stipulated by Si-tu, the "action" and the "object of the deed". In other words, the contents of the concept *de-nyid* as laid down by Si-tu, have been substituted for something quite different.

Furthermore, the example given here deviates even from the examples of the function of the *la*-particles, mistakenly given by Si-tu, indicating characteristics, contents, state, type, etc. The author of this grammatical work has, as is common in the case of Tibetan grammarians, confused the verb's grammatical function with its meaning. Considered grammatically, the phrase "*bod yig*" in the above example does not indicate the characteristics, contents, etc. of "*rgya yig,*" rather, as the author himself states at the end of his explanation, it quite clearly indicates the "object of the deed"[18] of the verb *bsgyur*. Therefore, on no account can the two be regarded as being of the same nature. Even if through a careful consideration of the meaning of *bsgyur* one came to the conclusion that the relationship between "that which is translated" and "that into which it has been translated and transferred" be of one nature, that would bring one no closer to proving their single nature in a grammatical sense.

Thus, as a result of Si-tu's misunderstanding having been further magnified in recent times, the rule that *la* and *na* may not be used in the sense of *de-nyid* is also being violated. Really, even if one were to chang the above sentence to *bod yig la bsgyur*, the result would still be quite acceptable. This explains only the inadequacy of the above sentence for an example of *de-nyid*.

Examples of the correct usage of *de-nyid*[19] are found in compound verbs created to express special meanings, such as the examples *skyabs su shes, lhar gsal,* given by Si-tu, and *longs su spyod, lag tu len, nyams su len, khong du chud,* may be regarded as further examples, for if the *de-nyid* in these sentences is interpreted as the "object of the deed", the meaning changes completely.

Apart from such examples, there is also the form in which the conceptual contents of the verb are delimited by extracting part of the inherent meaning of the verb and placing it before the verb. The examples found in Das' edition of Si-tu's *Commentary*, e.g. *'od du 'tsher, mang du 'phel* and *me ru 'bar*, may be

[17] Bacot commits the same error. *op. cit.* (cf. Note 1) p. 21, n. 1. He explains his strange theory of ⟨two voices in the same form⟩ in justification of an erroneous assertion ⟨*bya-yul dang bya-ba dngos-po gcig* yin.⟩ However, *las* does not mean *karman*, accusative as in Sanskrit, but it is nothing other than an abbreviated form of *las-su bya-na*, as we have just observed such an usage of *las* in Si-tu's text (cf. Note 9).

[18] The author inadvertently reveals his mistaken views in the last passage (see Note 15) which explains this *la-don* for *las-su bya-ba* itself.

[19] 1. skyabs su shes, skyabs su 'gro, skyabs su mchi, longs su spyod, lag tu len, dbyangs su len, khong du chud.

2. 'od du 'tsher, mang du 'phel, me ru 'bar, nyams su smyong, gos su gyon, zur du dgar, mdor bsdu.

3. chu du dkyil, rlung du 'tshub, mgur du 'then, lam du 'gro.

regarded as examples of this usage; and further examples such as *nyams su myong*, *gos su gyon* and *zur du dgar* may also be given.

In addition, *chu du dkyil* and *rlung du 'tshub* also examples found only in Das' edition, may also be regarded as examples of *de-nyid*, since they indicate subject matter "one in nature" with the "action" of the verbs "to swirl" and "to rage".

There are some Japanese scholars who, taking special note of the second groupe of the above examples, suggest that *de-nyid* corresponds to the cognate accusative. However, this explanation is unacceptable, for the cognate accusative is found rather in examples such as *'bul ba phul* and *chos gos gyon*; in addition, this explanation is not valid for the first and third groups of examples.

In brief, we may define the function of *de-nyid* as a delimitation of the conceptual contents of the verb itself by use of the la-particles.[20]

[20] Bacot notes «Le déterminatif correspond encore à nos adverbe de manière», and cites an example: *mi la gnod par byed*. We have seen the same kind of example *sra bar byed* in Si-tu's text. However, if we accept their assertion, all the adverbs which are composed with *la-don* should be classified apart from the other adverbs. Moreover, there we find no different meaning when we don't take them as a *compound verb*. In my opinion, the *la*-particles in adverbs indicate the "*rten-gnas*" of circumstances.

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UN VOCABULAIRE SINO-MONGOL DES YUAN LE *TCHE-YUAN YI-YU*

DÉCHIFFRÉ
PAR

LOUIS LIGETI

ÉDITÉ
PAR

G. KARA

Ce qui suit ici est le déchiffrement du vocabulaire sino-mongol qui fut, selon son titre *Tche-yuan yi-yu*, compilé pendant le règne (1264—1294) de l'empereur Qubilaï des Yuan. Il est connu en plusieurs version plus au moins tardives qui contiennent de nombreuses erreurs de copiste dans la transcription chinoise des mots mongols et dans les caractères des définitions chinoises. Le présent déchiffrement fut executé par le Professeur Louis Ligeti (1902—1987) comme partie d'un livre ou d'une série d'études à rédiger sur les vocabulaires sino-mongols, le *Tche-yuan yi-yu*, le *Houa-yi yi-yu*, sur ses variantes avec le *Ta-tan-kouan tsa tseu* et les suppléments, ainsi que sur le *Ta-tan-kouan yi-yu*, le *Yi-yu*, le *Pei-leou yi-yu*, le *Wou-pei-tche*, le *Lou-long sai-lio*, le matériel mongol du *Pa-hong yi-che* (et du *Yi-che ki-yu*) et des spécimens de gloses sino-mongoles recueillies dans les textes chinois.

Dans ses publications, il a souvent cité les données mongoles du *Tche-yuan yi-yu*, voir, par exemple, « Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise »: Acta Orient. Hung. I (1950—1951), p. 168 (note 2), « Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul »: Acta Orient. Hung. XIV (1962), pp. 3—99, passim, ou « Le lexique mongol de Kirakos de Gandzak »: Acta Orient. Hung. XVIII (1965), pp. 241—297, passim. Il a utilisé l'ouvrage de Mikinosuke Ishida contenant le texte de ce monument important du moyen mongol (Tôyô-gaku sôhen, vol. I, 1934, pp. 1—26), mais il a également établi son propre système pour la reconstruction phonétique des vocables mongols.

Selon une lettre datée du 20 février 1969 et lui adressée par K. B. Gardner, conservateur du Département des livres et manuscrits orientaux du British Museum, Londres, L. Ligeti avait demandé si le B. M. possédait une édition de l'encyclopédie chinoise *Che-lin kouang-ki* dont le recueil *keng*, chapitre X contenait le vocabulaire en question. Gardner a constaté que son département ne possédait aucune version de cet encyclopédie, mais que certains catalogues japonais en indiquaient plusieurs éditions imprimées qui étaient conservées à Kyôto (l'édition japonaise de 1699, dans la collection de l'Institut des Recherches Anthropologiques, Jimbun-kagaku Kenkyûjô) et à Tôkyô (une édition des Yuan, à la Bibliothèque du Cabinet, Naikaku Bunko,

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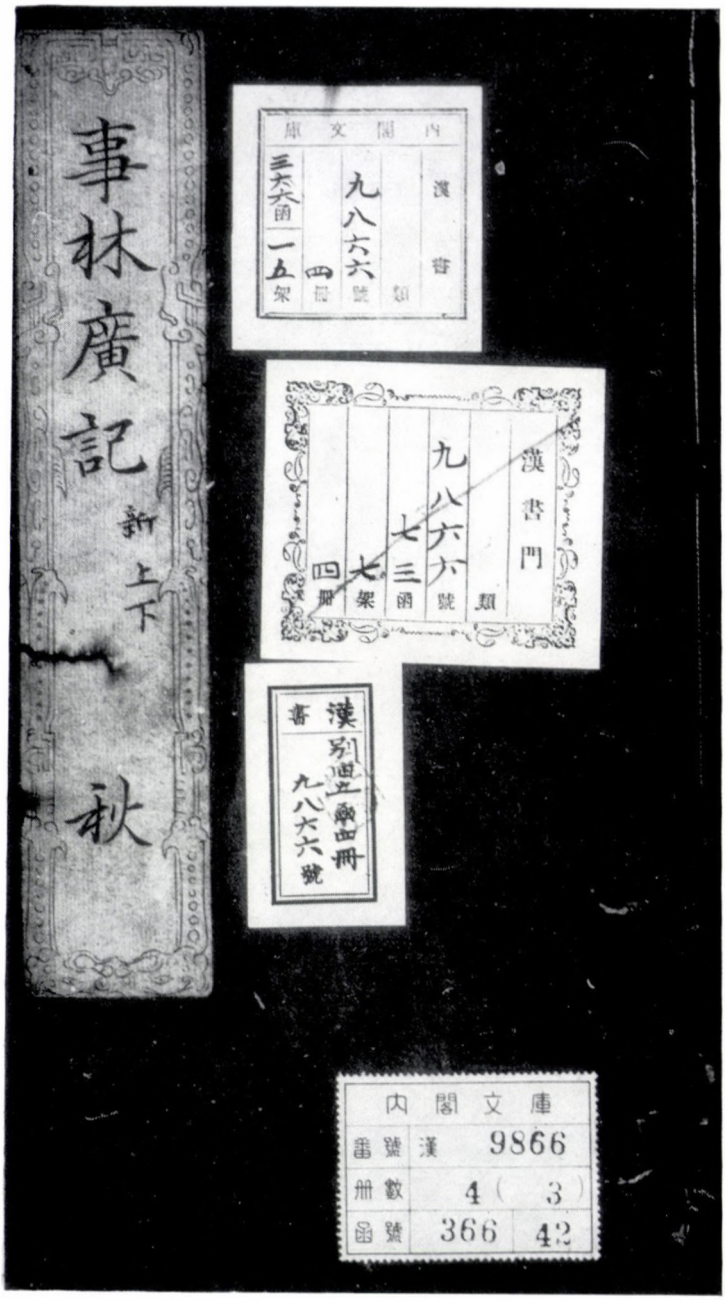
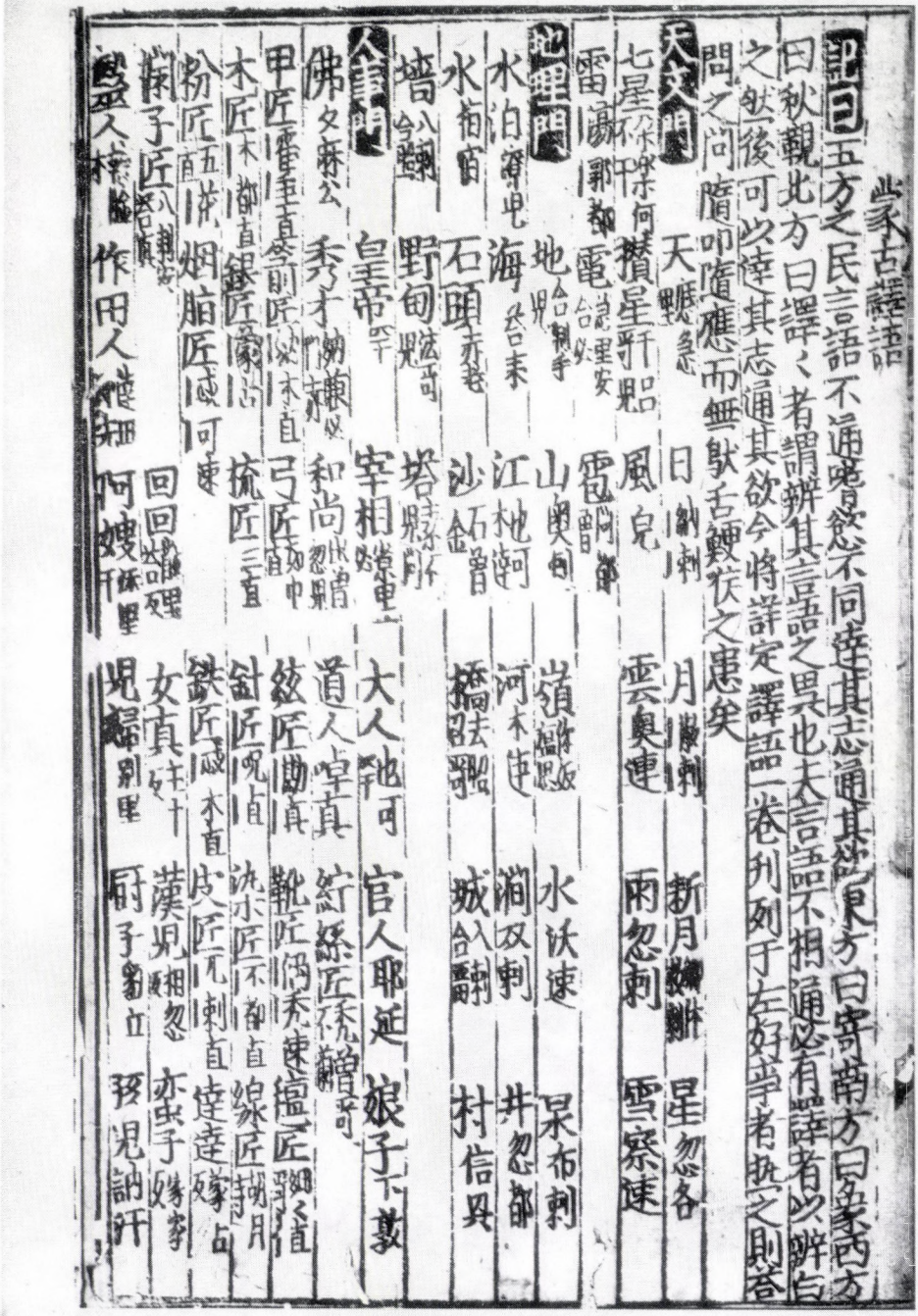
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

et une édition des Ming, dans le Seikadô Bunko) et il s'adressa aux collègues japonais. C'est à l'aide de Gardner que Ligeti reçut la photocopie d'un texte du Naikaku. (La lettre de Gardner était annexée à la fin du texte dactylographié de cette étude qui est conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences, Budapest.)

Ligeti s'est appuyé sur l'édition conservée dans la collection chinoise du Naikaku Bunko, no. 9866.4(3).366.42*, mais il a connu et aussi consulté le texte fragmentaire de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Dans son édition du *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-pa il a consacré quelques passages à ce vocabulaire: « Aujourd'hui on sait que le texte chinois du *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-pa avait été transmis au *King tch'ouan pai pien*, directement ou indirectement, par l'intermédiaire d'un ouvrage chinois des Yuan. Il semble que cet ouvrage ait eu d'autres éditions antérieures. La plus ancienne semble être celle que contenait le 事林廣記 *Che lin kouang ki*, attribué à 陳元靚 Tch'en Yuan-tsing. Cependant, comme l'a montré Pelliot (n. 14), Tch'en Yuan-tsing est un écrivain des Song et le *Che lin kouang ki* qui lui était attribué avait plusieurs variantes, dont une compilation accrue en 40 ch., qui, à son avis, pouvait contenir le vocabulaire sino-mongol *Tche yuan yi yu* et, probablement, le *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-pa. Pour ma part, je ne saurais contester la date de 1282 proposée par MM. Ishida et Yanai, ni pour le vocabulaire sino-mongol 至元譯語 *Tche yuan yi yu*, ni pour le *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-pa. M. Ishida connaît une autre édition du *Che lin kouang ki* datant des Yuan et, d'après lui, cette édition remonterait à la période 泰定 T'ai-ting (1324—1328). Une édition des Yuan, probablement celle de 1282, est conservée à la bibliothèque 內閣文庫 Naikaku Bunko (Cabinet Library) à Tôkyô. » (Acta Orient. Hung. VI [1956], p. 5, avec la note 14:) « [Voir] P. Pelliot, Le Ḫōǰa et le Sayyid Ḫusain de l'Histoire des Ming, dans T'oung Pao XXXVIII, pp. 273—274, note 356. L'exemplaire fragmentaire du *Che lin kouang ki*, conservé à la Bibliothèque Vaticane ne paraît pas contenir le *Po kia sing*. Le vocabulaire sino-mongol de cet exemplaire est bien le *Tche yuan yi yu*, seulement il est incomplet: le titre, les sections I et II ainsi qu'une bonne moitié de la section III y font entièrement défaut et le vocabulaire débute par *ugin* « petit fille », mot répondant au n° 72 de l'édition de M. Ishida. Sans compter certaines divergences de moindre importance, les deux exemplaires du *Tche yuan yi yu* se distinguent par le fait que, dans l'exemplaire publié par M. Ishida, la section intitulée 君官門 *Kiun kouan men* est insérée après la section 方隅門 *Fang yu men*, par contre, dans l'exemplaire fragmentaire de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, la même section suit immédiatement la section de 人事門 *Jen che men*. Il est fort probable que, dans ce cas, c'est l'exemplaire fragmentaire qui reflète l'ancien état de choses. » (P. 6:) « D'après l'édition de la période T'ai-ting a été faite une édition japonaise (n. 15) qui, dans son ch. X, ff. 2—3, reproduit également le *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-



1. Naikaku Bunko 9866, 4(3), 366 42.



蒙古譯語

記曰五方之民言語不通嗜慾不同達其志通其欲東方曰寄南方曰象西方曰秋覲北方曰譯〻者謂辨其言語之異也夫言語不相通必有譯者以辨白之然後可以達其志通其欲今將詳定譯語一卷刊列于左好事者執之則答問之問隨叩隨應而無鴃舌鯁狀之患矣

天文門

天 應急 日 納剌 月 撒剌 新月 [illegible] 星 忽各

七星 不干 何 攢星 干 呂 風 皃 雲 奧連 雨 忽剌 雪 察速

雷 湯 鄂都 電 急里安 合必 雹 尚都 曾

地理門

地 合剌手 兒 山 奧 剌 嶺 [illegible] 水 沃速 杲 布剌

水 白 [illegible] 兒 海 吾 來 江 地 可 木 達 河 木 達 澗 双剌 井 忽都

水 箱 宿 石頭 赤 巷 沙 石 曾 橋 [illegible] 城 入剌 合 [illegible] 村 信 異

墻 八剌 今 [illegible] 野甸 法 可 兒 塔 [illegible] 兒 [illegible]

人事門

皇帝 [illegible] 宰相 [illegible] 大人 [illegible] 可 官人 耶延 娘子 下 敦

佛 夕麻公 秀才 [illegible] 和尚 [illegible] 道人 啅真 紵絲匠 [illegible] 曾 可

甲匠 [illegible] 箭匠 [illegible] 弓匠 [illegible] 絃匠 [illegible] 靴匠 [illegible] 氊匠 [illegible]

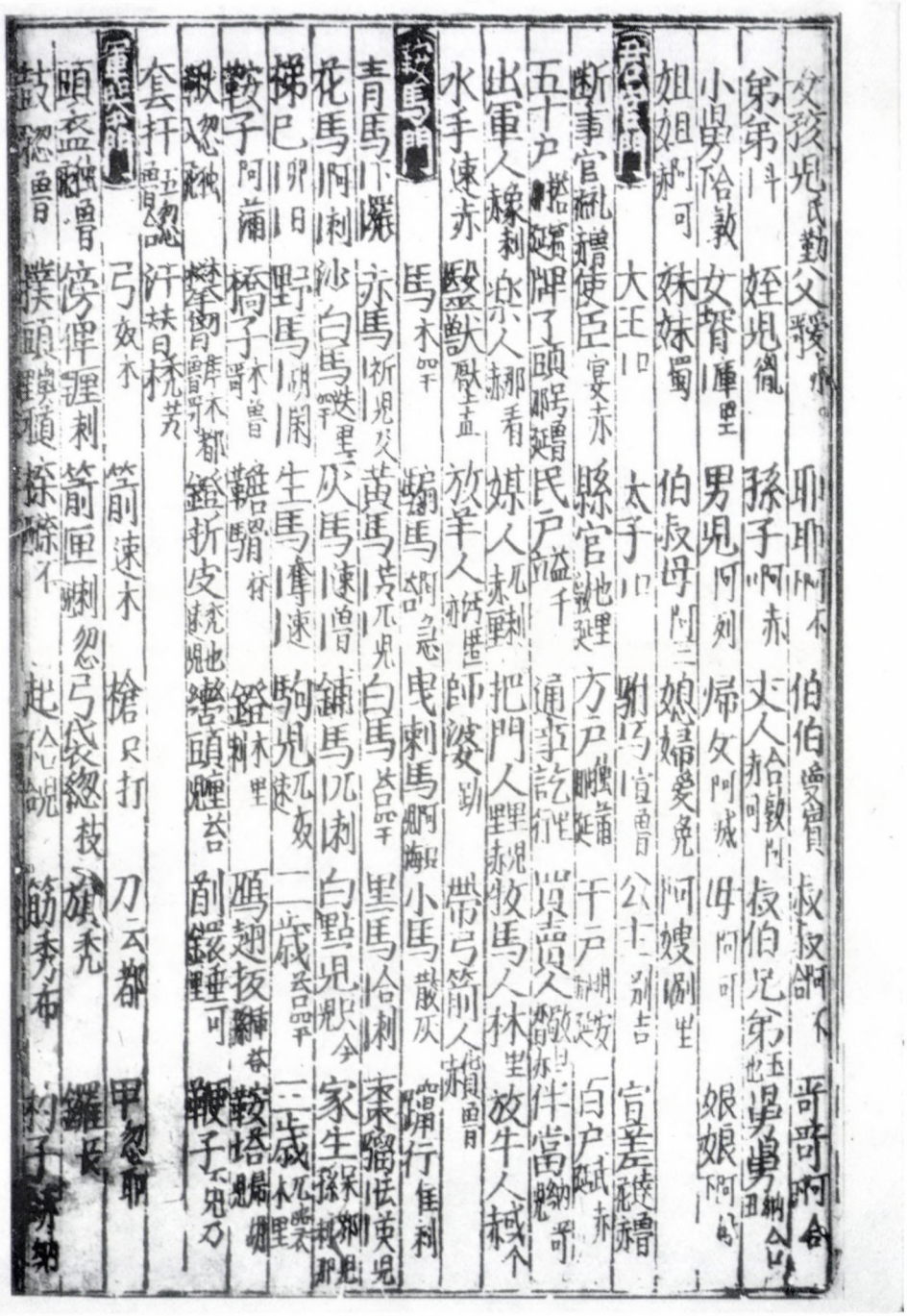
木匠 木 都 直 銀匠 [illegible] 梳匠 三 直 針匠 [illegible] 染匠 [illegible] 線匠 [illegible]

粉匠 五 直 [illegible] 烟脂匠 [illegible] 可 速 鐵匠 [illegible] 木 直 皮匠 [illegible] 剌 直 達達 [illegible] 占

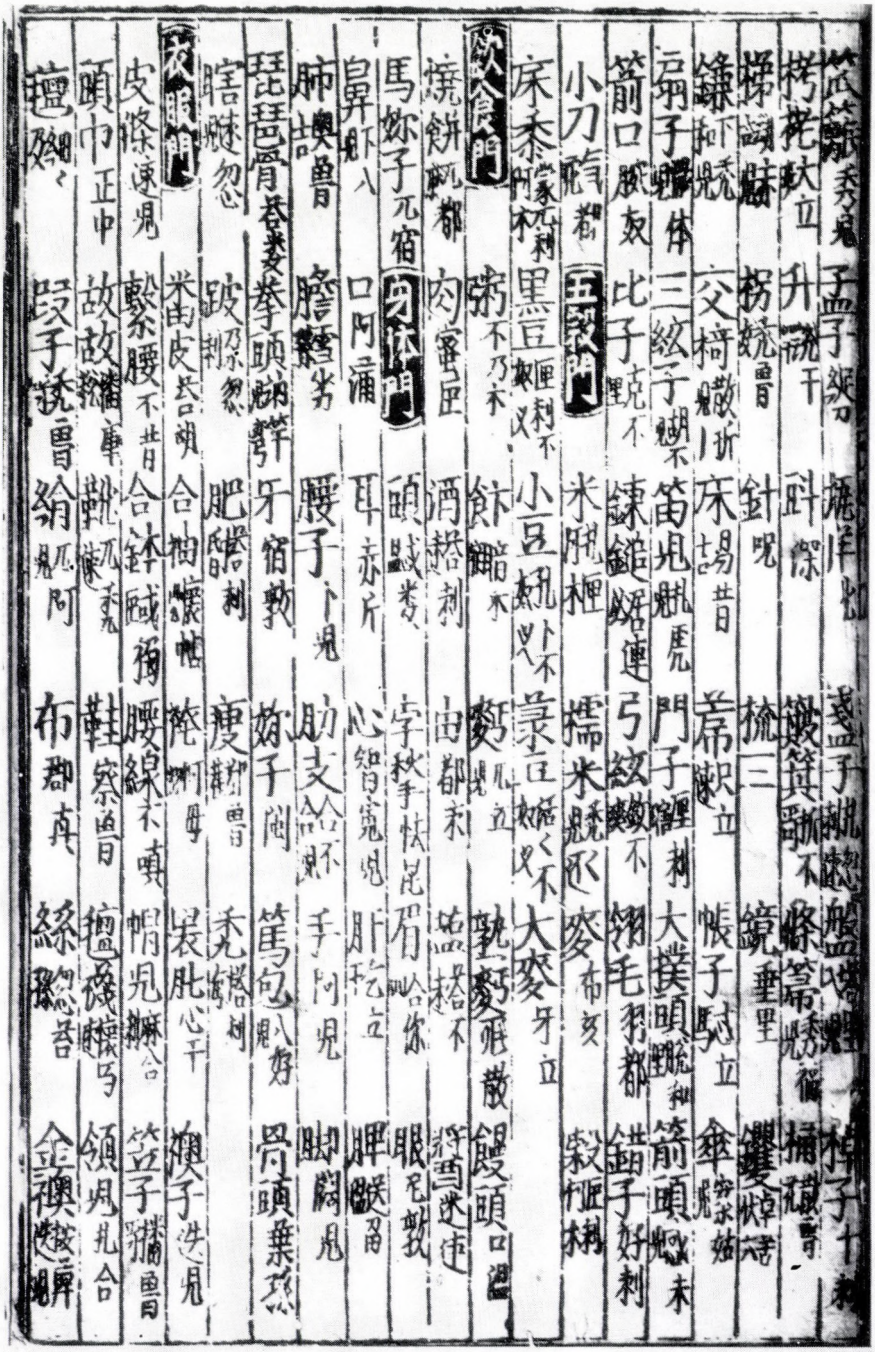
[illegible] 子匠 八 剌 [illegible] 回回 [illegible] 女真 [illegible] 漢兒 [illegible] 忽 亦虫子 [illegible]

[illegible] 作田人 [illegible] 阿嫂 [illegible] 兒婦 [illegible] 厨子 [illegible] 孩兒 訥汗

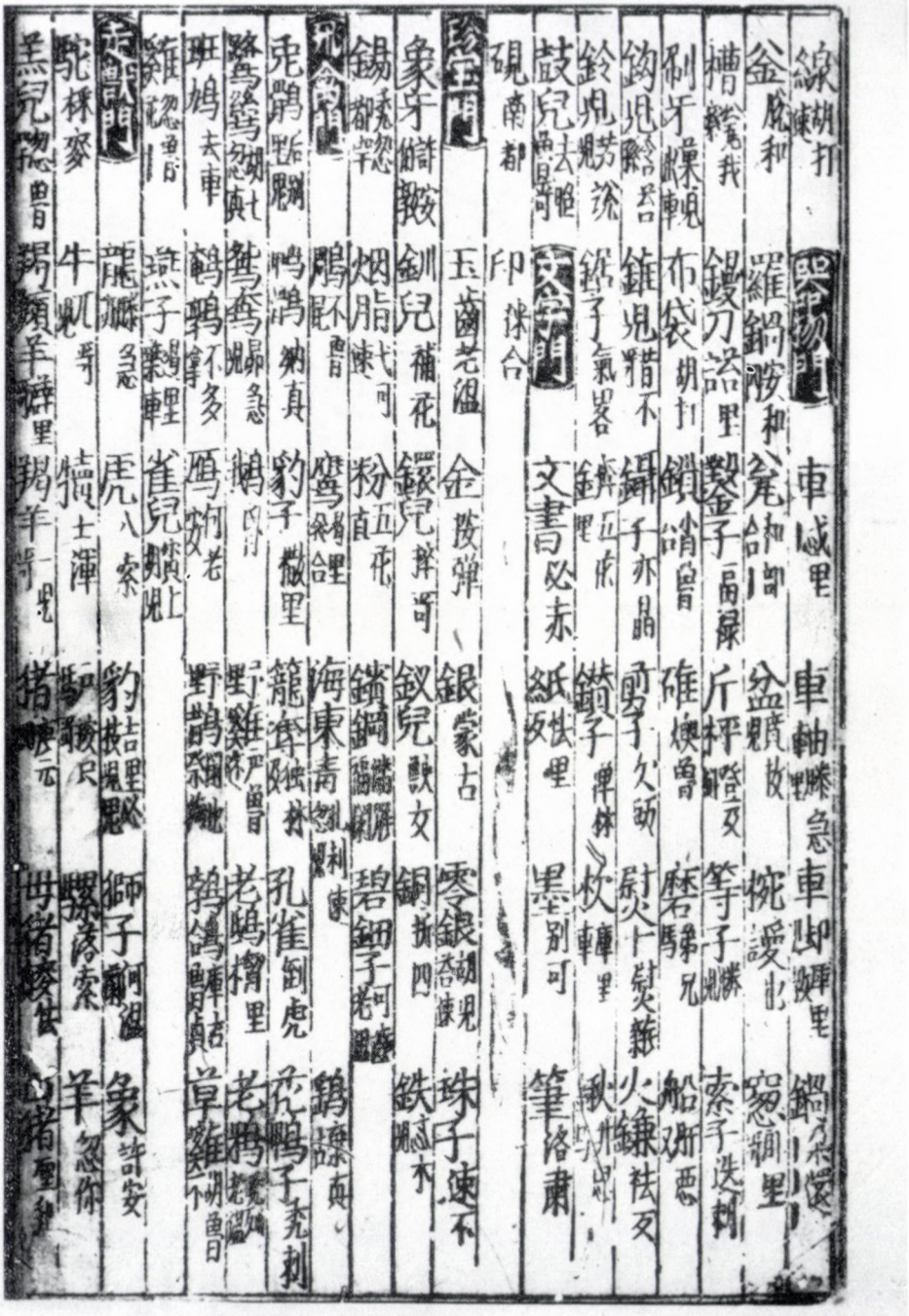
2. *N* 24b



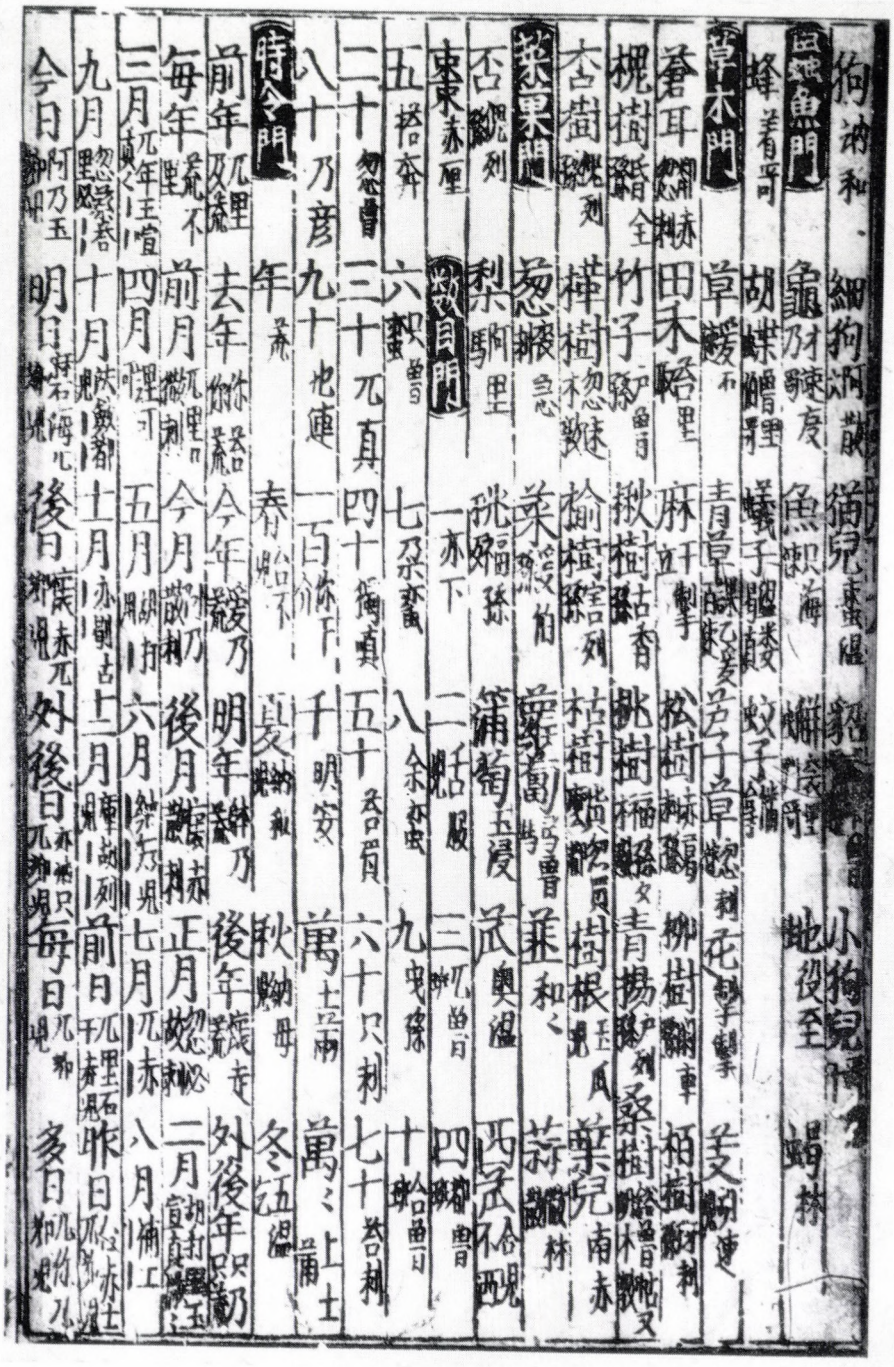
3. N 25a



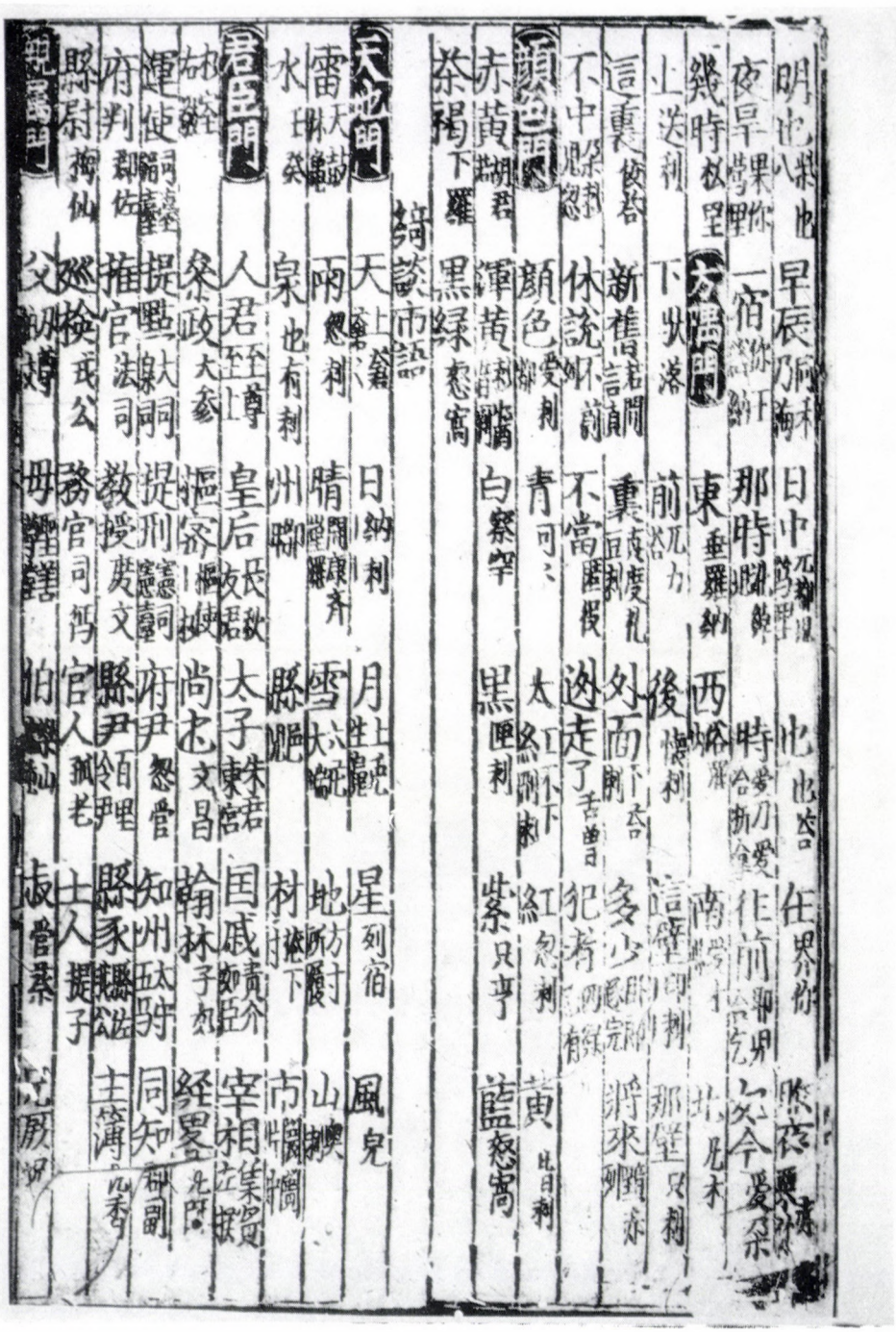
4. N 25b



5. N 26a

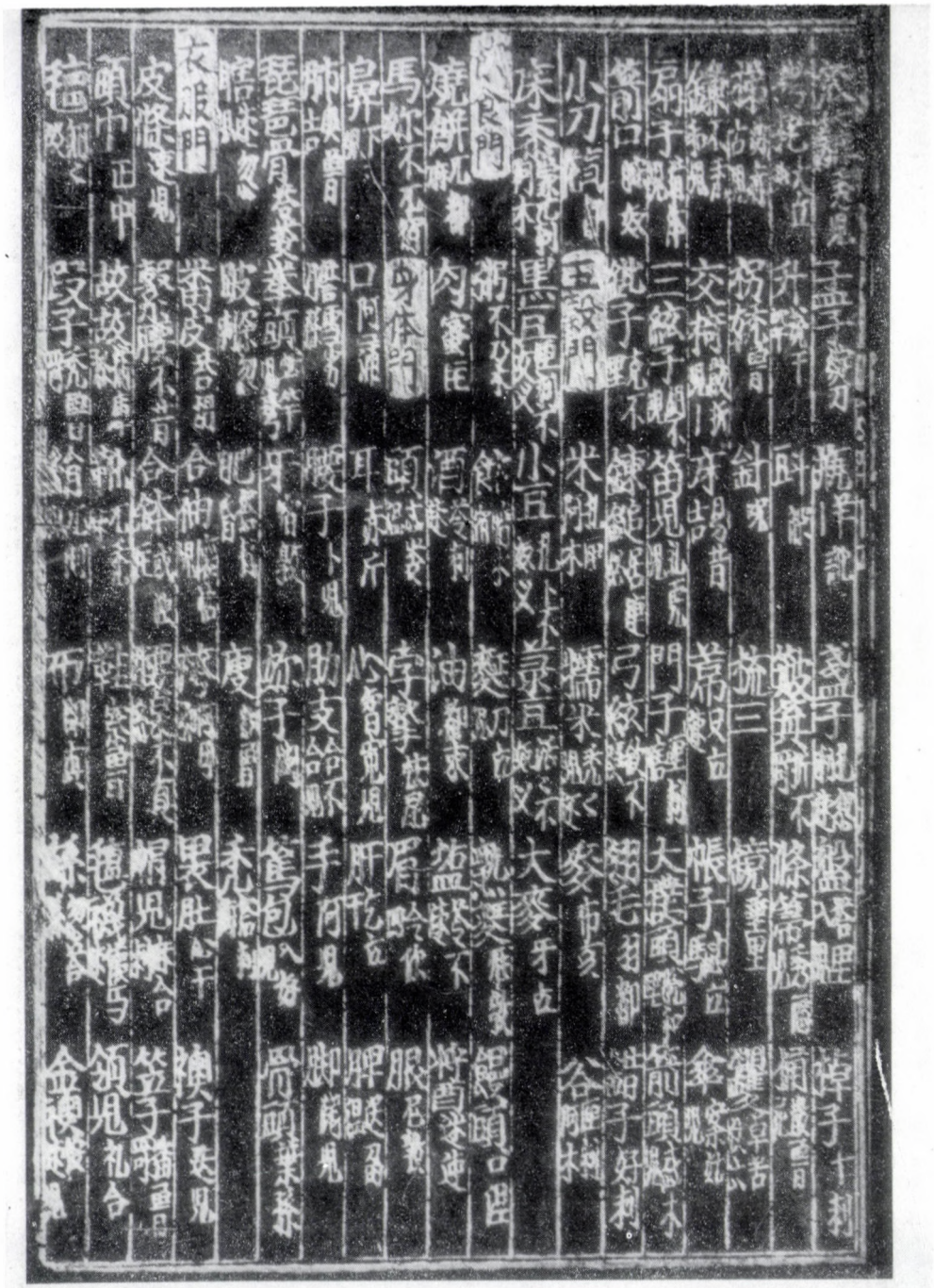


6. N 26b

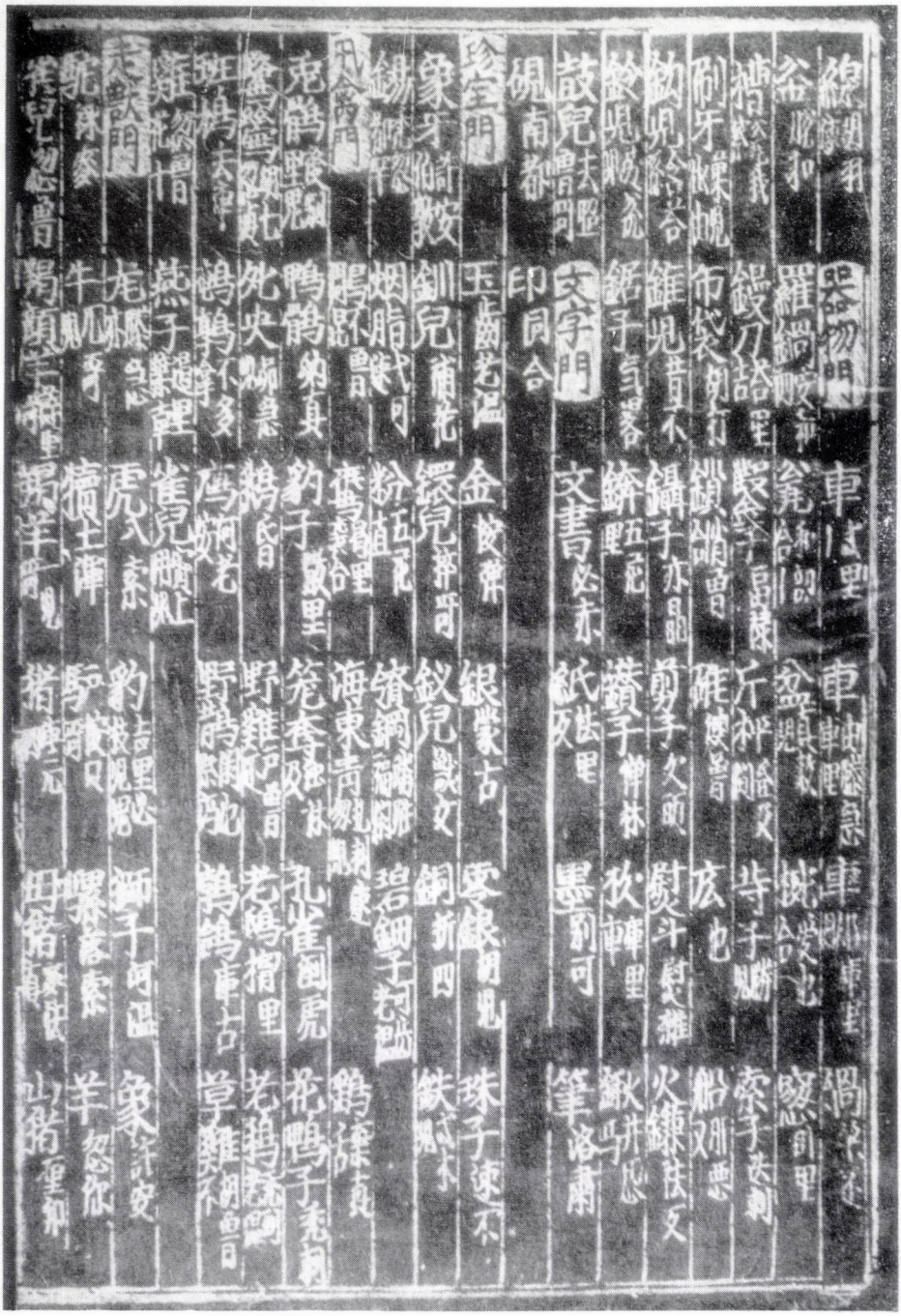


7. N 27a

8. L'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Vaticane 25a

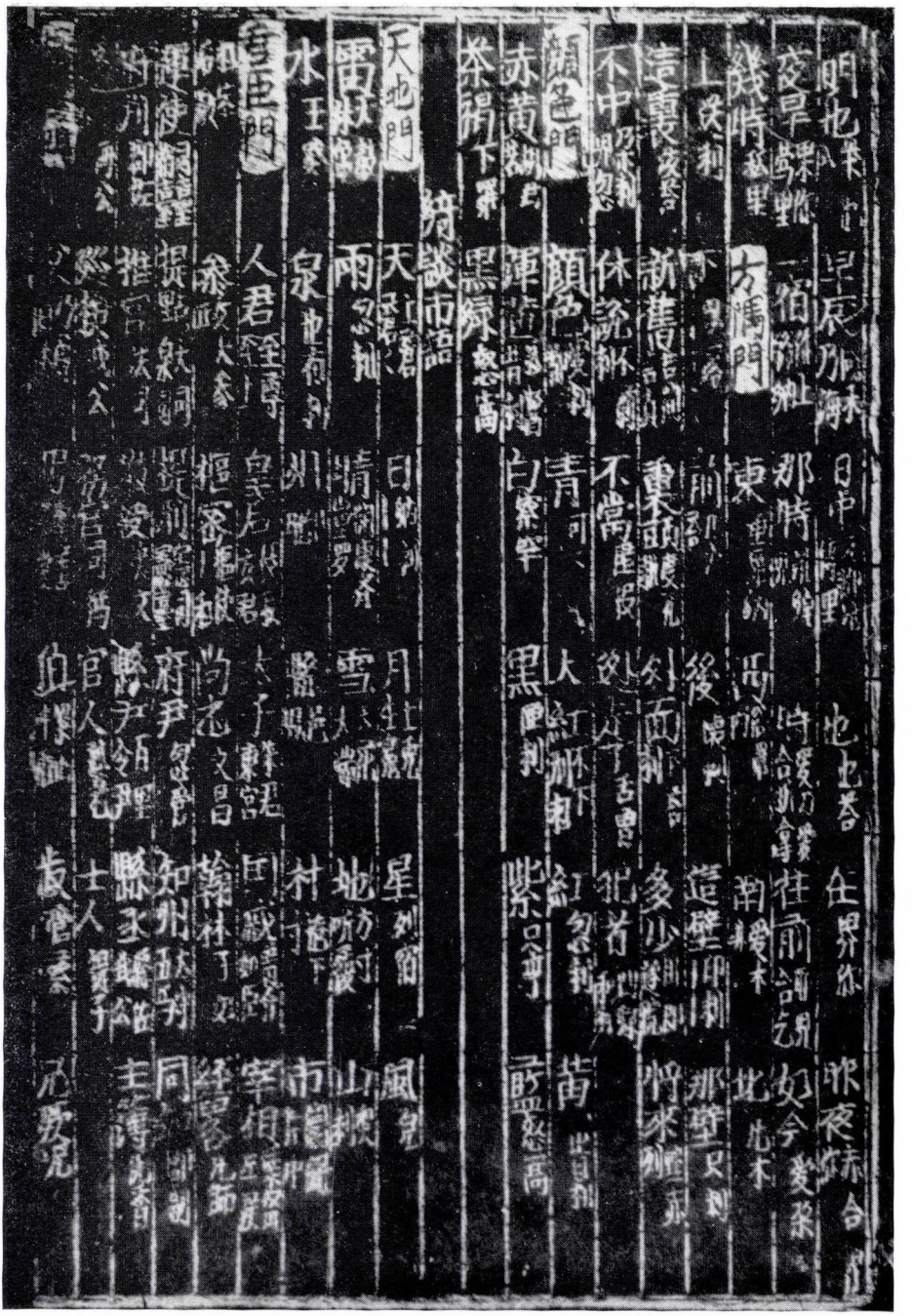


9. V 25b



10. V 26a

11. V 26b



12. V 27a

庚集

至元譯語

至元譯語猶江南事物綺談也當冬所尚莫貴乎此分門析類附于綺談之後以助時語云

天文門

天曰滕急里　日曰納剌　月曰撒剌　新月細你撒剌
星曰忽多　七星朶樂阿不干　攢星于昌哥兒　風曰克
雲曰奧連　雨曰忽剌　雪曰察速　雷曰蕩郭都
電曰急里拔論必　雹曰閃都魯

地理門

地曰合擘　山曰奧剌　嶺曰你奴溫　水曰沃連
泉曰布剌　水泊潦兒　海曰苔來　江曰也可木連
河曰木連　澗曰双剌　井曰忽都　冰曰忙宿

石頭赤老　沙曰石魯歪　城曰八剌合孫
村曰信畏卜　墻曰八剌合孫　橋曰去照吕哥　塔曰素不兒哥
野甸忙歹　官人那延

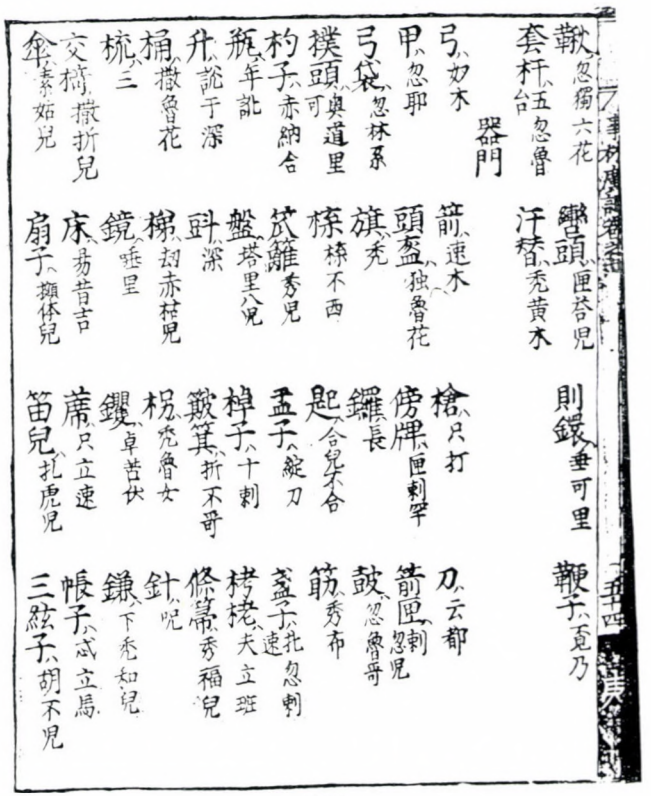
人事門

皇帝罕　宰相闍里必　夫人也可空
娘子下敦　佛曰夕麼　秀才納蘭忽闍赤　和尚出魯忽兒
道人嗥真　紇繇匹禿魯哥兀蘭　甲匠霍亜直　箭匠續木直一
弓匠奴木直　弦匠勘直一　靴匠倜秃速一　氈匠細亦直哥
木匠木都直　銀匠蒙古　梳匠三直一　針匠兜直一一
染匠不都直　線匠胡打速　烟脂匠忒可速　粉匠玉花直
鐵匠忒未直　皮匠兀剌直　襴子匠八剌拔荅直　達亦蒙古歹
回亦撒里荅　女直主十歹　漢兒托忽歹　奩子囊家歹
醫人幹脫歹直　帶弓箭人大魯赤　種田人達里耶赤　厨子豹立直
孩兒訥沃　女孩兒伏勤　父愛赤哥亦阿合　耶亦阿不十
伯父愛實　叔父阿不合　哥亦阿合　弟亦斗

侄兒胤　孫子阿赤可　丈人合敦阿赤可　叔伯兄弟王也
舅父納合丑　小舅合敦斗　女婿庫里干　男兒阿列
婦女阿滅　母阿可　娘亦阿母干　姐亦阿可赤
妹亦對　伯娘阿珍　嬸亦阿珍　媳婦愛兒
阿嫂別里干　兒婦愛兒里

鞍馬門

馬名木罕　騸馬阿忽荅　移剌馬阿只兒海　小馬撒灰
蹅行住剌　青馬卜羅　赤馬折兒及　黃馬黃兀兒
白馬荅罕　黑馬合剌　棗騮法矣兒　花馬阿剌
灰馬速魯　沙白馬送里罕　白點兒只令兒　白點黑尾若已剌
鋪馬足剌　家生呆都兒脫剌珊　梯已甲丑　野馬胡闌
生馬奪速　駒兒兀速　二歲荅空　三歲兀襄本里
鞍子阿滿　橋子木魯哥　韉骨林馬　鐙篤魯剌
鞍搭掃胡兒　厮趙板管塔孫　攀胃庫木都魯哥　鐙折皮禿也速兒



鞦忽獨六花　轡頭匣荅兒　則鐶垂可里　鞭子覓乃
套杆五忽魯台　汗替禿黃木

器門

弓如木　箭速木　槍只打　刀云都
甲忽耶　頭盔独魯花　傍牌匣剌罕　箭匣剌忽兒
弓袋忽林系　旗禿　鑼長　鼓忽魯哥
撲頭奥道里可　榛榛不西　起合兒不合　筋秀布
杓子赤納合　笊籬秀兒　盂子綻刀　盞子扎忽剌速
瓶年訛　盤塔里八兒　棹子十剌　栲栳夫立班
升訛于深　斗深　簸箕折不哥　條幕秀福兒
桶撒魯花　梯刼赤枯兒　枴禿魯女　針呪
梳三　鏡唾里　钁卓苦伏　鎌下禿知兒
交椅撒折兒　床易昔吉　蓆只立速　帳子忒立馬
傘素姑兒　扇子擷体兒　笛兒扎虎兒　三絃子胡不兒

釜脫和　羅鍋安和回　瓮和都合　盆賞撒兒
椀愛也合　窗卧里哥　槽瓮我察　鏝刀苔里
鑿子福祿　斤秤登及宿　等子滕禍兒　索子迭剌
刷牙菓兒出車　布袋胡打　鎖鎖魯合　碓燠魯
麻涕兒馬　船盱惡又　釘兒合苔孫　錐兒惜不哥
鑷子亦聶薛　剪子欠頭　熨斗熨雜　火鎌枯反
鈴兒黃說兒　鋸子氣略　錛五花里　鑽子驊林
杴庫里車　鍬怯思馬　鼓兒去照魯哥

文字門

文書必赤　紙怯里反　墨別可　筆俗爾
硯爾都　印探合

珍寶門

玉齒老溫　金按彈　銀蒙古　零銀胡兒荅速
珠子速不　象牙詐安伯敦　釧兒補花　鐶兒捽哥

釵兒、鈦女　銅、折四　鐵、忒木兒　錫、禿忽都罕
鑌鏑、播羅福闌　碧鈿子、可齒老溫　烟脂、弋可速　粉、五花直

飛禽門

鵰、不魯昆　鷹、喝里柴合　海東青、扎罕東忽兒　鵝、棄真古
兎鶻、移剔里鬼　鴨鶻、納真　豹子、撒里　籠奪、獨林及
孔雀、倒虎　花鴨子、禿剌　鷺鷥、胡七遏嗔　鴛鴦、昂急兒
鵝、昏　野鷄、戶魯還　老鴟、胷里迓　老鴉、禿列老溫
班鳩、去重　鵪鶉、不多拿　鴈、阿老安　鷄、忽魯花
草雞、胡魯還　野鵲、撒也察侮　鶺鴒、庫古魯真　燕子、遏里葉車
雀兒、賓士胡兒

走獸門

龍、滕急赤　虎、八索　獅子、阿溫蘭　豹、吉里必被兒鬼
象、詐安　駝、探麦　牛、无哥兒　犢、七渾
驢、按只哥　騾、落索　羊、忽你　羔兒、忽魯罕

門子、匣剌腔　大撲頭、脫和甲　箭頭、忒木兒　箭口、腕奴
鈚子、克不里　三尖鈚子、遏曹馬　翎毛、羽都　錯子、好剌
小刀子、氣都花　鍊鎚、居連必　弓絃、欽不喫

五穀門

米、扎匣阿木　糯米、禿々是還　麥、亥　穀、匣剌阿木
床黍、蒙兀剌阿木　墨豆、匣剌不奴义　小豆、扎下不奴义　菉豆、活々不奴义
大麥、牙立

飲食門

粥、不朶　飰、暗木宿　麵、兀立兒　熟麵、羅撒
饅頭、口涅　燒餅、兀都麻　肉、蜜匣　酒、荅剌速
油、都速　塩、荅不速　醬、迷速　馬妳子、兀宿

身體門

頭、忒婁溫　孛孥、怯昆　眉、合你四　眼、尼孰
鼻、下八兒　口、阿蒲　耳、赤斤　心、智寬兒

肝 乞立干　脾 俠留温　膀胱 孫　肺 奥魯吉　膳雪岁孫
腰子 不兒　肋支 合不兒合　琵琶骨 荅要　牙 宿敦
手 阿兒　脚 濶兒　拳頭 訥禹兒弯　妳子 關ㇰ
篤包 八好兒　骨頭 菓孫　瞎 速忽兒　禿 荅剌海
跛 尽忽剌　肥 塔剌昏　瘦 都魯憐

衣服門

番皮 荅胡　合袖 懷帖兒　袴 阿母都　裘壯 心干
襖子 迭兒　皮條 速兒　褁膊 不昔　笠子 播魯哥
合鉢 或獨匣　帽兒 麻合剌　頭巾 正巾
故故 播庫脫　靴 兀禿速　襪 懷馬連　鞋 察魯
領兒 扎合　氈 細ㇰ坟　段子 禿魯哥　絹 兀阿兒
布 訛真　紵 忽荅孫　金襖 按弹迭　線 胡打速

器物門

車 忒里干　車軸 滕急里　車脚 扉里敦　鐲 荅還

羯羶羊 薛里　羯羊 兒　猪 唐兀四　母猪 艮牙
山猪 匣邦　狗 訥和哥　小狗兒 哥羅千　細狗 阿撒立
猫兒 蜜温　貂鼠 不魯還

虫魚門

龜 牙速度乃　魚 只海速　蠍 裏里搦哥　蛇 沒至
蝎 林哥　蜂 着哥　胡蝶 魯里百哥　蟻子 温婁渴真
蚊子 播句拿

草木門

草 愛石速　青草 課乙愛百速　蘆子草 忽剌速　花 掣ㇰ
芝 胡速兒　蒼耳 那赤忽剌　田禾 荅里耶速　麻 千掣立
松樹 赤荅剌孫　柳樹 闊車孫　柏樹 阿剌孫　槐樹 昏罕孫
竹子 户魯孫　楸樹 古查孫　桃樹 福孫又木敦　青楊 户列孫
桑樹 魯帖只冊木敦　枯樹 貨忽買麻都　杏樹 倪列孫　樺樹 忽速木敦
榆樹 害列孫　樹根 玉瓜兒　葉兒 恼赤

菜果門

葱、喪急剌　菜、愛伯孫　蘿蔔、篤魯馬　韭、和く
蒜、撒林撒　杏、傀列孫　梨、阿里馬　桃、福孫反
蒲萄、王浸　苽、奧温　西苽、合兒不西　棗、赤匣

數目門

一、亦干　二、舌腰兒　三、兀魯班　四、都魯班
五、塔奔　六、只魯蛮　七、朶栾　八、奈蛮
九、曳孫　十、合魯班　二十、忽魯　三十、兀真
四十、獨嗔　五十、塔賓　六十、只剌　七十、荅剌
八十、乃顏　九十、也連　一百、你干介　千、明安
萬、土滿　萬く、土土滿

時令門

年、荒　春、合不兒　夏、納和兒　秋、納母兒
冬、五温乞　前年、兀里乃荒　去年、你荅你荒　今年、愛乃荒

明年、麻乃荒　後年、懷赤荒　外後年、只乃只荒　每年、荒不里
前月、兀里只撒剌　今月、向乃撒剌　後月、懷赤撒剌　正月、忽必撒剌
二月、胡打里玉宣貢撒く　三月、兀年玉宣貢く丨　四月、諲可く　五月、胡打兒く
六月、納智兒く　七月、兀懶く　八月、補工く　九月、忽察荅里必く
十月、拄歛都兒く　十一月、亦剔古く　十二月、庫胡列兒く　前日、兀里反干都兒
昨日、合赤土兀都兒　今日、阿乃丨都兒　明日、磨海兀都兒　後日、懷■兀都兒
外後日、赤納只兀都兒　每日、兀都不窩　多日、兀你兀都兒　明也、柴也八
早辰、同木乃侮　日中、兀都篤甲　晩也、漚荅　夜、粟你
昨夜、合赤干粟你　夜半、粟你篤甲　一宿、你干豁納　那時、訛綽兒
這時、愛乃愛哈折拿　往前、耶兒荅乞　如今、愛朶　幾時、怯里

方隅門

東、唾羅納　西、豁羅納　南、愛木捏　北、兀木捏
上、送剌　下、馱落　前、兀力荅　後、懷剌
這壁、印剌く　那壁、只剌く　這裏、按荅　新舊、若匿号嗔

囊頭、度札剌　外面、下咎剌　多少、卧即逐完　將來、黯赤列
不中、兀列播兒忽　休說、不蔚列　不當、匿没　迯走了、活魯活八
把者、四樣利竹

君官門

大王、口　太子、口　駙馬、庫魯干　公主、別吉
斷事官、札魯花赤　宣差、達魯花赤　使臣、宴赤　縣官、活魯那延
萬户、獨蒲那延　千户、明按那延　百户、瓜赤延　五十户、塔賓那延
牌子頭、号魯那延　民户、益千立　通事、乞里覓赤　買賣人、或旦督赤
伴當、訥哥兒　出軍人、巢剌赤　樂人、那督赤　把門人、匣呪匣赤
牧馬人、木里赤　放牛人、或箇赤　放羊人、活匿赤　水手、速赤
醫獸、厭直　帶弓箭人、貨魯赤　媒人、箄剌赤
師婆、跌

顏色門

顏色、愛剌忽　青、可可　大紅、迹亦忽剌　紅、忽剌

赤黃、胡碧若　渾黃、剌識昔剌　黃、皆剌　白、察罕
黑、亞神　紫、口亨　藍、怒窩　茶褐、卜羅
墨綠、窩

重編分門纂圖事林廣記卷之十

庚集

pa. M. 石田幹之助 Ishida Mikinosuke m'a obligeamment communiqué la copie photographique du texte du *Po kia sing* d'après l'édition japonaise . . . » (N. 15, ibid.:) « Il est bien possible qu'il s'agisse de l'édition japonaise de 1699, mentionnée par P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 274, note. » Les deux variantes, la dite version du Naikaku Bunko et la version incomplète de la Bibliothèque Vaticane sont reproduites ici en facsimilé.

On ne peut que regretter que le Professeur Ligeti ne pût réaliser son plan de publier cette étude avec son introduction, le matériel comparatif, une analyse linguistique et des notes. Il a souvent affirmé que le lexique mongol du *Tche-yuan yi-yu* représentait le langage parlé d'un dialecte particulier du moyen mongol, avec des formes assez étranges, que l'on y trouvait un certain nombre de mots inconnus et beaucoup de difficultés et problèmes dans l'interprétation phonétique et sémantique et que la transcription chinoise des mots mongols n'était pas aussi systématique et « simple » que, par exemple, dans le *Houa-yi yi-yu* de 1389 ou dans l'Histoire secrète des Mongols.

Dans son texte les mots mongols sont rangés par ordre thématique suivant la version du Naikaku Bunko. Les articles qui ne furent pas reconstituées sont marqués par un'espace blanc entre crochets; il est suivi par la transcription chinoise (peut-être aussi douteuse) et la traduction de l'équivalent chinois du mot mongol. A la fin de chaque article on trouve le numérotage des mots selon l'édition de Ishida qui s'écarte de la dite version du Naikaku Bunko.*

Il ne fait pas de doute que cette publication, bien qu'il lui manque la dernière touche de l'auteur, nous offre une contribution précieuse à la connaissance de l'histoire du lexique mongol.

Un index alphabétique des mots mongols et leurs formes classiques suit dans un article séparé. C'est là où l'on trouve le facsimilé du texte de l'édition japonaise de 1699. — G. Kara]

* Selon le catalogue *Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Tôkyô 1956 = Shôwa 31), nos 293—294, la xylographie n° 4.366.42 est une édition des Ming, Hongzhi 9 (1496); le *Kyôto Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyûjô kanseki mokuroku*, vol. I (Kyôto 1979 = Shôwa 54), p. 381a mentionne une édition japonaise de 1699 (*Genroku* 12): *Sin pian kiun chou lei yao Che lin kouang ki* et une photocopie de l'édition du Si-yuan tsing-cho des Yuan dans la bibliothèque Naikaku Bunko. Un ouvrage chinois de l'histoire de la musique, *Ts'in k'iu tsi-tch'eng*, vol. I de la série I (Pékin 1963) cite l'édition japonaise de 1699, ensuite une édition de la période T'ai-ting des Yuan, et enfin l'édition de Tch'ouen-tchouang chou-yuan des Yuan utilisée dans l'édition du *Houa-yi yi-yu* de A. Mostaert par Igor de Rachewiltz; d'après lui, la dite version du *Mong-kou yi-yu* date des années 1330—1332.

LE CIEL

[24b] *tenggiri (t'eng-ki-li)* « ciel »; I, O 1
nara (na-la) « soleil »; I, O 2
sara (sa-la) « lune »; I, O 3
sini sara (si-ni sa-la) « nouvelle lune »; I, O 4
hudo (hou-to) « étoile »; I, O 5
dolō ebügen (to-lo a-pou-kan) « la Grande Ourse »; I, O 6
ülger (vu-liu-ko-eul) « les Pléiades »; I, O 7
kei (k'o) « vent »; I, O 8
eülen (ngao-lien) « nuage »; I, O 9
qura (hou-la) « pluie »; I, O 10
času (tch'a-sou) « neige »; I, O 11
dongqodu (tang-kouo tou) « tonnerre »; I, O 12
gilbelün bi (ki-li-pa-louen pi) « éclair; il fait des éclairs »; I, O 13
mündür (men-tou-lou) « grêle »; I, O 14

LA TERRE

qaǰir (ho-tche-eul) « terre »; I, O 15
aula (ngao-la) « montagne »; I, O 16
niru'un (ni-nou-wen) « arête d'une montagne »; I, O 17
usu (wou-sou) « eau »; I, O 18
bulaq (pou-la) « source »; I, O 19
naur (lao-eul) « flaque d'eau, lac »; I, O 20
dalai (ta-lai) « mer »; I, O 21
yeke müren (ye-k'o mou-lien) « rivière »; I, O 22
müren (mou-lien) « fleuve »; I, O 23
nura (nou-la) « ravin, torrent »; I, O 24
quduq (hou-tou) « puits »; I, O 25
mölsü (mang-sou) « glace »; I, O 26
čilau (tch'e-lao) « pierre »; I, O 27
širuwai (che-lou-wai) « sable »; I, O 28
kü'ürge (k'iu-wou-liu-ko) « pont »; I, O 29
balaqasum (pa-la-ho-souen) « ville murée »; I, O 30
sildēn (sin-tien) « village »; I, O 31
balaqasun (pa-la-ho-souen) « muraille »; I, O 32
keher (k'ie-hie-eul) « steppe »; I, O 33
suburġa (sou-pou-eul-ko) « stūpa »; I, O 34

LES HOMMES

qan (han) « empereur »; I, O 35
čerbi (chö-li-pi) « un haut fonctionnaire: ministre »; I, O 36
yeke kün (ye-k'o k'ong) « personnage important »; I, O 37
noyan (no-yen) « fonctionnaire »; I, O 38
qadun (hia-touen) « épouse, dame »; I, O 39
sime (si-ma) « Bouddha »; I, O 40
naran bičēči (na-lan pi-chö-tch'e) « lettré gradué » *(sieou-ts'ai)* I, O 41
čulqur (tch'ou-lou-hou-eul) « prêtre bouddhiste, bonze »; I, O 42
ǰoǰin (tcho-tchen) « prêtre taoiste »; I, O 43
turġa uran (t'ou-lou-ko wou-lan) « fabriquant de satin »; I, O 44
quyaqǰi (houo-ya-tche) « fabriquant de cuirasse »; I, O 45
sumuǰi (siu-mou-tche) « fabriquant de flèche »; I, O 46
numuǰi (nou-mou-tche) « fabriquant d'arc »; I, O 47
köbǰi (k'an-tche) « fabriquant de corde d'arc »; I, O 48
ġotusuǰi (koua-t'ou-sou-tche) « cordonnier, bottier »; I, O 49
sisgeǰi (si-si-ko-tche) « fabriquant de feutre »; I, O 50
muduǰi (mou-tou-tche) « charpentier »; I, O 51
mönggüǰi (mong-kou-tche) « orphèvre »; I, O 52
samǰi (san-tche) « peignier, peignerat »; I, O 53
ǰiüǰi (tcheou-tche) « fabriquant d'aiguilles »; I, O 54
buduqǰi (pou-tou-tche) « teinturier »; I, O 55
hudasuǰi (hou-ta-sou-tche) « cordier »; I, O 56
tekesüǰi (t'ö-k'o-sou-tche) « fabriquant de cosmétiques »; I, O 57
uqaǰi (wou-houa-tche) « fabriquant de poudre de riz »; I, O 58
temüǰi (t'ö-mou-tche) « forgeron »; I, O 59
ulaǰi (wou-la-tche) « tanneur »; I, O 60
bala'andaǰi (pa-la-ngan-ta-tche) « fabriquant de habit de lettrés »; I, O 61
Mongγuldai (mong-kou-tai) « Tatar, Mongol »; I, O 62
Sardaqdai (sa-li-ta-tai) « Mahométan »; I, O 63
J̌üšidei (tchou-che-tai) « Jou-tchen, Jürčen »; I, O 64
J̌aqudai (tcha-hou-tai) « Chinois du Nord »; I, O 65
Nanggiyadai (nang-kia-tai) « Chinois du Sud »; I, O 66
otoči (wo-t'o-tch'e) « médecin »; I, O 67
qorǰi (houo-lou-tche) « porteur de carquois (et de flèches) »; I, O 68
dariyači (ta-li-ye-tch'e) « laboureur »; I, O 69
baurǰi (pao-li-tche) « cuisinier »; I, O 70
nu'u (nou-wou) « garçon »; I, O 71
[25a] *ökin (wo-k'in)* « fille »; I, O 72
ečige (ngai-tch'e-ko) « père »; I, O 73
ebügen (a-pou-kan) « grand'père »; I, O 74

ebin (ngai-pin) « oncle: frère aîné du père »; I, O 75
abuqa (a-pou-ho) « oncle: frère cadet du père »; I, O 76
aqa (a-ho) « frère aîné »; I, O 77
deü (teou) « frère cadet »; I, O 78
yin (yin) « neveu, nièce »; I, O 79
ači keü (a-tch'e k'eou) « petit-fils »; I, O 80
qadum ečike (ho-touen a-tch'e-k'o) « beau-père du mari »; I, O 81
üye (yu-ye) « oncle: frère du côté maternel »; I, O 82
naqaču (na-ho-tch'eou) « oncle: frère de la mère »; I, O 83
qadum deü (ho-touen teou) « oncle: frère cadet du côté maternel »; I, O 84
kürgen (k'ou-li-kan) « gendre »; I, O 85
ere (a-lie) « homme, mâle»; I, O 86
eme (a-mie) « femme, femelle »; I, O 87
eke (a-k'o) « mère »; I, O 88
emgen (a-mou-kan) « vieille dame »; I, O 89
ekeči (a-k'o-tch'e) « soeur aînée »; I, O 90
düi (touei) « soeur cadette »; I, O 91
eǰin (a-tchen) « tante: femme du frère aîné du père »; I, O 92
eǰin (a-tchen) « tante du côté paternel »; I, O 93
emen (ngai-mien) « femme mariée, épouse »; I, O 94
bergen (pie-li-kan) « femme du frère aînée »; I, O 95
beri (pie-li) « belle-fille »; I, O 96

LES FONCTIONNAIRES

dai ong (ta wang) « grand prince »; I, O 501
taisi (t'ai-tseu) « prince héritier »; I, O 501
kürgen (k'ou-lou-kan) « gendre impérial »; I, O 503
begi (pie-ki) « princesse; fille de l'empereur »; I, O 504
ǰarqači (tcha-lou-houa-tch'e) « juge, fonctionnaire qui tranche les questions »; I, O 505
daruqači (ta-lou-houa-tch'e) « gouverneur civil »; I, O 506
elči (yen-tch'e) « envoyé (officiel), ambassadeur »; I, O 507
qur noyan (houo-lou no-yen) « chef de district »; I, O 508
tümen noyan (t'ou-man no-yen) « myriarche »; I, O 509
mingyan noyan (ming-ngan no-yen) « commandant de mille, chyliarche »; I, O 510
ǰauči noyan (tchao-tch'e no-yen) « centenier »; I, O 511
tabin noyan (t'a-pin no-yan) « commandant de cinquante »; I, O 512
qaur noyan (hao-lou no-yen) « chef de compagnie »; I, O 513

irgen (yi-li-kan) « population, peuple »; I, O 514
kilimiči (k'i-li-mi-tch'e) « interprète, dragoman »; I, O 515
qudalduči (houo-tan-tou-tch'e) « marchand »; I, O 516
nüger (nou-ko-eul) « camarade »; I, O 517
čaurači (tch'ao-la-tch'e) « soldat parti en campagne, déporté dans l'armée »; I, O 518
nāduči (no-tou-tch'e) « musicien »; I, O 519
ǰaurači (tchao-la-tch'e) « eutremetteur »; I, O 527
qālqači (hia-eul-hia-tch'e) « portier, gardien de la porte »; I, O 520
muriči (mou-li-tch'e) « gardien de haras »; I, O 521
hügeči (houo-ko-tch'e) « bouvier » I, O 522
suči (sou-tch'e) « matelot »; I, O 524
emǰi (yen-tche) « médeci »; I, O 525
quniči (houo-ni-tch'e) « berger »; I, O 523
bō (po) « sorcière »; I, O 528
qorǰi (houo-lou-tche) « porteur de carquois »; I, O 526

LA SELLE ET LE CHEVAL

muri (mou-li) « cheval »; I, O 97
aqda (a-hou-ta) « cheval hongre »; I, O 98
aǰirqai (a-tche-eul-hai) « étalon »; I, O 99
saqui (sa-houei) « petit cheval »; I, O 100
ǰurā (tchou-la) « ambleur »; I, O 101
buro muri (pou-lo mou-li) « cheval gris »; I, O 102
ǰērde muri (tchö-eul-tai mou-li) « cheval roux »; I, O 103
qongγur muri (houang-wou-eul mou-li) « cheval jaune »; I, O 104
ǰaqān muri (tcha-han mou-li) « cheval blanc »; I, O 105
qara muri (ho-la mou-li) « cheval noir »; I, O 106
keyir muri (k'i-ying mou-li) « cheval bai avec crinière noire »; I, O 107
alaq muri (a-la mou-li) « cheval pie »; I, O 108
del [?]qan muri (tie-li-ban mou-li) « cheval à robe couleur sable »; I, O 110
suru muri (sou-lou mou-li) « cheval à robe couleur cendre »; I, O 109
ulā muri (wou-la mou-li) « cheval de relais »; I, O 113
ǰiqal (tche-ho-eul) « cheval à moucheture blanche »; I, O 111
ǰoġura (tcho-kou-la) « cheval à crinière blanche et à queue moire »; I, O 112
bau-dur töreksen muri (pao-tou-eul t'o-la-chan mou-li) « cheval né dans la maison »; I, O 114
emčü muri (yin-tch'eou mou-li) « son propre cheval »; I, O 115
qulan muri (hou-lan mou-li) « cheval sauvage »; I, O 116

doqsu muri (to-sou mou-li) « cheval encore non dressé »; I, O 117
unuqon (wou-nou-houan) « poulain »; I, O 118
dāqan (ta-han) « poulain de deux ans »; I, O 119
γunan muri (wou-nang mou-li) « cheval de trois ans »; I, O 120
emēl (a-man) « selle »; I, O 121
būrge (pou-lou-ko) « arçon de selle »; I, O 122
gülimme (kou-lin-ma) « chabraque, housse »; I, O 123
dürūlek (tou-lou-la) « étrier »; I, O 124
qabdasu (hien-ta-souen) « planchettes de la selle par lesquelles cette dernière repose sur le dos de l'animal »; I, O 126
sauqur (sao-hou-eul) « le coussin de la selle »; I, O 125
qudurqa (hou-tou-lieou-houa) « croupière »; I, O 129
kümüldürge (k'ou-mou-tou-lou-ko) « poitrail »; I, O 127
huyā sur (t'ou-ye sou-eul) « courroie pour attacher la selle »; I, O 128
qadār (hia-ta-eul) « bride »; I, O 130
tökörik (t'o-k'o-li) « passant de devant (harnachement) »; I, O 131
minā (mi-nai) « fouet »; I, O 132
uqurqa (wou-hou-lou-ho) « perche à noeud coulant »; I, O 133
tuqom (t'ou-houang-mou) « housse, caparaçon »; I, O 134

LES INSTRUMENTS MILITAIRES

numu (nou-mou) « arc »; I, O 135
sumu (sou-mou) « flèche »; I, O 136
ǰida (tche-ta) « lance »; I, O 137
üldü (yun-tou) « sabre »; I, O 138
quyaq (hou-ya) « cuirasse »; I, O 139
dūlqa (tou-lou-houa) « casque »; I, O 140
qalqan (hia-la-han) « bouclier »; I, O 141
qurlaq (la-hou-eul) « carquois, étui pour les flèches »; I, O 142
qurumsā (hou-lin-sseu) « étui pour l'arc, carquois »; I, O 143
tuq (t'ou) « étendard »; I, O 144
čang (tch'ang) « cymbales »; I, O 145
kūrge (hou-lou-ko) « tambour »; I, O 146
[ ] *(ngao-tao-li-k'o)* « baguette de tambour »; I, O 147
debsi (tie-pou-si) « tasse, soucoupe »; I, O 148
qalbuqa (ho-eul-pou-ho) « cuiller »; I, O 149
[ ] *(sieou-pou)* « bâtonnets (pour manger) »; I, O 150
činaqa (tch'e-na-ho) « cuiller, louche »; I, O 151
[25b] *siür (sieou-eul)* « cuiller, écope »; I, O 152
ǰandau (tchan-tao) « bassin, coupe »; I, O 153
ǰaqurasu (tcha-hou-la-sou) « coupe »; I, O 154

longqa (nien-houa) « bouteille, cruche »; I, O 155
talbar (t'a-la-pa-eul) « plateau, assiette »; I, O 156
185 *širē (che-la)* « table »; I, O 157
[ ] *(ta-li-pan)* « seau (faite de saule) »; I, O 158
tö'ü šim (chouo-yu chen) « pinte »; I, O 159
šim (chen) « une pinte »; I, O 160
ǰebüge (tchö-pou-ko) « corbeille (aux ordures) »; I, O 161
190 *siwür (sieou-fou-eul)* « balai »; I, O 162
sālqa (sa-lou-houa) « seau »; I, O 163
gečgūr (kie-tch'e-kou-eul) « échelle, escalier »; I, O 164
[ ] *(t'ou-lou-niu)* « bâton, canne »; I, O 165
ǰiü (tcheou) « aiguille »; I, O 166
195 *sam (san)* « peigne, déméloire »; I, O 167
toli (t'o-li) « miroir »; I, O 168
[ ] *(tcho-k'ou-fou-lieou)* « pioche »; I, O 169
qatuqur (hia-t'ou-houo-eul) « faux, faucille »; I, O 198
[ ] *(sa-tchö-eul)* « fauteuil » *t* I, O 171
200 *isiri (yi-si-li)* « lit »; I, O 172
ǰīrsü (tche-li-sou) « natte »; I, O 173
terme (t'ö-li-ma) « tente »; I, O 174
sügür (sou-kou-eul) « parasol »; I, O 175
dellir (tien-t'i-eul) « éventail »; I, O 176
205 *qubur (hou-pou-eul)* « un instrument musical à trois cordes »; I, O 178
ǰaqur (tcha-hou-eul) « flûte »; I, O 177
qālqa (hia-la-hai) « porte »; I, O 179
qotoli (hou-t'o-li) « flèche à bouton d'os »; I, O 180
temür (t'ö-mou-eul) « pointe de flèche »; I, O 181
210 *onnu (wan-nou)* « entaille à la flèche »; I, O 182
keibür (k'o-pou-li) « flèche de guerre (dont le fer est uniformément gros) »; I, O 183
[ ] *(hou-ts'ao-ma)* « espèche de flèche de guerre à trois tranchants »; I, O 184
[ ] *(k'iu-lien-pi)* « massue, gourdin, maillet »; I, O 188
kübči (k'in-pou-tch'e) « corde de l'arc »; I, O 189
215 *üdü (yu-tou)* « plume attachée au bout de la flèche »; I, O 185
qaura (hao-la) « lime »; I, O 186
kiduqa (k'i-tou-houa) « petit couteau »; I, O 187

LES CINQ CÉRÉALES

ǰaqā amu (tcha-hia a-mou) « riz »; I, O 190
tuturqan (t'ou-t'ou-eul-han) « riz glutineux »; I, O 191

būdai (pou-tai) « blé »; I, O 192
qara amu (hia-la-a-mou) « grain, blé »; I, O 193
mongγul amu (mong-wou-la a-mou) « espèce de millet »; I, O 194
qara burčaq (hia-la pou-nou-tch'a) « pois noir »; I, O 195
ǰaqā burčaq (tcha-hia pou-nou-tch'a) « pois blanc »; I, O 196
kükü burčaq (k'ouo-k'ouo pou-nou tch'a) « pois vert; lentille verte »; I, O 197
arbai (ya-li-[po]) « orge »; I, O 198

LA NOURRITURE

budō (pou-to) « bouillie claire de riz »; I, O 199
ammusu (ngan-mou-sou) « bouillie claire de millet »; I, O 200
γulir (wou-li-eul) « farine »; I, O 201
[bo]loqsan ([po]-lo-san) « cuit, préparé »; I, O 202
keürek (k'eou-nie) « pain »; I, O 203
üdmek (wou-tou-ma) « galette »; I, O 224
miqa (mi-hia) « viande »; I, O 205
darasu (ta-la-sou) « vin »; I, O 206
dusu (tou-sou) « huile, graisse »; I, O 207
dabusu (ta-pou-sou) « sel »; I, O 208
misu (mi-sou) « sauce »; I, O 209
üsük (wou-sou) « (koumys fait avec du) lait de jument »; I, O 210

LE CORPS HUMAIN

teriwün (t'ö-leou-wen) « tête »; I, O 211
kegül (k'ie-kouen) « natte »; I, O 212
hanisqa (ho-ni-sseu) « sourcil »; I, O 213
nidün (ni-touen) « oeil, yeux »; I, O 214
qabar (hia-pa-eul) « nez »; I, O 215
aman (a-man) « bouche »; I, O 216
čigin (tch'e-kin) « oreille »; I, O 217
ǰirkön (tche-eul-k'ouan) « coeur »; I, O 218
heligen (ho-li-kan) « foie »; I, O 219
deliwwün (tie-lieou-wen) « rate »; I, O 220
aurgi (ngao-lou-ki) « poumon »; I, O 221
sölösün (siue-liue-souen) « bile, fiel »; I, O 222
bŭr (pou-eul) « reins »; I, O 223
qaburqa (ho-pou-eul-ho) « côtes »; I, O 224

dalu (ta-leou) « omoplate »; I, O 225
südün (sou-touen) « dent »; I, O 226
γar (a-eul) « main, bras »; I, O 227
köl (k'o-eul) « pied »; I, O 228
nudurwan (nou-tou-eul-wan) « poing »; I, O 229
kökö (k'o-k'o) « seins, mamelles »; I, O 230
baqaur (pa-hao-eul) « derrière »; I, O 231
yasun (ya-souen) « os »; I, O 232
suqur (sou-hou-eul) « aveugle »; I, O 233
daraqai (ta-la-hai) « chauve »; I, O 234
doqula (to-hou-la) « boiteux »; I, O 235
tarqun (t'a-la-houen) « gros, gras »; I, O 236
duruqon (tou-lou-houan) « maigre »; I, O 237

LES VÊTEMENTS

daqu (ta-hou) « vêtement de fourrure étranger »; I, O 238
[ ] *(houai-t'ie-eul)* « manche »; I, O 239
emüdü (a-mou-tou) « pantalon, caleçon »; I, O 240
simgen (sin-kan) « devant de corsage, bande portée autour des reins »; I, O 241
dēl (tie-eul) « robe »; I, O 242
sur (sou-eul) « courroie »; I, O 243
büsi (pou-si) « ceinture »; I, O 244
büčin (pou-tch'en) « ceinture de hanche »; I, O 245
qoduqa (houo-tou-hia) « écuelle d'un bonze mendiant»; I, O 246
maqala (ma-ho-la) « bonnet, casquette, calotte »; I, O 247
börge (po-lou-ko) « bonnet d'été »; I, O 248
ǰinggin (tcheng-kin) « turban »; I, O 249
boqtoq (po-k'ou-t'o) « coiffure des femmes »; I, O 250
γutusu (wou-t'ou-sou) « bottes »; I, O 251
hoimasu (houai-ma-sou) « bas de feutre »; I, O 252
čaruq (tch'a-lou) « souliers »; I, O 253
ǰaqa (tcha-ho) « col de la robe »; I, O 254
sisgei (si-si-kai) « feutre »; I, O 255
turγa (t'ou-lou-ko) « satin »; I, O 256
a'ur (wou-a-eul) « une sorte de soie »; I, O 257
olǰin (wan-tchen) « toile »; I, O 258
hudasun (hou-ta-souen) « soie; fil »; I, O 259
altan dēl (ngan-t'an tie-eul) « robe d'or (de couleur d'or) »; I, O 260
[26a] *hudasu (hou-ta-sou)* « fil »; I, O 261

LES INSTRUMENTS

tergen (t'ö-li-kan) « char »; I, O 262
tenggili (t'eng-ki-li) « essieu »; I, O 263
kürdün (k'ou-li-touen) « roue »; I, O 264
doqōn (to-houan) « chaudron, marmite »; I, O 265
toqō (t'o-houo) « chaudron »; I, O 266
alququi (ngan-houo-houei) « pot de cuivre »; I, O 267
quduqa (houo-tou-ho) « pot, poterie, cruche »; I, O 268
[ ]*sar (*[ ]*-sa-eul)* « bassin, pot »; I, O 269
ayaqa (ngai-ye-ho) « coupe, tasse »; I, O 270
örge (wo-li-ko) « fenêtre: l'ouverture sur la partie supérieure de la tente »; I, O 271
ongγoča (wong-wo-tch'a) « auge, mangeoire »; I, O 272
dalgi (ta-li-ki) « truelle à plâtre »; I, O 273
fürü (fou-lou) « foret, perçoir; burin, ciseau »; I, O 274
denggise (teng-ki-sou) « balance de changeurs »; I, O 275
teng qor (t'eng-ho-eul) « petite balance pour les médiacaments »; I, O 276
dēs (tie-ts'ö) « corde »; I, O 277
gürčü[ ] *(kouo-eul-tch'ou-tch'ö)* « brosse à dent »; I, O 278
hūda (hou-ta) « sac »; I, O 279
sorqa (so-eul-ho) « serrure, cadenas »; I, O 280
aur (ngao-lou) « pilon »; I, O 281
tīrme (t'i-eul-ma) « moulin »; I, O 282
ongγoča (wang-ngo-tch'a) « bateau »; I, O 283
qadasun (ho-ta-souen) « clou »; I, O 284
sibüge (si-pou-ko) « alène »; I, O 285
yinese (yi-nie-sie) « pince, pincette »; I, O 286
[ ] *(k'ien-t'eou)* « ciseau »; I, O 287
ü-sa (yu-tsa) « fer à repasser »; I, O 288
kedei (k'ie-tai) «briquet »; I, O 289
qongqor (houang-houo-eul) « petit grelots ronds attachés sur l'harnachement »; I, O 290
kirō (k'i-lio) « scie »; I, O 291
uqali (wou-houa-li) « une sorte de hache »; I, O 292
hörüm (houa-lin) « alène, vrille »; I, O 293
kürče (k'ou-li-tch'ö) « pelle »; I, O 294
kesme (k'ie-sseu-ma) « bêche »; I, O 295
kü'ürge (k'u-wou-lou-ko) « tambour »; I, O 296

L'ÉCRITURE

bičik (pi-tch'e) « lettre »; I, O 297
kekdei (k'ie-hei-tai) « papier »; I, O 298
beke (pie-k'o) « encre, encre de Chine »; I, O 299
üsük (yu-sou) « pinceau »; I, O 300
namdu (nan-tou) « encrier chinois »; I, O 301
tamqa (t'an-ho) « sceau »; I, O 302

LES CHOSES PRÉCIEUSES

[*qaš*] *čilawun (tch/e-lao-wen)* « pierre de jade »; I, O 303
altan (ngan-t'an) « or »; I, O 304
mönggü (mong-kou) « argent »; I, O 305
hürdesü (hou-eul-ta-sou) « pièces d'argent employées comme pesage »; I, O 306
subut (sou-pou) « perle »; I, O 307
ǰa'an südün (tcha-ngan sou-touen) « défense d'éléphant »; I, O 308
buqa (pou-houa) « bracelet »; I, O 309
süige (ts'ouei-ko) « anneau, bague »; I, O 310
šiüǰü (cheou-jou) « épingle pour les cheuveux »; I, O 311
ǰes (tchö-sseu) « cuivre, cuivre rouge »; I, O 312
temür (t'ö-mou-eul) « fer »; I, O 313
tuqulqan (t'ou-hou-tou-han) « étain »; I, O 314
tekesü (t'ö-k'o-sou) « produit de beauté, cosmétique »; I, O 317
uqa (wou-houa-tche) « poudre de riz »; I, O 318
bolot fulat (po-lo fou-lan) « acier fin »; I, O 315
kökö čilawun (k'o tch'e-lao-wen) « espèche d'épingle pour les cheveux »; I, O 316

LES OISEAUX

bürküt (pou-lou-k'ouen) « aigle »; I, O 319
qarčaqa (ka-li-tch'ai-ho) « faucon »; I, O 320
ǰaqān šingur (tcha-han chen-hou-eul) « gerfaut blanc »; I, O 321
kirǧu (k'i-lou-kou) « espèce d'épervier »; I, O 322
idelgü (yi-tö-li-kouei) « lévrier »; I, O 323
naǰin (na-tchen) « espèce de faucon »; I, O 324
sar (sa-li) « autour, buse »; I, O 325
durumdai (tou-lin-tai) « émérillon »; I, O 326

daus (tao-hou) « paon »; I, O 327
turaq (t'ou-la) « canard bigarré »; I, O 328
hübü'elčin (hou-pou-ngo-tch'en) « cormoran, héron »; I, O 329
anggir (ngang-ki-eul) « canard mandarin »; I, O 330
qun (houen) « cygne »; I, O 331
qurqōl (hou-lou-houan) « faisan »; I, O 332
heliye (hie-li-ya) « milan »; I, O 333
turawun (t'ou-lie-lao-wen) « corneille »; I, 334
küčē (k'iu-tch'ö) « tourterelle »; I, O 335
büdöne (pou-to-na) « caille »; I, O 336
γalawan (a-lao-ngan) « oie sauvage »; I, O 337
sa'ačaqai (sa-ye-tch'a-hai) « pie »; I, O 340
kügürǰin (k'ou-kou-lou-tchen) « pigeon »; I, O 341
qurqōl (hou-lou-houan) « espèche de poule »; I, O 339
quruqara (hou-lou houa-[*])* « gallinacée; poussain, poulet »; I, O 338
qariyača (ho-li-ye-tch'ö) « hirondelle »; I, O 342
bilǰiqur (pin-che-hou-eul) « passerau »; I, O 343

LES QUADRUPEDES

tenggiči (t'eng-ki-tch'e) « dragon »; I, O 344
ba[*r*]*s (pa-so)* « tigre »; I, O 345
girbi birgüi (ki-li-pi pei-eul-kouei) « lynx »; I, O 347
a[*r*]*slan (a-si-lan)* « lion »; I, O 346
ǰa'an (tcha-ngan) « éléphant »; I, O 348
temmē (t'an-mai) « chameau »; I, O 347
üger (wou-ko-eul) « bœuf »; I, O 360
tuqul (t'ou-houen) « veau »; I, O 361
elǰige (ngan-tche-ko) « âne »; I, O 352
lōso (lo-so) « mulet »; I, O 353
quni (hou-ni) « mouton »; I, O 354
qurqan (hou-lou-han) « brebis »; I, O 355
serge (sie-li-ko) « bouc châtré »; I, O 356
irge (yi-eul-ko) « bélier châtré »; I, O 357
tongγus (t'ang-wou-sseu) « porc, cochon »; I, O 358
mekeǰin (mie-k'ie-tchen) « truie, laie »; I, O 359
qaban (hia-pang) « sanglier »; I, O 360
[26b] *nuqu (nou-houo)* « chien »; I, O 361
γasar (a-sa-li) « chien de chasse »; I, O 363
mi'un (mi-wen) « chat »; I, O 364
buluqan (pou-lou-houan) « zibeline »; I, O 365
gölögen (ko-lo-kan) « petit chien, chiot »; I, O 362

LES INSECTES ET LES POISSONS

yasudu menege (ya-sou-tou [ ]-nai-ko) « tortue »; I, O 366
ǰiqaisu (tche-hai-sou) « poisson »; I, O 367
sengli menege (siang-li [ ] nai-ko) « crabe, écrevisse de mer »; I, O 368
muqai (mou-hai) « serpent »; I, O 369
[ ] *(lin)* « scorpion »; I, O 370
ǰöge (tcho-ko) « abeille »; I, O 371
herbege (ho-li-po-ko) « papillon »; I, O 372
sirġolǰin (si-leou-ko-tchen) « fourmi »; I, O 373
bögeüne (po-keou-na) « cousin, moustique »; I, O 374

LES PLANTES ET LES ARBRES

ebesü (ngai-po-sou) « herbe »; I, O 375
kökö ebesü (k'o-k'o ngai-po-sou) « gazon vert, pelouse »; I, O 376
qulasu (hou-la-sou) « jonc, roseau »; I, O 377
čeček (tch'ö-tch'ö) « fleur »; I, O 378
qusur (hou-sou-eul) « une plante aquatique: noix d'eau, saligot (Trapa natans) »; I, O 379
nočiquna (no-tch'e-hou-la) « herbe aux écrouelles (Xanthium spinosum) »; I, O 380
dariya (ta-li-ye) « céréales, grains »; I, O 381
genčir (kan-tch'e-eul) « chanvre »; I, O 382
čigörsün (tch'e-ko-la-scuen) « sapin, pin »; I, O 383
hičesün (hi-tch'ö-souen) « saule »; I, O 384
arasun (a-la-souen) « genévrier »; I, O 385
qumqalsun (houen-han-souen) « Sophora japonica »; I, O 386
qulusun (hou-lou-souen) « bambou »; I, O 387
[ ] *(kou-yeou-souen)* « catalpa *(Bignonia catalpa)*»; I, O 388
fulsundai mudun (fou-souen-tai mou-touen) « pêcher »; I, O 389
huliasun (hou-lie-souen) « peuplier »; I, O 390
qoruqai teǰi[e]ksen mudun (ho-lou t'ie-tche-chan mou-touen) « mûrier »; I, O 391
qoqumai modu (ho-hou-mai mo-tou) « arbre desséché »; I, O 392
güilesün (kouei-lie-souen) « abricotier »; I, O 393
qusu mudun (hou-sou mou-touen) « bouleau »; I, O 394
qailāsun (hai-lie-souen) « orme »; I, O 395
uǰaur (yu-tchao-eul) « racine d'arbre »; I, O 396
naрči (nan-tch'e) « feuille d'arbre »; I, O 397

LES LEGUMES ET LES FRUITS

songgina (sang-ki-la) « oignon »; I, O 398
ebesün (ngai-po-souen) « légume »; I, O 399
durma (tou-lou-ma) « rave, radis »; I, O 400
qoqot (houo-houo) « ail, poireau »; I, O 401
sarimsaq (sa-lin-sa) « ail »; I, O 402
güilesün (kouei-lie-souen) « abricot »; I, O 403
alima (a-li-ma) « poire »; I, O 404
fulsundai (fou-souen-tai) « pêche »; I, O 405
üzüm (yu-tsin) « raisin »; I, O 406
γawun (ngao-wen) « melon d'eau »; I, 407
qarbus (ho-eul-pou-si) « pastèque »; I, O 408
čiqa (tch'e-hia) « jujube »; I, 409

LES NOMBRES

nigen (ni-kan) « un »; I, O 410
qoyor (houo-yao-eul) « deux »; I, O 411
γurban (wou-lou-pan) « trois »; I, O 412
dürben (tou-lou-pan) « quatre »; I, O 413
tabun (t'a-pen) « cinq »; I, O 414
ǰirwān (tche-lou-wan) « six »; I, O 415
dolōn (to-louan) « sept »; I, O 416
naiman (nai-man) « huit »; I, O 417
yisün (yi-souen) « neuf »; I, O 418
harban (ho-lou-pan) « dix »; I, O 419
qur (hou-lou) « vingt »; I, 420
γuǰin (wou-tchen) « trente »; I, O 421
düčin (tou-tch'en) «quarante »; I, O 422
tabin (t'a-pin) « cinquante »; I, O 423
ǰira (tche-la) « soixante »; I, O 424
dala (ta-la) « soixante-dix »; I, O 425
nayyan (nai-yen) « quatre-vingts »; I, O 426
yeren (ye-lien) « quatre-vingt dix »; I, O 427
nigen ǰau (ni-kan tchao) « cent »; I, O 428
mingγan (ming-ngan) « mille »; I, O 429
tümen (t'ou-man) « dix mille »; I, O 430
tük tümen (t'ou t'ou-man) « million »; I, O 431

LE TEMPS

460 *hon (houang)* « an, année »; I, O 432
qabur (ho-pou-eul) « printemps »; I, O 433
naǰir (na-tche-eul) « été »; I, O 434
namur (na-mou-eul) « automne »; I, O 435
ügül (wou-wen-k'i) « hiver »; I, O 436
465 *urida hon (wou-li-tai houang)* « il y a deux ans »; I, O 437
nidani hon (ni-ta-ni houang) « l'année passée »; I, O 438
ene hon (ngai-nai houang) « cette année »; I, O 439
manā hon (ma-nai houang) « l'année prochaine »; I, O 440
qoiči hon (houai-tch'e houang) « dans deux ans »; I, O 441
470 *ǰināǰi hon (tche-nai-tche houang)* « dans trois ans »; I, O 442
hon büri (houang pou-li) « chaque année »; I, O 443
urǰi sara (wou-li-tche sa la) « dans deux mois »; I, O 444
ene sara (a-nai sa-la) « ce mois »; I, O 445
qoiči sara (houai-tch'e sa-la) « dans deux mois »; I, O 446
475 *qubi sara (hou-pi sa-la)* « premier mois »; I, O 447
qudal ügölǰin sara (hou-ta-li yu-kouan-tchen sa-la) « 2e mois »; I, O 448
ünen ügölǰin sara (wou-nien yu-kouan-tchen sa-la) « 3e mois »; I, O 449
kököge sara (k'o-k'o-ko sa-la) « 4e mois »; I, O 450
hudar sara (hou-ta-eul sa-la) « 5e mois »; I, O 451
480 *naǰir sara (na-tche-eul sa-la)* « 6e mois »; I, O 452
γuran saran (wou-lan sa-la) « 7e mois »; I, O 453
buġu sara (pou-kong sa-la) « 8e mois »; I, O 454
quča dalbi sara (hou-tch'a ta-li-pi sa-la) « 9e mois »; I, O 455
kelebdür sara (k'ie-lien-tou-eul sa-la) « 10e mois »; I, O 456
485 *idelgü sara (yi-tö-kou sa-la)* « 11e mois »; I, O 457
küküler sara (k'ou-hou-lie-eul sa-la) « 12e mois »; I, O 458
urida üdür (wou-li-tai yu-tou-eul) « avant-hier »; I, O 459
hŏčigen üdür (ho-tch'e-kan wou-tou-eul) « hier »; I, O 460
ene üdür (a-nai yu-tou-eul) « ajourd'hui »; I, O 461
490 *manā üdür (mo-nai wou-tou-eul)* « demain »; I, O 462
qoiči üdür (houai-tch'e wou-tou-eul) « après-demain »; I, O 463
čināǰi üdür (tch'e-na-tche wou-tou-eul) « dans trois jours »; I, O 464
üdür büri (wou-tou-eul pou-li) « chaque jour »; I, O 465
üni üdür (wou-ni wou-tou-eul) « pendant longtemps, pendant nombre de jours »; I, O 466
495 [27a] *čayyiba (tch'ai-ye-pa)* « il s'est fait jour »; I, O 467
[ ] *(t'ong-mou-nai-wou)* « de bon mattin, de grand matin »; I, O 468
üdür düli (wou-tou-eul tou-li) « midi »; I, O 469
üde (yeou-ta) « soir »; I, O 470
süni (sou-ni) « nuit »; I, O 471

höčgen süni (ho-tch'e-kan sou-ni) « la nuit d'hier »; I, O 472
süni düli (sou-ni tou-li) « minuit »; I, O 473
nigen qonaq (ni-kan ho-na) « une journée, un jour entier »; I, O 474
[ ] *(ngo-tch'ao-eul)* « quand ? »; I, O 475
ene [ ] *(ngai-nai ngai-hai-tche-na)* « ce temps, maintenant »; I, O 476
erdeki (ye-eul-ta-k'i) « jadis, autrefois »; I, O 477
edō (ngai-to) « maintenant, à présent »; I, O 478
keli (k'ie-li) « quand ? »; I, O 479

LES DIRECTIONS

dorona (to-lo-na) « Est »; I, O 480
höröne (ho-lo-na) « Quest »; I, O 481
emüne (ngai-mou-nie) « Sud »; I, O 482
ümüre (wou-mou-nie) « Nord »; I, O 483
dēre (tie-la) « en haut, au-dessus »; I, O 484
dōro (to-lo) « en bas, au-dessous »; I, O 485
urida (wou-li-ta) « avant, devant »; I, O 486
qoina (houai-la) « après, derrière »; I, O 487
ināna (yin-la-la) « de ce côté-ci »; I, O 488
ende (ngan-ta) « ici »; I, O 490
ǰināna (tche-la-la) « de ce côté-là »; I, O 489
sini qaučin (si-ni hao-tch'en) « récent et ancien »; I, O 491
dutona (tou-t'o-la) « l'intérieur »; I, O 492
qadana (hia-ta-la) « dehors, à l'extérieur »; I, O 493
olan ǰü'en (ngo-lang tchou-wan) « beaucoup et peu »; I, O 294
abčire (ngan-tch'e-lie) « apporte ! »; I, O 495
üle bolqu (wou-lie po-eul-hou) « cela ne va pas, c'est impossible »; I, O 496
bü ūle (pou yu-lie) « ne parle pas ! ne dis rien ! »; I, O 497
[ ] *(ni-mou)* « cela ne va pas; inconveniant »; I, O 498
horqoba (houo-lou-houo-pa) « s'enfuire »; I, O 499
bariǰu (po-li-tcheou) « prendre, saisir »; I, O 500

LES COULEURS

[ ] *(ngai-la-hou)* « couleur »; I, O 529
kökö (k'o-k'o) « bleu »; I, O 530
ub hulā (wou-pou hou-la) « rouge foncé »; I, O 531
hulā (hou-la) « rouge »; I, O 532
sira (si-la) « jaune »; I, O 535
[ ] *(hou-ma-ni)* « jaune rougeâtre »; I, O 533

535 *našiš sira (la-che-che si-la)* « tout à fait jaune »; I, O 534
čaqān (tch'a-han) « blanc »; I, O 536
qara (hia-la) « noir »; I, O 537
ǰihin (tche-hing) « pourpre »; I, O 538
nu'o (nou-wo) « bleu, indigo »; I, O 539
540 *buro (pou-lo)* « brun tirant sur le gris »; I, O 540
nu'o (nou-wo) « vert foncé »; I, O 541

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ZHIYUAN YIYU
INDEX ALPHABÉTIQUE DES MOTS MONGOLS

G. KARA

« Quant aux peuples des cinq directions, leurs langues se diffèrent l'une de l'autre, leurs désirs s'écartent. Si l'on connaît leurs principes, on comprend leurs désirs. (Quant à l'expert de ce métier), à l'Est on le dit médiateur, au Sud on le dit traducteur, à l'Ouest on le dit porte-parole, au Nord on le dit interprète. Interpréter signifie expliquer ce qui est étrange dans leurs langues. Si les langues ne sont pas mutuellement intelligibles, il faut avoir des interprètes qui expliquent et éclaircissent ce (qui est dit). Ce n'est qu'après cela que l'on peut connaître leurs principes et comprendre leurs désirs. Maintenant nous allons graver (ce) chapitre des vocables traduits, expliqués et établis, pour aider ceux qui font acte de bonne volonté. Si l'on est exercé, on (peut) répondre aux questions de ceux qui questionnent, tantôt répliquant, et sans la peine de torturer la langue ou déformer la gorge. » — dit l'auteur ou éditeur du vocabulaire sino-mongol *Menggu yiyu* alias *Zhiyuan yiyu* au début de la variante du Naikaku Bunko (voir son texte restitué et déchiffré, avec facsimile, dans l'étude de Louis Ligeti, «Un vocabulaire sino-mongol des Yuan. Le *Tche-yuan yi-yu*»: Acta Orient. Hung. XLIV [1990], pp. 257—275).

L'édition japonaise de 1699 (dont je tiens une copie du Professeur Nobuo Yamada d'Ôsaka, est reproduite à la fin de cet index) s'exprime différemment dans son Avis au lecteur: « (Le vocabulaire intitulé) 'Les vocables traduits de la période de l'Arrivée au Commencement' (*Zhiyuan yiyu*) ressemblent au 'Discours délicieux portant sur les affaires et les choses' (*Shiwu qitan*), ouvrage provenant de la région du Sud de la Rivière (Jiangnan). Maintenant il n'y a nul (travail) plus précieux que ce (vocabulaire) dont les sections sont arrangées en ordre thématique. Il est ajouté à la fin du 'Discours délicieux' à titre d'instrument pour la langue du temps; il est comme suit: »

En effet le 'Discours délicieux' (*Qiyu men*) forme le chapitre IX du même recueil *geng* de l'édition de 1699 (le ch. IX porte le titre *Xinbian qunshu Shilin guangji* le ch. X est intitulé *Xinbian qunshu leiyao Shilin guangji*). Dans le texte du Naikaku Bunko et dans la variante incomplète de la Bibliothèque Vaticane ce Discours, qui est un petit dictionnaire thématique de

métaphores (ou une variante de celui), intitulé ici 'Discours délicieux, la Langue de la marche' (*Qitan shiyu*) se trouve à la fin de la dernière section du vocabulaire sino-mongol et comporte également quelques mots mongols, par exemple, *nara* « soleil », *kei* «vent », *qura* « pluie », *aula* « montagne » dans la section du Ciel et de la Terre (*Tian di men*).

Sans pouvoir de comparer les différentes éditions du *Shilin guangji*, il serait difficile de dire quelle partie de quelle variante « reflète l'ancien état des choses » (Ligeti). Le vocabulaire sino-mongol de l'édition japonaise de 1699 (ou de l'exemplaire dont j'ai eu une copie du Professeur N. Yamada) a la particularité d'avoir la section des quadrupèdes et celle des instruments (militaires) coupées en deux, leurs parties étant séparées par d'autres sections. La section des nobles et des fonctionnaires est placée ici en avant dernière place (cf. Ligeti, *loc. cit.*). Néanmoins, l'édition japonaise de 1699 donne en général les mots mongols en caractères chinois moins mutilés que les autres variantes connues.

En ce qui concerne les particularités linguistiques de la partie mongole, il faut souligner le petit nombre de verbes et de sentences et l'abondance en mots rares ou dialectaux.

Sans compter les cas douteux, ce lexique ne contient qu'une douzaine de formes verbales et une autre douzaine de thèmes verbaux (dans les noms déverbaux) parmi les cinq cents mots des 541 mots en tête.

Au lieu de la voyelle *o/ö* de la première syllabe on a souvent la voyelle tendue *u/ü* (non seulement dans les mots de type *mudu/modun* « arbre », mais aussi devant une syllabe ayant une voyelle autre que *u/ü*, cf., par exemple *muri* « cheval », *muqai* « serpent », *nuqu* « chien », *nüger* « compagnon »); beaucoup de mots ont des voyelles longues ou diphtongues au lieu des anciennes dissyllabes, par exemple, *ail* « camp; famille », *aula* « montagne », *aurgi* « poumon », *nādu-* « jouer », *toqō/doqōn* « chaudron », *ǰurā* « ambleur », *ǰaqān/čaqān* « blanc », *sildēn* « village », *hūda* « sac », *bō* « sorcière », *būr* « foie », *huliasun* « peuplier », mais aussi *ǰa'an* « éléphant », *nu'u* « garçon », *heliye* « milan », *keyir* (*muri*) « (cheval) bai à queue et crinière noires », *keher* « steppe ». Il n'est pas toujours sûr qu'un *h* initiale (dans la prononciation moderne) de la syllabe chinoise rend une occlusive vélaire sourde, une fricative laryngéale sourde, ou une fricative vélaire sonore en position intervocalique dans le mot mongol.

On observe la formation des groupes de consonnes intervocaliques, due à l'élision de la voyelle brève dans certains mots jadis trissyllabiques comme, par exemple, *emgen* « vieille dame », *höčgen* « hier », *kürgen* « gendre », mais ici encore, la transcription chinoise est-elle peut-être ambigüe, cf., par exemple, chin. *lu* dans la transcription du mong. *buluqan* « zibelin », lire *bulqan*?

Dans la plupart des cas le *n* final des noms est disparu.

Les consonnes aspirées (initiales ou médiales) figurant dans la majorité des sources sont souvent remplacées ici par des consonnes non-aspirées; cette particularité se montre plus forte que dans les autres monuments du moyen mongol, par exemple, *debsi* « tasse », *durumdai* « émerillon », *γawun* « melon d'eau », *ǰü'en* « peu », *ǰinana* « de ce côté-là », *dusu* « huile », *γuǰin* « trente » (mais *düčin* « quarante »), *samǰi* « peignier », *muduǰi* « charpentier » (mais *hügeči* « bouvier »), *idelgü* « lévrier » (mais *qatuqur* « faux »), tandis que l'ancien *k* devant les voyelles labiales reste aspiré, voir, par exemple, *kürgen* « gendre » et *kürdün* « roue ». Il semble difficile d'attribuer tous les formes du type *durumdai* à la négligence de la notation chinoise, mais on ne peut exclure cette possibilité. Mais il est également possible que la transcription chinoise représente un dialecte du mandarin du Sud, de Jiangnan, où l'on a conservé, jusqu'à nos jours, un système de consonnes avec la correlation triple des occlusives et des affriquées: aspirées sourdes, aspirées sonores et sourdes non-aspirées.

Certaines consonnes intervocaliques semblent être redoublées: *ammusu* « bouillie claire de millet », *ayyaqa* « coupe, tasse », *deliwwün* « rate », *γawwun* « melon d'eau », *gülimme* « housse »; on se demande si la transcription chinoise reflète toujours une réduplication réelle pour le dialecte mongol ou cette réduplication était un moyen chinois pour assurer une meilleure prononciation du mot de « leur langue » du Nord. Dans cet index, ces consonnes redoublées sont marquées, mais pour les fins de l'ordre alphabétique elles sont traitées comme consonnes simples.

INDEX MOYEN MONGOL

abčire 523 (*an/am* pour *ab*) « apporte !/bring ! » (*jiang lai*), cf. TMEN no. 3, *abčira-*, cf. dah. *ačir-*, mog. / Weiers *ʌbčir-* / *ɔbčir-* / *ʌčʌr-*, baoan *abčir-*, mgr. *awuǰi re-*; mong. *abčire-* / *abčira-*, *abču ire-*

abuqa 76 « oncle; frère cadet du père/uncle; father's younger brother » (*shu*); cf. TMEN no. 2 (*abaqa*, *abaγa*); santa *awuγa*, (mgr. *abau/avu* < tib.); barin *abag* (et *šūšū* < chin.); mong. *abaγa*, cf. mong. *abuγai*, *abaγai*

ači 80: *a. keü* « petit-fils/grandson » (*sunzi*; Y *ke*, N, V *kou*), cf. yogor *haǰəkun* (*haǰəkən* « petite-fille »), mgr. *āčə*, *ači sunje*, kalm. *ač*, bour. *aša*, khalkha *ač xüü*, ord. *ači*; barin *ɛč*; mong. *ači köbegün*

ai[*l*] 142 (*ai/tai* pour *ai*) « camp; famille, maison/camp; family, house » (*jia*): *a. -dur töre*[*k*]*sen* [*muri*] « (cheval) né sur le camp/(horse) born in the camp » (*jiasheng*); cf. TMEN no. 503; daur, yogor *ail*, (mog./Weiers *auli*, baoan *aġal*, santa *aγən*), mgr. *ayil*, barin, ǰarut, khortchin, khara. *ēl*; mong. *ayil*; voir aussi *bau* [?]

aǰin 92—93 (*a zhen*) « tante: femme du frère aîné du père; tante du côté paternel/aunt: father's elder brother's wife; father's sister » (*bainiang*;

shenshen); cf. khal. *aǰin* = *dùùgiin exner ni nòxriin axîn exneriin aǰin bolno*, Cewel; ord. *aǰin* dans *awisun aǰin* = *awisun* « les femmes d'un même mari l'une par rapport à l'autre; nom dont se désignent l'une l'autre les femmes d'un même mari et qu'elles se donnent mutuellement; ami, collègue », *töröl sadu˜ nökör awisun* « membres de la famille et amis intimes », Mostaert; Rasisengge, Tuγtam: *abisun aǰin* = chin. *zhouli* « les femmes de deux ou de plusieurs frères »; mong. *aǰin* (cf. Boberg: « sister-in-law », Lessing: « the wife of a younger brother in relation to the wife of an elder brother »; cf. encore bour. *ab'han* « nevestka » et peut-être *abžaa* « staršaja sestra » [**abaǰi'a*] Čeremisov)

aǰirqa⟨i⟩ 127 (*hai* pour *qa*) « étalon/stallion » (*yilama*); cf. TMEN no. 648 (turc *adγïr*); dah. *ad'rəγ/aǰrəγ*, yogor *aǰərga*, (baoan *ŝda hseb* < tib., santa *guŋji mori*; *g.* < chin.), barin *ɛǰirag*; mong. *aǰirγa*

ala[q] « pie/variegated » 136: *a. muri* « cheval pie/variegated horse » (*huama*); cf. TMEN no. 518 (turc *ala*); dah. *alār* (= chin. *baidu huama*), yogor, mgr. *alag*; mong. *alaγ*

alima 432 « poire/pear » (*li*); cf. TMEN no. 2127 (N 182); dah. *alim* « poire », yogor *alma* (< turc) « fruit », baoan *alma* « fruit; abricot », *čoŋxalma* « jujuba », *to alma* « pêche », santa *alima*, mgr. *aləma* « fruit; poire », barin *ɛlam* « poire »; hongrois *alma* TESz; mong. *alima* « pomme; poire/apple; pear »

alqui 295 (*an ⟨he⟩ hui*; *an* pour *al*) « pot de cuivre/copper pot » (*luoguo*), AL/Poppe *alqui*, Hy *alqui*

altan 332 (*an tan*, *an* pour *al*) « or/gold » (*jin*); 228: *a. dēl* « robe d'or/golden robe »; cf. TMEN nno. 26, 529; dah. *alt*, mog./Weiers *ʌltãn/ʌlɔt*, yogor *altan*, baoan, santa *altaŋ/antaŋ* mgr. *xaldan/xardam*; mong. *altan*

aman 244 « bouche/mouth » (*kou*); cf. TMEN no. 32; dah. *am*, mog./Weiers *ãmãn*, yogor *aman*, baoan, santa *amaŋ*, mgr. *ama*; mong. *aman*

amu « céréale/cereal » 218: *ǰaqa a.* « *riz/rice* » (*mi*), 221: *qara a.* «grain, blé/grain, wheat » (*gu*); 222: *mongγul a.* « espèce de millet/a kind of millet » (*meishu*); dah. *am*, yogor *amən* (et *amən* « vie »), santa *amən* (mais *amiŋ* « vie »), mgr. *amən/amu*; mong. *amu*, cf. Wuti nno. 14839—14840, *mongγol amu*, *silükei m. a.*

a⟨m⟩musu 228 (*an mu xu/su*) « bouillie claire de millet/clear soup of boiled millet or other cereals » (*fan*), cf. yogor *aməsən*; Wuti no. 14066; mong. *amusu(n)*

anggir 358 (*ang ji er*) « canard mandarin/m. duck » (*yuanyang*); cf. TMEN no. 563; mong. *anggir* « espèce de canard », par exemple, ölöt *aŋgr* = russe *turpan* (Ramstedt, KalmWb)

aqa 77 « frère aîné/elder brother » (*gege*); cf. TMEN no. 22; dah. *aγ*, *akā*, yogor *aġa* (cf. *aġa dū*), baoan *aġa* (*a. du* et *adu*), santa *aγa* (et *a. ǰiau*), mgr. *aġa* (et *a. -diu*), khara. *ax*(*an dū*); mong. *aqa*

aqda 126 (*a ji da*, lire 忽 *hu* pour 急 *ji*; ou lire 塔 *ta* pour 荅 *da* : *aqta?*) « cheval hongré/gelding » (*shan*); cf. TMEN no. 8; dah. *art*, yogor *axta/agta*, (santa *atala-* « castrer »), mgr. *xada*, barin *axt*; mong. *aγta*

aqǰina [?] 504 (Y *ai he zhe na*, N *ai dao ai he zhe na*, ?lire ᠨᠠᡳ *nai* pour *dao*; *ai* pour mong. *e*, *nai* pour mong. *ne*): *ene a.* [?] « maintenant, à ce moment/now, at present » (*zheshi*), cf. mong. *gšan* (< ouig. *kšan* << skr.) « moment », khal. *agšin*, kalm. *akšam/akčm* « seconde/second » (Ramstedt, KalmWb)?

arasun 413 (*a la sun*): lire *arča*

ar[*bai*] 226 (*ya li* [*bai*]) « orge/rye » (*damei*); cf. TMEN no. 445 (turc *arpa*); Poppe, Introd., p. 92, etc.; mog./Ramstedt *arfei*, yogor *hrbai*, baoan *arpa*, santa *apa*, mgr. *ŝbē* (« épautre », *māmī* « orge » < chin.), barin *ɛrbɛi*; hongrois *árpa* TESz; mong. *arbai*

arča 413 (*a la sun*, lire 察 *cha* pour 孫 *sun*; V *a la* [ ]) « genévrier/juniper » (*baishu*); cf. TMEN no. 448 (ajoute tchouv. dial. *orča*); yogor *hrča*; mong. *arča*

a[*r*]*slan* 375 (*a wen lan*, lire 思 *si* pour 溫 *wen*) « lion » (*shi*); cf. TMEN no. 453; dah. *arslen*, yogor *arslan*, (santa *ŝiji* < chin.), barin *arslan*, khara. *araslaŋ*; hongrois *oroszlán* TESz; mong. *arslan*

aula 16 « montagne/mountain » (*shan*); dah. *aul*, mog./Weiers *aulɔ*, yogor, baoan *ūla*, santa, mgr. *ula*, kalm. *ūl*, bour. *uula*(*n*), khal. *uul*(*an*), ord. *ūl*, khara. *ōl*; mong. *aγula*(*n*)

aur 309 (*ao lu*, *lu* pour mong. *r*) « pilon/mortar » (*dui*); cf. TMEN no. 603; (dah. *lukuŋku*, cf. mong. *nuqu-*, mais solon/Poppe *oγor* avec tong. Barg. *owur*); mong. *aγur*, *oγur*, *uγur*

aurgi 249 (*ao lu ji*, *lu* pour mong. *r*; ou lire 質 *shi* pour 魯 *lu* et mong. *aušgi?*) « pumon/lung » (*fei*), MNT *a'ušgi*, MA (awwsky =) *awuški*, AL *awuski*, IM *uskin*, dah. *aurki*, yogor *ūšǧăn*, baoan *oxše/ośġi*, mgr. *ōsgu/ōsge*, kalm. *oočk*(*n*), bour. *uušxa*(*n*), khal. *uušgi*(*n*), ord. *ūški*, arkhor., barin, ogn. *ūšig*, khara., tum., *ōšig*, ǰarut, khortchin *īsəg*, cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 67, etc.; mong. *aγuški*

a'ur [?] 285 (*wu a er*, lire *a wu er?*) « une sorte de soie » *juan*), cf. kalm. Buzāwa *aγursn* (mot rare) « Hausgerät, Eigentum », Ramstedt, KalmWb; mong. (*ed*) *aγurasun* « biens/goods », mandchou *aγôra?*, voir ici *yonḳor* ou *yunḳor*

a〈*y*〉*yaqa* (*ai ye he*) 298 « coupe, tasse/cup, bowl » (*wan*); cf. TMEN no. 629; dah. *aiyə* « la tête de la pipe », yogor *aiġa*, baoan *ayiġa*/(*jiwaŋ* < chin.), santa (*i*)*γa*, mgr. *yaġa/yäġa*, barin *ayig* et khara. *ɛyig*; mong. *ayaγa*

bala'andaǰi [?] 61 (*ba la an da zhi*, N *zhen* pour *zhi*, lire mong. *-ǰin?*; lire *bara-?*; lire *l* etc. pour *n?*) « fabriquant de robes/craftsman making robes » (*lanzijiang*), ? cf. mong. *baraγa*(*n*) « biens; matière/goods; textile » etc., ?? cf. TMEN no. 762 *balaq* « Hosenbein »

balaqasun 30, 32 « ville murée; muraille/walled city; city wall » (*cheng*; *qiang*); cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIV (1962), p. 18; TMEN nno. 95, 715; Sinor: CAJ XXV (1981), pp. 95—102; mgr. *balġasə/valġasə*, kalm. *balγsn* « village/ville », mais khal. *balgas* « ville ruinée », etc.; mong. *balγasun*

baqaur 259 « derrière/hind, buttock » (*dubao*); cf. AL/Poppe *bayawur*; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIV (1962), pp. 17—18 (VdI *bayayur*); dah. *bā*(*γu*) *boγōr*, baoan *bāġor* (et *borke*), santa *boyo*; cf. aussi mong. *buqur*, *buqayur*, etc., et *baya-*

bari- « prendre, saisir/to take, to seize » (Y *bazhe*, N, V *fanzhe* [?]) 528 (*si lü*/*lu li*/*xi*? *zhu*/*you*; lire 把 *ba* pour 四 *si*? et zero pour *lu*?): *bariǰu*, adv. imperf.; dah. *bari-*, mog./Weiers *bʌr*(*i*)-, yogor *bar-* (mais *barəlga* « don, cadeau »), santa *bari-*, mgr. *barə-*/*varə-*; tchak., barin, khara., khortchin, ǰarut, etc. *bər-*; mong. *bari-*

ba[*r*]*s* 373 « tigre/tiger » (*hu*); cf. TMEN no. 685; yogor *barəs*, baoan *baso*, santa *basi*, mgr. *bars*/*bas*, khal., etc. *bars*/*bar*; mong. *bars*

bau [?] 142 (lire 保 *bao* pour 呆 *ai*/*tai*?) « maison/house » (*jia*), cf. mong. *bayuri* < *bayu-*? (et mandchou *boo*?), voir ici *ayi*[*l*]

baurǰi 70 (Y *bao li zhi*, N *ju li*, V?) « cuisinier/cook » (*chuzi*); MNT *bawurči*, Hy *bawurči*; cf. TMEN no. 82; avec un thème autre que mgr. *baġūr* « grand plat avec couvercle . . . » (mong. *baybur*), de Smedt—Mostaert; mong. précl. *bayurči*

begi 100 « princesse; fille d'empereur/emperor's daughter » (*gongzhu*), cf. le titre masculin *beki*, TMEN no. 114; mong. *begi*

beke 327 « encore (de Chine)/ink » (*mo*), cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX (1966), s. v. ouig. *mäkä*; dah. *bəγ*, yogor *beke*, *b. qusun*, *b. člū*, (mgr. *mi* < chin.); mong. *beke*

bergen 95 (Y, N et ?V: lire 干 *gan* pour 于 *qian*; *gan* pour mong. *-gen*, *li* pour mong. *-r-* ou *-ri-*?) « femme du frère aîné/the elder brother's wife » (*asao*); cf. TMEN no. 88; dah. *bərγən*, yogor *berge*, baoan *wergan*, mgr. *bergen*/*biergan*; mong. *bergen* < *berigen*

beri 96 (*bie li*, Y 鱉 pour N, V 别 *bie*) « belle fille/daughter-in-law » (*erfu*, V, à tort, *asao*); cf. TMEN no. 76; dah. *bər'*, mog./Weiers *beiri*, yogor, mgr. *bērə*, baoan *werə*, santa *biəri*, mgr. *bieri*; Alashan *ber bergn* = *aw'sn*; barin *bər*; mong. *beri bi* « il y a; être/there is; to be » 13: *gilbelün bi*; cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIV (1962), p. 19 (VdI *bei*); mog. *be*/*bo*/*bi*/*bɪ*, yogor *bəi* (mais *βəyu* « ou »), baoan *wi*, santa *bi-*/*wə*, mgr. *i*/*vi*; mong. *bui*, lire *büi* (*bui* et *buyu*: leçons livresques) < *bü-*

bičēči « scribe » 41: *naran* (ou *narin*) *b.* « lettre gradué/graduated scholar (*xiucai*) » ou bien « secrétaire/secretary », voir aussi *naran*; cf. TMEN no. 718; Ligeti: Mongolian Studies, Budapest 1970, pp. 298—302; cf. (dah. *bityəšin* < mandchou *bitxesi* + *-n*), yogor *pəče-*, baoan *pəči-* « écrire », santa *piǰi-*, mgr. *puǰigčə* « lettre », etc. (mong. *bičigči*), khara. *bičəč*; mong. *bičigeči*

bičі[*k*] 325 «écriture, lettre/writing, letter» (*wenshu*); cf. TMEN no. 717; (dah. *bitəγ* < mandchou < anc. mong.), yogor *pəčəg*, baoan *pəči* (et *yige* < tib.), mgr. *puǰig*; hongrois *betű* TESz; mong. *bičig*

bilǰiqur 371 (*ben shi hu er*; N, V 上 *shang* pour 土 *shi*; ou lire 土 *tu* pou *shi*, ainsi *biltuqur* ou *biltuhur*?) « passereau/sparrow » (*qiaoer*); cf. MNT *bildu'ur* ou *bildu'ur*, de Rachewiltz: PFEH 13 (March 1976), p. 69, *bilǰighur*, cité du Zhiyuan (alias Menggu) yiyu, éd. Chunzhuang shuyuan de 1330—1332), Srn V 178: *bilǰigür*; ? TMEN no. 764 (*bildirčin*); yogor *βölǰir* dans *xara b.* « hirondelle », baoan *bəlǰir* « passereau », santa *bunǰu* « petit oiseau; passereau »; mong. *bilǰuuqai*; ölöt *bolǰūxā* « Vogeljunges » (Ramstedt, KalmWb)

[*bo*]*lo*[*q*]*san* 230 (*lo san/sa*) « cuit, préparé/cooked, boiled », ainsi le mot mong., nom. perf. du verbe *bol-* « être cuit » etc., ne correspond qu'au premier membre du chin. *shu mian*; il semble difficile à identifier la transcription chinoise à la forme du mot ouig. *laqša* « vermicelle » (v. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX [1966], p. 179) ou santa *laŝiγa* = chin. *miantiao*; cf. dah. *bol-* (par exemple, dans *bolsən kaso* « fer forgé »), yogor. *bɔl-*, baoan *bol-* et *bolsan*, santa *bolu*, mgr. *balə-*/*bali-* « mûrir » (etc., par exemple, dans *balijan gurir* « farine grillée/préparée », de Smedt—Mostaert); mong. *bol-* (et *bol-basun*)

bol- « être possible/to be possible » 524 (*wu lie bo er hu*): *üle bolqu* » « (c'est) impossible/(it is) impossible » (*bu dang*); cf. TMEN no. 811; dah. *bol-*, mog./Weiers *bol-*, yogor *bol*, baoan *ol-*, mgr. *olə-*/*oli-*, santa *olu-*; mong. *bol-*

bolo[*t*] 345 (*bo lo fu lan*): *b. fulat* « acier fin/fine steel » (*bingang*); cf. Ligeti, *op. cit.*, 144: ouig. *bolut*; Wy *pula*[*t*]; pers. *pulat*; mong. *bolod*

bokto[*q*?] 278 (*bo ku tuo*) « coiffure des femmes mariées/married woman's headgear », chin. *gugu*; cf. IM *boqtaq*, MA *boqtatu*, MNT *boqtala-*; TMEN no. 89; Mostaert, Manual, pp. 39—40, note; mong. *boγta* dans *boγtala-*, ord. *bogtolo-*

bögeüne 402 (*bo gou na*) « moustique, moucheron/mosquito, gnat » (*wenzi*); cf. Hy *böke'üne* (ou *bökö'üne*?), yogor *bögdəg* « moustique », mgr. *pugunag*/*pugonog* « taon », kalm. *bökün* « Mucke », ord. *bökön* « petite mouche »; hong. *bögöly* « taon » TESz; mong. *bökegüne*

börge 276 (*bo lu ge*) « bonnet d'été/summer hat » (*lizi*); cf. Wuti 12185 *börkü* = tourki *čiq qalpaq*, 12179 *čigirsün börkü*; TMEN no. 737; dah. *buryē* (*mayəl*), ölöt *bürg* (Ramstedt, KalmWb), khal. *börx* (*malgai*); mong. *börkü*

bō 123 « sorcière/shamaness » (*shipo*); cf. TMEN no. 112; (cf. dah. *yadgən* « chamane », mong. *iduγan* « chamanesse »), mgr. *bō̃*; mong. *böge*

budō 227 (*bu duo*; N, V *bu nai mu*, *nai* + *mu* = *duo*) « bouillie claire de riz/clear soup of boiled rice » (*zhou*); dah. *badā*/*budā*, yogor *bədān*, (baoan/Zhao *iamə*), santa *budan*/*η*, mgr. *budā*, kalm. *budan* « gekochte Speise mit Mehl od. Grutze »; dörböt « Mehlsuppe mit od. ohne Zusatz (*xat'*) », avec mand-

chou *buda*, etc., Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *budaa* « krupa », Tunk. « list'ja badana », *budaan* Katchoug. « jačmen' », Čeremisov; khal. *budaa(n)* « bouilli », etc., ord. *budā* « millet, riz, etc.; bouillie; manger, repas; millet decortiqué », Mostaert; barin *badā*, ǰarut *bodā*; mong. *budaγa(n)*

budu[q]ǰi uran 55 (*bu du zhi* | |) « tenturier/dyer » (*ranjiang*); cf. dah. *bodõr* « matière colorante », *bodõčin* « tenturier » (nom. déverb.), yogor *buduġ*, (baoan *ianso* < chin.), mgr. *budəġ*, kalm. *budg*, bour., khal. *budag*, ord. *budug* « matière colorante »; kalm. *budač* « Maler, Farber » (autre que ölöt « Mehlverkaufer, Esswarenhandler »), Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. Ouest *budagša* « krasil'ščik, maljar », Čeremisov; mong. *buduγ* + *či(n)*

buġu « cerf/stag » 482 (*bu gong*; *gong* pour *gu*): *b. sara* « le 8e mois/the 8th month » (*bayue*); cf. dah. *boγw*, yogor *bəġə* « nom d'un jeu (*luqi*) » (yogor, mgr. *bɔdɔ* « cerf », cf. mong. *boda* ou *bodong*?; baoan *xia* < tib.), mgr. *buġu*, kalm. *buγ*, bour., khal. *buga*, ord. *bugu*; mong. *buγu*

bula[q] 19 « source/spring, source » (*quan*); cf. TMEN no. 809; dah. *bular*, yogor, mgr. *bulaγ*, baoan *bulaγ/bəlaġ/balaġ*, santa *bula*; mong. *bulaγ*

buluqan (ou *bulqan*?) 392(*bu lu huan* « zibeline/sable » (*diaoshu*); cf. TMEN no. 94; dah. *balaγ*, yogor *balaġan*; mong. *bulaγan*

buqa 337 « bracelet » (*chuaner*); cf. TMEN no. 752; mong. *buγui/buγuu*, *buγaγu*, moyen mong. *buqa'u* etc.; bour. *bugaag* « bracelet », dah. *bayəlǰār*, mgr. *bayalǰaġ*, santa *bəyəliə* « poigné »

burča[q] (*bu nu cha*; *nu* pour *r*) 223: *qara b.* « pois noir/black pea » (*heidou*); 224: *ǰaqā b.* « pois blanc/white pea » (*xiaodou*); 225: *kükü b.* « pois vert ou lentille verte/green pea or lentil » (*lüdou*); cf. TMEN no. 730; dah. *borčoo*, yogor *pərčaġ*, baoan *pəčaγ/pučiax*, santa *puǰa*, mgr. *puǰaγ*; hongrois *borsó* TESz; mong. *burčaγ/buurčaγ*

buro 540 (*bu luo*) « brun tirant sur le gris/greyish brown » (*chahe*); 130: *b. muri* « cheval gris/grey horse » (*qing ma*); cf. TMEN no. 785; dah. *bor* dans *b. taul'*, yogor *bɔrɔ*, (baoan *məišəi* < chin.), santa, mgr. *boro*; cf. Poppe: The Canada-Mongolia Review, III: 2 (1977), pp. 131—133; mong. *boro*

bur[qui] au lieu de *furu* [?] 302 (*fu lu*; lire 補 *bu* pour *fu*?) « foret, percoir; / gimlet, drill » (*zuozi*); cf. kalm. *buryu* « vrille », TMEN no. 1986 (N 41), s. v. *barma*; mong. *buryui*

bũdai 220 (N, V *bu hai*, Y [ ] *hai*, lire 歹 *dai* pour 亥 *hai*) « blé/wheat » (*mai*); cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. IV (1954), p. 130 et XIV (1962), p. 22 (VdI *buγdai*); mog./Weiers *buγdɛi*, baoan *boġdi/baoġdəi*, santa *baudəi*, mgr. *bũdə*; mong. *buγudai*

bü « ne/do not! » (*xiu*) 525: *bũ ũle* « ne parles pas! / do not speak! »; dah. *bũ*, santa *bu*, mgr. *bĩ/ĩ*, (yogor *pütə*, baoan *təgə* < mong. *bütügei*, etc.), kalm. *bũ*, Buzāwa *bũ* (et *bičkä*), bour, *bü*, khal. *büü* (et *bitgii*), ord. *bičigĩ* (cf. kalm.; mong. *bütügei*, cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. VIII [1958], pp. 210—211 et 231—234, note 51); mong. *buu* = *bü*

büčin 273 «ceinture de hanche/sash (or rather: ribbon or lace around the waist» (*yaoxian*); cf. kalm. *büč* «kurze u. breite Schnur od. Kantband, Band», Ramstedt, KalmWb; Alashan *büčï* = *lawïr* = chin. *piaodai*; bour. *büše* « tes'ma, lenta, šnurok; pojasok; petlja », etc., Čeremisov; khal. *büč*, ord. *büči* « bande, ruban »; mong. *büči(n)*

büdöne 364 (*bu duo na*) « caille/lark » (*anchun*); cf. TMEN no. 98; dah. *bədən'*, mgr. *puduri*; mong. *bödöne*

büri 471: *hon b.* « chaque année/every year » *meinian*), 493: *üdür b.* « chaque jour/every day » (*meiri*), cf. TMEN no. 822; yogor *büri* dans *ödör b.*; baoan *mora/morta*; mong. *büri*

bürküt 347 (*bu lu kun*, *lu* pour *r*) « aigle/eagle » (*diao*); cf. Kirakos no. 31 chez Ligeti; Acta Orient. Hung. (1965), pp. 286 sq (*bürküt*); TMEN no. 782; (mgr. *rgod* < tib.), barin *bȯrgȯd*; mong. *bürgüd*

büsi 272 (*bu xi*) « ceinture/belt » (*jiyao*); cf. dah. *bəs*, yogor *pəsē*, baoan *se*, santa *pišiə*, mgr. *pusē*; kalm. *büs*, bour. *bühe*, khal. *büs*, ord. *büse*, barin *bȯsələ-*; mong. *büse*

bür 251 (*bu er*; lire toutefois *bör*?) « reins/kidneys » (*yaozi*), cf. TMEN no. 807; (dah. *basərt* < tong.), yogor *pūre*, baoan *bōrə*, santa *boro*, mgr. *bōro*; mong. *bögere*

bürge 150 (*mu lu ge*; lire 布 *bu* pour 木 *mou*; *lu* pour *r*) « arçon de selle/ /the pommel of the saddle » (*qiaozi*); dah. *būruγw*, yogor *bürge*, (santa *antəu* < chin.), kalm. *büürg*, bour. *büürge*, khal. *büüreg*, ord. *bürge*; mong. *bügürge(n)*

čang 173 (*chang/zhang*) « cymbals » (*luo*); cf. TMEN no. 1128; dah. *čan*, yogor *čaŋ*; mong. *čang*

čaqān 536 «blanc/white » (*bai*), cf. encore *ǰaqān*; dah. *čiγān*, mog./Weiers *čaγɔn*, yogor *č(ə)ġān*, baoan *čixaŋ*, santa *ĉiġan*, mgr. *čaġān/čiġān*, durbut, *ǰarut šagān*; cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 113 et The Canada–Mongolia Review, v. III: 2 (1977), pp. 122—124; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. IV (1955), p. 130 (mog. de Leech avec les recoupements moyen mongols) et X (1960), p. 239 (avec djurtchi et mandchou); mong. *čaγa(γa)n*

čaru[q] 281 (N devant *hoimasu* 280) « souliers/slippers » (*xie*); cf. Hy *čaruq*; TMEN no. 1044; mgr. *čarəġ*, torg. Altai *carg* (Farkas); hongrois *saru* TESz; mot turc

času 11 «neige/snow » (*xue*); dah. *čas*, mog./Weiers *čɔsu(n)*, yogor *ǰasən*, baoan *čiasuŋ*, santa *ĵaŋsuŋ*, mgr. *časə/čäsə/čiasə*, kalm. *casn*, bour. *šahan*, khal. *cas(an)*, ord. *ǰasu*, barin *čas*; cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 113; gorlos *šas*, durbut *šat*, Todaeva, Jazyki mongolov . . ., p. 254; mong. *časun*

čaurači 114 (Y *chao la chi*; N *xiang la chi*, V *xiang li chi*, lire 巢 *chao* pour 象 *xiang*, 剌 *la* pour 利 *li*), « soldat, combattant/soldier, combatant » (*chujunren*); cf. kitan *čawur*, *čaur* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XVII [1964], pp. 287—288), MNT *ča'ur* (Poppe: ZDMG XCIX, pp. 274—281), Hy *čawura-*, (dah. *čwaγ* < mandchou), etc., mong. (*čerig*) *čuur*

čayyi- 495 (*chai ye ba*) *čayyiba* « il s'est fait jour/the dawn is broken » (*ming ye*); dah. *čē-*, yogor (*ör*) *čai-*, mgr. *čī-*, (baoan *čixī-*, santa *čiġatu-*), kalm. *čā-*, bour. *sai-*, khal. *cai-*, ord. *čā-*, barin *čē(lgax)*, khortchin, ǰarut *šē-*, etc.; mong. *čayi-*

čeče[k] 406 « fleur/flower » (*hua*); cf. TMEN no. 1973; (dah. *ilyā* < mandchou; yogor *medɔg*, baoan *matax* < tib.), santa *ĉiǰɔ/ĉuĵə*, mgr. *čiǰaġ*; mong. *čečeg*

čerbi 36 (*she li bi, she = che*) « un haut fonctionnaire/chancellor (*chengxiang*) »; cf. MNT *čerbi*; TMEN 176; mong. précl. AT *čerbi*

či[ba]qa ou *či[bu]qa* ou *či[b]qa* au lieu de *čiqa* 437 (Y *chi xia*, N, V *chi li*; 厘 *li* pour *xia = qa*) « jujube » (*zao*); cf. Hy *cibuqan*, mgr. *ĉubuġa/ĉuġa* (mais *jaur* < chin.), khal. *čawaγ*, bour. *šabga* (dans *š. ulaan* « rouge vif »), ord. *čiwaga* (avec *ǰag/gatū/yasun č.* « noix »), barin *čabag*; mong. *čibaγa(n)*, *čibuγa*

čigin 245 « oreille/ear » (*er*); cf. MNT *čikin*, MA *čiqin*, etc.; TMEN no. 1106; dah. *čik'*, yogor *čkən*, bavan *čixaŋ*, santa *ĉiġəŋ/ĉuġun*, mgr. *čigə*, mong *čikin*

čigörsün 411 (*la* pour *r*) « sapin, pin/pine » (*songshu*), MNT id. / AT 16b *čögörsün*; mong. *čigörsün*

čilau 27 « pierre/stone » (*shitou*), cf. le mot suivant

čilawun 331: [*qaš*] *č.* « jade » (*yu*), 346: *kö*[*kö*] *č.* « jade de couleur verte/green jade » (*bi*); cf. TMEN no. 855; dah. *čolõ*, yogor *člū*, (baoan *ɔdorəg* » caillou » < tib.; santa *taŝi*, mgr. *taŝ* < turc), mong. *čilaγun*

činaqa 179 (*chi na he*) « louche/laddle » (*shaozi*); cf. AL/Poppe *čanaqa*; TMEN no. 1125; yogor *šənaġa*, baoan *naġa* (mais *šǰaġdom* < tib.), santa *ŝinaγa*, mgr. *šinaġa* et *ŝnaġa*; hongrois *csanak* TESz; mong. *sinaγa*

čināǰi (ou *činaǰi*) 492: *č. üdür* «dans trois jours/the second day after tomorrow » (*waihouri*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *čanaǰi* (p. 24) et ici *ǰināji*; dah. *čāǰ*, yogor *čāġădăr*, baoan *čināzə*, (santa *ĉinaə xoŋ* « l'année prochaine »), mgr. *čināda* et *činādag* « après-demain »; mong. *činadu*

čouqor (ou *čouqar?*, au lieu de *ǰiqal*) 140 (*zhi ling er*, lire 丑 *chou* pour 只 *zhi* et 合 *he* pour 令 *ling*) « cheval à moucheture blanche/horse with white spots » (il serait difficile de voir ici le mong. *ǰaγal* dont le sens semble être incompatible avec celui de l'expression chinoise *baidianer*); dah. *čōkur* (= chin. *huadi, huasedi*), yogor *čūqăr* (*mərə*, = chin. *dianzima*); kalm. *cooxr*, bour. *sooxor*, khal. *cooxor*, ord., barin, etc. *čōxor*; mong. *čooqor*

čulqur [?] 42 (*chu lu hu er*) « prêtre bouddhiste/Buddhist monk or priest » (*heshang*), mot mystérieux, ??cf. mong. *čulγui* « pure » etc., kalm. *culγu*; [rien de commun avec *toyin, ayaγ-qa tegimlig, quušang, šabi, tidsi, quvaraγ, bandi, blama, gelüng*, etc.]

dabusu 236 « sel/salt » (*yan*); cf. (dah. *katā*), mog./Weiers *dəbsun*, yogor *dāβsən*, baoan *dabsuŋ*, santa *daŋsuŋ*, mgr. *dabsə*; kalm. *dawsn*, bour. *dabahan*, khal. *daws(an)*, ord. *dawusu*, barin *dabas*, durbut/Todaeva *dawat*; mong. *dabusun*

dai ong 97 « grand prince/duke » (*dawang*); cf. TMEN no. 120 (*tayang*); *dai* dans *Dai On, Dayan* (chin. Da Yuan, v. Vladimircov: Doklady Ross. Akad. nauk, 1929, serija B, pp. 119—121); ouig. *Taytu*, mong. *Da(y)idu* < chin. *Dadu*

dala 453 «soixante-dix/seventy » (*qishi*); cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *dalan*; dah. *dal*, yogor, mgr. *dalan*, (baoan *dolaran*, mais *hdonči*, *don-* < tib.); santa *čišï* < chin.), etc.; mong. *dalan*

dalai 21 «mer/sea » (*hai*); cf. TMEN no. 196; dah., yogor, mgr. *dalī*, (baoan, santa *xai* < chin.), barin *delē*, khara., khortchin, ǰarut, etc. *delē*; mong. *dalai*

dalbi[*qu*?] 483 (*da li bi*): *quča d. sara*, voir *quča*; ? cf. Hy, mong. *talbi-* « relacher/to release »: dah. *tal'-*, yogor. *tal-* (et *talba-*), baoan *təi-* (mong. *talbi-*, *tayil-* ?), santa, mgr. *tai-*, (*die*); *debsi* 176 « tasse, soucoupe/cup (or, rather, tray), saucer » cf. TMEN no. 123; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX (1966), p. 263; yogor *tebšəg* « une sorte de tamis », baoan *debśi* (mgr. *dējə* = chin. *diezi*); hongrois *tepsi* TESz; mong. *tebsi* < ouig. < moyen chin. bour. Aga *tayi-*, barin *tɛba-*, khortchin, ǰarut *tɛb-*, etc.; Poppe, Introd., p. 100) ou lire *darbi-*, mong. *darbi*qui signifie non seulement « être excitable » (cf. khal. *darwi-*, Hangin, MMED 162) ou « pousser des cris rauques » (Kow. III, 1680b citant un passage de l'*Üliger-ün dalai*), mais aussi « brosat'sja vsled za drugim (o lošadjach i voobšče o skote) », c'est-à-dire, « se jeter après les autres (dit des chevaux et du bétail en général » (Golst. III, 64), voir khal. *xucdax* = *xuc xòòx*; *xuc duuriaaǰ darwix* (Cewel, 740), mong. *qučada-* (verbe de la saison du rut des béliers, qui est aussi employé au sens figuratif), *darwix* = *biye biyedee tatagdan xòòròx*; par exemple, *xùùxed darwiǰ xòòròldòn buǰignaw* (Cewel, 190) et Wuti 16461, mandchou *urkila-*, mong. *darbi-*, verbe pour le phénomène où plusieurs chevaux suivent l'exemple d'un cheval qui, effrayé par quelque chose, par exemple, le claquement du fouet, fait des sauts et décharge sa vessie.

dalgi 311 « truelle à plâtre/plaster trowel » (*mandao*); mong. *talki(n)*, cf. aussi Ramstedt, KalmWb 376a et hongrois *tiló* TESz

dalu 253 (*lou* pour *lu*) « omoplate/shoulder blade » (*pipagu*); cf. VdI/ Ligeti *dalu* (p. 25); TMEN no. 1826; dah. *dal*, yogor *dālə*, baoan *dalan*, santa *daləu*, mgr. *dālī*; mong. *dalu*

daqu 266 « vêtement de fourrure étranger (fourrure retournée à l'envers)/foreign style fur coat (coat with the fur outside) » (*fanpi*); cf. TMEN no. 2035 (N 90); mong. *daqu*

daraqai 266 (N, V après 265, *duruqon*) « chauve/bald » (*tu*); cf. Hy *taraqai*; TMEN no. 2056 (N 111), hongrois *tar* TESz; mgr. *tarġai* « eczéma; terre nue », kalm. *tar* et *tarxa*; mong. *taraqai*

darasu 234 « vin/wine » (*jiu*), MNT, Hy *darasun*; cf. TMEN no. 197; santa *darasun* (et *darasuči* « ivrogne »), mgr. *dərāsə/durāsə*; mong. *darasun*

darbi- [?]: voir *dalbi-*

dariya 409 (*ye* pour *ya*) « céréales, grains/cereals » (*tianhuo*); cf. TMEN nno. 119, 886; (cf. yogor *tarālǰən* « céréales; agriculture »), baoan *taraŋ* (et *tar-*), santa *taraŋ* (et *tari-*; *ǰoŋǰia* < chin.), mgr. *tara* (et *tarə-*), barin *tarā* (et *tɛra-*), khara. *tarā*, tchak., khortchin, ǰarut *tɛrē*, etc.; hongrois *tarló* et *dara* TESz; mong. *tariyan*

dariyači 69 (*ye* pour *ya*) « laboureur/farmer » (*zhongtianren*); cf. MNT *tariyaǰin*, Hy *tariyači* « cultivateur »; TMEN no. 886 (turc *tariyči*); mgr. *tarāčə*, kalm., ölöt *taračn*, *tarančn*, bour. *tar'aaša*, khal. *tariačin*, ord., barin, khara. *tarāčin*; mong. *tariyačin*

daruqači 102 « gouverneur civil/governor » (*da lu hua chi*); cf. MNT *daruqačin* et *daruqa*; TMEN 193, 622 (*daruγa*); mong. *daruγa* (= turc *basqaq*, cf. Vásáry: Acta Orient. Hung. XXX [1976], pp. 187—197 et XXXII [1978], pp. 201—206)

daus 355 (*dao hu*, lire 思 *si* pour 虎 *hu*) « paon/peacock » (*kongjiao*); cf. Hy *tawus*, ouig. Wy *tavus*; (dah. *tōǰin* <mandchou), ölöt *toγs*, bour. *togod*, khal., ord. *togos*; mong. *tayus* / *toγus* < ouig. << grec (Vladimircov, Mongolica)

dāqan 147 (*da kong*, lire 𠃌合 *han* pour 空 *kong*) « poulain de deux ans/colt in its second year » (*ersui*); cf. MNT *da'aqan*, dah. *dāγ*, yogor *dāġan*, (baoan *ŝdigə* < tib.), santa *daγaŋ*, mgr. *dāxa*, kalm. *daaγn*, bour., khal. *daaga(n)*, ord. *dāga*; cf. Clauson, ED, p. 874, s. v. *yapa:ku*, tchag. *yapaγ/q*; mong. *dayaγan*

delbūr [?] au lieu de *dellir* 204 (*dian ti er*, lire 本 *ben* pour 体 *ti*; *dian* pour *del*, *ben* + *er* pour *-būr*) « évantail/fan » (*shanzhi*), cf. mong. *deli-/debi-* « éventer », *debigür* « évantail »; dah. *dəlbur* « évantail » (mais *dəlbur* «crinière »); ord. *dewūr* = khal. *dewüür*; bour. *deb'üür*; kalm. *dewūr*, *däwūr*, *dēwr*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; VdI/Ligeti *delbür* « rasoir » (p. 26); ord. *diwūr* « tamis »; Hy/Chen *deki'ür* « évantail » (autre que kalm. *dekūr* < *dek-*, Ramstedt, KalmWb); cf. turc *yelpigü*

deldeürge [?] 175 (*ao dao li ke*; lire 典 *dian* pour 奥 *ao* et 哥 *ge* pour 可 *ke*) « baguette de tambour/drumstick » (*putou*); cf. mong. *deled-* « battre, frapper » + suffixe déverbal *-gür* des noms d'outil + suffixe dénominal *-ge*, voir khal. *šaxuur/šaxuurga* < mong. *siqa* + *γur-*(+ *γa*); *ugluur*(*γa*); bour. *damžuur*(*ga*), *ed'xüür*(*ge*), *šemxüür-*(*ge*), *xabšuur*(*ga*) (mong. *uγla-*, *damǰi-*, *iske-*, *čimki-*, *qabči-*); MNT *delet-*, VdI/Ligeti *delet-* (p. 27); yogor *deled-*, kalm. *deld-*, bour., ord. *delde-*, khal. *deld-/dels-*, etc.

deli⟨*w*⟩*wün* 240 (lire 迭留溫 *die liu wen*) « rate/spleen » (*pi*); cf. MNT Deli'ün; VdI/Ligeti *delūn* (p. 27); dah. *dolū*, (baoan *ŝəpi* < chin.), mgr. *dəliu*, etc.; mong. *deligün*

dellir [?] 204 (lire 李 *li* pour 体 *ti*?): voir *delbūr*

denggisü 303 (*deng ji su/xu*) « balance de changeurs/scales » (*jincheng*) cf. 304, chin. *dengzi*; dah. *dəns*, santa *dənji*; ölöt *deŋs*, Ramstedt, KalmWb;

khal. *dens*, cf. Acta Orient. Hung. XIII (1961), p. 193, nno. 96—97, Cewel 228 (= *alt mɔngɔ jergiig xemǰix xemǰüür*), barin *dəns*; mong. *dengse* < < chin.

deü 78 (*dou*) « frère cadet/younger brother » (*didi*), 84: *qadum d.*, voir *qadum*; cf. MNT *de'ü*, dah. *dəu*, yogor *dū*, baoan *du* (*aǥa du*), santa *ǰiau*, mgr. *diu*; kalm. *dū*, bour., khal., ord., barin, etc. *dū*; mong. précl. *degü* (forme masc., cf. *döyi*, forme fémin.), mong. *degüü*

dēl 270 (*die er*) « robe » (*aozi*), 288 (N, V *die* [*er*]); *altan d.* voir *altan*; cf. MNT, Hy *de'el*, VdI/Ligeti *dėbil* (p. 26); dah. *dəl'* « robe de cuir », yogor *dīl*, santa *ǰiən*, mgr. *der*/*dēl*, kalm. *dewl*, bur. *degel*, ord., khal. *dēl*, cf. TMEN no. 200; mong. *degel*/*debel*

dēre 512 (*song la*, lire 迭 *die* pour 送 *song*) « en haut, audessus/above » (*shang*); cf. TMEN no. 872; dah. *dər*, yogor, baoan *dīre*, santa *ǰiərə*, mgr. *dəre*; mong. *degere*

dēsü 305 (*die la*, lire 耒 *shu* ou 速 *su* pour 剌 *la* ou 剌 *ci*) « corde/rope » (*suozi*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *dēsün* (p. 27), dah. *dəs*, yogor *dīsən*, baoan *desuŋ*, santa *ǰiəsun*, mgr. *desə*/*dēsə*, kalm. *deesn*, bour. *deehe*(*n*), khal. *dees*(*en*), ord. *dēsü*, tchak., barin, etc., *dəs*; mong. *degesün*, cf. turc *yip*

dolō « sept/seven » (*qi*) 6: *d. ebügen* « Ursus major » (*qixing*); cf. ici *dolōn* et Hy *dolo'an hodun*, moyen mong. en écr. tib. *dolo'an ebügen* (voir Ligeti, Notes sur le colophone du « Yitikän sudur »), mong. *doloyan ebügen*; dah. *dolō xod*, santa *doloŋ xoduŋ*, mgr. (*dolō*) *rgɜ*, khal. *doloon burxan*

dolōn 444 (*duo luan*) « sept/seven » (*qi*); cf. Hy *dolo'an*, VdI/Ligeti *dolān* (p. 27), dah. *dolō* « sept », mais *dolōn* « le septième » (comme dans le khal.), yogor *dolōn*, baoan *doloŋ*, santa *doloŋ*, mgr. *dolō*; mong. *doloyan*

dongǧodu 12 (*dang guo du*) « tonnerre/thunder » (*lei*), ?nom–verbe; cf. Hy *dongqodun* (lire *-dum*?); mgr. *təngerə doŋgodən a* « le ciel tonne », Zhao; *doŋgudə-*, Qasbaγatur; *doŋgodi-* et *doŋg*(*u*)*ordi-* « résonner, retentir », de Smedt—Mostaert; kalm. *doŋγd-*, bour. et khal. *doŋgod-*, ord. *doŋgodu-*, etc.; mong. *dongŋod-*/*dongŋos-*

doqōn 293 «chaudron/caldron » (*guo*); cf. ici *toqō*

do[*q*]*su* 145 (*duo su*): *d.* [*muri*] « cheval encore non-dressé/untamed horse » (*shengma*); cf. MNT *dogšin*; TMEN no. 964 (turc *tosun*) ?; dah. *doršin*, yogor *dɔgšun*, mgr. *dɔgśin*/*dɔgśen* « aigre; acide », *dɔgšun* « sauvage » (mais *dogšün* = mong. *tübsin* « plain »); kalm. *dogšn*, bour. *došxon*, khal. *dogšin*/*došgin*, ord. *dogšin*/*doškin*, barin *dogšin*, etc.; mong. *doγsin*

doqula 263 (N, V entre *suqur* et *targun*) « boiteux/lame » (*bo*), nom-verbe; cf. Hy *doqolang*; VDI/Ligeti *doγolan* (p. 27); TMEN no. 205 (*doγolqu*); dah. *doγwlun*, santa *doγoloŋ* et *doγolo-*, mgr. *doġoloŋ*/*doġloŋ*/*dɔġlɔŋ* et *doġolə-*/*dɔġɔli-*/*dɔġla-*, kalm. *doγlŋ*, *doγl-*, bour. *doxolo*(*n*), *doxol-*, khal. *dogol*/*dogolon*, *dogol-*, ord. *dogoloŋ*, *dogol-*, barin *dɔglɔŋ*; mong. *doγol-*/*doγola-*, [*doγola*] et *doγolang*

dorona 508 (*tuo luo na*, lire 埵 *duo* pour 唾 *tuo*) « Est/east » (*dong*); MNT, Hy id., cf. bour, *durna*, khal. *dornod*; mong. *dorona*

dõro 513 « en bas, au-dessous/below » (*xia*); MNT id.; dah. *dwar/dor*; yogor *dura*, baoan *doro*, santa *dəura*, (*śira*), mgr. *dõro*, kalm., khal. *dor*, bour., ord. *doro*, barin *dor*, etc.; mong. *doora*

durma 428 (du lu ma) « rave, radis/turnip » (*luopo*); cf. Hy *turma*; TMEN no. 897; baoan *terma*, santa *tuma*, mgr. *turmā/tərmā*; hongrois *torma* TESz; mong. *tu(u)rma*

durumdai 354 (*du lin/m ji*, lire 歹 *dai* pour 及 *ji*) « émérillon/merlin » (*longduo*); cf. Ligeti: Pais Emlékkönyv (Budapest 1956), pp. 336—346; TMEN no. 896; hongrois Torontál; mong. *turumtai*

duruqon 265 (*du lu huan*; N, V entre *tarqun* et *daraqai*, N 雚 *huan* pour Y 忊雚, V *huan* deest; lire *durqon*, ou *durqan*?) « maigre/lean » (*sou*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *turuγan*; yogor *tur-* et *turaηqui*, santa *tuγaη*, mgr. *turgan*; mong. *turuqan*

dusu 235 (*du su*, N, V 束 *shu* pour 速 *su*) « huile, graisse/oil, fat » (*you*); cf. Hy *tosun*, dah. *tos*, yogor *tusən*, santa *tosun/dosun* (*tosunči* « vendeur d'huile »), mgr. *tosə/tosə/toje*, kalm. *tosn*, bour. *toho(n)*, khal. *tos(on)*, ord. *dusu*; mong. *tosun*

dutona 520 (*du zha la*, lire 托 *tuo* pour 扎 *zha*; ou lire *dutora* ?) « l'intérieur/inside, interior, inner » (*litou*); cf. MNT *dotona*, *dotora*, dah. *dotõn*; *dotur* et *dwatər*, mog./Weiers *dotʌn/dotonʌ*, yogor *htərə/htər*, baoan *doro*, santa *sudoro*, mgr. *tudor*, *turo*, bour. *dosoo*, khal. *dotno* et *dotor*, etc.; mong. *dotona* et *dotora*

dūlqa 168 (*du lu hua*) « casque/helmet » (*toukui*); cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, pp. 269—270; TMEN no. 2040 (N 95); mong. *duγulya*

düčin 450 « quarante/forty » (*sishi*); cf., MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *döčin*, dah. *duč*, yogor *döčən*, (baoan *deraraη* et *žibči* < tib.; santa *suŝu* < chin.), mgr. *təǰin/tieǰin*; mong. *döčin*

düi 91 (*düi*) « soeur cadette/younger sister » (*meimei*); cf. Hy *döyi*, mong. précl. *döyi*, forme féminine de *degü*

düli « mi-/mid- » (*zhong, ban*), 497: *üdür d.*; 501; *süni d.*; cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *düli* (p. 28), dah. *dul'*, mgr. *dur*, mong. *düli* (et *düli-*); cf. hongrois *dél*, Ligeti, A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai, 17 (contre l'étymologie turque donnée dans TESz)

dümen: voir *tümen*

dürben 441 (*du lu ban*) « quatre/four » (*si*); cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *dörben* (p. 27); TMEN no. 203; dah. *durbw*, *durben*, mog./Weiers *durbon*, yogor *dörβen*, baoan *deraη*, santa *ǰiəron*, mgr. *dēren/dieran*; mong. *dörben*

dü⟨r⟩rē 152 (*du lu la*, N, V *mu li la*, ?lire 朵 *duo* pour 木 *mu*; *lu* ou *li* pour *r*, 列 *lie* = *re* pour 剌 *la*) « étrier/stirrup » (*deng*); cf. Hy *dörö'e*, VdI/Ligeti *dörie* (p. 27); dah. *durəngi*, yogor *dürē*, (baoan *deη*, santa *duη*, mgr. *dəη/dəη* < chin.); mong. *döröge*

dürülek [?]: voir *dürē*

ebesü 403 (*ai shi su*; lire 百 *bai* au lieu de 石 *shi*, cf. 404) « herbe/grass » (*cao*); 404: *kökö e.*; cf. Hy *ebesü(n)*, dah. *əus*, mog./Weiers *ebasun*, yogor *βesən/wesən*, baoan *ebsoŋ/uesuŋ*, santa *osuŋ*, mgr. *vesə/yesə/biesə/wesə*, kalm. *ŏwsn*, bour. *ùbhe(n)*, khal. *ὸws*, ord. *öwösù*, barin *ὸbs*; mong. *ebesün*

ebesün 427 (*ai bo/bai sun*) « légume/vegetable » (*cai*), voir *ebesü*

ebin 75 (*ai bin*) « oncle: frère aîné du père/uncle: father's elder brother » (*bai*); cf. MNT, Hy *ebin*, Poppe: JAOS 79 (1959), p. 302

ebügen « vieillard/old man » 74 (*a bu shi*, lire 干 *gan* pour 士 *shi*) « grand'père/grandfather » (*yeye*); 6 (*a bu qian*, lire *gan* pour 千 *qian*): *dolō e.*; cf. TMEN no. 4; dah. *əukə̄* = chin. *dadie*; *əukən* = chin. *zhangfu*, mong. *ebügen*

ečige 73 (*ai chi ge*) « père/father » (*fu*), 81 (*ai chi* 可 *ke*, lire 哥 *ge*?): *qadum ečike*; cf. MNT, Hy *ečige*, VdI/Ligeti *éčige* (p. 28); TMEN no. 63; dah. *əčiγ*, mong. *ečige*

edō 506 (*ai duo*) « maintenant/now » (*rujin*); cf. MNT, Hy *edö'e*; dah. *ədə̄*, yogor *ədō*, (baoan *daŋsəŋ* < tib.), santa *ədə*, mgr. *do*, kalm. *oda*, bour., khal., ord., etc. *odō*; mong. *edüge* (et *odō*)

ejin [?]: voir *ajin*

eke 88 (*a ke*) « mère/mother » (*mu*); cf. MNT, Hy id.,VdI/Ligeti *éke*; TMEN nno. 66, 512; dah. *əγ*, yogor *hke*, santa *eke/əkiə*, (baoan *amə/amo* < tib., mgr. *ama* < chin./tib.); mong. *eke*

ekeči 90 (*a ke chi*; ? lire *ge* pour *ke* et *egeči*, cf. *ečige*) « sœur aînée/elder sister » (*jiejie*); cf. MNT, Hy *egeči*; TMEN no. 67; dah. *əkč*, yogor *əgečə*, baoan *egči du* (« sœur puinée »; *aji* « s. aînée » < chin.), santa *əγəči* (et *ajəi* < chin.), mgr. *gəčə/kaji*, khal. *egč*, barin *əgč* (et *agā*), etc.; mong. *egeči*

elči 103 (*yan chi*; *yan* pour *el*) « envoyé/envoy » (*shichen*); cf. MNT, Hy *elčin*, VdI/Ligeti *elči* (p. 29); TMEN no. 656; dah. *əlčin*; khal. *elč* (et moderne *elčin(g)* « ambassade »), barin *əlč* (autre que *əlč*, mong. *ilči* « chaleur »); mong. *elči*

eljige 380 (*an zhi ge*; *an* pour *el*) « âne/donkey » (*lu*); cf. Hy *eljigen*; TMEN nno. 68, 486; (dah. *əiγən* < mandchou *eixen*), yogor *eljigen*, baoan *eljige*, santa *ənǰəγə*, mgr. *(r)ǰige*; khal. *eljig/iljig(en)*, barin *əljig(ən)*, etc.; mong. *eljigen*

emču « propriété/property » (*tiji*) 143 (Y 卯丑 *yin chou*, N, V 卯日 *mao ri*): *e. muri* « son propre cheval/horse as property »; cf. MNT *emču*; TMEN no. 670; mong. *emču, ömči*; ? *inji*

eme 87 (*ai mie*) « femme/woman » (*funü*); cf. MNT, Hy *eme* (*gü'ün*), VdI/Ligeti *éme*; dah. *əmγun* « épouse; femme; femelle », yogor *eme* « femelle », baoan *emə* « épouse », santa *emə* « féminine; femelle », mgr. *imu* « fille »; khal. *em*; *emegtei*; barin *əm* (autre que *əm* « médicine », mong. *em*); mong. *eme*

emen 94 (*ai, mian,* lire *eme⟨n⟩*?) « femme mariée, épouse/married woman, wife » (*xifu*), cf. *eme*

emēl 149 (*a man, man* pour *mel*) « selle/saddle » (*anzi*); cf. MNT *eme'el,* VdI/Ligeti *yeme'el*; dah. *əmə̄l* (et solon *əməgəl,* mandchou *enggemu*), yogor *emel,* mog./Weiers *yʌmʌl,* baoan *ngə/eməl,* (santa *naŋĵaŋ* < chin.), mgr. *imier/imel*; mong. *emegel*

emgen 89 (*a mu qian,* N *a mu xia,* lire 干 *gan* pour 千 *qian* et 下 *xia*) « vieille dame/old lady » (*niangniang*); cf. MNT, Hy *emege, emegen,* VdI/Ligeti *emegen*; dah. *əməγ,* (baoan *laolən nəinə,* santa *niəniəgiə*), mgr. *mugan* « vieille femme »; mong. *emegen*

emǰi 121 (*yan/m zhi,* N *yan* avec le radical « terre ») « médecin/physician » (chin. *yishou* !); cf. TMEN no. 667; yogor *emčə,* (santa *iŝun* < chin., baoan *mɑmbə,* mgr. *sənamba* < tib.), khal. *emč,* barin *əmč,* etc.; mong. *emči*

emüdü 268 (*a mu du,* N *wu* pour *mu*) « pantalon, caleçon, culotte/pants, trousers » (*ku(er)*); cf. MNT, Hy *emüdün,* VdI/Ligeti *emüs*-(p. 29), (dah. *xakur* < mandchou), yogor *modən,* baoan *emdoŋ,* santa *məduŋ,* (mgr. *musə*-), khal. *ȯmd,* barin *ȯmȯd,* etc.; mong. *emüdü(n)*

emüne 510 (*ai mu nie*) « Sud/south » (*nan*); cf. MNT, Hy *emüne,* dah. *əməl,* yogor *ölmö* (« Est; devant »), baoan *eməla/məliə,* santa *məliə,* mgr. *muśə* (mong. *emüne(g)si*), kalm. *ömn,* bour. *ümene,* khal. *ȯmnȯ,* ord. *ömönö,* khortchin, ǰarut *ümȯn, ȯmȯn*; mong. *emüne*

ende 517 (*an da*) « ici/here » (*cheli*); cf. VdI/Ligeti id.; dah. *ənd,* yogor *ende,* baoan *endə,* santa *əndə,* mgr. *ndē*; mong. *ende*

ene « ce, cette; ceci/this » 467 (*ai nai*): *e. hon* « cette année/this year » (*jinnian*), 473 (*xiang nai,* lire 阿 *a* pour 向 *xiang*): *e. sara* « ce mois/this month » (*jinyue*); 489 (*a nai*): *e. üdür* « aujourd'hui/today » (*jinri*), 504 (Y *ai* [*nai*], N *ai dao,* ? lire 乃 *nai* pour 刀 *dao*): *e. aqǰina* [?], voir *aqjina*; ? 526 (*ni mu/mo/mei*) [*e*]*ne mu* [?] « cela ne vas pas/this is bad » (*bu tang*); cf. MNT, Hy id., VdI/Ligeti *ėne*; dah. *ənə udur, ənə xon,* yogor *ene,* baoan, santa *ənə,* santa *ə. xon, ənudu,* mgr. *ne/nie, niũdur,* etc.; mong. *ene*

erdeki 505 (*ye er da qi,* N, V 合 *he* pour 荅 *da*) « d'autrefois, de jadis/of long ago » (*wangqian*); cf. MNT, Hy *erde*; TMEN no. 1950)N 5); dah. *ərd,* yogor *hərte,* baoan *erte* (*e. xolo* « petit déjeuner »), santa *əčiə, ə. mayɑ,* mgr. *ŝde, ŝdegu*; mong. *erte, erteki*

ere 86 (*a lie*) « homme/man » (*naner*); cf. MNT, Hy *ere* (*gü'ün*); VdI/Ligeti *ėre*; TMEN no. 638; dah. *ər, ərγun,* yogor *ere,* baoan *erə* (*kun*), santa *ərə* (*kun*), khal. *er,* barin *ər,* etc.; mong. *ere*

eülen 9 (*ao lian*) « nuage/cloud » (*yun*); cf. tabghatch *üglen* chez Ligeti: Mongolian Studies (Budapest 1970), pp. 304 sq; kitan *eu.ul,* dah. *əulən,* (yogor *bulod* < yogor turc), baoan *ōloŋ* (aussi *ŝən* et *mokə* < tib.), santa *oliən,* mgr. *(u)lon,* kalm. *üüln,* khal. *üül(en),* etc.; mong *egülen.*

fulat 345 (*fu lan*, lire 補 *bu* pour × *fu* et *bulat*?) « acier/steel » dans l'expression *bolo*[*t*] *f.* « acier fin », voir *bolo*[*t*] (chin. *bo luo* que l'on pourrait lire *boro* « gris » ou *bolor* « cristal », si un de ces mots était attesté en fonction attributive devant *bolot* ou *bulat*, comme, par exemple, mong. *čaγan altan, qara tuγalγan, ulaγan ǰes*, etc.); ouig. Wy donne *pula*[*t*] (lire *la* pour *li*) avec le même équivalent chinois qu'ici

fu[*l*]*sundai, fu*[*r*]*sundai* ou *fusundai* [?] 433 (*fu sun fan*, lire 歹 *dai* pour 反 *fan*) « pêche/peach » (*tao*), 417 (*fu sun dai*): *f. mudun* « pêcher/peach tree » (*taoshu*), mot mystérieux, mais il semble être d'origine ethnonymique (cf. *J̌aqudai, J̌üšidei, Mongγuldai, Sartaqtai* dans ce vocabulaire) et doit dériver d'un nom de la Perse (*fars*, cf. chin. *bosi*, kalm. Buzāwa *bars nutg*; pour ce qui est des autres noms mongols de ce fruit « persan », on connaît kalm. *šabdl*, ölöt *šabdul* [<tarantchi *saptul*], *tōr* et *tōz*, kalm. *xormn* [aussi « prune-datte », cf. russ. *xurmá*, etc.], Ramstedt, KalmWb; ord. *tūr*, khal. *toor*, baoan *to alma*, mots d'origine turco-persane ou chinoise (*tao* + *er*/*zi*); *qatqurasu* « écorce de pêcher » (malgré Haenisch qui donne « Pfirsichbaum ») qui n'est pas attesté que dans MNT *qatqurasutu* « muni d'écorce de pêcher »

fürü [?]: voir *bur*[*qui*]

γalawan 365 (*a lao an*, ou lire 文 *wen* pour 安 *an*, ainsi *γalawun*?; N, V ont 何 *he* pour 阿 *a*, lire *qala-*?) « oie/goose » (*yan*); cf. Hy *qalawun*, MNT plur. *qalawut*; dah. *galõ*, yogor *ġalū*, (baoan *no* < chin., santa *toġoro* !), mgr. *ġalau*, kalm. *γalun*, bour., khal. *galuu*(*n*), ord., barin *galū*; mong. *γalaγun*

γar 255 (*a er*; N, V entre *qaburqa* et *köl*) « main, bras/hand, arm » (*shou*); cf. MNT, Hy *qar*; TMEN nno. 84, 156, 252, 1477, hongrois *kar* TESz; dah. *gar'*, mog./Weiers *gʌr*, yogor, mgr. *ġar*, baoan, santa *qa*; mong. *γar*

γasar 390 (*a sa li*, N, V 六 *liu* pour 立 *li*) « chien de chasse/hound » (*xigou*); cf. TMEN no. 281; voir les deux chiens, kalm. *xasr wasr*, Ramstedt, KalmWb, et *asar basar*, du folklore mongol, [*qasar*/*asar*]

γa<*w*>*wun* 435 (*ao wen*) « melon d'eau/watermelon » (*xigua*); cf. Hy *qa'un*; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 160; yogor *ġūn*; TMEN no. 2069 (N 124), *qaγun*, mot turc

γuǰin 449 (*wu zhen*) « trente/thirty » (*sanshi*); cf. Ligeti: Mongolian Studies (Budapest 1970), pp. 290—291 (avec ancien mong. *gučin*); Hy, VdI/Ligeti *qučin*, dah. *goč*/*gočin*, yogor *quǰin*, (baoan *ġuraran, somčo* < tib.; santa *sanŝu* < chin.), mgr. *xoǰin*; mong. *γučin*

γulir 229 (*wu li er*) « farine/flour » (*mian*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qulir*; dah. *gol'*, mog./Weiers *ġulur*, yogor *ġulər*, baoan *ġolər*, santa *guruŋ*, mgr. *ġurəl*/*ġurir*, bour.(= khal.) de Selenga *guril* (bour. *talxan*), khara. *guyir* (cf. kalm. *γuyr*); mong. *γulir*/*γuril*

γunan 148 (*wu nang ben li*, lire 木 *mu* pour 本 *ben*): *v. muri* « cheval de trois ans/a horse in its third year » (*sansui*); cf. dah. *gwanən mor'*, yogor

ġunan (et fém. *ġunaǰən*, mais *ġunan baidasən* = chin. *sansui muma*); kalm. *γunn*, etc.; mong. *γunan*

γuran « bouc de chevreuil/roebuck » 481 (*wu lan*): *v. sara* « le 7e mois/the 7th month » (*qiyue*); cf. MNT *quran sara*, id.; v. aussi s.v. *sara*; cf. dah. *ġuran*, yog. *ġura*, ölöt *γur*, bour. *gura*; *guran hara* «le 2e mois d'hiver », Čeremisov; khal. *gur*; mong. *γuran/γuru*

γurban 440 (*wu lu ban*) « trois/three » (*san*); cf. AL id., MNT, Hy, IM MA, VdI/Ligeti *qurban* (p. 47); dah. *gwarəb/gwarbə/gwarbən*, mog./Weiers *ġurbon*, yogor *ġurβan*, baoan *ġur(an)*, santa *ġur(w)an*, mgr. *ġuran*; mong. *γurban*

γutusu 279 (*wu tu su*) « bottes/boots » (*xue*); cf. MNT, Hy *qudusun*, dah. *gočōr*, yogor *ġodəsən/ġudəsən*, baoan *ġodsoη*, santa *ġudusuη* (et *šiəji* < chin.), mgr. *ġudusə*, bour. *godohon*, *gutahan*, *gutal* (et *gotuhun*, chez L. V. Clark, Two eighteenth century Buryat glossaries: Mongolian Studies, vol. 3 [Bloomington 1976], p. 67), kalm. *γosn*, khal., barin, etc. *gutal*; mong. *γutul*, *γutusun*, *γodosun*, cf. ici *ġotusuǰi*

ġotusuǰi 49 (*gua tu su zhi*) « cordonnier, bottier/shoemaker, bootmaker » (*xuejiang*); cf. Hy *qudulci* = chin. *pijiang* = ici *ulaǰi*; kalm. *γosč*, khal. *gutalčin*; mong. *γodosu* + *či(n)*, *γutulčin*

gečgūr 192 (*jie chi gu er*, N, V 古 pour 桁 *gu*) « échelle, escalier/ladder, stairs » (*ti*); cf. Hy *gečki'ür*; mong. précl. *gički-*, mong. *giški-*, Clark: Mong. Studies 3, p. 124; dah. *girkō* « allure de cheval », yogor *kšgə-*, baoan *kurgur*, mgr. *kəŝgū(r)* et *kuŝgūr*, kalm. Buzawa *gišk-* (mot rare) = *išk-*, bour. *gešxüür*, khal. *gišgüür*, ord. *giškūr/geškūr*, barin *gəšig-*, khara. *gəšgür*; mong. *giškigür*

genčir 410 (*gan che er*, *che* pour *či*) « chanvre/hemp » (*ma*); cf. TMEN no. 1647, kalm. *kenčr*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; hongrois *kender* TESz; yogor *kenǰir*, baoan *kənčir*, santa *kiənĉi*, (mgr. *loso*, mong. *olosun*); mot turc, mong. [*kenčir*]

gilbel- 13 (Y *ji li yuan lun bi*, lire 拔 *ba* pour 援 *yuan*; N lire *ba* pour 安 *an* et 論 *lun* pour 合 *he*): *gilbelün bi* « il fait des éclairs/it is lightning » (*dian*); cf. Hy *gilbelgen* « éclair/lightning », dah. *gilbān* « clair », yogor *gəldle-* « émettre de la lumière », santa *ǰiliən* « brillant », mgr. *ǰilōn* « luisant », kalm. *gilwlgn/gilwlγan* « éclair »; bour. *yalagar/yeleger* « luisant », *yeli-* « luire », *saxilgaan yexeer yalbana* « molnija merknula », Čeremisov; khal. *gyalba-*, etc.; *gilbelgeen* « éclair », ord. *gölöη* « luisant », *gilba(n)* « éclair »; mong. *gilbe-/gilba-* de *gilbel-/gilbal-*, *gilbeyi-/gilbayi-*, *gilbelgen giluyi-/gilayi-/gilii-*, cf. mong. *ge-* de *geyi-* et *gegegen* et, peut-être, turc *yaš-/yal-* de *yašïn*, *yašuq*, *yalïn* et *yaltïr-*, etc. (avec mong. *g-*/tong. *ηg-*/turc *y-* ?, cf. encore proto-oural. **yäla/yala/yelä* « « lumière; soleil; jour », Gy. Décsy, The Uralic Protolanguage [Bloomington 1990], p. 99; indoeur. **ĝhel-*, etc., J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I [Bern—München 1959], p. 429)

girbi birgüi [?]: voir *sili'esün* ou *sili'üsün*

gölögen 393 (*ge luo qian*, lire 干 *gan* pour 千 *qian*) « chiot/puppy » (*xiaogou*); cf. Ligeti: CAJ XXIV (1980), pp. 237—239; (Hy *küčük*, santa *kiĵəu*, kalm. *kičg* < turc), dah. *gulyw*, mgr. *golgu*, kalm. *gölg*. bour. *gülge(n)*, khal., barin *gólòg*, ord. *gölögö*; mong. *gölöge* (turc *köšäk*; hongrois *kölyök* et *kicsi* TESz)

güilesün 421, 431 « abricot, abricotier/apricot, a. tree » (*xingshu*); cf. Hy, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 31); dah. *guiləs*, (kalm. *šar örg*), khal. *güils*, ord. *güilesü*, barin *güləs*; mong. *güilesün*

güli⟨m⟩me 151 (*gu lin/m ma*, ou lire *gülü⟨m⟩me*?) « housse, chabraque/saddle-cloth » (*chan*); cf. MNT *gölme*, khal., barin *gólòm* id., ord. *gölmö/gülme* « cuir de cochon »; mong. *gölme*

gürčü[ ] [?]: voir *sikčür*

hanis[*qa*] 241 (*he ni si* [*he*]) « sourcil/eyebrow » (*mei*) au lieu de « paupière/eyelid », cf. Hy *hanisqa*, VdI/Ligeti *hanasqa* « sourcil » (p. 31); mong. *anisqa* < *ani-*

harban 447 (*he lu ban*) « dix/ten » (*shi*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *harbaɴ* (pp. 31—32); dah. *xarəb/xarbə*, yogor *harβan*, baoan *harwaŋ*, santa *haron*, mgr. *xaran*; mong. *arban*

haul[*qa*] [?] au lieu de *qaur* [?] 109 (*hao lu*): *h. noyan* « chef de compagnie/commander of the company » (*paizitou*), cf. MNT *ha'ul-* « attaquer en raid/to make a raid », mong. précl. *ayul-* dans Lu. AT 58b/MNT 164 (voir Ligeti: MLMC VI, p. 121), moyen mong. *haulqa*, [autre que *ha'uluqa* « path » ?], kalm. *uulγ cerg* « avant-garde », *uulyač*, *uulyčn*; (? cf. bour. *uulgar* « vspyl'čivyj », Čeremisov), khal. *uulga* = *esergüücliig genet očiĭ deeremdex cereg* « soldats ou armée qui pillent l'ennemi en l'attaquant en raid » (Cewel 605), mong. *ayulya* > *uulya*, cf. dah. *haul-*, baoan *xol-*, santa *xolu-* « courir », mgr. *haulə-*

heligen 247 (*qi li gan*, lire 紀 *he/ge* pour 乞 *qi*) « foie/liver » (*gan*); cf. Hy id., MNT *helige(n)*, Hy et MA *heligen*, AL *helegen*; Poppe, Introd., p. 46; dah. *xələg*, mog./Weiers *ilkʌn* (« cœur »), yogor *helegen*, baoan *helgə* (autre que *xar h.* « paume » et santa *hanga* id., mong. *aliyan*), mgr. *xelge* et *xaliege*, širongol *xargi*, kalm. *elkn* (mais *elgn* « parenté »), khal. *eleg/elgen*, etc.; mong. *eligen*

heliye 361 (*xie li ya*) « milan/kite » (*laochi*); cf. Hy *hele'e*, AL *helē*, baoan *helə*, santa *həliə*, kalm. *elā*, bour. *el'ee*, khal. *elee*, ord. *elē*, tchak. *əl'ə*, barin, khortchin, ǰarut *ələ̄*; mong. *eliye* (autre que *eliye* « démon », qui doit être un homonyme, voir dans Srn et chez Kirakos et mgr. *ilē/ilie/ulie*; Junast/Zhao indique un autre mot mgr. *ilē*, nom d'un oiseau de proie, en chin. *yaoying*; cf. encore hongrois *ölyű* TESz ?)

herbege, lire *herbēge*? 400 (*lu li bai ge*, lire 曷 *he* ou 歇 *xie* pour 魯 *lu*; N, V ont 伯 *bo/bai* pour 百 *bai*) « papillon/butterfly » (*hudie*; *hu* sans le radical

« ver »); Hy *herbegei*, MA/Poppe *hėrbegei* (hyrb'k'y) ou *hėrbēkei* (yogor *kölöki* < yogor turc), santa *həbəγi*, *həbuγi*, mgr. *xaliege* (et *śämbalaśǰə* < tib.?), kalm. *erwäkä*, bour. *erbeexei*, khal. *erweexei*, ord. *erwēkī*, tchak. *ərbəxē*, barin *ərbəxē*; mong. *erbekei*, *erbegekei*, dérivé d'un thème onomatopéique [*perpe-*], cf. encore dah. *beelbeet*, d'un thème onomatopéique [*perpe-*], cf. encore dah. *beelbeet*, d'un autre thème onomat.

hičēsün 412 (*xi che sun*) « saule/willow » (*liu*); Hy id., mais VdI/Ligeti *ičesün* (p. 36, avec bour. *ùšòòhen* « saule », mgr. *śǰiojə* « arbre », etc.; mais baoan *hǰaŋma* < tib.)

hoimasu 280 (*huai ma lian*, lire 速 *su* pour; 連 *lian*; N après *čaruq*) « bas de feutre/felt stockings » (*zhanwa*), Hy *hoyimosun*, cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. I (1950), p. 145; kalm. *öömsn*, bour. *oimho(n)*, khal. *oims(on)*, ord. *oömosu*, tchak. *ōms*, barin *ōmos*, etc.; mong. *oyimasun*

hon 460 (*huang*) « année/year » (*nian*); 465: *urida h.*; 466: *nidoni h.*, 467: *ene h.*, 468: *manā h.*, 469: *qoiči h.*; 470: *ǰinaǰi h.*; 471: *h. büri* « chaque année/every year », cf. kitan *po* « temps » (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. X, 1960, p. 238), Hy *hon* « année », VdI/Ligeti *hon* (p. 32); dah. *xōn*, yogor *hɔn*, baoan *hon*, santa *xoŋ*, mgr. *fan/fon*; mong. précl. BcaT 1312 *oon*; khal. etc. *on*; mong. *on*

horqo- « s'enfuir/to flee, to desert » 527 (*huo lu huo ba*): *horqoba*, praet. perf. (*taozouliao*); cf. MNT *horqu-*, dah. *xorγw-*, kalm. *orγ-*, bour., khal. *orgo-*, ord. *urgu-*, barin *orogdol*; mong. *orγo-*

höčgen 488 (Y *he chi tu*, N *he chi shi*, V *he chi*; lire 干 *gan* pour 土 *tu* et 士 *shi*): *h. üdür* « hier/yesterday » (*zuori*); cf. MNT *öčigen üdür*; 500 (Y *he chi gan*, N *chi*, V *chi he*): *h. süni* « hier nuit/last night » (*zuoye*); cf. Hy *öčigen*, VdI/Ligeti *höčken* (p. 33), mog./Weiers *uškon/uškudur*, etc., yogor *čugdur/čogdor*, baoan *guder*, santa *fuǰuγu/fuǰuγudu* (et *fuǰuγu maγa* « hier matin »), Zhao: *fučuγu*, mgr. *čigu/čigudur*, kalm. *öcgldr/ücgldr*, bour. *ùsegelder*, khal. *òcògdòr/òčigdòr*, ord. *(ù)čügùdùr*, barin *òčgōdòr*, khara. *ùčgədər*; mong. *öčigen* dans *öčige(l)dür*, *öčögedür*

höröne 509 (*huo luo na*) « Ouest/west » (*xi*), Hy id., MNT *höröne/hörene*; mong. *öröne*

hörüm 321 (Y *ye lin/m*, lire 華 *hua* pour 𠂤華 *ye* et N, V *) « alène, vrille/awl, drill or gimlet » (*zuanzi*), cf. mgr. *xarin* « villebrequin, tarière », de Smedt—Mostaert (cf. mgr. *xargi* pour mong. *ergi*, mgr. *xaŋgu-* pour mong. *emkü-*), kalm. *örm*, bour. *ùrem*, khal. *òròm*, ord. *öröm/ùrùm*, arkh. *ùrəm*, barin, ogn. *òròm*; mong. *örüm*

hudar 479: voir *hular*

hudasu 289 (*hu da su*) « fil/thread » (*xian*), cf. ici *hudasun*

hudasu[ji] 56 (Y *hu* 扌 *da su*, N *hu* 月 *yue su*) « fileur/spinner »; mong. *utasu(n)* + *či(n)*

hudasun 287 (*hu* 苔 *da sun*; *hudasu* 289 avec 打 *da*) « fil/thread » (*si* « soie/silk »); cf. Hy *hudasun*, VdI/Ligeti *hutasun* (p. 34), (dah. *šilās*), yogor *sdāsən*, baoan *ndasuŋ*, santa *udasuŋ*, mgr. *ŝdāsə*, barin *ɵdas*; mong. *utasun*

hudo 5 (Y *hu duo*, N *hu ge*, lire 多 *duo* pour 各 *ge*); cf. MNT, Hy *hodun*; Poppe, Introd., p. 97; dah. *xod*, yogor *ɔdǒn/hɔdǒn*, baoan *hotaŋ/hotuŋ*, santa *xoduŋ*, mgr. *fōdə/xotu*, kalm. *odn*, bour. *ɔdɔ(n)*, khal. *od(on)*, ord. *udu*, barin *ɵd*; mong. *odun*

hulābtu[*r*] ou *hula*⟨*b*⟩*bi*[*r*] [?] 534 (Y *hu mo ruo*, N *hu jun ruo*, V *hu* * *ruo*; lire 藍 *lan/m* pour 替 *mo* et 都 *du* ou 苾 *bi* pour 若 *ruo*?) « jaune rougeâtre/reddish yellow » (*chihuang*); cf. MA *hulāmtur* (*bora morin*), mong. *ulaγabtur* (khal., etc. *ulaawtar*) et *ulabur/ulabir* « rougeâtre » (dah. *xulalbin/xularbin*, baoan *fulawər*, kalm. *ulāwr* « rougeâtre », khal. *ulbar* « rouge jaunâtre » ou « jaune rougeâtre »)

hular « Tetraogallus » 479 (Y *hu da er*, N *hu da yong*, V *hu da* [ ]; lire 剌 ou 拉 *la* pour 打 *da*, N 兒 *er* pour 甩 *yong*): *h. sara* « le 5^{e} mois/the 5th month » (*wuyue*); cf. Yishi jiyu *ular* ou *ularu* (*wu la lu*) *sara*; kalm./Witsen *Utar* of [= ou] *Oelan Sara*, lire *ular sara* « janvier », cf. ici *sara*; turc *ular*, Clauson, ED, 150; yak. *ular*, Piek. 2994; touva *ular*; tölös *ularū* (< mong.?), Radl. I, 1683; mong. *ularu*, Wuti 15583, Kow. I, 401, Golst. I, 182, Lessing; khal. *ular*, Cewel, 590; la forme *ularu* semble être tardive (mais cf. le mot tölös avec la longueur finale), le *h* initial secondaire?

hulā 532 (*hu la*) « rouge/red » (*hong*); cf. MNT, Hy *hula'an*; 531 (Y 迹亦 *yi yi hu la*, N, V 不下 *bu xia hu la*; lire, avec Ligeti, 兀不 *wu bu* pour *buxia*): *ub hulā* « rouge foncé/dark red » ou peut-être (亦克 *yi ke* pour *yi yi* =) *yeke* ou *ike hulā* « très rouge/very red » (chin. *da hong*, ou *da* = *yeke*), voir Hy/Chen *ub hula'an* (*wu bu hu la an*; chin. *tong* 統 *hong*); cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 97; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. X (1960), p. 238; Poppe: The Canada–Mongolia Review III: 2, pp. 124—126; dah. *hulān*, yogor *ɻan*, baoan *fulaŋ*; *hoblaŋ* (= mong. *ub u.*), santa *fulaŋ/xulaŋ*; *xupulaγaŋ/xupalaγaŋ*, mgr. *fulān/xulaŋ* barin, khara. etc. *ɵlān*; *ɵw ɵlān*; mong. *ulaγan* et *ub u.*

huliasun 418 (*hu lie sun*) « peuplier/poplar » (*qingyang*); cf. santa *hulasuŋ*, kalm. *ulāsn*, bour. *ul'aaha(n)*, khal. *ulias(an)*, ord. *ulāsu*, barin *ɣlēs*; mong. *uliyasun*

huyā sur ou *huyāsur* 152 (*tu ye su er*, lire 忽 *hu* pour 禿 *tu*) « courroie pour attacher l'étrier/leather strap of the stirrup » (*dengzhepi*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *huyāsar* (pp. 34 sq), mgr. *fuyāsar*, moyen mong. *huya-*, yogor *hia-*, mong. *uya-* « lier », *uyaγan* « corde, ficelle » et *sur* « courroie », ou *oγosor/oosor* « ficelle »

hūda 307 (*hu da*) « sac/cloth bag » (*budai*); Hy *huquta* (ou *huγuta*); cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 97; yogor *ūta*, baoan *hda*, santa *fuda*, mgr. *fūda/xuda*; mong. *uγuta*

hübü'e[l]čin [?] 377 (*hu qi e chen*, lire 布 *bu* pour 匕 *qi*?) « cormoran, héron/cormorant, heron » (*lusi*) — ou lire 土 *tu* pour *qi* et *hutu'ačin/qutu'ačin* [?], etc., cf. mong. *qutan* et *qotan*, kalm. *xutn* « Wasserrabe, grosse Möwe » Ramstedt, KalmWb, 200a ?

hügeči 119 (*huo ge chi*) « bouvier/cowherd » (*fangniuren*); Hy *hügeči*, cf. MNT *hükečin*, khal. *uxerčin*, ord. *ükerčin*, etc.; mong. *ükerčin*

hürdesü 334 (*hu er da su*) « morceaux (d'argent)/(silver) morsels » (*lingyin*); cf. MNT *hürtesün*, Poppe, Vergl., p. 124; santa *furi-*, kalm. *ürtsn*, *üräsn* « miette », khori-bour. *ùrtehe(n)* « lambeau », khal. *ùrdes(en)*, ord. *ùr(e)des* « miette »; mong. *ürdesün*, *ürübdesün* < *ürü-*

idelgü ou *itilgü*? 485 (Y *yi* * *gu*, lire 得 *de* ou 剔 *ti* pour *, N = 381, V ?), *idelgu⟨i⟩* 381 (Y *yi* li gui*, N, V *hou bie li gui*) « lévrier/gyrfalcon »; 485: *i. sara* « le 11e mois/the 11th month » (*shiyiyue*); cf. Yishi jiyu *idelγu sara*; Hy *itelgü*, TMEN no. 62, kalm. *itlγ(n)* « ein Raubvogel; Geierfalke?, (weiblicher) Wingfalke », Ramstedt, KalmWb, 211, mais *itlgn* dans le vers *nomγar buul'sn xurdn caγan i.* « der mit Gute eingeübte, schnelle, weisse Falke », p. 65; ǰarut *ətələg šobō*; mong. *itelgü*

ike [?]: voir *hulā*

i⟨n⟩nana 516 (*yin la la*) « de ce côté-ci/this side, hither » (*zhebi*); cf. Hy *inaqšida*, yogor *nadə*, *nagšə*, mgr. *nagšə*, khal., ord. etc. *nāna*, barin *nān*; mong. *ina* + dans *inadu*, *inaru*, *inaγsi*, dial. *naγa* + (moderne *nā* +), *naγana*, etc.

irge 385 (*er ge*) « bélier châtré/wether » (*jieyang*); cf. MNT *irge*, (dah. *irγw* = chin. *lanma* « cheval paresseux » ?), yogor *erge*, mgr. *xerge/yerge*, kalm. *irg*, bour. *er'ye*, khal. *ireg*, ord. *īrge*; hongrois *ürü* TESz; mong. *irge*

irgen 110 (*yi qian li*, lire *yi li* 千 *gan*) « peuple/common people » (*minhu*); cf. MNT, Hy id.; TMEN no. 16; dah. *irγən*, mog./Weiers *irgan*, mgr. *rgan/rgən*; mong. *irgen*

isiri 200 (*tang xi ji*, lire 易 *yi* pour 昜 *tang* et 立 *li* pour 吉 *ji*) « lit/bed » (*chuang*); H *iseri*, mong. *iseri* < chin. *yizi li*, cf. dah. *ǐs* « chaise »

ǰa'an 376 (*zha an*) « éléphant/elephant » (*xiang*); 336: *ǰ. südün* « ivoire/ivory » (*xiangya*); Hy *ǰa'an*, Juyongguan 'phags-pa *ǰān* (cf. Ligeti: Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium [Budapest 1978], p. 260); (dah. *sawūn* < mandchou *sufan*), yogor *ǰān hgor* (= mong. *üker*, cf. tib. *glaṅ čhen*), *ǰān hgorə söyɔ̄/sɔyɔ̄* « ivoire » (= baoan *ɲlaŋčinčə* < tib.; santa *šiaŋya* < chin.), kalm. *zan/zān* et *zānā yasn*, bour. *zaan*, khal. *jaan*, ord., barin *ǰān*; mong. *ǰaγan* « éléphant » et *ǰaγan-u soyoγa* « ivoire »; turc/ouig. *yaγan* et *yanga* (Clauson, ED, 943; Ščerbak, Nazvanija, pp. 139—140; chin. *xiang*)

ǰandau 181 (*zhan dao*) « bassin, coupe/basin, bowl » (*yu*, N, V, à tort, *meng*); cf. MNT *ǰantawu*, bour. *zantuu* « železnoe vedro; žestjanoj čajnik », Čeremisov

ǰaqa 282 «col de la robe/collar» (*ling'er*); cf. MNT, Hy id.; TMEN no. 1802; hongrois *nyak* TESz; dah. *ǰay*, yogor *ǰaġa*, baoan *ǰaġa*, santa *ǰaya*, mgr. *ǰäġa*; mong. *ǰaqa*

ǰaqā « blanc/white » (*bai*) dans 218 (*zha xia*): *ǰ. amu*; 224: *ǰ. burča*[*q*], voir *amu*, *burča*[*q*] et le mot suivant

ǰaqan « blanc/white » (*bai*), 133 (*da han*, lire 查 *zha* pour 答 *da*): *ǰ. muri*; 349: *ǰ. šinqur*, voir *muri*, *šinqur* et ici *čaqān*

J̌aqudai 65 (N/Y *tuo/xiang hu dai*, lire 扎 *zha* pour 托 *tuo* et 相 *xiang*) « Chinois du Nord/a Northern Chinese », cf. MNT *J̌aqud*(*un*) *irgen* « sujet/peuple de l'Empire des Chin »

ǰaqur 206 (*zha hu er*, lire *ǰahur* ou *ǰaγur*?; Y devant 205) « flûte/flute (*di*); cf. dah. *čōr* « violon à tête de cheval (*matouqin*); violon *huqin* », baoan *čor* « flûte » et *č. hilo-* « souffler dans la flûte », p. 190; ord. *čōr* « instrument de musique dans lequel soufflent les Darkhat à Edjin Khoro » et *čūrga* (= *ùlē-wùr*) « chalumeau des artisans qui travaillent l'argent », Mostaert, Dict., 712, 719; khal. *coor*, *cuur* « espèce de flûte », cf. Cewel; dörböt *cūr* « Blasrohr (ein Instrument, womit man durch den After in den Magen einer kranken Kuh blasen kann), Ramstedt, KalmWb, 435, avec turc d'Altaï *čoqur* et tel. *čoγor* « Rohrpfeife »; mong. *čoγs*, *čoγur*, *čuγur*, *čour*

ǰaqurasu 182 (*zha hu la su*) « coupe/cup » (*zhanzi*); cf. Hy *čaqurasun* « tuile/tile » (*wa*), mong. précl. *čaγurayulči* « potier/potter »; cf. Ligeti: IVMLMT V; Poppe, The Twelve Deeds of Buddha (Wiesbaden 1967), p. 75, note 6 (avec turc *čaγruq* de Kāšγarī, mais cf. le même thème lu *čïγru-* et *čïγruq* chez Clauson, ED) et p. 164, note 46 (avec *čaγuryalaγči*, forme parallèle du Kanǰur mongol imprimé).

ǰarqači 101 (*zha lu hua chi*) « juge/judge » (*duanshiguan*); cf. *ǰaryuči*, TMEN no. 1785; santa *ǰaγuči*, mgr. *ǰärġučə*; mong. *ǰaryuči*

ǰau « cent/hundred » 456 (瓜 *gua*, lire 爪 *zhau*): *nigen ǰ.* « une centaine/one hundred » (*bai*); cf. kitan *ǰau* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XVII [1964], p. 287), pierre de Gengis khan *yurban ǰayud* « trois cents », MNT § 191 *ǰa'u* (*ǰa'ula-*), Hy *nigen ǰa'un*, VdI/Ligeti *ǰawun*, dah. *ǰau*, yogor *ǰūn*, baoan *ǰün/nǰòŋ* (et *ʔǰa* < tib.; santa *bə* < chin.), mgr. *nǰoŋ*; mong. *ǰaγun*

ǰauči 107 (*gua chi*, lire 爪 *zhao* pour *gua* et pour N 武 *wu*;): *ǰ.* [*no*]*yan* « centenier/centurion » (*baihu*); cf. MNT § 191 *ǰaunu noyan*, plur. *ǰaudun noyad*(*un kō'üdi*), Hy *ǰa'unnu noyan*; autre que Hy/Chen *ǰawuči* « médiateur/mediator »; voir *ǰau*

ǰaurači 116 (*zhao la chi*; Y après 124 *qorǰi*) « entremetteur/go-between » (*moren*); cf. Hy/Chen *ǰawuči* (dah. *ǰauč*, santa *ǰaučï* id., kalm. *zuuč/zuulč* « Vermittler; Spion », Ramstedt, KalmWb; khal. *juuč*, barin *ǰōč*, mong. *ǰaγuči*); MNT, Hy *ǰaura*, yogor *ǰūra*, baoan *ǰōrə*, santa *ǰəura*, mgr. *ǰōro*; kalm. *zuur*, bour. *zuura*, khal. *juur*, ord. *ǰūra* « entre, pendant »; yogor/Bulu. *ǰūr-*

mačə = chin. *moren*, bour. *zuurša*, *zuuršalagša* « posrednik; srednik », Čeremisov; mong. *ǰaγura* + *či*

ǰebüge 189 (*zhe/she bu ge*) « van, corbeille/basket » (*boji*), Hy *ǰebüke*; ? cf. dah. *səbəγ* « van d'osier », ord. *seweg* « panier en osier, caisse en bambou », Mostaert; kalm. *sewg* « Seiher, geflochtener Korb od. Gefäss . . . », ölöt *temsnnä sewg* « Blumenkelch », Ramstedt, KalmWb; khal. *seweg* =*xuls, mod, tuiwangiin jergeer sùlǰij xiisen, yum xum aguulax saw; cainî* [= *cain*] *s., siirsen* [= *ciirsen*] *s.*, Cewel; mong. *sebeg*

ǰes 340 (*zhe/she si*) « cuivre/copper » (*tong*); Hy id., (MNT *siremün* « cuivre », mong. « fonte »), kalm. *zes*: ölöt « cuivre », dörböt « cuivre jaune » et *zečn/zesčn* « artisan de cuivrerie »; bour. *zed*, khal. *jes*, ord., barin *ǰis*; Poppe, Introd., p. 45; durbut, ǰal. *ǰid*, Todaeva; mong. *ǰes*, (dial.) *ǰis* < turc *yez* < iran., cf. Clauson, ED, pp. 982 sq, Joki: MSFOU 151, nno. 199 (finn. *vaski*, hongrois *vas*, etc.), 8 (hongrois *arany*, mord. *sire*) TESz

ǰērde 131 (*zhe er ji*, lire 歹 *dai* pour 及 *ji*): *ǰ. muri* « cheval roux/red horse » (*chima*); cf. TMEN no. 158; Clauson, ED, p. 914; dah., barin *ǰərd*, mong. *ǰegerde*

ǰida 165 « lance/spear » (*qiang*); Hy, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 38), Poppe, Introd., p. 39; dah. *g'ad* < mandchou *gida* < ancien mong.; santa *ǰuda*, khal. *ǰad*, etc.; hongrois *dzsida* TESz; mong. *ǰida*

ǰihin 538 (N, V *zhi heng*, Y lire 只 *zhi* pour 口 *kou*) « pourpre/purple » (*zi*); cf. Hy *ǰihi-in*, lire *ǰihin*, cf. turc *yipin/yipgin*, ouig. des Ming *šipkin* « violet », Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 198; Clauson, ED, pp. 875 sq; ancien emprunt au turc (*ǰ-/y-* et *-h-*[*-g-*]*/-p(g)-*); inconnu dans les langues mongoles modernes

ǰināǰi ou *ǰinaǰi* 470 (*zhi nai zhi*): *ǰ. hon* « dans trois ans/the second year after the next » (*waihounian*); cf. ici *činaǰi*

ǰināna ou *ǰinana* 518 (*zhi la la*) « de ce côté-là/beyond, thither » (*nabi*); cf. yogor *čanə*, mong. (dial.) *čaγana*, v. ici *činaǰi*

ǰinggin 277 « turban » (*toujin*, > santa *təuǰin*, mais la longue écharpe de turban, *chantou de changjin*, s'appelle en santa *dəsida* < turc < pers. *dastar*, Boke), mot chinois ?

ǰiqal: voir *čouqor*

ǰiqa⟨*i*⟩*su* 395 (*zhi hai su*, V sans *su*) « poisson/fish » (*yu*); cf. MNT *ǰiqasu(n)*, Hy *ǰiqasun*; Poppe, Introd., pp. 34, 117; dah. *ǰaus*, yogor *ǰaγasən/ǰəγasən*, baoan *ǰalγasən/ǰilγasən*, santa *ǰaγasuη*, mgr. *ǰaġasə/ǰiaġasə*, barin *ǰagas*; mong. *ǰiγasun*

ǰira 452 « soixante/sixty » (*liushi*); cf. Hy, VdI/Ligeti *ǰiran*; Poppe, Introd., p. 247; mong. précl. aussi *ǰiron*, dah. *ǰar* (mais *ǰarən xon*, le cycle sexagénaire), yogor *ǰiran*, (baoan *ǰirġuraη* et *ǰəgči* < tib., santa *liuŝi* < chin.), mgr. *ǰiran*, barin *ǰer*; mong. *ǰiran*

ǰirkön 246 (*zhi kuan er*, lire *zhi er kuan*) « coeur/heart » (*xin*); cf. MNT *ǰürüge(n)*, *ǰirüge(n)*, Hy *ǰürüken*, AL/Poppe *ǰürke*, Poppe, Introd., p. 146; dah. *ǰuruγ*, yogor *ǰürgen*, baoan *ǰirgə*, santa *ǰuγə*, barin *ǰürəx*; mong. *ǰirüken*

ǰirwān 443 (*zhi lu man*, lire 彎 *wan* pour 蠻 *man*) « six » (*liu*); cf. MNT *ǰirqo'an*, MNT, Hy *ǰirwa'an*, VdI/Ligeti *ǰuryu'an* (pp. 39—40); Poppe, Introd., p. 117; dah. *ǰirγō*, dah./Iv. *ǰirγō/ǰurγō*, yogor *ǰirġūn*, baoan *ǰirġoη*, santa *ǰiγoη*, mgr. *ǰirġōη*; barin *ǰurgā*; mong. *ǰirγuγan* (cf. encore djurtchi *nurxun/nixun* « seize », Laufer: KCsA I (1921), pp. 112—115 et Ligeti, A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai, p. 428)

ǰiü 194 (*zhou*) « aiguille/needle » (*zhen*); cf. MNT *ǰe'ü*; Poppe, Introd., p. 116, Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 161; dah. *ǰū*, yogor *ǰūn*, barin *ǰū*; mong. *ǰegün* (cf. turc *yignä* « aiguille », *yigi* « couture »)

ǰiüǰi 54 « fabriquant d'aiguilles/needle-maker » (*zhenjiang*); cf. mgr. *ǰūčə* « couturière », Menggu zazi *ǰiüči* « fabriquant d'aiguilles », mong. *ǰegü(n)* + *či(n)*; cf. hongrois *szűcs* TESz

ǰirsu 20 (*zhi li su*) « natte/mat » (*xi*); cf. Hy *či'i'ülsün* [?] id., khal. *ciirs*, mong. *čigirsün*, aussi Hy *čiq* « treillis de bambou », ouig. des Ming. *čïγ* « rideau » (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 152), TMEN no. 1155; en turc *čïγ* et *yēz*, en mongol *čiq/čigirsün* et *deresün* — noms de différentes plantes (par exemple, Lasiagrostis splendens, mais, en dépit de l'interprétation de l'equivalent arabe *qayṣūm* de Kāšγarī, probablement jamais une Artemisia), plantes avec fortes tiges dont on tresse des nattes, chapeaux, ustensils, etc. — s'alternent

ǰoġura: voir *šinhqula*

ǰoǰin 43 (*zhao zhen*, > santa *daužən*) probablement non «prêtre taoïste/ Taoist priest » (*dao ren*) que les Mongols des Yuan appelaient *sėnšïη* (dah. *dōs* < chin. *daoshi*), mais « hôte/guest » ou « voyageur/traveler », cf. chin. *xingdaoren*; Hy, MA *ǰočin* « hôte », MNT *J̌oči*; TMEN no. 167; (yogor *k/gēčən*, kalm. *gīčn*, barin *gūčin* = mong. *geyičin*), santa *ǰoĉən*, naiman *ǰöčin*, gorlos *ǰöšin*, etc., Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 157; mong. *ǰočin*

ǰoḳuwur [?] 197 (Y *zhuo ku fu*, N, V *zhuo ku fu liu*, on peut lire 胡 *hu* ou 活 *huo* pour 苦 *ku* = mong. *qu* ou *qo* pour la deuxième syllabe) « pioche/ pickaxe » (*jue*); cf. mong. *čoki-* « battre/to beat » + *-γur*; ou *ǰoγo-* (khal. *ǰoo-*, bour. *zoo-* etc.) « insérer, installer, enfoncer, brocher » ?

ǰöge 399 (*zhuo/zhao/zhe ge*) « abeille/bee » (*feng*); cf. mong. précl. Srn *ǰögei* id., mais *tiler ǰögei*, etc., nom d'animaux monstrueux dans la littérature bouddhique; (dah. *guγw*, yogor *šra jūna*; baoan *bumbu*, santa *baηboη* < tib.), kalm. (*balt*) *zög* (ölöt, rare: *zögä*, mais *xort z.* « guèpe »), bour. *zùgî* (*šara z.* « guèpe), khal. *jògii* (parfois pour *xedgene* « guèpe »; ord. *balī˜ getegene* « abeille »), barin *ǰögī*, khortchin, gorlos *ǰùgī*, Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 157; mong. *ǰögei*

ǰurā 129 (*zhu la*) « ambleur/ambler » (*cuanxing*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *ǰoria* (p. 39); TMEN no. 1846; Poppe, Introd., p. 116; Todaeva, op. cit., p. 151; dah., ord. *ǰirō*, bour. *žoroo/yoroo*; etc.; mong. précl. Srn *ǰoriya*; mong. *ǰiruγa*

ǰü'en 522 (*zhu wan*; lire *ǰü'ön*?) « peu/few » (*shao*); cf. MNT *ǰō'en*, Hy *čō'en*; dah. *čwən*, yogor *čūn*, santa *čoγoη*, mgr. *čōn*, *čōgon*, kalm. *cöö*(*n*), bour. *ušȯȯ*(*n*), *ušȯȯxen*, khal. *cȯȯn*, *cȯȯxȯn*, ord. (*ō*)*čōn*, (*ō*)*čōkōn*; durbut, gorlos, ǰal., khortchin *šən*, Todaeva, ǰarut *šəhən*; mong. *čögen*

J̌üšidei 64 (*zhu shi dai*) « Djurtchi/Jurchin » (*nuzhi*); cf. MNT, Hy *J̌ürčet*, MNT *J̌ürčedei*, n. pr.; mong. *J̌ürčid*, oir. *Zürčid*

kede⟨*i*⟩ 317 (*qie dai*) « briquet/pouch with flint, tinder and steel for striking fire » (*huolian*); cf. MNT *kete*; yogor *kede*, (baoan *čüxor* < chin. ≠ mong. *čakiγur*), mgr. *kəde*, kalm. *ket*, bour. *xete*, khal. *xet*, dial. *get*, ord. *gete*, tchak., naiman, ogn., etc. *gət*, Todaeva; mong. *kete*

kegül 240 (*qie gun*) « tresse, toupet/braid, forelock » (*bojiu* « mèche sur le cou/tuft on the neck »); MNT id., VdI/Ligeti *kekül* (pp. 48 sq); TMEN no. 320 (*kekul*); Poppe. Introd., p. 143; Mostaert, Textes oraux ordos, pp. 333 sq; yogor *hkol*; mong. *kekül/kökül*

keher 33 (Y *qie xie er*, N 哥 *ge* pour 歇 *xie*) « steppe/grassland, prairie » (*yedian*); cf. MNT, Hy *ke'er*, VdI/Ligeti *keher* (p. 48); TMEN no. 347; dah. *xər* (et *kəur*; solon/Poppe *xəbər*), yogor *kīre*; mong. *keger*(*e*)

ke[*i*] 8 (*ke*) « vent/wind » (*feng*); MNT, Hy, VdI id.; Poppe, Introd., p. 143; Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 233; dah. *xəin* (par exemple, *kəin x.* « tornade », mais *kī əur*, nom de maladie), yogor, baoan, mgr. *kī*, santa *kai*, barin, khal. *xī*; mong. *kei*

ke[*i*]*bür* 211 (*ke bu li*) « flèche de guerre/arrow with an iron head », MNT *keyibür sumu*

kekde⟨*i*⟩ 326 (*qie li dai*, lire 克 *ke* pour 里 *li*) « papier/paper » (*zhi*); cf. ouig. des Ming *qaγat* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 160, avec turc *kagda* < sogd., A. v. Gabain); santa *giəǰiə*

kelebdür [?] 484 (*qie lian du er*, cf. Yishi jiyu *ke le bu tu er*): *k. sara* « le 10e mois/the 10th month » (*shieryue*), mot jusqu'ici inconnu dans d'autres sources; cf. encore *sara*

keli 507 « quand?/when? » (*jishi*); cf. MNT *keli*, mong., *ke* + dans *keǰiye*, *kedüi* et *-li* dans *ali*, *teli*; Poppe, Introd., pp. 226—230; cf. encore santa *əli* « maintenant »

kesme [?] 323 (Y *qie si ma*, N 井 *jing* . . ., V 幷 *bing* . . .) «bêche/spade » (*qiao*) (ou lire 忒 *te* ou 禿 *tu* etc. pour 思 *si*: *ketme*[*n*]?, cf. Wuti 11627 tourki *kätmän* = mong. *čabčiγur* = manchou *sačiqô* = chin. *juetou*)

keü « fils/son » 80 (*kou*, lire mong. *köü*?): *ači k.*; cf. MNT, Hy *kö'ün*, VdI/Ligeti *keün* (p. 50 avec 'phags-pa *ke'ün*); dah. *kəku*, mog./Weiers *koun* (et *kou* dans *kou šibʌ*, *kou/qou šibʌn*; yogor *kūn*, baoan *kuη*, santa *kəwaη*

(plur. *kəwas*), mgr. *kəũ/kõ*, kalm. *köwün* et *küükd*; mong. *kõbegün*, *keü* + dans *keüken/keüked*

keüre[*k*] 231 (*kou nie*) « pain cuit à la vapeur/steamed bread » (*mantou*, > santa *maŋtuŋ* = chin. *baozi*, ravioli; santa *ginaŋ* = chin. *mantou*), ou une espèce de pain, cf. ottoman *gävräk* « alles, was mit den Zähnen in kleine Stücke zerkaut wird; der Zwieback . . . », Radloff II, 1580, kiptchak *käwräk* « biscuit », Clauson, ED, 690, russe *kovriga*, etc.; cf. encore mong. *keberek* (khal. *xewreg* « fragile », etc.; Poppe, Introd., p. 100; hongrois *kőrő* TESz)

keyir 135 (*fa ying er*, lire 佉 *qie* pour 法 *fa*): *k. muri* « cheval bai ou alezan à queue et crinière noires » (*zaoliuma*); MA/Poppe *keher* (KHYR, lire *kehir*?), cf. ord. *kēre*, Mostaert, Dict. (d'où la définition), khal. *xeer*, etc., Poppe, Introd., p. 62, avec bour. d'Alar *xeyer* « bai »; dah. *kəir* (chin. *zaohongma*), yogor *kēr mōrə* (chin. *zaoliuma*); mong. *keger*

kiduqa 217 (*qi du hua*) « petit couteau/small knife » (*xiao daozi*); cf. MNT *kituqai*, VdI/Ligeti *kiduqa* (pp. 50 sq); TMEN no. 362, Doerfer: CAJ IX (1964), pp. 23—28; Ligeti: Mongolian Studies (Budapest 1970), pp. 303—304 (tabgatch); Poppe, Introd., p. 143; Todaeva, p. 246; yogor *qutaġa*, santa *qudoyo*, mgr. *čidoġo/čidoġu*, khara. *xotăg*, ujum. *ɵtaga*, etc.; mong. *kituγa*

kilimiči 111 (*qi li mi chi*) « interprète, dragoman/interpreter » (*tongshi*); cf. tabgatch *kelmürčin*, Ligeti, op. cit., pp. 292—293; VdI/Ligeti *kelimeči* (p. 50); TMEN no. 335; ord. *kelemerči* « qui parle bien, qui est éloquent, qui parle beaucoup », Mostaert; tchakh., etc. *xəlmərč*, ǰarut *xəlmərš* « zlatoust », Todaeva, p. 250; mong. *kelemeči/kelemerčin/kelemürčin* etc.

kirġu 350 (*qi zhen* = *er*) « espèce d'épervier/hawk » (*yao*); cf. Hy *kirġui*; TMEN no. 1461; santa *ġuŋγi*; hongrois *karvaly* TESz; mong. *kirγui*

kirõ 319 (*qi lue*) « scie/saw » (*ju*); cf. MNT *kirü'e* MA/Poppe *kirő*, yogor *kürē*, baoan, santa *kuru*, mgr. *čirəũ*, kalm. *körä*, bour. *x'ürөө*, khal. *xөrөө*, ord. *körõ*, etc.; mong. *kirüge*

köbči: voir *kübči*

köb[*či*]*ǰi* ou *köbǰi* [*uran*] 48 (Y *kan zhe*, N *kan zhen*) « fabriquant de cord d'arc/bow-string maker » (*xianjiang*); mong. *köbči* + *či*(*n*)

kökö 258 (Y lire *kuo kuo*; N, V, à tort, 閩 *min*: entre *südün* et *baqaur*) « seins, mamelles/breast(s) » (*naizi*); cf. MNT *köken*, plur. *kököt*; VdI/Ligeti *köke*; Poppe, Introd., p. 142; TMEN no. 344; (dah. *mək* et *mək-*), mog./Weiers *koka/qoqʌ*, yogor *hkön* et *hkö-*, baoan *kugo/kuko* (et *k. ɤimo-*), santa *gogo* et *g.-*; mong. *köke*(*n*)/*kökö*(*n*) et *kökö-*

kökö 530 (可了 可了 *ke ke*) « bleu; vert/blue; green » (*qing*), 404 (訶果 *ke ke*): *k. ebesü* « gazon vert, pelouse/green grass, lawn » (*qing zao*), 346 (可了 *ke* [*ke*]): *k. čilawun* « espèce d'épingle pour les cheveux faite de] jade de couleur verte » (*bi dianzi*); cf. ici *kükü*; MNT, Hy *kökõ*; Poppe, Introd., p. 141; TMEN no. 1677; hongrois *kék* TESz; dah. *kukə*, mog./Weiers *koko/kokʌ*, yogor *hkö*, baoan *kugo/kuko*, santa *kugiə*, mgr. *kuguo*; mong. *köke*

kököge « coucou/cuckoo » 478 (Y lire *ke ke*, N *ke ke ke*, V *ke li* = 果 *ke*; lire *kököge*, *kökō/kökē*?): *k. sara* « le 4e mois/the 4th month » (*siyue*); cf. Yishi jiyu *kököyi sara* id.; yogor *gugūg*, baoan *gugu* (= chin. *hezi* « pigeon; tourterelle »), santa *gugu*, mgr. *gugu śū/śau* (= chin. *bugu niao*), kalm. *kökä*, *kokg/kukg* (< turc.), bour. *xùxî*, khal. *xòxòò*, ord. *gökō*, etc., mong. *kököge*

köl 256 (*kuo er*; N, V entre *yar* et *dalu*) « pied/foot » (*jiao*); MNT, Hy id.; Poppe, Introd., p. 49; Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 239; dah. *kul'*, mog./Weiers *kol/kul*, etc., yogor *köl*, baoan *kual*, santa *kuan*, mgr. *kol/kuor*, ǰarut *hül*; mong. *köl*

kö⟨n⟩nök [?] 297 (Y *shang sa er*, N *pi/fen* *[main + femme] *er*, V *zhen* [ ] *er*; lire 寬 *kuan* pour 賞 *shang*, 貢 *pi* et 眞 *zhen*; lire 摟 *lou* pour 撒 *sa*; lire 克 *ke* pour 兒 *er*) « bassin, pot/basin » (*pen*); ?cf. ord. *könök* « seau dans lequel on trait les vaches », Mostaert; bour. *xüneg* « derevjannaja bad'ja, vedro », Čeremisov; mong. *könög* (Wuti 12950 id.), turc *könäk*; ou lire [*punsar*], emprunt au chin. *penzi* + *er*? (mong. dial./Dob *pəns*, Wuti 12931 mong. *pengse*)

kübči 214 (*qin bu qi*; ou lire *köbči*?) « corde de l'arc/bowstring » (*gongxian*); cf. Hy, VdI/Ligeti *köbči* (p. 51), ici *köb*[*či*]-*ǰi*; dah. *kurč*; mong. *köbči*

küčē 363 (*qu zhong*, lire 車 *che* pour 重 *zhong*) « turterelle/turtledove » (斑 *banjiu*); cf. Hy *küče'e*, VdI/Ligeti *küčē* (p. 51), Srn VII 297 *küčiy-e*, Bosson, A Treasury . . ., p. 348; mong. *küčiye* (> mandchou *kuwečixe*), *kütege*

kügürǰin 367 (Y, N *ku gu lu zhen*, V *ku gu*) « pigeon » (*bohe*); cf. Hy *kökörčigen*, Kirakos/Ligeti *kökücin* (no. 30), mot turc; yogor *gögəšgən* (chin. *he*); mong. *kegürǰigene*, *kegülǰirgene* etc. (cf. encore Poppe: ZAS 15 [1981], p. 386 et hongrois *kökörcsin* « Pulsatilla » TESz)

kükü 225 (Y, N, V *huo huo*, lire 苦 *ku* pour 活 *huo*, ou 闊 *kuo* au lieu du même caractère et *kökö*?): *k. burča*[*q*] « pois vert, lentille verte/green peas or lentils », cf. ici *kökō*

küküler 486 (*ku hu lie er*; lire *kühüler*?): *k. sara* « le 12e mois/the 12th month » (*shieryue*); cf. Yishi jiyu *kököler sara*, Mostaert, Dict. ord., p. 427: *kölūr* « dans *ike* (ou *türū̃*) *kölūr*, nom de la huitième lune et *baga* (ou *sūlī̃*) *k.*, nom de la neuvième lune, respectivement deuxième et troisième mois de l'automne . . ., cf. *kögeler sara* nom du douzième mois dans les manuels d'astrologie mongols »; cf. encore mong. *kögeler sara* dans le colophon du Pañcarakṣā-sūtra de Ayuši dans le Kanǰur mongol imprimé, no. 173; L. Bazin, Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien, Budapest 1991, pp. 397—398, et ici *sara*

küᴎnü[*l*]*dürge* 151 (*ku mu du lu ge*) « poitrail/breast strap of the harnass » (*panxiung*); cf. MNT *kömüldürge*; (dah. *xandrəγ* id., mong. *qantarva*), yogor *köndörge*, kalm. et oir. dial. *kömldrg*, khal. *xòmòldròg*, etc., mong. *kömüldürge* (ancien emprunt au turc; en dépit de TMEN, avec une ancienne alteration *-m-/-ng-* entre les voyelles labiales, cf. turc *köngül* « coeur », Ramstedt,

KalmWb; cf. encore turc *könläk/kömläk*, Clauson, ED et kalm. *kiilg*, KalmWb; turc *söngük* « os » et mong. *čimügen*; mong. *qudurγa* et turc *qudurγun* < *qudruγ*).

kün « homme, personne/man, person » 37 (*kong*): *yeke k.* (lire *kün*?) « personnage important/important person » (*daren*, lire 大 *da* pour 夫 *fu*); cf. MNT, Hy *gü'ün*, 'phags-pa *kü'ün*, VdI/Ligeti *kümü* (p. 52); TMEN no. 1689, dah. *huu*, yogor *kün*, baoan *kuη* « homme » et *kuη* « fils », santa, mgr. *kuη* « homme, personne », oir. dial. *kün/kümn*, bour. dial. *xüün*, khortch. *xün*, etc.; mong. *kümün* (malgré les arguments fournis dans TMEN: probablement apparenté au turc et à l'ouralien; v. hongrois *hím* TESz, proto-oural. *koyama/keyama* chez Gy. Décsy, The Uralic Protolanguage, p. 101)

kürče 322 (*ku li che*) « pelle/shovel » (*xian*); cf. baoan, mgr. *gurǰig*, kalm. *kürz* (comparé, par Ramstedt, KalmWb, au turc *küräk* < *kürä*-), bour. *xürze*, khal. *xürj*, ord. *kürǰi*; mong. *kürǰe*

kürdün 292 (*ku li dun*) « roue/wheel » (*chejiao*); cf. MNT, Hy *gürdün*, yogor *kürdü*, (baoan *korlo*, mgr. *nkuorlo* < tib., santa *gulu* < chin.), kalm. *kürdn*, ord. *kürdü*, bour. *xürde* (« roue de prières » des lamaïstes; « roue » = *mööre*, *zeeremxei* et russe > *xolesoo*), khal. etc. *xürd*; mong. *kürdün*

kürgen 85 (*ku li gan*), 99 (*ku lu gan*) « gendre/son-in-law » (*nuxu*); cf. MNT, Hy *güregen*, IM, MA, VdI/Ligeti *kürgen* (p. 52); Poppe: UAJb. XXXIII (1961), pp. 139—140, yak. *kürä*); TMEN no. 340; dah. *xuryun*, yogor *kürgen*, baoan *kurġaη*, santa *quγoη*, mgr. *kurgēn*; mong. *kürgen*

kü'ürge 29 (*qu zhao lu ge*, lire 晤 *wu* pour 照/N 召 *zhao*) « pont/bridge » (*qiao*); cf. Hy *ke'ürge*; TMEN no. 1623 (turc *köprüg*); dah. *xũruγw* « soufflet », yogor *kũrge* « pont; soufflet », baoan *kurge* « pont » (*kurgom* « soufflet » < tib.; santa *ćiau* « pont » < chin.), ord. *kőrgö* « pont; soufflet », khara. *xɔ̃rəg*, khal. (forme irrégulière) *gùùr* et (rarement) *gùùreg* « pont »; voir encore MNT *gũrge* et *kü'ürge* « soufflet »; Lég. d'Alex. 7b11: *kegürge getülǰü*, Poppe: ZDMG 107 (1957), p. 116 (avec bour. Alar *xürge*), aussi Cleaves: HJAS XXII (1959); Sinor: UAJb. XXXIII (1961), pp. 158 sqq (turc *tār kämi*, radeaux avec des peaux de boeuf gonflées; sans mentionner de nos ponts et soufflets); Wuti 11571 mandchou *xuǰuku* = tib. *sbud-pa* = mong. *kögerge* = tourki *körük* [TMEN no. 1628, *kürk*] = chin. *fengxiang* et ici *kü'ürge* et *kũrge* « tam- bour »; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. X (1960), p. 242; mong. *kögürge*, *kögerge*, *kegürge*

kü'ürge 324 (= 29) « tambour/drum » (*boer*); cf. MNT *kö'ürge* et *ke'ürge* « tambour » (par exemple, III 105: *k. -yin dawun*, XII 278: *kebte'ül tuq ke'ürge dõro ǰida ayaqa saba asaratuqai*); Hy *kőrge* ou *körge*; TMEN no. 339 (*kögerge*); cf. encore ouig. *kängräk* et mong. *kenggerge* (Hy/Chen *kenggerge* « petit tambour », khal. *xengereg* « grand tambour », barin *xəŋrəg*); mong. *kögürge*

kürge ou *kũrge* 174 (*hu lu ge*; *hu* pour *ku*) « tambour/drum » (*bo*); cf. Hy *kőrge* « grand tambour » (Mostaert; bour. *xürxe* chez Poppe: JAOS 71 [1951], pp. 187—192) et les mots précédents

longga 183 (*nian e*, lire 弄 *long* pour 年 *nien*, 化 *hua* pour 訛 *e*) « bouteille/bottle » (*ping*); cf. Hy et ouig. des Ming id. (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 179); yogor *loŋqo*, mgr. *loŋxu*, khal. etc. *loŋx*, khara. *loŋ*; mong. *longqo* (< chin.?, cf. 籠 *long*, 壺 *hu*)

lōso 381 (*luo suo*) « mulet/mule » (*luo*); cf. Hy *lausa*, dah. *lwəs*, yogor *lūsa*, baoan *lusa*, santa *lausa*, mgr. *lausā*; kalm. dörb. *lus*, ölöt *lūs*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *luus*, Cyd., khal. *luus*, ord. *luāsa*, Mostaert; la forme ordos est un emprunt récent au chin. *luozi*; barin *luəs*; mong. précl. *laus-a* (Srn IV 127c); mong. *layusa*, *luusa*

manaqa[*r*] [?] « matin/morning » 495 (Y *mu nai wu*, lire 麻 *ma* ou 抹 *ma/mo* pour 木 *mu*; N, V 海 *hai* pour Y 悔 *wu*): *tong m.* « de bon matin/early in the morning » (*zaochen*), cf. ici *manā* et *tong*

manā 468 (*ma nai*): *m. hon* « l'année prochaine/the next year » (*mingnian*); 490 (Y *ma nai*; N *mo hai* = *maqa/maqai?*; V ?): *m. üdür* « demain/tomorrow » (*mingri*); cf. Hy *manaqar erte*, VdI/Ligeti *manaqar* (p. 52); (dah. *bun' ùdər*), yogor *marǧāšda*, baoan *maxśi*, santa *mayaŝi* « demain », *maya* « de bon matin », *mayaŝi xon*, *mayudu* « l'année prochaine », mgr. *malaŋ* « demain », gorlos *magaši*, barin, khara. *magātar*; mong. *manayar*, *manayarsi*, *maryasi*, *maryata*, oir. *mangyadur*, etc.

maqala 275 « bonnet, chapeau/hat » (*maoer*); cf. MA/Poppe *maqalai*, kalm., oir. dial. *maxlā* (> russ. *machalaj*), dah. *magal* (avec mandchou *maxala*), santa *mayala/malaya*; mog. *malyɛi*, yogor *malayai*, bour. *malagai*, khal. *malgai*; ord. *malaga*, uǰum. etc. *malaga*, barin *malag*; baoan *malga*, mgr. *malga/marga*, etc., cf. Poppe, Introd., p. 84; mong. *malaya*(*i*)

mekeǰin 387 (*mai* * *zhen*, lire 怯 *qie* pour *) « truie, laie/sow » (*muzhu*); cf. Hy *meke*⟨*i*⟩*ǰi*, Wuti 16005, 16163 *megeǰi*; ölöt *megǰ* « wilde Sau . . . » (Ramstedt, KalmWb, avec kaz. *megäžin* et *meižin*; kirg./Judachin *megeǰin*, *megiǰin*; Ščerbak, Nazvanija, p. 125), bour. *megeže* « wild sow », khal. *megǰ* « sow », mandchou *mexeǰen*; MNT *Megüǰin se'ültü?*; mong. *megeǰi*

[*me*]*nege* « grenouille/frog » etc. 394 (*nai ge*): *yasudu m.*, 396 (Y *nuo ge*, N, V *men? ge*, lire 刀 *nai* pour 門 *men*): *naq m.*; cf. Hy *menegei*, MA *menekei*, VdI/Ligeti *menekī* (p. 53), baoan *məngi*, kalm. *meklä*, khal. *melxii*, etc., v. Poppe, Introd., p. 165; mong. *menekei*, *melekei*

minā 160 (*mi nai*) « fouet/whip » (*bianzi*); cf. MNT, Hy *mina'a*, yogor *muna*, baoan *məla*, santa *mina*, mong. d'Alashan *milā*, oir. *maliya*; mong. *minaya*

mingyan 457 (*ming* 安 *an*) « mille/thousand » (*qian*), 106 (*ming* 按 *an*): *m. noyan* « commandant de mille/chyliarche » (*qianhu*); cf. MNT *minqa* (*mingala-*), *mingqan* et *mingqanu noyan*; VdI/Ligeti *minqan* (p. 54); TMEN no. 1749; dah. *m'aŋgə*, yogor *mənǧan*, (baoan *ćiən* < chin. et *śdoŋ* < tib.; santa *ćiən* < chin.), mgr. *meŋxen*, tchak. *meng*, barin *meŋ*, khara. *mɛŋ*, *meŋan*; mong. *mingyan*

miqa 233 (*mi xia*) « viande/meat » (*rou*); cf. MNT, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 54); dah. *m'aγ*, yogor *maggan*, baoan *maġa*, santa *miγa* (cf. *tuyaŋ m.*; *mara* = mong. *mariya*), mgr. *maxa* (*buye*); mong. *miqan*

misu 237 « sauce » (*jiang*), cf. mandchou *misun* « sauce » et Wuti mong. *ǰang* « sauce » < chin.; on pourrait lire 述 *shu su* au lieu de 迷 *mi su*, ainsi *šūsü*, MNT *ši'üsün*, mong. *sigüsün* (v. Ligeti, Acta Orient. Hung. VIII [1958], p. 222, n. 18; mong. > ouig. des Ming *šiüsün*, v. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, pp. 197 sq), mais le sens « jus » de ce mot semble être secondaire et tardif (cf., toutefois, kalm. *šüüsn* « Saft »; D « Lauge, Suppe mit Salz », Ö « Mittagessen der Fürsten statt *xool*, *xot* », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *šüühe*(*n*) « jus », etc.)

mi'un 391 « chat/cat » (*maoer*); cf. mong. (aussi précl., voir Srn) *miγui* et les autres noms de cet animal étranger: Hy, MA *miš*, mgr. *mauša*, baoan *muźi* (?cf. ouig. *mauži* < chin.), yogor et oir. dial. *mī*, kalm. *mīs*, ölöt *mīš*, mgr. *širamī* (= chin. *huangshulang*), santa *mauo*, mong. tardif et khal. etc. *muur* (< chin.); (dah. et solon/Poppe *xəxə*, dah. *kəkə*, mandchou *kesike* < russe *kóška*)

modu « arbre/tree » 420: *qoqumai m.*: voir *mudun* et *qoqumai*

mongγul « mongol/Mongolian » 222 (*meng wu la*): *m. amu* « millet à panicules » (*mize*; peut-être une espèce pareille au *baga amu* des Ordos, voir Mostaert, Dict., s.v. *amu*); cf. ouig. des Ming *mongγol* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 183); TMEN no. 367 (*mongγolǰin*); ici *M. dai*; dah. *moŋgul*, yogor *moŋgul*, (baoan *sux* < tib.), mgr. *moŋgol/moŋguor*, mog./Weiers *moγol*, ogn. *mugul*, barin, ǰarut, etc. *məŋɔl*; khara. *muŋal/məŋɔl*; mong. *mongγol*

Mongγu[*l*]*dai* 62 (*meng gu dai*) « Mongol, Tatar; a Mongol/Tatar » (*dada*), ethnonyme avec le suffixe masculin *-dai* (cf. ici *J̌aqudai*, *J̌üšidei*, *Nanggiyadai*, MNT *Barqudai*, masc. et *Barquǰin*, fém.; *Monggolǰin*, forme féminine, et l'ethnonyme moderne *mongγolǰin*)

mölsü 26 (*mang su/xu*; *mang* pour *möl-*) « glace/ice » (*bing*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *mölsün* (p. 55); dah. *məis*, yogor *mösən*, baoan *melsən*, santa *məsuŋ/maŋsuŋ*, mgr. *morjə/molsə*, khal., *mȯs*(*ȯn*), barin *mȯs*; mong. *mö*(*l*)*sün*

mönggü 333 (*meng gu*; lire *menggü* ou *münggü*?) « argent/silver » (*yin*); cf. kitan *m*[ ]*ng*[ ], VdI/Ligeti *menggu* (p. 53); TMEN no. 377; dah. *məŋgw/muŋgw*, yogor *möngə*, baoan et mgr. *meŋgu*, santa *muŋgu*, barin *mȯŋγ*; mong. *mönggün*

mönggü[*ǰi*] ou *mönggü* (*uran*)? 52 (*meng gu* ||) « orphèvre/silversmith » (*yinjiang*); cf. yogor *möŋgə barma*, baoan *meŋgu wiləgə-čan*, (santa *hŋuŋgar* < tib.); mong. *mönggü*(*n*) + *či*(*n*)/*uran*

muduǰi 51 (*mu du zhi*) « charpentier/carpenter » (*mujiang*); cf. (dah. *maǰin/muǰan* < chin.), yogor *mūdən barma* (et *mujian* < chin., santa id.; baoan *xaŋ wiləgəčan* < tib. *šiṅ* et mong. *üile*+; khal. *muǰaan* < mandchou

< chin., ord. *muǰan*, barin *moǰon* < chin.); kalm. *modč* = *modnā urn*; mong. *moduči(n)*

mudun « arbre/tree » 417: *fu[l]sundai m.* (chin. *shu*); 419: *qoru[qai] teǰi[eks]sen m.*; 420: *qoqumai m.*; 422: *qusun m.*; cf. MNT *mudun*, VdI/Ligeti *modun* (p. 54); dah. *mōd*, yogor *mūdən*, baoan *motoη* (et *χaη* « bois » < tib.), santa *mutuη*, mgr. *mōdə* « *bois* » (*m. tərgə* = mong. *modun tergen*, mais *šǰōsə* « arbre » = moyen mong. *hičesün* « saule »), khal. *mod(on)*, barin *mɔd*, ord. *mudu*; mong. *modun*

muqai 379 (Y *mu/mei zhi*, N *yi quan*; lire 亥 ou 害 *hai* pour 至 *zhi* et 全 *quan*; lire *mu* au lieu de 役 *yi*; ou lire 合 *he* au lieu du seconde caractère et *muqa* ou *muqo*?, cf. ici *nuqu* pour *noqai*) « serpent/snake » (*she*); cf. kitan *m*[ ]*q*/*x*[ ]; VdI/Ligeti *moγai* (p. 54), dah. *moγ/mowu*, mog./Weiers *moγoi*, yogor *mɔġɔi*, baoan *moġəi*, santa *moγəi*, mgr. *moġui/moġuai*, ogn. *mugē*, barin, khara. *mogō*; mong. *moγai*

muri 125 (*mu han*, lire 李 *li* pour 含 *han*) « cheval/horse » (*ma*); 130: *buro m.*; 131: *ǰērde m.*; 132: *qongγur m.*; 133: *ǰaγān m.*; 134: *qara m.*; 135: *keyir m.*; 136: *alaq m.*; 137: *sirqal m.*; 138: *suru m.*; 139: *ula m.*; 142: *ai[l]du töre[k]sen m.*; 143: *emčü m.*; 144: *qulan m.*; 145: *doqsu m.*, 148: *γunan m.*; cf. MNT, Hy, VdI *morin*/Ligeti (pp. 54—55), Kirakos/Ligeti *mori* (no. 21); TMEN no. 374; dah. *mor'*, yogor *mɔ̄rə*, baoan, mgr. *morə*, santa *mori*, mong. de l'Est (ǰarut, khortchin) *mɔ̀r/mər*, tchakhar, barin *mɔ̀r*; mong. *morin*

muriči 118 (*mu li chi*): « gardien de haras/horseherd » (*mumaren*); cf. yogor *mɔ̄rčə* id., santa *moriĉi* « marchand de chevaux », baoan *morə adalačaη* « éléveur de chevaux »; mong. *moriči(n)*, cf. *adaγuči(n)*

mū [?] 526 (*ni mu*): [*e*]*ne m.* « cela ne va pas/this is improper » (*bu dang*); cf. MNT *mawui*, Hy, MA *mawu*; TMEN no. 361; dah. *mɔ̄*, yogor *mū*, baoan *muη*, santa *mau*, mgr. *maũ*; khal. *muu*, etc.; mong. *mayu(i)*

mündür 14 (Y *men du lu*, N *wen du lu*) « grêle/hail » (*bao*); cf. Hy id.; Poppe, Introd., p. 165; yogor *möndür*, santa *mandəu*, khal., barin *mɔ̀ndɔ̀r*; mong. *möndür* (> *möndör*)

müren 23 (*mu lian*) « fleuve/river » (*he*), 22: *yeke m.* « rivière/large river » (*jiang*); cf. MNT, Hy *müren*, VdI/Ligeti *mören* (p. 55), ouig. des Ming id. (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 183); TMEN no. 373; dah. *mur*, yogor *müren*, santa *moran*, mgr. *murɔ̄n*, khal., barin *mɔ̀rɔ̀n*; mong. *mören*

nabči 425 (*nam chi*) « feuille/leaf »; cf. VdI/Ligeti *nabčin* (p. 55); dah. *larč*, yog. *labčag*, baoan *labčüη*, santa *laĉən*, mgr. *labǰə*, barin *lɛbč*, khortchin, ǰarut, etc. *lɛbš*; khal. *nawč(in)*; kalm. et oir. dial. *namč* (mais, à présent, kalm. préfère *xamtxsn/xamtxasn*), bour. *nabša/namša*; mong. *nabči*

naiman 445 «huit/eight » (*ba*); cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *naiman* (pp. 55 sq); dah. *naim/naimən*, yogor *nəiman/neiman*, baoan *nimaη*, santa *nəim(aη)*, mgr. *naīman/nīman*, kalm. *näämn*, mong. de l'Est *nēm*, barin *nēm*, mais *nēman ǰɵ̄*; mong. *naiman*

naǰin 352 « espèce de faucon/falcon species » (*yagu*); cf. Hy *lačin*; TMEN no. 1728; mong. *način*

naǰir 462 (*na he er*, lire 知 *zhi* pour 和 *he*) « été/summer » (*xia*), 480 (*na* 智 *zhi er*): *n. sara* « le 6e mois/the 6th month »; cf. dah. *naǰir*, bour. *nažar*; mong. [*naǰir*]

namdu [?] 328 (Y *su du*, N, V *nan/m du*) « encrier chinois/inkslab » (*yan*): mot inconnu; voir mong. moderne *yantai* < chin. *yantai*, en santa *yaŋwa* < < chin. 硯瓦 *yanwa*, Böke, bour. *lagbam*, kalm. *naγwm*, *naγwn*, ölöt *naγm* < tib. *snag-bum*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; Rasisengge, Tuγtam donne *ǰiγuraγul/ǰuuruul* pour chin. *yan*, mais *qalča*, lire *qalǰa*, pour chin. 角硯 *jiaoyan*, cf. ici *qalǰa* ?

namur 463 «automne/autumn » (*qiu*); cf. MNT, Hy id., dah. *namər*, yog. *nāmər*, (mais baoan, santa *čiu* et mgr. *čiū* < chin. et baoan *ŝdun-ka* < tib. *ston-kha*); mong. *namur*

Nanggiyadai 66 (*nang jia dai*) « Chinois du Sud/(a) Chinese of the South » (*manzi*); cf. Hy *Nanggiyas*, mong. précl. *Nanggiyas-un yaǰar* dans la lettre de 1289 d'Aryun (Mostaert—Cleaves; Ligeti, MLMC II); P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. II (Paris 1963), no. 288, Mongatai; ouig. des Ming *nangkiya* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 184); (dah. *n'akan* < mandchou; baoan *ǰa* < tib.), santa *naŋga* (et *qudoi* < **qitai*; yogor *qutad*, mgr. *cidar* < *kitad*); khal. *nanxiad*, *nangiad*; mong. *nanggiyad*, *nanggiyas*

naq 396 (Y *xiang li*, N, V ? *gun li*; lire 囊 *nang* pour 裹 *xiang* et 衮 *gun* ainsi que 黑 *hei* pour 里 *li*; chin. *-ang* + *hei* = mong. *-aq*): *n.* [*me*]*nege* « grande tortue/large tortoise » (*xie*); cf. Hy *naq menegei*, khal. *nag melxii*; ord. *lag melekī*, Mostaert; kalm. *yag meklä* = *xawxnt*, Ramstedt, KalmWb 260a; mong. *naγ melekei* (pour ce qui est au mot chin. en tête, on doit lire 蟹 *zi* ou *zui* du composé 蟹蠵 *zi-xi* « Grande tortue 龜 *kouei* [= *gui*] dont la carapace est employée pour la divination, et sert à faire de beaux objets. » (Couvreur, Dict., p. 816; cf. Giles, Mathews, etc.), au lieu de 蟹 *xie* « crabe, écrevisse de mer » de notre texte

naqaču 83 (*na he chou*; 丑 *chou* pour *-ču* « oncle: frère de la mère/uncle: mother's brother » (*jiujiu*); cf. TMEN no. 383; ouig. des Ming *nayaču* (Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 184); (dah. *nāǰil*), yogor *naġačə*, (baoan, santa *aǰiu* < chin.), mgr. *naġa*; mong. *nayaču*

nara 2 « soleil/sun » (*ri*); cf. kitan *nair* « jour » (ou *näir*?, le même caractère chinois rend les deux phonèmes initiaux du mot djurtchi correspondant au mandchou *niyalma* = *ñalma* et nanai *nai* « homme »), VdI/Ligeti *naran* (p. 56); TMEN no. 1787; dah. *nar*, mog./Weiers *nʌran/nʌron* (« jour/soleil »), yogor *naran*, baoan et santa *naraŋ*, mgr. *nara*, khal. *nar*(*an*), barin *nar*; mong. *naran*

naran 41: *n. bičēči* « lettré gradué/graduated scholar » (*xiucai*) ou nom d'un haut fonctionnaire; cf. VdI/Ligeti *narin* (p. 56) et TMEN no. 380; dah. *narin*, mog./Weiers *norin*, yogor et mgr. *narən*, baoan *nāraŋ*, santa *naruŋ*,

oir. dial. *närn*, mong. de l'Est *ner(a)n*, khal. *nariin*, cf. les anciens *bičēči* de grande influence sous l'Empire mongol et la différence de la fonction d'un (ou plutôt: d'une *bičeeč* « dactylographe » et de celle d'un (ou, qui est rare, d'une) *nariin bičgiin darga* « secrétaire » dans l'administration moderne; mong. *narin* « fine, étroite », voir encore ici *bičēči*

naši[*š*] [?] 535 (Y *la shi*, N *la jiang* ou *yi*?, V id.?): *n. sira* « tout à fait jaune/wholly yellow » (*hun huang*), voir *sira* dans la même section; le mot en tête fut identifié, avec beaucoup d'hésitation, comme un emprunt, probablement au persan *nasîč* qui signifit, d'après Steingass (p. 1401b), «a kind of silken stuff embroidered with gold; etc.», cf. encore *nasic* de Rubrouck (P. Jackson, D. Morgan, The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck, London 1990, p. 190, et L. V. Clark: JAOS XCIII [1973], pp. 186—187, avec *nasić* du Codex Cumanicus). Mais peut-être s'agit-il ici, une fois de plus, de la déformation graphique de la transcription chinoise: si l'on lit 麻 *ma* au lieu de 剌 *la* de la première syllabe et accepte Y *shi* pour la deuxième, on reçoit *maši*, à la rigueur, *masi*, adverbe bien connu de la littérature ancienne et attesté dans plusieurs dialectes modernes. Néanmoins il faut mentionner que *masi* « très, fort/very », assez commun devant les verbes et les « adjectifs », ne figure pas souvent avec des noms de couleurs dont la réduplication partiale sert à renforcer le sens (*sib sira*, santa *ŝiparayan/ŝipurayan*).

naur 20 (*lau er*) « lac/lake » (*shuipo*); cf. MNT, Hy *na'ur*, VdI/Ligeti *naur* (p. 56); TMEN no. 381; dah. *naur*, yogor *nūr*, mgr. *norə*, (baoan *xu* < chin.), santa *no*; mong. *nayur*

na⟨y⟩yan 454 (*nai yan*) « quatre-vingts/eighty » (*bashi*); cf. Hy id., dah. *nay*, yogor *nayan/neyan*, (baoan *nəimaraŋ*; *ǰači* < tib.; santa *baŝu* < chin.), mgr. *nayan*, barin *nay*; mong. *nayan*

nādu[*q*]*či* 115 (nom déverbal; ou lire *nāduči*, nom dénominal?) « musicien, ménestrel/musician, minstrel » ou peut-être « amuseur/entertainer » (*leren*); cf. Hy *na'adum* « amusement, jeu », Mostaert; dah. *nādəm* et *nād-*; mog./Weiers *notu-* «tanzen, spielen », yogor *nādəŋ* et *nād-*, baoan *nāt* « amusement », *nādgu* « jouet » et *nād/nātə-* « jouer », santa *naduku*, *naduŋ*; *nadu-*, mgr. *nādə-/nādi-*; *nādin*; kalm. ölöt et dörböt *naadn*, ölöt *naadm* « Spiel, Neckerei », *naadya/naadyä* « Puppe; Spielzeug », *naad-*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *naada(n)* « igra; zabava; nadan, večer, večerinka; postanovka, spektakl'; šutka, nasmeška », *naadanxai* « igruška », *naadaša* « zatejnik, šutnik, nasmešnik », *naadanša* « učastniki nadana », *naad-*, Čeremisov; khal. *naadam*, *naadgai* et *naad-*, etc.; ord. *nādam* « jeu, badinage, plaisanterie; foire; pièce de théâtre chez les Chinois), *nad(a/u)-*, Mostaert, barin (*nēr*) *nādam*; mong. *nayadu(n)*, *nayadum*; *nayad(u)-*; *-yči* ou *-či(n)*

nidani 466: *n. hon* « l'année passée/last year » (*qunian*); cf. Hy *nidoni* (pas *nidöni*), précl. (1289) *nidoni* (avec le yod final en position médiale, cf. Ligeti, MLMC et IVMLMT II), dah. *nidan'*, mog./Weiers *nidoni/nido*, yogor

odonon/ɔdǯnɔn, baoan *ndanoŋ/ndanə hoŋ*, santa *udani hon*, mgr. *ŝdanoŋ*, kalm. *niidn*, *niidn(n)a*, *nidnnin*, bour. *n'odnoŋ*, khal. *nodniŋ*, *nodliŋ*; ord. *(n)idonoŋ*, barin *nʲidnɵŋ*; mong. *nidoni*

nidün 242 « oeil, yeux/eye » (*yan*); cf. Hy, MNT, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 57); Poppe, Introd., p. 56; cf. dah. *nid*, mog./Weiers *nudun*, yogor *nüdün/nɔduŋ*, baoan *nodoŋ*, santa *nudun/udun* (!), mgr. *nudu*, oir. dial. *nüdn/nidn*, khal. *nüd(en)*, etc.; mong. *nidün*

nigen 437 (Y *yi gan*, N, V *yi xia*, lire 你 *ni* pour 亦 *yi*, 干 *gan* pour 下 *xia*): « un/one » (*yi*); 456 (*ni gan*): *n. ǰau* « une centaine/one hundred »; 502 (Y *ni yu*, lire *ni gan*, avec N): *n. qona[q]* « un jour entier/a whole day »; cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *niken* (p. 57); dah. *nək/nəkən*, mog./Weiers *nika/nikʌ(n)*, yogor *nege*, baoan *nəgə*, santa *niə* (!), mgr. *nigɜ/nəgə*, oir. dial. *neg/nig*, khal., barin, etc. *neg*; mong. *nigen*

niru'un 17 (*ni nu wen*): « arête d'une montagne/mountain ridge » (*ling*); cf. MNT *niru'un/niri'un*, Hy *niri'un*, VdI/Ligeti *niryun* (p. 57); Poppe, Introd., p. 42; dah. *n'irō*, yogor *nurūn/nuryusən/nuryusun*, (baoan *ŋgsəx*), santa *nurun*, mgr. *nurə/nuru*, kalm. *nuryan*, bour. *n'urgan*, khal. etc. *nurū*; mong. *niruyun*

nočiguna 408 (chin. *la* pour mong. *na*): Xanthium (*cang'er*), cf. Wuti 15060 mandchou *senggete* (*ē* Kletterstaude », Hauer) = tib. *srag-'byar byi-gžuṅ* = mong. *nočoyan-a* = turki *budušqaq* = chin. *cang'erzi*; ord. *nočogono* = *nočogonūr* « nom d'une plante dont le fruit est pourvu de petits piquants », Mostaert; khal. *nocgono*, Cewel (= russe « lupička » selon Luwsandendew); bour. *nosorgono/nosorgonoo(n)* « repejnik », Čeremisov; mong. *nočoyana*

noyan 38 (*na/no yan*; N 邯 *ye* pour *no*): « fonctionnaire, commandeur/functionary, commander » (*guan*); 104 (N 敦 *dun* pour *no*): *qur* [?] *n.*; 105: *tümen n.*; 106: *mingyan n.*; 107 (N sans *no*): *ǰauči n.*; 108: *tabin n.*; 109: *qaur* ou *haulqa* [?] *n.*; cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *noyan* (p. 58); TMEN no. 389; mgr. *nəyɔ̄n*, yogor *nion/niyɔn*, santa *noyan/noyən*, dah. *noyn* (baoan *guan* < chin.); mong. *noyan*

nudurwan 257 (Y *nu du er wan*, N, V 竿 *gan* pour 篤 *du*, entre *dalu* et *südün*) « poing/fist » (*quantou*); cf. Hy *nudurġa*; Poppe, Introd., pp. 34, 55; Vergl., p. 39; dah. *ńodruyw*, yogor *nudurġa*, baoan *nədġa*, santa *nudərax*, mgr. *nudərġa*; mong. *niduryan*

numu 163 « arc/bow » (*gong*); cf. MNT *numu(n)*, VdI/Ligeti *numun* (p. 59); dah. *nəm*, yogor *nəmən*, (baoan *danguŋ*), santa *sumu* (!), mgr. *nəmu/lumu*, barin *nɔm* (homonyme: *nɔm* « livre »); mong. *numun*

numuǰi 47 « fabriquant d'arc/bow-maker » (*gongjiang*); cf. *Menggu zazi* des Qing *numuči* id.; mong. *numuči(n)*

nu'o 539 (*nu wo*) « bleu; indigo/blue, indigo » (*lan*), 541 (Y [ ] *wo*, N, V *nu wo*) « vert foncé/dark green » (*mo lu*, lire *hei lu*); cf. Hy *noqo'an*, MA/Poppe *nob noyān*; dah. *nuwaan/nuwaars*, yogor *noyōn*, baoan *noġuŋ*, santa

noγoη, mgr. *nogōn*; Poppe, Vergl., p. 38; The Canada–Mongolia Review III: 2 (Oct. 1977), pp. 126 sq (**ñuġuġan*); mong. *noγoγan*

nuqu 329 (*ne he*) « chien/dog » (*gou*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *noqai* (p. 58), Kirakos/Ligeti *noqay* (no. 24); Poppe: CAJ IX (1964), pp. 166 sq; kitan *n*[ ]*q*/*x*[ ], dah. *noγ* et *noγw*, mog./Weiers *noqai*, yogor *nɔgqoi*, baoan *noġoi*, santa *noγəi/noγei*, mgr. *noxuai*, khara. *nöxō̃*; mong. *noqai*

nura 24 « ravin, torrent/ravine, torrent » (*jian*); cf. mong. précl. id. Srn., ord. *nura*; kalm., khal. *nurā* (< *nura-*); mong. *nura*

nu'u 71 (*ne wo*, lire 讠无 *wu* pour 沃 *wo* et N *) « garçon, fils/boy, son » (*haier*); cf. MNT *nu'u(n)*, Hy *nu'un*, dah. *nōn/ńōn* (solon/Poppe *nō̃*); mong. (précl.) *nuγun/niγun*

nüger 113 (*ne ge er*) « camarade/companion » (*bandang*); cf. MNT *nökör*, VdI/Ligeti *nöker* (p. 58); TMEN no. 388; dah. *nuγur*, yogor *nökör*, baoan *nokor/noxgor*, santa *nokiə*, mgr. *nokor/nokuor*; mong. *nökör*

olan « beaucoup/many », 522 (*wo lang*): *o. ǰü'en* « beaucoup et peu/many and few » = ? « quantité/quantity » (*duoshao*); cf. Hy *olon*, dah. *walən*, yogor *ɔlɔn*, baoan *oloη*, santa *oloη/olon*, mgr. *ulon*, kalm. *oln*, bour. *olon* etc.; mong. *olan*

olǰin 286 (Y **wan zhen*, N *jun zhen*, V ?; lire 翫 *wan* pour 郡 *jun*) « toile/cloth » (*bu*); cf. Hy id. (d'après Mostaert—de Rachewiltz: *ölǰin*, comformément à Ls *öleǰin*)

ong 97 (*wang*): voir *dai o.*

ongγoča 300 (*weng wo cha*): « auge, mangeoire/trough » (*cao*), 311 (**yu* = 王 *wang e cha*): « bateau/boat » (*zhuan*); cf. MA/Poppe et VdI/Ligeti *ongqača* « bateau » (p. 59); yogor *oηgočo* « bateau », (dah./Iv. *čoη*, baoan *ĉuan*, santa *ĉon* « bateau » < chin.), baoan *oηǰoĉo*, mgr. *ηgučag* et *ηgučog* « mangeoire », khal. *ongoč* « auge; baignoire; vaisseau, navire; avion », etc.; Sinor: UAJb. XXXIII, pp. 168 sq; mong. *ongqoča*

o⟨n⟩nu 210 (*wan nu*) « entaille à la flèche/incision on the arrowshaft » (*jiankou*); cf. kalm. *on*, khal., ord. *oni* « échancrure », *sumun oni* « coche de flèche », Mostaert; khal., barin *ono*, etc., (dah. *onč* « couteau »); mong. *ono*, *oni*

otoči 67 « médecin/physician » (*yiren*); cf. Hy id. (transcrit par les mêmes caractères chinois *e tuo chi*) « médecin de la maison impériale », Mostaert; MA/Poppe *otači*, dah. *otuš* (« chamanesse »), kalm. *otč* « Arzt, Medicus », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *otošo* (rare), kha. *otoč* (rare); *o. burxan* = tib. *sman-bla* = ord. *otoči* « l'esprit-maître des médecines », Mostaert; mong. *otači*

ökin 72 (Y **wo qin*; N, V lire 仵 *wo* pour 氏 *shi/zhi*) « fille/girl, daughter » (*nühaier*); cf. Hy, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 60); TMEN no. 48; dah. *ugin/uγin/uyin*, yogor *hkon*, baoan *okuη*, santa *očin*, mgr. *šǰün*, khara. *ihən*, durb./Rudnev *exin*, ǰarut *yihən/yəhin*, gor./Rudnev *yexin/yəhin*, etc.; mong. *ökin*

örge 299 (*wo li ge*) « fenêtre: l'ouverture supérieure de la tente/window: roof orifice of the tent » (*chuang*); cf. MNT *erüge*, dah. *ùrxə̄* (solon/Poppe *ùrkə̄*), yogor *örögö* id., kalm. *örk*, bour. *ùrxe* (aussi « chamane », mot autre que *ùrxe*, nom d'un rongeur, turc touva *örge*), khal. *órx*, ord. *örökö*, etc. (mot autre que *örgē* « palace », TMEN no. 46); mong. *erüke*

qaban 387 (*xia bang*) « sanglier sauvage/wild boar, hog » (*shanzhu*); cf. Hy *qaban* id. (*yezhu*), kalm. *xawn* (aussi « héros » dans les contes, = *bodη*), khal. *xawan* (rare); Ščerbak, Nazvanija, p. 125; mong. *qaban*

qabar 243 (*xia ba er*) « nez/nose » (*bi*), Hy, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 40); dah. *xamər*, mog./Weiers *qʌbʌr*, yogor *xwār*, santa *qawa*, baoan *xawar*, mgr. *qavar/xavar*, kalm. *xamr*, bour., khal., ord., barin, etc. *xamar*; mong. *qabar*

qabtasu ou *qabdasu* 153 (Y **xian/m ta su*, N **cha da su*; lire 陷 ou 餡 *xian* pour 插 *cha*) « (une des deux) planchette(s) de la selle/(one of the two) side board(s) of the saddle » (*yachiban*); cf. MNT *qabdasun* « planche », dah. *kabtāl* (aussi *kartəs*), yogor *ġabtasən* « planchette de la selle », kalm. *xawts/xapts(n)/xapcsn*, bour. *xabtahan*, khal. *xawtas*, ord. *gabtasu*, etc., cf. encore Róna-Tas: Acta Orient. Hung. XVIII (1966), p. 139 (*q.* sous presse); mong. *qabtasun*

qabur 461 (*he bu er*) « printemps/spring » (*chun*); cf. MNT, Hy, MA id., dah. *xaur/qaur*, yogor *xaβər*, (baoan *śitgə* < tib., mgr. *ĉun* < chin.), kalm. *xawr*, bour., barin *xabar*, khal. *xawar*, ord. *xawur*, etc.; mong. *qabur* (mot rimant avec *namur*)

qaburqa 252 (*he bu er he*) « côtes/rib(s) » (*leizhi*); cf. mog. *qoburγa*, Poppe, Introd., p. 27; TMEN no. 267; dah. *xab'rəγ*, yogor *xarġwa*, baoan *harġal*, santa *qaruγa*, barin *xɛbrag*; Hy *qabusun*, mgr. *xawujə* et *xairsə*; mong. *qabirγa, qabisun*

qadana 521 (*xia da la*; *la* pour *na*) « l'extérieur/exterior » (*waimian*); cf. MNT *qadana/qadā*, Hy *qadana/qada'un*, dah. *gād*, yogor *ġadana*, baoan *ġadə*, santa *ġadanə*, kalm. *γaza* = bour. *gazaa* (= mong. *γadaγa*), khal. etc. *gad(a)na*; mong. *γadana*

qadasun ou *qadāsun* 312 (*he tai sun*; lire 荅 *da* pour 苔 *tai*) « clou/nail » (*ding'er*); cf. Hy, MA id., TMEN no. 1435; yogor *ġada-* (=mong. *qada-*; yogor *ġadəsən*), baoan *ġadsən* et *ġadasun* (= mong. *qadaγasun* et *γadasun*), santa *ġadasun*; mgr. *ġadasə* (= *diηjə* < chin.), khara. *gadā/xadā* « clou », ord. *xadās(u)* « clou; crampon; noeud dans le bois; fine branche d'une arbre », Mostaert; mong. *qadasun, qadaγasun*

qadār 158 (*xia da er*) « bride/bridle » (*peitou*); cf. MNT, Hy *qada'ar*, MNT, VdI/Ligeti *qadār* (p. 41); dah. *xadāl*, yogor *ġadār*, baon *ġadər*, santa *ġada*, mgr. *ġadar* (autre que *gadar* « extérieur »), etc.; mong. *qaǰaγar*

qadum 84 (*he dun*): *q. deü* « beau-frère cadet/younger brother-in-law » (*jiu*); 81: *q. ečike* « beau-père/father-in-law » (*zhangren*); cf. TMEN no. 1613; dah. *xadən/xadəm*, yogor *ġadam*, baoan *ġadem* (*ġ. ana*, *ġ. baba*), santa *ġadun* (*ġ. aγa* = *ġ. gaga* « beau-frère aîné », *g. məkiə* « belle-mère »), mgr. *ġadəm/n*, mong. *qadum/qadam*

qadun 39 (*xia dun* « épouse, dame/wife, lady » (*niangzi*); cf. MNT *qatu(n)*, *qadun*, VdI/Ligeti *qatuqtai* (p. 43); TMEN no. 1159; dah. *katun*, yogor *ġaton*, ord. *gatun*; mong. *qatun*

qaiči [?] 315 (*qian tou*, lire 還 *huan/huai* pour 欠 *qian*, cf. 又欠 *huan*; lire 扌豆 *chi* pour 頭 *tou*) « ciseaux/scissors » (*jianzi*); cf. Hy *qayiči*, Hy/Chen *qaiči*; TMEN no. 318; dah. *kaič*, yogor *xaičə*, baoan *xəičiə*, santa *qaiči/qaiču*, mgr. *xaīǰə/xaičə/xēǰi*; barin *xēč(lax)*; turc *qïftï/qïptu*, Clauson, ED; mong. *qayiči*

qailasun ou *qailāsun* 423 (Y, N *hai lie sun*; V *sun* deest) « orme/elm » (*yushu*); cf. Hy *qailasun*, oir. dial. *xālāsn*, bour. *xailaahan*, khal. *xailaas*, ord. *xālasu* (la 2e syllabe est brève); mong. *qayilasun*

qaǰir 15 (*he che er*, lire 製 *zhi* pour 掣 *che* ou lire *qačir* ?) « terre/earth » (*di*); cf. MNT, Hy *qaǰar*, VdI/Ligeti *qaǰar/qačar* (p. 41); TMEN no. 253 (*qaǰarči*); mog./Weiers *γaǰar*, dah. *gaǰir*, yogor *ġaǰar*, baoan *ġačir*, santa *ġaǰa*, mgr. *ġaǰär*, tchakh., ǰarut, barin, etc. *gaǰir*, khara. *gɛǰir*, par exemple, *tarānā g.*; mong. *γaǰar*

qalbuqa 117 (*he er bu he*) « cuiller/spoon » (lire chin. 匙 *shi/chi*, aussi pour N, V *qi*); cf. Hy id.; TMEN no. 1393; dah. *xalbəγ*, yogor *xalġwa*, ölöt (rare) *xalwγ*, oir. dial. de Qinghai *xablag*, khal. dial. (Sud, drg.) *xawalag*; mong. *qalbaγa/qalbuγa* (cf. oir. dial. *xašg*; turc *qašïq*)

qalǰa [?] 329 (*nan du*; lire 献 *xian/m* pour 南 *nan/m* et 者 *zhe* pour 都 *du*) « encrier de corne/inkhorn » (*yan*), cf. ici *namdu* [?]; Róna-Tas: Acta Orient. Hung. XVIII (1965), p. 133; mong. *qalǰa*

qalqan 169 (*xia la han*; *la* pour *-l-*) « bouclier/shield » (*jia*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qalγan* (p. 42); TMEN no. 1518 (*qalqa*); mong. *qalqa(n)*

qan ou *qān* 35 (*han*) « empereur/emperor » (*huangdi*); cf. *qānu ba ǰarliqtur* dans les inscriptions en écriture 'phags-pa; VdI/Ligeti *qa'an* (p. 40); TMEN no. 1161; mong. *qan* et *qaγan*

qara 537 (N, V *xia la*/Y 神 *shen*: lire 剌 *la*) « noir/black » (*hei*); 221 (*xia la*): *q. amu* « millet noir/black millet »; 223: *q. burča[q]* « pois noir/black peas »; 134 (*he la*): *q. muri* « cheval noir/black horse », cf. MNT, Hy *qara*, dah. *xar/kara*, mog./Weiers *qʌro/qoro*, yogor, baoan, mgr. *xara*, santa *qara*; TMEN no. 1440; Poppe: The Canada-Mongolia Review III: 2 (1977), pp. 119—122; mong. *qara*

qarbus 436 (*he er bu xi*) « pastèque/watermelon » (*xigua*); cf. Hy *arbus*, ouig. Wy *qarbus*; TMEN no. 1382

qarča⟨i⟩qa 348 (*he li chai he*) « faucon/falco » (*ying*); cf. MNT, Hy *qarčiqai*, khal. *xarcaga*, ord. *garčagā* « autour », TMEN no. 278 (*qarčaγai*); Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. I (1950), p. 177, n. 28; mong. *qarčaγa(i)*

qariyača 370 (*he li ye che*; *che* pour mong. *ča*) « hirondelle/swallow » (*yanzi*); cf. Hy id., (dah. *ǰilǰmā*, yogor *xara bolǰir*, santa *ŝašayəu/ŝašayi*), mgr. *xaračəġai/xarabčiġai*, kalm. *xarācā*, bour. *xaraasgai*, khal. *xaraacai*, ord. *xarāčā*,

barin *xeragčā*; TMEN no. 1513 (turc *qarlïγač*); mong. précl. (Srn I 13c): (*üker*) *qariyača*; mong. *qariyačai*

[*qaš*] 331: [*q.*] *čilawun* « jade » (*yu*, cf. dah. *ūši* < chin.); cf. Hy *qaš*, yogor *xaš*, kalm. *xaš čolun*, khal., ord. *xaš*, ouig. des Ming *qaš taš* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 164, avec mong. *qaš*, v. aussi durbut, gorlos etc. *xaš*, Rudnev)

qatuqur 198 (*xia tu he er*) « faux, faucille/scythe, sickle » (*lian*); cf. Hy *qadu'ur*, dah. *xadūr*, yogor *ġadūr*, baoan, mgr. *ġadər*, santa *ġadu*, kalm. *xadur* (= *xaǰ*, ölöt *šalγ/čalγ*, Ramstedt, KalmWb, avec kaz. *šalγï*), bour. *xaduur/xažuur*, khal., ord., barin *xadur* (« faucille »); mong. *qaduγur*

qaučin « ancien/old » (*jiu*) 519 (*hao chen*, N, V 言 *yan* au lieu de 号 *hao*): *sini q.*; cf. MNT, Hy *qa'učin*, VdI/Ligeti *qaučin* (p. 44), dah. *kaučin*, yogor *xūčən*, baoan *xīčaŋ/xuičüŋ*, santa *quaiĉəŋ*, mgr. *xauǰin*, barin *xōčin*, ǰarut *hōšin*, etc; mong. *qaγučin*

qaur [?] 109 (*hao lu*): *q.* [?] *noyan*, lire *haul*[*qa*] *n.*?

qaura 216 « lime/file, rasp » (*cuo*); cf. MA *qaurai*, etc., TMEN no. 300; Ligeti, Une ancienne interpolation dans l'Altan tobči: Acta Orient. Hung. XXVI (1972), p. 6; dah. *xaur*, yogor *xūrī*; mong. *qaγurai*

qālqa 207 (*xia la hai*) « porte/door » (*menzi*); cf. MNT, Hy *qa'alqa*; TMEN no. 313; dah. *xāləγ*, yogor *xālġa*, baoan, mgr. *xā-*, santa *qā-*; (kalm. *xaalγ* « chemin »); mong. *qaγalγa*

qālqači 117 (Y *xia er xia chi*, N, V 里 *li* pour 匣 *xia*; V *wei?* pour 赤 *chi*) « gardien de la porte/door-keeper » (*bamenren*); cf. khal. *xaalgačin*, etc.; tabghatch *qabaqčin* chez Ligeti: Mongolian Studies (Budapest 1970), pp. 296—298; mong. *qaγalγači*(*n*)

qoiči « ce qui suit, prochain, postérieur/that which follows; the next; the future » 469 (*huai chi*): *q. hon* « l'année après l'année prochaine; dans deux ans/the year after the next » (*hounian*); 471: *q. sara* « dans deux mois/the month after the next » (*houyue*); 491 (Y *chi* deest); *q. üdür* « après-demain/after-tomorrow » (*houri*); cf. MNT *qoyitu*; yogor *xɔitə* dans *xɔitən*, baoan *xīta*; *xīčoŋ hoŋ* « l'année prochaine », *xīčudə* « demain », santa *quitu*; *quiĉi udu* (*xounian* = chin. *hounian*; mgr. *maġšə* « l'année prochaine » et *xuiǰə maġǰə* « le matin du deuxième jour »: cf. mong. *manaγarsi*), mgr. *xuiǰə* « postérieur »; kalm. *xööt ǰil*, bour. *xoito želde*, khal. *xoiton* (*ǰil*), ord. *xoötan/xoötun* « l'année prochaine »; khal. *xoič*(*iin ireedüi*) « l'avenir »; khara. *xōt*; mong. *qoyitu* et *qoyiči*

qoina 515 (*houai la*) « après, derrière/after, behind » (*hou*); cf. MNT *qoyina*, dah. *xwainə/xwainā*, mog./Weiers *qauna*, *qoinʌksi*, yogor *xɔinɔ*, baoan *xīna*, santa *quina*, mgr. *xuaino/xuino*, kalm. *xöön/xoor*(*a*)*n*, bour., khal. *xoino*, ord. *xoöno*, tchak., khara., barin, etc. *xōn*; mong. *qoyina*

qona[*q*] « une journée, un jour et une nuit/a day and a night » 502 (*huo na*; lire *qonoq* ?): *nigen q.* « une journée/a whole day and night » (*yi xue*);

cf. TMEN no. 1539; dah. *konōr* « journée », *konō* « logement », yogor *xɔnɔg* et *xɔnɔ-*, santa *ġono-*; cf. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. VIII (1958), p. 223, n. 19; mong. *qonoγ*

qongγur « alezan/isabel » 132 (*huang wu er*): *q. muri* « cheval alezan/isabel horse » (*huang ma*); cf. MNT *qongqor*; TMEN no. 1536; dah. *koŋgōr*, yogor *xɔŋġur*, mgr. *xoŋġo*; mong. *qongγor*

qongqor 318 (*huang shuo er*, lire 豁 *huo* pour 說 *shuo*) « petits grelots ronds attachés sur l'harnachement/little bells attached to the harnass » (*ling'er*), cf. mong. *qongqo* et turc *qoŋrayu*, TMEN no. 1537; Ligeti: A harang mint csörgő, csengettyű és kolomp [Hongrois *harang* comme hochet, sonnette et clochette]: Magyar Nyelv LXIV (1968), pp. 75—78; yogor *xɔŋġɔ*, mgr. *xoŋġor*, santa *ġuŋġuŋ*; dah. *koŋgilǐ̈ōr* « sonnette », dah. *xwaŋgārt* et solon/Poppe *xoŋāltu˜* « petites sonnettes de la robe du chaman »; khara. *xoŋ* (cf. *loŋ* pour mong. *longqo*)

qoqo[*t*] 429 (*he he*; ou lire *qoqo*[*sun*]?) « ail, poireau/leek » (*jiu*); cf. MTT *qoqosun* (*manggirsu*(*n*)), Hy *qoqosun*, mong. précl. Lu.AT 16b (Ligeti: MLMC) *γoγosun*, *γoγod*; dah. *gwaγəs*, mgr. *ġuġur/goġuor*, (kalm. *maŋgrsn*, bour. et khal. *mangir*), khal., ord., arkhor., ogn., khara. *gogŏd*, barin *gōgŏd*, tum. E *gogŏs* (Rudnev); mong. *γoγod*, *γoγosun*

qoqumai « desséché/dried » 420 (*huo hu mai*; N, V après 423): *q. modu* « arbre desséchée/dried tree » (*kushu*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qoqama* (p. 44); (? baoan *xō-* « dessécher », *xōġa-* « sécher », santa *ġoγa-* dans *ġoγasan miγa* « chair séchée »; mong. *qaγu* -), bour. *xoximoi* « crâne; squelette; invalide », khal. *xoximoi tolgoi*, ord. *gokimō̈* (*tologō̈*) « tête de mort »; mong. *qokimai*

qorči 124 (*huo lu chi*), 68 (*quan lu zhe*, lire 禾 *huo* pour 犬 *quan*) « porteur de carquois/quiver-bearer » (*daigongqianren*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qorči* (p. 45); TMEN no. 301; ord. *xur* « carquois »; l'ethnonyme Qorčin; mong. [*qorči*(*n*)]

qoru[*qai*] « ver » 419 (**lu* [ ], lire 豁 *huo* pour*): *q. teǰi*[*ek*]*sen mudun* « murier/mulberry tree » (« l'arbre dont on nourrit le ver [à soie] »; *sangshu*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qoryai* (p. 45); dah. *xorγw*, yogor *xɔrɔqɔi*, baoan *ġorġəi*, santa *ġuγi* et *ġuŋγəi*, mgr. *xorġuai*, barin *xɔrxɔ̄* (mais mong. *qormai* = *xörmō̈*), khara. *xörxō̈*; ord. *gürü xorxō̈* = *mindasu x.* « ver à soie » (Mostaert), khal. *gür xorxoi*; mong. *qoroqai*, *gürü q.* (le nom mong. de l'arbre en question est *ilama*)

qoyor 439 (*she yao er*, lire 合 *he* pour 舌 *she*; ou lire *qoyaul* = mong. *qoyaγula* ?) « deux/two » (*er*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qoyar*; dah. *xoir*, yogor *gūr*, baoan *ġuar*, santa *ġua*, mgr. *ġōr*; mong. *qoyar*, *qoγor*

qotoli 208 (*tuo he jia*; lire *he tuo li*; 里 *li* pour 甲 *jia*) « flèche à bouton d'os/bone-head arrow » (*daputou*); cf. MNT *qodoli*, TMEN no. 297; mong. *γodoli*

qubi « destin, chance/fate, luck » 475: *q. sara* « le 1er mois/the 1st month » (*zhengyue*); cf. ord. *xuwi sara* « nom du dixième mois de l'année lunaire = le premier mois de l'hiver », Mostaert; MNT *qubi*; TMEN no. 294;

dah. *xob'*, yogor *xùβ* « luck », et ici *sara*; mong. *qubi sara* « le 1er mois de l'année/du printemps »

qubur 205 « instrument musical à trois cordes/three-stringed musical instrument » (*sanxianzi*); cf. yogor *xūr* « instrument musical à quatre cordes » (*huqin*) = mgr. *xuxujə* (*j* = *dz*) = ord. *xūr* « violon à quatre cordes », cf. mong. *quγurči* et turc *qopuz* dans TMEN nno. 314, 597, 1546; hongrois *koboz* TESz; mong. *quur*, *quγur*

quča « bélier/ram » 483: *q. dalbi*[*qu* ?] *sara* « le 9e mois/the 9th month » (*jiuyue*); cf. Yishi jiyu *quča sara* id., kalm./Witsen *Hucza* [= *xuc*] *Sara* «August », voir ici *dalbi-* et *sara*; VdI/Ligeti *quča*; TMEN no. 1550; dah. *koč*, yogor *quča* et *q. tal-* [mong. *talbi-*], santa *quǰa*, mgr. *xuǰä*; hongrois *kos* TESz; mong. *quča*

qudal « faux/false » 476 (*hu da li*): *q. ūgölǰin sara* « le 2e mois/the 2nd month » (*eryue*) = « le faux mois de la huppe »; cf. ici *ünen ū. sara* « le vrai mois de la huppe »; MNT *qulaqai qudal üyile*, dah. *xwadəl*, mogh./Weiers *qudol*, yogor *ġudal*, santa *ġudaŋ*, mgr. *ġudal* « false », daur/Witsen *koetal* [= *kudal*] (TMEN III, p. 657), kalm. *xudl*, bour., khal., ord., etc. *xudal* « mensonge; faux/lie; false »; mong. *qudal*

qudalduči 112 (*huo dan du chi*) « marchand/merchant » (*maimairen*); cf. MNT, Hy *qudaldu-*, yogor *ġudald-* et *ġudaldən*, santa *ġudandu-*; mong. *qudaldu-* + *γačin* > kalm. *xuldāčn*, bour. *xudaldaašan*, khal. *xudaldaačin*, ord. *xudaldāči*, barin *xədaldā*, mais *xəlda*(*ǰ ab*)-; mong. *qudaldu*, nom, *qudaldu-*, verbe, *qudaldučin*, nom dénom.

qudu[*q*] 25 (*hu du*) « puits/well » (*jing*); cf. MNT *quduq*, plur. *qudu'ut* cf. TMEN no. 272; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, pp. 168 sq; dah. *kodir*, santa *gudəu* (yogor, baoan *ǰiŋ* < chin., mgr. *rjən* < tib.); mong. *quduγ*

quduqa 274 (*huo du xia*) « écuelle d'un bonze mendiant/mendicant monk's bowl » (*hebo*); 296 (*he du he*, lire *qoduqa* ?) « pot, cruche/pot, jug »; cf. VdI/Ligeti *qoduγa* (p. 44); ? dah. *kot*; mong. *qotoγa*

qudurqa 155 (*hu du liu hua*) « croupière/crupper » (*qiu*); cf. MNT id.; TMEN no. 1494; dah. *xodruγw*, yogor *ġudurġa*, (santa *čiu* < chin.); mong. *qudurγa*

qulan 144: *q. muri* « cheval sauvage [= hémione]/wild horse [= wild donkey] » (*yema* « cheval sauvage »); cf. MNT *qulan* et Qulan qatun; TMEN no. 1574: yogor *xulaŋ* Equus hemionus; mong. *qulan*

qulasu 405 (*hu la su*) « jonc, roseau/rush, reed » (*luzicao*), cf. ici *qulusun* (ou lire *qūrsu*, mong. *γaγursun* et *γuursun*, dah. *gaurs*, ord. *γūrsu* « éteule, chaume/stubble, straw, culm of grasses », Mostaert; khal. *guurs*, etc. ?)

qulusun 415 (*hu lu sun*) « bambou/bamboo » (*zhuzi*); VdI/Ligeti id. « roseau, canne » (p. 46); yogor *xulusun*, mgr. *xulusə* « bambou », dah. *kols*, baoan *ġolsoŋ*, durb./Rudnev *kolto* « jonc », durb./Todaeva *xult*(*an*); mong. *qulusun*

qumqalsun 414 (*hun han sun*) « Sophora japonica » (*huaishu*), lire *qumqālsun*? < *qumqan* « cruche »?

qun 359 « cygne/swan » (*e*); cf. MNT, Hy id.; TMEN no. 1543 (turc *quγu*); mong. *qun/qung*

quni 382 (*hu ni*) « mouton/sheep » (*yang*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qonin* (p. 45), Kirakos/Ligeti *qoni* (no. 18); TMEN nno. 312, 1590; dah. *xon'*, yogor *xōnə*, baoan *ġoni*, santa *ġoni*, mgr. *xonə*, tchakh., barin, khara., etc. *xön*; khortchin Bo-wang *xön/xöy*, Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 238; mong. *qonin*

quniči 122 (*huo ni chi*) « berger/shepherd » (*fangyangren*); cf. MNT *qoničí(n)*, yogor *xōnəčə*, kalm. *xə̄čn*, bour. *xonišo(n)*, khal. *xoničin*, etc.; mong. *qoničin*

qur 448 (*hu lu*) « vingt/twenty » (*ershi*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qorin* (p. 45); dah. *xor'/xorin*, yogor *xɔrən*, baoan *xoruŋ*, santa *qoruŋ/qorilaŋ*, mgr. *xorən/xurən*, tchak., barin, etc. *xör*; mong. *qorin*

qur [?] 104 (*huo lu*; N, V *ye li* !): *q. noyan* « chef de district/district head » (*xianguan*); = *qur* « vingt »? lire *qol* (pour mong. *γool*)?

qura 10 « pluie/rain » (*yu*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *qura* (p. 47); dah. *xwar*, yogor *xura*, baoan, santa *ġura*, mgr. Minhe *qurā*, Huzhu *xurā*; mong. *qura*

qurla[*q*] 170 (*la hu er*: lire *hu er la*) « carquois/quiver » (*qianxia*); cf. mong. *qor*, ord. *xur* « carquois » et turc *qur*; sagai, koibal *qurluq* « das Bogenfutteral, der Kocher », Radloff, II, 944

qurqan 383 (*hu lu han*) « agneau/lamb » (*gaoer*); cf. Kirakos/Ligeti *quryan* (no. 19); TMEN no. 19, *quraγan*; mog./Weiers *quryʌn*, yogor, mgr. *xurġan*, baoan *ġurġan*, santa *ġuγan*; tumut *xuraw*, ǰarut *xurag* et *xuraw*, Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 238; mong. *quriγan/quraγa(n)*

qurqōl 360 (*hu lu huan*) « faisan/pheasant » (*yeji*); 368 « expèce de poule sauvage/wild chicken species »; cf. Hy *qurqa'ul*; TMEN no. 1464; dah. *xorγōl*, baoan/Chen *ġulġur* (chin. *galaji*), mgr. *čirġul*; mong. *γurγuul* (et *kirγaγul*)

qurumsā 1719 (Y *hu lin/m xi*, N 折 *xi* pour 林 *lin*; lire 柔 *sha* pour 系 *xi* final) « étui pour l'arc/quiver for the bow » (*gongdai*); cf. ogn./Rudnev *xor-(o)msog* id. et « tablier »; ölöt *xormsx*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; Kőhalmi: Acta Orient. Hung. XV (1962), p. 198; mong. *qorumsaγa*

quruqa[*ra* ?] 369 (*hu lu hua*) « poule [sauvage; tetras]/[wild] chicken; [grouse] » (*ji*); cf. MNT *qara quru* « poule sauvage » (*yeji*), baoan/Chen *ġaraġuru* (chin. *hong*); bour. *xura*, khal. *xur* « tetras »; v. une inversion analogique: barin *nɔmōn sɔxɔr* au lieu de khal. *soxor nomuun*; ou lire *qurqa*['*ul*], cf. Hy id. (et ici *qurqōl*)

qusu 422: *q. mudun* « bouleau/birch tree » (*huashu*); cf. kalm. *xusm* [!] *modn*, bour. *xuhan*, khal. *xus*; ord. *gusu*, durbut *xut*, Todaeva, Jazyk mongolov, p. 238; mong. *qusu(n)*

qusur [?] 407 (*hu su er*) « noix d'eau, saligot water chestnut » (Trapa natans; chin. 芰 *ji* = 菱 *ling* Trapa bicornis, d'après Wuti 14949: mandchou

ninggiya. mong. *ǰangyuu*, tandis que 14950 mandchou *binggiya* = mong. *sün ündüsün* = chin. *biqi* = Eleocharis dulcis); dah./Engkebatu *ǰaŋgō* = chin. *bijiao*, Trapa? et *cang'erzi*, v. ici *nočiquna*, Xanthium); ou lire 黑 *hei* au lieu de 兒 *er*: *qusuq* ?, cf. turc *qusïq* « (used for several) kinds of tree fruit », Clauson, ED, 667, mong. *qusiγa* « noix »

quya[*q*] 167 (*hu ye*) « cuirasse/cuirass » (*jia*); cf. MNT, Hy *quyaq*, dah. *kwair*, yogor *xuyaġ*, mgr. *xcycġ*, kalm. *xuyg*, bour., khal., ord. *xuyag*; mong. *quyaγ*

quya[*q*]*ǰi* 45 (*huo ya zhi* « fabriquant de cuirasse/shieldmaker » (*jiajiang*); mong. *quyaγ* + *či*(*n*)

sa'ačaqai 366 (*sa ye cha hai*) « pie/magpie » (*yeque*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *sāǰiγai* (p. 62); dah. *sāǰiγ*, yogor *saǰaqai*, santa *saǰiγi*, mgr. *saǰaġaī*; mong. *siγaǰaγai*

sam 195 (*san/m*) « peigne/comb » (*shu*); cf. Hy *sam*, VdI/Ligeti *sam*; yogor, baoan *sam*, mgr. *sam/saŋ*, santa *saŋ*; mong. *sam*

samǰi 53 « peignier/comb-maker »; mong. *sam* + *či*(*n*)

sanǰal 199 (*sa xi er*, lire 散 *san* pour 撒 *sa* et 扎 *zha* pour 折 *xi*) « fauteuil/armchair » (*jiaoyi*); IM/Poppe *sandali*, Hy *sanǰal*; cf. bour. *hanžal* « dlinnaja skamejka vdol' steny », Čeremisov; dah. *sandul*; khal. *sandal/sandali*; mong. *sandal*(*i*) <<< persan *sandali* (Clauson, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, [London 1962], p. 240); pour ce qui est de l'alternation et du changement *d/ǰ*, voir mong. *anǰasun/andasun*, *qaǰaγar*/moyen mong. *qada'ar*

saqui [?] 128 (*sa hui*) « petit cheval/little horse » (*xiao ma*): selon Wuti 16272, chin. *xiao ma* = mong. *dāγan*, cf. ici 147 *dāqan* « poulain de deux ans »; est-ce-qu'il s'agit ici encore d'une erreur dans la transcription chinoise au lieu de laquelle l'on doit lire 擺炭 *bai tan* = *baital* au lieu de 撒灰 *sa hui*? Cf. turc, ouig. des Ming *baytal* « jument » (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 137; TMEN no. 827; ouig. Wy/Shōgaito *baytal at*), mong. *bayitasun*: kalm. *bääsn*, ord. *bātas*(*u*) « qui n'a pas encore de jeunes, . . .; jument . . . qui n'a pas encore de poulain », plur. *bātat* « jeunes juments qui n'ont pas encore eu de poulain et qui pour la pemière fois ont été réunies en troupeau sous la conduite d'un étalon », Mostaert

sar 353 (*sa er*) « autour, buse/buzzard » (*baozi*); cf. Hy id. (*huabao*); yogor, kalm., khal., ord., mong. *sar*

sara 3 « lune; mois/moon; month » (*yue*); 482: *bugu s.*; 473: *ene s.*; 481: *γuran s.*; 479: *hular s.*; 485: *idelγu s.*; 484: *kelebdür* [?] *s.*; 478: *kököge s.*; 486: *küküler s.*; 480: *naǰir s.*; 474: *qoiči s.*; 474: *qubi s.*; 483: *quča dalbi*[*qu*] *s.*; 476: *qudal ügölǰin s.*; 4: *sini s.*; 472: *urǰi s.*; 477: *ünen ügölǰin s.*; cf. kitan *sair* [?], MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *sara* (p. 62), en écr. 'phagspa *zara*, dah. *sar* « mois », *sarōl* « lune », yogor, baoan, santa, mgr. *sara*; v. les différentes listes des mois de l'ancien calendrier mongol dans le Yishi hiyi/Ba hong yishi (cf. Ligeti, Rapport préliminaire, pp. 44 sq, Mostaert, Textes oraux ordos, pp. 131 sq;

bour./Podgorbunskij; Kotwicz; RO II; kalm./Witsen chez Doerfer, Ältere westeuropäische Quellen; Bazin, Les calendriers); mong. *sara(n)*

Sarda[q]dai 63 (*sa li da dai*) « Mahométan/Muslim » (*huihui*); cf. MNT, Hy *Sarta'ul, Sartaqčin,* mong. précl. *Sartayul irge*; yogor *saltūr*, santa *santa* « musulman »; kalm. *sartul*; khal. *sartuul*, nom d'un groupe ethnique des Khalkha; v. encore ici *J̌aqudai, J̌üšidei, Mongγuldai, Nanggiyadai*; mong. *sartayul*

sarimsa[q] 430 (*sa lin/m sa*) « ail/garlic » (*suan*); cf. TMEN no. 1238 (turc *sarmusaq*); yogor *sarəmsaġ*, baoan *samsəġ*, santa *samusa*, mgr. *sərəmsaġ*, kalm. *särmsg* et *sermsg*, khal. *sarims/sarimsag*, khara. *sɛrəmsəg*; mong. *sarimsaγ*

saugur 154 (*sao hu er*) « le coussin de la selle/the cushion on the saddle » (*anta*); cf. ouig. Wy *sauγur* « siège » < mong.; VdI/Ligeti *sau-* (p. 63); yogor, baoan *sū-*, santa, mgr. *sau-* et, mong. *sayurin*; mong. *sayu* + *γur*, mandchou *soforo*, Nuzhi guan yiyu 619 *saufu* (D. Kane, The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters, Bloomington 1989)

sālqa 191 (*sa lu hua*, N 哥 *ge* pour 魯 *lu*) « seau/pail » (*tong*; la leçon *sa['u]lqa* est moins probable, car le texte a plutôt des diphtongues au lieu des anciennes dissyllabes; ou lire 搔 ou 埽 *sao* pour mong. *sau-*?); cf. MNT, Hy *sa'ulqa*, mgr. *saulġa*, baoan *solġa*, santa *soγo/soŋġo*, kalm. *suuly*, bour. *huulga*, khal. *suulga*, ord. *sūlga*, barin *sōlag*, khara. *sōlŏg*; mong. *sayulγa*

sengli [?] 396: *s.* [*me*]*nege*, lire *naq* [*m.*]

serge 384 (*xie li ge*) « bouc châtré/castrated goat » (*jiejueyang*); cf. TMEN no. 213; yogor *serke*; hongrois *zerge* TESz; mong. *serke*

sibüge 313 « alène/awl » (*zhui*); cf. MNT *šibüge*, dah. *šəuyw*, yogor *šəβge*, baoan *xuke*, santa *sumuyə*, mgr. *ŝubuge/šūgə*, kalm. *šöwg*, bour. *šübge*, khal. *šөwөg*, ord. *šöwögö*, tchak. *šөbөg*; mong. *sibüge*

šikčūr [?] 306 (*guo er chu che*, V 由 *you* pour N, Y 車 *che*; lire 貫 *shi* pour 菓 *guo*; 克 *ke* pour 兒 *er*; 兒 *er* ou 里 *li* pour *che*; ou avec 乞 *qi* au lieu du 2e caractère: *šikičür* ?) « brosse à dent/toothbrush » (*shuaya*); cf. MNT *šigi* « morceau de la viande mangée qui reste entre les dents »; kalm. *šigšlür/čigčlür*, bour. *šegšelüür*, khal. *čigčlüür*, ord. *šigečilūr* « cure-dent »; mong. *sigičür* (Kow. cite le *Manǰu ügen-ü toli bičig*): *sig(i)čilegür* (tchak., etc. *yāčār*, dah. *yāšwās* < chin. *yashua* + *er/zi*)

sildēn 31 (*xin dian*) « village » (*cun*); cf. Hy *šilde'en* id.; ouig. des Ming *šiltegen* < mong., Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 198; ? MNT *šiltesütei ger*; mong. *siltegen*

sili'esün ou *sili'üsün* [?] 374 (*ji li bi bei er gui*; N 枝 *ji* pour Y 被 *bei*; lire 昔 *xi* pour 吉 *ji*; 也 *ye* ou 兀 *wou* pour 必 *bi*; 孫 *sun* pour Y 被 *bei* et N *ji*; mais les syllabes *er gui* restent inexpliquées !) « lynx » (*bao*); cf. Hy *šile'ülsün*, dah. *šulūs*, yogor *šəlēsən*, santa *ŝəliə*, barin *šolobs*, ouig. Wy/Shōgaito *uz šileüsün*, ouig. des Ming *šilāsün* (Ligeti, op. cit., p. 198), tchouv. *šilevśem*; TMEN no. 1765; Räsänen, Versuch, 421; A. Berta, Lautgeschichte der tatarischen

Dialekte (Szeged 1989), pp. 115, 161; K. A. Kolesnikova: Očerki sravnitel'noj leksikologii altajskich jazykov (Leningrad 1972), p. 130; chin. *sheli*(*sun*) et *shilisun*, Zhongwen dacidian, no. 20970, < mong.; mong. *silegüsün* — ou lire *gilbigirgüi*, *girbigirgüi*, etc., mot mystérieux qui doit être un nom de tabou (comme touva *dïrbaqtïg* « ce qui a des ongles », TMEN, loc. cit., et Ščerbak, Nazvanija), cf. yogor *gərbəg* « sourcil » (turc *kirpig*) ?

šim 188 (*shen/m*) « une pinte/pint » (*dou*); cf. dah. *šiŋ* (< chin. *sheng*) = chin. *dou*; ölöt *šiŋ* « eine Kanne (Getreidemass) et *šinǰi*, Ramstedt, KalmWb.; TMEN no. 1317; mot d'origine chinoise

sime [= *süme*] 40 (*xi mo*, N ajoute ? *gong*) « Bouddha/Buddha » (*fo*); cf. Hy *süme ger*, *s.-yin ger* « temple » (*si miao*, mgr. *səmən/smēn*), précl. *süm-e ger*, *s.-yin ger*, *s.-yi bosqaγul-*, voir Cleaves: HJAS XV (1952), Ligeti, MLMC, dans le texte de l'inscription de Qaraqorum de 1346 ou *süme* signifie l'image du Bouddha ainsi que dans la proposition de MA mong. *süme kibe tūni* = tchag. *surat qïldï anï* « izobrazil ego » et dans l'expression mongole *süme kikči* = tchag. *surat qïlquči*, Poppe; les formes modernes répètent le sens classique « monastère, temple », kalm. *süm/söm*, bour. *hüme/süme*, khal. *süm*, ord. *süme*, barin *sȯm*, durb. *tümü*, etc.; mong. *süme*

šinggula ou *singgula* 141 (au lieu de *ǰoġura*; *ruo zhan la*, lire 生 *sheng* ou 性 *ou* 星 *xing* pour 若 *ruo*; 古 *gu* ou 胡 *hu* pour 占 *zhan*; N, V deest) « (un cheval) à crinière blanche et à queue noire/(a horse) with white mane and black tail » (*bai zong hei wei*); cf. MNT *šinggula*; TMEN no. 233

sini « nouveau/new » 4 (*xi ni*): *s. sara* « nouvelle lune/new moon » (*xinyue*), 519 (Y *ruo ni*, N *ruo jian*; lire 昔 *xi* ou 辛 *xin* au lieu de 若 *ruo*; 匿 *ni* au lieu de 間 *jian*): *s. qaučin* « récent et ancien/new and old » (*xinjiu*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *sin*^{i} (pp. 63 sq), MNT, Hy *šini*, précl. *sini*, dah. *šinən* (gén.), *šinkən* (dimin.), yogor *šənə*, baoan *šini*, santa *ŝini*, mgr. *šinə*, ǰarut, khor. gorlos *šüni*, barin *šün* (mais *šinən nəgən/taban* « le 1^{r}/5e jour de la lune »); mong. *sine*

šinqur ou *singqur* 349 (*su hu er*; lire 申 *shen* ou 東 *xin* pour N et V 速 *su* et pour Y 辛 *shu*): *ǰaqan s.* « gerfaut blanc/white gerfalcon » (*haidongqing*); cf. Hy *šinggor*; TMEN nno. 237, 1273; mong. *singqor*

sira 533 (*jie la*, lire 昔 *xi* pour 皆 *jie*): « jaune/yellow » (*huang*); 535 (*xi la*): *našiš* [?; lire *maši* ?] *s.*; cf. MNT, Hy *šira*; TMEN no. 1207; dah. *šar*, yogor *šra*, baoan *xira*, santa *ŝira*, mgr. *šira*; Poppe: The Canada—Mongolia Review III: 2, pp. 127—130; mong. *sira*

širē 185 (*shi la*; lire 列 *lie* pour 剌 *la* ?) « table » (*zhuozi*); cf. TMEN no. 243; dah. *širə*, yogor *šere* (« table; chaise »), santa *ŝirə*, mgr. *širē*; mong. *sirege*(*n*)

širqal 137 (*die li han*, lire 失 *shi* pour 迭 *die*): *š. muri* « cheval à robe couleur sable/horse of sand colour » (*sha bai ma*); cf. kalm. *šarγl* « gelb, strohfarben, isabellfarbig (Pferd) », Ramstedt, KalmWb; oir. dial. *šarxal*; bour. *šargal* « solovyj; belesyj; palevyj », Čeremisov; khal. *šargal* = *cagaand ulaawtar šar xolicson ȯngȯ*. Cewel; ord. *šargul* « blanc avec yeux et sabots

noirs; isabelle très pâle » [mong. *siryul*] et *šarga* « couleur isabelle (robe de cheval) » [mong. *sirya*], Mostaert; mong. *siryul* (par exemple, dans Wuti), *siryal*; cf. MNT *širqa*, MA *sirya morin*; dah. *širga* « jaune » (< mandchou, Enh.), *šarəy*, yogor *šərġa mõrə* (chin. *yinhe ma*), *šərġalaġ* (chin. *huang*: *shoulei maose*)

sirqo[*l*]*jin* 401 (*wen lou ke zhen*; lire 昔 *xi* pour 溫 *wen* et 喝 *he* pour 渴 *ke*): « fourmi/ant » (*yizi*); cf. Hy *širqalǰin*; mong. précl. *siryolǰin*, dah. *suiyālǰ*(*in*), yogor *šɔrġɔlǰən*, mgr. *širġulǰin*/*šorġulǰin*/*šiorġuoǰin*, kalm. *šorylǰn*, bour. *šorgoolžon*/*šorgoolzon*, khal. *šorgoolǰin*/*šorgoolj*, ord. *šurgūlǰi*/*šurgulǰi*/*šorgolǰi*; v. Poppe, Introd., p. 43 et ZAS 15 (1981), p. 387 (il dérive ce nom du verbe *siryu-*); mong. *siryolǰin*

širuwai 28 (*shi lu wai*, N donne à tort 金 *jin* pour 歪 *wai*) « sable/sand » (*sha*); cf. MNT *širo'ai*, Hy *šira'u* « terre », dah. *širō* « sable (dans le riz ou bouillie) » Enh., yogor *šɔrū*/*šorū* « terre », baoan *xiru*, santa *ŝəura*, mgr. *širəū*, kalm. *šora*, bour. *šoroi*, khal. *šoroi*/*šoroo*, ord. *šorō* « terre, poussière »; mong. *siruγai*, *siroi*

sisgei 283 (*xi xi gai*) « feutre/felt » (*zhan*); cf. MNT *isgei*/*sisgei*, VdI/Ligeti *sisege* (p. 64); Poppe, Introd., p. 92; dah./Iv. *sisəge* (autre que dah./Enh. *šidəy*), mog./Ramstedt *sisgäi*, mog./Weiers *siskɛi*, yogor *skī*, mgr. *sgi*, kalm. *išką*, bour. *heyeî*, khal. *esgii*, ord. *esegī*, tchakh., etc. *əskī*; mong. *isegei*, *esegei*

sisgeǰi 50 (*xi xi zhi ge*, lire *xi xi ge zhi*) « fabriquant de feutre/felt-maker » (*zhanjiang*), cf. *sisgei*; Menggu zazi *esegeiči*; mgr. *šǰaŋčə* < *šǰaŋ* « feutre » < tib. *phyiṅ*

šiüǰü [?] 339 (*shou* 女 *nü*/*ru* [ou 交 *jiao*?]) « épingle pour les cheveux/hairpin » (釵兒 *chaer*); est-ce-que l'on doit lire 奴 *nu* ou 婁 *lou* pour *nü* et moyen mong. dial. *šoru* ou *šuru* « épingle; broche/pin; spit » ?, cf. MNT *širo* (non *širō*) « broche, bâton pointu » (v. encore *širolqa*), dah. *šorkw* « pin, épingle de tête » (*chaer*, *zan*), (? mgr. *šūr* « bâtonnets » = chin. *kuaizi*), kalm., khal., etc. *šor*, bour., ord. *šoro* « pieu, tige de fer »; Rasisengge, Tuγtam, p. 152: *šoro* « épingle, broche » (叉子 *chazi*); mong. *siro*

siür 180 (*xiu er*) « écope/scoop » (*zhao li*); cf. yogor *šūr*, baoan *xir* « peigne fin », santa *ŝu* « peigne (fin) », (mgr. *šūr* « bâtonnets », v. *šiüǰü*), kalm. *šūr* « tamis; peigne; filet », bour. *šuur* « tamis; filtre », khal. *šuur* « balai; filtre; peigne », ord. *šūr* « peigne fin; écumoir »; mong. *sigür* (< *sigü-*)

siwür ou *si*⟨*w*⟩*wür* 190 (*xiu fu er*, lire *süwür?*) « balai/broom » (*tiaozhao*, cf. mong. dial. *tuuǰuu*); cf. kalm. *sewür*, Ramstedt, KalmWb; TMEN no. 2047 (N 102, *sigür* et *sigürgü*); hongrois *seper-* et *seprő* TESz; mong. *sigür* (et *sigürde-*)

songgina 426 (*sang ji la*) « oignon/onion » (*cong*); cf. VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 64), (dah. *swānnā* < mandchou *suwanda*, Enh.), santa *suŋġuna*, khara. *söŋən*; mong. *songgina* (turc *soγan*, Ramstedt, Kalm Wb, 331b)

(*sono*, ici *suna* [?]: v. *turaq*)

sorqa ou *sōrqa*? 308 (*suo lu he*) « serrure, cadenas/(pad)lock » (*suo*); cf. MNT, Hy *čo'orqa*, mgr. *čorġu*; bour. *suurga*, khal. *cuurga* (< *čoγurγa*); khal. *cooǰ*, ord. *sōǰi*, baoan *soji*, santa *soji* (< *čoγoǰi*/*šoγoǰi*); mong. *čoγurγa*/*čoγorγa* (cf. *čoγoǰi*/*soγoǰi* < chin. *suozi*; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. I, p. 180; F. Aubin: Tractata Altaica [Wiesbaden 1976], pp. 13—15)

sölsün ou *sölesün*? 250 (*xue lie sun*) « bile, fiel/gall(bladder) » (*dan*); cf. MNT *sülsü*, Hy *sölsün*, dah. *čulč*, yogor. *sösən*, mgr. *šuljə*, kalm. *cösn*, bour. *hülhen*, Alar *helehen*, khal. *cös*, drg. *jös*, ord. *jùsù*, uǰum. *zös*; mong. *sösün*/*čösün*

suburġa 34 (*su bu er ge*, N 問 *wen* pour 哥 *ge*; lire 阿 *a* [= *γa*] pour *ge*?) « stūpa, pagode » (*ta*); cf. en écr. 'phags-pa *supuryan* (Juyongguan; < ouig.), Hy *suburqan*, dah. *sabərγān*, kalm. *suwryn*, khal. *suwraga*/*suwarga*, ord. *suwurga*; mong. *suburγan*

subu[*t*] 335 (*su bu*) « perle/pearl » (*zhuzi*); cf. MNT, Hy *subut*, dag. *soγwr*, *sor-tanə*, yogor *sβəd*, kalm. *suwsn*, bour. *hubhan*/*hubad*, Alar *hobhon*, khal. *suwd*, ord. *suwud*; mong. *subud*, *subusun*

suči 120 (*su chi*; lire *su*[*v*]*či* ?) « matelot; pilote/sailor; pilot » (*shuishou*), turc. ouig. *suvčï*, cf. Clauson, ED 785 (mgr./de Smedt—Mostaert *fujuči* « batelier », mong. *usuči*, mais mgr./Qas. *sjučə* « porteur d'eau », cf. khal. *usčin*, par exemple, *u. xyatad* dans Yeke Küriyen, mong. *usučin*)

sumu 164 (*su mu*) « flèche/arrow » (*qian*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *sumun* (p. 65); dah. *som*, yogor *səmən*, santa, mgr. *sumu*, mgr. *səmu*/*sumu* baoan *smo*, barin *som*; mong. *sumun*

sumuǰi 46 (*xu mu zhi*) « fabriquant de flèche/arrow-maker, fletcher » (*qianjiang*); cf. MNT *sumuči kituqai* « couteau de fabriquant de flèche », Menggu zazi *sumuči* « fabriquant de flèche »; mong. *sumuči* (*kituγa*)

suna [?] voir *turaq*

suqur 261 (*su hu er*) « aveugle/blind » (*xia*); cf. MNT, Hy *soqor*, VdI/Ligeti *soqar*; dah. *soγor*, yogor *sɔġɔr*, mgr. *suġor*/*suġur*/*sġur*, santa *suγo*, kalm. *soxr*, bour. *hoxor*, khal., ord. *soxor*, drg. *joxor*, uǰum. *zoxor*; mong. *soqor*

sur 271 « courroie/leather strap »; voir VdI/Ligeti *sur* (p. 65) et ici *huyā sur*; cf. yogor *sur*; mong. *sur*

surbi [?] 193 (*tu lu nü*/*ru*; lire 秀 *xiu* pour 禿 *tu*; 必 *bi* pour 女 *nü*?) « bâton, baguette/stick » (*guai*); cf. Hy *sorbi* (Ls *sörbi*, cité par Mostaert et de Rachewiltz, doit être une autre forme dialectale ou une transcription aberrante), mong. précl. *sorbi* (Arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui, ed. Poppe, p. 80, note sur *sorbi berige* avec bour. *hor'bo*) ou lire 兒 *er* au lieu de *nü* et *tulūr* [?] correspondant au bour. *tuluur* « bâton » (< mong. *tulu* + *γur*; cf. encore Wuti 12960 mong. *tulγaγur*)

suru 138 (*su lu*): *s. muri* « cheval à robe couleur cendre/ashgrey horse » (*hui ma*); cf. turc *sur* et *suru*, TMEN no. 1282; Wuti III, p. 4341: mandchou *kuku fulan* = tib. *gro-sṅon* = mong. *köke boro* = tourki *sur kök* = chin. *huiqing*; v. ibid. *sarla* = *zag-pa* = *sāral* = *sur* = *hepi ma*; Ligeti, A magyar

nyelv török kapcsolatai, p. 507 (voc. de Yemen mong. *sur*, avec des formes turques, v. encore tchouv. *sere* et, malgré TESz, hongrois *szürke*)

südün 254 (*su/xu dun* « dent/tooth » (*ya*) (N, V entre *nudurwan* et *kökō*); 336 (*bo dun*, lire 宿 *su/xu* pour 伯 *bo*): *ǰa'an s.*; cf. VdI/Ligeti *sidün* (p. 63); mogh. *sudun*, dah. *šid*, yogor *ṣ̌dən*, baoan *ŝdoη*, santa *ŝiduη*, mgr. *ŝdə(n)*, khal. *šüd(en)*, tchak., barin, etc. *šüd*, khara. *šüdūd*, plur.; mong. *sidün*

sügür 203 (*su gu er*) « parasol/umbrella » (*san* > yogor *san*, mgr. *ilsa*); cf. moyen mong. *sügür*; TMEN no. 235 (*sükür*); khal. *šüxer*; mong. *sikür*

süige 338 (*sui ge*) « anneau, bague/ring, bague » (*huan*); cf. MA/Poppe *süike* = tchag. *ïsïrγa* « ser'gi »; *s. čiqindān ölgübe eme*; mgr. *sūgɜ*, kalm. *sīk*, bour. *hiixe*, khal. *süix*, ord. *süike* « la grande boucle d'argent portée par les femmes mariées . . . » Mostaert; mong. *süike*

süni 499 (*su ni*; N, V 界 *jie* pour 粟 *su*) « nuit/night » (夜 *ye*, N, V, à tort, 任 *ren*); 500: *höčgen s.*; 501: *s. düli* « minuit/midnight »; cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *söni* (p. 65); dah. *suni*, yogor *sə̃nə*, baoan *soni*, mgr. *sone*, santa *šiəni*, oir. de Qinghai *sə̄*, barin *sȯn*; mong. *söni*

tabin 451 « cinquante/fifty » (*wushi*); 108: *t. noyan* « commandant de cinquante/commander of fifty »; cf. VdI/Ligeti *tabin*; TMEN no. 117; dah. *tabi*, yogor *taβən*, mgr. *tayin*, (baoan *tawaraη* et *hηabči* < tib.; santa *uŝi* < chin.), barin, ǰarut *tɛb*; mong. *tabin*

tabun 442 (*ta ben*) « cinq/five » (*wu*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *tabun* (p. 66), kitan *tau*; TMEN no. 121; dah. *tāwu* « cinq » et *tāwun* « le cinquième (jour) », yogor *tāβən*, baoan *tawoη*, santa *tawuη*, mgr. *tāvun*, barin *tab*; mong. *tabun*

taisi 98 (*tai zi*; ou lire mong. *taiji*, ouig. *tayzï* ?) « prince héritier/hereditary prince » (*taizi*); cf. TMEN no. 249; mong. *tayiǰi* (écrit parfois *tai gi* à la fin des Ming), *ta(y)isi* (cette forme dernière également représente chin. *tai shi*, un autre titre); yogor *taiǰe*, khal. *taiǰ*, bour. *taiša*, etc.

talbar 184 (*ta li ba er*) « plateau, assiette/plate » (*pan*), cf. Hy *talabar* lire *talbar* id.; les équivalents modernes: kalm. ölöt *talwä* et *talmä* (*γazr*), bour. *talmai*, khal. *talbar* et *talbai*, ord. *talawar/talawur* (*gaǰar*) signifient un « endroit dont le sol est uni, plaine », Mostaert; une place dans une ville, une plaine entre les collines, un domaine d'activités, etc.; mong. *talbar/talbai*

tamqa 330 (*tan/m he*) « sceau/seal » (*yin*); cf. ouig. des Ming *tamγa* (Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 259; VIII, p. 223, n. 21); TMEN no. 933; yogor *taηġwa*, mgr. *tamaġa* (baoan *tamka* < tib., dah. *təmγət* < mandchou), etc.; mong. *tamaγa*

tarqun 264 (*ta la hun*) « gros, gras/corpulent, fat » (*fei*); cf. VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 67); TMEN no. 126; dah. *taryun*, yogor *taryan*, *taryon*, baoan *taryoη*, mgr. *taryun*, santa *tayuη*; mong. *taryun*

teǰi[*e*]- « nourrir/to feed » 419: *qoru*[*qai*] *teǰi*[*ek*]*sen* (*tie zhi shan*) *mudun*; cf. MNT *teǰi'e-*, Hy *teǰe'emel*, dah. *təǰə-*, mgr. *təǰē-* et *tiǰēǰin*, baoan *čiǰē-*, santa

čiəǰə-, kalm. *teǰä-*, bour. *težee-*, khal. *teǰee-*, ord. *teǰē-*, barin, tchak., etc. *təǰə̄-*; mong. *teǰiye-/teǰige-*

tekesü [?] 343 (Y, N, V *yi ke su*; au lieu de 弋 *yi*, Ligeti a lu 忒 *te/tui* qui figure dans la transcription du mot *tekesü[ǰi]* ou *t. uran*, 57) « produit de beauté, cosmétique/cosmetic » (*yanzhi*); la leçon proposée représente un hapax legomenon; comme un autre mot mongol, *enggeske* « fard », équivalent commun du composé *yanzhi*, est attesté dès le 13e siècle jusqu'à aujourd'hui — v. MNT §§ 171, 174, 208 *enggesge qačar* « (le) joue (avec le fard?) rouge »; VdI/Ligeti *engeske* (p. 29); Wuti 12627 mandchou *fiyan* = mong. *enggeske* = chin. *yanzhi*; yogor *eŋgesge* « joue » (*liandan*; yogor *örmön* = chin. *yanzhi*); mgr. *ŋgusgɜ* « fard »; ord. *eŋgeske*, nom d'une plante rouge; khal. *engeseg* = *emegteičüüd xacar uruuldaa türxex ulaan budag, oo e.*, Cewel; mong. *enggeske* « rouge », Lessing —, il y a lieu de croire qu'ils s'agisse ici d'une transcription altérée de ce mot, toutefois il est difficile de trouver une solution facile mais impeccable pour la graphie chinoise (MNT *enggesge* est transcrit *ang ge si ge*); dah. *yenǰil-* = chin. *daban yanzhi*

tekesü[ǰi ?] ou *tekesü* [?] *uran* 57 (*te ke su* | |) « fabriquant de cosmétiques/artisan making cosmetics » (*yanzhijiang*), cf. le mot précédent

te⟨m⟩mē 377 (*tan/m mai*) « chameau/camel » (*tuo*); cf. MNT, Hy *teme'en*; TMEN no. 1015; dah. *təmə̄*, yogor *temēn*, mgr. *təmēn*, (santa *loto* < chin., baoan *ŋamoŋ* < tib.), barin *tümō/tömō*; mong. *temegen*

temüǰi 59 (N *te mu zhi*, Y *mo* pour 木 *mu*) « forgeron/smith » (*tiejiang*); cf. MNT Temüǰin le Tatar et Temüǰin, fils de Yisügei, mgr. *təmurčə* (yogor *temər barma*, baoan *ŋġuara* < tib., santa *čiəǰian* < chin.); mong. *temürči(n)*

temür 209 (*te mu er*) « pointe de flèche/arrowhead » (*qiantou*); 341: « fer/iron » (*tie*); cf. MNT, Hy id.; TMEN no. 1012; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 263; yogor *temər*, mgr. *təmur*, santa *čiəmu* (baoan *hǰag* < tib., dah. *kasō/xasō* = kitan *kašu*, Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. I, pp. 166 sq, etc.); mong. *temür*

tenggiči [?] 372 (*teng ji chi*) « dragon » (*long*); un autre mot mystérieux, hapax legomenon, si la transcription chinoise est correcte; si non, on pourrait lire 蟒 *mang* au lieu de 藤 *teng*, *hu* 忽 au lieu de 急 *ji*, 思 *si* au lieu de 赤 *chi* = MNT *mangġus*, un ogre qui à la forme d'un serpent; mgr. *mɔŋġujə* « démon, diable »; v. l'étude de L. Lőrincz dans *Mongolian Studies* ed. by Ligeti; H. Serruys, *Mongyol* : *Moγal* et *Mangγus* : *Maγus* dans Acta Orient. Hung. XXXVI (1982), pp. 475—484 (qui est très instructif, bien que l'auteur semble avoir mal compris ma note sur certaines possibilités de l'orthographe du mot *mangγus/maγus* et sur ses formes réelles; cf. encore turc *yaγaq/yangγaq*, moyen mong. *ǰi'aq* « noix », etc.); néanmoins le mot ne se laisse pas restituer ici avec certitude (à côté de *maŋgē*, *maŋgie* « ogre », le dahour a aussi *mudur* « dragon » < mandchou; yogor *ule*, *uglu* est emprunté au tib. *klu*, mong. *luu* < ouig. < chin.)

tenggili ou *tenggili*[*k* ?] 291 (*teng ji li*) « essieux/axletree » (*chezhou*); cf. MNT *tenggeli*, dah. *təngəl*, (mgr. *aral*), khal. (*aral* et) *tenxeleg*, ord. *teŋgel/teŋgelig*; cf. hongrois *tengely* TESz; mong. *tenggeli/tenggelig*

tenggiri 1(= 291) « ciel/heaven » (*tian*); Hy id., MNT *tenggeri*, VdI/Ligeti *tengri*, Kirakos/Ligeti *t'angri* (no. 1); TMEN no. 944; dah. *təŋgər*, yogor *teŋger*, baoan *teŋgərəg*, mgr. *təŋgerə/teŋgərə/tiŋgərə*; mong. *tngri*, *tengri*

teng qor lire *tengneür*

tengneür ou *tengleür* 304 (Y *teng* * *he er*, N *teng er*; lire 鳥 *niao* au lieu de *) « petite balance/portative balance » (*dengse*), cf. ölöt *ǰiŋnür* « Schnellwage, grosser als *deŋs* (= dörböt *čiŋnür*, ölöt *d.*), Ramstedt, KalmWb; ord. *čiŋnūr* « petite balance romaine portative pour peser de l'argent, balance romaine en général », Mostaert; v. encore ici *denggise*; mong. *tenglegür*, *činglegür*

tergen 290 (*te li gan*) « char/chariot, cart » (*che*); cf. MNT *terge(n)* (et *telege* dans *t. tü*), Hy, MA *tergen*, yogor *tergen*, dah. *tərəγ*, mgr. *tərgə/tərge*, santa *čiəgə* (baoan *xaŋrda* < tib.), kalm. *tergn*, bour. *terge(n)*, khal. *tereg*, ord. *terge* « voiture de voyage à deux roues », Mostaert; barin *tərəg*; mong. *tergen*

teriwün 239 (Y, V *te lou wen*, N **te*, etc., N, Y *wen* sans la clef « eau ») « tête/head » (*tou*); cf. MNT, Hy *teri'ün*, VdI/Ligeti *tėrgün* (p. 68); baoan *toron* (et *ŋgo* < tib) « tête », dah. *turun* « premier; avant-garde » (aussi *turγun* « cause » < mandchou < mong.); yogor *turūle-* « commencer »; mgr. *tərəŋ/turəŋ* « début » et *turūlə-* « commencer »; khal. *tolgoi türǖ* « tête », *türǖn* « auparavant », *tergū̄n* « chef », ord. *türū̄* et *terigū̄n*; etc., mong. précl. *terigün* « tête; commencement » et *türū̄n* « jadis, auparavant », ancienne scission sémantique et phonétique; mong. *terigün*

terme 202 (*te li ma*) « tente/tent » (*zhanzi*); cf. MNT *terme ger*, *altan t.*; VdI/Ligeti *terme* (pp. 68 sq); TMEN no. 1340; mong. et oir. *terme*

tīrme 310 (*ti er me*) « moulin/mill » (*mo*); cf. moyen mong. en écr. 'phags-pa *tėgirmed*, plur., Poppe—Krueger, Monuments, p. 93, n. 34, yogor *termen*, baoan *termaŋ*, mgr. *tərme*, santa *čiəman*, kalm. *tērm/tērmn*, bour. *teerme* « moulin », Aga, Bokh. « meule à aiguiser, meulard », khal. *teerem*, ord. *tērme* « moulin »; mong. *tegerme(n)*

toli 196 (Y *tuo li*, N, V 垂 *chui* pour 唾 *tuo*) « miroir/mirror » (*jing*); cf. VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 69); TMEN no. 143; dah. *tol'* « le fer de la charrue; le miroir bronze sur le costume du chamane »; Engkebatu; bour. *toli* « miroir; petit plat métallique »; barin *tół*; mong. *toli*

tong « très/very » (?) 495 (*tong*): *t. manaqar* [?], voir *manaqar*; yogor, mgr. *təŋ*, kalm. (rare) *tuŋ/toŋ*, khal. *tuŋ/toŋ*, ord. *toŋ*; mong. *tung/tong*

tongγus 386 (*tang wu si*) « porc, cochon/pig, swine » (*zhu*), mot turc, cf. MA/Poppe mong. *γaqai* = tchag. *tonquz*; Ščerbak, Nazvanija, pp. 124 sq; Clauson, ED, 527, *toŋuz*

toqō 294 (*tuo huo*) « chaudron/caldron, kettle » (*mou*), cf. ici *doqōn*; MNT, Hy *toqo'an*, MA/Poppe *toqān*; dah. *tuwā* « chaudron », *tuwāčin* « cuisinier »;

yogor *tɔġɔ̄n*, santa *tuγoη*; mgr. *tuġõčə* « cuisinier »; kalm. *toγač* id., mais *xääsn* (et *xarm*) « chaudron », bour., khal., ord., barin etc. *togō*; mong. *toγoγan*

tökö̈ri[*k*] 159 (*chui ke li*, lire 唾 *tuo* pour 垂 *chui*) « passant de devant (harnachement)/front disk or ring (harness) » (*qianhuan*, Y *ze* pour *qian*); cf. Hy *tögörik* « rond », yogor *tùgreg*, kalm. *tögrg* « rund; Ring; Kreis; Rundel, jede runde Scheibe; ölöt Rubel (< khal.) », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *tùxerig*; khal. *tȯgrȯg*, *dùgreg*, etc.; ord. *tögörög* « disque; dollar . . . », Mostaert; mong. *tögerig* (et tchouv. *tĕkĕr*, hongrois *tükör* « miroir » TESz)

tȫre- « être né/to be born » 142 (*tuo la shan*): *ai*[*l*]*dur töre*[*k*]*sen* [*muri*] (chin. *jiasheng*), voir *ail*; MNT *töre-*; dah. *tur-*; yogor *törö-*, mgr. *turo-*, dit du bétail; kalm. *tör-*, bour. *tùre-*, khal., barin *tȯr*(*ȯ*)-, ord. *törȫ-*, ǰarut *tur-*, etc.; mong. *törȫ-*

tö'ü [?] *šim* 187 (*shuo yu shen/m*, lire 脫 *tuo* pour 說 *shuo*) « pinte/pint » (*sheng*); cf. mgr., kalm. ölöt, ord. *dū*, khal. *dū̄* « boisson » (< chin. 斗 *dou*)?; la dissyllabe pour la diphtongue du mot chin. est inattendue; faut-il lire 干 *gan* pour 于 *yu*? (voir, 說 *shuo/shui/yue* !); cf. ici *šim*

tu[*q*] 172 (*tu*) « étandard/standard, banner » (*qi*); cf. MNT *tuq*; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 269; TMEN no. 969; mong. *tuγ*

tuqom 162 (*tu huang mu*) « housse, caparaçon/saddle fender made of felt » (*han ti*); cf. MNT *toqu-*; TMEN no. 142; dah. *tokw*, yogor *tɔġɔm*, mgr. *tuġum*, santa *tuγuη*, *toγu-*; mong. *toqum/toqom*

tuqul 379 (N, V *tu hun*, Y 七 *qi* pour 土 *tu*) « veau/calf » (*du*), cf. TMEN no. 909; dah. *tokul'* « veau; la tache blanche de l'ongle »; santa (*fugiəri*) *tuγu/tuγuη*; mong. *tuγul*

tuqulqan 342 (*tu hu du han*, lire 魯 *lu* pour 都 *du*) « étain/tin » (*xi*); cf. Hy *tu'ulqan* id.; dah. *tuγnā* « plomb »; (kalm. *xorγlǰn*), bour. *tuulga*(*n*) « plomb », *sagaan t.* « étain », khal. *xar tugalga* « plomb », *cagaan t.* « étain », ord. *tū̃lga* « plomb », *čagā˜ t.* « étain », etc.; mong. *tuγulγan*

tura[*q*] 356 (*tu la*) « canard bigarré/variegated duck » (*huaya*); cf. kalm. *turg* (*šowun*) « irgendein Vogel; ölöt Kranich (= *toγrun*), *t. zaγlmä* « irgendein Adler », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *turag* « élan; géant »; ces mots avec leur contradiction zoologique (et, en particulier, ornithologique), sont difficiles à identifier avec notre vocable; probablement on doit lire 秀 *xiu* pour 禿 *tu*, ainsi *xiu la* = *suna* qui correspond au canard bien connu du MNT: (*borčin*) *sono*, voir de Rachewiltz: PFEH 21 (Sept. 1977), p. 38 (avec bibliographie); ce mot, différent de *sono* « taon », est attesté en ordos et en bouriate, cf. les nombreux composés du bour. *hono* « canard, Anas crecca; malard (= *boržon*); etc. », par exemple, *xur'gan h.* Tunka « canard, espèce de petite stature », *er'een tolgoito h.* « canard à tête bigarrée = čirok klok(o)-tun = Anas formosa », *h. nogohon* Ouest « malard », Čeremisov; *suna* serait donc une forme dialectale de *sono* (c'est ce dernier qui figure dans ch. I du

Geser de 1716: ainsi, au lieu des « deux taons » volant autour de la montagne, il faut lire « deux canards »

tura⟨w⟩wun 362 (*tu ⟨lie⟩ lao wen*) « corbeille/crow » (*laoya*); cf. Hy *tura'un* id. (autre que *toγuraγun* etc. « grue »), mong. précl. Srn III 63c *turaγun* (cf. Ligeti, MLMC; Bosson)

turġa 284 (*tu lu ge*) « satin/silk » (*duanzi*); 44: *t. uran* « fabriquant de satin/silk-maker » (*zhusi jiang*); cf. TMEN no. 884; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, pp. 267 sq (ouig. *torqu*); dah. *toryw*, yogor *tərġɔ*, mgr. *torġu*; mong. *toryan*

tuturqan 219 (*tu tu er han*, Y 是 *shi* pour 兒 *er*) « riz glutineux/glutinous rice » (*nuomi*); cf. Hy id., yogor *hturġan* « riz », mgr. *tudorġa*; kalm. *tutrγ*, khal. *tutraga*, ord. *duturga*, uǰum. *dɵgtɵrɵg/dɵgtaraga*, barin *dɵgtarag*; mong. *tuturγan*

tümen 458 (*tu man*) « dix mille/ten thousand » (*wan*); 458 (*du man*): *dümen* (= *t.*) *noyan* « myriarche » (*wanhu*); 459: *tü[k] t.*; cf. TMEN no. 983; dah. *tum* et *tumun tum*; yogor *temen*, mgr. *tumun*; barin *tɔmɔd* « Tumet » mong. *tümen*

tü[k] 459 (*tu*): *t. tümen* « myriade/myriad » (*wanwan*); cf. Hy *tük tümen*; mong. *tüg tümen*

ub [?] 531 (Y *yi yi*; N, V *bu xia*, au lieu desquels Ligeti a lu 兀不 *wu bu*): *ub* [?] *hulā* « rouge foncé/intensive red » (*da hong*); cf. Hy/Chen *ub hula'an* (Hy et Hy/Chen donnent *al* pour chin. *dahong*); baoan *hobləxaη*, *hoblaη*, santa *xupalaraη*; khal. *uw ulaan*, etc.; mong. *ub ulaγan*; autres possibilités: lire 亦克 *yi ke* au lieu de Y 亦亦 *yi yi*, c.-à-d. *ike* [= *yeke*] « grand » (chin. *da*); ou lire 赤速 *chi su*, mong. *čisun* « sang », cf. encore khal. *čas ulaan?*

učа⟨m⟩ma[q] 212 (N, V deest; Y 遇曹馬 *e cao ma*, lire 遇昌馬 *yu? chang ma*) « flèche de guerre à trois tranchants/arrow with a three-point head » (*sanxie pize*); cf. MNT *učumaq*: *učuma'ar qaqdaǰu*, *učumaqār qarbuqsan*

uǰaur 424 (*yu gua er*, lire 爪 *zhao* pour 瓜 *gua*) « racine d'arbre/tree root » (*shugen*); cf. MNT *huǰa'ur*, VdI/Ligeti *huǰaur* (p. 33); TMEN no. 395; dah. *xoǰōr* « origine », baoan *oǰor*, mgr. *šǰaur*, barin *yeǰgōr*; mong. *iǰaγur*

ulaǰi 60: *u.* (*uran*) « tanneur/tanner » (*pijiang*); cf. dah. *wal*, yogor *ula*, mgr. *ulā*, kalm., khal. *ul*, bour., ord. *ula* « semelle »; mong. *ula* « (leather) sole » + *-či(n)*

ulā 139 (*pi la*, lire 武 *wu* pour 疋 *pi*): *u. muri* « cheval de relais/relay horse » (*puma*); cf. Hy *ulāči* « palefrenier »; TMEN no. 521; Sinor: CAJ (1965), p. 314 (mais *unā* < *unu-*); Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 274 (ouig. *ulaγči*) et VIII, p. 222, n. 17; mgr. *ulā* « relais; passage »; mong. *ulaγa*

unuqon 146 (*wu nu huan*, lire *unaqan?*) « poulain/fawl, colt » (*gouer*); cf. Hy *unuqan*, yogor *naġan*, mgr. *naġa*, kalm. *unγn*, bour. *unaga(n)*, khal. *unaγ*, ord. *unaga* « poulain dans sa première année », Mostaert; barin *ɵnag*; mong. *unaγan*

uqa 344 (*wu hua*, lire *uγa* ou *uha*?) « poudre de riz/face-powder » (*fen*); cf. TMEN nno. 60, 573; (dah. *fen gol'*), khal. *oo* = barin, etc. *ɔ̄*; mong. *oua*

uqaǰi 58 (*wu hua zhi* | |): *u.* (*uran*?) « fabriquant de poudre de riz/artisan who makes face-powder » (*fenjiang*); mong. *oua* + *či(n)*

uqali 320 (*wu hua li*, lire *uqoli* ou *uγali*, etc.?) « hache de carpentier/carpenter's adze » (*ben*); cf. kalm. *ōl'* « Queraxt, Hacke », Ramstedt, Kalm-Wb; bour. *ooli* « doloto, teslo », Čeremisov; khal. *ooli*; ord. *ōli* « petite hache dont le bout du manche est recourbé », tchak. *ōl*, barin *ɣ̱l*; mong. *oγoli*

uqurga 161 (*wu hu lu tai*, lire 合 *he* pour 台 *tai*; lire *uγurga*/*uhurga*?) « perche à nœud coulant/wooden pole with a loop for catching horses » (*taogan*); cf. MNT *u'urqa*; TMEN no. 507 (*urγa*); mong. *uγurγa*

uran « fabriquant, artisan/craftsman » 44 (*wu lan*): *turġa u.*, cf. encore 45—60, liste des artisans (*jiang*); Hy *uran*; TMEN no. 593; santa, mgr. *uran*; mong. *uran*

urida « avant, devant/before, in front of », 465 (*wu li nai*, lire 乃 *dai* pour 奶 *nai*): *u. hon* « il y a deux ans/two years ago » (*qiannian*); 487 (*wu li dai*): *u. üdür* « avant-hier/before, yesterday » *(qianri);* 514 *(wu li da): u.* « avant, devant/before, in front of » (*qian*); MNT, Hy *urida*, *uridu*; dah. *wardə*, yogor *urda*, *urdaġə*, *ordogo*, (baoan *eməla*, santa *məiliə*, mgr. *mušə* < mong. *emüne*); mgr. *ŝda-* dans *ŝdanoŋ* « l'année passée », kalm. *urd*, bour. *urda*, *urid*, khal. *urd*, *urid*, ord. *uridu*, *urida*, *urda*, barin *ərtē* = *ȯmȯn*; mong. *uridu*, *urida*, *urid*

urǰi 472 (*wu li zhi*): *u. sara* « il y a deux mois/two months ago » (*qianyue*); cf. dah. *orǰwon*, yogor *ərǰinən*, mgr. *urǰɔŋ*, bour. *uržanaŋ*, khal. ord. *urǰinan*, barin *ərǰinōn* « il y a deux ans », yogor *urǰudur*, mgr. *uǰüdur*, kalm. *urǰ-ödör*, bour. *urža üder*, *uržader*, khal. *urǰigdar*, ord. *urǰidur*, barin *ərǰ-ȯdȯr* « avant-hier », ord. *urǰi˜ urǰidur*, « il y a trois jours », etc., cf. ici *urida*; mong. *urǰi* dans *urǰinan*, etc.

usu 18 (*wo su*) « eau/water » (*shui*); cf. MNT, Hy *usun*; VdI/Ligeti *usun* (p. 72); TMEN no. 47; dah. *os*, yogor *qusun*, baoan *su*/*sə*, santa *usu*, mgr. *ŝju*/*fuju*; mong. *usun*

üde[*si* ?] 498 (Y *ou da*, N [ ] *ye*, V = N?) « soir/evening » (*wan ye*); cf. Hy *üdeši*, dah. *udiš* « hier », yogor *ödögšə* « le soir » (*ȯdē* « midi »), santa *uǰiəŝi* « le soir »; ölöt *üdš* (= kalm. *asxn*, *ora*; mais *üd* « midi »), bour. *ȯdeše* (mais *ȯde* « midi »), khal. *ȯdeš* (mais *ȯd* « midi »), ord. *ȯdeši* (mais *ȯde* « midi »); mong. *üdesi* (ou cf. mong. *uda-* « être en retard/to be late », *uda*[*ba*]*?*

üdme[*k*] 232 (*wu du ma*) « galette/cake » (*shaobing*, cf. khal. *šuubin*); Hy *ötmek*, Hy/Chen *ütmek*; VdI/Ligeti *ötüme* « pain » (v. encore Acta Orient. Hung. IV, p. 143; XVIII, p. 278, Kirakos no. 15 *ötmäk*); dah. *utum* « bonbon, biscuit » (*bobo*, *dianxin*), Engkebatu; mgr. *ŝdəma*; kalm. *ödmg* « pain »

üdü 215 (*yu du*) « plume (attachée au bout de la flèche)/feather (at the end of the arrowshaft) » (*ling*); cf. dah. *xusu* « plume » et *xusu* « cheveux; poil », yogor *hsün* « cheveux; poil », santa *xoduŋ* « plume » (et *x.* « étoile », mais *usun* « poil; cheveux »), mgr. *fõdə* id.; kalm. *ödn*, bour. *üde(n)*, khal. *ȯd(ȯn)*, ord. (*sumun*) *ȯdȯ* « plume(s de flèche) », barin *ȯd*, etc.; mong. *ödün*

üdür « jour/day » 487 (*yu du er*): *urida ü.*; 488 (*wu du er*): *hõčgen ü.*; 489 (| *du er*): *ene ü.*; 490 (*wu du er*): *mana ü.*; 491: *qoiči ü.*; 492: *činaǰi ü.*; 493 (*wu du* [ ]): *ü. büri* « chaque jour » (*meiri*); 494 (*wu du er*): *üni ü.*; 497 (*wu du* [ ]): *ü. düli* « midi » (*rizhong*); MNT, Hy *üdür*; dah. *udur*, yogor *odor*, baoan *udər*, santa *udu*, mgr. *udur/udu/dur*, kalm. *ödr*, bour. *ȯder*, khal., barin *ȯdȯr*, ord. *ȯdȯr*, etc.; mong. précl. *üdür*, mong. *edür*

üger 378 (*wu ge er*) « boeuf/cattle » (*niu*); MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti *hüker*; TMEN no. 379 (*üker*); dah. *xukər/xuγur*, yogor *hgor*, baoan *okor*, santa *fugiə*, mgr. *fugor/xgor*; hongrois *ökör* TESz, v. Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. IX, pp. 266 sq; mong. *üker*

ügölǰin ou *ügõlǰin*: voir *ũgölǰin*

üldü 166 (*yun du*) « sabre/sword » (*dao*); cf. Hy id., VdI/Ligeti *hüldü* (p. 35), Kirakos/Ligeti *üldü* (p. 290, no. 36); TMEN no. 69 (*ildüči*); yogor *olde* « couteau de tailleur », mgr. *üldə*, bour. (rare) *yȯlde* « sabre »; mong. *ildü*

üle « ne pas; not » (*bu*) 524 (*wu lie*): *ü. bolqu*; cf. MNT *ülü*, VdI/Ligeti *üle* (p. 72); dah. *ul*, mog./Weiers *lʌ*, yogor, baoan *lə*, baoan *elə*, santa *uliə*, mgr. *lī*, *l-* (mgr. *lõlə-* = mong. *ülü bol-/ol-*), kalm. *ül*, bour. (rare) *ȯle*, khal. (livresque) *ȯl*, ord. *ȯle/ȯlȯ*; mong. *ülü*

ülerbi ou *ürelbi* [?]: voir *yinese* [?]

ülger 7 (Y *chu lu ge er*, lire 于 *yu* pour Y 于 *chu* et N 于 *qian*) « les Pléiades/the Pleiades » (*zanmao*); mot turc, *ülker*, cf. Bazin: Acta Orient. Hung. X (1960), p. 295; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 276; Clauson, ED, 143

ümüre 511 (*wu mu nie*: *nie* pour *re*) « Nord/north » (*bei*); cf. MNT, Hy *ümere*, Hy *ümedü*, *ümekši*, (≠ kalm. *ümärn/ömärn* « au Sud »), khal. *umard*; mong. *umara(du)*

ünen « vrai, véritable/true, genuine » 477: *ü. ũgölǰin sara* « le 3e mois/the 3rd month » (*sanyue*); cf. MNT, Hy *ünen*, dah. *unun*, (yogor *ȯne* « prix »), kalm. *ünn*, bour., khal., ord. etc. *ȯnen*; mong. *ünen*

üni 494: *ü. üdür* « pendant nombre de jours/long time, many days » (*duori*); cf. MA/Poppe *öni*, kalm. *ön'*, bour. *ȯni*, khal. *ȯnȯ* (*udaan*); mong. *öni*

ü-sa ou *ünsa/ünza* 316 (*yu/yun za*) « fer à repasser/iron (for pressing clothes) » (*yundou*, > santa *indəu*, khal. *indüü*; dah. *wəit* < chin. *weitou*; cf. barin *ȯlũr*)

üsü[*k*] 238 (*wu su/xiu*) «(koumys fait du) lait de jument/(fermented) mare milk » (*manaizi*); cf. MNT, Hy *esük*; khal. *ȯsȯg*, ord. *esük/üsük*; mong. *esüg*

üsü[*k*] 328 (*su su*, lire 谷 *yu*/*gu* pour 俗 *su*[1]) « pinceau à écrire/writing brush »; cf. Hy *üǰük* id., yogor *öǰəg* « écriture », kalm. *üzg* « lettre (de l'alphabet); plume pour écrire », bour. *üzeg* id.; khal. *üjeg* « plume » et *üseg* « lettre », ord. *üǰüg* « caractère d'alphabet; écriture; pinceau à écrire; TMEN no. 596 (*üǰig*, turc. *üžik*); ? cf. dah. *usuγw* « parole; discours »; mong. *üsüg*, *üǰüg* < ouig.

ü'ül ou *üwül*? 464 (*wu wen qi*, lire 立 *li* ou 兒 *er* au lieu de 乞 *qi*; lire peut-être 昆 *gun* au lieu de 溫 *wen*, c'est-à-dire, *ügül*) « hiver/winter » (*dong*); cf. kitan *u'ul*, MNT, Hy *übül*, dah. *uγul*/*uwul*/*ūl*, mog. *ubula*/*ebula*, yogor *wəl* baoan *ŋgun*, santa *un*/*uwən* +*ĉa* > *unĉa*, mgr. *ugur*/*rgul*, kalm. *öwl*, bour. Khori *ügel*, Alar *òbòl*, khal. *òwòl*, ord. *öwöl*, Poppe, Introd., pp. 48, 100; mong. *ebül*

üye 82 (*wang ye*, lire 玉 *yu pour* 王 *wang*) « cousin » (*shubai xiungdi*); cf. Hy *üye* « génération »; dah. *wəy* « joint »; kalm. *üy okn* « Base », *ü. egč* « ältere Kusine », *üynr* « die Vettern », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *üyeele*(*n*) « dvojurodnyj (. . . po otcu) », Čeremisov; khal. *üyeel*; ord. *üye axa* « individu mâle plus âgé que moi et descendant de mon oncle paternel (cousin paternel) », Mostaert; mong. *üye*

üzüm 434 (*yu jin*/*m*; Y 王 *wang* à tort pour 玉 *yu*) « raisin/grape » (*putao*); cf. Hy *üzüm*; TMEN no. 473; Ligeti: Acta Orient. Hung. XIX, p. 277; yogor *öǰöm* « pénis d'un petit garçon »; (mgr. *gunǰin* « raisin » < tib.), uǰum. *üǰim*, barin *oǰam*; mong. *üǰüm*

ügöljin (*ügöljin* ou *ügōljin*) « huppe/hoopoe » 476, 477 (Y *yu xuan gong*, N *wang xuan zhen*, V [ ]; lire 玉官眞 *yu guan zhen*, *guan* pour *-göl-*): *qudal ü. sara* et *ünen ü. sara*; cf. H. Serruys, A Note on the Names of the Hoopoe in Chinese and Mongol: The Canada-Mongolia Review III: 2 (Oct. 1977), pp. 110—117, avec ölöt *öölǰin* et *öwälǰin* (Ramstedt, KalmWb), ord. *ölǰin* (Mostaert, Dict. ordos; Textes oraux ordos, 1937, p. 132, note: la liste des mois dans le Yishi jiyu), bour. *bùbòòlžen*, etc.; barin *bòbōlǰiŋ*; mong. (*b*)*ö*(*be*)*gelǰin*; cf. encore mgr. *barbalǰin*, dah. *opopī* id., Upupa epops, onomatop.

ūle- « parler/to speak » 525 (*wei lie*): *bü ūle* « ne parle pas !/don't speak (or say) ! » (*xiu shou*); cf. MA *ūle-*, VdI/Ligeti *eüle-* (p. 30), mong. en écr. soyombo *eüle-*; mong. *ügüle-* (par exemple, la forme livresque khal. *ùgùùle-*/*ògùùle-* montre qu'il est difficile de rapprocher ce verbe de nom *üge-*; cf., toutefois, kalm. *nūl* et khal. *nùgel*, mais khal. *nigùùls-*)

yasudu « osseux/bony » 394 (*ya su du*): *y.* [*me*]*nege* « tortue » (*gui*); cf. VdI/Ligeti *yasutu menekī* (p. 73), mong. précl., Srn III 93c *yasutu menekei*; khal. *yast melxii*; yogor *yastə* « ayant le nom de famille/clan . . . », mgr. *yäsədī* id. et « osseux », etc.; mong. *yasutu*

yasun 260 (*ye sun*) « os/bone » (*gutou*); cf. VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 73); TMEN no. 405; dah. *yas*, mog./Weiers *yosud*, plur., yogor *yasə*, santa *yasuŋ*, mgr. *yäsən*, etc., mong. *yasun*

yeke « grand/great » (*da*) 37: *y. kun* voir *k.*; 22: *y. müren* voir *m.*; cf. TMEN no. 406; dah. *xiγ*, yogor *šike* (*s. kun* « adulte »), baoan *ŝgo*, santa *fugiə*, mgr. *ŝgɜ*, barin *yix*; mong. *yeke*; cf. encore ici *ub* [?] *hulā*

yeren ou *yiren* 455 (*ye lian*) « quatre-vingt—dix/ninety » (*jiushi*); cf. Hy *yiren*, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 74), dah. *yər*, (baoan *yisaraŋ*; *rgobči* < tib.; santa *ǰiuŝi* < chin.), mgr. *yerən*; khal. *yer* = *yir*; barin, khara. *yir*; mong. *yiren*, *yeren*

yin 79 (* lire 胤 *yin*) « neveu, nièce/nephew, niece »; cf. Hy id.

yiren: voir *yeren*

yisün 446 (*ye sun*) « neuf/nine » (*jiu*); cf. MNT, Hy, VdI/Ligeti id. (p. 74); dah. (*y*)*is*, yogor *šisən*, baoan *yirsən*, santa *yəsun*, mgr. *sjən*, khal. *yȯs*(*ȯn*) et *yüs*, barin *yùs*, khara., ǰarut (*y*)*is*, *isən*; khara. *yir is* « quatre-vingts-dix-neuf »; mong. *yisün*

yonḳor [?] 285 (*wu a er*, lire 元 *yuan* ou 云 *yun* au lieu de 兀 *wu*; 可 *ke* au lieu de 阿 *a*/*e*) « soie fine/thin silk » (*juan*); cf. Hy *yongqor* (chin. *shengjuan*) kalm. *yonŋxr* « Seiden(zwirn) », Ramstedt, KalmWb, khal. *yonxor utas*, ord. *yoŋxor utasu* « fil de soie », Mostaert; mong. précl. (Srn), mong. *yongqor*; cf. ici *a'ur* [?]

*

Liste des mots non déchiffrés

s[ ] 178 (*xiu bu*) « bâtonnets (pour manger)/chopsticks » (*zhu*); ? cf. ord. *šīweg* « le bâtonnet en bois à tête arrondie, autour de l'extrémité supérieure duquel s'enroulent les cheveux formant la touffe qui, chez les femmes mariées ordos, leur pend de chaque côté sur la poitrine . . . », Mostaert; bour. Ouest *šübge* « fourche » [probablement le même que mong. *sibüge* « alène »]; bour. *sebxe* « petite baguette pour nouer les bouts de la saucisse de sang »; dial. de Bokh. « baguette pointue avec laquelle on tuait le bétail », Čeremisov; quelques autres mots connus pour « bâtonnet, baguette »: mong. *sabaγa*/*sabqa*, yogor *htegəš*, santa *ĉugu* (< ouig. *čöki*), baoan *kuijı* (< chin. *kuaizi*)

d[ ] 186 (*da li ban*, Y *fu* pour *da*) « seau (faite de bois de saule)/pail woven of willow branches » (*kaolao*)

k[ ] 213 (*qu lian bi*) « massue, gourdin, maillet/bludgeon with chain » (*lianchui*)

q[ ] 267 (*huai*/*huan tie er*) « manche/sleeve » (*hexiu*); il doit être mong. *qančui*/*qančun*; cf. Hy *qančun*, VdI/Ligeti *qančin*, dah. *kanč*, yogor *xanǰun*, baoan *hanǰu*, mgr. *xanǰi*/*xanči*, etc., mais comment? (≠ ord. *xanǰār* « gilet *sans* manches » < chin., Mostaert, khal. *xantaaj* < chin.

simgen [?] 269 (*xin*/*m qian*, lire *gan* pour 千 *qian*) « bande portée autour des reins, devant de corsage/band covering the belly » (*guodu*); Hy/Chen chin. *danyi* « vêtement sans doublure » = mong. *nimgen de'el* ou chin. 您

nin/m transcrit mong. *nim-*, néanmoins le sens du mot en question est trop spécifique pour être rapproché du mong. *nimgen* « mince » (v. dah. *niŋgə̄n*, yogor *nemgen*, baoan *niŋġan*, santa *ninkiən*, mgr. *nəŋgen/meŋgen*); Hy/Chen contient un autre mot chinois dont la forme rappelle celle de notre *simgen* [?] et dont le sens peut être comparé avec celui de notre mot: c'est chin. 千斤 *qianjin* (*ts'ienkin*) équivalent à mong. (*chi lin/m* =) *čirim* (probablement pour mong. *ǰirim* « la corde ou courroie droite de la selle sous le ventre du cheval ») qui figure après *temür minā* « fouet de fer », *deki'ür* « évantail » et devant *ǰalā* « ruban, bande » et *hūta* « sac », mais pour le moment ce n'est qu'une tentative désespérée decombiner deux cas difficiles.

yinese [?] 314 (N *yi qin xie*; lire 聶 *nie* avec Y au lieu de 晶 *qin*) « pincette/pincers » (*niezi*), hapax legomenon; on pourrait changer les caractères chinois comme suit: 兀 *wu* ou 云 *yun* pour 亦 *yi*, 辟 *pi* pour 薛 *xie*, alors (*wu/yun nie bi*, lire *ü⟨r⟩re[l]bi* ou *ü⟨l⟩le[r]bi* qui correspondrait au mong. *örölbi*, Wuti « pince », kalm. *örlw* « Zange, Kneifzange », Ramstedt, KalmWb; bour. *ùrelbi*, khal. *òrȯlbȯ*; ord. *örölbö* « tenaille, pince », Mostaert; toutefois la différence sémantique *pincette* : *pince* semble être trop grande pour les mots chinois et mongols en question (usuellement c'est mong. *čimkigür* qui rend chin. *niezi* = dah. *isuγw*; v. barin *niəs* < chin., traduit par mong. *kimsaγa*, Činggeltei; baoan/Chen *niəjı*)

?[ ] 398 (*lin/m*) « scorpion » (*xie*); noms mongols pour « scorpion »: *kilinčetü qoroqai* (khal. *xilencet xorxoi* id., bour. *xilensete x.* « crabe »), ord. *madar xoroxō̄* [< mong. *matar* < ouig. < tokh. < skr., v. Gabain], khal., ord. *digwaranja* [< tib. *sdig-pa rva-can/rā-ca*, mot altéré probablement sous l'influence de *mahārāja* < *maxā-ranja*]; AL/Poppe *čayan* (< turc; ouig. *čadan*); baoan *dəgsən* < tib.

g[ ] 416 (*gu* * ? *sun*, N * = ? *xiang*; Y * = ? *xing* ou *zha/cha*, etc.) « catalpa (Bignonia catalpa » (*qiushu*); avec le suffixe *-sun/-sun*, ce mot semble être d'origine mongole, bien que l'arbre en question ne soit pas indigène sur les traditionnels territoires mongols; ainsi le sens primitif doit être différent de celui du mot chinois

?[ ] 503 (*e chao er*) « en ce temps-là/then » ou, ce qui est moins vraisemblable, « quand ?/when ? » (*na shi*); la transcription actuelle ne se laisse identifier avec aucun de ces mots: mong. *teǰiye, eǰiye, keǰiye*; *teli, keli*; *ene/tere čaγ-tur*

?[ ] 526 (*ni mu*), ? lire *ene mū*, cf. *mū*

?[ ] 529 (*ai la hu*) « couleur/colour » (*yanse*); cf. mong. *alaγ* ou *eriyen* « bigarré/variegated » (? 列 *lie* pour 剌 *la* et 恩 *en* pour 忽 *hu*)

INDEX DES MOTS EN MONGOL ECRIT

Les équivalents douteux sont marqués par point d'interrogation après le mot en question, ceux qui ne sont attestés que dans les textes préclassiques ont un point d'exclamation. Les mots qui ne possédent pas de forme classique ou préclassique connue, mais qui se rencontrent dans les autres monuments du moyen mongol ou dont la reconstitution semble être assez certaine, sont donnés ici entre parenthèses. Les reconstructions provisoires des vocables jusqu'ici inconnus sont précédées d'un point d'interrogation.

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Notes techniques et bibliographiques

Les mots chinois sont transcrits selon le système *pinyin*. Les formes mongoles vivantes sont données ici en transcription simplifiée, les formes des nouvelles langues littéraires sont rendues conformément à leurs systèmes d'écriture, mais rapprochées d'une transcription phonémique. Les lettres *č* et *ǰ* désignent les affriquées palatales, *c* et *j*: affriquées denti-alveolaires, *ĉ* et *ĵ*: affriquées supradentales, *ŝ* et *ẑ* = fricatives supradentales (qui ne sont marquées que là où elles sont phonémiques); *q* et *ġ* = explosives vélaires, *x* et *γ* = fricatives vélaires (mais en kalm., en position initiale, *γ* = explosive vélaire ou postpalatale); *x* rend une fricative médiopalatale sourde qui est phonémique dans le baoan; *l'*, *n'*, etc. = consonnes palatalisées (par exemple, dans le dah., le kalm. et le bour.); *ä* = voyelle centrale-antérieure, ouverte, de position entre inférieure et moyenne, *ɛ* = voyelle antérieure, ouverte, de position inférieure, *ə* = voyelle centrale, ouverte, de position inférieure, *ɜ* = voyelle centrale, fermée, de position moyenne, ou *šwa*; etc. Les abréviations et les sources les plus importantes:

AL = *Anonyme de Leide*. Éd. Poppe, cf. VdI/Ligeti

baoan ou bonang: voir B. Todaeva, *Baoansyij jazyk*. Moskva 1961; Buhe et Liu Zhaoxiung, *Baoan yu jianzhi*. Beijing 1982; Čen Nai Siyung et al., *Boo an kelen-ü üges*. Kökeqota 1985

barin = bārin, Baγarin de J̌uu-uda, après Činggeltei, *Mongyol kelen-ü Bayarn aman ayalyun-u abiy-a-yin ǰüi ba üges-ün ǰüi*. 1959

BcaT = Bodhicaryāvatāra de Śantideva, traduction mongole avec commentaire par Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, imprimée à Daidu en 1312, voir L. Ligeti, *MLMC* II: 1 (Budapest 1972), pp. 115—134 avec la bibliographie des études par E. Haenisch, F. W. Cleaves, etc.

bour. = bouriate, après K. M. Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1973, avec nombreuses données dialectales de Aga, Alar, Bokha, Katchouga, Khori, Tunka, etc., cf. encore Poppe, *Introd.*

Clauson, *ED* = Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. London 1972

dah. = dahoure (daur), après A. O. Ivanovskij, *Mandjurica I*. St. Pbg. 1894/Budapest 1982; N. Poppe, *Dagurskoe narečie*. Leningrad 1930, le même, Über die Sprache der Daguren: *Asia Major* X (1935—1935), pp. 1—32 et 183—220, S. E. Martin, *Dagur Mongolian*. Bloomington 1961, B. Todaeva, *Dagursyij jazyk*. Moskva 1986, etc., mais surtout Enhebatu, *Da Han xiao cidian / Daor Niakan bulku biteg*. Kökeqota 1983, et Engkebatu et al., *Dayur kelen-ü üges*. Kökeqota 1984 (ici la lettre *ᴡ* marque aussi un *šwa* arrondi; la fricative vélaire n'est pas nécessairement phonémique)

Daobu [= Dob], *Menggu yu jianzhi*. Beijing 1983

durbut = le dialecte de Dörbed beyise de J̌irim, après Rudnev, *Materialy*; Todaeva, *Jazyk mongolov*, etc.

Hanggin, *MMED* = John Gombojab Hanggin et al., *Modern Mongolian English Dictionary*. Bloomington 1986

Hy = *Hua Yi yiyu*, voir Antoine Mostaert, Le matériel mongol du Houa I iu iu 華夷譯語 de Hong-ou (1389), vol. I. Édité par I. de Rachewiltz avec l'assistance de Antony Schönbaum, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XVIII*. Bruxelles 1977 (avec bibliographie des études de M. Lewicki, E. Haenisch, etc.)

Hy/Chen = Hua Yi yiyu édité par Chen Longhao. Taibei, *Minguo 68* (1979)

IM = le glossaire mongol de Ibn Muhannā. Édité par N. Poppe, voir VdI/Ligeti

ǰal. = le dialecte de J̌alayid de J̌irim, après Rudnev, Todaeva, etc.

kalm. = kalmouck après G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, avec les dialectes dörböt, torgout de Volga, des Buzāwa de Don, ölöt (= ööld), etc. de Turkestan; ici les mots sont cités sans la voyelle *šwa* d'une syllabe autre que la première; ainsi les voyelles longues des syllabes autres que la première sont marquées par une seule lettre, selon l'orthographe kalm. contemporaine; la différence phonétique mais non-phonémique des voyelles *ä* et *ɛ* (longues) des syllabes autres que la première n'est pas indiquée; ces voyelles sont représentées uniformément par la lettre *ä*

kalm./Witsen: voir G. Doerfer, *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur kalmückischen Sprachgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1965

Kāšγarī: voir R. Dankoff et J. Kelly, *Maḥmūd al-Kāsγarī. Compendium of the Turkish Dialects* (*Dīwān luγat at-Turk*), I—III. Cambridge, Mass. 1982—1985; Clauson, ED

khal. = khalkha, après Ya. Cewel et X. Luwsanbaldsan, *Mongol xelnii toᴡč tailbar toli*. Ulaanbaatar 1966; A. Luwsandendew, *Mongol oros toli*. Moskva 1957 (dans la transcription j'ai marqué cette fois la différence entre kalm./ord. *ö* et khal. etc. *ó*, ce qui est en général superflu)

khara. = kharatchin, Qaračin de J̌osutu, après les rapports lithographiés en 1957: *Kulun qi* [= *Küriye qosiyu*] *diaocha zongjie* par Sun, Jia, Na, Daoerji et Wangbaoshan; *Xarčin-Tümed duguilan, dügnelt*, par B. Dorǰ, M. Tegšdüüren et al., avec des données arkhortchin, ognoute, etc.; Todaeva, *Jazyk mongolov*, etc.

khortchin = dialectes des Qorčin de J̌irim, voir les études par J. E. Bosson et B. Unensechen/Pao Kuo-yi: American Studies in Altaic Linguistics (ed. by N. Poppe, Bloomington 1962). *CAJ* IX; Todaeva, etc.

Kirakos: voir Louis Ligeti, Le lexique mongol de Kirakos de Gandzak. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVIII (1965), pp. 241—297

Ligeti, Lajos, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [Les rapports turcs de la langue hongroise avant le Xe siècle et sous la dynastie arpadienne]. Budapest 1986 (avec bibliographie et un index des mots hongrois d'origine turque de la dite période)

Lu.AT: voir L. Ligeti, Histoire secrète des Mongols. Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan Tobči de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin. *MLMC*, vol. VI, Budapest 1974

MA = le matériel mongol et tchaghatai d'une version du livre *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, édité par N. Poppe, Leningrad et Moskva 1938, cf. VdI/Ligeti

Menggu zazi = *Xinke jiaozheng maimai Menggu tongwen zazi* / *Man Han tongwen xinchu duixiang Menggu zazi*, petit glossaire sinomongol illustré, édité à Jingdu (= Beijing) sous les Quing pour commerçants chinois par le Wenchengtang du Damochang

mgr. = monguor: voir A. de Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor—français*. Pei-p'ing 1933; Zhaonasitu [Jaγunnasutu, Junast], *Tuzu yu jianzhi*. Beijing 1981; Qasbaγatur et al., *Mongγor kelen-ü üges*. Kökeqota 1985

MNT = *Mongqol-un ni'uča tobča'an*, voir E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobc'an*. Leipzig 1939; L. Ligeti: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár*, III, Budapest 1964; I. de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. Bloomington 1972

mog. = moghol; mog./Weiers: M. Weiers, *Die Sprache der Moghul der Provinz Herat in Afghanistan. Sprachmaterial, Grammatik, Wortliste*. Opladen 1972

Mongolian Studies edited by L. Ligeti. Budapest 1970

Mostaert, A., *Manual of Mongolian astrology and divination*. Cambridge, Mass. 1969

N = *Zhiyuan yiyi*, la xylographie de la collection de Naikaku, Tôkyô

ogn. = ognoute, le dialecte des Ongniγud de J̌uu-uda, voir Rudnev, Todaeva et les rapports mentionnés, v. kharatchin

oir. = oïrate écrit; oïr. dial. = dialectes oïrates de la Mongolie occidentale, etc.

ord. = ordos de Yeke J̌uu, après A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos I—III*. Pékin 1944/New York et London 1968

ouig. = ouigour; Wy = le Weiwuer guan yiyu dans *Hy*/Chen et chez M. Shôgaito

ölöt: cf. kalm.

Poppe, Introd. = N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies*. Helsinki 1955.

Poppe, N., *The Mongolian monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script*. Ed. by J. R. Krueger, Wiesbaden 1957

Poppe, N., The Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian: *CAJ* I (1955), pp. 36—42

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Rasisengge, Tuγtam = Tümed-ün Rasisengge, *Tuγtam suruγčid-un toli bičig*. Mongγol bičig-iyer ǰokiγan orčiγulqu küriye darumal[l]abai. Engke erdemtü/Kangde 9 (1939); dictionnaire sino-mongol

Räsänen, Martti, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969

Rudnev, Andrej, *Materialy po govoram vostočnoj Mongolii*. St. Pbg. 1911

santa ou dongxiang: voir Liu Zhaoxiung, *Dongxiang yu jianzhi*. Beijing 1981; Böke et al., *Düngsiyang kelen-ü üges*. Kökeqota 1983

Ščerbak, A. M., Nazvanija domašnich i dikich životnych v tjurkskich jazykach: *Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurksyich jazykov*. Moskva 1961, pp. 82—172

solon: après N. Poppe, *Materialy po solonskomu jazyku*, Leningrad 1931

Srn = Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita, traduction mongole par Sonom Gara, voir L. Ligeti: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár*, vol. II. Budapest 1964, J. E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels*. Bloomington 1969, Ligeti, *Trésor des sentences*, *MLMC* vol. IV. Budapest 1973, *Indices verborum MLMT*, vol. IV. Budapest 1973

tchak. = tchakhar, dialecte des Čaqar, après Todaeva, Dob, etc.

TESz = *A magyar nyelv történeti—etimológiai szótára* [Dictionnaire historique et étymologique de la langue hongroise], I—III. Réd. par L. Benkő. Budapest 1967—1976

(tous les mots cités ici de ce dictionnaire sont traités par L. Ligeti dans son livre *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai . . .*)

TMEN = G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I—IV.* Wiesbaden 1963—1975

Todaeva, B., *Jazyk mongolov Vnutrennej Mongolii.* Moskva 1981

tum. = tumute, le dialecte des Tümed de l'Est, J̌osutu, après Todaeva, etc.

V = Zhiyuan yiyu, la copie incomplète de la Bibliothèque Vaticane

VdI = le vocabulaire moyen mongol d'Istanboul, édité par L. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962), pp. 3—99, voir encore XVI (1963), pp. 107—174

Wuti = *Wuti Quingwenjian des Qing*, édition de Beijing 1957; édition japonaise par Tamura, Jitsuzō, et al., Kyôto 1966

Y = la copie de la xylographie japonaise du Zhiyuan yiyu

yogor = la langue mongole des Ouigours jaunes ou yugu orientaux, voir Potanin, Mannerheim, Kotwicz, Todaeva, etc., mais surtout Zhaonasitu [Jaγunnasutu], *Dongbu yugu yu jianzhi*, Beijing 1981, et Bulučilaγu et al., *J̌egün yoγor kelen-ü üges*, Kökeqota 1985

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NOMINAL PLURAL FORMATIONS IN THE *SECRET HISTORY*

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(Madison)

Early Middle Mongolian had three different systems for producing what may be called, in the broadest sense, plural forms.

(1) Personal pronouns show singulars with *i* in the initial syllable, but plurals with *a* in place of *i*: *bi/min(na-/nama-)* vs. *ba/man-* for 'I' and 'we (exclusive)': *ci/cin-(/cima-)* vs. *ta/tan-* for 'you': **i/in-(/ima)* vs. **a/an-* in the third-person.

(2) Some finite verbs form plurals by adding a final *y* to the masculine singular form: *ire-be* 'he came', *ire-bey* 'they came' (with feminine singular *ire-bi* 'she came').

(3) Nouns, adjectives, postpositions, etc. share a variety of plural formations entirely different from those above. E.g. *noyan/noya-d* 'prince/princes' and *a-qsan/a-qsa-d* 'having been'; *eke/eke-s* 'mother/mothers' *'qoa/qoa-s* 'beautiful', and *metü/metü-s* 'like' (postposition); *cerig ceri-üd* 'soldier/soldiers'.[1]

The present article deals only with the third of these systems, the term *nominal plural formations* being used rather loosely to cover any means of producing a plural form any base-form that is neither a personal pronoun nor a finite verb.[2] This article will not discuss the semantics or syntactic uses of the forms here described; such matters — especially agreement between an adjectival modifier and its head — require extended consideration elsewhere. Here it is simply assumed that a plural refers to more than one member of some class, whereas (as in Mongolian generally) a form not marked as plural may refer indiscriminately to the class as a whole or to one or more of its members.

[1] In citing forms from the Secret History I essentially follow the text established by de Rachewiltz 1972, but employ a somewhat different system of romanization. Forms marked as names in the Chinese text-editions (and all component words of such names) are here capitalized.

[2] Hence forms such as the following are not discussed: *yabu-d* (*tede*) 'they go' (7340), *bu tebci-dkün* 'do not abandon' (2103), *bu tebci-ldü-gtüd* 'do not abandon one another' (2354). The first of these may be historically a *-d* plural of a praesens imperfecti in *n* (IMCS 263, 267, 276), while the *-gtüd* may be plural of a metathesized form of *-dkün*, itself perhaps historically a plural (IMCS 253).

Each of the first seven sections below discusses one of the nominal plural formations. Within each, examples are separated into four categories differing in their reliability with respect to the determination of regularity of plural formation in the language of the *Secret History*.[3] These categories are defined as follows.[4]

(A) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base found either in the SH or (if parenthesized) in some other MM text; neither of the forms seems problematic, and their interrelationship may be considered regular.

(B) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base (or two alternate bases) found in the *SH* or in some other MM text;

[3] The following abbreviations are used below, in addition to the bibliographical and text abbreviations listed in the References section at the end of this article:

CM = Classical Mongolian
HP = hP'ags-pa documents (cited from Poppe 1957 unless otherwise noted)
MM = Middle Mongolian
SH = the Secret History of the Mongols
SMI = Sino-Mongolian Inscription (as specified in footnotes)
YCPS = *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*: the Chinese text-edition upon which our romanized text of the Secret History is based.

Note also the following conventions:

\+ marks a few of the more obvious morpheme divisions within stems (before a deviational suffix). A hyphen or equals sign (see category **[D]** just below) is used for all other morpheme divisions, including those before the plural morpheme.

* marks an unattested form reconstructed as having propably occurred in prior to 1400 AD.

† marks an unattested form which might theoretically have existed at some stage of Mongolian; the present writer does not necessarily believe that such a form ever actually existed in MM.

(*n*) indicates that a stem is probably a "variable n-stem": one that drops the nasal in certain cases, e.g. when occurring alone as a direct object.

γ is distinguished from *q* only in reconstructed forms (with *), hypothetical forms (with †), and forms (MM or CM) cited from sources written in the vertical script. In all other cases, the symbol *q* refers ambiguously to a voiced or a voiceless velar.

[4] In the following statements the term "non-complex" is intended to exclude the well-known double plurals of Mongolian: plurals formed on a base that is already plural. Such forms are here included in category **(D)**.

Ethnonyms referring to Altaic tribes. clans, etc., are generally relegated to footnotes, unless their morphology is transparent within MM. (Full discussion of such forms would greatly lengthen the present article without adding to our understanding of the regularity of nominal plural formations in the SH. For a listing of the chief works dealing with ethnonyms, see Bese 1988. 40—42.) Possible plural forms occurring within personal names (e.g. *Alaquš Digid Quri, Qacauratu Subcid*) are totally ignored in this article.

one of these forms, or the interrelationship between base(s) and plural, seems somewhat problematic for either formal or semantic reasons.

(C) A unique, non-complex plural form occurs in the SH for a base not known to occur in MM but probably reconstructible as having existed at some stage of MM.

(D) Residual forms are included here. In a few cases more than one plural form occurs in the SH for a single base attested in MM; some other forms are, or may be, double plurals. Of the remaining forms, some are surely plurals of bases that happen not to be attested; some may not be plurals at all. (An equals sign rather than a hyphen marks forms which might theoretically be plurals, but whose plurality seems doubtful or merely speculative.)

Of these four categories, only the first two offer reasonably firm evidence for regularity of plural formation, and only the first is absolutely trustworthy. Examples in class **(C)** are not entirely reliable, since any given base could theoretically be a late back-formation, created form the old plural by analogy to regular base/plural pairs.

In the exemplification within each section, information of the following sorts is given, in five columns.

(1) Base form. (This is parenthesized if not found in the SH, preceded by * or † if not yet found in any MM text, and sometimes followed by a text- or period-abbreviation).

(2) Number of occurrences of the base in the *SH*, if fewer than 16. (A form not attested in the *SH* is marked with a minus-sign; one occurring more than 15 times with a plus-sign.)

(3—4) Plural form found in the *SH*, and number of occurrences. (A line-reference is given for any plural that occurs only once.)[5]

(5) Gloss for the base form.[6]

At the beginning of each of these sections is given a characterization of the factors conditioning the use of the specific formation being discussed.

[5] Four-digit numbers (cf. Street 1986. 14) are used to refer to "lines" of the *Secret History* text as represented in the *YCPS*: the first digit shows the chapter number (with X, Y, Z representing chapters 10, 11, 12), the second and third digits together refer to a leaf ("page") of that chapter, and the last digit (0—9) reflects one of the columns on that leaf. (Thus "line" 2159 is the last column on the verso side of leaf 15 of chapter 2.) Such numbering makes it relatively easy to locate a particular passage in the Commercial Press or Yeh editions of the *YCPS*, the romantized texts of Haenisch, Shiratori, and de Rachewiltz, and the translation of Cleaves 1982.

[6] A parenthetical *s* is added to a few of the glosses, to indicate that an English word, ambiguous as to part of speech, is to be taken as a count-noun. Note that a gloss is not intended to cover all meanings found in the text, but serves merely as a convenient label for a specific lexical item of MM.

§8 presents a synchronic summary of the relative distribution of the various plural formations, with a few notes on their history; §9 adds some remarks on plural formation in later stages of MM.

In the citation of suffixal morphemes below, capital letters are used to represent back/front harmonic alternations. The symbol *A* represents alternation of *a* with *e*, *U* that of *u ü*; *K* alternation of *q* with *k*; *G* that of *q* (= *γ*) with *g*.

It should be mentioned that the YCPS glossing system is of no real help in determining which *SH* forms are plurals and which are not. The morpheme division between a stem and a plural allomorph is almost never overtly marked as such in the YCPS, and while glosses for plural stems do sometimes include the character 每 (*mei* 'each, every'), use of this character is too unsystematic to be probative. (In Chapter 1, for example, this character is included in the glosses of only 54% of the words — 75 out of 140 — which are undeniably plural in both form and meaning.) Hence the use of *mei* in glosses is ignored in the remainder of this article; judgments as to whether or not a particular form is a nominal plural must depend on the Mongolian text itself, in its historical and linguistic context.

1. Plurals in *-nAr*. Bases are kinship terms referring to non-lineal kin (related by blood or marriage)

(A):

aqa	+	*aqa-nar*	15	elder brother
deü	+	*deü-ner*	51	younger sibling
(*naqacu* HY)	—	*naqacu-nar*	2	mother's brother

(D):

beri	1	*beri-ne-d*[7]	3	younger female in-law

As we shall see below, lineal kin-terms form their plurals differently; see 'father' and 'mother' in §2.2, 'son', 'daughter', and 'grandmother' in §4.1. (See §4.1 [B] for what seems an exceptional *-d* plural of *güregen* 'son-in-law'; see §9.1 for the use of *-nAr* in later MM, and for *haci-nar* 'grandsons'.)

2. Plurals in -s. With one exception (§2.3) bases end in vowels other than *i*. The examples below are separated into two major categories defined by the height of the final vowel.

[7] A double plural, with *-ner* plus *d* (see § 4.2[D]). The gloss is intended to cover both 'younger sister-in-law' and 'daughter-in-law'; see discussion in *SQP* 110, 235.

2.1 -s plurals after a high vowel[8]

(A):

(**Hindu SMI*)[9]	—	*Hindus-s*	4	Indian (ethnonym)
metü	+	*metü-s*	7	like (postposition)
mürü	3	*mürü-s*	1 (9478)	shoulder
ötögü	3	*ötögü-s*	17	ancient; elder(s)
(**qadana+du*)	—	*qadana+du-s*	6	outside[10]
qaracu	2	*qaracu-s*	2	commoner
qoyi+tu	4	*qoyi+tu-s*	1 (2326)	being in the rear
üldü	5	*üldü-s*	1 (3466)	sword
uridu	4	*uridu-s*	2	former, earlier; predecessor(s)
urtu	8	*urtu-s*	1 (Z270)	long (in space)

(B):

jalau/jalauy[11]	3	*jalau-s*	1 (2354)	young; youth(s)
Suldu(+day)[12]	1	*Suldu-s*	2	(ethnonym)

2.2 -s plurals after a non-high vowel[13]

(A):

aqta	+	*aqta-s*	27	gelding(s)
arqa	4	*arqa-s*	1 (6420)	plan. stratagem
aula	—	*aula-s*	1 (Z320)	mountain
berie	4	*berie-s*	6	stroke of the rod (as punishment)
beye	+	*beye-s*[14]	8	body

[8] Many additional forms could be cited from other MM texts. E.g. *HP umsu-s* '(hybrid of yak)' (Poppe 1957. 132); *BCA šimnu-s* 'devils' (*HJAS* 17.93 [fn. 31]) and *yirtincü-s* 'worlds'; *SMI* 1362 *ayalyu-s* 'sounds' (= 'text'; *HJAS* 12. 69, 83).

[9] The base, spelled *Indu*, occurs in the *SMI* of 1335; see *HJAS* 12.93—4. (The vertical script had no way of writing the initial *h-* of MM.)

[10] In 'outside commanders (of thousands, etc.)', i.e. those not belonging to the imperial guard. For the suffix, cf. *HY dotora+du ulus* 'the inside empire' (i.e. 'China proper'), *emüne+dü qaja-d* 'countries of the south'; and *MA yadādu dēl* 'outer clothing' (< **yadayā+du*). Analogous plurals occur in later MM documents: *cinadu-s* 'adversaries', *dorodu-s* 'inferiors' (*IVLMMT* 2.173, 2.91).

[11] The former solely in *jalau-tu* (1027); the latter occurs twice, without ending.

[12] *Suldu+day* 'of the Suldus' occurs in 7012. Additionally the ethnonym *Negü-s* (3) might be included here; cf. *Neü+dey* 'of the Negüs' (4050).

[13] Many additional forms could be cited from other MM texts; e.g. *HP nere-s* 'names', *oŋgoča-s* 'boats'.

[14] Once spelled *bes-iyen* (4200), which Pelliot emended to *be[ye]s-iyen*.

bŏe	1	*bŏe-s*	5		shaman
bökö	+	*bökö-s*	3		strong man, wrestler
(*daruγa SMI*)[15]	—	*daruqa-s*	2		(official title)
ebüge	3	*ebüge-s*[16]	8		ancestor
ecige	+	*ecige-s*[17]	9		father
eke	+	*eke-s*	4		mother
eme	+	*eme-s*	7		wife
ere	+	*ere-s*	2		man, male(s)
inje	1	*inje-s*	2		slave (acquired as part of dowry)
irge	4	*irge-s*	1	(6441)	wether
jaqa	10	*jaqa-s*	1	(4278)	collar
mese	1	*mese-s*	1	(Z181)	weapon, sword
nemürge	1	*Nemürge-s*[18]	5		(felt) cloak
nudurqa	4	*nudurqa-s*[19]	1	(9145)	fist
ölke	1	*ölke-s*	1	(7273)	south side of a mountain
ordo	+	*ordo-s*	3		palace
qoa	4	*qoa-s*	2		beautiful
süke	3	*süke-s*	1	(Z481)	axe; ingot[20]
(*süme HY*)[21]	—	*süme-s*	1	(Z097)	image of Buddha
tana	1	*tana-s*	3		(large) pearl
tusa	+	*tusa-s*	3		help, service
üge	+	*üge-s*	52		word
üyile	13	*üyile-s*[22]	6		deed

[15] *SMI* of 1335, and one other text; the plural is more widely attested. See detailed discussion in *HJAS* 16. 237—55.

[16] The plural occurs always before *ecige(s)* 'father(s)'. (Note that *ebüge* is 'ancestor', but *ebügen* 'old man'.)

[17] *SQP* 64 points out that *ecige-s köü-d* twice means properly 'father and sons': the first word seems a plural by attraction to the second. (The same phenomenon may perhaps be seen in instances of *eke-s köü-d*, seemingly referring to one mother and several children.)

[18] Occurs only in the toponym *Dalan Nemürge-s*, lit. '70 felt cloaks' (*PFEH* 13.64).

[19] The form actually occurring is *nudurqa-š-iyan*, which is unique in showing palatalization of the plural *s* before initial *i* of an ending

[20] For the semantics, see *PFEH* 31.82, *HJAS* 13.118 (fn. 123).

[21] For occurrences (in *HY* and other texts) and meanings ('temple; image'), see *SQP* 223.

[22] Once an emendation, *üyi*[*le*]*s* (Z559).

yara	2	*yara-s*	1	(6189)	wound
yeke	+	*yeke-s*	5		big, great[23]
(B):					
bariya[24]	1	*baria-s*	2		fetters
Barula	4	*Barula-s*[25]	5		(ethnonym)
Genige(+*dey*)	1	*Genige*-s	3		(ethnonym)
(C):					
(**alaša*)	—	*alaša-s*[26]	1	(Z260)	(type of horse)
(**darda*, as CM)	—	*darda-s*	3		(type of damask)
(**nura* CM)	—	*nura-s*	1	(4358)	ravine
(**Qabqana*)[27]	—	*Qabqana-s*	1	(X148)	(ethnonym)
(**serke* CM)	—	*serke-s*	1	(Y524)	castrated goat
(*Seüse* [name])	1	*seüse-s*	1	(Z261)	slave
(**Solaŋqa* CM)	—	*Solaŋqa-s*	1	(Z280)	Korean (ethnonym)[28]
(**sübe* CM)[29]	—	*sübe-s*	1	(X192)	mountain pass
(D):					
cinô (?)	6	*Cino-s*[30]	2		wolf/(ethnonym)
(?†*hünjiüle*)	—	*hünjiüle-s*	1	(1172)	dead tree
(?†*itüge*)	—	*itüge-s*	1	(4104)	leather bucket
(*lausa* HY)	—	*lawsa-s-ud*[31]	1	(Z272)	(type of mule)

[23] Also 'elders, ancestors'; for the meanings, see *SQP* 21—22, 245; *PFEH* 26.55.

[24] Base occurs only (once) in *bariya güün* 'prisoner' (2184); see *SQP* 24, and cf. *CM bariya* 'fetters'.

[25] This morpheme division, rather exceptionally, is shown in the *YCPS* text. The plural, however, refers to more than one *Barula* tribe rather than to several members of one tribe.

[26] Discussion and further references in *PFEH* 31.67; **alaša*, probably referring to a particular type of piebald horse, was borrowed from Turkic.

[27] The base, spelled *Qamqana*, occurs in Chinese texts: cf. *HJAS* 19.390—406, esp. pp. 399—401, with a Turkic etymology in fn. 81. *PFEH* 26.67 provides additional bibliographical references. For the syllable-final *b* ~ *m* alternation cf. *SH Kibca-ud* ~ *Kimca-ud* 'Kipchaks'.

[28] See *PFEH* 31.71, and Ledyard in *CAJ* 9.17—19. The base is listed in Kowalewski (1400); *SH* has once a homonymous base meaning 'weasel'.

[29] Lessing: 'eye of a needle; narrow pass, defile'.

[30] It is not certain that this ethnonym is etymologically 'the Wolves' (cf. Bese 1988. 23). Several additional ethnonyms might perhaps be included here: *Ikire-s* (4), *Qaŋqa-s* (1), *Qabturqa-s* (1), *Ta-s* (1), *Tuba-s* (1), *Tuqa-s* (1), *Uwa-s* (*Merki-d*) (5) and *Qoa-s* (*Merki-d*) (1; cf. *PFEH* 18.79), *Qorola-s*/*Qorula-s* (3/2).

[31] Base from Chinese *lo-tzu* 'mule' (*PFEH* 31.70, Cleaves 1982.214—5 [fn. 55]). The double plural is listed also in §6.3 below.

qabirqa	2	**qabirqa-s*[32]	1	(1083)	rib
(?†*qojiula*)	—	*qojiula-s*	1	(1172)	dead tree
(†*tura*)	—	*tura-s*[33]	1	(4376)	rectangular shield

2.3 An exceptional case

(D):

noqay	12	*noqa-s*[34]	5	dog

3. Plurals in *-n*.[35] Most bases end in the vowel *i* or the consonant *y*; these two types of bases are separately exemplified below, with a miscellaneous category following. (Within each type and category, bases containing an inflectional ending or high-frequency derivational suffix are listed before bases that are monomorphemic or contain some rarer derivational suffix.)

3.1 *-n* plurals of i-stems

(A):

ab-uqci	1	*ab-uqci-n*	1	(7355)	taker
(**tono-qci*)	—	*tono-qci-n*	1	(7354)	plunderer
And:					
aduu+ci	2	*aduu+ci-n*	4		horseherd
aqta+ci	7	*aqta+ci-n*	1	(3469)	horseherd[36]
(*daruya+ci* SMI)	—	*daruqa+ci-n*	3		(official title)[37]
(*eüte+ci*)[38]	1	*eüde+ci-n*	3		door-keeper
(*hüge+ci* HY)[39]	—	*hüke+ci-n*	2		cow-herd
(*jiqa+ci* HY)	—	*jiqa+ci-n*	1	(3141)	fisherman
**nuntu+uci*[40]	1	*nuntu+uci-n*	4		camp master

[32] *qabirqas* is Pelliot's emendation for an otherwise baffling *qabirqar* (1083).

[33] An emendation proposed by Pelliot changes this form to part of a toponym; see *PFEH* 10. 81. (See Poppe 1955. 41 for the putative base-form.)

[34] Three times spelled *noqa⟨y⟩s/noqa⟨y⟩si*. Two other plural forms are found: *noqa-n* (twice) and *noqo-d* (once, Y470). See §8.3 below.

[35] Such plurals were discussed at some length in Haenisch 1950. 4—13, and other works there cited.

[36] Also 'groom; equerry' (*PFEH* 18.62).

[37] Lit. 'oppressor' (*PFEH* 30. 157); based on *daruya*, for wich see §2.2 (A). The form in *SMI* 1338, 1362.

[38] Base is spelled *eüte⟨n⟩ci* in its sole occurrence (7205); the emendation is mine (*JCS*). The root is *eüten/eüden*, occurring 22 and 7 times, respectively.

[39] The root is *HY hüger* 'cow' (= **hüker*).

[40] Only *nutucitani* actually occurs (Z479), perhaps for *nutūci-ta-n-i* < †*nuntuy-ūci-ta-n-i*. For what appears to be a long connecting vowel here see *HJAS* 15. 438 (fn 23), and cf. *PFEH* 31. 82.

qoni+ci	2	*qoni+ci-n*[41]	3	shepherd
qor+ci	+	*qor+ci-n*	32	quiver bearer
(*tariya+ci* HY)	—	*tariya+ji-n*[42]	1 (Y380)	farmer, peasant
(*tōlge+ci* HY)	—	*tōlge+ci-n*	1 (Z213)	soothsayer[43]
(*ulā+ci* HY)	—	*ulaa+ci-n*	5	posthorse keeper
And:				
bawurci[44]	10	*bawurci-n*	6	cook, steward
büri	9	*büri-n*[45]	13	each, all
cerbi	+	*cerbi-n*	6	(title)[46]
doromji	2	*doromji-n*	1 (7104)	lowly one(s)[47]
elci	+	*elci-n*[48]	33	envoy, courier
(*sāli* MA)	—	*saali-n*[49]	1 (Z540)	milch-animal
(B):				
oloŋ+ki	1	*oloŋ+ki-n*	2	a majority[50]
(C):				
(**amu+ci*)[51]	—	*amu+ci-n*	2	grain-keeper
(**balaqa+ci*)	—	*balaqa+ci-n*	2	storeman[52]

[41] A double plural *qoni+ci-d* also occurs (with *+ci* plus plural *-n* plus plural *-d*); it is spelled *qoni⟨n⟩+ci-d* in both occurrences (3301, 3307). For such spellings see footnote 78 below.

[42] For **tariya+ci*.

[43] For the root see *SQP* 227–8.

[44] Historically this is probably a *+ci* derivative based on hypothetical **bayur* 'liver', which is found throughout Turkic languages (see *TMEN* 1. 202–5 for details).

[45] One might perhaps think that *büri/bürin* represented a variable *n*-stem were it not for the phrase *aqa-nar deü-ner büri-n* 'all the elder and younger brothers' in Z520 (cf. *üdür büri* 'every day' in 2511, etc.). Cf. line 21 of *SMI* 1362: *bürin qadqulduqui-tur* 'when all [of them] engaged in battle with one another'.

[46] See *PFEH* 26.57, *SQP* 145.

[47] Cf. *PFEH* 18.74.

[48] In 6487 not plural in meaning. Historically this is from *el* plus *+ci*; see *TMEN* 2.203–7 for this and many other details.

[49] Western romanized editions have erroneously *saarin* here; only Shiratori's edition correctly romanizes the *l*-form found in both of the earliest Chinese text-editions. MA (p. 305a) *sāli* 'milking(s)', CM *sayali* (Lessing) 'milch animal; milking', and forms in Khalkha and Kalmyk agree in having *l* in this word.

[50] Cf. *HJAS* 13.111 (fn. 58). Within the *SH* the forms might be taken as a variable *n*-stem, but the present analysis is supported by the following forms found in later MM documents: *tende+ki-n* 'those [who were] there' (loc. cit.), *ende+ki-n* '[those who are] here' (*HJAS* 25.51 [fn. 12]), (*HJAS* 25.51 [fn. 12]), *delekei degere+ki-n irgen* 'people [who are] on earth' (*IVLMMT* 2.90).

[51] The root is *HY amun* 'rice, millet'.

[52] I.e. 'storehouse keeper'; cf. *balaqa-d* 'cites; storehouses' in §4.1. (B).

(**buluqa+ci*)	—	*buluqa+ci-n*	1	(3141)	sable-hunter
(**göröülü+ci*)[53]	—	*göröülü+ci-n*	1	(3141)	game hunter
(**jam+uci*)[54]	—	*jam-uci-n*	3		post-station keeper
(**saali+ci*)	—	*saali+ci-n*[55]	1	(Z478)	mare-milker
(**tamma+ci*)	—	*tamma+ci-n*	3		garrison troops[56]
(**temee+ci*)	—	*temee+ci-n*[57]	2		camel keeper
And:					
(**kötöci*)	—	*kötöci-n*	3		servant, attendant[58]
(**Qaŋli*)	—	*Qaŋli-n*[59]	3		Qangli Turk(s)
(D):					
(?†*arbi* CM)[60]	—	*arbi=n*	2		sufficient in number
(?†*ere+bi*)	—	*ere+bi=n*	1	(Z060)	male (or 'manly'?)
jabaji (?)	1	*jabaji=n*[61]	2		corner (of mouth)
Jürki/Yürki	2/3	*Jürki-n*	23		(ethnonym)[62]
(?†*höösi*)[63]		*höösi-n*	1	(X087)	(hunting) net
Qatagi[64]	8	*Qatagi-n*	2		(ethnonym)
(?)	—	*qauci-n*	2		old (cf. fn. 79)

[53] The root is spelled *görüüli* in 1063.

[54] The base seems (occur in MM only as a person's name; cf. *HJAS* 12. 122 (fn. 185), with discussion *HJAS* 15.438. For the literature on this form and *ulaa+ci* (just below), see *PFEH* 31.83.

[55] The plural occurs only in the form spelled *saari⟨n⟩cintani*; the emendation is mine [*JCS*]); see the note to *saali-n* 'milch-animals' in (A) above.

[56] The root *tamma* was borrowed from Chinese, and meant properly 'scout horse'. For the meaning of the MM derivative in *+ci* see *PFEH* 31.67–8.

[57] Once spelled *temeci-n* (= *temēci-n*).

[58] *PFEH* 23.145. Perhaps this was historically *kötöl + ci*, originally 'one who looks after the reserve horses'; but if so, it had become idiomatized.

[59] One further occurrence spelled *Kaŋlin*. For these people see *PFEH* 21.35.

[60] Lessing lists *arbi* as 'abundance; thriftiness'; Kowalewski (156b) has only ***arbin***. *SH arbin* occurs in 8189, Z177, and may well be monomorphemic.

[61] This and the putative base may rather represent a variable *n*-stem.

[62] See note to *Qatagi*, just below. Several further ethnonyms might perhaps be added here (*pace* Poppe 1975, 165): *Adargi=n* (1), *Baari=n* (7), *Borjigi=n* (1), *Jirgi=n* (12), *Jüyi=n* (5), *Noyaki=n* (2), *Qasi=n* (5; but twice glossed as toponym), *Ǔnji-n* (1).

[63] Lessing lists a CM form *ögesi*(*n*), a variable *n*-stem; but an *n* plural was often reinterpreted as variable *n* (in the CM suffix *+ci*(*n*) for example).

[64] Base occurs only in *Buqu Qatagi* (once *Buqu Qadagi*), probably to be interpreted as 'Buqu the Qatagi'; cf. *Yisügey Kiyan* in 1480, and *Sorqatu Jürki/Yürki*. There are three additional occurrences of the putative plural showing *d* rather than *t*.

(?)	—	*unuquci-n*	3	herder of milch-mares[65]

3.2 *-n* plurals of y-stems[66]

(A):

qaan-u-ay[67]	3	*qahan-u-a-n*	1 (7484)	(something) belonging to the khan
And:				
kedüy	5	*kedü-n*	1 (8335)	how many?
maŋlay	11	*maŋla-n*	5	forehead; vanguard
šiliuy[68]	1	*šiliu-n*	2	upright, honest

(B):

-KU/-KUy	+	*-KU-n*	170	(nomen futuri)[69]
-tU and *-tAy*	+	*-tA-n*[70]	246	(possessor ending)
And:				
dutau/dutauy	3 : 1	*dutau-n*	2	lacking
edü/edüy	1 : 15	*edü-n*	3	this many
gergey 'wife'	7	*gerge-n*	1 (3464)	domestic(s)[71]

[65] This gloss simply translates that in the *YCPS* (cf. *PFEH* 31.82); either that gloss or the transcription may perhaps be incorrect.

[66] The clearest example of this formation is *HY qulaqa-n* 'robbers', with base *qulaqay* (*SH* bis).

[67] There are two additional occurrences of *qan-u-ay*. The suffix *-Ay* is one occurring most commonly after the genitive; cf. *Bi Temüjin-ü-ey buy* 'I belong to Temüjin' (2450). A plural *-A-n* seems to occur only in the one form here cited.

[68] Base form occurs only in the dative (3316): *šiliuy-a* 'straightforwardly' (or, as *PFEH* 5.160, 'completely').

[69] The 170 plural-occurrences involve sequences formed from 84 different stems, most of which occur also with the bare (non-plural) nomen futuri morpheme. E.g. the form *bü-küy* (formed on the copular verb *bü-*) has plurals *bü-gü-n* (before a vowel-initial ending; 4 occurrences) and *bü-kü-n* (without ending; 13 occurrences); *bayi-qu* and *bayi-quy* have *bayi-qu-n* as their plural. (Note that occasional transcriptions of the nomen futuri by means of characters representing voiced-initial *gü* and *gün* reflect a purely orthographical problem.)

[70] Back *-ta-n* in 116 instances, front *-te-n* in 130. Phrases ending in *-tA-n* after an animate noun refer most often either to a group of male beings or to a mixed class of males and females. That the sequence is sometimes a true plural of the feminine *-tAy* is shown by *qor-ta-n emege-d* 'women with quivers' (Z301).

[71] See *HJAS* 12.523—5 for discussion. Cleaves assumes that *gergey* originally meant 'one who is connected with the house; a domestic, a servant' and hence 'she who stays at home; the wife'. Both de Rachewiltz and Cleaves translate *gergen tudqar* as 'domestics and servants', without commenting on the lack of plural-marking on the second word.

mawu/mawuy	4 : 17	*mawu-n*[72]	4	bad
ügeü/ügeüy	12 : 3	*ügeü-n*[73]	8	without, lacking; poor
(C:)				
(**degeley* CM)	—	*Degele-n*[74]	2	jacket, coat
(D):				
noqay	12	*noqa-n*[75]	2	dog
Uryaŋqay	1	*Uryaŋqa-n*	1 (3347)	(ethnonym)[76]

3.3 Residual *-n* plurals

(A):				
eyimü	11	*eyimü-n*	2	such
keceü	1	*keceü-n*	1 (Z179)	hard (obstinate)
sacau	4	*sacau-n*	9	equal
ɩeyimü	18	*teyimü-n*	3	such
(D):				
(?)	—	*erekü=n*[77]	4	valiant (?)
(?)	—	*omoqu-n*	4	bold (?)

4. Plurals in *-d*. Most bases end in *n* (stable or variable), *r*, or *l*, each of which disappears before the *-d*.[78] These three types of bases are separately exem-

[72] Clearly plural in meaning; cf. *SQP* 183—4, 158.

[73] In 50% of their occurrences, the base(s) and plural are spelled with an otiose *y*: *üge⟨y⟩ü* etc. *HY* and *HP* (*IVLMMT*) have only forms without the *y*. Note that of the two base-forms here, the first is masculine, the second feminine.

[74] Only in *Hulaan Degele-n* (Y124, Y131) 'Red Coats' (*PFSH* 30.122).

[75] Two other plurals occur: *noqa-s* (five times) and *noqo-d* (once, Y470). See §8.3. below.

[76] Three more ethnonyms might perhaps be included here: *Quŋqota-n* (11). *Sükeke=n* (1; cf. man's name *Sügegey/Sükegey* [5/4]). *Tübe(g)e-n* (8/[1]).

[77] Possibly cf. *ere+bi-n* in §3.1 (D) above. The form is always directly followed by *omoqu=n* (just below), twice with no indication (in the *YCPS*) of intervening word division.

[78] It used to be thought that forms such as *qoni⟨n⟩cid* (3307), *qoni⟨n⟩di* (3456), *ho⟨n⟩d* (Y518), *mori⟨n⟩tu* (1189) represented actual and archaic pronunciations; but it is now seems rather that they result from a conflict of orthographic principles in the *YCPS* (which matter will be discussed in a separate article). *Ho⟨n⟩d* 'years' (based on *hon*), for example, must have been so written to distinguish it from *hod* 'stars' (6460; base *hodun*).

plified in the subsections below, with a miscellaneous category following. (Forms ambiguously interpretable as containing either *-d* or *-Ud* are included only under the latter plural formation, in §6.8.)

4.1 *-d* plurals of n-stems[79]

(A):

aurasu(n)	14	*aurasu-d*	1 (Y058)	satin(s)
buluqan	15	*buluqa-d*	3	sable(s)
cöe+ken	2	*cöe+ke-d*	1 (7110)	rather few
dabaa(n)	5	*dabaa-d*	2	(mountain) pass
(*darqan* SMI)[80]	—	*darqa-d*	2	freeman
ebceün	5	*ebceü-d*	1 (Z301)	bosom, breast
eje(n)	9	*eje-d*	3	lord
emegen	7	*emege-d*	2	paternal grandmother; old woman
erkin	4	*erki-d*	4	important
etügen[81]	4	*etüge-d*	1 (7167)	Earth; place
(*gešiün* HY)	—	*gešiü-d*	1 (4104)	branch (of tree)
geü(n)	3	*geü-d*	4	mare
-GsAn	+	*-GsA-d*[82]	99	(past participle)
güjüü(n)[83]	5	*güjüü-d*	1 (3467)	neck
güreen[84]	13	*güree-d*	1 (4043)	circular camp
hara(n)	+	*hara-d*	1 (3441)	people
harban	+	*harba-d*	9	ten; squad
helige(n)	9	*elige-d* (= *he.* .)	1 (4224)	liver
hon	15	*ho-d*	1 (Y518)	year
(*imaan* HY)	—	*imaa-d*	3	goat

[79] Many additional forms might be added from other texts, e.g. *BCA toyi-d* (base *toyin* 'monk'); *HP tegirme-d* 'mills' (base *tegirmen* [*IVLMMT* 2.229; from Turkic (Poppe 1957. 93)]). From letters written in the vertical script (Mostaert/Cleaves 1962) *sulta-d* (base *sultan* 'sultan') and *qayuci-d* (base *SH qaucin* 'old', which might itself be historically a plural). And from *SMI* 1340 (*HJAS* 25.43, line 5) *irge-d* (*manu*) '(our) peoples'.

[80] *SMI* 1362. See *HJAS* 12.51 (fn. 95) and *TMEN* 2.460—474 for historical details. In the *SH* the plural is cone spelled *darqa⟨n⟩dun* (3120), but is written without the nasal in 9256.

[81] One further occurrence in the spelling *ötögen* (Y301).

[82] Both bases and plurals occur also with a connecting vowel: *-UGsAn*, *-UGsA-d*. The *-d* plural occurs after a total of 50 different sequences of verb-plus-participal-ending; there are 67 occurrences of 34 back-harmonic stems, 32 of 16 front-harmonic ones.

[83] One further occurrence in the spelling *güjühün* (4474).

[84] Two further occurrences in the spelling *gürien*. For the gloss, see *PFEH* 4.161.

jaarin	2	*jaari-d*	2	heavenly sign
jau(n)	13	*jau-d*	24	hundred
ken	+	*ke-d*[85]	5	who?
Kiyan	4	*Kiya-d*	1 (1441)	(ethnonym)
kökö(n)[86]	3	*kökö-d*	2	breast
köü+ken	9	*köü+ke-d*	1 (2111)	young boy
köü(n)	+	*köü-d*	165	boy, son
minqa(n)[87]	+	*minqa-d*	49	thousand
modu(n)/mudu(n)	6 : 3	*modu-d/mudu-d*	2:1	tree
mori(n)	+	*mori-d*[88]	6	horse
mün	+	*mü-d*	14	the same (one)
müren	+	*müre-d*	6	river
niruu(n)[89]	11	*niruu-d*	1 (6452)	spine; ridge
noyan	+	*noya-d*	48	prince
numu(n)	4	*numu-d*	1 (Z481)	bow (weapon)
nuun	3	*nuu-d*	1 (Z098)	boy
öe+sün	+	*öe+sü-d*	2	self (root *öer*)
öki(n)	+	*öki-d*	19	girl, daughter
(*önecin* MA)	—	*öneci-d/önöci-d*	3 : 2	orphan
qa(n)	+	*qa-d*[90]	9	khan
qatu(n)/qadu(n)	+	*qatu-d/qadu-d*[91]	4 : 2	princess, queen
qalawun	1	*qalawu-d*	2	goose
Qaldun[92]	+	*qaldu-d*	1 (5362)	cliff
qancu(n)	3	*qancu-d*	3	sleeve
qonin	8	*qoni-d*[93]	10	sheep
qoton	2	*qoto-d/qota-d*	4 : 2	town
qulan	1	*qula-d*	4	wild ass
qun	11	*qu-d*[94]	2	cliff, bluff
quruun	1	*quruu-d*	4	finger

[85] Once *ke*[*d*] (4343).

[86] The only *SH* forms occurring are *köken* (once) and *kökö* (twice: as direct objects); from these the base *köke*(*n*) or *kökö*(*n*) is reconstructible.

[87] Equivalent to */miŋqan/*; the *YCPS* syllabary had no character representing *miŋ*.

[88] Twice *mori*[*d*].

[89] Two further occurrences in the spelling *niriu*(*n*).

[90] Twice spelled *qa*⟨*n*⟩*d*.

[91] Twice spelled with otiose ⟨*n*⟩: *qadu*⟨*n*⟩ (8012), *qadu*⟨*n*⟩*daca* (Z014). The base is written 19 times with *t*, 27 times with *d*.

[92] Occurs solely as a toponym (= *Burqan Qaldun* = *Qaldun Burqan*).

[93] Five of the ten occurrences are spelled with otiose ⟨*n*⟩: *qoni*⟨*n*⟩*d-i* (3456, 3457), *qoni*⟨*n*⟩*d* (3458, 3459), *qoni*⟨*n*⟩*d-iyan* (7172).

[94] The plural occurs only in toponyms, the base usually so; cf. *PFEH* 16.52.

sau+ri(n)	+	*sau+ri-d*	3	seat; station
sayi(n)	+	*sayi-d*	9	good
secen	+	*sece-d*	1 (2063)	wise
sumu(n)	13	*sumu-d*	2	arrow
(*tariyan HY*)[95]	—	*tariya-d*	1 (6281)	grain, crop
(*tarqun* HY)	—	*tarqu-d* [96]	2	fat (= not thin)
temeen	8	*temee-d*	6	camel
terge(n)	+	*terge-d*	5	wagon
teriü(n)	+	*teriü-d*	1 (6421)	head
toqoan	1	*toqoo-d*	1 (4049)	cauldron
Toquraun[97]	7	*Toqurau-d*	1 (9081)	(ethnonym)
torqan	1	*torqa-d*	2	silk
(*turuqan* HY)	—	*turuqa-d*	6	thin (= not fat)
tüme(n)	+	*tüme-d*[98]	16	ten thousand
ücügen[99]	12	*ücüge-d*	6	small
ünien	1	*ünie-d*	1 (7121)	cow
unuqan	1	*unuqa-d*	1 (7352)	foal
usu(n)	+	*usu-d*	2	water
yabuqan	6	*yabuqa-d.*	2	on foot
yau(n)	+	*yau-d*	3	what?
yisün	+	*yisü-d*	4	nine

(B):

balaqa+su(n)[100]	+	*balaqa-d*	25	city; storehouse
burqasun	1	*Bur⟨u⟩qa-d*[101]	2	willow (branch)
cigörsün[102]	1	*cigö-d*	2	juniper

[95] In *HY* 'cultivated field'.

[96] Plural occurs also three times as ethnonym; base occurs in *SH* only in *Botoquy Tarqun* (3), presumably 'Botoquy the fat'.

[97] *toquraun* 'crane' also occurs twice.

[98] Spelled *tüme⟨n⟩diyer* in 3107.

[99] Two further occurrences in the spelling *üciüügen.*

[100] Morpheme division proved by *balaqa+ci-d* (§3.1 [C]); the root is presumably **balaqa* (cf. Turkic *baliq* [*TMEN* 1.216, 2.257—8]). They *HY* has additional plurals that would belong in this section: *anjasun/anja-d* 'plough', *qubcasun/qubca-d* 'clothes', and *qulu-d* with base *CM qulusun* 'bamboo'.

[101] Only in the toponym *Hulaan Bur⟨u⟩qa-d* (once *Hulaan Bor⟨u⟩qa-d*), whose literal meaning seems guaranteed by an Arab source (*TMEN* 1.225). For the base form see *SQP* 37—38.

[102] Only the form with *-n* occurs in the *SH*, but this (with *narasun, noqosun*, etc.) must be historically a derivative in *+su(n)*. Presumably *čigö-d* is historically the plural of a **cigör* (cf. *HJAS* 14.103 [fn. 161]).

coorqa(n)[103]	2	*Coorqa-d*	2	lock
eki/eki(n)[104]	2	*eki-d*	2	head(s)
(*elesün* HY)	—	*Ele-d*[105]	5	sand, dune
genen	1	*gene-d*[106]	5	unprepared, unaware
güregen	14	*gürege-d*[107]	4	son-in-law, bridegroom
hodun	5	*ho-d*[108]	1 (6460)	star
(*narasun HY*)	—	*nara-d*	2	pine
nicügün	6	*Nicügü-d*	1 (5017)	naked[109]
noqosu(n)[110]	1	*noqo-d/noqu-d*	2 : 1	duck
neü+ri(n)[111]	2	*neü+ri-d*	1 (1033)	migrating camp

[103] *SH* and *HY* have each one occurrence of the form without -(*n*), *SH* probably one occurrence of the *n*-form (*corqan* ? = *cōrqan* 3247). The putative plural occurs only as a place name, with 'locks' applied figuratively to a strong position; cf. *PFEH* 31.45, 5.171.

[104] *SH* shows once *eki*, once *heki*, as direct objects that could represent *eki(n)*; *HY* has once *heki* (and *heki-d*). The expected *n*-forms seems to occur im *MM* only in the "countersign" of a letter to Pope Boniface VIII (*HJAS* 15. 478ff): *Üredün kesigün ekin ödür* 'first day of the *kesig* of Üred'. But in two other *MM* texts (*IVLMMT* 2.275) the nasal is missing in this construction: *namur-un/übül-ün eki sar-a* 'the first month of fall/winter'.

[105] Occurs only in toponyms.

[106] See *SQP* 87—8. In 6505 the form seems singular in meaning.

[107] SH has *güregen/gürigen* for the singular (11 : 3), *gürege-d/gürige-d* (6 : 3) for the plural. These forms are problematic for several reasons, and deserve separate treatment elsewhere.

(a) In five occurrences, *gürVge-d-te* (twice emended from a form lacking the *-d*) is singular in meaning; *gürege-d-te talbi-* 'leave as a son-in-law' occurs four times (1469, 1470, 1472; with *i* 1491), *gürige-[d]-te yabu-* 'live as a son-in-law' once (3357). Presumably this form had some special idiomatic meaning or usage.

(b) Since this seems to be a non-lineal kinship term, one would expect a plural in *-ner* rather than *-d*; possibly the fact this is an *n*-stem prohibited such a plural formation; or perhaps the basic sense was 'bride-groom', so that the form was not considered a kinship term.

(c) Except for the cases noted in (a) all *SH* occurrences refer to the imperial sons-in-law of Chinggis Qan, and hence may, in effect, represent a title rather than a true kinship term.

[108] In spoken *MM hod* (possibly haplologized from **hodu-d*) was homonymous with the plural of *hon* 'year' (§4.1[A]); the latter is spelled *ho⟨n⟩d* in its sole occurrence, presumably to distinguish it from 'stars'. See §8.2 (e) below, and note there.

[109] Plural only is ethnonym *Nicügüd Baarin* 'the Naked Baarin' (*PFEH* 13.59, *HJAS* 19. 202).

[110] *SH* has only *noqosu*; *HY* has the full form with *-n*.

[111] The form with *-n* occurs only in a name, which may be unrelated to the stem here; but this base is certainly a deverbal *+ri(n)* derivative.

söni/söni(n)[112]	+	*söni-d*	5	night
(C):				
(**dorγun* CM)[113]	—	*dorqu-d*	2	unfinished
(**Jürchen*)	—	*Jürce-d*[114]	5	(ethnonym)
(**omoriγu*[*n*] CM)	—	*omoriu-d*	1 (3467)	breastbone
(**subusun* CM)[115]	—	*subu-d*	3	(small) pearl
(**tere*+*ken*)	—	*te-de*+*ke-d* [sic !]	2	those (derogatory)
(**törkün*)	—	*törgü-d*[116]	1 (1421)	wife's kin
(D):				
deresün	1	**Der*[*e*]*sü-d*[117]	1 (5090)	feathergrass
(†*Kitay**/*Kita-n*)	—	*Kita-d*[118]	28	(ethnonym)
noqa-n (pl.)	12	*noqo-d*[119]	1 (Y470)	dog
qoni+*ci-n* (pl.)	3	*qoni*⟨*n*⟩+*ci-d*	2	shepherd (simple base *qoni*+*ci*; see §3. [A])
(**quriγa*+*ci-n* pl.)	—	*quriqa*+*ci-d*	2	lamb-herd (simple base HY *quriqan*)

[112] There are many instances of *söni*, but only one with *n* (*sönin-ü*, 8186). One of the instances here counted as a plural is the result of emendation: *söni*[*d*] (6510).

[113] Cf. *PFEH* 31.59. The base seems not to occur in MM.

[114] ". . . the so-called 'Eastern Jurchens' of Manchuria" (*PFEH* 31.71, 86).

[115] Kowalewski 1391b; existence of this word in older stages of Mongolian seems assured by occurrence of a cognate in Kalmyk and a borrowing in Chagatai. But Ibn al-Muhannā may have a *subun* (*HJAS* 12.125 [fn. 213].)

[116] See *HJAS* 12.509—510. *CM* has apparently only *törküm* (or *törgüm*); but the existence of *törkün* in both Middle Turkic (Kashgari: 'family, kin') and Kalmyk ('relatives of one's wife and her father') seems to indicate the existence of this base also in *MM*.

[117] Emendation proposed (by Pelliot) for the text's *Tersüd*; see *PFEH* 13.60. The base occurs in Y094; the plural *deresü-d* in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi.

[118] *SH Kitad* refers to "the Jurchen people of China and the Chin dynasty" (*PFEH* 31.85). *HJAS* 12.523 cites Mostaert to the effect that (*)*Kitan* is a plural of †*Kitay*; but neither form seems attested in *MM*. (A *Qitad* occurs once, in the *SMI* of 1338; cf. *HJAS* 14.104 [fn. 176.]) Presumably *Kita-d* is a double plural: †*Kitay* plus *-n* plus *-d* The 28 occurrences include two of *Qara Kitad*, six of *Qara Kidad*; both refer to "the Qara Khitai, or Western Liao, empire of central Asia" (*PFEH* 13.62).

[119] Inclusion of this form here (rather than in §4.4 [D]) assumes that it is a double plural formed on the *-n* plural. But the form occurs only once, in *töbüd-üd noqo-d* 'Tibetan dogs' (Y470), and is perhaps simply an error — with *-d* written because of the prior *-üd*. (Note that this *noqo-d* is identical to the plural of *noqosu*[*n*] 'duck', for which see §4.1 [B].)

4.2 *-d* plurals of r-stems[120]

(A):				
baatur	+	*baatu-d*	11	brave warrior
büleür	1	*büleü-d*	1 (4104)	churning staff
Gücügür	1	*Gücügü-d*[121]	1 (5280)	(ethnonym)
nökör	+	*nökö-d*	19	comrade
öer	+	*öe-d*	1 (5465)	self
qor	+	*qo-d*	1 (Z481)	quiver
šiŋqor	4	*šiŋqo-d*	2	gerfalcon
üdür	+	*üdü-d*	4	day
ündür	+	*ündü-d*	1 (5361)	high, height(s)
(B):				
qar	+	*qa-d*[122]	2	hand
(C):				
(**Bajigir*)[123]	—	*Bajigi-d*	4	Bashkir (ethnonym)
(D):				
(**beri-ner* pl.)	—	*beri-ne-d*	3	younger female in-law (see §1)
(?†*kicir*)	—	*kici-d-ud*[124]	1 (Z271)	(type of camel)
(*qacir* MA, L)	—	*qaci-d-ud*[125]	1 (Z272)	(type of mule)

[120] Additional clear instances from *HY*: *amasar/amasa-d* 'opening, pass', *qaǰar/qaǰa-d* 'country', *temür/temü-d* '(of) iron', *yoŋqor/yoŋqo-d* '(type of silk fabric)'. *SMI* 1338 has also *üker/üke-d* 'cows'.

[121] Plural also once *Gücüü-d*, in *Gücüü-d Nayman-u Buyiruq Qan* (4307). This is equivalent to a phrase showing the single clear occurrence of the base: *Gücügür+tey Buyiruq Qan* (6284) 'Buyiruq Khan [of] the Gücügür'. See Bese 1988. 26—7.

[122] Occurs only in an idiom: 9423 has *beye qad ebecin ügey* 'without being sick in body', 3456 has *beye qad-iyer* 'by himself'. Though *qa-d* is probably historically a plural of *qar* (= *γar*) 'hand', Cleaves (*HJAS* 12.126 [fn. 222]) notes that reflexes of *beye qad* (idiomatically 'stature') in Urdus and Khalkha have a voiceless initial for the second word.

[123] See *PFEH* 30.156 for references to the literature.

[124] Cleaves 1982.214 (fn. 54) suggests that this may be a double plural of a †*kicir* (plus *-d* plus *-ud*). De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 31.70) thinks the term refers to the single-humped dromedary, as opposed to the double-humped Bactrian camel (*elöüd*).

[125] See *PFEH* 31.70, Poppe 1955. 40, *TMEN* 3.391—2, and § 6.5 below.

Uyur(+tay)	2	*Uyu-d*	4	Uighur (ethnonym)
	Also	*Uyiqu-d*[126]	1 (5114)	Uighur (ethnonym)

4.3 *-d* plurals of l-stems[127]

(A):

köl	15	*kö-d*	1 (2466)	foot
kötöl	3	*kötö-d*	1 (7325)	led horse

(D):

+Al	—	*qori+a-d*[128]	1 (Z539)	by 20s, 20 each

4.4 Residual *-d* plurals

(A):

busu	+	*busu-d*[129]	6	different; other(s)
edöe	+	*edöe-d(-tür)*[130]	1 (Y053)	now

(D): See also §6.8; plurals that could be interpreted as containing either *-d* or *-Ud* are listed only in that section.

(?)[131]	—	*abi-d*	1 (1083)	entrails
(?)	—	*aci-d*	1 (Z430)	bodyguard(s)
(?)	—	*Arula-d*	2	(ethnonym)[132]

[126] Occurs in genitive *Uyiqud-un*, probably an error for *Uyud-un* (occurring 4 times) resulting from a misinterpretation of the script spelling *Uiyud-un* (*IVLMMT* 2.63) formed on base *Uiyur* (*IVLMMT* 2.213).

[127] Later texts show also *tüsimel/tüsime-d* 'high official' (*HY* and other documents), *boγol/boγo-d* 'slave' (*SMI* 1338, etc.).

[128] Based on *qorin* '20'; according to *IMCS* 250 *+A-d* is plural of the suffix found in *niji+el* 'one by one, individually'. (But *HY* has *niji+e-d* 'one each', by analogy to the higher numbers; loc. cit.)

[129] There are (in lines 3041—3125) three additional instances of interrogative forms which, in the present system of romanization, must be written *busu-t-ū* (vs. the direct object form *busu-d-i* in 2140, for example).

[130] The plural is found only in *edöe-d-tür* (occurring also in *HY*, *TDB*, and *SMI* 1362), apparently 'for the present'.

[131] See *SQP* 228—30 for discussion.

[132] Several additional ethnonyms might be included here: *Bayi-d* (1); *Belgünü-d* (1); *Besü-d* (4); *Bügünü-d* (1); *Buriya-d* (1); *Doŋqayi-d* (8); *Jaqu-d* (2; *PFEH* 31. 86); *Jeüre-d* (1); *Jewüreyi-d* (1); *Kereyi-d/Gereyi-d* (20/2); *Maŋqu-d* (14); *Merki-d* (+); *Oŋgira-d* (9); *Öŋgü-d* (5); *Oŋqoji-d* (*Kereyi-d*) (1); *Oyira-d* (9); *Qaa-d* (*Merki-d*) (3); (*Qori*) *Tuma-d* (5+); *Saqayi-d* (1); *Söni-d* (1); *Uduyi-d* (*Merki-d*) (6). Note also the ethnonym *Budaa-d* (1), which is folk-etymologized as a plural of *budaan* 'rice-gruel, millet' in line 1280.

(?)	—	*Balju-d*[133]	3		(in toponym)
(?)	—	*geyi-d*[134]	3		dwellings
(??*Majar*)	1	*Majara-d*[135]	1	(Y495)	Hungarian (ethnonym)
(?)	—	*naci-d*[136]	2		(type of brocade)
(?)	—	*Qalaqalji-d*	3		(in toponym)[137]
(?)	—	*qaulqa-d*	1	(2066)	(?)[138]
(?)	—	*qoluqa-d*	1	(2135)	(?)[139]
(?)	—	*šilüge-d*	1	(2135)	(?)[140]
(?)	—	*Šilügelji-d*[141]	2		(in toponym)

5. Plurals in *-de*. The demonstratives *ene/eün-* 'this' and *tere/teün-* 'that' form plurals *e-de/e-den-* and *te-de/te-den-*. Historically these must be *-d* plurals of roots **en* and **ter*, with addition of a deictic or emphatic **-e-* (plus pronominal *-n-* in most case forms); cf. *IMCS* 225—8.

(A):

ene(/eün-)	+	*e-de/e-den-*	77	this
tere(/teün-)	+	*te-de/te-den-*	99	that

[133] Only in the toponym *Dalan Balju-d* 'The Seventy Marshes' (*PFEH* 10.56, *HJAS* 18.375 [fn. 98]). Possibly the base occurs in the toponym *Baljun Aral* 'Baljun Island' (1158).

[134] Glossed as though a plural of *ger*, which otherwise has no plural form; but formal relationships between these words seems most unlikely. (Note that the meaning 'dwellings' is older than 'monastery' [Poppe 1957. 88].)

[135] Less likely is the morpheme division *Majad-ad*. De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 30. 156) states that *Majarad* is plural of *Majar* 'Magyar, Hungarian'; but within Mongolian, this plural would have to have the unattested and unlikely base †*Majaran*. Possibly *Maǰar-ad* is an error for †*Maja-d*. (Note, however, that a parallel passage has simply *Majar* in Z159.)

[136] Cf. *naci-d-ud* in § 6.5, and see *PFEH* 31.69.

[137] Occurs only in the toponym *Qalaqaljid Eled* 'The Qalaqaljid (?) Sands', which is probably to be emended in some way (*HJAS* 18.379, *PFEH* 16.45).

[138] In *qaul⟨u⟩qad köüd*: the first word is not glossed and not elsewhere attested (Cleaves 1984. 21 [fn. 6]).

[139] De Rachewiltz translates 'the chicks', Cleaves 'the wicked'. See next footnote.

[140] The form is used metaphorically, referring to children. Cleaves (following the *YCPS* gloss) translates 'the drivellers'. De Rachewiltz, in translating rather 'the lambs' (*PFEH* 4.138), has presumably interpreted this plural as based on an *n*-stem of the *šilüge* (*qonin*) '3-year-old sheep' found in Kowalewski 1497a. For discussion of *šilüge-d* and *qoluqa-d* (above) see now Vietze (forthcoming), where it is duggested that the forms are plurals — presumably double plurals — of adjectives **šilügey* and **γoluqay*.

[141] Occurs only in the name of a river: *Ulquy Šilügeljid*.

6. Plurals in *-Ud*. Bases end in consonants other than *n, r, l, y*; i.e. in *m, ŋ, s, b* (?), *d, g*, and voiced *q*. The last two consonants drop before this ending, showing that this ending contained a primary long vowel.[142] Each of these base-types is separately exemplified below, with a miscellaneous category following.

6.1 *-Ud* plurals of m-stems[143]

(A):

jam	5	*jam-ud*	4	post-relay station

(B):

erdem	5	*erdem-üd*[144]	4	skill, ability
jarim	4	*jarim-ud*[145]	6	half
qorum	2	*qorum-ud*[146]	4	minute, short time

6.2 *-Ud* plurals of *ŋ*-stems[147]

(B):

(**saŋ* HY)[148]	—	*saŋ-ud*	1 (Z482)	public granary

[142] Since the vowel was long, it is unlikely to have been originally just a connective vowel (*pace* Poppe *IMCS* 179, where one notes that the vowel is also long in modern dialects). More likely *-Ud* was historically a *-d* plural either of a collective in *-Ul* < **-GUl*; cf. *Sarta+ul* 'Moslem[s], *qoyitu+ul* [hapax X410] 'those behind'), or of some †*-GUn* suffix.

[143] Examples from later *MM* are *em/em-üd* 'medicine', and *nom/nom-ud* 'book', both found in *BCA* (*HJAS* 17.60, 64). Also *gem/gem-üd* 'diseases' (*HP*) and *töküm/töküm-üd* 'valley, hollow' (*IVLMMT* 2.259).

[144] Occurs only in *erdemüdten*, three times spelled without the *d*, i.e. *erdemü*[*d*]*ten*; see *SQP* 250.

[145] Though formally a plural of *jarim* 'half', the form seems usually singular in reference; e.g. *jarimud irge*(*n*) is 'half of the people'. But in X061—2 *Tergen-tür jarim-ud-iyan caqla-ju talbi-tuqay* is literally 'measuring their halves, let [them] leave [one] at the cart[s]'.

[146] Once spelled *qurumud* (X382). It is not clear that the plural form differs in meaning from the base.

[147] From texts written in the vertical script also forms such as *BCA*-3 *amuγulang/amuγulang-ud* 'well-being' (line 32c), *BCA ǰirγalang/ǰirγalang-ud* 'joy', *ǰobalang/ǰobalang-ud* 'suffering'; and *HP senšiŋ/senšiŋ-ud* 'Taoist monk', based on Ch. *hsien-sheng* (Poppe 1957. 83). Less clear is the form *Berenggüd/Wirenggüd* 'Franks' of letters edited in Mostaert/Cleaves 1962 (see their pp. 44, 59).

[148] This borrowed root is written logographically in the *HY* and *SH*, with Chinese 倉 = *ts'ang*. *HP* documents write the initial with a foreign letter (Poppe 1957. 83 et passim). Monolingual speakers of *MM* probably pronounced the root with /s/ rather than /č/ or [ts]; cf. *CM sang* = Khalkha *saŋ*.

6.3 -*Ud* plurals of s-stems[149]

(A):

ulus	+	*ulus-ud*	1 (6388)	people(s), nation

(C):

(**Kirgis*)[150]	—	*Kirgis-ud*	4	Kirghiz (ethnonym)
(**Orus*)	—	*Orus-ud*	8 (Y495)	Russian (ethnonym)

(D):

(**lausa-s* pl.)	—	*lawsa-s-ud*	1 (Z272)	(type of mule; see §2.2 [D])
(†*Serkes*)	—	*Serges-üd*	2 (Y495)	(ethnonym)[151]
(†*Urs*/†*Urus*)[152]	—	*Urs-ud*	1 (X143)	(ethnonym)

6.4 -*Ud* plurals of b-stems

No examples, unless the *kibuud* of §7 **(D)** be emended by deleting one of the *u* vowels. Note however MA *yarib*/*yarib-ud* 'strange; poor (?)' (borrowed from Turkic, which got it from Arabic), and *HP*, *BCA*-3 *kalb-ud* 'aeons' (formed on Uighur *kalp* [Sanskrit *kalpa*]). For discussion of the latter form see p. 1189 [note 25] of *BCA*-3. For three other such forms — plurals of Persian bases in *b* — see *HJAS* 16. 37, 39, with discussion on pp. 60 (fnn. 11—12) and 68—9.

6.5 -*Ud* plurals of d-stems

(A):

Taŋud	+	*Taŋud-ud*[153]	3 (Z060)	(ethnonym)

(B):

(**Töbüd*)	—	*Töböd-üd*	1 (Y470)	Tibetan (adjective)

(D):

(**kici-d*)	—	*kici-d-ud*	1 (Z271)	(type of camel); cf. §4.2 (D)

[149] A further example is *BCA luus-ud*, plural of *luus* 'dragon', itself a plural of *luu* (borrowed from Turkic, which got the word from Chinese); see *HJAS* 17.110 (fn. 208), 15.85 (fn. 3).

[150] Borrowed from Turkic (Poppe 1955.39—40).

[151] "Serkes = Cherkes, i.e. the Circassians" (*PFEH* 30. 156); cf. pp. 127, 129 of Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris; 1950).

[152] Cf. *HJAS* 19.394 (fn. 20).

[153] The Tanggud = the Hsi-Hsia; see *HJAS* 19.246 (fn. 504), and references there. The base is once spelled *Taŋqud*.

naci-d	2	*naci-d-ud*	1 (Z270)	(type of brocade); cf. §4.4 (D)
(**qaci-d* pl.)	—	*qaci-d-ud*	1 (Z272)	(type of mule); cf. §4.2 (D)

6.6 -*Ud* plurals of g-stems[154]

(A):

esüg	2	*esü-üd*	1 (4399)	mare's milk, kumiss
kešig	+	*keši-üd*	14	portion; company (of soldiers); turn (of duty)[155]
külüg	5	*külü-üd*	13	hero; bravery

(C):

(**örlüg* SQP 70)	—	*örlü-üd*	1 (8194)	brave, valiant, fierce

(D):

(**minqa+lig*)	—	*minqa+li-ud*[156]	*4*	commander of 1000
(?**tübüg*)	—	*tübü-üd*	1 (5321)	difficulty (?)[157]
(?**Tülkinceg*)	—	*Tülkince-üd*	1 (7150)	(toponym)[158]

6.7 -*Ud* plurals of q-stems (with voiced q)[159]

(A):

alaq	3	*Ala-ud*[160]	1 (4039)	multi-colored, mottled

[154] Further examples from vertical-script texts include *BCA čečiglig-üd* 'gardens', *BCA*-3 *bürküg-üd* 'darknesses' (p. 1198 [fn. 126]). *HP* has also *kereg-üd* 'deeds, affairs'.

[155] See *SQP* 244—9 for discussion.

[156] Cf. *PFEH* 23.145. In two instances we find *minqaliuday* with the ending seen in the first entry of § 3.2 above. Cf. *HY noya⟨n⟩li-ud* 'officers'.

[157] Although the *YCPS* gloss is 'main points, essentials', de Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 13.70) follows Damdinsüren in assuming that the base is an unattested †*tübüg* = *CM tübeg* 'difficulty, trouble'.

[158] 'The Tulkin (?) Hills' (*PFEH* 18. 66). For the hypothetical *ceg* cf. the last syllable of *Šilinceg* (*SQP* 260).

[159] Further examples are *HY caq/ca-ud* 'time, period', *joriq/jori-ud* 'intention', and *quyaq/quya-ud* 'cuirass'; *MA* has *bayγ/bayγ-ud* 'bunch'. In vertical-script texts we find also *quwrayγ/quwrayγ-ud* 'community [of monks]' (*HJAS* 17.101 [fn. 118]) and *širawag/širawag-ud* 'disciple' (ibid. 111 [fn. 214]) in *BCA*; also *tangsuγ-ud* (Mostaert/Cleaves 1962. 44—5; base *HP taŋsuq* 'marvelous').

[160] Occurs only in *Ala⟨u⟩ud Turqaud* 'Mottled Sentinels' (*PFEH* 10.72).

auruq	6	*auru-ud*	5	base camp[161]
ayimaq	6	*ayima-ud*	1 (5256)	camping-group, tribe (cf. PFEH 13.66)
Boldaq	5	*Bolda-ud*	2	hill[162]
(*inaq* MA)[163]	—	*ina-ud*	2	trusted friend or adviser
(*quduq* MA, IM)	—	*qudu-ud*	2	well(s)
turqaq	10	*turqa-ud*	42	bodyguard, day-guard
uruq	+	*uru-ud*	1 (Y309)	family; descendant

(C):

(**Kibcaq*)	—	*Kibca-ud*[164]	5	Kipchak (ethnonym
(**Qarluq*)[165]	—	*Qarlu-ud*	3	Qarluq (ethnonym)

6.8 Other *-Ud* (or *-d*) plurals

(D):

(?)	—	*alaqci-ud*[166]	2	multi-colored
(†*As*/†*Asun*)	—	*As-ud*/*Asu-d*	3	(ethnonym)[167]
(?)	—	*Cakirma-ud*/. *.u-d*	2	(toponym)[168]
(?)	—	*elö-üd*/*elöü-d*[169]	1 (Z271)	(type of camel)

[161] For meaning see *PFEH* 10.75, *TMEN* 2.77, *HJAS* 12.112–3.

[162] Both the plural and its base occur only in toponyms; cf. *SQP* 258.

[163] A borrowing from Turkic (Poppe 1955.39).

[164] One additional occurrence spelled *Kimcaud*. For the base see *PFEH* 30.156, Poppe 1955.39. *SH* has only *Kibcaqcin ayan* 'the Kipchak campaign' Z288.

[165] See *TMEN* 3.385 for Middle Turkic forms.

[166] On the vexing problem of the bases for such color terms, see § 8.2 (f) below.

[167] Probably refers either to the Alans (*TMEN* 1.221; with citation of Wilhelm von Rubruk) or the Iranian Ossets (Poucha 1956.69; with a reference to Rašīd-ad-Dīn).

Many additional ethnonyms could be included here, each perhaps to be segmented either before the *d* or the *ud*/*üd*: *Ayiriud* (1); *Bayaud* (5); *Buyruud* (1; perhaps cf. the man's name *Buyiruq*); *Caŋšiud* (2); *Dutaud* (*Tatar*) (2); *Jarciud* (1 [1228]); *Olqunuud* (4); *Sasud*/*Sesüd* (1/2; cf. *PFEH* 30.156); *Uruud* (16). Three further forms are more interesting: *Salǰiud* (4; cf. *Buqatu Salji*, perhaps 'Buqatu the Salji'); *Tayciud*/*Tayiciud*/*Tayijiud* (1/38/2; Poppe 1975.165 suggests that the base may be *tayiji* 'prince', borrowed from Chinese); *Teleŋgüd* (1; cf. *Tenleg*, perhaps to be emended to †*Teleŋ*).

[168] Base possibly a word corresponding to Kirghiz *chaghïrmaq* '3-year-old deer' (*PFEH* 18.73).

[169] *PFEH* 31.69 suggests a possible base †*elöür*.

(?)	—	*hüŋši-üd/. .u-d*[170]	1	(1173)	stench
(?)	—	*müs-üd/müsü-d*	7		rod, arrow-shaft
(?)	—	*naq-ud*	1	(Z270)	(?)[171]
(?)	—	*nendü-üd/. .ü-d*	1	(X040)	(?)[172]
(?)	—	*qara+qci-ud*	1	(6036)	black
(?)	—	*qoŋši-ud/. .u-d*	1	(1172)	stench
(?)	—	*qoŋqo+qci-ud*[173]	1	(3457)	yellow(ish brown)
(?)	—	*Teles-üd/. .ü-d*	1	(6251)	(in toponym)[174]

7. Plurals in *-uud, -nuud*[175]

(B):

caqaan	+	*caqaan-uud*[176]	4		white
qal	7	*qal-nuud*[177]	5		fire
qara	+	*qara-nuud*	2		black

(D):

hulaan	7	*hulaan-uud*[178]	1	(6220)	red
(*kib/kibu*)[179]	—	*kib-uud/kibu-ud*	1	(Y072)	(type of fabric)

[170] The present writer originally thought that this word and *qoŋšiud* (below) were probably *-Ud* plurals of *+g* derivatives of verbs in *-ši-*; cf. *HY nigšig* 'rank, fetid' based on *CM nigši-* 'become spoiled (of food)'. But Vietze (forthcoming) points out that the *Altan Tobči* has *öngši'ün* and *qongši'ün* in this passage, and believes the latter to be a back-harmonic form of *CM kengšigün* 'smell of burning' (Lessing).

[171] *PFEH* 31.69 takes this as a "plural of *naq* < Persian *nakh* (*nax*), a word designating a kind of gold brocade . . ."; so Cleaves 1982.214, following Pelliot. Poppe 1955.40, while agreeing that the *YCPS* gloss 'gold ore' is incorrect, takes the form as rather 'money, coins'; he compares it with an Arabic loanword *naqd* 'cash, ready money' found in *MA* and in Middle Turkic. *TMEN* 4.37 states that the base here (**naq*) was more likely borrowed from a Persian word referring to a type of carpet.

[172] See discussion *PFEH* 21.53—4; the form is not known outside the *SH*, and is there left unglossed.

[173] Root is *qoŋqor* 'light bay (of horses)'.

[174] Occurs only in the toponym *Qurban T'elesüd* 'The Three Teles/Telesün (?)'

[175] For additional examples in later texts, see § 9.2 below. Note that *MM* offers no clear evidence for front-harmonic alternants of these suffixes.

[176] The only instances of *caqaanuud* and *qaranuud* occur on a sinle page (X15) of the *YCPS*. (In the Altan Tobči these forms were replaced by simple *čaγan* and *qara*.) Quite possibly such forms contrasted in meaning with the regular plurals, some of which occurred at least in later stages of *MM* (cf. § 8.2 [g] below). But it is conceivable rather that *-uud* was simply an aberrant spelling for the *-Ud* plural ending, and reflects a Uighur-script writing with a space between the stem and the suffix.

[177] Note that this plural occurs solely before *tüle-* 'to light [fires]'.

[178] The base occurs in toponyms, as well as in the 7 instances noted. The plural occurs only in *Jorqal Qun-u Hulaanuud Boldaud*. De Rachewiltz (*PFEH* 16.52) states

8. Synchronic summary. The facts presented above may be summarized by the following descriptive statements. These statements (intended to replace the first paragraph of §4. 112 of Street 1957) are claimed to be valid only for the SH; texts from a somewhat later stage of MM show even more irregularity in plural formation than does the *SH*.

8.1 Regular formations. Nominal plurals are formed with either of two plural morphemes, {*-nar*} and {*-s*}. The first of these occurs only with non-lineal kinship terms (examples in §1), the second after bases of all other sorts.

The plural morpheme {*-s*} has six allomorphs, of which two (*-uud* and *-nuud*; see §§7, 8.2 [g], 9.2) are extremely rare and probably represent late innovations. The four common allomorphs are, for the most part, in complementary distribution. These are:

-n after bases ending in *i* or *y*. See §3.1—2 **(A)** for examples.

-s after bases ending in a vowel other than *i*. See §2.1—2 (A) for examples.

-d after bases ending in an apical sonorant (*r*, *l*, or *n* [stable or variable]), any of which drops before this allomorph of {-s}. See §4.1—3 **(A)** for examples.

-Ud after bases ending in a consonant other than those mentioned above (i.e. after *b*, *d*, *g*, *q* [$=\gamma$], *s*, *m*, η). Inasmuch as the voiced velars *g* and *q* drop before this allomorph, it certainly contained a primary long vowel. See §6.1—7 **(A)** for examples.

8.2 Exceptions. There are a number of exceptions to the distributional statements just above.

(a) The demonstratives *en-e* 'this' and *ter-e* 'that' take an internal *-d-* in their plurals: *e-d-e* and *te-d-e*. See § 5 above.

(b) Two vowel-stem bases apparently form plurals in *-d* rather than *-s*:
busu 'other', plural *busu-d*
edöe 'now, the present', plural *edöe-d(-tür)*
Both of these plurals (§ 4.4) are found also in later MM texts, though the latter — found only in the case-form cited — is rare. Perhaps the bases were once variable *n*-stems, or could take pronominal *-n*.

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that this, 'Red Hills of the Deer [?] Cliff', is the same as the place called *Hulaan Qud* or 'Red Cliffs' in section 163 (line 5342).

[179] The form refers to a fabric of heavy silk or taffeta. The base (possibly a borrowing from Korean) occurs as *kib* in *HY*, *SMI* 1453 (*HJAS* 13.445—6, with references), and *TDB*. But *SMI* 1338 has twice *kibutan törges*, once *qibutan törges* (*HJAS* 14.98 [fn. 137]). Since *bt* is not a prohibited sequence in *MM* (cf. *SH kebte-esü*, *ilübte*, *dab+tuar*) and since *-tU/-tAy/-tA-n* never has a vowel-initial allomorph, these forms must represent *kibu* plus *-tan*. The base must probably be assumed to be *kib* ~ *kibu*.

(c) Bases ending in *u* or *ü* that have any sort of alternate shape with final *y* — whether or not the shapes differ in meaning — use plurals (§ 3.2 [B]) formed on the *y*-variant rather than the vowel-final one:[180]

-tA-n is plural of the possessing endings *-tU* (masculine) and *-tAy* (feminine). E.g. *qal-ta-n* '[those] having . . . fire[s]' functions as plural of both *qal-tu* and its feminine *qal-tay*.

-KU-n is the plural of the nomen futuri forms in *-KU* (adjectival?) and *-KUy* (nominal?). E.g. *ab-qu-n* is the plural of *ab-qu* and *ab-quy*.

edü-n is the plural of *edü* ~ *edüy* 'this many'

mawu-n is the plural of *mawu* ~ *mawuy* 'bad, evil'

ügeü-n is the plural of both *ügeü* (masculine) and *ügeüy* (feminine) 'without'.

There are a few additional instances (§ 8.3 **[A]**) of *-n -n* plurals formed on bases ending in a high rounded vowel; probably all of these had *y*-final alternate shapes that happen not to be attested in MM. These are:

eyimü-n, plural of *eyimü* 'such, so' (and ?†*eyimüy*)

keceü-n, plural of *keceü* 'hard' (and ?†*keceüy*)

sacau-n, plural of *sacau* 'equal' (and ?†*sacauy*)

teyimü-n, plural of *teyimü* 'such' (and ?†*teyimüy*)

Note that these four actually-occurring bases appear in contexts such that they could be taken either as masculines (vs. hypothetical feminines in *y*) or as adjectives (vs. hypothetical nominal forms in *y*).

(d) While a few bases ending in *+sU(n)* have their expected plurals in *-d* (e.g. *öe+sün/öe+sü-d* 'self'), most apparenty drop that suffix before adding *-d*. Historically such forms must be plurals of the underlying root, without the suffix, though in many cases we cannot tell whether that root ended in *n*, *r*, or *l*. See § 4.1 **(B—C)** above for full exemplification.

(e) One base apparently suffers haplology in its expected *-d* plural: *hodun/ho-d* 'star'. Contrast this with regular *modun/modu-d* 'tree'.[181]

[180] This seemingly odd situation may be likened to that involving variable n-stems. In effect the term *variable n-stem* could be interpreted to mean 'a vowel-final base having an alternate shape with final *n*'.

[181] However *mo-d* 'trees' occurs in one hP'ags-pa text (*IVLMMT* 3.73), as well as in later stages of Mongolian. *HJAS* 14.99 (fn. 152) suggests that *mod* is not a reduced version of *modu-d*, but plural of the *mo* (or †*mo*[*n*]) of *mo+ci* 'carpenter'. Possibly both *modu*(*n*) and *hodu*(*n*) contained a suffix †*+du*(*n*), which should be treated in the same manner as the *+su*(*n*) in the paragraph just above. Note, however, one occurrence of *hodu-d* 'stars' in *HP* (Bosson, writing in *CAJ* 6.98); this is distinct from HY *ho-d/ho*⟨*n*⟩*-d* 'years'.

(f) Three color terms containing some indeterminate suffix form plurals in *-ud*: *alaq+ci-ud* 'multi-colored, pied', *qara+qci-ud* 'black', *qoŋqo+qci-ud* 'yellow(ish brown)'. Poppe (1952. 67, GWM § 274, IMCS 180, MA 64) believed that the usually-feminine *-qci(n)* was included in such bases, and that the initial gamma of script-writings of this plural suffix (later *ca[γa]γčiγud* 'white [mares]', for example), was merely a hiatus-filler. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the base of SH *alaqciud* was not †*alaq+ciq*, with †+*čiq* a variant of the +*šig* mentioned in footnote 170 above. If we could assume that †+*ciq* (after a stop) and +*šiq* (after a nasal) were allomorphs of a single SH morpheme, then this would be equivalent to the Modern Mongolian attenuative suffix +*šig* '-ish'. (Forms such as hypothetical †*qaraqciq* might have been created by false analogy to †*alaq+ciq*, with the root-final *q* of the latter misinterpreted as part of the suffix.[182])

(g) Three color terms and *qal* 'fire' form plurals in *-uud* (after an n-stem) or *-nuud* (otherwise): *caqaan-uud* 'white', *hulaan-uud* 'red', and *qara-nuud* 'black', *qal-nuud* 'fire(s)'.[183] (The *-nuud* allomorph must have been created by false analogy to *-uud* after n-stems; but the origin of *-uud* remains obscure.) Note that the expected plurals of two of the bases here do occur in later MM: *caγaγa-d* (*Alexander Saga*, *HJAS* 22.95 [fn. 417]) and *no[γo]γa-d* (TDB 55v19).

(h) Certain forms show, unexpectedly and unpredictably, an allomorph of {*-s*} immediately following either {*-nar*} or a first occurrence of {*-s*}; in such double plurals {*-s*} has always its phonologically correct allomorph. It is by no means clear whether these double plurals were felt by speakers of MM to be "set forms", or whether such pluralization was to some extent productive. The following are probably the only such plurals actually occurring in the SH.

beri-ne-d 'younger female in-laws'; formed on **beri-ner*, the expected plural of *beri*.

kici-d-ud 'a type of camel'; seemingly formed on †*kici-d*, the expected plural of a possible base †*kicir*.

Kita-d (ethnonym); formed on **Kita-n*, plural of presumed †*Kitay*.

lawsa-s-ud 'a type of mule'; formed on **lausa-s*, expected plural of a presumed **lausa*, borrowed from Chinese.

naci-d-ud 'a type of brocade'; formed on *naci-d*, which may be already a plural.

[182] Poppe writing in *UAJb* 46.125 (and earlier in *Keleti Szemle* 20.115 [1927]), considered such velars "of unknown origin", and "rätselhaft".

[183] The regular plural of *qal* would be †*qa-d* (= †*γa-d*), homonymous with that of *qar* 'hand'.

noqo-d 'dogs'; if not merely a textual error in its one occurrence, this is formed on *noqa-n*, regular plural of *noqay*. See footnote 119.

qaci-d-ud 'a type of mule'; formed on **qaci-d*, expected plural of **qacir* (§ 4.2 [D]).

qoni+ci-d 'shepherds'; formed on *qoni+ci-n*, regular plural of *qoni+ci* (root *qonin* 'sheep').

quriqa+ci-d 'lamb-herds'; formed on **quriγa+ci-n*, expected plural of unattested **quriγa+ci* (root HY *quriqan* 'lamb').

(For two possible additions to this list see footnote 140 above.)

8.3 Anomalous forms. There are a very few plurals forms whose status remains unclear; either they are utterly anomalous exceptions to the rules and exceptions just stated, or they represent errors in the SH text that has come down to us in the YCPS.

ǰalau-s 'youths, adolescent males' (vis-à-vis the base *jalauy*; but the formation would be regular for the alternate base *jalau*).

kibuud 'silk fabrics' (vis-à-vis base *kib* or possibly *kibu*; these forms are so rare [§ 7 **(D)** above] that there seems no way of accounting for the plural formation).

Maǰarad 'Hungarians' (vis-à-vis possible base *Maǰar*; see § 4.4 and note there).

noqa-s 'dogs' (vis-à-vis base *noqay*, with its regular plural *noqa-n*, and *noqo-d* — which is either an error or a double plural).

However one may explain *noqo-d*, the base *noqay* remains the sole SH instance of a base apparently permitting two simple plurals: *noqa-s* and *noqa-n*. It seems likely that this situation represents a last remnant of an older distinction between masculine and feminine singulars and plurals; one suspects that earlier †*noqa* and its plural *noqa-s* were of masculine gender, *noqay* and *noqa-n* feminine.

The form *jalau*(*-tu*) seems to refer to a young male (a servant) in 1027; in 7101 *jalauy* is either 'a young woman' or 'young' (in reference to a woman). If we allowed ourselves to exclude an occurrence of *jalauy* in 5255 (which seems an abstract noun 'youth').[184] Then this set of forms would parallel the 'dog' forms, and we might hypothesize an older paradigm of the following sort:

Masculine base	Feminine base	Masculine plural	Feminine plural
†*noqa*	*noqay*	*noqa-s*	*noqa-n*
jalau	*jalauy*	*jalau-s*	†*jalau-n*

[184] The pertinent phrase is *niken jalauy sayin gürümele güün*, lit. 'a youth-good alert man'; cf. *niken gürümele köün güün* 'an alert young man' (2289) and *öŋge sayid ökid*, lit. 'complexion-good girls; girls good with respect to complexion' (1450).

This hypothesis must remain speculative, however, until all the *y*-variants of section § 8.2 (C) above have been somehow accounted for.

8.4 Forms of indeterminate status. In addition to the above exceptional and anomalous forms, there remain many words whose synchronic status (as plurals or simple stems) is indeterminate; in the text and notes above these have been marked with an equals sign in lieu of the hyphen placed before what the present writer believes to be clearly an allomorph of one of the plural morphemes. (See, for example, footnote 30.)

Many additional forms have sometimes been treated as possible plurals (synchronically or diachronically) in the scholarly literature. Omission of any such form from the lists above indicates that the present writer believes it is not synchronically a plural. The following are just a few of the many instances that could be cited.

kimul 'fingernail' (cf. *SQP* 8; see *IMCS* 177 for this and for a *YCPS dabaal* which, however, must be emended to *dabaan* 'mountain pass')

haran and *irgen* 'people' (Haenisch 1950. 4—5, with unlikely bases †*haray* and †*irgey*!)

Moŋqol 'Mongol' (base †*mongo* according to Sinor, in an article cited by Doerfer in *CAJ* 14. 76 [1970]; Doerfer correctly states "Es gibt jedoch in Mongolischen keinen Plural auf *-l* . . .").

8.5 Frequency. Nominal plurals are of very high frequency in the SH. The full text contains approximately 30,620 phonological words, and of these 2217 are the plurals enumerated in the text and footnotes above. (Excluded from this count are all forms marked with an equals sign above, and those whose meaning is unknown.) Thus nearly one out of fourteen phonological words in the *SH* text is a nominal plural. No comparable statistics seem available for Modern Mongolian, but examination of a few pages of a *SH* translation published in Ulaanbaatar in 1976 leads the present writer to think that nominal plurals in 13th century Mongolian were about four times as frequent as in the modern written language.

Because of the uncertainties represented by categories **C** and **D** in the lists above (not to mention the anomalous and indeterminate cases just discussed), raw frequency-of-occurrence figures for the various plural shapes seem of little significance. But one pattern does emerge from examination of such figures, and that involves rank-order in frequency of the different plural shapes. Whether one sums just occurrences in categories **A** and **B**, or adds to these either category **C** or category **D** — or both —, it turns out that:

(1) the *-d* shape accounts for over one-third of all occurrences of nominal plurals in the *SH*;

(2) *-n* accounts for somewhat less that one-third of such occurrences;

(3) *-s, -de, -Ud,* and *-nAr* are much less common, and together account for roughly one-third of such occurrences, with *-s* the most common of these four, and *-nAr* much rarer than the rest;

(4) *-uud* and *-nuud* are vanishingly rare, together accounting for much less than 1% of all nominal plurals.

But it is notable that the plurals of three inflectional endings are so extraordinarily frequent that together they account for about 23% of all nominal plurals; these are *-GsA-d* (4.5%), *-KU-n* (7.7%), and *-tA-n* (11%), plurals of the past participle *-GsAn*, the nomen futuri *-KU/-KUy*, and the possessing *-tU/-tAy*. If these plurals were excluded from frequency counts, *-d* would remain the most frequent plural shape, but *-n* would be demoted to third rank, becoming somewhat less frequent than *-s*.

9. Notes of plural formation in later Middle Mongolian. The complexity and irregularity of nominal plural formations in the language of the *SH* is quite striking when contrasted with the relative simplicity of morphology in Mongolian as a whole. The plural shapes *-nAr, -s -n, -d, -Ud* (with secondary *-de, -uud,* and *-nuud*) are not relatable by phonological rules, and appear to have originated from different sources.

Within a century or so after the *SH* was written, however, plural formation became still more irregular. An influx of foreign loanwords seems to have been largely responsible for this increasing irregularity; but it appears also that the *-s* plural and those plural-shapes that contained a vowel became more highly favored than the morphologically ambiguous *-n* and the stem-altering *-d*.

9.1 The ending *-nAr* came to be used not just after non-lineal kinship terms (a SH restriction not apparently noted by earlier researchers), but also after terms referring to divinities and human beings — or later reincarnations of humans — directly associated with Buddhism. A few examples are the following:[185]

baγsi-nar (IVLMMT 2. 164, 2.267, 5.40) 'teachers', formed on base *baγsi*
bodistv-nar (*BCA*) 'Bodhisattvas', formed on base *bodistv(a)* (borrowed < Uighur < Sogdian *pwtystβ* < Sanskrit *bodhisattva*; *HJAS* 17.94 [fn. 42]. Note that an *-ud* plural of this base is attested in *HP*).

[185] Stems ending in a velar apparently could not take *-nAr*; cf. *BCA bursang quwraγ-ud* 'monks and clergy', *ayaγqa tegimlig-üd* 'monks' (*HJAS* 17.100 ff [fn. 118, 125]).

šimnanca-nar (*BCA*) 'nuns' formed on **šimnanca* (< Uighur *šimnanč* < Sogdian, eventually from Skt. *śramaṇerī*; *HJAS* 17.66, 102 [fn. 128])
tngri-ner (*BCA*; also *tngri-s* as below) and *HP dėŋri-ner* 'gods', based on *SH teŋgeri/teŋgiri* (with no plural occurring)
ubasi-nar (*BCA*) 'lay disciples' (< Uighur, eventually < Skt. *upāsaka*; *HJAS* 17.117 [fn. 290])

This extension of *-nAr* must surely have represented, at the start, a conscious and subtle attempt on the part of early Buddhist proselytizers to instill into their Mongol audiences a sense of kinship with Buddhist teachers, nuns, Bodhisattvas, etc.

Despite such usage, which was continued in later stages of the language, a trace of the earlier restriction can be detected in Classical Mongolian, for example. There we find that a kinship-term base takes on a non-kinship sense when occurring before a plural ending which is wrong from the point of view of the SH: *eke-ner* is never 'mothers', but 'woman', and *aqa-s* is not 'elder brothers' but 'older people' (*GWM* § 261 [end], § 277).

One *-nAr* plural may perhaps not involve a neologism, though it does seem a possible exception to the above-stated restriction on use of this morpheme: *HY* has *haci köün* for 'grandson' (= *SMI* 1338 *ači köbegün*), and *köün haci-nar* for 'son[s] and grandchildren' (cf. *SMI* 1335, 1338 *köbegü-d ači-nar*). While *haci* can indeed refer — as in these texts — to a man's son's child, the essential meaning of the word probably did not include the semantic component 'lineal kin'. For in modern dialects reflexes of the form can refer to children not only of a man's son, but also to children of his own brother, or of his father's brother. (See pp. 331—35 of Herbert H. Vreeland: *Mongol community and kinship structure* [Human Relations Area Files. New Haven, 1957]; this multiple reference of modern *aca* is there reconstructed for the Mongol prototype kinship system of ego's patri-lineage.)

9.2 The rare ending *-nuud* (surely formed by analogy to the *-uud* ending used after n-stems) became more productive. Some examples are as follows.

From documents in the vertical script (where only back-hamonic *-nuγud* was written):

arslan-nuγud (*IVLMMT* 2.163) formed on base *arslan* 'lion'
burqan-nuγud (*BCA*, *SMI* 1346, etc.) formed on base *burqan* 'Buddha' (*HJAS* 15.92 [fn. 48], 17.91 [fn. 29])
buyan-nuγud (*BCA*; also HP) formed on *buyan* 'merit' (borrowed < Uighur < Skt. *puṇya*; ibid.)
čöl-nuγud (*SMI* 1362) formed on *čöl* 'desert'
qara-nuγud (*moγai*) 'black (snakes)' (*IVLMMT* 2.186), formed on base *qara* 'black'

sudur-nuγud (*SMI* 1346; also *HP*) formed on *sudur* 'sutra' (< Uighur *sudur* < Skt. *sūtra*; *HJAS* 17.94 [fn. 49])

višai-nuγud (*BCA*) formed on †*višai* 'objects of sense' (< Uighur < Skt. *viṣaya*; *HJAS* 17.104 [fn. 157])

From HP documents (Poppe 1957. 123—133 passim):

éši-nuud 'empresses' (for base see Poppe 1957. 114, where the form is romanized with *uu* rather than *üü*)

mandal-nuud 'mandalas' formed on base **mandal* (Skt. *maṇḍala*)

maqarač-nuud (read *maqaraŋ-nuud* by Poppe) 'maharajas' formed on a base unattested in MM (Skt. *mahārāja*)

purqan-nuud (as well as the expected *purqa-d*) formed on *purqan* 'Buddha'

šarir-nuud 'relics', formed on base borrowed from Skt. *śarīra*

zara-nuud 'moons', formed on base *zara* (= *SH sara*)

9.3 The *-n* plural lost whatever slight productivity it may have had at the time the *SH* was written, and began to be replaced by *-s*, particularly after stems ending in *i*:

asuri-s 'evil spirits' (*BCA*; base from Uighur *asuri* < Skt. *asura HJAS* 17.109 [fn. 204])

dakini-s 'imps' (*BCA*; base from Skt. *ḍākinī*, *HJAS* 17.99 [fn. 101])

darni-s or *tarni-s* 'magic formulae' (*BCS*, etc.; base from Skt. *dhāraṇī*, *HJAS* 17.99 [fn. 100])

erdini-s 'jewels' (*HP*, etc.; base from Skt. *ratna*)

gandarvi-s 'Gandarvas' (*BCA*; *HJAS* 17.109 [fn. 205])

körsi-s 'neighbors' (*HY*)

güri-s 'stones' (*Alexander Saga*) = *gürü-s* (*Aryun letter*; for discussion see Mostaert/Cleaves 1962. 46 [and fn. 161]). The base is *gürü* in *SH*, *güri* in MA.

nisvani-s 'passions' (*BCA*-3 [p. 1198, fn. 124])

qari-s 'foreign realms' (*SMI* 1346)

tngri-s 'gods' (*IVLMMT* 2.210 [*Mahākāli hymn*])

Also notable — probably as a survival rather than a neologism — is:

mayu-s (*BCA*) 'evil ones' formed on base *mayu* (= *SH mawu* rather than *mawuy*; § 8.2 (C) above). Cleaves in *HJAS* 17.90 (fn. 19) notes that *mayu-n* also occurs in *BCA*.

9.4 As the *-n* plural became rarer, double plurals such as *qonici-d* 'shepherds' and *quriqaci-d* 'lamb-herds' (§ 8.2 [h] above) became more common, paving the way for the later reinterpretation of the original *+ci-n* and *-Gci-n* plurals (with their bases) as variable n-stems. The *Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, for example, shows *saki-γči-d* 'protectors' (rather than the *saki-γči-n* found in *HP*); the text has ten such *-γči-d* plurals, but only one instance of *-γči-n*. And that same text shows both *qudaldu+ci-d* and *qudaldu+ci-n* for 'merchants'.

In the letter of Nūr ad-Din (*IVLMMT* 2.350) we find two more forms of this sort:

ayta+ci-d 'horse-herders'
bayurci-d 'cooks, stewards' (cf. § 3.1 above)

9.5 Certain loanwords formed plurals in *-Ud* rather than the expected *-d*:
bor-ud 'wines' (*IVLMMT* 2.269); formed on base *bor* (borrowed from Persian *bōr* [*TMEN* 1.2, § 780])
güŋgon-ud (and once *güŋgon-uud*) 'temples' (*HP*)
yaman-ud 'offices' (*SMI* 1348; *HJAS* 27.99 [fn. 9], *HJAS* 12.126 [fn. 215]; base from Chinese)

References and Abbrevations

(see also footnote 3 above)

BCA = the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, as presented in Francis W. Cleaves: "The *Bodistw-a awatar-un tayilbur* of 1312 by Čosgi odsir", *HJAS* 17. 1—129 (1954).
BCA-3 = Igor de Rachewiltz, "The third chapter of Chos-kyi 'od-zer's translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*: a tentative reconstruction" In *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata.*: *Serie Orientale Roma* 61, 3 1983. pp. 1173—1200.
Bese 1988 = Lajos Bese, "On some ethnic names in 13th century Inner-Asia" *AOH* 42. 17—42.
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de Rachewiltz 1972 = Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols. Uralic and Altaic Series* 121. Bloomington, Ind.
GWM = Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian.* Wiesbaden, 1954.
Haenisch 1950 = Erich Haenisch, "Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Mangḫol un Niuca Tobca'an". *Studia Orientalia* 14: 3 (Helsinki).
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.* References are to articles on Middle Mongolian topics written by Francis W. Cleaves, and published between 1949 and 1967.
HY = the *Hua-i I-yü*, as presented in Antoine Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol du Houa I I Iu de Houng-ou (1389)*, édité par Igor de Rachewiltz, avec l'assistance de Anthony Schönbaum. *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddiques* 18. Bruxelles, 1977.
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IVLMMT = Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Indices verborum linguae mongolicae momumentis traditorum.* Budapest, 1970—74.
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MA = N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab.* Moskva, 1938.

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Poucha 1956 = Pavel Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal.* Prague.

SQP = Antoine Montaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrete des Mongols.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1953. Reprinted (with new preface [pp. vii—xx], and continuous pagination) from *HJAS* 13—15.

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Street 1986 = John C. Street, *On the 14th century punctuation of Mongolian in the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih. Mongolia Society Occasional Papers*, No. 12. Bloomington, Ind.

TDB = the *Arban qoyar jokiyangyui*, as presented in Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, A Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara.* Wiesbaden, 1967.

TMEN = Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolischen Elemente im Neupersischen*, vols, 1—4. Wiesbaden, 1963—75.

Vietze (forthcoming) = Hans-Peter Vietze, "Hapaxlegomena auf γ- und q- in der 'Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen'."

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INCONGRUITY IN COORDINATION
(THE 177TH *ĀYA* OF *SŪRAT AL-BAQARA*)

KINGA DÉVÉNYI

1 *"Laysa 'l-birra an tuwallū wuǧūhakum qibala 'l-mašriqi wa'l-maġribi wa-lākinna 'l-birra man āmana bi-l-lāhi wa'l-yawmi 'l-āḫiri wa'l-malā'ikati wa'l-kutubi wa'l-nabiyyīna wa-ātā 'l-māla ʿalā ḥubbihi ḏawī 'l-qurbā wa'l-yatāmā wa'l-masākīna wa-ibna 'l-sabīli wa'l-sā'ilīna wa-fī 'l-riqābi wa-aqāma 'l-ṣalāta wa-ātā 'l-zaqāta* **wa'l-mūfūna** *bi-ʿahdihim iḏā ʿāhadū* **wa'l-ṣābirīna** *fī 'l-ba'sā'i wa'l-ḍarrā'i wa-ḥīna 'l-ba's ūlā'ika 'l-laḏīna ṣadaqū wa-ūlā'ika humu 'l-mutta-qūna"*[1]

In Q 2. 177 two grammatical problems are treated in grammars and other works concerned with the explanation of the *iʿrāb* and language of the Koran.[2] The first is the clash between the words *"birr"* and *"man"* in the phrase *wa-lākinna 'l-birra man āmana bi-l-lāhi* — and this one will not be treated here.[3] The second question that needs an explanation is the incongruity of the endings of two co-ordinated words: *al-mūfūna* and *al-ṣābirīna*.[4] Let us examine the explanations given by Sībawayhi and al-Farrā', the leading personalities of the so-called Basran and Kufan schools, concerning this question to see the differences and similarities in their syntactic analyses.

2

2.1 Sībawayhi dedicates a whole chapter of his *Kitāb* to words that take *naṣb* ending, because of praise (*bāb ma yantaṣib ʿalā 'l-taʿzīm wa'l-*

[1] The translation of Koranic verses is given according to the text of G. Sale. "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces in prayer towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence: these are they who are true, and these are they who fear God." (Sale, 18)

[2] Cf. Burton (1988), 182—3.

[3] On clash I mean that *man*, a word referring to persons, cannot normally relate to *birr*, which is an abstract noun. See more in al-Farrā', I. 104—5.

[4] I.e. *rafʿ* v. *naṣb*.

madḥ).[5] He also deals with the above Koranic verse in this chapter. This heading suggests a *purely* semantic explanation, which would not be congruent with Sībawayhi's well known precise and systematic way of *ʿāmil*-based explanations, where there is always a formal cause that generates endings. But let us see more closely what we find here by way of explanation.

There are other Koranic verses and several poems that are cited by Sībawayhi to illustrate this phenomenon.[6] In the case of Koranic verses it is sufficient for us to quote from his examples Q 4.162, where the ending of the word *wa'l-muqīmīna* is explained: "*lākini 'l-rāsiḫūna fī 'l-ʿilmi minhum wa'l-mu'minūna yu'minūma bimā unzila ilayka wa-mā unzila min qablika wa'l-muqīmīna 'l-ṣalāta wa'l-mu'tūna 'l-zaqāta wa'l-mu'minūna bi-l-lāhi wa'l-yawmi 'l āḫiri ūlā'ika sanuʿtīhim aǧran ʿazīman*".[7] And for the parallel explanation i.e. *naṣb* enging because of blame (*naṣb ʿalā-ḏamm*) Q 111.4, where the ending of the word *ḥammālata* is problematic: "*wa-mra'atuhu ḥammālata 'l-ḥaṭabi*".[8]

Sībawayhi seems to accept another ending: *rafʿ*, since he states:

— in the case of Q 162.4: "If the whole had been in *rafʿ* it would have been good (*ǧayyid*)."[9]

— in the case of Q 2.177: "If *al-ṣābirīna* had been in *rafʿ*, like the preceding clause, it would have been good",[10] and: "If you had made *ibtidā'* from [*al-ṣābirīna*] and had put it into *rafʿ* by *ibtidā'* it would have been good."[11]

He also states this because *ṣifa* and *ibtidā'* are the two structural possibilities here to avoid *naṣb ʿalā 'l-madḥ*, as he puts it in his introductory example:[12]

al-ḥamdu li-l-lāhi ahli 'l-ḥamd → *ṣifa*
al-ḥamdu li-l-lāhi ahlu 'l-ḥamd — *ibtidā'*
al-ḥamdu li-l-lāhi ahla 'l-ḥamd — *madḥ*

[5] Sībawayhi, II, 62—75.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 63.

[7] "But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge, and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before, and who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in God and the last day; unto these will we give a great reward." (Sale, 71).

[8] "And his wife also, bearing wood'." (Sale, 459).

[9] Sībawayhi, II, 63.

فلو كان كلّه رفعا كان جيّدا

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 64.

ولو رفع ﴿ الصابرين ﴾ على اول الكلام كان جيدا.

[11] *Ibid.*

ولو ابتدأته فرفعته على الابتداء كان جيدا.

[12] *Ibid.*, II, 62.

From these three structural possibilities only the third one (*madḥ*) needs further explanation. And in his explanation, Sībawayhi, though retaining the semantic line by adopting the expression *madḥ*, he also considers finding a *formal* generator of the *naṣb* ending in a verb that can never appear, i.e. that is always suppressed (*muḍmar*): "He made from it praise and eulogy, and put it into *naṣb* by a [suppressed] verb. As if he said: *aḏkuru ahla ḏāka*, and *aḏkuru 'l-muqīmīna*. But it [*aḏkuru*] is a verb, which cannot be used explicitly."[13]

2.2 Let us now turn to the text of al-Farrā' and examine his explanation of the appearance of *naṣb* at this place. al-Farrā' devotes almost six pages to this question,[14] and, just like Sībawayhi, he also finds the explanation of this ending in "*madḥ*" (praise), stating that Arabs do not like to have several — and too long — qualitative phrases (*ṣifa*) relating to one word. And so, if the first noun is in *rafʿ*, they put in *rafʿ* the others as well, but not all of them, some of them are put in *naṣb* to renew the praise or blame of the person or thing concerned. No mention of a suppressed verb is made.[15]

Both Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' quote poems and another Koranic verse as evidence of the same phenomenon. It might be interesting to note that both Koranic verses — the one under discussion, and the other quoted by our authors (Q 4.162) — have readings in *rafʿ*.[16] And that there is also a tradition traced back to ʿĀ'iša, who allegedly said that the *naṣb* ending of the word *wa-l-muqīmīna* in Q 4.162 is a spelling mistake (*ḫaṭa' min al-kātib*) or as it was termed later: *iʿmāl al-ḫikāya*. What is true for these Koranic places is true for the poetic *šawāhid* as well. The hesitation concerning the endings here might perhaps reflect the weakening, or non-existence of the instinctive feeling or knowledge "Sprachgefühl" for the *ʿarabiyya*. Or as Corriente puts it:

[13] *Ibid.*, II, 65—66.

فجعله ثناء وتعظيما ونصبه على الفعل،كأنه قال:أذكر أهل ذاك ،وأذكر المقيمين ،ولكنه فعل لايستعمل إظهاره.

[14] al-Farrā', I, 103—108.

[15] *Ibid.*, I. 105.

وانما نصبت لانها من صفة اسم واحد ،فكأنه ذهب به الى المدح ؛ والعرب تعترض من صفات الواحد اذا تطاولت بالمدح او الذم ،فيرفعون اذا كان الاسم رفعا وينصبون بعض المدح فكأنهم ينوون إخراج المنصوب بمدح مجدّد غير متبع لاول الكلام.

[16] II. 177 was read in *rafʿ* (i.e. *wa'l-ṣābirūna*) by: al-Ḥasan, al-Aʿmaš and Yaʿqūb, see Mukarram-ʿUmar, I, 139, and cf. in Sībawayhi, II, 64. fn. 1.; IV. 162 was read in *rafʿ* (i.e. *wa'l muqīmūna*) by Ibn Ǧubayr, ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd, al-Ǧahdarī, ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar, Mālik ibn Dīnār, al-Aʿmaš, Yūnus, Abu ʿAmr, ʿĀṣim, al-Ḥasan and it appeared in this form in the copies of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy, see Mukarram-ʿUmar, II, 180, and cf. Sībawayhi, II, 63. fn. 3.

"When strict positional rules were violated . . ., the grammarians were at a loss to explain the matter; . . . In a long sentence, the proper relations holding between constituents could easily become blurred in this positional system and inconsistencies did take place in poetry and Qur'ān, while the grammarians had a hard time to justify by introducing artificial and incongruent explanation . . ."[17]

It may be interesting to note that according to what we can read in the *Maʿānī* of al-Farrā', al-Kisā'ī[18] — one of his masters, and the so-called founder of the Kufan school — did not explain the ending of *al-muqīmīna* in Q 4.162 by *naṣb ʿalā 'l-madḥ*.[19] In al-Kisā'ī's analysis this word is in *ḫafḍ*, since it is connected (*yuraddu*) to the phrase: *binā unzila ilayka wa-mā unzila min qablika*. al-Kisā'ī seems to have applied explanation by *madḥ* if the sentence has been completed with a predicate (*kalām tāmm*). Which is not the case here. Disregarding the fact whether we accept the meaning of the *āya* in the explanation of al-Kisā'ī, we cannot deny it to be more syntactic-based than that of al-Farrā's, al-Farrā' may have accepted the very much ad hoc explanation (*madḥ*) at this place under the influence of his other master, Yūnus,[20] who is much referred to by Sībawayhi as well,[21] in the chapter he devoted to *naṣb ʿalā 'l-madḥ*. al-Farrā's preference for Yūnus's opinion at this point reinforces the view of al-Anṣārī,[22] according to which al-Farrā' was not very much influenced by the grammatical views of al-Kisā'ī, but rather by those of Yūnus.

2.3 Whether this ad hoc term was the invention of Yūnus, the free-thinker (as al-Anṣārī puts it)[23] we cannot decide, but its non-acceptance by al-Kisā'ī and its acceptance by al-Farrā' show that we cannot speak of a unified Kufan school.[24] When in the *Inṣāf* of al-Anbārī (d.1181) we read that "in the Kufan opinion", etc., it is perhaps to be traced back to al-Kisā'ī. It is evidently so in the question under discussion. We find in the *Inṣāf* the above quoted Koranic passages and some of the *šawāhid* in the chapter on the possibility of apposition after the genitive pronoun.[25] In this chapter we find that the Kufans allowed it, while according to the Basrans it is not permissible.[26] One of the controversial Koranic places quoted as evidence is

[17] Corriente, 90—1.

[18] Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisā'ī (d. 805). He may have dealt with this and similar problems in his no longer extant *Maʿānūl-Qur'ān*. Cf. Sezgin, IX, 127 ff.

[19] al-Farrā', I, 107.

[20] Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (d. 798), see al-Anṣārī, 132—7.

[21] Sībawayhi, II, 65, 67, and Troupeau 230—1.

[22] al-Anṣārī, 124 ff, esp. 132—6.

[23] *Ibid.*, 338 ff.

[24] Cf. al-Anṣārī, 349 ff, Goldziher (1878) 348 ff.

[25] al-Anbārī, *mas'ala* 65, II, 463—74.

[26] *Ibid.*, II, 463.

the Q 4.162: *wa'l-muqīmīna*.[27] It is allegedly analyzed by the Kufans as *ḫafḍ* being in apposition to the *kāf* in *ilayka*. This is a similar analysis to that of al-Kisā'ī, mentioned above, both reminding us of the *muǧāwara*-type explanation,[28] which is also a favourite technique of these grammarians in explaining structures that are difficult to explain if one remains on the surface level.[29]

According to al-Anbārī,[30] the Basrans were those, who operating with the term *al-madḥ* refuted this explanation of the ending of *al-muqīmīna* citing parallel occurrences in the Koran (2.177) and quoting poems. This might confirm our view that *naṣb ʿalā 'l-madḥ* was either the idea of Yūnus or of his contemporaries, who propagated this idea, and indeed, it became accepted by Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' alike. But the acceptance of this idea did not mean the similarity of analysis as we had the opportunity to see it.

2.4 Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' alike, mention indefinite structures when *naṣb* is used, because of praise or blame.[31] From Sībawayhi it is an astonishing allowance, because he emphasized in a previous passage[32] that praise and blame can only be referred to by a simple *naṣb*, without mentioning the verb, because the persons involved are well known to the hearers. They both quote[33] the same line from all-Huḏalī's poem:

wa-ya'wī ilā niswatin bā'isātin
wa-šuʿṯan marāḍiʿa miṯli 'l-saʿālī[34]

In their explanations they follow what has been stated above, i.e. al-Farrā' only states[35] that in this case there is an intention of blame (*niyyat al-ḏamm*), while Sībawayhi explains[36] the structure with the suppressed verb *aḏkuru*. Both agree that the word in question (*šuʿṯ*) can also be in the genitive (*ḫafḍ*) by being in apposition to the beginning of the sentence.

3 What Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' have in common is:

— the problem to be explained,
— the key-word of explanation (*naṣb ʿalā 'l-madḥ*),
— some of the *šawāhid*; the Koranic places,
— other possible endings (their acceptance and explanation).

[27] *Ibid.*, Cf. Burton (1988), 186—8.

[28] For the analysis of this term see Dévényi (1987—88).

[29] This differentiates the so-called Kufan behaviour exemplified by al-Kisā'ī and the explanations we find in the *Maʿānī* of al-Farrā', who looked for semantical explanations beyond the simple surface structure.

[30] al-Anbārī, II, 466 ff.

[31] al-Farrā', I, 108, Sībawayhi, II. 66.

[32] Sībawayhi, II, 65.

[33] al-Farrā', I, 108, Sībawayhi, II. 66.

[34] *Ibid.* "And be seeks refuge at unfortunate women * * Having unkempt hair, wet nurses, like the demons."

[35] al-Farrā', I. 108—9.

[36] Sībawayhi, II. 66.

What is different in them is:

— what they accept as an explanation.

In Sībawayhi's more abstract syntax we find the explanation of a syntactic phenomenon by a derivation from another, more general or primary or in a sense "deeper", syntactic category.

In the *Maʿānī* of al-Farrā' there is a more direct connection between semantic and syntactic levels, without the supposition of intermediary syntactic levels and categories.

Though al-Farrā' in his analysis of the above-mentioned places does not mean that he would not use the term *muḍmar*. On the contrary, he makes quite a frequent use of it, but not everywhere where the more sophisticated Sībawayhi has recourse to it. If we examine al-Farrā's text we find that he uses the terms *iḍmār* and *muḍmar* in two cases: first, if there is a reading, usually that of Ibn al-Masʿūd, which contains the otherwise suppressed word. This is the case for example in Q 2.217,[37] where the preposition *ʿan* is to be added. The second instance where we encounter these terms in the *Maʿānī* is when the use of the suppressed word is connected to al-Farrā's usage of Arabic.[38] We can find and example of it in Q 2.28[39] or in Q 4.90,[40] where *qad* is considered to be suppressed. In both cases, however, al-Farrā' feels the need of interpolating a concrete word and not a category that works as a

[37] al-Farrā', I. 141. Q II. 217: "They will ask thee concerning the sacred month *whether they may* war therein." (Sale, 22).

﴿ ويسئلونك عن الشهرِ الحرامِ [عن] قتالٍ فيه ﴾

[38] Cf. al-Farrā', I, 24. It becomes clear that for al-Farrā' the need to imply *qad* at this place is not based on logical reasoning, but on his linguistic feelings towards Arabic.

[39] *Ibid.*, I, 23—4.; Q II. 28 "How is it that ye believe not in God? Since you were dead, and he gave you life; . . ." (Sale, 4).

﴿ كيف تكفرون بالله و [قد] كنتم أمواتا ﴾

[40] *Ibid.*, I, 24 and 281—2.; Q IV. 90 "or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people" (Sale, 64).

﴿ أو جاءكم [قد] حصرت صدورهم ﴾

regent as is often the case in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*.[41] Mention must also be made here of the complete disuse or lack of the term *taqdīr* from the *Maʿānī*.[42] It may be interesting that later grammarians, such as al-Zaǧǧāǧī,[43] do use at this place the term *taqdīr*.[44] This may perhaps suggest a terminological shift.

[41] See e.g. Sībawayhi, II. 262—3, etc. In this respect it seems to me very illuminating to quote a famous historical anecdote on the meeting of al-Farrā' and al-Ǧarmī (Ḍayf, 112—3):

"اجتمع أبو عمر الجرمي وأبو زكريا يحيى بن زياد الفراء، فقال الفراء للجرمي: أخبرني عن قولهم: زيد منطلق لم رفعوا زيداً؟ فقال له الجرمي: بالابتداء، فقال له الفراء: وما معنى الابتداء؟ فقال الجرمي: تعريته من العوامل اللفظية، قال له الفراء: فأظهره، فقال: هذا معنى لايظهر، يريد أنه عامل معنوي، قال له الفراء: فمثّله، قال الجرمي: لا يتمثل، قال الفراء: ما رأيت كاليوم عاملا لا يظهر ولا يتمثل. فقال الجرمي: أخبرني عن قولهم: زيد ضربته بم رفعتم زيداً؟ قال الفراء: بالهاء العائدة على زيد (لان الخبر عنده اذا لم يكن اسما رفع المبتدأ الضمير المتصل بالفعل). فقال الجرمي: الهاء اسم فكيف يرفع الاسم؟ فقال الفراء: نحن لا نبالي من ذلك فانا نجعل كل واحد من المبتدأ والخبر عاملا في صاحبه في نحو زيد منطلق. فقال له الجرمي: يجوز أن يكون كذلك في زيد منطلق، لان كل واحد من الاسمين مرفوع في نفسه، فجاز أن يرفع الاخر، واما الهاء في ضربته فهي في محل نصب فكيف ترفع الاسم؟ (يريد أن فاقد الشيء لا يعطيه لغيره). فقال الفراء: لم نرفعه به وانما رفعناه بالعائد (أي الضمير بصفته عائدا عليه لا بصفته منصوبا). فقال له الجرمي: وما العائد؟ فقال الفراء: معنى، فقال الجرمي: أظهره فقال لا يظهر، فقال له مثله، فقال: لا يتمثل. فقال له الجرمي: لقد وقعت فيما فررت منه". وبذلك أسكته.

[42] Whereas *iḍmār* is used quite frequently by al-Farrā', the *Maʿānī* can be characterised by the complete disuse of the technique and term *taqdīr*. When this word appears in the *Maʿānī* it is not used as a linguistic term, but as a concrete quotation rom the Koran. About the very different usage found in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* see Troupeau (1976) 167.

The occurrences of the word *taqdīr* in the *Maʿānī*: *taqdīr* (4)
vol. 1. p. 458. 1.4 Q 10.5
vol. 1. p. 458. 1.4 Q 10.5
vol. 2. p. 359. 1.15 Q 34.18
vol. 3. p. 223. 1.10 Q 77.16—17
taqdīran (1)
vol. 3. p. 217. 1.8 Q 76.16

[43] al-Zaǧǧāǧī, 28—9.

[44] There is a need for further research as to the change in the use of this term throughout Arabic grammar-writing.

The syntactic explanation in the *Maʿānī* is not rounded out as it was by Sībawayhi, who — beside the direct semantic cause — has found a governing verb. al-Farrā' is satisfied here with the semantic part of the explanation.

In conclusion: I have chosen this Koranic verse for demonstrating different syntactic approaches, mainly those of Sībawayhi and al-Farrā'. It seemed to me quite appropriate for this purpose, because its structure is transparent, it is interpreted semantically unanimously and besides, the type of interpretation, i.e. the direct reference to a semantic entity during syntactic analysis, can be considered peculiar and rare in Arabic grammar.

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VESTIGES LINGUISTIQUES TURCS-OSMANLIS EN ROUMAIN

EMIL SUCIU (Bucureşti)

1. Par suite des grandes conquêtes ottomanes dans la Péninsule Balkanique, les Roumains sont entrés en contact, vers la fin du XIVe siècle, avec les Turcs. Le turc-osmanli a exercé une influence considérable sur le roumain pendant presque cinq siècles — jusque vers le milieu du XIXe siècle —, au cours desquels environ 2500 mots turcs et, par leur intermédiaire, quelques suffixes et éléments de composition ont été empruntés par le roumain[1]. Si une bonne partie des mots d'emprunt reflètent fidèlement le phonétisme et le sémantisme de leurs étymons, il y a quelques cas de différences importantes entre les mots d'emprunt roumains et les mots-souche turcs-osmanlis. Ces différences sont dues soit aux modifications survenues dans le processus de l'emprunt ou aux évolutions ultérieures sur terrain roumain, soit aux changements phonétiques et sémantiques qui ont eu lieu ultérieurement en turc de Turquie.

C'étaient en effet le vieil-osmanli et puis le moyen-osmanli qui ont constitué la source des emprunts turcs du roumain. Grâce aux évolutions phonétiques et sémantiques, nombre de mots turcs-osmanlis (autochtones, d'origine arabe et persane, ou d'autres origines) ont connu, au cours des siècles, d'importants changements. Ce qui plus est, d'entre les nombreux doublets formels de certains mots archaïques, le turc littéraire moderne a hérité d'habitude une forme unique de chaque terme. Il n'est pas donc surprenant que le roumain a souvent emprunté des formes et des significations qui ne sont plus aujourd'hui usuelles et n'apparaissent plus dans les sources lexicographiques turques modernes; quelques-unes de ces formes et significations ne sont attestées pas même dans les dictionnaires plus anciens et dans les monuments linguistiques turcs en écriture arabe[2] ou en d'autres alphabets (« textes transcrits »). D'autant plus précieux sont les vestiges de la langue turque-osmanlie de ses périodes vieille et moyenne qui ont survécu dans les mots d'emprunt

[1] Voir notre article Le vocabulaire roumain actuel d'origine turque-osmanlie, dans la *Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes*, Tome XXIV (1986), N° 4, pp. 373—381.

[2] Dans quelques cas, c'est l'écriture arabe qui empêche l'identification des phonétismes vieils-osmanlis réels.

des langues sud-est-européennes. Les témoignages roumains attestent l'existence de certains phonétismes et sémantismes osmanlis archaïques (littéraires ou populaires, parfois peut-être dialectaux), en constituant un important moyen de recherche pour l'histoire du turc-osmanli. Les reconstructions que nous allons présenter ci-dessous sont fréquemment soutenues par le témoignage d'autres langues qui ont des mots d'emprunt d'origine turque; nous allons signaler bien sûr seulement les formes et les significations de ces langues confirmant la reconstruction en question.

2. Phonétismes archaïques

Le roumain atteste, dans quelques cas, des phonétismes vieils-osmanlis[3] inexistants dans les sources lexicographiques et dans les monuments linguistiques turcs. On peut reconstruire, sur la foi des mots d'emprunt du roumain, les formes étymologiques turques-osmanlies réelles. La méthode est doublement avantageuse: elle permet la reconstruction des variantes disparues de certains mots turcs, et écarte, en même temps, l'hypothèse des éventuelles évolutions sur le terrain de la langue roumaine, ainsi que celle de l'emprunt par l'intermédiaire d'autres langues.

On peut reconstituer, sur la foi des témoignages du roumain, les variantes osmanlies archaïques suivantes[4]:

v.-osm. ***afuzali** (mod. *hafızali*) 'une variété de raisin' > roum. *afuz-ali* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***asmačuk** (mod. *asmacık*) 'cerfeuil' > roum. *asmaciuc* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***bakčevan** (mod. *bahçıvan*) 'jardinier, maraicher, horticulteur' > roum. *baccevan* 'id.'; cf. v.-osm. *bakča* 'jardin' (mod. *bahçe*);

v.-osm. ***bayur** (mod. *bayır*) 'colline' > roum. *baiur* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***buzduγan** (~ *buzdïγan*[5]; mod. *bozdoğan*) 'massue' > roum. *buzdugan* 'id.'; cf. bg. *bozdugan*, scr. *buzdùhan*, ngr. *μπουζντουγάν*, hongr. *buzdogány*[6];

[3] Vu que ce n'est que rarement qu'on peut établir rigoureusement le « moment » de l'emprunt d'un mot ou de l'autre, nous ne distinguons pas, dans ce qui suit, le vieil-osmanli de la période moyenne de la langue turque de Turquie.

[4] La signification des abréviations que nous allons employer est la suivante: alb. = albanais; bg. = bulgare; hongr. = hongrois; mod. = turc moderne de Turquie; ngr. = néogrec; roum. = roumain; scr. = serbo-croate; tc. = turc-osmanli; v.-osm. = vieil-osmanli (ou moyen-osmanli).

[5] Voir Meninski (François de Mesgnien), *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae.* Vienne, 1680.

[6] Les données hongroises sont puisées dans l'ouvrage de Suzanne Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVII siècles. Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise.* Budapest, 1973.

v.-osm. ***bülük** ou même ***buluk** (mod. *bölük*) 'compagnie de janissaires' > roum. *buluc* 'id.'; 'masse, foule; en masse'; cf. scr. *buluk*, ngr. *μπουλούκι*, alb. *bylýk*, hongr. *buluk*;

v.-osm. ***čïbïk** (~ *čïbuk*[7]; mod. *çubuk*) 'tuyau de pipe' > roum. *cibic* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***furda** (mod. *hurda*) 'miette; mercerie' > roum. *furda* 'id.'; cf. bg. *furdá*, scr. *fùrda*;

v.-osm. ***ireiz** ou ***ereiz** (mod. *reis*) 'commandant; capitaine d'un navire' > roum. *ereiz* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *irez*;

v.-osm. ***kayuš** (mod. *kayış*) 'courroie, sangle' > roum. *caiuș* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***metah** (mod. *meta* ~ *matah*) 'marchandise; objet, chose' > roum. *metah* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***muskal** (mod. *mıskal*) 'flûte de Pan' > roum. *muscal* 'id.';

v.-osm. ***mutafaraka** (mod. *müteferrika*) 'détachement de cavaliers qui escortait le Sultan' > roum. *mutafaraca* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *mutafaraka*;

v.-osm. ***muzur aγa** (~ *muhzur aγa*[8]; mod. *muhzır ağa*) 'commandant d'une compagnie de janissaires' > roum. *muzur-aga* 'id.'; cf. scr. *mùzur*, hongr. *muzur aga*;

v.-osm. ***payk** (mod. *peyk*) 'valet de pied, messager' > roum. *paic* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *pajk*;

v.-osm. ***puštlama** 'pédéraste' (?) (< ***puštla-** 'pratiquer la pédérastie' < *pušt* 'pédéraste'; mod. seulement *puşt*) > roum. *puşlama* 'fripouille, voyou'[9];

v.-osm. ***sarhat** (mod. *serhat*) 'frontière' > roum. *sarhat* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *szarhát*;

v.-osm. ***sïnduk** (~ *sanduk*[10], *sunduk*[11]; mod. *sandık*) 'caisse' > roum. *sînduc* 'id.'; cf. ngr. *σεντούκι*, alb. *sëndúk*;

v.-osm. ***talhïs** (~ *talhiz*[12]; mod. *telhis*) 'rapport d'un ministre ottoman' > roum. *talhîș* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *talesz*;

[7] Voir *XIII. Yüzyıldan Günümüze kadar Kitaplardan Toplanmış Tanıklarıyle Tarama Sözlüğü*. I—IV. Istanbul—Ankara, 1943—1957; *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle Yazılmış Kitaplardan Toplanan Tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü*. I—VIII. Ankara, 1963—1975.

[8] Voir M. de M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, III, Paris, 1820, p. 471.

[9] Explication qui nous a été suggérée par M. Vladimir Drimba.

[10] Voir H. Megiser, *Institutiones Linguae Turcicae Libri Quator*. Leipzig, 1612. Pars IV: *Dictionarium Latino-turcicum et Turcico-latinum*; J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*. I—II. Leipzig, 1866—1876; A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français. Supplément aux dictionnaires publiés jusqu'à ce jour*. I—II. Paris, 1881—1886.

[11] Voir Meninski, *op. cit.*, et James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. New Impression. Constantinople, 1921.

[12] Voir G. Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transcriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány*. Budapest, 1973 (cité ap. Suzanne Kakuk, *op. cit.*, p. 390).

v.-osm. ***temassuk** (mod. *temessük*) 'quittance' > roum. *temasuc* 'id.'; cf. scr. *temasuć*.

Les phonétismes osmanlis archaïques reconstitués à l'aide des mots d'emprunt du roumain reflètent quelques particularités du vieil-osmanli qui le distinguent de la langue turque moderne, comme suit:

— Dans le domaine du vocalisme: a) inconséquences en ce qui concerne l'harmonie vocalique (**afuzali, *asmačuk, *bayur, *kayuš, *sïnduk*); b) conservation de divers vocalismes étymologiques qui ont été ultérieurement modifiés, par délabialisation (**muskal*), par dissimilation vocalique (**sarhat*), par palatalisation (**payk*) ou par changement de la classe vocalique (**mutafaraka, *talhïs, *temassuk*); c) changements vocaliques qui ne se sont pas perpétués dans le turc moderne: assimilation (**bülük, *muzur ayа*), délabialisation (**čïbïk*), prothèse (**ireiz* ou **ereiz*).

— Dans le domaine du consonantisme: a) l'existence de la consonne vieille-osmanlie *γ* (**buzduγan*); b) quelques changements accidentels qui ne se sont pas perpétués dans le turc moderne: assimilation (**bakčevan*), labialisation (**furda*), la chute de *h* (**afuzali, *muzur ayа*).

Il faut remarquer que certaines formes que nous venons de reconstituer concordent avec les reconstructions faites par Suzanne Kakuk[13] à l'aide des données hongroises: **mutafaraka, *muzur ayа, *payk, *talhïs.*

3. Sémantismes archaïques

Certaines significations des termes vieils-osmanlis sont disparues sans être attestées dans les dictionnaires ou dans les monuments de la langue turque-osmanlie, tandis que les termes respectifs ont survécu avec d'autres sens en turc moderne. Quelques sémantismes archaïques peuvent être reconstitués à l'aide des données roumaines:

v.-osm. **baγlama** *'charnière, gond' > roum. *balama* ~ *baglama* 'id.'; cf. scr. *baglama* 'id'. (tc. mod. *bağlama* 'action de lier, de nouer; noeud; traverse');

v.-osm. **birlik** *'as (au jeu de cartes)' > roum. *birlic* 'id.' (tc. mod. *birlik* 'unité; union, ligue'; *birli* 'as');

v.-osm. **borazan** ~ **borozan** ~ **boruzen** *'grand bateau' > roum. *bolozan* ~ *borozan* 'id.'; cf. hongr. *borozan* 'id.' (tc. mod. *boruzen* ~ *boruzan* 'trompette');

v.-osm. **kušak** *'ais, poutre' > roum. *cușac* 'id.'; cf. scr. *kušak* 'id.' (tc. mod. *kuşak* 'ceinture; tasseau; génération; zone');

[13] *Op. cit.*

v.-osm. **manğïnïk** ~ **manğïlïk** *'levier' > roum. *mangealîc* 'id.' (tc. mod. *mancınık* 'catapulte; dévidoir');

v.-osm. **pazvat** ~ **pazvend** *'entraves' > roum. *pazvat* ~ *pazvant* 'id.' (tc. mod. *pazıbent* 'brassard; talisman');

v.-osm. **sanğak** *'gouverneur d'un district ottoman' > roum. *sangeac* 'id.'; cf. scr. *sàndžak*, hongr. *szandzsák* 'id.' (tc. mod. *sancak* 'étendard; district d'une province').

Les significations archaïques de ces termes vieils-osmanlis, reconstituées à l'aide des données roumaines, se sont perdues par suite de la disparition des réalités dénommées (*borazan* ~ *borozan* ~ *boruzen*, *manğïnïk* ~ *manğïlïk*, *sanğak*) ou de l'élimination d'un sens spécial des termes qui avaient aussi une signification plus générale et leur remplacement par d'autres termes (*baylama*, aujourd'hui *reze*; *birlik*, aujourd'hui *bey* ou *birli*; *kušak*, aujourd'hui *kiriş* ou *tomruk*; *pazvat*, aujourd'hui *bukağı* ou *köstek*).

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Les divers phonétismes et sémantismes vieils-osmanlis ou osmanlis moyens qui sont disparus du turc moderne, relevés à l'aide des données offertes par les mots roumains empruntés au turc, constituent tant d'arguments pour l'intensification des recherches en vue d'identifier les vestiges linguistiques osmanlis conservés dans les langues sud-est-européennes.

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EKE BOLUI'SAN: A NOTE ON THE COLOPHON TO THE *BOLOR ERIKE*

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(Hawaii)

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Tibetan Buddhism on Mongolian historical writing. With the notable and important exception of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, virtually every pre-modern Mongolian historical work is permeated by Tibetan Buddhist concepts, symbols, and historical categories. The *Bolor Erike*, a historical chronicle composed in the late 18th century by the Mongolian nobleman Rasipungsuγ,[1] is no exception. As the Reverend Antoine Mostaert noted in his introduction to the text, Rasipungsuγ — despite the undeniable influence of Chinese historiography on his work — was both a devoted Buddhist and a Mongolian nationalist at heart.[2] Thus it is not surprising that his history, including its colophon, should contain a number of references to Mongolian (and ultimately Tibetan) Buddhist ideas.

Though by now many of the basic ideas of Tibetan Buddhism are well known to scholars in the field of Mongolian language and literature, a number of the more obscure points still evade us. As Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist writings become more accessible in scholarly translations, however, many of these points are gradually being illuminated. The present study is offered as a small contribution to an understanding of the Buddhist worldview that comprises the background of much of Mongolian historiography.

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The colophon to the *Bolor Erike*, in which Rasipungsuγ summarizes both the contents of his history and his own motives for writing it, has long been recognized as a work of considerable importance in itself. In addition to studies

[1] For an introduction to the text together with two manuscripts in facsimile see *Bolor Erike: Mongolian Chronicle by Rasipungsuγ with a Critical Introduction* by Antoine Mostaert and an *Editor's Foreword* by Francis Woodman Cleaves, = *Scripta Mongolica III* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). The author's name represents the Mongolian pronunciation of the Tibetan *bKra-shis phun-tshogs*, literally "mass of blessings".

[2] See Mostaert, *Bolor Erike*, Part I, p. 31.

by W. Heissig[3] and A. Mostaert,[4] this colophon has been the subject of a detailed analysis (including a romanized text and translation) by F. W. Cleaves.[5] As Cleaves has noted in his study, however,[6] the colophon contains a number of obscure allusion to Buddhist concepts which have yet to be elucidated.

One of the more perplexing of these references occurs in the colophon's final verse:[7]

eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan bükün-ni. üledegel ügegüi-e.
emgeniltü orčilang-un ǰobalang-ača masida getülgeged.
endegürel ügei degedü kölgen-nü sayiqan šatu-bar uduridču
erkin qamuγ-yi [sic] *medegči-yin qutuγ-tur türgen-e kürkü*
[var: *kürgekü*] *boltuγai*::

As translated by Cleaves,[8] these lines read:

Having caused all living beings who have become mothers — all — without exception
To cross exceedingly from the tormenting sufferings of the cycle,
Leading [them] by [means of] the excellent stairway of the impeccable supreme vehicle,
Let one cause [them] to attain[9] swiftly unto the felicity of the supreme *Qamuγ-yi medegči.*

There is no doubt that this English translation represents an accurate, literal rendering of the Mongolian. What is not so clear, however, is the meaning of the expression "all living beings who have become mothers" (*eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan*).

The context in which this expression occurs makes its interpretation all the more difficult. In the closing lines of his colophon Rasipungsuγ expresses his hope that other living beings might attain a variety of benefits, including the attainment of the ultimate goal of Buddhahood. Such sentiments are

[3] "*Bolor Erike 'Eine Kette aus Bergkristallen': Eine mongolische Chronik der Kienlung-Zeit von Rasipungsuγ (1774/75) Literaturhistorisch untersucht*" von Walther Heissig, *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph X (Peiping, 1946).

[4] See Mostaert, *Bolor Erike*, Part I, pp. 7—10.

[5] "The Colophon to the *Bolor Erike*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 28 (1968), pp. 5—37.

[6] Cleaves, "Colophon", p. 6.

[7] Transcribed in Cleaves, "Colophon", p. 10. Since the readings of the Grønbech manuscript appear to be uniformly more accurate than those of the Mostaert copy (which served as the base text for the edition by Cleaves), I have adopted them here in all cases where other manuscripts diverge. See also note 49 below.

[8] Cleaves, "Colophon", p. 16.

[9] Note that Cleaves' translation is based on the reading of the Mostaert Manuscript, which has the causative form *kürgekü* instead of the intransitive *kürkü* found in other versions.

quite common in Buddhist texts, where various pious actions (including the composing or copying of the text itself) are seen as producing religious merit which can then be transferred to other sentient beings.[10] If such generosity is the apparent motive, however, why should Rasipungsuγ limit his good wishes to *only* those sentient beings "who have become mothers"?

Were his expression merely an isolated occurrence, we might be tempted to ascribe it to some idiosyncrancy on the part of Rasipungsuγ himself. Parallel expression are, however, extremely common in other Mongolian texts. At the beginning of the colophon to Toyin guisi's Mongolian translation of the *Diamond Sūtra* (recently edited and translated by A. Sárközi),[11] for example, we find the following lines:

Gčodba oro-šiba : eke qamuγ amitan-u tusa bolutuγai [sic]:[12]

As translated by Sárközi, this passage reads:

Vajracchedikā is contained [herein]. Let it be useful to all the living beings that became mothers.[13]

A somewhat more elaborate version of the same sentiment is expressed in the colophon to the entire printed Mongolian Kanjur.[14]

eldeb gün delgerenggüi sudur tarnis-i sonosun sedkin bisilγaγsan-u küčün-iyer :
eke boluγsan [61r] *qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada saγad ügegüi-e :*
erkin yaǰar mör-en [xyl: *mör-ün*[15]] *qamuγ erdem-üd-i tegüskeǰü bür-ün :*
erketü burqan-u qutuγ-i türgen-e olqu boltuγai :

In English this may be rendered as:

By virtue (lit. "strength") of having listened to, thought [about], and revered various profound and extensive *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs*,
For the benefit of all sentient beings who have become mother[s],

[10] On the "transfer of merit" in Buddhist literature see Yuichi Kajiyma, "Transfer and Transformation of Merits" (unpublished paper).

[11] The text is edited and translated in Alice Sárközi, "Toyin guisi's Mongol *Vajracchedikā*", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest) vol. 27 (1972), pp. 43–102.

[12] Sárközi, "Toyin guisi", p. 53 [1a].

[13] Sárközi, "Toyin guisi", p. 76 [1a]. Citing an entry in Joseph Étienne Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol–russe–français*, 3 vols. (Kazan, 1844–49; reprinted Tientsin, 1941), I. 229a, Sárközi suggests that "*Eke qamuγ amitan* here stands for expression *eke boluγsan amitan* «être [sic] qui sont devenus les mères»" (p. 76, n. 26).

[14] See L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰour mongole imprîmé*, Vol. I: *Catalogue* (Budapest: Société Kőrösi Csoma, 1942–44), p. 338.

[15] As pointed out by Cleaves ("Colophon", p. 35, n. 162), the reading *mör-ün* ("of the path") in the xylograph transcribed by Ligeti (see above, n. 14) should probably be corrected to read *mör-en* ("large river or lake"; cf. Ferdinand D. Lessing, ed., *Mongolian–English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. [Bloomington, IN, The Mongolia Society, 1973], p. 548b).

Perfecting without delay[16] all the distinguished qualities [found on] land and sea.[17]
May they speedily obtain the blessed state[18] of [being] a powerful Buddha.

A number of similar passages, all containing the core elements *eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan* ("all beings who have become mother[s]"), have been drawn by Cleaves from the colophons assembled in W. Heissig's *Mongolische Handschriften*.[19] In addition to these, we may note an interesting variant found in the colophon to the *Vajracchedikā* translation of Toyin guisi, as transcribed by A. Sárközi:

ene buyan-u küčün-iyer :
ečige eke boluγsan ǰirγuγan ǰüil amitan-u :
enelge nisvanis-un qarangγus-i geyigülüged :
erkin degedü včir-a dar-a-yin qutuγ-i olqu boltuγai :[20]

In English this may be rendered as:

By the power of this merit[orious deed],
Having illuminated the obscurations [caused by[21]] the *kleśa*-afflictions
Of the six kinds of beings[22] who have become father[s] and mother[s],

[16] I have taken the adverbial phrase *sayad ügegüi-e* ("without delay, without obstruction") in line 2 as modifying the verb *tegüskeǰü* ("perfecting, fulfilling") in line 3.

[17] I have taken the term *erkin* ("distinguished, best, exalted"; cf. Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 330b) as a modifier of *erdem* (in the sense of "virtue, merit, [good] quality", Lessing 320a) rather than of *yaǰar mör-en*. For the latter interpretation cf. the translation given in Cleaves, "The Colophon", p. 36, n. 162. Note that the verse structure requires that the line begin with a word in initial *e-*, which perhaps resulted in the word *erkin* appearing at a slight remove from the term it modifies.

[18] "Blessed state" translates Mo. *qutuγ*. For a discussion of this term in the present context see below, note 54.

[19] Walther Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1961), cited in Cleaves, "Colophon", p. 36, n. 168.

[20] Sárközi, "Toyin guisi", p. 76.

[21] Lit., "the darknesses of the *kleśa*-afflictions (acc.)" (in Sárközi's transcription, *enelge nisvanis-un qarangγus-i*). I have taken the word *nisvanis* as parallel to *enelge*, a word whose presence is unnecessary to the sense and may be explained by the requirements of the poetic structure.

[22] The six kinds of beings (*ǰirγuγan ǰüil amitan*) are the gods, asuras ("jealous gods"), human beings, pretas ("hungry ghosts"), animals, and hell-beings. On these see Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 68—70, 110—111; and Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, Vol. 2 (Paris/Hanoi: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1953), §§2266—2272. It is interesting to note that while the Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist texts usually refer to six realms of sentient beings, the Uighur Turkish texts generally name only five (Uig. *biš ažun tïnlïγ-lar*), omitting the realm of the asuras from the list. (See for example Şinasi Tekin, *Maitrisimit nom bitig: Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāşika-Schule* [Berlin: Akademie Berlag, 1980], vol. I, pp. 31—32 [folio 3r,

May they obtain the blessed state of [being] a powerful, supreme Vajradhara![23]

Here both fathers and mothers are mentioned, and the tantric title Vajradhara (lit. "holder of the Vajra") is used in place of the more general "Buddha" as the goal of Buddhist practice. The general intention of the passage, however, is clearly the same.

On the basis of the passages cited above it is evident that the expression *eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan* occurs quite frequently in Mongolian literature, most particularly in colophons, where the normal context is the expression of the writer's desire to transfer the merit which he has produced (by having translated, copied, or commissioned a text) to other sentient beings. Moreover, the very cryptic nature of this expression (for in none of the instances cited does the author explain or expand on any of its components) suggests that this concept was so well known to the Mongolian reader that it needed no further elaboration.

To return to the problem posed above, then, why — if these writers are generously conveying the merit of their good deeds to other sentient beings — should the recipients of this merit be restricted to those sentient beings "who have become mothers" (or, in one instance, to those "who have become mothers and fathers") alone? To answer this question we must turn to the Tibetan Buddhist literature, from which so many of the concepts basic to Mongolian religious and historical writings are derived.

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It was F. D. Lessing who first noted, in this study of the iconography of the Yung-ho-kung temple in Peking,[24] the existence of a Tibetan inscription containing a parallel to the phrase with which we are concerned. On the first floor of Hall II (the so-called "Tantra Hall") Lessing discovered a large

lines 8—9], 120 [folio 150v, line 19], 102 [folio 33v, lines 2—3, 13—14], 103 [folio 33v, line 26], and 119 [folio 149r, line 23]. This is typical of the literature of the Sarvāstivāda school, and is indicative of the Sarvāstivādin origin of much of Turkis Buddhism.

[23] My translation diverges somewhat from that given by Sárközi, which reads: "By the force of this merits [sic], / The six kinds of living beings that became father and mother, / After brightening the darkness of their grievous sins, / Let them find the blessing of the distinguished *Vajradhara*" (Sárközi, "Toyin guisi," p. 88). From the Buddhistic point of view, it is particularly important to note that the expression *včir-a dar-a-yin qutuγ-i olqu boltuγai* (following Sárközi's transcription) means "May they attain the blessed state (*qutuγ*) [of being] Vajradhara, '*not*' may they attain the blessing of [i.e., from] Vajradhara."

[24] Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung: An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking with Notes on Lamaist Mythology and Cult*, = The Sino-Swedish Expedition, Publication 18 (Stockholm, 1942).

copper lamp, placed on an offering table and engraved with the following lines:

mar-me phul-ba bsod-nams-kyi[s]
shes-rab zab-ma myur thob-nas
mar gyur sems-can thams-cad-kyi
mun sel mgron shes 'bar-bar shog[25]

In Lessing's English translation, the inscription reads:

May (I) by the merit of dedicating this lamp,
After having quickly received deep wisdom (*prajñā*),
Burn like a lamp which dispels
Darkness from all beings which have become my mothers.[26]

It was Lessing's great merit to have realized that the phrase *mar gyur sems-can thams-cad*, lit. "all beings who have become mother[s]," in fact refers to the Tibetan Buddhist belief (made plausible by the endless possibilities afforded by the doctrine of transmigration) that all living beings have — in some former existence — been the mother of any given individual. Thus the intention of the person making this dedication was to transfer his own merit (resulting from the gift of the lamp) to all sentient beings — i.e. all those who had once been his own mother. In Lessing's words, "all living beings in the endless circle of transmigration have recurrently entered the relation of parents and children to each other. To dedicate one's own religious merits to one's fellow-creatures is therefore tantamount to fulfilling a duty of filial piety."[27]

Lessing's translation of this inscription is unassailable, and his elucidation of the phrase "all beings who have become mother[s]", so far as it goes, is excellent. Yet one point remains unexplained: Why, if the intent of the passage is to equate generosity toward one's fellow living beings with filial piety toward one's parents, are only mothers (and not fathers as well) generally mentioned?

For an understanding of the background of this expression we must turn to a genre of Tibetan literature in which things normally taken for granted are routinely explained in detail: the so-called *lam-rim* ("stages of the path") texts, which might best be described as a genre of catechetical literature. One of the best known of these works is the *The Wishing Jewel [of] the Good Dharma [which is] a Precious Ornament of Liberation* (Tib. *Dam-chos yid-*

[25] Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung*, p. 66. I am grateful to Prof. F. W. Cleaves for having drawn my attention to this reference.

[26] Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung*, p. 66.

[27] *Ibid.*

bzhin nor-bu thar-pa rin-po-che'i rgyan) composed by sGam-po-pa,[28] a 12th-century Tibetan writer of the bKa'-rgyud-pa school. In the seventh chapter of this work, titled "Love and Compassion" (Tib. *byams-pa dang snying-rje bstan-pa'i le'u*), sGam-po-pa describes in detail the various ways in which a mother cares for her child, and then goes on to say:

> *de-nas der ma-zad-kyi sems-can thams-cad-kyis ma byas-la / ma byas tshad snga-ma kho-na-ltar drin-can yin-te / de yang sems-can-gyi rgya'i tshad ni ci-tsam zhe-na / nam-mkha'i mthas gar khyab sems-can-gyi khyab-pa yin-no /*[29]

This may be rendered into English as:

> All the inexhaustibl[y numerous] sentient beings, then, having been [our] mothers, those who have been [our] mothers have been [our] benefactors in that very measure previous[ly described]. And if one asks what is the measure of the expanse of [those] sentient beings, wherever the limit of the sky [itself] extends is the extent of [those] sentient beings.[30]

Here the implication of the passage is quite clear: sGam-po-pa appeals to the reader's feelings toward his or her own mother because he assumes that the sense of gratitude toward one's own mother will be greater than that felt toward any other sentient being, and the sentiment sGam-po-pa is encouraging his readers to cultivate toward all beings is precisely this feeling of gratitude. Such an attitude then becomes the basis for love (Skt. *maitrī*, Tib.

[28] The text has been translated into English by Herbert V. Guenther under the title *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (Berkeley, CA, Shambala, 1971).

[29] *Dam-chos yid-bzhin nor-bu thar-pa rin-po-che'i rgyan*, folio 55b, lines 2–3. I have used the blockprint edition published by the Karma-chos-sgar par khang (Rumbtegs, 1972), which seems to be one of the closest of the available version to that used by Guenther. I am grateful to Dr. Michael L. Walter of Indiana University for having expeditiously provided a photocopy of the text.

[30] Guenther (*Jewel Ornament*, p. 94) reads "Since all beings have been our mother (from time out of mind), they have all benefited by what a mother has done." Guenther's interpolation of the explanatory phrase "from time out of mind" is certainly justifiable. As to the second part of the sentence, however, I am inclined to take the expression *drin-can* (lit. "possessing beneficence") in its usual sense of "benefactor", not in the sense of "those who have benefited", although the vagueness of Tibetan grammar does allow either interpretation. The translation of the term as "benefactor" fits more easily into the logic of sGam-po-pa's argument, since to think of all sentient beings as our own benefactors (rather than as those who have previously benefited by the actions of their own mothers) will lead to the production of love and compassion, as discussed below.

byams-pa), which in turn engenders compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*, Tib. *snying-rje*), a prime element of the Buddhist path.[31]

One might expect that this concept would be easy to trace in the Indian Buddhist literature as well. Yet the exact connection between viewing all beings as one's own mother and the generation of gratitude and compassion toward those same beings does not occur in any of the Indian Mahāyāna texts examined by this writer, and seems to be absent even from those Indian text cited by sGam-po-pa as providing the basis for his own argument. In one of these works, a text attributed to Nāgārjuna which is lost in the original Sanskrit but preserved in Tibetan translation under the title *bShes-pa'i spring-yig* ("Letter to a Friend"; Skt. *Suhṛllekha*)[32] we do find a reference to the fact each individual has had a vast number of mothers in his or her previous existences. The intention of the passage, however, is not the same:

re-res bdag-nyid rus-pa'i phung-po ni |
lhun-po mnyam-pa snyed-cig 'das gyur-te |
ma-yi thug-mtha' rgya shug tshig-gu-tsam |
ril-bur bgrangs kyang sa-yis lang mi-'gyur ||[33]

In the English translation of L. Kawamura,

The heap of bones of a single human being far surpasses
Mt. Sumeru in height.
If each mother, in the lineage of mothers,
Were considered as a pill the size of a juniper seed,
The earth could not contain their number.[34]

The emphasis here, in other words, is not on the relationship that has existed between a given individual and other sentient beings in previous lifetimes, but

[31] The two basic elements of the Buddhist path according to the Mahāyāna are compassion and wisdom (Tib. *shes-rab*, Skt. *prajñā*). These are regularly described in Buddhist literature as the "two wings of a bird", an image that underlines the necessity of the combination of these two elements for successful progress along the path.

[32] The text is contained in the bsTan-'gyur section of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (Peking edition, vol. 103, text no. 5409). There are also three Chinese translations (Taishō nos 1672—1674), executed by Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman, and I-tsing, respectively.

[33] Tibetan text from Ven. Lozang Jamspal et al., ed. and trans., *Nāgārjuna's Letter to King Gautamīputra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), p. 93.

[34] Leslie Kawamura, *Golden Zephyr* (Emeryville, CA, Dharma Publishing, 1975), p. 59, verse 68. (Kawamura's translation is based on the version of the *bShes-pa'i spring-yig* contained in the commentary by Mi-pham 'Jam-dbyangs mam-rgyal rgya-mtsho. Judging by his translation, however, this version does not differ significantly from that contained in the blockprint versions of found in the bsTan-'gyur.)

rather on the vast number of incarnations (and hence of mothers) experienced by each individual as he or she endlessly circles through the samsaric cycle. The previous verse underlines this point: "Know that each person has drunk more milk / Than that contained in the four oceans. / But know that he will dring still more, / While he follows the ordinary paths. /"[35] Clearly the stress here is not on the relationship with one's mother (and the corresponding feelings of dependency and gratitude), but on the endlessness of the samsaric chain of rebirth.

The other Indian text cited by sGam-po-pa in this connection, a passage from the *Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines* (Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*; Tib. *'Phags-pa shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad stong-pa*) is likewise different in intent:

> *ci'i phyir zhe-na / ma 'dis bdag-cag bskyed-pa / 'dis ni dka'-ba byed-pa / bdag-cag-gi srog byin-pa / 'jig-rten kun-ston-pa yin-no /*[36]

That is,

> If one asks why [the greatest benefactor on earth is our mother], we were conceived by our (lit. "this") mother; she experiences pain [for our sake]; she gives us life; [and] she shows us the world.[37]

[35] Kawamura, *loc. cit.*, verse 67.

[36] The passage cited by sGam-po-pa is from the beginning of Chapter 12 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajña-pāramitā*, which reads (in the Sanskrit) *tat kasya hetoḥ? / etayā hi vayaṃ janitāḥ: duṣkara-kārikaiṣa asmakam jīvitasya dātrī lokasya ca saṃdarśayitrī /* (P. L. Vaidya ed., p. 125, lines 7—8). In the rather free translation of Edward Conze (*The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary* [Berkeley, CA, Four Seasons Foundation, 1973], p. 172), "Why is that [that if a mother had many children, they would all make great efforts to help her if she fell ill—jn]? Because they are aware that to her they owe their existence, that in great pain she has brought them into the world, that she has instructed them in the ways of the world." Conze's translation distinguishes only three elements, not four, in this list. In light of the Tibetan version, however, we might suggest the following retranslation of the Sanskrit: "Why is that? [It is because they know that] 'we are conceived by her; she undergoes the pain [of childbirth for our sake]; she gives us life; [and] she shows [us] the world.' "

[37] Guenther (*Jewel Ornament*, p. 94) reads, "Why is this so? Our mothers raises us; undergoes hardships for our sake; gives us life; and shows us the world." It seems preferable, however, to translate *bskyed* as "conceived", not "raised" (note that the Sanskrit counterpart of *bskyed-pa* is *janitāḥ*, lit. "[those who are] engendered"). The resulting sequence (conception, undergoing hardship or pain, giving life, and showing the world) suggests that the second item in the list originally referred specifically to the pain of childbirth.

The author of the *Aṣṭa* goes on, however, to draw a connection not between one's own mother and other sentient beings, but between one's mother and the Perfection of Wisdom: "So fond are the Tathagatas of this perfection of wisdom, so much do they cherish and protect it. For she is their mother and begetter, she showed them this all-knowledge, she instructed them in the ways of the world. From her have the Tathagatas come forth".[38] What sGam-po-pa has done, then, is to take these Indian passages completely out of their original contexts, using them to construct an argument of an altogether different type.

Is sGam-po-pa, then, the originator of this concept? Or more broadly, could it be that the notion of viewing all sentient beings as one's own mother (and thus engendering love and, in turn, compassion) first emerged on Tibetan soil? The first of these possibilities we can dismiss immediately, for a mention of this concept appears already in one of the writings of Atiśa, an Indian teacher active in Tibet in the early 11th century. In his autocommentary (titled in Sanskrit *Bodhimārga-dīpapañjikā*, Tib. *Byang-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma'i dka'-'grel*) on the *Bodhipatha-pradīpa* (Tib. *Byang-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma*; in English, "A Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment"),[39] we find a reference to "conceiving of [all creatures] as [one's] mother" (Tib. *mar 'du-shes*), in precisely the same context in which it appears in sGam-po-pa's work. In the English translation of R. Sherburne,

> "Because the thought of love is the prerequisite" refers to perceiving [all creatures] as one's mother — from which arises the thought of repaying their kidness: that is Love. Then out of the thought of Love comes the though of Compassion, [a]nd from the thought of Compassion, the Enlightenment Thought emerges.[40]

Clearly this is the same sequence to which sGam-po-pa refers; thus we cannot credit sGam-po-pa with having been the original proponent of this concept. With respect to our second question, though, it is important to note that although Atiśa was himself of Indian origin, his *Lamp for the Path* and its

[38] Conze, *Perfection of Wisdom*, p. 172.

[39] The discrepancy in Sanskrit titles between the text and its commentary has aroused some controversy as to whether these titles might not be reconstructions based on the Tibetan. For a discussion of this problem see Helmut Eimer, ed. and trans., *Bodhipathapradīpa: Ein Lehrgedicht des Atiśa (Dîpaṃkaraśrījñāna) in der tibetischen Überlieferung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), p. 11.

[40] See Richard Sherburne, trans., *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary of Atiśa* (London, Allen und Unwin, 1983), p. 4. Sherburne also notes that Atiśa's system was subsequently adopted and expanded by Tsong-kha-pa and later writers of the dGe-lugs-pa school (p. 62, note 2).

autocommentary were composed in Tibet, at the request of a West Tibetan ruler.[41]

Was Atiśa, then, following an Indian precedent in using this idea? Or was he rather responding to local Tibetan conditions, within which the idea of "viewing all beings as one's mother" had already taken root? It would be impossible to answer this question fully without perusing all the surviving Buddhist literature produced in India, both in the original Sanskrit and in Chinese, Tibetan, and other translated versions — a project this writer certainly makes to claim to have undertaken, let alone carried out. In the Pali literature of the Theravāda school, however, we do find what appears to be an antecedent of Atiśa's conception. In a passage dealing with the quenching of hatred and the cultivation of love (Pali *mettā*), the 5th century Sinhalese commentator Buddhaghosa instructs the meditator who is suffering from feelings of hatred to think of the person he dislikes in the following terms:

> This person, it seems, as my mother in the past carried me in her womb for ten months and removed [various defilements] from me without disgust . . . And this person as my father . . . risked his life for me by going into battle . . . by sailing on the great ocean in ships and doing other difficult things . . . And as my brother, sister, son, daughter, this person gave me such and such help. So it is unbecoming for me to harbour hate for him in my mind.[42]

Buddhaghosa's authority for such reasoning is a passage from the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* section of the *Sutta-piṭaka*,[43] which he cites in the following terms:

> Bhikkhus, it is not easy to find a being who has not formerly been your mother . . . your father . . . your brother . . . your sister . . . your son . . . your daughter.[44]

As was the case with sGam-po-pa's Indian sources, however, this canonical text likewise fails to make the connection between viewing all beings as one's former relatives and generating the sentiment of *maitrī* (Pâli *mettā*). When the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* passage cited above goes on to comment on the significance of these former relationships, it is to underline the unfathomable be-

[41] Eimer, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, pp. 8—10.

[42] Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, trans. *The Path of Purification* (*Visuddhimagga*) *by Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa* (Colombo, Ceylon: R. Semage, 1956), p. 331.

[43] *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, Vol. II, Chapter XV, §§ 14—19. For the Pali text see Léon Feer, ed., *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, Part II: *Nidāna-vagga* (London: Pali Text Society, 1888), pp. 189—190.

[44] Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 331.

ginninglessness of the samaric cycle. This section concludes (in the rendition of C. A. F. Rhys Davids and F. H. Woodward):

> Thus for many a long day, brethern, have ye suffered ill . . . pain . . . misery, and the charnel-field has grown. Thus far enough is there, brethren, for you to be repelled by all the things of this world, enough to lose all passion for them, enough to be delivered therefrom.[45]

Thus the function of the idea of the relatedness among all beings, in this context, is quite different from the use to which Buddhaghosa (and later sGam-po-pa) would put it.

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In conclusion, while the notion that all beings have been one's own relatives in a former existence can be traced even in the earliest Buddhist literature of India, it was apparently only with the later commentators that this concept began to serve as the basis for the meditative generation of love. Moreover, though the Pali sources refer to a whole list of family members, it was clearly the mother–child relationship that captured the Tibetan imagination.[46] That the Mongols should have adopted this concept in its Tibetan form is hardly surprising, given the overwhelming influence of Tibetan ideas on much of the Mongolian Buddhist tradition. With this background in mind, then, we may offer the following retranslation of the final verse of the colophon to the *Bolor Erike*:

> Having fully delivered[47] all living beings[48] — all [of whom] have become [my own] mother [in previous existences] — without exception[49]

[45] C. A. F. Rhys Davids and F. H. Woodward, trans., *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, Part II (London: Pali Text Society, 1921), p. 128.

[46] It is instructive to compare the description of the mother's role offered by Buddhagosa, who credits her with cleaning, nourishing and playing with the child but reserves the status of breadwinner for the father, with that portrayed by sGam-po-pa, who describes the mother as working as a fisherman or butcher, toiling in the fields, and so on, and bringing the child up on "what she earns in that way" (Guenther, *Jewel Ornament*, pp. 92—93). It is intriguing to speculate on whether the pronounced Tibetan emphasis on the mother's role preserves a distant reflection of the ancient Tiberan matriarchal system.

[47] The verb *getülge-* is a causative in *-ge-* of *getül-*, "to cross over" (Kow. 2467b). The causative form has the extended meaning, however, of "to deliver, save, rescue" (Kow. 2466b), in which sense it is the counterpart of Tibetan *sgrol-ba*, which likewise carries both meanings.

[48] Mo. *amitan* "living beings" (properly a plural in *-n* of *amitai*, "one possessing breath [*amin*],") is regularly used not only as the equivalent of Tib. *sems-can* (Skt.

From the painful suffering[s] of *saṃsāra,*[50]
Leading [them] by excellent stairway[51] of the faultless supreme vehicle,[52]
May [they] speedily arrive[53] at the blessed state[54] of [being an] exalted Omniscient One.

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sattva), as here, but of a great number of other Tibetan terms as well. In Ye-šes-rdo-rje's Tibetan—Mongolian dictionary, titled *Bod-skad-kyi-brdaḥ-gsar-rñiṅ-dkaḥ-ba sog-skad-du-kaḥ-li-sum-cuḥi-rim-pas gtan-la-pheb-paḥi-brdaḥ-yig-mkhas-pa rgya-mcho-blo-gsal-mgul-rgyan ces bya-ba-bžugs-so,* = Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, Tomus IV (Ulaan Baatar: Ulsyn khevleliin gazar, 1959), we find *amitan* given as the equivalent of Tib. *skye-bo* (p. 40), *'gro-ba* (p. 113), *'byung-po* (p. 393), *lus-can* (p. 534), and *srog-chags* (p. 567). Of these *amitan* is most properly the equivalent of Tib. *srog-changs*, which in turn renders Skt. *prāṇin*, lit. "possessing breath/life" (e.g., *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 8464).

[49] "Exception" translates *üledegel*, more literally "remainder, that which is left over" (Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1004b). The form *üiledgel* given in Cleaves, "Colophon", p. 16 is a misprint for *üledegel* (cf. the Mostaert manuscript printed in facsimile in Mostaert and Cleaves, *Bolor Erike*, Part III, p. 294 [= 504b], line 2).

[50] I.e., the cyclic round of death and rebirth. For the Sanskrit term *saṃsāra* see Monier—Williams, *Sanskrit—English Dictionary*, p. 1119b—c.

[51] Mongolian *šatu*, "stairway" is borrowed from the Turkish *šatu*, for which see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkic*, p. 867a. As Clauson points out, however, the word cannot be originally Turkish, since no native Turkish word begins in *š-*. According to Clauson the source of the Turkish *šatu* is unknown; cf. however Ş. Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, 2, p. 109a (s.v. *š'tw*) for the suggestion that the word (here translated as *Brücke*, "bridge") is derived from the Sanskrit *setu* "bridge" (cf. Monier-Williams, p. 1246a).

[52] I.e., the Mahāyāna (lit. "great vehicle"), considered by its proponents to be a more excellent form of Buddhism than the so-called "Hīnayāna", or "small vehicle". The term *hīna*, an adjectival form derived from the verbal √*hā* "to abandon, shun; fall short, be wanting" (Monier-Williams, p. 1296b), has a number of pejorative connotations (including "lower, weaker, defective, incomplete, vile, base, mean"; cf. Monier-Williams, p. 1296b—c) and should be avoided in scholarly writing. A good alternative is the expression "Nikāya Buddhism" (literally "sect Buddhism"), a form applicable in all cases when an all-encompassing term for the various non-Mahāyāna schools is required.

[53] I have followed the Grønbech manuscript in reading *kürkü*, rather than *kürgekü* as in Mostaert's copy. This requires a change of subject following the converb *uduridču*, but this is not an insuperable obstacle as other such examples can be adduced. Such is the case, for instance, in the colophon to Toyin guisi's translation of the *Vajracchedikā* (cited above, p. 4). Another example is found in the colophon to the Mongolian translation of the *Śrī-mahāmudrātilakaṃ-nama-mahayoginī-tantra-rājātipati* (Ligeti, *Catalogue*, no. 11, p. 5):

eyin orčiγuluγsan buyan-u gegegen naran-iyar:
erkin šasin nom-un lingqua delgereged:
eldeb amitan-u qarangγus geyiǰü:
erke-tü burqan-u bodhi qutuγ-i olqu boltuγai::

„By the luminous sun[light] of the merit of having thus translated [this text],
Having caused the lotus of the exalted Dharma-teaching to spread,
Illuminating the obscurations of various living beings,
May they attain the blessed state of *bodhi* possessed by (lit. "of") a powerful Buddha!"

It is also worth noting that while a survey of Ligeti's *Catalogue* netted numerous instances of the verb *kürkü* in expressions of this type (e.g. Ligeti nos 761, 1021, 1072, 1102), not a single example of the causative form (*kürgekü boltuγai*) was found.

[54] The words "blessed state" translate Mo. *qutuγ*, lit. "sanctity, holy [rank], felicity" (cf. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire*, 2.918a). The word is certainly related to the Old Turkish *qut* "charisma, (divine) favor, fortune" (cf. Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 594a), but the exact nature of this relationship has yet to be elucidated. The Turkish adjectival form *qutluγ* "blessed, fortunate, auspicious" has its counterpart in Mongolian *qutuγtu* (id.), which subsequently acquired the extended meaning of "high-ranking incarnate lama" (cf. Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 992b). The entire expression *burqan-u* (or, in the present instance, *qamuγ-yi* [sic] *medegči-yin*) *qutuγ-tur kür-* is a calque on the Uighur Turkish *burqan qutïngγa teg-* "to reach the state of [being a] Buddha"; cf. also the more common Mongolian form *burqan-u qutuγ-i ol-*, which parallels Uig. *burqan qutïn bul-* "to attain the state of [being a] Buddha." (For numerous references to these expressions see for example Tekin, *Maitrisimit* 2, p. 100a—b.) With Mo. *burqan qutuγ* and Uig. *burqan qutïn* we may further compare the analogous forms in Tokharian A *puttiśparäm* and *pañäktäññe* (~ *pudñäktäññe*) *perne* (see Werner Thomas, *Tocharische Elementarbuch*, Band 2. *Texte und Glossare* [Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1964], p. 118), in which A *paräṃ* / B *perne* are the Tokharian counterparts of the well-known Iranian term *farn*, "glory, charisma (of political authority)" (for which see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1971], pp. 1—78 and xvii—xl).

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CRITICA

S. A. Asanov, A. N. Garkavec, S. M. Useinov, *Qrymtatardža-rusča lugat. Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Kiev, Radjans'ka Škola, 1988. 236 p.

1. General remarks.

The dictionary comprises more than 7,000 entries. Apart from the main body, pp. 11—166, preceded by a preface in Crimean Tatar (*Kiriš söz*), pp. 5—7 and Russian, pp. 8—10, it includes a sketch of Crimean Tatar phonetics, morphology and orthography written in Crimean Tatar (*Qrymtatar tili fenetikasy, morfologija ve imlusynyŋ qysqa tasviri*), pp. 167—197, translated into Russian, pp. 198—232.

The Table of contents contains two indices of headings to the grammatical sketch in both languages, 54 items each, pp. 233—236.

The present publication, according to its bilingual character, is fully Crimean Tatar—Russian, except the front page with a Crimean Tatar title alone.

Although the editors outline the history of Crimean Tatar lexicography in the preface, this clothbound, but copied from typed sheets, over minimum-sized dictionary is the first lexicographical work on the Crimean Tatar language explaining words in a foreign language.

The dictionary, as shown in the editorial note, mainly includes a vocabulary of textbooks published so far for schools, where the Crimean Tatar language is facultatively taught. From this fact it is clear that the dictionary, produced by a pedagogical publishing house, was normally distributed only to schools in which pupils had optionally chosen a Crimean Tatar language class. Thus the publication concerned, was hardly accessible outside the Crimea even there, where the bulk of the Crimean Tatar people still live. On the other hand, the fact of its appearance, along with that of *Ana tili* (reviewed in the next volume) and *Ana tilinde*, indicates, a good start of the Crimean Tatar language teaching on the Peninsula.

This reviewer supposes that this foreground was necessary for better understanding of the many aspects dealt with in the succeeding lines.

To get a thorough picture, both the dictionary and the grammatical appendix are reviewed separately, though the cross-references will sometimes refer to each other.

2. Dictionary.

As the authors say in the preface, the dictionary basically consists of the ground forms of words. This implies that little derivatives are included. The dictionary is constructed on the basis of the ABC order, adopted for the Crimean Tatar language from the Cyrilic script. The letter *g*'' is positioned after *g*; *k*'' after *k*; *dž* after *č*.

At this point, the following mistakes in ordering entries, observed throughout the dictionary will be pointed out: p. 19 *aldyngy* 'forward, front' is entered before *aldyn* 'before' both as separate entries;

p. 42 *bujurt-* explained as 'to invite somebody inside, ask to come in'; *bujurydžy* 'one who orders' were erroneously displaced from the preceding page; p. 96 *nochut* 'pea' is before *nuqsanlyq* 'lack; shortage', *nolajdy* 'what (soever) would have happened', *nolajly* 'whatever ...', but after *nomaj* 'abundance'; p. 111 *söz qajtarmadan* 'without repeating a word' should not be a subentry of *sözsüz* 'silent; silently', but of *söz* 'word', p. 110; p. 128 *to-mar* 'knob', a round part of sth', separated by a hyphen into two lines, so that the second syllable was put to the line where *tomalaq* was.

Each entry consists of a Crimean Tatar word and at least a Russian equivalent, except when the reader is referred to another entry by a cross-reference, e.g. *jiri* s. *iri*.

All the word classes are arranged in the usual form in Turkic dictionaries, e.g. verbs in the *-mEK* forms. Deverbative noun form *-Üw* is presented only where a given form has a nominalized meaning, e.g. *toplašuw* 'meeting'. However, many common words of this kind have been ignored, e.g. there is no *ešittiriiw* 'radio programme'.

The Crimean Tatar main entries are underlined and start with a small letter, except when these are proper names, e.g. *Šam* 'Syria' (but also 'Damascus'!). Note that *ǧarb* ~ *ǧarp* 'West' begins with a small letter, while *Šarq* 'East' with a capital.

The dictionary does not use many qualifying words. The most common are the following: *lit.* 'literary term', *gram.* 'grammar', *razg.* 'colloquial', *dial.* 'dialect(al)', *sm.* 'see', *sr.* 'compare' and *ust.* 'dated' (on p. 25 *ustar*, 'id').

There is no list of abbreviations. Further explanations, grammatical and semantic comments are enclosed either in slashes or in round brackets, though very inconsistently, e.g. p. 14 *aza* 'member (of an organization)', but p. 15 *azyq* 'products /alimentary/'. It seems that slashes dominate at the beginning, round brackets in the further part of the dictionary.

The authors claim in the preface that the spelling of Crimean Tatar words is not standardized, since the Crimean Tatar orthography is not standardized itself. This statement is extensively exemplified on p. 5. In this way it is the authors wish to avoid criticism detrimental to Memetov in Musaev's review of his grammar, cf. Memetov 1986 *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1/1986, 105—106. Besides, this problem is well known in the case of first attempts at any implementation of a new writing system, cf. the new Roman alphabet for the Tatar of Dobrudja in the 50's, for instance p. 83 *toradan tora*: p. 90. *dogrîdan dogrîda* 'directly', p. 61 *ekí gún* 'two days': *kúnde* 'dayLOC' in one text, p. 61 *yer*: p. 71 *ǧer* 'earth; ground, soil, place' in a textbook, cf. Ğafer, Nagi A. 1958 *Tatar tílí. Gramatika, Ortografya ve Tízím dersligí. Sînîf* IV. Bucureşti. *Didaktik ve Pedagoğik Dewlet Basîmúyí*.

Inconsistency and hesitations in spelling involve several typical cases:

1. Spelling of words that follow (C)VIC or CVCC pattern, in loan words mainly. In this regard, spelling of (*aks* ~ *akis*) is symptomatic, e.g. p. 5 *akis et-* 'to reflect', p. 6; 194; 196 *aks et(tir)-* in its alphabetical place, the word as a main entry follows the (C)VCIC pattern. Yet, *aks* is also in its place, with a reference to the former. Occasionally, there are mistakes in cross-references, e.g. *sawyry* 'back of a horse (from withers to dock)' refers to *sajry* which, in turn, refers to *sawry* which cannot be found in the dictionary.

2. Spelling of phonetical dialect variants. It is to be noted that *čeček* 'flower' is referred to *čiček*, the latter being considered as the main entry, although the former is much more frequent in the texts and seems to stand for the standard norm, except Southern dialect.

3. Spelling of loan, non-adopted words. These tend to reflect either the original form or colloquial, pronounced one. For example, p. 195 (gram) *qav''jar* 'cavior(e)', as opposed to p. 140 *chavjar*, p. 79 *qatij* 'decisive, definitive', as opposed to p. 186

(gram) *qatyj* (*keledžek zaman*) 'definitive (future tense)'.

Certainly, Crimean Tatar spelling ought to be unified and standardized. However, this is not at all an easy task to do. This is because the standardization of orthography must be done within the frame work of the standardization of national language and literature, which is not possible in current political conditions. Although Kurkči (1988a, b, 1989a, b) Qrymtatar imlasyna dair teklifler, *Lenin Bajrägy* 96 (1988), 137 (1988), 17 (1989), 39 (1989) made serious endeavours to normalize the spelling, there is little chance for his attempts to implement, for his moderate postulats did not solve the problem of vowels. And it is the spelling of vowels that must urgently be solved, since consonants are rendered relatively well. The best solution would probably be to turn back to the Latin script, which was carefully prepared on the basis of unified phonetic principles for most of the Turkic languages in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s.

So far, the inexact notation of the vowels yields many problems. For instance, central labial [ɵ ʉ] that occur in the initial and after [p m b dž š k g] are noted discontinuously by [o u] and the ⟨'⟩sign after the first or two succeeding consonants, depending on whether the syllable is open or closed. Therefore, according to this rule [ʉst] 'top' should be written ⟨ust'⟩, but [ʉstü] 'top3SIN PERSON MARKER' ⟨us'tü⟩. There are also more specific rules, e.g. if the consonant is reduplicated, the ⟨'⟩ sign is left out. Moreover, if the consonant that follows one of these vowels is [k g], no sign is used to distinguish them, consequently, the vowels [ɵ ʉ o u] are alike in the spelling. Thereby Kurkči (1988*a*: 6) proposes not to put ⟨'⟩ after [k g] even if any of them follows another consonant in the syllable. Accordingly, one should write ⟨urk⟩ 'to have fear', but not ⟨ur'k, urk'⟩ and consequently ⟨urke⟩ '(s)he is afraid'.

As a result, nobody knows how to write. This "nobody" includes the authors of the dictionary themselves. For example, p. 76 *ur'lük* 'freedom', but p. 135 *ustün* 'superior', *kus'kün* (if otherwise not indicated, the word is the main entry in the dictionary) 'apathy', but *kurtük* 'snow-dift', *jüz* '100' is differently spelt in a single line, beneath, the homophonous *jüz* 'face' was spelt ⟨juz'⟩; p. 196 (gram) *ɵr't* 'cover', but *ʉst'*, cf. above.

This reviewer suspects that the editorial staff compiled the dictionary in a hurry, having no time to work out clear principles, unbreakable rules to fall back upon. Even if he warmly welcomes the appearance of the dictionary, he has the impression that it was brought forth in an unconsidered way, at random.

For instance, such an apparently simple question as distinguishing homonyms from words that have more related meanings was permanently confused. It is likely, though never said, that Roman numerals make distinctions between homonyms and Italian numerals distinguish meanings of an entry. However, not always, e.g.: *biz* should not be entered as 1. 'we' 2. 'awl', but as two separate entries. The same holds true for: *dam* 1. 'taste' 2. 'roof'; *qurum* 1. 'structure, system' 2. 'soot'; *qajsy* 1. 'which, that' 2. 'apricot'.

As far as synonym entries are concerned, they 1. refer to each other, e.g. *avan* 'mortar', s. *keli* 'id', s. *avan*, 2. do not refer, so that any correlation is vague, e.g. *qaryš* 'span' and *süjem* 'id' (erroneously placed on p. 115 as *sujem*) or 3. their correlation is not sufficiently shown because of a great number of synonym words, e.g. *alan* mead-' ow' and *čimen* '(small) meadow' appear without cross-reference, *toġaj* with reference to *baraq*, which in turn refers to *alan*.

Incidentally, there are evident mistakes in cross-references, e.g. *tošeme* points to *taban* II, whereas *taban* is not subdivided into I and II.

Turning to the vowel marking, the entry *erlerdžasyna* displays unaccommodated vowels in and after the suffix *-lar*, the entries *džüz*; *džüzdan* and *džüjrük* 'vo-

lume, booklet'; 'file', briefcase' and 'stallion', respectively, contrary to the rule, display the vowel *ü* after *dž*. All remaining entries beginning with *dž* do obey the rule (on p. 179 gram) 'stallion' is spelt *džujrük*.

Another drawback of the dictionary is that it fails to include closely related, complenymous, antonymous words. In other words, if it says white, it must also say black. For instance, there is *Asija* 'Asia' and (!)*Asijaly* 'Asiatic', but there is no *Avropaly* 'European' below *Avropa* 'Europe'.

Furthermore, such high frequency words as *dejerlik* 'almost'; *qorčala-* 'to defend' and *jalda-* 'to swim' should not have been neglected.

A haphazard selection of words in the dictionary may also be exemplified by numerals. Accordingly, we have *eki jüz* '200', *beš jüz* '500', but we have not *ʉč jüz* '300', *alty jüz* '600', we have *bešew* '(in) five', but we have not *ekew* '(in) two', there is *ekewlešip* 'to be (act, do sth, etc.) in two', but we have not *bešewlešip* 'to be (act, do sth, etc.) in five'.

Other entries show insufficient semantic equivalency, e.g. *fen* is only explained as 'science', but not as 'subject for study', let us recall; this is a school-dictionary.

Some entries do not provide enough semantic explanation, e.g. *ərüš* 'pasture', which more exactly means 'mountain pasture'. Contrarily, *čajyr* is explained as 'mountain (hill) grazing'.

Some Russian equivalents cannot be accepted, e.g. *taba* does not correspond to 'not much, a little; (a) bit', but to 'toward', therefore, the meaning of the *ɵgge taba* should be 'forward'.

It is very good that the dictionary under review basically includes only the core Crimean Tatar vocabulary, with an old, mostly Persian and Arabic lexical layer. If we compare any other learner's dictionary of a national minority language spoken in the Soviet Union, they usually comprise an enormous number of Russian words. This is the case with one of the newest Turkic dictionaries edited by Tenišev and Süjünč ulu (1989 *Karachai-Balkar—Russian dictionary*). Let us quote only some entries from, say, pp. 16—17: *abzac, absurd, avangard, avanpost, avans, avantjura, avantjurizma, avarija, aviabaza, aviabomba, aviadesant*, etc.

On the contrary, this dictionary contains few Russian words. One cannot find even common terms like *mašina* 'car', *mechanizmleštir-* 'to mechanize', *pojezd* 'train', political terms, e.g. *kommunizm* 'communism', *plenum* 'plenum', etc.

Moreover, the dictionary neglects some old Russian loan words, well adopted and accommodated to Crimean Tatar phonetical patterns, e.g. *qartop* 'potato', *qapysta* 'cabbage', *marqov* 'carrot'. Though some others of this group have been taken into account, e.g. *kapik* 'kopeika', *čar* 'tsar'. Note that the entry *čarizm* has the Russian suffix *-izm*, whereas the more usual form is *čarlyq* 'tsarism, tsardom'.

The dictionary also omits Russian special terms used in the preface and throughout the dictionary in grammatical notes, e.g. p. (preface) *adaptirlenmegen* 'unadopted, here: non-standardarized'.

On the contrary, there are many words classified by Kurkči (1986) *Fikir indžileri* [Pearls of thought]. Tashkent *Nizami adyna Nešrijaty*) as belonging to the passive vocabulary, e.g. *sofu* 'pious, devote'; *čavuš*, explained as 'senior (head) master', *čaryq* 'rawhide sandal', *qona* 'dining table', etc.

Concerning the good points of the dictionary, it is essential to say that stress is marked by a diacritical mark when falling on syllables other than *ultimae*. Thus, homonyms contrasted by this suprasegmental feature can easily be distinguished, e.g. *'ana* 'well, thus': *a'na* 'mother'; *'ille* 'certainly; surely; necessary': *il'le* 'defect'.

This distinction is preserved even in some compound words, e.g. *'mos-mor* 'deep purple, very violet', though not consistently. For example *tos-tomalaq* 'entirely round' and many others have no mark. However, neither stress nor other indication signals accentual difference in homophonous adjectives and adverbs suffixed

by *-dže, -če*. Thus, *ajrydža* appears only as an adverb 'otherwise', *qaradža* as an adjective 'blackish'. Perhaps a single exception is *bašqa'dža* 'a little different, somewhat other' in opposition to *baš'qadža-(syna)* 'in a different way'.

A great merit of the dictionary is that the authors presented a large number of dialect words. Although they did not go into details and labelled the entries by a simple qualifying note (*dial.*), a clever and well-skilled pupil can surely tell what dialect a given word belongs to. Cross-references are usually applied. Namely, in the case of a simple phonetic opposition between dialect correspondences, the reference *s.* (see) is applied, e.g. *džylga* s. *jylga*; *jylga* 'glen, ravine'. Heterophonous entries as a rule are provided by cross-references. There are cases when each word has its own explanation, e.g. *qalay* 'jug', cf. *mešrebe*, and cases, when they have not, e.g. *džaw* s. *dušman*; *dušman* 'enemy'. Nevertheless, in some instances, the particular entries do not refer to each other, e.g. *sydžyr- (dial.)* 'to slip' and *taj-* 'to slip, to slide'; *maj* (*dial.*) 'butter, grease, fat', but *jaġ* 'id' remains without a reference.

Sometimes qualifying notes are ignored, e.g. *džuwur-* 'to run' which refers to *čap-* 'id' without a note.

Finally, one can observe a number of misprints in the dictionary: p. 7 ..., *ve imlasy* ... instead of ..., *ve imlasy* '..., and spelling'; *belüči* instead of *bølügi* 'division, department, group 3SIN PM'; *ilimšek* instead of *ilišmek* 'to dash'; *qajmaq* instead of *qajtmaq* 'to turn'; *sujem* instead of *süjem* 'span'; p. 157 *ela pøzlü* instead of ela *køzlü* 'hazel-eyed, brown-eyed'; p. 162 *dočru* instead of *doġru* 'right'; (*jaš-javqa*) *šenlane* instead of ... *seŋlene* '(youngsters) are amusing'; (*jaman*) *jachty* instead of ... *jachšy* '(very) good'.

3. Grammatical sketch. The number of Crimean Tatar grammars considerably surpasses that of dictionaries. However, in practice it is extremely difficult to get any useful reference work. This is due to the fact that the old grammar published in the Crimea are completely inaccessible, similarly to that by Memetov, Memetov, A(jder). 1984 *Tatar tili grammatikasynyŋ praktikumy*. Tashkent: Uqituwči.

Thereby this short essay annexed to the dictionary must be welcomed and offered to scholars.

As has already been said, the sketch comprises sections devoted to phonetics, morphology and orthography, but not syntax. Memetov's grammar does not comprise syntax, either. Therefore, at this point the reader will be referred to the practical syntax by Aqmollajev, Aqmollaev, E., 1989 *Qrymtatar tiliniŋ amelijaty*. Tashkent, Uqituvči, p. 159.

Asanovs' was chiefly based on Memetov's grammar. Although the latter cannot be considered as a perfect linguistic product, the idea of continuity is to be approved. Of course, Memetov's grammar was not copied. Asanovs' approach to some linguistic aspects, including terminology, differs from their predecessor. In fact, what was changed seems to be superior to that. Here are some examples of improvements in the sketch.

Firstly, Asanovs' book provides pronunciation of letters, while Mememtov's grammar does not, p. 168. Secondly, it is safer to speak about vowels and consonants (*sozuq ve tutuq sesleri*), cf. Asanov et al. (1988: 168, 171) than about phonemes (*sozuq ve tutuq fonemalar*), cf. Memetov (1984: 7, 9) unless the notion of phonemes is defined. But this is not the case. Thirdly, Asanovs give evidence for the semivowel [w] ⟨ў⟩, printed by mistake as ⟨y⟩.

As far as terminological and other slight differences are concerned, one may note Asanovs' *qattylyq išareti*, p. 168, as opposed to Memetov's *qalynlyq išareti*, p. 6 'hard sign'. Kurkči who relates this mark also to vowels calls it *sozuqlyq ve ajyruw išareti*, Kurkči 1988a: 5. Furthermore, vowel harmony is by *Asanovs'* subdivided into *taŋlaj aenki* (palatal-velar) and *duduq aenki* (labial-illabial harmony), p. 172,

whereas Memetov (p. 14—18) calls it *singarmonizm* and discusses it within the section dealing with spelling. Lastly, Asanovs provided much information on stress, p. 173—175.

As a rule, the vocabulary of the grammar part was neglected in the dictionary. This concerns both comments, explanations and language samples. For instance, the following words enlisted on p. 179 are not to be found in the dictionary: *ərgü, silgič, juvguč, ərüm, džürüš, beklewüč, jamanlyq, gošču, traktordžy. ǧydžyrdy, qolčyq, jaqpračyg. ešečik.*

Among grammatical categories and other items that perhaps should not have been neglected there are the following:

1. Fractions, as already mentioned;

2. Aspectual verb forms, which were extensively discussed by Kurkči (1988a: 1—3);

3. Voluntative modality, which expresses willingness, wishes, and desire, formed by *-EdžEK ol-*;

4. dubitative modality formed by *-sE kerek* '. . . should . . . .'

On p. 191 the authors mentioned a rather rarely used gerund *-KEndžek*, whereas the very common terminative, compound case suffix *-KEdže* was neglected.

If the authors decided to introduce the "mimemma" as a separate word class, the derivatives *čivilde-* 'to chirp' and *uwulda-* 'to hum, to buzz', p. 190, perhaps should not have been considered as denominative.

Since the main aim of this grammatical sketch was to give readers an aid in their use of the dictionary, rather than to provide a comprehensive grammar, the review does not deal comprehensively with it, either.

Summing up, it should be stressed that the above criticism did not attempt to find faults and failures. The reviewer hopes it will contribute to the improvement of further linguistic studies in this domain. However, much more work must be done.

Henryk Jankowski

Wolgatatarische Dialektstudien. Textkritische Neuausgabe der Originalsammlung von G. BÁLINT 1875—76, hrsg. Á. BERTA, *Keleti Tanulmányok — Oriental Studies* 7 Budapest 1988. 412 S.

Von der schon durch ihr Alter und ihren Umfang interessanten und wertvollen Sammlung *Kazáni-tatár nyelvtanulmányok* [«Kasantatarische Sprachstudien»] von Gabriel Bálint de Szentkatolna (Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, 1844—1913) sind jetzt die tatarischen Texte (I. Füzet: *Kazáni-tatár szövegek és fordítás.* Budapest 1875, 170 S.) mit einer deutschen Übersetzung und nützlichen Anmerkungen des Herausgebers sowie das Wörterverzeichnis (II. Füzet: *Kazáni-tatár szótár.* Budapest 1876, 178 S.), das schon ursprünglich auch deutsche Äquivalenten besaß, neu veröffentlicht worden. Die alte Ausgabe konnte seinerzeit unter den ausländischen Fachleuten nicht völlig gewürdigt werden, weil die Sprachproben Übertragungen nur ins Ungarische darboten. Auf das dritte Heft mit Laut-, Formen- und Satzlehre (III. Füzet: *Kazáni-tatár nyelvtan.* Budapest 1877, xvi+159 S.), das nach dem Herausgeber hauptsächlich nur wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung besitzt, wurde verzichtet.

Bálints Materialien — 144 Sprichwörter, 46 Rätsel, 64 Vierzeiler (Volkslieder), 4 kurze Heldenlieder (Volksgesänge), 34 Volksmärchen, 7 Abschnitte über volksreligiöse (abergläubische) Vorstellungen sowie 13 Auszüge aus christlich-erbaulichen Schul- und Lesebüchern — stammen vom Juni—September 1871. Zu jener Zeit hielt er sich in Kasan auf und beschäftigte sich mit der «unverdorbenen Volkssprache» getaufter tatarischer (russ. крящен) Seminaristen und Lehrer. Teilweise wurden die Texte von seinen Gewährsleuten in kyrillischer Schrift verfaßt und ihm ausgehändigt. Obwohl er sich bemüht hat, Hör- bzw. Schreibfehler zu vermeiden, ist ihm dies nicht völlig gelungen. In der zu besprechenden Neuausgabe hat Dr. Berta alles genau überprüft und in seinen Be-

richtigungen (S. 99—102) verbessert. Besonders interessant und wertvoll sind auch seine Anmerkungen zu Bálints tatarischen Texten (S. 107—139). In diesen führt er beinahe 300 alphabetisch geordnete und mit Hinweisen versehene, mundartliche bzw. sonst bemerkenswerte, etymologisch kommentierte Stichwörter an. Es ist beachtenswert, daß die islamische Kultur und Begriffswelt der Sprache der getauften Tataren viele arabische und persische Lehnwörter zu geben vermocht hat. Bálint hat selbst von den Lehnwörtern im Glossar 124 als arabische und 77 als persische — dazu 150 als russische — Lehnwörter verzeichnet (jedoch sind einige vermittels des Russischen entlehnte Wörter, wie z. B. *kazna* 'Schatzkammer' und *kirpič* 'Ziegel', als direkt arabische bzw. persische Lehnwörter angegeben). Was die vermutete 'unverdorbene' Sprache sonst betrifft, so kann erwähnt werden, daß in islamisch-tatarischen Drucken von rund 1880—1917 bisweilen auf dem Titelblatt «*ačïq Qazan telendä*» ('in klarer Qazaner Sprache') steht, obwohl jene spät-čagatajische Literatursprache sich als eine ausgeprägte und verfeinerte Mischsprache zeigt.

Der Herausgeber, der 1978 fünf Monate lang in Kasan mit Bálints Materialien gearbeitet hat und alles bis ins kleinste kontrollieren konnte, bezeichnet selbst (S. 7) jene Sammlung als ein außerordentlich wichtiges Sprachdenkmal für das Tatarische des 19. Jahrhunderts, das in mehr als einer Hinsicht eigenartiges Sprachmaterial bietet. Es weicht klar von der oben erwähnten, stark islamisch geprägten damaligen Schriftsprache ab und stellt eine gewissermaßen künstlich geregelte Koine mehrerer Mundarten bzw. Untermundarten dar, die sich in einer kleinen Gemeinde in der 1863 gegründeten Zentralschule der Getauften Tataren herausgebildet hatte. Seine lateinische Transliteration der kyrillischen Aufzeichnungen hat Bálint in die Richtung einer phonetischen Transkription geführt, weil er immer möglichst treu das eben Gesprochene zu präsentieren versuchte. Seine phonetisierten Texte bieten also einen Schlüssel zu den jeweiligen Lautwerten der kyrillischen Buchstaben und erhellen dadurch auch Fragen der historischen Dialektologie des Kasantatarischen. Bálint war der Meinung, daß diese Sprachform der Getauften die «richtige» tatarische Sprache darstellt, und tatsächlich weisen jene krjaschener Mundarten zahlreiche phonetische, morphologische und lexikalische Archaismen auf. — Die Frage, was eigentlich als «richtiges Tatarisch» bezeichnet werden kann, beschäftigt zur Zeit auch die finnischen Mischärtataren. Dieses zu demonstrieren, hat ein 80jähriger Repräsentant dieser Minderheit eine längere Geschichte für uns auf Tonband gesprochen, um dadurch zu zeigen, welcher Art «die reine, ursprüngliche tatarische Sprache» ist, die er als Kind von den alten Weibern in seinem Heimatdorf im Bezirk Sergač, Gouvernement Nižnij Novgorod (unweit von der Grenze vom Gouv. Kasan), hörte. Jene Sprachform, meint er, ist ohne islamische Kulturwörter und russisches Lehngut sowie frei von der finnischen Aussprach- und Betonungsweise, die die in Finnland geborenen Tataren angenommen haben.

Der Herausgeber betont den sprachlichen Konservatismus der Getauften, der seine Grundlage in ihrer Isoliertheit von den islamischen Tataren hat. Man vergleiche das mit der Tatsache, daß die heutigen Kasantataren schon die Mundart der finnischen Mischären als sehr altmodisch, unverfeinert und ländlich bezeichnen — geht jene isolierte Mundart doch auf das gesprochene Mischärtatarisch von der Jahrhundertwende zurück. Die Getauften Tataren wurden dazu viel früher, d. h. im 16. Jahrhundert, von den übrigen getrennt.

Obwohl die Bálintschen Materialien noch reiche Funde für die Sprachgeschichte und Dialektologie bieten, muß man auch die folkloristischen Aspekte beachten. Die verschiedenen Sprachproben sind mit Hinweisen zu Varianten (S. 103—106) versehen, aber hauptsächlich nur innerhalb der tatarischen Folklore — ganz allgemein unter den eurasischen Völkern bekannte

Märchen sind z. B. die Nummern 2–3, 5, 11, 16, 18 und 25. Sehr verbreitet ist Nr. 28 mit dem sog. «Tischleindeckdich» («Schüttle dich, Tisch!»), das wie auch einige andere Motive Bálints Entsprechungen auch unter G. J. Ramstedts i.J. 1991 veröffentlichten nogajischen und kumükischen Materialien vom Jahre 1904 findet. Die Isoliertheit von der islamischen Bevölkerung scheint nicht maßgeblich auf die Märchentradition eingewirkt zu haben. Im Kapitel VI liest man über alte abergläubische Vorstellungen (d. h. Dämonen, Geister usw.), die zu der ältesten Schicht der gemeintatarischen Volksreligion gehören — z. B. ist der heidnische Waldgeist Šüräle noch unter den finnischen Mischären lebendig.

Im Märchen Nr. 22 wird berichtet: «Seitdem, wenn ein Russe einen Tataren von uns, einen getauften [Tataren] sieht, sagt er immer 'Salma, ay lapatka, ěy sobaka!« (= russ. солома, лопатка, собака — Stroh, Spaten, Hund). Das ist offensichtlich mit den islamischen Grußformeln (*as-*)*salām alaikum* und (*wa-*)*alaikum as-salām* verbunden. In Finnland hat das Volksgedächtnis es in der Form *salamalikaa kampsalaa* bewahrt (18. u. 19. Jh., als u. a. Tataren und Baschkiren mehrmals mit den russischen Truppen in Finnland eindrangen). Im Märchen Nr. 23 findet sich der Passus: «. . . stellte sich, aber als schliefe sie.» Damit ist wohl «. . . stellte sich aber, als schliefe sie.» gemeint. Die durchgehend angewandte wortgetreue Übersetzung von *digän dej* als (-sagte) am Ende der Repliken kann als überflüssig angesehen werden, weil es beim Erzählen nur als ein abschliessendes Anführungszeichen fungiert. Im Märchen Nr. 25 (Z. 5–6: «. . . was ich gemacht habe? [-sagte]) ist das Zeichen sogar weggefallen.

Bálints Wörterbuch soll als ein Glossar zu seinen Texten entstanden sein, vermutlich sind ihm aber auch einige kleinere thematische Wortsammlungen (über das Schusterhandwerk sowie die Ernte- und Drescharbeit) einverleibt. Jedoch läßt er viele Namen, dabei aber auch einige vorkommende gewöhnliche Wörter, wie z. B. šüräle, albastï, stillschweigend aus. Der Herausgeber hat die biblischen Namen in der Übersetzung zusätzlich auch gedeutet, meist sind aber russische Namen nur in ihrer tatarischen Fassung angegeben. Auf S. 197 deutet Bálint Görgörey als Griγor (= Grigorij), dabei ist wohl Bäčlej = Vasilij, Očïb = Osip, Köžmä = Kuz'ma, Tropin = Trofim (S. 196), und Xriton = Hariton (S. 178). Zusammen mit den Heiligen Gurij und Varsonofij wird auch «German» erwähnt (S. 67/203), womit offensichtlich Hermogen (1530?–1612) gemeint ist, der 1589 zum Metropoliten von Kasan ernannt wurde.

Wozu kann man nun die Neuausgabe benutzen? Der Herausgeber hofft, daß seine zu Bálints Texten hinzugefügten kleineren Hilfsmittel das Fehlen einer gründlichen Beschreibung der sprachlichen Besonderheiten einigermaßen kompensieren können. Diese Hilfmittel kann man auch mit Vergnügen benutzen. Eine tiefergehende Analyse würde ja schon den Rahmen des Buches sprengen, das sonst zu mancherlei Sonderstudien auffordert. In der jetzigen Fassung ist es jedenfalls eine ausgezeichnete, sogar mit Musterübersetzungen versehene tatarische Chrestomathie, von denen es überhaupt kaum eine gibt. Das Wörterverzeichnis zu den Lesestücken in Poppes *Tatar Manual* (1963) ist mangelhaft, und es ist mir unbekannt, ob Gustav Burbiels planierte Chrestomathie der älteren tatarischen Schriftsprache überhaupt erschienen ist.

Typographisch ist das Buch akzeptabel, aber nicht einwandfrei.

Harry Halén

Á. Berta, *Lautgeschichte der tatarischen Dialekte. Studia Uralo-Altaica* 31. Szeged 1989. 304 S.

Dr. Árpád Berta hat seine 1986 verteidigte linguistische Habilitationsschrift lobenswert nun in deutscher Fassung veröffentlicht. Das Werk gibt einen systematischen Überblick über die lautliche Ent-

wicklung der verschiedenen tatarischen Mundarten, die im heutigen Tatarstan und ihrer sehr weiten Umgebung gesprochen werden.

Als historische Dialektologie beginnt das Buch mit einer periodisierenden und bewertenden, zumal auch kritischen Erforschungsgeschichte (S. 25—41). Dabei wird erhellt, daß manche Materialsammlungen noch unpubliziert daliegen — zusätzlich kann August Ahlqvists kleine kasantatarische grammatisch-lexikalische Sammlung vom Jahre 1856 (Informant: der Kasaner Mulla Biktemir Jusupov) erwähnt werden, die ebenso wie seine tschuwassischen Materialien unbearbeitet geblieben sind.

Der Verfasser erwähnt, daß die Notwendigkeit der Erforschung auch der lokalen nichttatarischen Mundarten schon 1955 anerkannt wurde. Trotzdem ist noch kaum etwas zugunsten einer deckenden areallinguistischen Analyse geleistet worden — der synchronische Systemvergleich soll praktisch unbekannt sein. Die Erörterung von Interaktionen mit eventuellen gemeinsamen Tendenzen innerhalb der mehrsprachigen Gesamtheit wartet noch auf Pionierarbeiten.

Auf S. 42—50 folgt eine synchronische, auf sechs phonetisch und fünf morphologisch «signifikanten» Kriterien beruhende mundartliche Gliederung des heutigen Tatarischen. Die drei Hauptgruppen (I. Zentraldialekt, II. Mischärdialekt bzw. Westdialekt u. III. Westsibirischer bzw. Ostdialekt) enthalten zusammen 36 Mundarten, 33 Untermundarten und zahlreiche lokale Varianten. Die verschiedenen Etappen der komplizierten Entwicklung, die zu dieser Gruppierung geführt hat, kennen wir nicht. Von dem synchronischen mundartlichen System ausgehend, versucht das vorliegende Werk einige Folgerungen über das ehemalige System und die Herausbildung des heutigen zu ziehen. Der Verfasser schließt aus seiner lautgeschichtlichen Analyse die westsibirischen Mundarten aus, da sie sprachhistorisch nicht zu den wolgatatarischen Dialekten (die Gruppen I u. II) gehören.

Nach einigen Gedanken über die sprachgeschichtlichen Zeugnisse der tatarischen Mundarten eröffnet sich eine systematische Behandlung der Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe (S. 53—146) und der zweiten Silbe (S. 147—175) sowie der Geschichte des Konsonantismus (S. 176—270). Als zeitlicher Hintergrund wird das zu rekonstruierende Wolgakiptschakische gesetzt und die in den heutigen Mundarten resultierende Lautentwicklung in Bezug zu dessen Lautsystem gesehen. Die Analyse der Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe weist darauf hin, daß es während des 14. u. 15. Jhs. drei mundartliche Gruppen gegeben hat — der Konsonantismus erlaubt vier Gruppen zu formen (*c*- u. *č*-Mischärisch sowie *y*- u. *dž*-Zentraldialekt), die aufgrund der sprachgeschichtlichen Untersuchung etwa im 15. Jh. bereits in derselben Gliederung haben existieren können. — Die Entwicklung des eigenartigen Vokalismus des Kasantatarischen soll recht jung sein. Nach der Meinung G. Doerfers war der alte türkische Vokalismus noch zur Zeit des Kasanchanats (1445—1552) durchweg bewahrt, was aus zeitgenössischen Chroniken hervorgeht. Auch kasantatarische Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen aus derselben Zeit weisen auf dieses Faktum hin (s. *OLZ* 1971: 7/8, 329).

Das Kapitel über das Entstehen des neuen /*ä*/ Phonems (S. 119—125) beschreibt dieses vorwiegend positionsbedingte Phänomen. Zusätzlich kann man vermuten, daß sich arabische und persische Lehnwörter mit demselben Laut in dieses erweiterte Vokalsystem gut einpaßten. Gibt es aber eventuell solche Entlehnungen auch aus einer Zeit vor dem Entstehen des /*ä*/ und wie verhalten sie zu den späteren? In Verbindung mit einer gründlichen Erörterung des wolgakiptschakischen **J*- (S. 197—224) beleuchtet der Verfasser verdienstvoll das Verhältnis zwischen Schreibweise und Phonetik.

Der Verfasser weist darauf hin (S. 283), daß die Rekonstruktion des frühen wolgakiptschakischen dialektalen Systems selbstverständlich nicht allein auf einer lautge-

schichtlichen Untersuchung beruhen kann. Neben Lautübergängen sind sprachliche Bewegungen in der Morphologie, Syntax, Lexik usw. zu beachten. Tatsächlich wäre es interessant zu wissen, wieweit z. B. ein eventueller Bedeutungswandel zwischen phonetisch sonst identischen oder naheliegenden Wortformen in den verschiedenen Mundarten vorkommt und wie eine solche semantische Differenzierung mit den Dialektgrenzen, die aufgrund der phonetischen und morphologischen Kriterien gezogen sind, zusammenfällt.

Das Buch endet mit einigen nützlichen Tabellen, einem Index der rekonstruierten wolgakiptschakischen Wortformen und fünf Karten mit einer möglichst vollständigen lautgeschichtlichen Gliederung der tatarischen Dialekte.

In seinem systematisch fortschreitenden gründlichen Werk erörtet Dr. Berta kritisch die sprachgeschichtlichen Quellen und die wichtigsten abweichenden Meinungen. Seine Argumentation ist scharf und überzeugend. In naher Zukunft wird er versuchen, einen Überblick über die Geschichte der morphologischen Probleme in den tatarischen Mundarten zu geben.

Erratum (S. 191): «eine ... affrikanisierte Variante des /t/» — sc. affrizierte.

Harry Halén

M. A. USMANOV et al., (Hrsg.) *Vozzvanija i perepiska vožakov Pugačevskogo dviženija v Povolž'e i Priural'e.* Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, Kazan' 1988, 463 p. *[Die Proklamationen und Korrespondenz der Anführer des Pugatschew-Aufstandes in den Wolga-Becken und in der Gegend des Urals.]*

Die Arbeitsgruppe des Historischen und Linguistischen Institutes der Universität Kazan hat eine beachtenswerte Quellenpublikation zur nationalen und sozialen Problematik des Pugatschew-Aufstandes herausgebracht. Unter den Veröffentlichungen, die von den sowjetischen Wissenschaftern in den letzteren Jahrzehnten zu diesem historischen Ereignis vorgelegt wurden, nimmt dieser Quellenband sowohl thematisch als auch methodisch einen besonderen Platz ein. Die meisten bisherigen Arbeiten begnügten sich mit der Benützung von russischen Amtsakten, die aus den Handlungen der — den Aufständischen gegenüber feindlich gesinnten — zaristischen Behörden hervorgingen. Dem vom Professor M. A. Usmanov geführten Kollektiv (S. H. Ališev, R. V. Ovčinnikov, U. A. Giljazov, F. M. Hisamova, R. M. Kadürov) gelang es diesmal, mit der Edition des unter den Aufständischen entstandenen tatarischen Schriftgutes wesentliche Aspekte der inneren Verhältnisse der bewaffneten Erhebung aufzuzeigen. Insgesamt fast zweihundert Dokumente — Berichte, Proklamationen, Meldungen, Schutzbriefe — wurden in den Beständen des Zentralen Staatsarchivs der Alten Akten in Moskau erschlossen und in den Band aufgenommen, der die Anfangs- und Entfaltungsphase des Aufstandes (6. Okt. 1773—10. Okt. 1774) behandelt. Die einzelnen Schriftstücke wurden zuerst in russischer Übersetzung mit Kurzregesten versehen, dann tatarisch mit arabischen Kalligraphik abgedruckt. Zehn Dokumente wurden als Faksimile wiedergegeben. Ein ausführlicher, sorgfältig bearbeiteter Anmerkungsapparat hilft einem, die Kriegsereignisse zu verfolgen und in der sprachlichen Vielfalt der Ortsbezeichnungen und Personennamen zurechtzufinden.

Wie schon erwähnt, bringen die edierten tatarischen Dokumente vor allem für die historischen Vorgänge des Pugatschew-Aufstandes neue Details und legen vernachlässigte Aspekte klar. Die vorrevolutionäre russische Geschichtsschreibung stellte nämlich den Aufstand als national religiösen Separatismus dar, und in der sowjetischen Historiographie wurden die sozialen Forderungen der Bauernbewegung überbetont. Die Einleitungstudie von M. A. Usmanov blieb von solchen generalisierenden Vereinfachungen weit entfernt. Sie stellte zwar die sozialen Beweggründe der Aufständischen nicht in Abrede,

anhand der bearbeiteten Quellen weist doch mit recht auf die kontinuierliche mobilisierende Wirkung der nationalen und ethnischen Komponente hin, nimmt aber auch die großen Unterschiede wahr, die in der Entwicklung des nationalen und ethnischen Bewußtseins der einzelnen sich an Pugatschew angeschlossenen Völkergruppen (Tataren, Baschkiren, Tschuwaschen, Udmurten, Tscheremissen) bestanden.

Über den religiösen Hintergrund des Aufstandes vermitteln die edierten Dokumente ein differenziertes Bild. In den Proklamationen der Anfangsphase war die Glaubensfrage kaum nachzuweisen, in den späteren Manifesten wurde diesem Problem immer größere Wichtigkeit beigemessen. Toleranz und Traditionalismus kamen in diesen Aufrufen gleichfalls zum Ausdruck, weil die freie Ausübung der Religionen nicht nur den Mohammedanern in Aussicht gestellt, sondern auch die Bestrebungen der russischen Altgläubigen den «deutschen» Sektierer gegenüber unterstützt wurden. Unter den Mohammedanern steigerte sich die Wirkung der Manifeste von Pugatschew auch dadurch, daß fast jede zweite von ihnen in tatarischer Sprache verkündet wurde. Auch für die innere Korrespondenz wurde die tatarische Sprache von den Anführern des Aufstandes sehr oft in Gebrauch genommen. Diese bewegte Zeit hatte dann zur Folge, daß die wiedererweckte tatarische Schriftlichkeit zur Entstehung einer so großen Vielfalt von Schriftdenkmälern führte, die im Frieden kaum denkbar gewesen wäre. Das bezeugen auch die handschriftlichen literarischen Werke, die mit der Korrespondenz der Aufständischen beschlagnahmt wurden. So verstand es sich von selbst, daß man diese Edition nicht nur als historisches sondern auch als sprachgeschichtliches Quellengut betrachtete. In verschiedenen Publikationen wurden die wichtigsten Dokumente von den Linguisten der Arbeitsgruppe aber ausschließlich aus der Sicht der tatarischen Sprachentwicklung ausgewertet (D. G. Tumaševa, M. A. Usmanov, F. M. Hisamova: Ob osobennostjah razvitija starotatarskoj delovoj pis'mennosti. In: Sovjetskaja Turkologija 1977, Nr. 3, 51—66). Das edierte tatarische Sprachmaterial ist auch der allgemeinen Turkologie unter anderen für die Erforschung der Sprachkontakte und für die Rekonstruktion der tatarischen Kanzleitradition von großer Bedeutung. In diesem Zusammenhang stellen sich die Fragen:

1. In welchem Maße gelang die tatarische Schriftsprache im letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts unter den Einfluß des Russischen?

2. Welche Elemente sind aus der Kanzleitraditionen des ehemaligen Chanats von Kazan erhalten geblieben?

Die russischen Lehnwörter kamen einerseits als Termini der Militär und der Verwaltung (wie z. B. *armya* — Armee, *yeneral* — General, *mayor* — Major, *sotnik* — Hauptmann, *kaptan* — Kapitan, *qamandir* — Kommandant, *pahotnay qamandir* — Lagerkommandant; *kripis* — Festung, *sala* — Dorf, *istaršina* — Dorfgemeinschaft), andererseits als kanzleitechnische Begriffe (*pisar* — Schreiber, *pečat* — Siegel, *poṭpiska* — Unterschrift, *ukaz* — Befehl, *doporos* — Bittschrift) in das Tatarische. Die russischen Lehnwörter sind überwiegend Substantive; es kamen einige Adjektive (*pahotnay* — kriegerisch, *immenay* — persönlich) Numeralia (*triti* — dritte), Pronomina (*sam* — selbst) vor. Unter den Lehnwörtern sind keine Verben russischen Ursprungs zu finden, aber die tatarischen Verben bilden doch — nach der Analogie der früheren arabischen Entlehnungen — mit russischen Substantiven nicht selten verbale Zusammensetzungen (*pečat basdum* — ich habe gesiegelt, *doporos etmek* — ersuchen, *paṭpiska birdüm qol tamgam şaldum* — ich habe unterschrieben und mein Tamga daraufgelegt, *paṭpisat [!] idüp qolum qoydum* — ich habe unterschrieben).

Die russischen Lehnwörter nahmen zwar sehr oft tatarische Suffixe an, aber in den entlehnten attributiven Verbindungen blieben die russischen Kasusendungen des attributiven Adjektivs — meistens in

verzerrter Form — erhalten (*imennüm ukazdin* — auf ihren persönlichen Befehl oder *immennüm ukazlarimning* — des meinen persönlichen Befehls). Diese Beispiele machen das Einwirken des Russischen auf das Tatarische plausibel, doch die russischen Lehnwörter haben sich zu dieser Zeit noch nicht in solchem Maße im Tatarischen eingebürgert, wie es mit der früheren arabischen Entstehungen der Fall war.

Das Fortleben der Kanzleitradition des tatarischen Chanats ist insbesondere im Aufbau und in der Gestaltung der Einleitungs- und Schlußformeln der Schriften zu beobachten, wobei die charakterischen Merkmale chronologisch in zwei Gruppen eingestuft werden können. Die ältere Schicht ist von der Kanzleisprache des Chanats von Kazan geprägt. Als Beispiele können die folgende angeführt werden: die Erwähnung von *Huwa* — Er, der Gott in der Invocation; Anwendung der Formel *sözümüz* — unser Wort, unser Befehl (die übrigens nicht auf seinem gewöhnlichen Ort sondern im Text vorkommt); der Schlußformel *bitildi* — wurde geschrieben (nur dreimal) und in der Datierung die Benützung der alttürkischen Tierzykel (ein einziges Mal). In der jüngeren Schicht befinden sich solche Merkmale, die auf die osmanische Kanzleipraxis zurückgeführt werden können (wie z. B. *men ki* — ich, der; *biz ki . . . siz ki* — wir, die . . . ihr die; *šöyle ma'lum oluna* — es soll so verstanden werden).

Bei den Bücherbesprechungen kommt selten vor, daß auch dem Orts- und Personennamenbestand der Indices eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird. Diese Beachtung erfolgt daraus, daß einige Orts- und Personennamen ihre Parallele im Ungarischen haben (*Saqmar*; *Almuš*, *Ötemiš*, *Maduar Maksimoǧli*, *Madžar Abtirǧayoǧli*). Man muß jedoch mit diesen Angaben sehr vorsichtig umgehen, weil die zwei letzteren zwar große Ähnlichkeit mit ungarischen Volksnamen aufweisen, sie sind aber regelmäßig entwickelte Formen des muselmanischen Namens *Bahtiyar* (G. F. Sattarov: Tatarstan ASSR' ning antropotoponimnari. Kazan' 1973). Hierher gehört auch das ungarische Wort *Husar*, das durch die Vermittlung des Russischen in das Tatarische gelangt sein könnte.

Es kann nur begrüßt werden, daß die Arbeitsgruppe von der Universität zu Kazan die Veröffentlichung der tatarischen Schriften des Pugatschew-Aufstandes fortsetzen will. Für eine authentische Edition wäre es unbedingt erforderlich, daß die tatarischen Texte in der Zukunft nicht mehr mit mühsamer Arbeit manuell geschrieben, sondern mit zeitgemäßer Technik gedruckt werden.

Mária Ivanics

GERHARD DOERFER, *Mongolo-Tungusica. Tungusica*, Bd. 3, hg. von MICHAEL WEIERS. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1985. 305 p. + 3 maps.

After publishing several important studies on Manchu—Tungus topics, the author of the four giant volumes of TMEN (a work which also has much material for Tungus and Manchu studies) contributed this book entirely to the problems of the linguistic, cultural and historical interrelations of the Easternmost branch of the Altaic commonwealth. V. I. Cincius's magistral Comparative Dictionary of the Tungus and Manchu Languages (*Sravnitel'nyj slovar tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykov*, Moscow—Leningrad 1975—1977) was the main, although not the only, source of inspiration for Prof. Doerfer in his attempt to trace the highly complicated ways of the historical movements covering thousands of years on the immense area from central Siberia to Manchuria so that those ways are reflected in the mirror of linguistic facts, confronted with the available archeological, and ethnographical, etc., information.

The central topic of the book is the common vocabulary of Mongolian and Tungusic (Manchu—Tungus) languages,

examined as a statistical problem of linguistic geography, with the aim of throwing new light on the darkness of prehistorical contacts.

From the considerable (but, as usual, rather uneven) comparative material, the author consciously eliminated the onomatopoeic, imitative or echoic stems and children's words, semantically or phonetically uncertain comparisons, and the indirect Mongolian elements in Tungusic, as well as the dubious cases due to inaccurate recording. And though the reader may question the decision of the author in some cases (e.g. Ewenki *alẽrsun* 'cranberry' and Manchu *alisun* 'new grass grown after mowing', Cincius, I, 32, are indeed semantically incompatible words, but both are of Mongolian origin: the Ewenki word of the Vitim—Nerchinsk area remounts to Mong. *alirsun/alisun/anisun*, while the Manchu one corresponds to another Mong. *alisun*, cf. also *aliusun*; on the Turkish connection of the latter *alisun* see also I. Gyarmati: AOH XXXVIII, pp. 357—365; semantical and morphological difficulties make the comparison No. 96 doubtful, see below), which in general is a wise principle when attacking a so difficult and, despite the meritorious investigations of our predecessors, such an unknown field. In many aspects, information on the vocabulary of the territorially scattered and divergent Tungusic languages and dialects is still poor and insufficient. Fieldwork in Siberia and North-Eastern China is still most desirable (much new material was recently published on Ewenki/Solon, Shibe/Xibo, Jurchi, Manchu and Daur in China, but our glossaries and dictionaries of most of the relevant units are still too elementary, some of them are difficult to access).

Doerfer divides his material into six groups: W = *Western Ewenki* of Sym, Ilimpiy, Yerbogochon, Stony Tunguska; E = *Eastern Ewenki* of Tokmo, Upper Lena, North Baikal, Barguzin, Onon, etc., to Sakhalin; S = *Southern Ewenki*, i.e. Solon, Manegir, Birare, etc., to Khingan; M = *Manchu* and Jurchi; C = *Central*: Ude, Oroch, Kili, Nanai, Ulcha, Orok, Negidal; L = *Lamut* or Ewen. According to their mostly phonetic features, the loan-words are defined as old, new, or indefinable (bearing no distinct marks). Distribution of the lexems defines here autonomous and dependent areas. Linguistic examination is followed by statistical evaluation, which forms an important part of the book, although the mathematical accuracy of the percentages of the various groups of data (origin, area, age, and type, etc.) seems to be, here and there, contrasting with the scarcity of the corpus examined. The author's Lists of the Combined Areal Groups (part 5) contain 688 etymological entries in several groups like WESMCL (66 units with 56.1 percent of old, archaic elements), WESMC (i.e. without Lamut, 28 units with 8 = 32 percent old), WESML (i.e. without the "central" group, 2 units, 1 = 50 percent of Turkish, 1 = 50 percent of Mongolian roots, both are basic words, i.e. 100 percent), etc. The *Nachtrag* in part 7, pp. 235—237, lists the additional units No. 689—697.

Part 6, *Die Altersstufen*, is an essay on the age-marker phonetic features. Undoubtedly the most important of them is the representation of the old *p*, especially in initial position, including Nanai *p*, Manchu *f*, Khitan *p*, Middle Mong. *h*, Dagur *x*, Monguor *x* and *f*, Khalaj *h*, etc. In some cases, however, the "guttural" and even the labial initial may be secondary, due to a following, originally strong consonant, or, due to analogy (as, e.g. in Monguor *fuju* 'water' and *xaldan* 'gold'), so the witness of its isolated (e.g. only Khalaj, or, only Middle Mong., etc.) occurrence must not be overestimated. The part in question contains many interesting ideas like those concerning the Dagur/Daur influence, a "Daguroid" stratum, which is especially significant in Solon, like the Solon stratum in Daur.

Possible Turco—Tungusic contacts, non-Mongolian loan-words in Tungus, Tungusic loan-words in Mongolian with the question of the primordial homeland, and

intra-Tungusic loan-words are discussed in part 8. (The author's opinion, p. 252, that the comparison of Mong. *altan*, Manchu *aisin* and Jurchi *alčun* is "fully improbable and contradicts all experiences" seems too severe if not arbitrary, see, e.g., L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [Turkish relations of the Hungarian language before the conquest of the country and during the Árpád-period], Budapest 1986, p. 437, in a passage about the Mongolo—Tungusic contacts, pp. 434—440.) Part 9 deals with anthropological, ethnological, archeological and historical questions. Part 10 offers the *Grundstatistik* and the *Thesen*, according to which (1) there were no direct contacts between Turkish and Tungus in antiquity, and (2) there were prehistorical Turco—Mongol contacts, further, (3) only E, S, and M had direct contacts with Mongolian, (4) [consequently] W, L, and C had only indirect contacts with Mongolian, (5) concerns probability of old Mongolian elements in Turkish languages, percentage of such elements in W, the strata of these in E; (6) there are no common basic words in Turkish and Mongolian, (7) there are older and newer strata of Tungus elements in Mongolian [this is one of the new results of the book; nevertheless it is highly probable that such Tungusic terms as the names of some sea-animals were borrowed by the Mongols after their submission by the Manchus], (8) a scheme of the distribution of the Mongolian elements in the Manchu—Tungus languages; (9) there are non-Mongolian and non-Turkish loan-words in Tungusic [this is obvious, but it is hardly believable that such words as *čai* 'tea' and *araki* 'brandy' were borrowed without the transmission of Mongolian], (10) desiderrata: research into the cultural history of Mongolo—Tungusic contacts, with the possibility of substrata to be considered and, (11) a periodisation of the genetic dissolution of the Tungusic languages:

1. common land of origin in Manchuria, with common Mongolian, but without Turco—Mongolian elements,

2. three distinct groups, Northern Tungus, Manchu, and Central Tungusic (without Negidal and Orok) appear, direct Mongolian contacts separately in Northern Tungus and Manchu, and strata of Turco—Mongolian words, up to the 3rd century A.D.,

3. Western and Eastern Ewenki as well as Lamut is separated from Solon, etc., a non-Daguroid (early Buriat?) stratum in W—E—L, from the 5th to the 11th century A.D.,

4. Western Ewenki and Lamut separated from their group; Manchu influence on Solon, etc., and the Central group; Nanai substratum on former Ewenki Kili, on the ancestors of the Samagir and on the Gilyak/Nivkh, from the 12th to the 16th century,

5. the main groups formed, numerous movements of minor units, since the 17th century.

The reviewer cannot but affirm the thesis (12), the *Schlusswort*, that the author threw new light upon numerous old problems and stated several important new questions.

Some of my questions:

Comparison No. 95, Turk. *az*, Khalaj *hāz*, Mong. *arai*, etc., has the semantical problem Turk. 'few' vs. Mong. 'hardly' or 'almost' and the morphological difficulty Turk. attributive vs. Mong. adverb, maybe, verbal adverb. The difficulty is not insurmountable, but still provoking.

Comparison No. 96, Mong. *auγa* 'power', Western Ewk. *abga-* 'to be safe/healthy', deverb. noun *abgara* 'healthy', Manchu *abγari* 'having free time, free', etc. is problematic, because Mong. *auγa* (well attested in Middle Mong. *a. küčün* and *küčün a.*) is only known as 'power, strength', cf. also Jarut *abā huš*, id., *abāš-* 'to force, beat', and, perhaps, Manchu *afa-*, Xibo *ave-* 'to fight, to wrestle', with the problem noun vs. verb; to the Solon *abgara*: add *aggar* 'whole, entire' (*Ewengki Mongyol Kitad kelen-ü qaričayuluγsan üges-ün tegübüri, Ewenke yu meng han duizhao cihui* by Kesingge et al., Beijing 1983, p. 199) and

Daur *abgar* 'healthy, in good condition' (Enhebatu, *Daor Niakan bulku biteg*, Kökeqota 1983, p. 1; id., *Dayur kelen-ü üges, Dawoer yu cihui*, Kq. 1984, p. 7: *abγər*).

P. 152, Manchu *orin* 'twenty' and the other numerals: see now Ligeti, *loc. cit.* with the assumption Jurchi *-χon* (in *jirχon* etc.) ~ Mong. *χorin*, like Old Turk. *yigirmi* in the numerals 11—19.

P. 155, Manchu *fada-* 'to bewitch, to enchant': the proposed Chin. etymon, *fǎ* means 'law, method' etc., but not 'magic' (cf. Manchu *fa, fafun*, Daur *pabun* and *pa/pās*, the latter two: 'law' and 'method'), but see Xibo *fa* = Chin. *fǎshù* 'black art' and *móshù* 'magic', Li Shulan et al., *Xibo yu kouyu yanjiu* (Beijing 1984), p. 140. — Chin. *fūren* 'lady' is attested in Khitan *pu-ši.n.* in the assembled or "small" script. — Nanai *peiǰe* 'brick' is not necessarily a direct borrowing from Chin., cf. Chin. *-zi* represented by Nanai *-se* in *dengse* 'scales'; Enhebatu gives Daur *heij* = *xəiǰ* for Chin. *pei* 'brick'.

P. 165, n. 44, Mong. suffixes with *b-*: add *-ban* in *γurban, dörben*, **parban* and **naiban* (for this latter cf. Ligeti, *loc. cit.*). P. 165, Turk. *balbal* and Mong. *barimal*: a courageous if not audacious undertaking in three moves, and though both root and suffix are old in Mong., the word itself with its meaning 'sculpture, statue' may be a new formation; it is not attested in Middle Mongolian or in the dictionaries of the Manchu period like *Qorin nigetü tayilburi toli* and the Pentaglot *Qingwenjian* (in the latter, Manchu *ôren* and Chin. *xiàng* are rendered by Mong. *körüg*).

G. Kara

Meldon South Coblin, *A Sinologist's Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparison. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XVIII. Steyler Verlag. Nettetal 1986. 188 p.

Nearly five hundred (495) entries of Sino-Tibetan lexical comparison are listed on the spaced pages of this handy book. According to its introduction (chapter I, pp. 7—12), the details, "the development of Proto-Tibeto—Burman to Tibetan, Burmese, etc. will in general not be dealt with here" (p. 12). This is regrettable because much depends on the "boring" details in this highly rugged domain of linguistic relations.

The sound system of ST is discussed in brief in chapter II (pp. 13—33). The proto-syllable is reconstructed as

$$C(C)\ (M_1)(M_2)(M_3)\ V(V)\ C(C)$$

with initials including six labiovelars, seven medials, a (voiced: voiceless) non-aspirated: voiceless aspirated opposition of the stops and the "sibilant" affricatives (*ts, tsh, dz*), twenty-one possibilities for a simple final, etc.

The comparisons (chapter III, pp. 35—163, with Addenda on p. 164) are given in the alphabetical order of their English semantical equivalents, from *about to/on the point of* ***tshyiaγ* (Chin. *qie*; Tib. *čha* 'to start to') to *you/thou* ***njaγ* (Chin. *ru*, Karen, Burm. *nang/na*). In fact in most cases at least a third asterisk would better represent the distance between the actually available facts and the forms reconstructed.

Indexes to the Tib. (A) and to the Chin. (B) forms, a bibliography and a list of ST studies published in *MonSer*, 1935—1985, complete the book. Add to the bibliography: Kamil Sedláček, *Das Gemein-Sino-Tibetische*, Wiesbaden 1970, as an example of another courageous attempt at a bird's-eye view of the Sino-Tibetan many-headed monster.

The Sinologist author takes the genetic affinity of the Sino-Tibetan languages for granted. This approach allows much freedom in reconstructing and comparing the monosyllabic roots of Chinese and the Tibeto—Burman languages whose relationship is incontestable, but the nature of their relation(s) is still disputable.

Some of the fifty more or less certain or probable and acceptable comparisons of the Handlist:

bent/crooked (****khjuk*: Chin. *qu*, Tib. *'gug(s)*);

breast/nipple/milk (****njuɣ*: Chin. *ru*, Tib. *nu-* in *nu-ma*);

cool/cold (****gljang*, Chin. *liang*, Tib. *graṅ*; cf. also Tib. *kluṅ* and Chin. *jiang*, despite its pretended Thai origin);

to die (****syid*: Chin. *shi*, Tib. *'čhi/ši*);

to divide (****byes*: Chin. *bjiat* . . . , Tib. [*'bye/'byed* instead of] *byes* 'abroad');

door (****sgwaɣ*: Chin.*ɣwo* (*hu*), Tib. *sgo*);

drip/drop (****tik*: Chin. *di*, Mathews 6222, Tib. *'thig/thigs*);

dry; eight (****priat*); empty/hollow; eye; father/male;

?female (*****ʔyum*: Chin. *yin*, Tib. *yum*, honorific for 'mother'; but if so, then what about Chin. *yang*, opposite to *yin*, and Tib. *yab*, honorific for 'father'?);

fish (****ngyaɣ*); five; four (****blyid*); fox; goose (if not onomatopoeic);

?head (****dbuɣ*; Chin. *tou*, Tib. *dbu*);

heart/mind; honour (****tsun*);

?iron (*****hliek*; cf. Chang in JAOS 1972);

to kill (2) (****sriat*, Chin. *sha*, Tib. *gsod/bsad/gsad/sod*);

to know (****syis*, Chin. *xi*, Mathews 2506, Tib. *šes*);

louse (****sryik*, Chin. *sjet*, Tib. *shig*);

measure (Chin. *liang*) and to count (Tib. *'graṅ*);

middle/between (****bar* as in Tib. and Chin. *ban* 'half');

mother (****məɣ*); mouth (***khuɣ*); name (****mying*); near;

new (****gsjar*: Chin. *xian*, Tib. *gsar*);

nine; ?not (****myaɣ*, Chin. *wu*, Tib. *ma*);

onion (****btshong*); pig (****prwaɣ*: Chin. *ba*, Giles 8522, Tib. *phag*, Tib.—Burm. **spwak*);

poison (****dəkw*); robber(y) (****dzək*, Chin. *zei*, Tin. *jag*);

to run/gallop (****khyuɣ*);

salt (1) (****dzar*: Chin. *cuo*, Tib. *chva*), salt (2) is difficult because Tib. *rgyam* is only attested in a compound (*rgyam-chva*) which does not seem to be composed of synonyms;

sand/earth (****srar*: Chin. *sha* 'sand', Tib. *sa* 'earth');

serpent (*****klјiəɣw*: Chin. *jiu*, Tib. *klu*, if the latter is not a Middle Chinese loanword in Tibetan, as some other scholars claim);

seven (*****shnjis*: Chin. *tshjet*, Burm. *hnac*): a difficult case;

silver (*****dngjɨul*: Chin. *ngjen*, Tib. *dṅul*, Burm. *ṅwe*);

six (*****dljəkw*, Chin. *ljuk*, Tib.—Burm. **d-ruk*);

to speak/talk (*****gdam*: Chin. *dâm*, Tib. *gdam* and *gtam*);

sun (*****nyiʔ*: Chin. *ńźjet*, Tib. *ñi-* in *ñi-ma*, *ñin*);

to think (*****niəm/nyəm*: Chin. *nien*, Tib. *ñams*, *sñam-*);

thirsty/dry (*****khem*, Chin. *khem* 'emaciated', Tib. *skom*);

three (*****gsum* as in Tib.; Chin. *sam*);

two (*****gnyis*);

what (*****gar*: Chin. *ya/he*, Tib. *ga-*);

wine (*****thryang*, Chin. *chang* 'aromatic spirits', Tib. *čhaṅ*);

wood (*****sying*: Chin. *xin* 'firewood', Tib. *šiṅ* 'tree; wood'). Some comparisons seem to be too audacious:

*****klyəngw* > ***trəngw*, Chin. *zhong* 'middle' and >***glyung*, Tib. *žuṅ* 'essence';

*****rgal* > Chin. *he* *'the one which must be crossed'? > 'proper name of the Yellow River' and Tib. *rgal* 'ford'.

I could not find Tib. *'ag-po* (or *ag-po*?) 'bad' (compared with Chin. *e*). Cf. Tib. dial. *ag-pa* 'to fall' (*Zang Han da cidian*, p. 3131)?

With its provoking comparisons this handlist will surely promote the research into Tibeto—Chinese, Tibeto—Burmese historical and comparative linguistics.

G. Kara

LUCIANO PETECH, *Selected Papers on Asian History. Serie Orientale, Roma* LX, Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma 1988. XVIII + 412 pp.

A comprehensive selection of the shorter papers of the author, which reflect his rich

scholarly career on the occasion of his retirement — from university activities in Rome — on October 31, 1984, which was so much regretted by his colleagues and pupils. Altogether 27 articles published originally in English, French, and Italian, respectively, are published here almost in an unchanged form (with short corrections and emendations concerning bibliography, references, text editions, and translations of sources, etc.). (See the comments on the edition in the Preliminary Note, p. IX, after an informative Foreword, by G. Gnoli, the editor of the series in question, alongside a portrait of the popular and friendly professor, and before his scientific portrait shown by his bibliography up to 1986.) These well-selected papers continued his entire scholarly life and work, from the beginning as a lecturer in India (1938—1946), then at the university of Naples (1947) and the University of Rome (from 1948) where he was the head of chair of the History of Eastern Asia for almost three decades (from 1955).

The articles published here precisely reflect just a part of his outstanding and paramount knowledge about the history and civilization, geography and culture of Nepal and Tibet, and of India and China, connected with Central Asian historical culture and cultural history. They are based on his eminent knowledge of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Arab, Hindi, and Urdu source material; but occasionally his wide European experience and perspective also contribute to the charming world he created, represented here, in this selection, a treasury of the Orient, for pupils of the Orient.

The papers published in chronological order — with an indication of the periodical of their original appearance, and date, etc. — could be divided according to the geographical regions treated in them, the centuries of history commented on in them, the language and character of the sources concerned, or according to the results or discoveries included in them, alongside the various disciplines where they are esteemed and enumerated, but any kind of grouping would be only formal compared to the splendid richness of the content. Here is one kind of formal division of the published papers:

We can read about the main territory of the author's interest, i.e. about Tibet: "Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana" ('Tibet in Muslim Geography'), similarly on the geography of Tibet in a note: "Nota su Mābd e Twsmt", on its religious history: "The Dalai-Lamas and regions of Tibet: a chronological study", "Notes on Tibetan history of the 18th century", and "The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh", comments on Tibetan historical geography: "La struttura del ms. Tib. Pelliot 1267", and on Tibet's visitors: "China and the European travellers in Tibet 1860—1880", about 7th century Tibetan history: "Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ: a new study", and on Tibet's war connections: "The Tibetan—Ladakhi—Moghul war (1681—1683)".

In addition there are papers on foreigners in the Far East, namely British embassies in the 18th century: "The missions of Bogle and Turner according to the Tibetan texts" on "L'ambasciata olandese del 1655—57 nei documenti cinesi" ('Holland's embassy in 1655—57 in Chinese documents'), in Tibetan and Mongolian spheres of the 13th—14th centuries: "Les marchants italiens dans l'empire mongol" ('Italian merchants in the Mongol Empire, with a description of a journey from Persia to China in the 18th century: "Un itinerario dalla Persia alla Cina dell' inizio del secolo XVIII". Geographical problems are dealt with concerning a Chinese map in the 18th century: "Una carta cinese del secolo XVII", with "Some Chinese texts concerning Ceylon"; 17th century journeys and travellers are referred to in "Some remarks on the Portuguese embassies to China in the K'ang-hsi period"; while a few historical glosses are reviewed from a chroniclee in "Glosse agli Annali di Tunhuang", and a famous and tragic figure of the end of the 13th century is depicted

in the paper about "Sang-ko, a Tibetan statesman in Yüan China".

Nepal's early history is commented on in: "The chronology of the early inscriptions of Nepal", with a few aspects of its 13th century: "Mithilā and Nepal". Other geographical regions of Asia are also reviewed in "Note su Kāpiśi e Zabul", mainly from the point of view of the last centuries of the first millennium A.D., the itinerary of a 14th century Chinese Buddhist monk: "La description des Pays d'Occident de Che Tao-ngan" ('The description of Shih Tao-an about the Countries of the West') and in a supplementary paper: "Note additionelle . . ."; the travel notes of a first century's source is described: "On Huang-chih", while a 5th century journey in India is commented on in: "Alcuni dati di Chih Seng-tsai sull'India". Finally some cultural-historical comments can be read in the "Nugae Tibeticae", and the cultural-political background of an Indian embassy to China is reviewed, with many related details: "La pretesa ambasciata di Shāh Jahān alla Cina".

Our thanks and congratulations go to the editors, and we wish further good health to the author and more activity in similar papers to come!

Ildikó Ecsedy

WERNER THOMAS, *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen (1960—1984)*. In: *Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität.* Frankfurt am Main. Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe Nr. 5. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH. Stuttgart 1985. XI + 187 p.

This excellent guide to all scholarly efforts, carried out between 1960 and 1984, in the field of Tocharian studies, covers 334+8 items with ample and vivid annotation arranged in thematical order: A. bibliographies (p. 7); B. general works (pp. 8—19) on the history of field work on history, culture, religion, and arts, concerning the name "Tocharian", on language and literature; C. the language (pp. 20—30: texts and interpretations, pp. 30—32: dictionaries/glossaries, pp. 32—125: grammar) and D. the linguistic affinity of Tocharian (pp. 126—154). The one page Final Note (*Schlussbemerkungen*, p. 155) and the Additions (*Nachträge aus dem Jahr 1984*, pp. 185—187, eight items) indicate the vigour of Tocharian studies.

The List of the works evaluated (*Literaturverzeichnis*, pp. 156—178) has the same thematical order as above, but here the items within each thematical group are enumerated in the alphabetical order of the authors' names. (Pp. 179—184: abbreviations.)

In addition, the book is not only a fairly full and wise presentation of the achievements of an important though narrow field, but also provides fine reading. Add, however: E. Moerloose, *The Way of Vision* (Darśanamārga) *in the Tocharian and Old Turkish Versions of the* Maitreyasamitināṭaka: *CAJ* 23 (1979), pp. 240—249.

Concerning the binom compounds (Skr. *dvanda*, Greek *hendiadyoin*), p. 102, it is noteworthy that this mainly stylistic phenomenon occurs in some Uigur translations of Chinese or Tibetan Buddhist texts even where the latter texts have a simpler method of expression.

To A **śutäk* "Schilfgrass": cf. Tib. *šu-dag*, name of a medicinal plant, Calamus (p. 119); to A *snum* "Wohlgeruch, Parfüm": cf. Tib. *snom* "to smell" (p. 120)?

The poetical fantasy of various authors is illustrated in the etymological investigations, especially in those connecting Toch. with non-Indo-European languages. To the Tokh. elements in Proto-Turkish (item 322) see also A. Róna-Tas's note on Ivanov and Gamkrelidze's Indo-European monography in *AOH* XLII.

G. Kara

ARMIN HETZER, *Dačkerēn-Texte, Eine Chrestomatie aus Armenierdrucken des 19. Jahrhunderts in türkischer Sprache.* (Unter

dem Gesichtspunkt der funktionalen Stile des Osmanischen ausgewählt und bearbeitet von ARMIN HETZER. Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden. 1987. (In the Series: *Turcologica*. Herausgegeben von LARS JOHANSEN)

In 1984, a number of Armeno—Turkish books from the stock of the Printing House of the Mekhitarist Convent in Vienna accidentally came into the hands of the author. The books were to be shipped to Turkey, as no customer in Armenian circles was interested in buying books on Catholic creed in Turkish written with Armenian letters (Taǰkerèn, dačkerēn).

The 19 copies were all of religious content, translated from Armenian or Italian. This discovery induced the author to pursue a search for similar literature, and he found some more items in the Staatsbibliothek Preußisches Kulturgut, the provenance of which was 3 from the Publishing House of the Venice Mekhitarists, 2 of Istanbul, and 1 of Smyrna.

The majority of the books were religious, and contained religious lyrics, legends of saints, and other books on Christology. There were only a few of secular type. From five items, the author presented 275 pages of text in Latin transcription, and because of the lack of space, only 120 pages in original Armenian script, but sufficient for orthographic comparison.

As the author's dominant aim was to present the socio-functional image of the 19th century Ottoman vernacular, he preferred to offer most of secular texts. Apart from religious lyrics and hagiography, he gave samples of two language textbooks by A. Hindoğlu, which represented colloquial speech. The major part of his samples came from a novel, the love story of Agapi (published in Istanbul), the most favourite reading of the age. The official language was represented by an Ottoman—Turkish document, the text of the Turkish constitution. The texts were inserted into chapters: 1. religious lyrics, 2. narrative texts, 3. prayers, 4. argumentative prose. This classification according to literary genre was not very fortunate, because in this way the religious and secular types were mixed up, and the samples did not represent the grades of composition difficulty. No problem was caused by disregarding the temporary sequence, as all of the texts represented the language of the Tanzimat period.

The voluminous introductory essay dealt with the linguistic analysis of the literature presented. The main issue was the phonetic analysis of the texts, as the Armenian alphabet of 38 letters complemented with some letter-combinations is a rather useful tool to characterise the phonetic structure of Ottoman, much more than Arabic script. This advantage of Armeno—Ottoman texts was disclosed a long time ago and several treatises were written on this subject, but a rather limited quantity of texts were published.

A. Hetzer subjected the linguistic material to a comparison with the findings of Fr. v. Kraelitz—Greifenhorst: Studien zum Armeno—Türkischen (Vienna 1912), mainly based on periodicals of the second half of the 19th century, and Mekhitarist publications of the same period. In his article, Kraelitz—Greifenhorst stubbornly adhered to the literal explanation of the phonetic state of the language represented by the texts and thus, to a certain degree, he misinterpreted their phonetic value. A. Hetzer's main objective was to give a thorough socio-linguistic diapason of the quoted texts, so he also made an analysis of the grammatical structure, vocabulary and content of the Armeno—Ottoman texts he published. He came to the final conclusion that no special Ottoman language spoken by the Armenians existed, but the texts represented common standard Turkish — orta türkçe — of the Tanzimat period. He thus shared the opinion of most previous researchers. He also made some comments on the relevant essays of two scholars (Słuszkiewicz and Tietze) engaged in the critical evaluation of the Kraelitz treatize, and of other literary items (Eu.

Słuszkiewicz, Remarques sur la langue turque des Arméniens—Rocznik Orient. vol. 14. Warsaw 1938; Eremya Chelebi Kömürjian's Armeno—Turkish Poem "The Jewish Bride" edited by A. K. Sanjian and A. Tietze. O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1981.) The author should have been more circumspect in the rather rich literature on Ottoman transcription texts.

In his essay A. Hetzer made ample use of modern standard Turkish and also to a certain extent of dialectal (esp. Rumelian) material for comparison. For this purpose, his main text was the Agapi novel, with its vulgar (or dialectal) forms used by common people, for whom the novel was intended for. He analyzed the grammatical forms (esp. the prevalence of the izafel-construction in certain texts), and the discrepancies of vowel harmony of suffixes. For the control of varieties, a list of relevant words and suffixes was appended to the volume. As the texts (excepted the textbooks, and the Agapi novel) were translations from Armenian (or Italian), an appendix of Armenian synonyms and proper names was added.

Of course, further research should open the way to the historical aspect to characterise the vernacular of subsequent centuries and eventual local peculiarities of colloquial Turkish, used equally by Armenians, but this programme will be the task of researchers, who have a much more varied text-collection at their disposal.

Edmond Schütz

Studia Caucasologica I, Proceedings of the Third Caucasian Colloquium, Oslo, July 1986. Edited by FRIDRIK THORDARSON Norwegian University Press. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture Serie B: Skrifter LXXV

It is to be welcomed that the publication of a series on Caucasian Studies has been started by the University of Oslo, especially as it was in Oslo, where — among the European states — systematic research on Caucasian studies was first initiated, nominally by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

The first volume of the series contains the Proceedings of the III Caucasian Colloquium held in Oslo in July 1986, when the Societas Caucasologica Europea (SCE) was formally founded.

Of course, the volume does not contain the short papers, but the voluminous treatises of 14 linguists and philologists of Caucasian studies from among the 40 participants. As a matter of fact, linguistics prevail with all its branches: phonematics, morphology, etymology, and the terminology (of Calendar systems, sheep breeding, and toponyms). Among the three groups of Caucasian languages, Kartvelian naturally enjoys precedence, and primarily Georgian. Most of the treatises are engaged in the descriptive, but also in the comparative evaluation of the respective language or the group, and quite a number extend their attention to the whole Caucasian area, also regarding the interaction between, and the relation to the neighbouring, not-Caucasian languages: such as Armenian, Ossetic, Turkish and even to the disputable "cognate", Basque.

The bulk of the volume deals with the Kartvelian languages: one paper presents a picture of "the Manner-of-Speaking Verbs in Georgian" in Semantic Description (D. A. Holisky & N. Kakhaje), another "A Feature-based Analysis of Georgian Morphology: Object Agreement" (K. Vamling). Svan is represented by a treatise on various intransitive *-en* suffixes, which originally should have existed in Old-Kartvelian (A. C. Harris). W. Feuerstein contributed two papers on Laz topics: one on toponymy, establishing that Makrotoponymy of Lazistan is mainly of Greek substratum, but microtoponymy — hitherto neglected — gives an astoundingly rich harvest, 83 items, of Laz origin, demonstrated by chart. In another essay, the same author deals with the topic of Laz folklore: the various figures of the moun-

tain forest man, varieties of which also appeared with other Caucasian people. An outlook is provided into the grammatical category of article of Kartvelian compared to the similar morpheme in Basque (J. Braun).

The NW group is represented by a paper on Ubykh: a thorough analysis of the Ubykh consonant system in its interaction with the neighbouring Circassian (R. Smeets). A study of some aspects of the interrelation of ergative and noun classification in East-Caucasian languages is presented by W. Schulze.

There is an abundance of treatises on terminology: an interesting perspective is opened up to the rich variety of sheep-breeding terminology in the Caucasian languages of 3—4 term sets with an outlook as far as the Basque (D. Rayfield). Etymology is represented by an essay of M. von Esbroeck on the derivation of Georgian *bzoba*, a palm branch used in the Palm Sunday procession. Armenian liturgical texts proved to be an important tool to fix the exact denotation of Old-Georgian names of months. The often tackled problem is discussed in a thorough treatise by J. Grippert and it is verified that the Iranian Calendar must have been the ultimate source of the Old-Armenian and Old-Georgian calendar systems.

As Armenian culture is a decisive constituent of the Trancaucasian area, it is consulted in a number of papers.

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Studia Caucasologica II, HANS VOGT, *Linguistique caucasienne et arménienne*. Edited by EVEN HOVDHAUGEN and FRIDRIK THORDARSON Norvegian University Press. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo Series B: Skrifter LXXVI

The volume contains a collection of 27 papers and treatises of Hans Vogt on the comparative study of Caucasian linguistics.

After his initial training in general and comparative linguistics, H. Vogt continued his university curriculum in Paris under the aegis of Antoine Meillet, which was a decisive stimulus for his linguistic career. In Paris, he subsequently made the acquaintance of Georgian emigrants. He acquired his command of the Georgian vernacular there and developed it during a fellowship field-tour in Georgia during the 1932—33 academic year.

The gradual development of his linguistic enlightment was reflected by his first treatises; he started with essays on classical Armenian morphology and phonology (1, 2, 3, 4 — later 15, 17), and already at the inset of his scholarly career he dealt with the problems of the interrelation of and interaction between Armenian and Georgian (2, 4, 19). The prompting motive was the challenging similarity of the phonetic structure of the two major languages of the Caucasus area, which according to the thorough analysis, must have been the result of the gradual convergence brought about by the millenarious cohabitation and cultural interrelation. But on the field of morphology and syntax, no similar impact can be observed.

Certain morphological and syntactical changes in the Caucasian and Transcaucasian languages are of a later date and seem to be due to the influence in the North mostly to the Ossetic, and in the South to Turkish (8, 11).

He demonstrated the most abundant harvest of research activity in his descriptive, comparative and historical research of Georgian phonology and especially morphology (5, 14—9, 10, 21, 24, 26, 27) and to a lesser degree etymology (22, 25). At the same time, this elaborate research programme served as a firm basis for his research into the interrelation of the Caucasian languages in general (6, 23). The variegation of the network of Caucasian languages is often attributed to the historical turbulence, which swept over the whole area during the last 150 years, a thesis that has often been quoted, but never proved.

Comparative research of the Caucasian languages dates back almost as far as two centuries. The relationship of the Caucasian languages by common knowledge was adopted in general, though only the kinship of the Kartvelian languages can be regarded as proven to an approximative degree (18). The NW group can hardly be adopted as a basically homogeneous canvas and the Eastern group consists of a loose medley of rather questionable cognates. H. Vogt closely scrutined the relationship of these languages, and wrote a number of treatises on the details and the entire problematics. He subjected the pertinent works of his predecessors and his contemporaries in this field (Deeters, Javahishvili, and Tchikobava, etc. 4, 5, 6) to a thorough examination.

His wide-range erudition, covering several language families and general linguistics, enabled him to quote for testimony the languages of far-away continents, from the American Indian vernaculars as far as Inner Asia. With this method, he could demonstrate what kind of morphological similarities might show up in genetically unrelated languages. In one of his articles he even quoted Hungarian suffixes, which, as a matter of fact, did not furnish any suitable evidence for comparison (12).

H. Vogt was inclined to telescope the linguistic relationship of this area far back into the prenatival millenea. He ventured to draw into this orbit the Urartean, and the Hurrite languages, but in this respect no scientifically acceptable results could be attained. Toponyms, of course, are of high value for basic evidence for prehistory (7). The declaration of the kinship of Caucasian languages and Basque on different scales is now more in vogue than a century ago, but the evidence produced merely consisted of structural similarities (13).

The volume of Variorum of Prof. H. Vogt collected by his students, containing his treaties on the synchronic, diachronic analysis, and structural comparison of the Caucasian languages, is an eloquent monument to his achievements in Caucasian studies.

Edmond Schütz

PETER THORAU, *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients in 13. Jahrhundert.* Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 63. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1987.

Sultan Baibars I, Mamluk Sultan was the most successful monarch of medieval Egypt. Over one hundred and fifty years, several monographies were published on the Khalifate, but no exhaustive monography on the dynasties. This omission was acknowledged, and recently two small biographies were published on Baibars I, one by F. Sadeque (Dacca, 1956), a translation of the primary source, the chronicle of the confidential court scribe, Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir, and a paraphrase of it by A. A. Khowaiter (London, 1978). P. Thorau also quoted Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓâhir in each case, but evaluated him on his merit as a panegyrist of his lord.

Previous literature quoted a limited number of contemporary narrative sources, and accepted one or the other view. Thorau's standard work made an exhaustive use of more than one hundred contemporary authors, mostly Arabic, but because of the military expeditions that extended far North to all the Crusader domains and strongholds, he consulted a wide range of works by contemporary Western authors in French, Latin, and Greek, and as his campaigns went even further North to Lesser Armenia, he also consulted the relevant Armenian chronicles.

The most characteristic feature of P. Thorau's work is that he was not content to quote one or another author, but the abundance of the contemporary set. He proved to be a perfect annalist, not omit-

ting the tiniest details. He also enumerated all the views uttered by the authors, and all the different opinions, and contrasted them in each case, presenting quotations and weighing their credibility, e.g. the verisimilitude of ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓâhir, the primary source, who had access to all the official and private papers of the Sultan. With each author he also meticulously analyzed the provenience of the furnished evidence, and their eventual partiality. In ambiguous cases he did not select one or another view, but presented them equally for the reader to decide, hereby presenting the fundaments to subsequent research work on the unresolved problems.

P. Thorau did not strive for literary laurels or give a premeditated picture, a saga of Baibars' deeds, but a carefully balanced biography, an honest, exhaustive annal of the historical canvas. He did not refrain from discussing a question of comparatively minor importance at considerable length. For example, he devoted 8 pages to the discussion (97—105) whether Baibars played a leading role in the killing of his forerunner, Sultan Qutuz. Some sources try to minimalize his share in the assault, but quite astoundingly the primary source, ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓâhir bluntly states, that he was the one, who planned and carried out the fatal blow, boasting of the deed, which — according to the special Turkic law (*yasa*) — was the firm anchor of his legitimacy to dynastic power. But similarly he enlarged on the analysis of the evidence of Baibars' death: either natural or administered by poison.

The inset of a life story of any hero, especially in the Middle Ages, is rather riddlesome, the missing links are mostly complemented by posterity, or for dynastical reasons, or by attachment already by contemporaries. In the beginnings of Baibars' career such difficulties arise, because a namesake, Rukn ad-Din Baibars, who was in charge at approximately the same decades. This caused some misunderstandings even among contemporary chroniclers; the two personalities were often confused. In Thorau's examination, it was subsequently clarified in the course of the composition (47—48, 52—53, Excurs [I] 299—300).

P. Thorau devoted a long chapter to the initial expansion campaign of the most redoubtable adversary, the Persian Ilkhanids, just preceding Baibars' reign, which ended with the defeat of the Mongols at 'Ain Jālūt (1260). These preliminaries were all the more essential as an organic preface to Baibars regime, because Baibars played an important or rather decisive role in the battle (pp. 73—95). And on the contrary, in the chapter dealing with this battle only half a page describes the battle itself. (Two pages dealt with the antecedents, two with the consequences.) This would seem perplexing, as this battle was of decisive importance, and thus Baibars himself estimated it, having erected a triumphal monument on the site of the battle (p. 95). The solution of the riddle is hidden in a footnote reference (p. 94, note 21) pointing to an article written by Thorau himself elsewhere (Crusade and Settlement, ed. P. W. Edbury, 1985, pp. 236—41). The entire text should have been introduced into the narrative, all the more so as it was Thorau who provided the real solution to the problem of the Tatar defeat. The short version presented in the book depreciated the battle of decisive importance to almost a casual skirmish. The original version of the book was his doctoral dissertation submitted sometime in 1984. Just at that time, another treatise appeared in the HJAS dealing with " 'Ayn Jālūt: Mamlūk Success or Mongol Failure?" (vol. 44, No. 2) on the problems of the effectiveness, manoeuvres, military skill, equipment, and horsepower of the adversaries. It would have been rewarding to read P. Thorau's comments on it. (Cf. Schütz „Ilkánok és mamlukok harca a Szentföld hátországáért" *Keletkutatás*, Budapest, 1990. ii. 3—21. and *idem*, "The Fight of the Ilkhanids and Mamluks for the Hinterland of the Holy Land". Acta Orient. Hung. 1991. i. (forthcoming).

The author did not devote special attention to the adversaries of the Mamluk empire, but this is quite comprehensible, because in the age of Baibars only two abortive ventures of the Crusaders took place, one by the Aragonese army in 1267 (pp. 241—43), and one led by the English crownprince Edward in 1271 (245).

The single potential adversary would have been the Persian Tatars, but in the period of Baibars regime, Ilkhan Hülegü and his son and successor Abagha were mostly engaged in battle campaigns against their own relatives: the Golden Horde in the NW, and the Jaghataids in the NE, so it is quite comprehensible that he did not sacrifice more space to the Ilkhanid Empire, because his programme was to write the annals of the regime and not to make conjectures about future possibilities.

The author did not devote a special part of the work to a thematical survey of the social conditions, the administrative structure of the Khalifate, and the Mamluk military regime, etc., but at actual instances he inserted special chapters on the functioning of the state machinery, the Sunnite four-judge-system (p. 200), the diplomatic activity (pp. 143—160, 195—99, 232—38), the organisation of the ingenious network of the postal delivery system (pp. 126—30), and quite unexpectedly a special chapter on the confidential adviser, the cherished intimus divinator of the Sultan, Shaikh Ḫaḍir (pp. 267—273).

It is a rather interesting detail — to which several examples were dedicated by the author — that the belligerent parties in most cases tried to justify their assault, and put forward all kinds of excuses and pretences to motivate their offence.

On the basis of an exceptionally rich source material, P. Thorau presented a complete picture of the great warlord, Baibars I, Bunduqdari Sultan, a monumental figure, not only of Egypt, but the entire Near East.

Edmond Schütz

SALAH A. EL-ARABY, *Intermediate Egyptian Arabic* (*An Integrative Approach*) Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), 1983. Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, Tokyo, Japan, p. 135.

"More important than grammatical sequence, vocabulary frequency and situations, is the use of living language to express how a speech community thinks, believes, feels and interacts." This socio-cultural, integrative approach, which underlies the design of the four units in this book, is largely influenced by Schumann's Acculturation, Hymes' Communicative Competence, Moscowitz's Humanistic Approach, Widdowson's Discourse Analysis, and Wilkin's Notional Syllabuses.

The approach underlying the design of these units is correctly termed *integrative*, because it attempts to comprehensively include all the important linguistic and non-linguistic aspects in a communication situation. Each unit consists of four sections: Text, Background, Usage and Grammar.

The first section, the Text, describes one important cultural event in the life of Cairene Egyptians. After the Text, the second section entitled Background, attempts to clarify the cultural aspects related to this event.

The third section of each unit, termed Usage, is designed to develop the learner's vocabulary and language proficiency by presenting expressions in Cairene Arabic that are frequently used on this occasion. The fourth and final section of each unit presents points of grammar based on the text material and considered important for the proper comprehension and production of the ideas that speakers might like to exchange during the specified cultural event.

The chain of sections is closely linked together in such a way that leaves the learner with a comprehensive view of the events described, providing ample language practice in a meaningful cultural setting.

The main topics (basic texts) of each of the four units in the book are chosen on the basis of their cultural relevancy; the birth of a child, marriage, family life, death, and spring festival. In this excellent book, special emphasis is placed on such neglected fields as body language and gestures (which form an inalienable part of speech, especially in Arabic) and proverbs.

From among the exercises, I very much enjoyed the so-called cultural exercises, finding them very useful at the same time. The author starts these exercises with the following remarkable comment: "The purpose of these exercises is to make students aware of cultural differences as well as cultural universals. The ultimate objective is to help learners judge each culture in its own terms without prejudice and to accept the behaviour that may seem unusual in a different cultural context. Some of these exercises may be practised in the native language of the learners."

Until now one could not very often meet such a broad understanding of the relevancy and role cultural contexts play in human communication. Naturally, a book of 135 pages can only mean the very beginnings on a long-long road to the re-interpretation of language teaching, but it represents a significant contribution.

Tamás Iványi

NAYEF KHARMA, *A Contrastive Analysis of the Use of Verb Forms in English and Arabic* (Studies in Descriptive Linguistics vol. 10, General Editor: Dietrich Nehls) Heidelberg, Julius Groos Verlag, 1983, 137 p.

The aim of the book is defined in p. 3: "This study is not concerned only with linguistic description, though this constitutes a considerable part of it. It is also a piece of applied linguistics. . . . The core of the work is a theoretical contrastive analysis of the English and Arabic verb-systems . . . and the prediction of the errors the students are liable to commit by virtue of the outcome of the theoretical analysis. But the case does not rest there. As will become clear at the end of our study . . . errors made by foreign students who belong to a certain linguistic community are not all due to interference from the mother tongue . . . Errors which are predicted on the basis of contrastive analysis do not occur and unpredicted errors do. The present work falls within this kind of evidence, and its scope is restricted to the verb-system of English and Arabic. . . . In order to obtain the empirical evidence required, a special test was constructed, which tried to test those forms and uses that the students in the secondary schools of Kuwait are acquainted with. This test was administered to a large random sample of these students, and the results were collected, classified and interpreted. Certain conclusions were arrived at and a few recommendations made for improving the teaching of the English verb-system in Arab schools."

Though, as we have seen, N. Kharma mainly dedicates his book to the aim of investigating and predicting language errors as Kuwaiti Arab students learn English, for us the author's comments and remarks on Arabic verb-systems meant more than this contrastive analysis, for at least two reasons: 1. Though the usefulness of contrastive analyses cannot be doubted in theory, in practice it did not, in my view, prove of much value either for linguistic studies or language teaching. 2. That this is the case was more markedly illustrated when we deal with two languages of which one (English) has become the most thoroughly studied in the last three or four decades, while the other (Arabic) could not until now keep pace with the enormous development of linguistics, where the author rightly feels compelled to reach back to the last century for linguistic material (to W. Wright's Arabic grammar, a mediocre compilation of several generations of Arabists).

In these circumstances, I regard the author's own observations and remarks on MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) and Kuwaiti Dialect much more interesting than his comparisons between the two languages and the error-analysis of Kuwaiti students' English. The parallelism of examples is especially interesting between the two variants of Arabic in the lack of really competent linguistic field studies and comprehensive manuals of MSA and the dialects.

Chapter 1 gives a brief account of the background to the study.

Chapter 2 attempts at briefly summarizing the English verb-system, listing the terms chosen and discussing the categorical meaning of each of the various English verb forms.

Chapter 3 is devoted to presenting the Arabic verb-system, first surveying previous studies in this field, then clearing up the questions of terminology, and finally turning to categorical meaning.

Chapter 4 is a detailed contrastive analysis. Chapter 5 contains some educational implications. There is an Appendix with a structural text. A detailed and useful bibliography concludes the book (books in English, books in Arabic, theses, articles and reports).

Though I cannot test the book under review against its original aim (i.e. teaching English for Arabs) I have found it useful for my special purpose, i.e. teaching Arabic.

Tamás Iványi

TERENCE FREDERICK MITCHELL, *Soziolinguistische und stilistische Aspekte des gesprochenen Arabisch der Gebildeten (Educated Spoken Arabic) in Ägypten und der Levante.* (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Bd. 123, Heft 6.) Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1984, 22 p.

The booklet under review is a preliminary report on a large-scale scientific undertaking carried out in the University of Leeds, Britain. The project will result in a grammar of a so-called "educated spoken Arabic" (ESA) in Egypt and the Syria—Palestine region. The author (who is at the same time the would-be author of the above-mentioned grammar, too) endeavours to provide a picture in broad lines about the Arabic linguistic situation and the essence of this "middle language" (*luġa mutawassiṭa*) between the so-called high-language (Hocharabisch or Classical Arabic) and the spoken dialects (or Vulgararabisch), and attempts to outline some of its main peculiarities. He attributes four functions to ESA: "ESA erfüllt im wesentlichen Vier Funktionen. In einer Zeit, da soziale Veranderungen immer schneller aufeinander folgen, werden die Benutzer dieser Sprache erstens motiviert, sich als Angehörige der gebildeten Schichten erkennbar zu machen und in ihre Konversation Themen aufzunehmen, über die man sich in einem lokalen Idiom nicht ausreichend verständigen kann; zweitens mit gleichgesinnten Arabern der eigenen oder anderer Nationalität in sogenannte "phatische Kommunikation" zu treten; drittens die Formen der interarabischen Koiné gezielt anzuwenden, ohne die man den wachsen den Anforderungen der Modernisierung, Urbanisierung, Industrialisierung, der extensiven Volksbildung und der internationalen Zusammenarbeit nicht mehr gerecht werden kann; viertens sich genügend sprachliches Lokalkolorit für den privaten Umgang und für die Befriedung lokalpatriotischer Bedürfnisse zu bewahren."

And in conclusion he sums up his remarks as follows: "Obwohl ESA sowohl beim MSA als auch beider regional gefarbten Umgangssprache betrachtliche Anleihen macht, ist es nichtsdestoweniger eine eigenstandigen Variante des Arabischen. Das zeigt sich nicht nur daran, dass es Formen enthalt, die wederzum MSA (= Modern Standard Arabic) noch zur Umgangssprache gehören — sondern vor allen auch an der lexikalischen Spezifizierung der phonologischen Form . . . Es gabe natürlich noch viel zu sagen, doch sollten

diese Ausführungen als Beweis dafür ausreichen, dass die Untersuchung und Beschreibung eines gesprochenen Standards mehr verlangt." Of course, on the basis of these few pages one cannot form a precise judgement on the nature and results of the complete ESA grammar to be published, but I feel forced to emphasize that until now I have not encountered sufficient evidence about ESA as being really an independent and *standard* variant of Arabic. What I have experienced, on the contrary, was that this educated speech 1. considerably varies from individual to individual and even in the case of one and the same speaker it alters from time to time, even within short periods and 2. it is rather a blend (though with some definite traits and laws of usage) of formal literary Arabic and the informal vernaculars, than a well-defined language variant. And another important note: throughout these 23 pages one cannot find a mention of the most important political and religious factors, which enforce the maintenance, survival and artificiality of the so-called Classical Arabic. All in all, this short lecture raises interest and expectation towards future publications of the author concerning the same project.

Tamás Iványi

EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Studia Aethiopica et Semitica*. Äthiopistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT: Band 24. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1987, (XIV) + 325 p.

The present volume consists of the reprints of a wide selection of Ullendorff's articles in the fields of Ethiopian studies and Semitic studies in general. These articles are, of course, well known to the specialist and have exerted an indelible influence on the progress of scholarly research in these fields and none of them can therefore be regarded as a novelty, yet the editor deserves the gratitude of the scholarly community for having made accessible a number of highly important contributions by one of the leading scholars of our time, which appeared in rather different and in some cases fairly exquisite places. The present volume is actually a companion or a successor to an earlier volume of collected papers containing thitry seven articles by the distinguished author.[1] The volume under review consists of eighteen articles, eleven of which are devoted to Ethiopian studies (I. Aethiopica), while seven deal with various aspects of Semitic studies (II. Semitica). The articles are reprinted here without alteration, however, a few remarks and additions appear in the Introduction (pp. XI—XIV; pagination is actually lacking), which should be consulted prior to perusal.

The article "Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity" (pp. 2—42)[2] became a classic long ago. It endeavours to trace the origins of the well-known Judaizing traits in Ethiopian Christianity and account for them: a difficult task in a slippery area where first-hand factual evidence is rare and one must necessarily resort to conjecture. Our knowledge of this intricate network of problems has not significantly increased since the publication of this article of fundamental importance in 1956. "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek: The Versions underlying Ethiopic Translations of Bible and intertestamental Literature" (pp. 43—51)[3] constitutes an exemplary and important minor step in the long process towards disentangling the history of the text of the Ethiopian Bible, a problem to which Professor

[1] Edward Ullendorff, Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? *Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*. Wiesbaden 1977.

[2] *Journal of Semitic Studies* I (1956), pp. 216—256.

[3] *The Bible World* (Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon). New York 1980, pp. 249—257.

Ullendorff has devoted a whole monograph.[4] In the articles "The 1897 Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia" (pp. 52—70)[5] and "The Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1902" (pp. 71—84)[6] the original Amharic and English/Amharic, English and Italian texts of the two treaties are published for the first time with extensive commentary. The dismal effects in which the unintentional (?) difference between the Amharic and Italian versions of the treaty of Ucciali (1889) resulted are only too well known in Ethiopian history, texts of treaties are, therefore, investigated by *Éthiopisants* with considerably more interest than perhaps would be the case with similar documents in other languages, important though they may be in the history of every nation. It must not be forgotten that Amharic is a rather complicated language and few foreigners have a good command of it, consequently the interpretation of official documents, the various possibilities and, on the other hand, limitations in this field can present serious difficulties under certain circumstances. Thus any new item is most welcome for investigation, in addition to the light it may shed on the history of what might be regarded as a relative newcomer among the languages of the Semitic stock, which have reached the level of literariness. It is for similar reasons and their relevance to certain outstanding figures of the Ethiopian past that the following three articles are of special interest: "A Letter from the Emperor Theodore to Queen Victoria" (pp. 85—90),[7] "Some early Amharic Letters" (pp. 91—134)[8] and "Some Amharic and other Documents from the Eugen Mittwoch Nachlass" (pp. 135—158).[9] In the article "Haile Sellassie at Bath" (pp. 159—172)[10] we are offered Haile Sellassie's account of the sojourn of the Imperial family at Fairfield Villa, Bath, between 1936 and 1941, during their exile in Britain. The Amharic text is reproduced from Vol. II of the Imperial autobiography, which appeared in the early summer of 1974.[11] It is preceded by a careful English translation and notes. Later on, the Emperor donated this splendid villa to the Municipality of Bath and it was turned into and Old People's Home. This event was recorded in Amharic and English on two plaques affixed to the entrance porch of Fairfiled Villa, the texts of which appear in Appendix I to the otherwise highly important article "The Amharic Text of the last two Pronouncements of Emperor Haile Sellassie" (pp. 173—187).[12] Somewhat different, although no less important and rather neglected aspects of Ethiopian civilization are tackled in "Ethiopian good food guides" (pp. 188—195),[13] where the recipes of such basic dishes and drinks of Ethiopian cuisine can be found as *ənǧära*, chicken-*wät*, *alәčča*, *ṭäǧǧ*, *ṭälla* and *bunna*. "The Challenge of Amharic" (pp. 196—

[4] Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*. London 1968.

[5] *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* XXII (1968), pp. 116—134.

[6] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXX (1967), pp. 641—654.

[7] *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*. Hamburg, 1966, pp. 251—255 (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde, 5).

[8] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXXV (1972), pp. 229—270.

[9] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLIII (1980), pp. 429—452.

[10] *Journal of Semitic Studies* XXIV (1979), pp. 251—264.

[11] Volume I was published in Ullendorff's annotated translation in London in 1976.

[12] *Journal of Semitic Studies* XXII (1977), pp. 202—216.

[13] *Middle East Studies and Libraries* — A Felicitation Volume for Professor J. D. Pearson. Ed. by B. C. Bloomfield. London 1980, pp. 217—224.

215),[14] a contribution abounding in deep insights of a keen mind, which became an acclaimed classic in Ethiopian studies long ago, was delivered as an inaugural lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, on October 28, 1964. The masterly concise sketch "Comparative Semitics" (pp. 218–230)[15] presents the main strands in the history of this intricate area and its current problems in an extremely elegant way, where even the smallest detail is likely to conceal problems of the utmost importance. "Ugaritic Marginalia IV" (pp. 231–235)[16] together with their predecessors, and the review of David Biale, Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1979 (pp. 268–272)[17] illustrate the many-sidedness and profound erudition of their author. The intriguing article "The Bawdy Bible" (pp. 236–267)[18] offers a considerable number of new solutions to problems in an area generally considered as taboo. These new solutions are based on the solid methods of textual criticism and a profound familiarity with and wise insight into human nature. Important theoretical aspects of the problem of writing in general are tackled in the article "Writing without letters" (pp. 273–280),[19] which is in fact the review of W. Haas (ed.), Writing without letters, Manchester and Totowa, N. J. 1976. The obituary of Stefan Strelcyn (pp. 288–300)[20] is a tribute to an outstanding figure in Ethiopian studies as well as a personal friend, but in addition, both this and the preceding article "D. H. Baneth and philological Precociousness" (pp. 281–287)[21] offer intriguing observations regarding the human aspects of philology as a profession.

The eighteen articles comprising this neat volume reflect the wide range of interests, thorough learning, acumen and professional honesty of a great scholar, as well as his exceptional sense of style, which transforms these scholarly articles into real works of literature. Considered as a whole, they add up to much more than the nere arithmetic sum total of a number of pieces of solid workmanship; it is the figure of a sovereign personality that emerges against this background: a sovereign personality, whose interests are dedicated to the full complexity of the whole gamut of human life: the human phenomenon.

István Ormos

EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647–1649: al-Ḥaymī's Sīrat al-Ḥabaša newly introduced, translated and annotated.* Äthiopistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT: Band 21. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1986, 252 p.

Following an exchange of letters between the two rulers and a second one by the king of Ethiopia, in the years 1647–1649 Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī undertook a mission to the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (1632–1667) on behalf of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh, the Zaydite Imam of Yemen. King Fāsiladas seems to have

[14] *The Challenge of Amharic* — An Inaugural Lecture delivered on 28 October 1964. London 1965.

[15] *Current Trends in Linguistics* Vol. 6. The Hague 1970, pp. 261–273.

[16] *H. L. Ginsberg Volume.* Jerusalem 1978, pp. 19–23 (*Eretz Israel* 14).

[17] *Journal of Jewish Studies*, Spring 1981, pp. 120–124.

[18] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLII (1979), pp. 425–456.

[19] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XL (1977), pp. 572–579.

[20] *Proceedings of the British Academy* LXVII (1981), pp. 479–490.

[21] *Studia Orientalia Memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata.* Jerusalem 1979, pp. 7–13.

been eager to open a new trade route between Ethiopia proper and the Red Sea evading the port of Massawa, which was under Turkish rule, and choosing the settlement of Baylūl instead, which was under Ethiopian domination and at the same time lay much closer to Yemen. This was something the Yemenite Imam was not interested in at all, his only interest being to convert the Ethiopian king and possibly his whole realm to Islam. The true aim of Fāsiladas, however, did not emerge from his letters, their tone being rather vague and obscure; he seems to have even encouraged the Imam's aspirations and hopes by equivocal oral messages delivered by his emissaries. Of course, relationship to Islam was always a question of the utmost delicacy and sensitivity in the history of Ethiopia, and any shade of doubt cast on a monarch in this respect could lead to a situation of the greatest danger for him. It was under these circumstances that al-Ḥaymī's mission was carried out. The mission resulted in a fiasco when it became evident that the objectives of the two parties were different and the Muslim embassy realized that the Ethiopian king had no intention of embracing Islam, his only aim being the establishment of a new trade route for which he needed the help of the Zaydite Imam of Yemen. Al-Ḥaymī's detailed account of his mission to the Ethiopian court was quite popular with Muslim readers in the subsequent centuries: eighteen manuscripts are known of it at present. For the first time it became known in the West in 1883 through Carlo Landberg. It was subsequently edited by Felix Ernst Peiser in 1894 on the basis of the only manuscript known at that time. This edition was then followed by a German translation by Peisser in 1898. The text of another manuscript was published by Murad Kamil in Cairo in 1958 and then again in a second edition in 1972. The editions of both Peiser and Kamil, however, suffered from serious shortcomings, nor did the two editors supply the text with commentaries, an indispensable prerequisite for understanding a so complicated and intricate text. Thus a completely new edition was undertaken by Emeri Johannes Van Donzel. He chose to publish the text of the Leiden manuscript Or. 2600 in facsimile with an apparatus criticus, notes and a parallel English translation. His choice was motivated by the high quality of the Ms and secondary arguments leading to the conclusion of its being very nearly an autograph. Van Donzel supplemented the text of the *Sīra* itself with the letters exchanged by the king and the Imam *prior* to al-Ḥaymī's mission as well as the Imam's reply to a letter by the king (now lost) *following* al-Ḥaymī's mission. In addition to a careful evaluation of the aforementioned editions of this work and the description of the various manuscripts in existence, Van Dozel gives a detailed and faceted analysis of the complex problems connected with the *Sīra*. The intricate question of Fāsiladas's attitude towards Islam and his alleged inclination to embrace it was alluded to in certain other contemporary sources; these are contrasted here with the contents of the *Sīra*.

The editor and translator carefully analyzes al-Ḥaymī's description of Ethiopia (Chapter III. Ethiopia as seen by al-Ḥaymī; The journey from Baylūl to Gondar; The Ethiopian court; The return journey) and compares it with data found elsewhere. He also earns the interested reader's gratitude with a synopsis of this otherwise not altogether perspicuous work (Chapter V. Chronology and Itinerary of the journey). A special chapter is devoted to the comparison of the *Sīra* to the description of Ethiopia by Father Jerónimo Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit missionary, who arrived in Ethiopia in 1625 in the retinue of Alphonso Mendez. A tabulated list of the Imāms of Yemen in al-Ḥaymī's time and a concise account of the personalities in Yemen mentioned by al-Ḥaymī (Chapter IV) supply the reader with essential background information.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje mentioned this work in two letters to Ignaz

Goldziher as well.[1] These two references are nearly identical in their wording to Snouck Hurgronje's lines to Nöldeke mentioned on p. 23 of the present edition. It may be of bibliographical interest that al-Ḥaymī's *Sīra* is also described by Kratchkovsky on the basis of Peiser's edition and translation in his posthumously published work on Arabic geographical literature.[2]

We are grateful to the editor for having made this accessible to us and for elucidating one of the very few contemporary sources for 17th c. Ethiopia, as well as a marvellous and at the same time typical example of Arabic itineraries of the moderate *ʿaǧā'ib* branch. This exemplary edition appeared as Volume 21 in the distinguished series "Äthiopistische Forschungen" edited by Ernst Hammerschmidt.

István Ormos

Franz Amadeus Dombrowsky, *Ethiopia's Access to the Sea*. E. J. Brill, Leiden/Köln 1985, VIII + 83 p.

In this balanced study, the author offers a survey of the history of the relationship between Ethiopia's maritime and central provinces, with special emphasis placed on economical factors. This well-proportioned concise account is divided into five chapters: 1. The Aksumite Empire (ca. 100 B. C. — 950 A. D.); 2. The Cushitic Era (950—1270); 3. From the Restoration of the Solomonic Dynasty to the Reign of Negus Fāsiladas (1270—1632); 4. From the Reign of Negus Fāsiladas to Negus Menilek (1632—1889); 5. From Menilek to Modern Times. The importance of an outlet to the sea for Ethiopia was always regarded as commonplace among students of Ethiopian history. In the present work, the author successfully endeavours to assess the validity of this assumption for the various periods of Ethiopian history, on the basis of accessible data. He also tries to elucidate the changing role this problem played in the decisions of sovereigns over the centuries. We do not find hitherto unknown facts in this volume, but the data and documentary evidence already known are evaluated according to fresh viewpoints and what emerges is a faceted historical account of one of the central questions of Ethiopian history, which to the present day has not lost its importance.

István Ormos

Law and Justice in Contemporary Yemen: The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic by S. H. Amin. Royston Limited, Glasgow 1987, V + 159 p.

The Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) were in fact two closely related parts of one and the same country (Yemen), which chose widely differing paths of social progress against the background of different ways of historical evolution in the past. A comparative analysis of the legal systems in the two sister-countries, which is what we have before us in the present work under review, is therefore likely to yield promising results. North Yemen, a more or less independent Zaidite Imamate from 1534, was transformed into a republic in 1962. Since then it has adopted an economical system mainly based on a free market economy and a corresponding political system. On the other hand, South Yemen, under Ottoman rule in recent centuries, then captured by the British and a Crown Colony until 1967, became a strongly centralized Marx-

[1] *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldzieher* published by P. Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden 1985, pp. 216, 219.

[2] Игнатий Юлианович Крачковский, *Избранные сочинения*, том 4. Москва—Ленинград 1957, стр. 712—714.

ist—Leninist state based on the Soviet model. The historical, ethnical, social, religious, economic and, first of all, legal aspects of the intricate network of causes resulting in these widely differing ways of historical progress are elaborated in this most welcome work of moderate size, with special emphasis on the practical aspects of the administration of justice. The special analyses that deal with the administration of law in various areas are perhaps the most important desiderata in the study of Islamic law, especially when they are dedicated to areas otherwise neglected, because of their poverty and isolation, as it is the case here, for it is well known that while in Islamic countries the legal systems are based in theory on Islamic law (*šarīʿah*), Islamic law in fact constitutes, together with customary law and certain areas of European law, a system which is actually applied, and this latter system, especially regarding its constituent of customary law, is often hardly known to the outside world. Any work containing detailed data about the legal systems actually applied is, therefore, most welcome. In this respect and in addition to it, two main issues emerge from the present work under review: 1) even in such a thoroughly ideologized Marxist—Leninist state as South Yemen, the legal system was partly based on Islamic law; 2) in both countries, considerable parts of the (rural) population were outside the reach of the central legal systems and follow their own systems of customary law. ("The ʿAudhali Code of Customary Law", reprinted in Appendix 1 [pp. 113—116] is most illuminative in this respect.) The author casually raises some intriguing problems, without dealing with them *in extenso*, e.g. what causes may lie behind the obvious fact that given the character of the pre-revolutionary Yemeni Imamate, North Yemen's "secularist regime seems little affected by the international Islamic movements prevailing in various parts of the Muslim world" or the relationship between Islamic law and the contemporary rules of public international law (the U. N. Charter of 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 etc.), a trait that makes this concise essay, despite the hardly excusable amount of misprints, an important contribution in the field of studies in Islamic law.

István Ormos

R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* II (Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission, hg. von M. Mayrhofer, Nr. 17, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 458. Band). Verlag der Österreichisen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1987, 179 p.

In this second volume of the Studies, without counting the cross-references, more than 180 main lemmata are discussed in the contributions written by one of the editors or by those scholars who joined this important undertaking in the philology of Khotanese. The enlarged team now includes A. Degener, Duan Qing, O. van Hinüber, H. Kumamoto, N. Sims-Williams, and T. Takata. Bailey's *Dictionary* remains the main target of the work (see, e.g., Emmerick's witty identification of Khotanese *yu(ṃ) drūpaḍä* with Tibetan *yum 'dro-dpal*, pp. 132—134; his entry *adrraka-* ≠ 'prince', but < Skr. *Udraka*, p. 24; Skjærvø's entry on *dasa* 'book, sūtra', pp. 57—59), but other studies and sources of Khotanese are also examined or re-examined; several entries present Khotanese words not attested in Bailey's *Dictionary* (see, e.g., Takata's contribution on 10th-century Khot. *qmäga*, a Chinese loan-word, a title also attested in Dunhuang Tib. transcription, pp. 17—18; the same scholar's explanation of another Sino-Khotanese word, the anthroponym *Tcūṃ-ttehi*, pp. 49—50; Skj.'s entry on *agnaśauca-vārta* 'the garment *agniśauca*', pp. 11—12, or, E.'s *āysmāstāña* 'fermentation', pp. 25—26. Some entries represent minor papers on several pages, as e.g. Skj.'s definition of

the meaning of *hvatä*, pp. 174—187, or, his entry *ṣṣavamara-*, Late Khot. *ṣamara-* 'inpenetrable darkness', pp. 140—143.

To pp. 20—21, Kumamoto's entry on Khot. *avaṃdāya* 'non-path' ≠ 'pathless': cf. also Chin. Buddhist *fēi dào* 'wrong ways', lit. 'non-way'.

To pp. 27—29, Khot. *īra-* 'precious hard stone' ~ Tib. *šel* < Skr. *śilā*; Mvy Skr. *hīra(ka)* 'diamond' ~ Tib. *pha-lam*: cf. also Tib. *rdo-rje pha-lam* > Mong. *dorǰipalam* '(a kind of) diamond', also used as anthroponym. Mong. *almas* must have been borrowed via Uigur or Middle Turkish (albeit it has not yet been found in the early sources) because it is attested in Middle Mong. Buddhist texts full of Uigur elements. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, before Vasmer, connects the word with Greek *adamas*. Čhos-grags' *šel-rigs nor-bu'i mčhog* is more exactly 'the best of the jewels of the kind of crystal (*šel*).

To pp. 48—49, Kumamoto's interpretation of Khot. *tcaṃgalai* ≠ 'his elbows', but 'objects that serve to tie up a person (chains, handcuffs, or, fetters?): cf. Chin. 格加 *chǒu jiā* 'cangue', Russian Plural word *kandalý* (see Vasmer) translates the Chin. term, while its Turkish and Mongolian equivalent is *buqaγu*; according to Clauson's *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 314, the Turkish word means 'fetter, leg-iron, handcuff'; he quotes Uig. Suvarṇaprabhāsa *boyunlarī buqaγuluγ* 'with their necks chained', perhaps, in the light of other parallels, 'with their necks in cangue'.

To pp. 139—140, Khot. *śiṃga* < Chin. *sheng*: cf. Uig. *šïng*, now also in J. Hamilton's *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe—Xe siècle de Touen-houang* II (Paris 1986), p. 250. Mong. *sing* is either an Uig. loan or directly from Chin.

To pp. 174—178, Khot. *hvatä* 'by itself, separately' ~ Tib. *so-sor*: cf. Mong. *öber-e öber-e*, regular translation of the Tib. term in Buddhist texts; this *öber-e* 'another; different' is connected with *öber* 'self' in the same way as Turk., Uig. *özgä* 'another' and *öz* 'self', but see also 14th-century Uig. *pïnsun-nung öz öz darni-larïn* 'die jeweiligen Dhāraṇīs der ... Devatās' (Totenbuch, 1. 1345).

G. Kara

A. G. PERIKHAYAN, *Obščestvo i pravo Irana v parfjanskij i sasanidskij periody*. Nauka, Moscow 1983, 383 p.
Á. G. PERIKHANYAN, *Iranian Society and Law* In: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3/2 Cambridge 1983, pp. 627—680.

These works are the first attempts to give a monographic description of the social structure of Arsacid and Sasanian Iran through its legal institutional system, based on the complete range of sources, and because both of them deal with the same topic and they were written by the same author at the same time, it seems to be expedient to review them simultaneously. The contribution in English, practically, is a shorter and in some respects clearer variant of the original book in Russian.

No comprehensive work has previously been published about the social history of the period, and concerning the legal system, the most significant preceding study, that of Ch. Bartholomae, was based on MHD+A.[2] (Bartholomae had no knowledge of an important source, *Rivāyat ī Ēmēt ī Ašavahištān* (REA) yet.)

[1] Ch. Bartholomae, Zum sasanidischen Recht. In: *SHDdbAW Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Heidelberg 1918—23.

[2] MHD+A: Mātakdān ī hazār dātastān (for Pahlavi transcriptions see note 16). The first part was published by J. J. Modi, *Mādigān-ī-Hazār Dādistān. A photozoincographed Facsimile with an Introduction.* Poona 1901. The publisher of the second part was T. D. Anklesaria, *The Social Code of the Parsis in Sassanian Times or Mādigān i Hazār Dādistān*. Bombay 1913. Later: MHD signifies part I, while MHDA the second one.

It is very useful and praiseworthy that in the first chapter of her contribution, Perikhanyan shows the most important sources of her topic. It is a pity that she did not do this in her book, although it is evident that Perikhanyan's researches are extremely extensive. In addition to the Middle Persian sources of which the most important ones are: MHD, MHDA, REA, she includes Syriac Īšō'boxt, Arabic works dealing with the Sasanian era (e.g. Tabarī), New Persian texts (e.g. New Persian Rivāyat), as well as Old Armenian, Greek and Latin authors' writings about Iran, the latter being used as sources for the Persian legal system. In the interpretation of concepts she completes her research with Sanskrit, Old Persian, Elamite, Sogdian and Khwarizmian etymologies.[3]

Pahlavi texts: MHD, MHDA, REA, Menog ī Xrad, Dēnkart, Šāyist nē šāyist, Kārnāmak ī Artaxšīr, Dātistān ī denik (p. 76), Nīrangistān (p. 26), and Middle Persian inscriptions (p. 65). The title and contents of Tājnāmak and Gāhnāmak are only known from Ibn al-Muqaffa''s Arabic translation, whose original is lost, similarly to the original text. Tansar's letter, the original of which is dated the 6th century, survived in the New Persian version of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s translation. Manichean Middle Persian texts dealing with the agnatic groups (p. 78).

Syriac: Īšō'boxt, the inheritance Kanon of Simeon, Mar Aba's tract about the impermissibility of incest marriages (p. 399). Jacob of Edessa, Elias of Nisibis and Persian Christian martyrologies written in Syriac are missing. The first one is an important source, but it only appears in the book indirectly through Nöldeke's Tabari translation. (Th. Nöldeke, *Die Geschichte der Perser and Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879.)

[3] Sources used by the author in her book are the following (for other sources on the Sasanian era see: A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*. Copenhague 1944², pp. 50—83):

Old Armenian: P'awtos Biwzandaçi (p. 68), Movses Xorenaçi (p. 68), bishop Sebeos (p. 70), Łazar P'arpeçi (p. 70), Eznik Kołbaçi (p. 26), and the "Military Paper" (p. 68). The enumeration is not complete. Agat'angelos (History of Armenia and Elise (On the Armenian War) are unmentioned, although she must have used them. It is known from 5th century Armenian historians, that the principles of Armenian Arsakids hardly differed from the protocol of the Iranian court (p. 68).

The use of *Georgian* sources would perhaps be useful too. True, that except for a chronic entitled the Conversion of Iberia edited in the 7th century, which survived from a copy written between AD 973—976, there is no historical work from the Sasanian age; it is the oldest Georgian chronic together with Juansher Juansheriani's "*History of King Vakhtang Gorgarslan*" which was written about the king (446—510) between 790 and 900. Despite the fact it contains a lot of legends, they are authentic texts for Iran as well. Another work entitled "*The History of the First Fathers and First Kings*" written by the bishop of Ruisi, Leonti Mroveli in the 9th or 11th century, belongs to another group of Georgian historical works. What makes it interesting is that it deals with pre-5th century Georgian history as well, that is with times preceding the Georgian conversion to Christianity. (Šāhpuhr occupied Georgia in AD 368.)

Old Greek: Aristotle: Politics (p. 40) and the Neo-Platonic Gallicratides (p. 41) give parallels to the author's comparisons of Iranian and Greek slavery. Herodotus, Plutarch (p. 64), Diogenes Laertius, Strabo (p. 311, note 32) dealing with marriage between brother and sister. Plato: *Laws* — on family ownership (p. 84), Aischylos: Persians (p. 58), late lexicographists (p. 41), Isaeus on the Greek term of agnatic groups (p. 57), Hesiod (p. 41) and Greek law. Arrian is missing.

Byzantine: It is surprising that Byzantine authors remain unmentioned, while Old Greek authors, whose importance con-

cerning our topic is marginal, are mentioned. Agathias, who is one of our most important sources for the Sasanian era, is mentioned only in so far as he was used in Nöldeke's work. His name cannot be met on its own.

Latin: Diodorus Siculus (p. 27), Curtius Rufus (p. 64) on the marriage of mother and son, Catullus on the same topic, and sources of Roman Law.

Arabic: Ṭabarī (She used it in Nöldeke's translation.), Jāḥīz: Kitāb ul-tāj (p. 13).

Parthian: The inscriptions of Šāhpuhr I of Kaʿba-i Zardušt (p. 59), documents from Avroman (p. 72), ostraca of Nisa (p. 172), the inscription of Kartir on "foundations of souls" (p. 172).

New Persian: Ardašir's testament; New Persian Rivāyaṭs (the first one dated to 1478).

Old Persian: The inscription of Darius in Bisutun (p. 58) and others.

Elamite: Elamite tablets found in Persepolis concerning the Iranian equivalent of agnat (p. 58).

Sogdian: Document from Mount Mugh on agnatic groups (pp. 76—77).

Avesta: gives help for the etymological interpretation of terms.

Aramaic: papyri (p. 60), Babylonian Talmud.

Khwarizmian: (etymology p. 60).

Here her sources are not enumerated systematically, but are only referred to here and there. This is misleading, because sources irrelevant for Iranian history are given (e.g. Catullus), whereas some truly significant ones (such as Agathias, Jakob of Edessa, and Procopius of Caesarea) are left out. We cannot conceal the fact that it is impossibile to tell which of the sources used by the author is the original and which of them are not.

The results of the etymological method can only be recognized in the case of the legal categories based on the current social conditions, if they are supported by the historical sources of the concrete period as well. In our case often only the unreliably interpreted text or context of MHD+A can be used. The objective difficulties of translation are characterized by the fact that M. Macuch's[4] MHDA-translation varies to a certain extent from Perikhanyan's one[5] in 67 cases.[6] These differences are of various types: from minor differences in interpretation, to entirely different ones, all kinds of diversions are to be found.[7] The MHD+A-interpretation of Perikhanyan's present studies is based on her former translation of the remaining Sasanian law-book,[8] in this manner the two works form one organic unit.

The book falls into 7 parts: I. Personal rights, II. Social structures: agnatical groups and the family, III. Proprietor rights, IV. Family law and the petitio hereditatis, V. Contract law, VI. Criminal law, and VII. Judicial proceedings.

The main parts fall into chapters of which II/1[9], and III/6[10], as well as VII/3[11] were published earlier. The *stūr* and the *bayāspān* were first published in the *Hen-*

[4] M. Macuch, *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch "Mātakdān ī Hazār Dātistān" (Teil II)*, Wiesbaden 1981.

[5] A. G. Perikhanyan, *Sasanidspij sudebnik "Kniga tysjači subdebnyx rešenij"* (*Mātakdān ī hazār dātastān*) Erevan 1973.

[6] See M. Macuch op. cit. p. 3.

[7] Perikhanyan e.g. left out II 36, 16. M. Shaki debates with Perikahnyan, Macuch and Menasce. (See M. Shaki, *A few unrecognized Middle Persian terms and phrases*. In: *Middle Iranian Studies*. Ed. by W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, pp. 95—96).

[8] A. G. Perikhanyan, *Sasanidskij sudebnik "Kniga tysjači sudebnyx rešenij"* (*Mātakdān ī hazār dātastān*) Erevan 1973.

[9] A. G. Perikhanyan, *Agnatičeskie gruppy v drevnem Irane* VDI 3 (105) 1968, pp. 28—53.

[10] A. G. Perikhanyan, *Častnye celevye fondy v drevnem Irane i problema proisxoždenija vakfa* VDI 1 (123) 1973, pp. 3—25.

[11] See *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik*, 3 (1979) pp. 182—192.

ning Memorial Volume.[12] Since then the interpretation of the latter has been significantly corrected. What was described by Nyberg as a "masterly analysis"[13] of *āzāt* can be found together with *vāspuhrakān*[14] in the same work. She also had earlier publications concerning family law.[15]

D. N. MacKenzie—A. G. Perikhanyan, The Model of Marriage Contract in Pahlavi, In: *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1969, pp. 103—112.

A. G. Périkhanian Sur arm. panduxt, *REA* 6 (1969) pp. 1—14.

I could not get hold of the author's paper published in the *Memorial J. de Menasce*. Louvain 1974.

The parts of the contribution in Cambridge History (in parenthesis the parallel parts of her book are given with a Roman figure): 1. Sources, 2. Social organisation (I—II), 3. Family law (IV), 4. Law of property (III), 5. The law of obligations (V), and 6. Law proceedings (VII).

Criminal law (VI) is missing.

Out of the above-mentioned VII parts of the book, the first two will be reviewed in detail, and alongside this the second and third parts of the contribution, as these two parts deal with personal rights and social structure, thus giving a comprehensive view of the society, which as mentioned earlier, is the most important novelty of the papers. It seemed necessary to deal with family law, because it well represents the multiplicity of problems emerging in Pahlavi law, and because in the light of the latest literature published since the edition of the book, certain new information can be added.

I. Personal rights (This part deals with the subjects of law).

1. The personality — similarly to other legal systems e.g. Roman law — began at the time of birth. Those people were regarded as having full personal rights (*tuvānīk*[16]) among the free members of the civic and religious community who reached their maturity, and were not subject to another person's patriarchal authority or guardianship. Under the age of 15, one was regarded to be underage (*apurnāy, apurnāyak*), and over that age he/she was considered to be an adult (*purnāy*). Someone with a bad reputation (*dusravīh* 'infamy') forfeited his legal capacity: he was not allowed to appear as a witness in court, and this circumstance was taken into consideration in the sentence.

Manicheans, who were mercilessly persecuted by the official Zoroastrian church, were excluded from any legal action whatsoever. A royal mandate was sent to every province of the state ordering the confication of the property of Manicheans and those promulgating Manicheism. All in all what characterized the situation of non-Zoroastrians was that ethnical and religious persecution (as e.g. Šāhpuhr's II (309—79) antichristian measures) had no perceptible significance in the sphere of personal rights. Discrimination was almost exclusively limited to the domain of adminidstrative law: MHD+A makes no mention of the prunning of rights of non-Mazdabelievers in the case of legal transactions between Zoroastrians and others.

In the life of Jewish and Christian communities, Babylonian Talmud and Īšō'boxt were in force. Representatives of legal personalities could enter into a legal trans-

[12] A. G. Perikhanyan, On some Pahlavi legal terms. In: *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970, pp. 349—357.

[13] See H. S. Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* II, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 41.

[14] A. G. Périkhanian, Notes sur le lexique Iranien et Arménien, *REA* 5 (1969) pp. 16—23.

[15] A. G. Perikhanyan, Obrazec pehlevijskogo bračnogo kontrakta *SE* 1960. N° 5. pp. 67—75.

[16] When using transcription we followed the one used by Perikhanyan to make it easier to look them up, although these do not coincide with the ones that are in general use today.

action with natural persons too. The treasury and the temple were regarded as legal personalities in Sasanian Iran. Natural and legal personalities could present common action as well, and they could be co-proprietors of a slave too.

2. The 4 orders of society were called 4 classes of the Mazdean religious community (*4 pēšak i dēn*). The 4 orders of Avestic origin were the following: priests (*āsravān/āsrōn*, the later word is *moγān*), warriors (*artēštarān*, the later word is *āzātān*, in fact 'freemen, nobles'), peasants (*vāstryōšān*), and artisans (*hutuxšān*). (It should be mentioned that in spite of the fact that our author expounds this question more circumstantially than we did, the fully detailed explanation of the orders and of their development is that of Christensen, see footnote 3.)

The head of the state was the king of kings (*šāhān-šāh*). Next in the hierarchy we find the princes of the dynasty (*vāspuhrān/vispuhrān*), who were probably the governors of dependent kingdoms or districts, and bore the title of king (*Armēnān-šāh, Mēšān-šāh*) or governor (*šahrdār*). The vassal kings of local dynasties were their equals. Next in the line were those in charge of a district and military sectors, who held the title of satrap (*šahrap*), margrave (*marzpān*), or Arsacid grand vizier (*bītaxš*), *naxvadār*, respectively. To all intents and purposes the chiefs of the most influential aristocratic clans (*vazrakān* 'grands') were their equals. They were followed by the common members of clans, who held various offices in the royal administration, in the army, and at the court. At the bottom of the social ladder, there were the numerous members of the lower nobility, who received land, that could be inherited if the king of kings had given his consent, from the crown lands (*ōstān*) for their administrative — financial services. They formed the base of the royal cavalry. Mounted soldiers of unknown origin served in the latter as well, who were given a piece of land for their military service from the treasury. But according to Perikhanyan, it is hardly credible that every horseman could have been an *āzāt*.

The organization of the Zoroastrian clergy to a state church status, which began at the end of the third century, and ended during Šāhpuhr II's (309 — 79) reign, also brought about changes in society. The clergy took over the place of the warriors at the top of the social ladder. Subdivisions: the magi (*moγān*), judges (*dātaβarān*), teacher-priests (*ēhrpatān*), clerical staff and teachers.

The second one was the class of warriors. The subdivisions were: horsemen and infantry.

The growth of their importance in the diversified official machinery caused the development of an independent clerk-class (*pēšak ī dipīrān*). Subdivisions — categories: clerks making out an official document, recorders, clerks of the chancellery, comptrollers, and chroniclers. Physicians, poets, musicians, and astrologers belonged to this class too.

Peasants (*vāstryōšān*), artisans (*hutuxšān*) and merchants constituted the fourth class.

The chiefs of classes was termed *pēšak sardārān*, who did not necessarily belong to the class they were in charge of.

3. A legal personality in the full sense of the word could be only a subject of the state, with the most frequent expression: *ādehīk* (in reality a member of the community), from any one of the classes he descended from. According to *Dātastān ī dēnīk* (Dd 55): "*mart ī vehdēn ī āzāt ī šāhān šāh bandak*" i.e. man, follower of the true faith (Zoroastrian), member of the civil community (in this case *āzāt* has this meaning), and a subject of the king of kings (*bandak* means 'subject' here).

There were significant diversities between the status of the different groups of subjects, summed up as follows:

— ethnicity and religion: Iranians (*ērīh*) and non-Iranians (*anērīh*)
— privileges: *āzāt* — non-*āzāt*
— social status;

— taxation: whether or not one paid tax;

— duties: army or labour.

The opposite of *ādehīk, uzdehīk* could be of two kinds. Either someone staying abroad temporarily who did not enjoy every right the local population did, but did so in his home country; the other type being those in exile deprived of every right in their home country.

4. Slavery had been known since the Achaemenian period. Our poor knowledge[17] concerning the Parthian period derives from Cicero (servants working in the mines of the Parthian king used to be banded) from Diodorus Siculus (selling of prisoners-of-war as booty) and from Plutarch (Suren's army had servants). The fact that servants were employed in agriculture, industry and building that is all information we have about they at that time.

Their Middle Persian terms are *bandak* ('bound'), *anšahrīk* ('outlander'), *rahīk* ('bound'), *tan* ('body'), *vēšak/vēsak* ('belonging to a *vis*, i.e. gens'), *paristār* ('maidservant'). All of these are included in MHD. The term *d'hyft* "slavery", which exists in the form *dāh* 'servant' in New Persian is known from Parthian texts, possibly existed in Middle Persian too.

The word *bandak* was also used in a figurative sense meaning "subject", among others in the formula *šāhān šāh bandak*, which meant the "subject of the king of the kings" instead of "slave of the king of the kings" to such an extent that in MHD and Pahlavi *Nirangistān* the two expressions are in opposition in certain places.

Etymologically the term *anšahrīk* meant foreign ('outlander'), and was originally used as a term for enslaved prisoners-of-war. Perikhanyan says that by the Sasanian period it had lost its earlier meaning, and became the equivalent of *bandak*. Pigulevskaya distinguishes between the two categories of slaves too[18]. It is to be added that according to Kasumova's contribution[19] proved on the basis of the Sasanian Law book, in the Sasanian era *anšahrīg* meant "non-Zoroastrian slave", while *bandak* meant a "Zoroastrian one". (About the servants of tempels *(ἱερόδουλοι)* see below.)

As for the remaining terms, it is very likely that they were not synonymous, but they indicated various types of slaves or emphasized some kind of aspect, but the sources do not provide an opportunity to make sure. What is clear is that formally *bandak* and *paristār* were in opposition in *Dēnkart* and in *Dātastān ī dēnīk*. In MHD the latter signifies *ἱερόδουλος*, slave ordered to perform sacred duties. Those participating in the cult and servants working on a temple-estate belonged to entirely different categories.

As far as royal and temple-servants are concerned, our sources contain so little information that at the present time they are unsuitable for closer scrutiny.

We know more about private persons' servants. By their origins, slaves could be prisoners-of-war, and rebels as well as those by birth or purchase. Self-selling was possibles too. (The latter did not become known from MHD+A, but from a contract found in Dura Europos[20] from the Parthian era. In return for a loan not only the property, but the person who receiving the loan was also tied up, and both were taken [Middle Persian *griftār kartan*] to com-

[17] A. G. Perikhanyan, "K voprosu o rabovladenii i zemlevladenii v Irane parfjanskogo vremeni", VDI N° 4. 1952.

[18] N. V. Pigulevskaja, Goroda Irana v rannem srednevekov'e, Moscow—Leningrad 1956, pp. 192—193. The same in French p. 185.

[19] S. Ju. Kasumova, "Osnovnye kategorii rabov v sasnidskom gosudarstve i ix osobennosti (na materiale Sasanindskogo Sudebnika)" Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbajdzanskoj SSR. 38 (1982) N° 10. pp. 81—84.

[20] *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*. V. 1969, DPg parchment no. 10.

pensate the creditor). Children whose parents were slaves, became slaves themselves. If the child was born after the *manumissio*, he/she followed the status of his/her parents. There is no reference in MHD+A to children from mixed marriages, but in all probability Iran also followed the general norm in the ancient world, according to which children followed the mother's status.

A Zoroastrian could hand over his son to his creditor in debt-slavery (*frōxtan* 'to sell' instead of *apaspārtan* 'to hand over, entrust' his own son). This could hardly have been true after the rise to power of the Zoroastrian church, — thus *Dēnkart* probably refers to an earlier status.

The head of a family's patriarchal power enabled him not only to give his sons in debt-slavery, but also to sell him. However, the Sasanian legal system imposed restrictions: the father could sell his son only if he was in agony of death, helpless (crippled) or was lacking in bare necessities (*atvadāt*). In this case he was allowed to sell his son (in the same way as he could do so with his wife, infant and adopted children), but only to his own relative or to that of the son's mother, or to the guardian of one of these relatives. In other words, the sale was justified only within the family of the seller and the person sold (33, 13—17). A father could give the members of his family to his creditor in debt-slavery, or in a legal transaction to two persons in the order of possession as a guarantee.

What Ulpian said about the status of slaves was also true for Iran, in the same way as it was for other peoples in the ancient world: "*servi res sunt*" (*res* '*xvāstak*'). He was his master's property (*xvēšīh*), was subdued to his power (*pātixšāyīh*), and the slave's child was "one of the other properties" (*tāk hač apārīk xvāstak* 94,12).

According to MHD (12,4—9) the average price of an adult male slave was above 500 drachmas. (The same book also mentions 200 drachmas elsewhere.) It was possible to give him as a present to hand over (half or in part as well, so that he could be in common property), to inherit, to sell, to pawn (*hypotheca* and *antichresis*), he could be the subject of *stūr*-possession (see below). The master could claim back those who escaped or a servant taken of by means of *revindicatio* or *revocatio*.

In spite of this, the human dignity of the slave was not completely disregarded. In sacral law — as in ancient Rome and Greece — he was in some respects the subject of law, a *person*. From the earliest time on, and later with the extension of slave labour, the growth of their importance produced the legitimation of certain legal capacity. MHD mentions the purchase of a slave to whom somebody gave (presented) something. This belonged to the slave if neither the former nor the new master laid claim to it. If the slave died, the master inherited such property, except if he was only partly the owner of the slave.

The slave could also have an income. But if he belonged to two slave owners, one of whom allowed him to have an income, he was obliged to give half of his income to his other master (AZ 1—2). (Consequently there is no *accessio*.)

When enumerating the lost legal chapters of Avesta, it turns out from *Dēnkart* that a slave (*bandak*) could even be a plaintiff or be in opposition in a legal action concerning property against a subject (*mart ī šahr*). (DkM US, 708, 10—12.) His participation in a legal transaction can be shown from MHD+A as well[21], although a slave had no right to swear an oath.

In subordination of the members of the family under the power of the *pater familias* was considered a crime, and one of the most severe punishments was the confiscation of property and deprivation of civil rights.

[21] MHD gives a legal case on one occasion when a slave sued his own master for use of force (he was thrown into the river A 13, 11—13), but the verdict is unknown.

Similarly to the women and infants, a male slave could not testify in court either (MX 39[37]), only in the company of another subject with full rights. In such cases, the testimony of the slave was also placed in the record of evidence (98, 1—5).

The question of slave marriage is not clear. Whether a slave's matrimony was legally acceptable or not is uncertain. At first it was not. MHD+A does not include selling in which the family was given attention. We are led to believe that the fate of such a family was in the hands of the master.

During the reign of Vahram V (421—39), the descendants of a slave became the property of the deceased slave's master, while later that of the mother's.

For a slave of the Mazda-belief it would have been impossible to perform the sacred duties of his religion in a house where another religion prevailed. Therefore, if a slave embraced the Mazda-faith, he was allowed to abandon his master of a different religion, who in this case forfeited the right to claim him back, and could only claim material reparations. If the slave went to a master of Mazda-faith, his new master was obliged to pay reparations to the former master to the extent of the slave's value, but if the slave paid his own value himself, it was possibile to free him (I. 10—13, I. 13—15, I. 16—17).

Between Christian and Jewish slaves and their masters of the same religion the jurisdiction of their own community was in force, because they enjoyed legal autonomy in Sasanian Iran.

Slaves together with freemen formed the Iranian household, but at the same time they were also assets; this corresponds to the Greek tradition (see Aristotle: Politics I. 2,1). Their relationship to the pater familias was well defined by Roman law: *dominium* and *potestas*. The corresponding terms in Middle Persian are: *xvēšīh* ("lawful ownership of a thing", "real right"), and *patixšāyīh* ("authority", partly the patriarchal authority of the pater familias, manus).

The term *manumissio* means *āzāt kartan* 'to set free' and *āzāt hištan* means 'to manumit' in MHD+A. Iranian ceremonial forms are unknown. A freed slave was given a document (*āzāt-nāmak*, *āzāt-hīšt*) to certify this fact. If there was no such record, and the affranchised could not certify the fact of *manumissio* in court, the former master had the right to recover his slave. In Iran there were two types of *manumissio*: a) Full manumission. In this case the freed slave, as the subject of the king of kings, enjoyed the full protection of the law; and it was forbidden to sell him as a slave again. He became a free man with full rights. b) Partial manumission, when the slave received his liberty in only some respects or was manumitted by one of his masters only. The letter is unknown in Greek or Roman law. On the other hand, it existed in Hellenistic Egypt, and was known in the Roman era, too. It was also applied by the Jewish and Christian communities of Sasanian Iran. His free part had the right to have a personal income and to make his own fortune, and if he did not have a natural or adopted son — like anyone of the Mazda-faith with property worth over 60 saters — he had the right to appoint a *stūr* (who was obliged to give him a successor, see later). But he could not enter into full right matrimony with a free person.

The manumission was only legal if it did not violate any condition. The master could manumit his slave even if the slave was held by his creditor as a pawn for his debt. But in practice, the fact of manumission was realized after the settling of the debt only. Until then the affranchized remained in the creditor's possession as a slave (39, 2—5).

Both the complete and the partial manumission covered the female slave's (male slave's?) descendant born after the manumission as well. A liberated slave was only allowed to claim his acquired fortune if his master gave his consent (*Išō'boxt* V. 13§3). In contrast to Rome and, in Greece and Hellenistic Egypt, the former master's

patronate over the freed slave did not exist in Iran. (Otherwise this is the case in the Talmud too.)

5. A Greek term, *ἱερόδουλος*, is used to denote a slave destined to perform temple duties. The two parallel Middle Persian words (*bandak*, *anšahrīk*) respectively are not equivalents. The *bandak ī ātaxš* ("servant of the fire") was mainly of technical importance, while *anšahrīk i ātaxš* was used to denote a so-called slave working effectively doing temple service, although the mutual interchangeability resulted in terminological inexactitude.

In actual fact, the *ātur/ātaxš bandak* ('servant of the fire') was not really a slave, and it corresponded to *ἱεροδουλος*. This term also had a double usage denoting a free man who was ordered to do service in the temple or to God, and did not lose his status of a subject, who took an active part in rituals and in this manner came under the protection of the temple and the divinity. Men and women alike could become *ἱερόδουλος* even from the top echelons of society. By the order of Vahram V (421—39), Mihr—Narse the famous *vazurg-framatār* (Grand Vizier) from the House of Mihranids became a *ἱερόδουλος* of two fire-temples too, with his *cum manu mariti*-wife and slave. Mihr—Narse become an *āturvaxš*, i.e. a slave of the cult, who had the responsibility to keep the holy fire burning. His wife became a *paristār* (no closer definition is given), while the slave served them. (See also Kasumova's paper mentioned earlier in 19.) The temple could give protection to their *ἱερόδουλοι* (see the contribution p. 641).

II. *Social structures*: *the agnatical group and the family.*

1. The Pahlavi terms of the family were the following: *dūtak* (in actual fact 'smoke'), *gāl* ('family, household, attendance'), *katak* (in actual fact 'house'). The latter is mainly found in compounds like *katak-xvatāy* ('pater familias' — other synonyms: *gil-xvatāy* and *nāfapat*) and *katak bānūk* ('mater familias'). The family, that is the direct and collateral line relationship, is a cultic, cultic-ritual, economic, production and consumption community. The cultic community supposes the reverence of the domestic fire and of the soul of the antecedents in the paternal line, while the economic one means a common family property. (In the joint family, brothers with no possessions had an ideal part and in legal relations they acted as partners, i.e. *brāt-hambāy*.) This was constituted by several families, whose heads of family traced their descent to a common ancestor back to three generations. The existing pater familias had recollections of these ancestors from his childhood, and it is this genuine relationship that marks an agnatical group from the patriarchal relationship or a clan. The functions of the pater familias came down in direct line. The agnatical group often appeared in Iranian law, and it was a very important structure inside the community of subjects. Their members were, apart from the relationship, united by the cult of the dead ancestors' souls (in paternal line), the common participation in religious ceremonies and feasts and by the economic community. But the latter increasingly lost its original significance with the separation of the single family. The Middle Persian agnatical structure essentially corresponded to its Old Iranian prototype, and there is a similarity between the Old Iranian and the Old Indian agnatical structure fundamentally existing up to the present day.

The Old Indian term *gotra* (its Avestic equivalent is *nāfa-*) meaning the "collectivity of persons tracing their descent back to a common male ancestor in direct line" contains two organizations.

One of these is the so-called secular *gotra* (*laukika gotra*), a community of relatives tracing their descent back to a common progenitor consisting of a large number (100 or more) of families (*gṛha*). Another characteristic beside the above-mentioned ones also characterizing Iranian agnatical groups, was exogamy. Marriage was not only forbidden with the female members of the same *gotra*, but also with

the grandfather's *gotra* in the maternal line. The *gotra* was composed of smaller units of 10 (sometimes 100) *kula* or *mula* consisting of (large) families of three generations. The first circle of the ancestors was closed by the great-grandfather of the living pater familias. The circle of relatives descending from the common great-grandfather and from his *cum manu mariti* wife, was called *sapiṇḍa*. This is equivalent to the Greek and the Latin term *agnatio* (and *propinquitas*) defines the persons' relationship with this group.

Every pater familias had the right to take part in the meetings of the *gotra*. This council appointed a quardian for orphaned infants, if they had no near relation, it arranged for the adoption, for the transfer of property that had no inheritor, decided about the means of compensation, punishment for infringement of rite and customary law, and had the right to banish someone from the community.

The other *gotra*, *ārṣa-gotra* consisted of Brahmans only, and contrary to the abovementioned one, it was an artificial formation, which traced its origin back to eight legendary cultically revered sages (*ṛsi*).

The usual designation of agnatical group in MHD + A is *nabānazdištīh* (an abstract from the word *nabānazdišt* 'agnate, relative'). The term is an Avestic "scholarly" word. The Avestic *nabānazdišta-* (literally 'the closest of relatives') is someone who is related to the pater familias in one of the following ways: 1 parent, 2 child, 3 brother and sister, 4 grandparent, 5 grandchild, 6 uncle and aunt, 7 male and female cousin, 8 nephew and niece, and 9 grandchild of the brother and the sister.

The Avestic term *nabānazdišta-* and its synonym *taoxman* (Old Persian *tauma-* > Middle Persian *tōhm*) are used in correlation with the individual, emphasizing the degree of relationship with an individual, while the other two Avestic terms of the relationship *nāfa(h)-* and the *xvaētar-* are independent terms, which refer to an individual group of individuals belonging to the agnatical group. The term *nabānazdišta-* in addition to a clear relationship, has another cultic significance connected with the worship of ancestors and *fravašis* in Avesta.

In Iran the first group of ancestors included the father, the grandfather and the great grandfather (*pater familias*). The community of the family was called *nmana-*, while that of the agnatic group was *gaēθa*. Those belonging to the same agnatic group bore collective solidarity and were each other's guarantors (see the corresponding Avesta text on p. 60). Collective responsibility was based on the possession of arable land, pastures, certain means of production, farm-buildings, common right of possession and common obligations. This is the origin of the Avestic term "possession of common wealth, coproprietorship": *haδō.gaēθa-*, *hamgēhān* in Pahlavi.

If the contract *daiŋhu maza* was broken, the number of responsible men could reach as many as a 1000 persons. Belonging to an agnatic group on the patriarchal line was possible through *cum manu mariti* marriage, while in case of a woman a marriage of full right had to be contracted.

A youth became an adult (about 15 years old) after participating in the initiation ceremony. Like Indians, they linked the ritual with the investiture of the holy girdle (Av. *aiwyāŋhana-*, MP. *kustīk*) and shirt in the presence of the shole agnatic group. The Parsi call the ritual *naojot* (sic! see p. 63; < NP. **nauzād* 'rebirth') entirely corresponding to the Sanskrit *dvija*, *dvijati* 'twice born'. The first birth signified birth as a full right subject in both places.

Contrary to Indian agnatic groups, Iranian ones in the best part of the country (not including far away regions) were characterised by endogamy. Although the five referring Avestic cases are later interpolations we have a considerable amount of data, thanks to the ancient authors, about the extremities of matrimony among relatives, that is endogamy: father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister all marrying one another. Ancient authors attribute this to Persians in general not

only to royal families. Perikhanyan quotes Catullus (p. 65), who goes as far as saying about the clergy: "the magus is born from the mother and son". According to Pahlavi texts this kind of matrimony (*xvaētvadaθa-*) is among the 10 rules Zarathustra set for mankind, as the highest act of fear of God, which makes good deadly sins, and leads to paradise. This was widespread in Sasanian Iran too, see the author's paper p. 644.

Agnatic groups formed larger communities called *vis* and because large communities like this usually surrounded their settlements with a fence (wall or rampart) the other name was *varezāna-* (OP. *vardana*). The most important activities of the community were the periodical resharing of the arable land, organizing common rituals of sacrifice, passing justice, determining the degree of punishment to be given to a member of the community for an offence and nominating the council of the community (which consisted of the heads of the agnatic community — Iranian **nāfapati-*, **nāfadāra-*). As far as we can tell from Dēnkart, a major offence ensued exclusion from the community.

Different communities could enter into an alliance with each other. Allied communities, communities and agnatic groups formed the three main organisations of the Avestic community.

The inscription of Šahpuhr of Kaʿba-i Zardušt and Avroman parchments (see pp. 72—73) prove that agnatic groups and social strata outlined above existed in the Sasanian era too. The aristocratic agnatic structures played a major role in the court and state administration. Relationships and solidarity within the groups gave them a significant political and military role. Representatives of the nobility had the obligation to set up the army and provide for their equipment on areas under their leadership in addition to having to perform military service.

On the one hand, agnation was denoted by the term of Avestic origin *nabānazdišt*, and on the other hand with the term *hamnāf*. The name of the agnatic group was *nāf* and *nāfak*. The Sanskrit term *gotra* was the same as *gōhr*, *gōhrak*.

If a subject with the full right of the Mazda-faith died without a descendant or brother-coheir, the agnatic group of the deceased had the duty to nominate the closest relative as *stūr* from the agnatic of the dead. *Nāfak* had a role in the Pahlavi model of the marriage contract. The official wedding took place in the presence of the gathered members of *nāfak*. (A Mount Mug marriage contract reflects the existence of the very same agnatic groups there. See Perikhanyan's book, p. 76. Her contribution expounds this document in detail, p. 647. Livsic's view is very different from that of Perikhanyan.)[22]

The leader of *nāf* appears in Armenian as **nāfapet* ('head of *nāf*'). The Pahlavi term was *ōstaβār* ('*wstwb'l*), its Manichean Persian equivalent *was avistβār*. Its functions were passing justice, organizing the cult, and administering the common property.

As the economic and judicial autonomy of the families constituting agnatic communities grew, in time the privileges of the community leader diminished, and necessarily led to the strengthening of the rights and authority of the *pater familias*. The heads of families probably constituted the council of the community, which was the most important organizer of the community's life. MHD+A makes a strict distinction between rights that were due to somebody (or one's obligations) according to belonging to an agnatic group or family. The former is based on *būtak* (literally 'natural'), that of the latter is the already mentioned *nabānazdištīh*.

2. Religious concepts had an important role in man's life in ancient times. In Iran it became an integral part of everyday life to such an extent (by giving *agnatio*

[22] V. A. Livšic, Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug. Vyn. 2. Juridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma. Čtenie, perevod, kommentarii. Moscow 1962.

primarity over *cognatio*) that it governed the relationship between the members of the kinship groups. Without it there is no understanding of the institution of family property, types of matrimony, succession, and inheritance. No field of law was free from its influence. The law itself was a part of religious ethics.

The central place among these concepts was taken by the cult of the domestic fire and the concept of the immortal soul. The fire had to be constantly kept alive, and had to be renewed in a certain ritual. The duty of the fire-cult and the obligation to look after the fire was vested on the *pater familias*. He was the priest in the family, and after his death these duties were inherited by the son together with the function of saving and expanding the family's wealth, and cultivating the land. This inheritance was *nāmakānīh* or *nāmburtārīh* (one was entitled to have this title of serving the cult).

The constant lack of *nāmakānīh* or *nāmburtārīh* was a grave sin just like celibacy, because the heir to secular possessions and the cult could only be born from a legal marriage. With no heir, the house died out.

The wife's child was regarded as a legal son and heir of the husband. If a couple had no son, the inheritance had to be given to the female heir (*'επίκληρος*). If there was no daughter either, it was necessary to adopt somebody from the agnation. If the man failed to do this in his lifetime, his agnatic group had to take care of this.

There was also another possibility. Let us suppose that the only heir of a couple is a boy of fifteen, past his confirmation, but he dies before his wedding. After the death of the youth, a girl was nominated to be the *stūr* of the deceased, from the father's or the relatives' agnatic group of the youth as the companion of the youth's soul, and the girl was married off in a marriage of non full rights to another man from among the agnatic of the deceased. As the wife of this man she belonged in a legal and sacral respect to the deceased, was a member of his family and was taken care of by that family. The first child she bore belonged to the dead husband, not to her husband is real life. A girl she delivered would become the *epikléros*, and would inherit *stūrīh* from her mother, and would be married to the closest *agnatus* of the above-mentioned youth in a non manus marriage, and the son of this couple would become the son and heir of the dead youth, that is the heir of the grandmother's ethereal husband. The purpose of *stūr* marriage was to solve the inheritance problem and to take care of the soul, the soul's cult and the fireplace of the initiated youth. The property belonged not to the individual, but to the family — its ancestors and descendants.

4. Perikhanyan analyzes the three different types of matrimony in the following: a) *patixšāyīh*, b) *čakarīh* and c) *xvāsrāδēnīh* or *bayaspān-marri*age.

Patixšāyīh was a regular, legal marriage in which the wife became the ward (*sardārīh*) of her husband (*ō xānak i šōy āyēt/šavēt* 'she comes/goes in the house of husband'), and she was married with the consent of her guardian. It was the equivalent of *cum manu mariti* in the Roman law.

It would be interesting to take a closer look at the research history of *čakar* marriage than Perikhanyan does, as this question is not fully explored yet.

What is *čakar*? Bartholomae: "Nebenfrau" (this was not necessarily so, because *čakar* could be the only wife too).[23] Tavadia: "subordinate wife". Klingenschmitt: this type of marriage is ". . . Einrichtung zur Zeugungshilfe für einen zeugungsfähigen Mann . . .", West: "serving wife" (derived from the New Persian *Rivāyat*, where because of false etymology it often appears

[23] See B. H. Carlsen, The *cakar* marriage contract and the *cakar* children's status in *Mātiyān i Hazār Dātistān and Rivāyat i Ēmēt i Ašavahištān*. In: *Middle Iranian Studies*. Ed. by W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, p. 104.

with the concept of čakar meaning servant).[24] Carlsen[25] sees *čakar* as a kind of wife who owed obedience to her husband, which man was not the *čakar*'s, but the *patixšāy*'s husband, father or brother. The contract obliges the wife to do her best to produce an heir for one of the three mentioned above, should that person be dead or alive. If the obligation is bound to a living person, the contract can be made for a given period of time, and the woman will not be subdued to the *sardārīh* of her *čakar* husband in either case, and although she gets rid of her *patixšāy* husband's guardianship, but not of her obligations to her husband. The husband's children are the legal heirs. It was forbidden for her to live with both husbands at the same time, says Carlsen.

Perikhanyan thinks that *čakar* is a widow's marriage to her husband's *agnat*. Descendents born from this matrimony (= *čakardāt* 'given by *čakar*') belonged to the first husband with whom she lived in a *patixšāyīh* marriage. After her husband's death, her first marriage was not invalidated, did not break up, but preserved its validity both in the religious and legal sense, even after the woman's *čakar* marriage. What is more, if a *čakar* wife fell under the guardianship of her *čakar* husband (p. 96 — this obviously contradicts Carlsen) the first husband's power remained unchanged over her (remained in his agnat) and she went on to be his wife in the cultic sense too. Because of this, there was no divorce in a *čakar* marriage except for one reason: if the marriage was illegally contracted, e.g. if a man made a *čakar* marriage with a woman with whom he was entitled to enter into a full right marriage. A woman who had already lived in a full right marriage with somebody, because of the lack of *nuptiae consummatio*, could only have a *čakar* type of marriage with somebody else, in the same way as a fiancée whose fiancé had died.

5. This is where Perikhanyan starts talking about *epiklēratos*.[26] This is an unclear Pahlavi term, the reading of which is uncertain to such an extent, that Bartholomae did not even attempt to do it. (Nevertheless he interpreted it a "Nadelgeld", that is a sum of money given by the girl's father or guardian. This is an incorrect explanation.)

Perikhanyan gives a sketch of research history: the essence of this is that the right interpretation of the term, "girl heir" was given by A. A. Mazaheri, who in turn could not give a reading. Klingenschmitt read the Pahlavi word as **ayūγaēnī*) *ayaoγāēnī*. He gives the general meaning "unverbunden, ohne Geschwister" which Perikhanyan does not accept, and offers the meaning "not married (not *cum manu mariti* married) someone who is not obliged to marry in the usual way" which can be well related to its term value (*epiklēros*). After establishing that the Iranian institution of *epiklēratos* roughly corresponds to its Indian and Greek equivalent, she defines the term in the following:

In a family where the father has one or more daughters, but has neither a natural or an adopted son nor a brother-co-heir and does not have a *stūr* designated by the testament either, it was the eldest daughters' first and foremost duty to produce an heir for their father. A sister, whose adult brother died without leaving a widow, a natural or an adopted child, had the same obligation. (In such cases the daughter was her brother's epikleros, **ayūγēn i brāt*.) Such a daughter (or sister) was usually married off into a *non manus marriage* generally from the agnat: she had no right to enter into a full right one. She was recognized to be the *stūr* of her father's or brother's family (*stūr ī dūtak/dūtak stūr*) and her child was regarded to be the legal son and heir of the mother's father or the mother's uncle, similarly to the Indian *putrikāputra* and the Greek θγγατριδὸνς.

[24] See *ibid.* p. 104.

[25] See *ibid.* pp. 104—105.

[26] It is Perikhanyan's terminus technicus. See *op. cit.* p. 99 and the following.

Perikhanyan thinks that in terms of meaning, the boy born by the *epikléros*, *duxtdāt*, could be related to the corresponding Old Greek term. It was used in both places to substitute the heir of *andar dūtak zāt* ('born in the family', that is in the deceased one's) and *dūtak-zāt* (the abbreviation of the latter).

Carlsen's above-mentioned paper[27] on *čakar* marriage contracts verifies Perikhanyan's assertions. From the way the *čakar* child was mentioned in REA, and from *Šāyist nē šāyist* changed in the 9th century, she concludes that this type of marriage was common in the late Sasanian period. This is interesting, because it gives one rare palpable verified example of the development of law in the Sasanian period.

6. Based on chapter XXXI of REA, Perikhanyan draws the conclusion that *bayāspān*, as the common term of a woman's status (*duxt bayāspān čand aδvēnak bavēt* i.e. 'the number of ways a *bayāspān* girl comes to exist' — says REA) signifies two entirely different types of marriage. (This is different from her earlier view.)[28] The base of the common term is that both types were a legal and publicly recognized form of the relationship between a man and woman. On one hand, that of the already mentioned *patixšāyīh*, and of *xvāsrāδēnīh*[29] (= *sine manu mariti*) on the other. That is if: — a daughter (or sister) reached the age of 15 — that is becoming an adult — left her father's or brother's house of her own free will, got married without eliciting the refusal (*yutdātastānīh*) or official (public) protest (*patkār*) of her father (brother);

— an adult daughter leaves her father's or brother's house without their consent, but they were unable to stop her from doing so;

— a 15-year-old girl who had been offended by her father or brother by not marrying her for a long time, got married of her own accord;

In this case a girl *ō nazdīk ī gātār*[30] *šavēt* i.e. 'she goes to the partner in life'. What differentiated this from a full right marriage was that a *bayāspān* did not enter into her husband's family or kin, and consequently children born in the marriage (*bayāspāndāt* 'given by *bayāspān*') could not be the husband's legal heirs, except if they were adopted. It turns out from MHD (24, 7—10) that a wife like this continued to be under her father's guardianship and remained his heir. Children not adopted by the husband belonged to the guardianship of the wife's father (or guardian).

Finally same remarks and a few things to add.

[27] See note 23.

[28] See A. G. Perikhanyan, On Some Pahlavi Legal Terms. In: *Henning Memorial Volume*. London 1970, p. 349. *Bayāspān* here is *sine manu mariti* chosen by the bride herself on one hand, and as this does not correspond to every case in REA, it usually means marriage on the other. Carlsen (Who is the *bayāspān* daughter? In: *Middle Iranian Studies*. Ed. by W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, pp. 115—121) goes on to say that the meaning of *bayāspān* (p. 120) in a daughter born in *x*^{v}*āsrāyun* marriage or a girl who got married this way. Thus the issue is yet unsolved.

[29] The reading and interpretation of xvāsrāδēnīh was offered by Perikhanyan. See. A. G. Perikhanyan, *Sasanidskij sudebnik "Kniga tysjači sudebnyx rešenij"* (*Mātakdān i hazār dātastān*). Erevan 1973, p. 546. (In the paper mentioned above [note 23] Carlsen polemized with this reading.)

[30] *Gātār* as nomen actionis: 1. 'matrimonial relationship, marriage without manus', 2. 'adultery' and as nomen agentis: 1. 'partner in life, husband', 2. 'someone who commits adultery'. In legal texts it is usually in opposition with the term *šōy* 'husband' (in manus marriage). See Perikhanyan's book, p. 323, footnote 149.

Another thing which is not really a good solution is that works used by Perikhanyan are sometimes found in abbreviation in the text, sometimes among the notes. The list of abbreviations found between pages 364—368 in the book is not complete. This applies to the MHD+A edition mentioned earlier too.[31] Perhaps this is why Maria Macuch's MHDA translation[32] went unmentioned.

Following the notes and list of abbreviations, the book is finished by a list of terms in order of languages, which is also put into alphabetical order. A list facilitating the use of special literature would have come in handy too.

There is an article written by M. Shaki[33] that was published after the book was finished, which makes an attempt to solve an old problem namely the definition of the *HDYY'* ideogram (*'dārišn'* "revertible grant") and that of word *l't* (*rād* "irrevertible grant"). (See the attempt at solutions by M. Shaki.) This problem is not included in the book, although Perikhanyan encountered it when publishing MHD+A. What is more the first correct etymology of *l't*, and its reading (*rād*) was given by her[34] as well.

Thanks to Perikhanyan for her gap filling, valuable work.

István Nyitrai

[31] See note 5.

[32] See note 4.

[33] M. Shaki, Revertible and irrevertible grants in Sasanian law, *Studia Iranica* 12 (1983) pp. 183—194.

[34] A. G. Perikhanyan, *Sasanidskij sudebnik "Kniga tysjači sudebnyx rešenij"* (*Mātakdān i hazār dātastān*). Erevan 1973, p. 517.

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